

2014

Madrid Me Mata: Regional Identity Politics and Community Building Through the Music of La Movida Madrileña

Winona A. Bechte
Scripps College

Recommended Citation

Bechte, Winona A., "Madrid Me Mata: Regional Identity Politics and Community Building Through the Music of La Movida Madrileña" (2014). *Scripps Senior Theses*. Paper 399.
http://scholarship.claremont.edu/scripps_theses/399

This Open Access Senior Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Scripps Student Scholarship at Scholarship @ Claremont. It has been accepted for inclusion in Scripps Senior Theses by an authorized administrator of Scholarship @ Claremont. For more information, please contact scholarship@cuc.claremont.edu.

**MADRID ME MATA: REGIONAL IDENTITY POLITICS AND
COMMUNITY BUILDING THROUGH THE MUSIC OF LA MOVIDA
MADRILEÑA**

by

WINONA A. BECHTLE

**SUBMITTED TO SCRIPPS COLLEGE IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS**

**PROFESSOR WOOD
PROFESSOR SANJUAN
PROFESSOR MA**

APRIL 25th, 2014

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|------|
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS..... | i |
| CHAPTER | PAGE |
| 1. INTRODUCTION..... | 1 |
| 2. CHAPTER 1: THE EARLY YEARS OF LA MOVIDA..... | 7 |
| 3. INTERVIEW WITH EUGENIO SUÁREZ GALBÁN..... | 27 |
| 4. CHAPTER 2: INSTITUTIONALIZING LA MOVIDA..... | 31 |
| 5. INTERVIEW WITH ÁLVARO PERDICES..... | 54 |
| 6. CHAPTER 3: FINDING LA MOVIDA TODAY..... | 57 |
| 7. CONCLUSION..... | 73 |
| 8. BIBLIOGRAPHY..... | 76 |

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank my thesis readers and advisors Professor Carmen Sanjuán-Pastor, Professor Jennifer Wood, and Professor Ma for not only helping me with this project every step of the way but for inspiring within me a deep appreciation for the subject matter.

I also want to acknowledge the tremendous support of my family, friends and professors. This thesis would not have been possible without all of you.

Lastly, thank you Pedro Almodóvar for your beautiful films. They have made me laugh, cry, and dance throughout my college career.

INTRODUCTION

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Vaya pesadilla | <i>Leave, nightmare</i> |
| Corriendo | <i>Running</i> |
| Con una bestia detras | <i>With a beast behind</i> |
| Dime que es mentira todo | <i>Tell me this is all a lie</i> |
| Un sueno tonto y no más. | <i>A dumb dream and nothing more.</i> |

-Nacha Pop “Lucha de Gigantes” (1987)

In the year 1975, the city of Madrid was the hub of Francisco Franco’s dictatorship.

Aside from acting as Franco’s place of residency, it also served as the symbolic capital of Franco’s authoritarian regime and the place that most represented his forced imposition of national “Spanishness.” The desire to create a uniform, obedient Spain led to the destruction of any and all kinds of books, music, and culture that were not officially mandated and approved by the regime. While the structured repression was present throughout Spain, in no other place was it felt quite as intensely as it was in Madrid. Cities like Barcelona had “close proximity to censored materials just across the French border” (Stapell 24), while Madrid was stuck directly in the center of Spain, with limited access to influences from other countries and less impacted cities. Though Franco’s rule had softened in later years, his presence in Madrid certainly put a damper on much cultural development for the duration of his reign. The closest separate population from

Madrid, the area of Castile, was also co-opted by Franco's regime as an idyllic, farming symbol that further imposed the new Spanishness Franco hoped would take over as an "intolerant, anti-secular, anti-foreign Catholic conservatism" (Stapell 24).

Franco's dictatorship controlled Spain for 36 years. By the time of his death on November 20th, 1975, Madrid had fully deteriorated into the "swollen and gray authoritarian center of Spain" (Stapell 22). Prior to Franco's death he had personally groomed King Juan Carlos I to uphold his principles and transition into a similar system of government once he died, and named the king as his successor in 1969. However, once Franco died the king announced his plan to continue on a democratic path and forgo the implementation of *continuismo*, widely recognized as "Francoism without Franco." The process of rebuilding not only the capital city but also the rest of the country was a difficult one with perhaps the most dilapidated region being Madrid and the surrounding area. Technically speaking, the transition into democracy took only 4 years with the first citywide municipal elections occurring in 1979. However, these first elections were preceded by a juggling of positions and shifting of the government that culminated in the drafting of a new Constitution in 1978. As mentioned before, soon after enthronement King Juan Carlos I began introducing reforms that led the way for the transition to democracy and helped to bring about important reforms that affected the municipal administration (Stapell 27). During his early reign, Juan de Arespachaga replaced Miguel García Lomas, who was the last mayor of Madrid

during the Franco Regime. From here followed two other mayors (José Luis Álvarez and Luis María Huete) until the aforementioned elections of 1979.

Madrid's democratic municipal elections of 1979 represented a crucial step in its transformation to a functional democracy. At stake in these elections was the restoration of power to the Ayuntamiento of Madrid. The Ayuntamiento was the council of the municipality of Madrid that was known during Franco's regime as being a supplementary and generally ineffective force in citywide government. The elections gave the Ayuntamiento much needed control to break away from the national administration and establish its own identity and power to take control over city planning and management. Upon the elections, the Ayuntamiento released a statement saying, "For the first time in 40 years, the Ayuntamiento had the awareness of being an institution per se, not something secondary or dependent on the government of the nation" (Stapell 27). At the head of this emerging identity was the newly elected mayor Tierno Galván, a professor and political activist who even chose a self-imposed exile in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Galván, also known as "viejo professor" or "old professor" to the people of Madrid was the driving force behind the emergence and success of a movement that "personified what Spaniards (and the rest of the world) learned to identify as the insatiable hunger for freedom that a society experiences at the end of a dictatorship" (Nichols 1), a movement also known as la Movida.

During his time in office, Madrid transformed itself into a cleaner and more functional city than it had been in the last 40 years. Through the additions of

public programming, massive landscape renovation, and encouragement to begin the long process of re-establishing a new national identity, Madrileños began to move forward with the development of a city that was showing the “exciting eruption of energy of a society repressed for so long, one that embraced all the previously condemned social taboos” (Nichols 2). Understandably, negotiating and agreeing upon what life after a dictatorship should be like was not something easily decided upon. Having emerged from the Franco years, Galván worked very hard to revitalize Madrid’s culture but the people sensed that something needed to be done to break away from the classic image of Spanishness that had been strongly enforced for the previous 40 years. With communication to the outside world as a newly available resource, Madrid especially began to benefit from the influx of outside influences as they related to music, art, and film. From this point a new type of culture began to develop, one that was characterized by a very clear borrowing of aesthetic cues from other cultures but still uniquely crafted from the Spanish experience. In the late 1970’s the first rumblings of la Movida in Madrid began to make their way around the city and it was quite unlike anything that was happening at the time in either Barcelona or any other major city in Spain.

Superficially apolitical and immensely flamboyant, la Movida took elements from British and American punk as well as various other aesthetic environments that existed around the world at that time and even before the 1970’s. Madrid’s relative isolation from the rest of the world caused its emergence into the international conversation to be more muddled than if it had had the liberty to develop in a more linear and visually collaborative way with the rest of the world

for the 40 years of Franco's regime. A defining feature of la Movida as well as a major dividing characteristic when compared to other musical and visual movements of the time was its sheer lack of politics or open rebellion. As outlined in an essay by Núria Triana Toribio, this lack or "desencanto" is sometimes characterized as having occurred because "many young people did not expect democracy to affect any real change; after all, many of the democratic politicians were men of the regime's single political party, the Movimiento" (Toribio 275). A combination of immense logistical efforts and an entire generation of disillusioned citizens throughout the remaking of Madrid created the right kind of environment to support a movement as simultaneously groundbreaking and starkly apolitical as la Movida.

Often described as a jumble of styles, tracing the origins and reasons for La Movida's development is something that rarely appears in texts on contemporary Spanish history. Yet, again and again, historians and cultural scholars come back to the democratic transition in Spain and keep trying to create an archive of la Movida, oftentimes through the lens of trauma, memory, or outright dismissal of any contribution it potentially made to Spanish culture. While much attention is usually paid to psychological topics or unresolved emotions, there is very little written about the emotive and lasting impact la Movida has had on Spanish society, and how it exists or doesn't exist in modern day Madrid. Frequently compared to the feistier Barcelona Movida of the 1970's and early 1980's, Madrid's Movida seems to fall flat even within its own country, not to mention in comparison to the politicized and riotous development the punk movement was

experiencing elsewhere in the world at the same time. To understand why Madrid developed this way, a comparative analysis is first needed to assess why and how Madrid borrowed and oftentimes co-opted punk culture and New Wave aesthetic from the rest of the world and applied it in an entirely independent and unique way as the capital of a newly democratic Spain. To answer the question or at least peel back the surface layers of why La Movida should not only be taken seriously as a cultural movement but also recognized as a rich history that is still to be written, we require a deeper understanding of some of the key features that allowed for the spread of the ideals and philosophies of la Movida. Most notable amongst these features is the music scene that emerged around the time of Franco's death and resulted in an explosion of pop music that lasted throughout the early 1980's, whose traces are still felt today.

CHAPTER 1: THE EARLY YEARS OF LA MOVIDA

Looking back on la Movida, few things jump to mind quite as readily as the musical groups that largely defined and sustained this cultural moment. Whether acting as the soundtrack to Pedro Almodóvar's early films or headlining popular Movida venues like Rock-Ola, the social practice and philosophy behind la Movida spread quickly and feverishly via its musical roots. Encapsulated succinctly by historians Silvia Martínez and Héctor Fouce in the book *Made in Spain*, the decades of the 1970's and 1980's in Madrid created a "unique and unrepeatable moment due to the fact that the music they produced gives visibility to and works as a metaphor for the cultural, social and political changes that the country experienced during those years" (Martínez 125). The rise of the distinct sound and aesthetic of Movida music has a unique story of origins, resulting in a one of a kind hybridization between traditional Spanish music, contemporary punk, New Wave, and touches of urban rock and heavy metal that went on to form the period of time that is now known as the Golden Age of Spanish Pop. The deep roots of la Movida and a longstanding history of Spanish musical traditions are two elements that require a degree of understanding to realize that rather than emerge overnight, la Movida was something that had been brewing and developing in Madrid for some time before Franco's death. Once the generation of la Movida was finally allowed to express itself freely, it did so in such a way that the world could not help but notice.

Spain has a longstanding history of music that propagates social movements and perspectives. As far back as the first years after the Spanish Civil War, a

young Francisco Franco utilized music to influence the social climate around him as he popularized and encouraged the celebration and performance of coplas, a kind of song that had an intense scenic and narrative nature (Martínez 4). The construction of a “national” rhetoric cleverly used by Franco to address the lower class alongside a “projected idea of nationhood” (Martínez 4) painted a rosy picture of the untroubled lives they could have if they supported Franco. From this point in time forward, popular music in Spain had a history of government censorship and control under Franco’s rule. For example, Spanish record pressings of Don McLean’s “American Pie” were altered and obscured at the part during McLean’s lyric about the “Father, Son and the Holy Ghost” (Martínez 6), and the Who’s *Quadrophenia* was remade to omit the photographs of nude women, making the pressings more valuable to collectors, but showing historians how intensely music was monitored and tailored for the government’s approval.

This level of censorship did not entirely close off Spain from outside influences, as even the Beatles came through Spain (to a lukewarm reception), but it did prevent the production of anything truly subversive or independent. Franco’s death therefore resulted in an even more startling shift from censorship to openness, a veritable explosion of thoughts, aesthetics, and amazing outfits. However, la Movida did not come from nowhere. It owed much of its sound and style to punk and New Wave music, the former experiencing a major boom in popularity during the late 1970’s. Even with all of the appropriation of style and sound, there was something about la Movida that remained “different” in the same way that Spain was “different” back when the Beatles had failed to be a big

hit there, with few fans and even less cheering at their shows. What Madrid in particular chose to embrace about la Movida was not quite what was being embraced around the world as punk and New Wave. What was Spanish, and special, about la Movida is visible in stark contrast when those characteristics are compared with their punk roots, roots that can be traced back to the earliest rumblings of rock 'n roll.

In examining how the influences of punk can be felt and seen in the development of la Movida, it is important to keep in mind that la Movida evolved in a completely different manner from punk, and actually had very few of the same roots that American and UK punk had due to their origins in prolific amounts of domestic rock 'n roll. In looking at the earliest influences of both la Movida and punk, we can see where the two movements already started to diverge from one another while remaining aesthetically similar. La Movida was decidedly New Wave and visual while punk embodied more of a lifestyle choice, and was a highly critical and political tool that followed a strict set of rules and operations. In an essay by Perry Grossman, the development and roots of punk and hardcore aesthetic and sound can be traced as an “assemblage of gospel, blues, country and western, folk and Tin Pan Alley Pop.... Rock and roll is rooted heavily in the folk tradition in which musicians exhibited genuine reflections of their own experience” (Grossman 19).

Many of these traditions claim origin in the American South or in early UK rock groups. Rock had to exist in the UK and America for punks to begin to attack it as part of the “establishment,” providing the basis for many of the

messages integral to the founding of proto punk groups like the Stooges, the New York Dolls, the Ramones, and many more. Though rock 'n roll did exist in Spain and was imported into the country even during the Franco years, it never became quite the massive social or political practice that it was elsewhere. Silvia Martínez theorizes the cause of this being, "Spain was in the very initial stages on the road to affluence" and "rock 'n roll was popular only among small groups of high- and middle-class students" (Martínez 5). In contrast to the extreme prominence of rock music throughout the US and UK, the Spanish music scene had not been exposed to the kind of widespread mainstream rock culture that punk was primarily founded to rebel against.

Aside from there being simply less rock in Spain throughout the 1950's and 1960's, the rock that did come through and inspire many la Movida superstars who achieved fame in the 1980's was significantly different than what the rest of the world was being exposed to. Martínez points out that much of the rock music that did manage to make its way into Spain was eclipsed not by the rock stars themselves but by the Spanish bands that covered them. Los Sirex covered The Beatles, Los Salvajes covered the Stones, and even before them there were Latin American bands like Mexican Teen Pops and Cuban Los Llopis that translated rock hits into Spanish and exported them to Spain to great commercial success (Martínez 5). While punk, New Wave and contemporary rock were establishing internal dialogues with one another within their own countries, Spain was seemingly taking these dialogues and translating them into Spanish.

In the 1960's when all of this rock 'n roll was exploding outwards, Spain was drawing inwards on itself, and even Franco unintentionally touched on Spain's "differentness" with the 1960's campaign to boost tourism and market Spain as an exotic destination. The "Spain is different" campaign, while intending to capitalize on the "interesting local customs and traditions," instead revealed something of the Spanish fear of the influence of foreign ideas imported by the internal 'other,' the opposition, the left, whatever it may be that was keeping Spain from connecting with the rest of the world (Kelly 30). So while punk and rock did make their way into Spain through a variety of ways, especially after Franco's death and Spain's subsequent openness, Spain was cast as being "different" for so long that the subsequent transition to democracy and the budding Movida did not automatically catapult Madrid onto a level playing field with Europe and the United States. "Catching up" and negating this former difference became an obsession as Spain moved into the post-Franco years, and music is one of many ways in which nationalism and difference manifested itself even in contemporary times.

After Franco's death, Spain was no longer portrayed as an oversimplified folkloric ideal but as a country well on its way to achieving "modernity" as a more open and "Europeanized" region (Kelly 32). However, this resulted in exposing a youth population who had been relatively isolated from the punk –one of the most rebellious and intense conversations that modern culture had produced –throughout their country's dictatorship. How young madrileños specifically interpreted and incorporated these punk conversations into their own cultural

movement first involved finding commonalities that they could draw upon within their own city. One of these commonalities came easily in the form of isolation, something both youth abroad and in Madrid had felt to different degrees within their respective cultures. When the promised utopia of the 1960's failed to materialize in the UK and American, teenagers and young adults were turning to music as a way to counteract some of the alienation they felt with being part of a stagnant and unrealized political environment. In places like the United States and the UK, punk developed largely because there was a population of people dissatisfied with the elements of questioning inherent in folk music, and "where the hippies on the other side of the country were looking inside themselves to find meaning, those on the East Coast looked inside and saw nothing" (Stalcup 52). In a poignant lyric from early American proto-punk Jonathan Richman's car song "Roadrunner," he captured this pervasive sentiment nicely with the words "I don't feel so alone 'cause I got the radio on" (Stalcup 55).

Some of this isolation that was being felt outside of Spain in the 1960's found an eerie double in the solitude realized by citizens of Madrid when they emerged from Franco's nearly 40-year dictatorship. The isolation that had dealt a great blow to their cultural identity also severely impacted any sense of community or collectivity within the capital city. This is not to say that community had never existed before in other ways, but those ways had not usually involved a kind of popular music, let alone an alternative community. While in North America and the UK places like CBGB (an early New York punk and New Wave club) and publications such as "Punk Magazine" were huge community building tools for

an emerging scene, Madrid was only just beginning to develop the same sense of community from music that was uniting millions of young people through punk and rock in the rest of the world. And though Madrid got a later start than most in using music as a tool of the people rather than something to be manipulated by the government, the result was much more uniting than the sporadic movements that had emerged in the punk scene abroad.

Here is one of the crucial places where la Movida already began breaking away from its punk and New Wave contemporaries. There were enough differences within musical movements of the United States and the UK to warrant a degree of divisiveness between the songs and bands that were popular at the time, preventing any one group or genre from completely taking over and becoming a commercial success. Punk especially was one to draw lines. “It divided the young from the old, the rich from the poor, then the young from the young, the old from the old, the rich from the rich, the poor from the poor, rock and roll from rock and roll” (Grossman 20). Because of its early inception as something that divided the cool from the uncool or the musicians from the politicians, it is not difficult to understand why it never achieved any kind of unified commercial success or extensive community. La Movida on the other hand claims a very different kind of early history within its musical scene that naturally led it to become a much more cohesive movement.

While punk and New Wave have rock and roll, blues, jazz, and an immeasurable amount of democratic music tradition to draw upon as their early foundation, la Movida had a much more limited history of uncensored music

production. Though certainly a time did exist before Franco where music was produced and developed in an organic way throughout Spain, the modern Spanish stardom that Movida youth grew up with was designed to reinforce Francoist values and denigrate foreign culture (Martínez 7). To go from the sparseness of available regional music in the 1960's to Pedro Almodóvar and McNamara performing in makeup and drag only 20 years later required intense focus and rapid development in the early democratic music scene. Though la Movida remained largely apolitical in terms of the thematic elements of its music, there did exist a more politicized movement that just barely predates the beginning of some of the earliest Movida bands. A precursor to what is known as la Movida madrileña was a slightly more socially charged genre of urban rock and heavy metal. Appearing in working class suburbs of Madrid, urban rock was characterized as having emerged as a kind of music that “sang about their circumstances and experiences in search for identification with their audiences” (Martínez 126).

Though lyrics from some of the bands from this time point to a direction that is more politically charged than la Movida would end up being, it demonstrates a propensity for Spanish youth to organize around issues of authenticity and commonalities in their social situations. Early urban rock and heavy metal also mark themes that began to emerge in regional music that mirrored the environment that was developing around young musicians at the time, an environment marked by “noisy guitars, rough and grave voices, rude and emaciated texts” (Martínez 126). Unemployment, poverty, and insufficient

education manifested themselves in early, much heavier music. Perhaps early political leanings were dampened and extinguished when youth began to realize that their problems were not central to the government's new agenda. Either way, within the earliest rumblings of Spanish popular music and democratic rock was a strong instinct to unite struggling groups of people through the creation of music and, consequently, community.

As la Movida emerged and grew in popularity, visual communities began to grow within the areas of music, publications, and film. As a result, the overall sense of community strengthened while art and design began to flourish in Madrid as it had not in many decades. Thus began some of the very first communal gatherings of la Movida. Beginning with the an underground rock and roll movement called the "rollo" in Valencia, Barcelona, Seville and Santander, Madrid began to partake in festivities that arose from a number of rock festivals that were held in Burgos and León in the mid 1970's (Stapell 99). As word spread about an increase in rock and underground music in Spain, youth in Madrid looked for ways they could express their opinions and share this budding visual and musical culture with the rest of the city. As nicely summarized by Allinson, "the permissive society allowing youth to run free represented something of a catharsis" (Allinson 269). The catharsis, whether it was needed to alleviate some of the disillusionment of the youth at their employment prospects or to serve as a type of collective healing for the country at large, arrived at a pivotal moment in Spanish history where just the right balance had been struck. There was enough government involvement to support the development of emerging art spaces, but

sufficient distance to encourage their unique functionality and do-it-yourself attitude. Though there still existed plenty of conversation with music and fashion worldwide, most influential was an element of “Spanishness” that flavored la Movida, especially in Madrid.

This so-called “Spanishness” manifested itself in many ways, but none so glaring as the almost exclusive use of the Spanish language in the lyrics of popular music groups. From Radio Futura’s first album in 1980 to their last in 1992, nearly all of their songs were sung in Spanish. Alaska, Paralisis Permanente, and Nacha Pop all sang in Spanish as well. This may not appear overtly strange to many people since this music was being produced in Spain, but because many of the bands were adopting foreign contemporary styles and were moving in a direction that showed something close to disdain for the Spanish musical tradition, it is fascinating that the trend of importing English language songs and styles (as evidenced by the Beatles and Stones covers that were translated into Spanish) never really resulted in the emergence of an English speaking band in Madrid throughout la Movida. Héctor Fouce touches on this interplay between traditionalism and roots along with modernity in an early chapter of *Toward a Cultural Archive of La Movida*: “For la Movida, being cosmopolitan was not a problem... The problem lay in the acceptance of the Spanish tradition” (Fouce 41). An increasingly Anglicized style was negotiated by Movida musicians alongside acceptance and reconciliation with Spanish tradition in a variety of ways. Concerning the use of the Spanish language, bands like Radio Futura confronted singing in Spanish by presenting it, in typical Movida

attitude, as something that they did not care to “elevate” to the highbrow, international level that earlier cantautores did by including French or Latin American influences in their music. By singing to the particularly regional audience of Madrid, Movida bands were making their message more accessible to their public, to the youth who believed their wishes were being ignored by the government, and to a distinctly madrileño sector of the population. Instead of completely ignoring or rejecting their language and culture, Movida bands presented and highlighted elements of classical Spanish culture in their music in a way that was relatively non-confrontational and distinctly distant. The irony, parody, and even apathy that characterizes many madrileño groups of the 1980’s were important tools that allowed them to approach “the copla, the bolero or even bullfighting” and “strip them of their Francoist aura” (Fouce 41).

Examining a few songs from some of the most popular Movida bands, the careful mingling of modernism and tradition becomes even more apparent as a tool musicians used to assert their Spanish identity while at the same time absolutely not recognizing themselves as heirs to a Francoist musical or cultural traditions. In an early song from Radio Futura’s album *De un país en llamas* (1985), they invoke a highly regional and Spanish theme in discussing the red light district on their track “En el chino.”

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| “Un artista quería | <i>An artist wanted</i> |
| dárselas de fino | <i>to give them a fine</i> |
| en el chino | <i>in El Chino</i> |
| la vecina discute | <i>the neighbor discusses</i> |

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| con acento latino | <i>with a Latin accent</i> |
| por qué el gato de la vieja | <i>why the old lady's cat</i> |
| no le déjã dormir | <i>doesn't let her sleep</i> |
| en el chino | <i>in El Chino</i> |

When looking at a band like Radio Futura, it is important to realize that by the time they released their third highly anticipated album, they had already achieved incredibly wide appeal throughout Spain. At this point the world had taken notice of what was happening in Madrid and the government had begun to capitalize on la Movida's success. Instead of broadening their audience, perhaps singing in English, or trying to write catchy universal pop songs, they were singing about el Chino, a highly regional term and place in Madrid that was home to a culture that not many people outside of Spain would be able to understand, let alone translate into English. The reasons for doing this points to the underlying feature that made music such a valuable tool for propagating a sense of community and relatability that propelled this movement forward and outward. Instead of speaking in generalizations, Radio Futura was focusing on a very personal and regional experience that was "based on very personal circumstances related to access and movement to and from spaces at certain times of the day" (Nichols 75). Singing about an area such as el chino also signifies a preoccupation with emerging spaces that provided newly liberated sexual and social environments. In their song, Radio Futura was simply describing the day to day life and pleasure of observing a regional area, not trying to protest, not trying to change, but instead "reclaiming

the streets for diversion” (Nichols 76), something that had not been seen in quite some time.

While emerging social philosophies and a revitalized madrileño idea of identity ran primarily throughout Spanish music of the late 1970’s and early 1980’s, it owed much of its success to collaborations with a number of cultural sub-categories. Though a major unifying and incredibly significant tool was the music madrileño artists produced, it would have been impossible for people like Alaska, Radio Futura, or Nacha Pop to achieve the same level of recognition and support to keep making music if it had not been for the collaborations that began to flourish between a closely connected network of magazines, DIY (do-it-yourself) publications, and other artists in related fields. Larger and more well known spaces like el Rastro (an open air communal market), music clubs and magazines contributed to assisting and popularizing bands, but more eclectic and even more interdisciplinary conversations are noted in an even wider variety of events, such as when Radio Futura, perhaps one of the defining bands of la Movida, played within the context of “a conference about science fiction in the Ateneo of Madrid” (Nichols 74). Radio Futura in the context of a science fiction conference brought together a number of incredibly different communities (from the scientists to the concert goers to the influential publications of the time) around the centralized experience of a musical event.

Another fine example of this necessary, interdisciplinary balance being struck can be found in the earliest films of Pedro Almodóvar. Alongside magazines, rock clubs, and science fiction conferences, film was also a large part of the

conversation music was involved in during the earliest years of la Movida in Madrid. Invoking a highly regional aesthetic, Almodóvar utilized locations that would be readily identifiable by his audience. In his second feature length film *Laberinto de pasiones* (1982), many establishing shots occur at the outdoor Rastro market, a place that was wildly popular during La Movida due to its use as a meeting place and distributor of cultural magazines, fanzines and music (Toribio 278). Almodóvar also showcased the interior of clubs and music venues in movies like *Pepi, Luci, Bom y otras chicas del montón* (1979-80). Alaska famously stars in *Pepi, Luci, Bom* as the punk singer Bom, a lover to another one of Almodóvar's female characters. Because of Almodóvar's fame and widespread popularity today, not many know of or can reconcile his casting of musicians like Alaska in his earliest films. However, his very early involvement in la Movida's music scene (he formed a flamboyant and fantastic duo with McNamara) extended beyond performance and even into the realm of magazines (he famously collaborated with *Vibraciones* and the Comics magazine *Star*) (Allinson 277). Almodóvar's filmic tactics of casting his friends to save money and shooting regionally were originally done out of necessity, but also had the added benefits of accessing the "public scene" and helping to "produce and promote the Movida's new discourse with a new attitude to performance and representation" (Allinson 277).

Because Almodóvar was forced to abide by the very punk philosophy of 'do-it-yourself,' his films and aesthetic developed in such a way that he relied heavily on the existing cultural presence that was easily accessed during la Movida, and

oftentimes this included musicians such as Alaska, who were only further promoted and popularized through the success of Almodóvar's films. Almodóvar also aligned himself with musicians due to his similar representation of disenchantment and distrust of the right and left politics, a view that was exemplified by the contradictions in his film and lack of "permanently sacred signifiers" (Allinson 281). What this means is that Almodóvar's use of conflicting imagery such as women at the forefront with misogynistic undertones, or "queer-coded registers of kitsch and camp" with a progressive disavowal of homosexuality, plays into the fact that he does not assign any fixed significance to the images or themes in his films (Allinson 281). This noncommittal attitude is mirrored again in music of la Movida that runs parallel to Almodóvar's films, for example in lyrics from Los Secretos track "Sin Dirección" (Without Direction):

Siempre estuve corriendo pero sólo nunca voy

I was always running but just never go

Unos corren por dinero

Some run for money

Otros detrás de algún corazón

Others after some heart

Si me encuentras no te pares aunque tengas una razón

If you find me do not stop although you may have a reason

Porque estoy acostumbrado a correr sin dirección

Because I am accustomed to running without direction

Like Almodóvar, Los Secretos were also expressing a type of disengagement with their views and motives. This sentiment, as evidenced by Almodóvar's early films and the striking aesthetic of bands like Los Secretos, was not something that could be accomplished by musicians working with music alone.

Critics have proposed many different ways to analyze the visual communities and collaborations that began to form between filmmakers like Almodóvar and musicians like Los Secretos. Charles R. Garoian and Yvonne M. Gaudelius are two theorists who study visual communities and politics in particular, both recurring motifs throughout la Movida and early punk theory. They propose a number of ways to characterize the spectacle pedagogy of visual culture; one way outlines "a ubiquitous form of representation, which constitutes the pedagogical objectives of mass-mediated culture and corporate capitalism to manufacture our desires and determine our choices" (Garoian 299). This manner of representation generally falls under the guise of cultural imperialism, something that is not normally associated with the Movida. By aligning Almodóvar and his work with this method of characterizing the spectacle of visual culture, one begins to run into the corporate capitalism that is embodied by the Spanish government looking to capitalize on the production of a new, Spanish culture. This explains why Almodóvar and Los Secretos had the success they did, because of tie-ins with

government sponsored interest and marketing of Movida bands as signifiers and “mascots” of the “New Spanishness” as promoted by Tierno Galván.

Though the Spanish government definitely played a part in supporting Movida bands for their own gain and promotion, this did not happen until the later years of la Movida, when groups had already been forced to develop on a shoestring budget. Around the time of the mid 1980’s, the government began to realize la Movida’s potential as a marker for an “inclusive, participatory, optimistic and modern culture... to further distance Madrid from its authoritarian past and transform madrileños into active democratic citizens” (Stapell 95). Because of this early disinterest and lack of any real funds, musicians ended up focusing on highly regional stories and sentiments in their earliest work. By touring and promoting their music with the same audience they were representing, early Movida musicians took quite a few notes from the dissemination of punk that is mentioned by Stalcup as having been a story told on “record sleeves hand-drawn and folded by band members, sold out of the backs of vans at shows” (Stalcup 60). The early lack of institutional support or interest forced musicians to look into other avenues of production that led to unorthodox methods of music making.

From this point in the mid 1970’s a boom occurred where music zines and pop culture magazines began circulating like never before, thanks largely to a young demographic that was excited to share its opinions, some for the very first time. Through the process of printing and publishing these magazines, handing them out to friends and sharing them with peers, they were making the first few steps to instill a sense of community that had been lost or simply not permitted when

Franco was alive and his regime was controlling the city. Though the dissemination of information had a similar effect on music popularity in both Madrid and emerging music scenes outside of Spain, the function these publications had as a community building exercise had an even greater impact in a city like Madrid. The construction of these visual communities is touched upon in an essay by Kerry Freedman entitled “Adolescents, Identity and Visual Community.” A major tenet of visual theory proposed by Freedman states that “rather than being merely the outward expression of an individual, visual culture acts as a circuit of communication: It connects artists to audiences, audience members to each other, and audiences to artists through commonalities of experience in their engagement with images and objects” (Freedman 26).

The reason many Movida bands were so highly successful at bringing together immense numbers of fans and listeners sprang from early promotion and publication that solidified the sentiments that were later to become defining characteristics of the 1980’s in Spain. One of the first publications of la Movida, *La Luna de Madrid*, developed rapidly and catapulted minor bands into stardom. *La Luna de Madrid* began as a publication that was very much influenced by punk and underground rock aesthetic, especially concerning articles about music, modernity, and a very grassroots style of dissemination and publication. However, very much unlike underground publications, *La Luna* moved into a realm of legitimacy that many other DIY magazines outside of Spain never approached. The series of events that made it even remotely possible for publications like *La Luna de Madrid* to achieve recognition on a wider platform would not have been

possible if not for the political climate of the transition that was happening at roughly the same time. During the process of ending Francoism, the reorganization of the national media landscape resulted in Madrid and all of Spain distancing itself from many political journals that had “channeled the ideas of the leftist opposition” while new publications like *El País* and *Diario 16* emerged (Fouce 47). What ended up happening is described by *El País* music critic José Costa, “What they wanted, more or less, was to take the pulse of that story. They realized that the former stories were basically uninteresting, boring and lacked a real experiential alternative... There should have been publications or intermediate media outlets between them.” As a result, a small publication which in all likelihood would have remained unnoticed anywhere else in the world became a massively influential tool for Movida artists, who were promoted and written about in *La Luna de Madrid* frequently. Perhaps the dissemination and ultimate popularity of punk music would have reached the same apex if Rolling Stone had been covering the Sex Pistols as furiously as *El País* was writing reviews about bands like Ramoncín in addition to even retransmitting the show (Fouce 47).

With all the fervor leading to write-ups in *La Luna*, collaborations with Almodóvar and clubs popping up around town like there was no tomorrow, la Movida was off and running by about 1982. Understandably, a movement of this magnitude refused to be ignored by the Spanish government for very long. What began to develop with increasing momentum was funding, promotion, and pride that moved la Movida from a strictly madrileño market into one that made an

entrance onto the world stage. Some people maintain that it was the increasing government involvement that led to the decline and ultimate death in cultural productivity, musical and otherwise. Either way, as politics began to enter into la Movida, spaces and places became co-opted by Tierno Galván's administration in a way they had not been before. The communities that had established around music- communities that celebrated individuality, a DIY lifestyle, open queerness and sexuality- were thrust into a position that named them as the subjects of Madrid's symbolic transformation. The decline and end of la Movida also had resonant and lasting effects on the Madrid of the late 80's, 90's and today. Mapping the development of music onto the changing political and social climate as the 1980's progressed onward in Spain is one of the most relatable ways an audience of today can understand just why things developed as they did when la Movida went massive.

INTERVIEW WITH EUGENIO SUÁREZ GALBÁN

Eugenio Suárez Galbán was born in Manhattan in 1938 to a Cuban father and Canarian mother. He received his doctorate from New York University in 1967. Inspired by his love for Spanish literature, he soon afterwards moved to Spain, where he has lived since 1975. He has published various books of poetry in Spanish, as well as a critical collection of essays entitled “Cuando llevábamos un sueño en cada trenza.” He has dedicated his life to literature, cultivated his knowledge through his experiences in Madrid, and above all sought to teach others about the literature and history of Spain.

(Interview originally conducted in Spanish, has been translated into English)

Winona: What was your connection to La Movida? How were you involved (or not involved) in this moment in the history of Spain?

Eugenio: Like all of Madrid, it was impossible not to participate to some extent in La Movida, an explosion that followed the end of the dictatorship. It was everywhere: movies, television, underneath, both physical and spiritual. The feeling that we were living in a new era marked by freedom, that we left behind the repression and fear, was constant. On the other hand, my wife and I were approaching our forties, and although during certain “end of course celebrations” we were going with our students to clubs, concerts and other events, we were still working hard, raising two daughters, paying off our house, etc., we were not able to participate so directly in La Movida as did the youth.

Was there something uniquely "Spanish" about La Movida? Why was it different than the American punk?:

E: I do not feel qualified to compare the two movements, but I suspect that "punk" was a marginal movement, whose members resented society, while La Movida intended to prosecute society, renew it, leaving behind all repression and all that threatened individual rights as it trampled collective dictatorship.

Who was listening to the music of La Movida? Were you? Why or why not?

E: Yes, I listened, but mostly due to my daughters and students. The truth, however, is that through a novel by an alumnus, Ángel Fernandez Feroselle, I really ventured further into the musical world of La Movida which this novel, Love Kamikaze, handles with huge skill, while also portraying the generation of La Movida, to which Ángel belonged.

In what way (do you think) is the development of La Movida related to the death of Franco? How was the atmosphere of the city during this transition?

What was the energy like?

E: Do not hesitate to say that without the dictator's death, there would have been no Movida. Since the late 60's the regime was definitely opening the floodgates for such a movement. But the return and recognition of the exiles, the legalization of all parties, the presence of a mayor who was liberal and full of youth despite his age (as was Enrique Tierno Galván)... all of this joined to create an atmosphere of positive energy and limitless hope about the future. In retrospect, we should say that we did not realize, or did not want to realize, certain

factors could negatively affect our future: the survival of the monarchy, without resorting to a referendum, persisting after being imposed by Franco, a party law clearly unfair that favored the imposition of a system that was reduced to two parties, leaving the minority parties in a clearly disadvantageous position, a legal system subjected to two parties and partisan judges, amnesty that buried Francoist crimes to the point of disabling the sole judge - Garzón - who has dared to suggest trying such crimes , a criminal code clearly deficient because of corruption and crime, etc., etc....

Do you think that La Movida was something positive for Spain?

E: Definitely, although I think it overstated its cultural value. It undoubtedly opened cinema, theater, literature, aided the disappearance of Franco's censorship, but perhaps it was in music where La Movida found its greatest, authentic resonance because it introduced different kinds of musical groups, sometimes poetic, hybrid, who incorporated rhythms and melodies that neither conformed to the usual well known folksongs that were very much present, nor to the traditional flamenco. As much as I liked, and like, both musical forms (folksongs and flamenco), Francoism privileged only those that exaggerated nationalism and portrayed Franco as the only truly patriotic being. La Movida incorporated other music from different countries (rock, of course, but also a bit of protest music that existed in Spain, or that was tolerated by the Franco regime- "Mi Querida España" by Cecilia, for example) and prohibited topics began to flourish, while it is true that before La Movida there appeared heavy metal that was sometimes downright anticultural ("The world is a concentration camp" to cite one song).

Do you think that the effects of La Movida still resonate in Spanish society today?

E: I'm afraid not: the illusion that we had with politics, hope, always a more optimistic vision: everything has been misrepresented. We wanted to improve, but those who come after us, are just making things worse. The Constitution has been revealed as a shield of interests for the few rather than the majority. Our rights - medical, employment, retirement, etc.- are increasingly violated. The poor and humble again bear the brunt of social injustice. And in terms of culture, which is what *made* La Movida, we remain equally violated. In short, nothing of La Movida moves today.

CHAPTER 2: INSTITUTIONALIZAIING LA MOVIDA

| | |
|--|--|
| Mil campanas | <i>One thousand bells</i> |
| Suenan en mi corazón | <i>Sound in my heart</i> |
| Que difícil es... | <i>How hard is it...</i> |
| Pedir perdón | <i>to ask for forgiveness</i> |
| Ni tú ni nadie, nadie | <i>Neither you nor anybody, nobody</i> |
| Puede cambiarme | <i>Can change me</i> |
| Lyrics from “Ni tú ni nadie” by Alaska y Dinarama (1984) | |

Alaska’s trip to Mexico and America in 1985 during the promotion of her album *Deseo Carnal* was monumental for more than one reason. To have the same girl who starred in Almodóvar’s very first film as a punk singer who enjoyed urinating on her female lovers go on an international tour, have a number one song in Spain and achieve worldwide recognition, brought la Movida to an entirely new audience in a manner that showed it was much different from its earliest years. This level of success did not happen by accident, and some might claim that it reached its peak with Tierno Galván’s proclamation of “Rockeros: el que no esté colocado, que se coloque y al loro” (English: *Rockers: whoever is not high, get high and watch out*). This official endorsement to have fun was transmitted live on the radio from a 24 hour rock festival at Palacio de los Deportes, and was quoted in nearly every major publication the day after the event (Stapell 105). And though la Movida carried on for some time after Tierno

Galván spoke these words in January of 1984, its subtext and communities were changing rapidly.

Though government endorsement and involvement in la Movida came after it had more or less developed its style and message, the amount of funding and attention garnered by official support shifted the purpose of la Movida from where it had initially begun. To put into perspective how remarkable support of la Movida was in the 1980's, an essay by Mark Allinson called "The Construction of Youth in Spain in the 1980s and 1990s" perceptively notes that an equivalent support of punk music in England would be "the London Borough of Westminster subsidizing a Sex Pistols concert in Westminster Hall" (Allinson 269). One of the most striking instances of institutional support was a San Isidro fiesta where the main act was a group called La Polla Record, or Record Prick. Supported by taxpayer money, events like this are often cited as major successes during Tierno Galván's tenure as mayor of Madrid. The appearance that he was letting the movement develop organically and for the people's benefit is true to some extent, but the need for the spectacle of la Movida to manifest itself under the authority of government consent was crucial to its development as well.

Examining some of the earlier aforementioned bands of la Movida, many of the most compelling points of evolution appear in songs and throughout the musical communities of bands that were making names for themselves in Madrid. When the earliest bands of la Movida began to emerge in the late 1970's, themes were much more politically charged than at its commercial peak in 1984. Early lyrics from highly influential bands like Asfalto point to something much

different than the civic cooperation that was garnering official support and accolade. In their 1978 self-titled release, Asfalto was singing about things like immigration and not feeling quite at home in Madrid or Spain in general. “Sin libertad no podía soñar/ quería que su tierra/ fuera su hogar” (English: *Without freedom he could not dream of wanting his land to also be his home*) speaks to themes of anxiety and dissatisfaction, quite different and more political than a song about a supermarket that was a hit for Alaska in 1982. The music that Tierno Galván’s administration was promoting invoked “a set of symbols associated with the capital that were particularly non-ethnic” (Stapell 121). While there are historians that believe that la Movida simply developed this way, apathetic, apolitical and highly inclusive, there is also reasonable evidence to suggest that cultural communities and discourses were progressively weeded out by the mechanics of cultural production. What was selling in the early to mid 1980’s was not music about immigrants or marginalized socioeconomic groups that bands like Burning, Coz or Ñu were singing about, but songs that were significantly easier to sell and market, songs that brought large groups of people together for a democratic purpose. Perhaps it is prudent to keep in mind that though la Movida had its time to develop organically so to speak, its communities were guided and molded to favor plurality over exclusivity, a preference that the government decided was not only in their best interest but also for the benefit of the many people in Madrid who were working hard to remake their national identity.

For the majority of communities in la Movida that were sanctioned and supported by the government, their formation of kinship and identity, especially

through music, attracted the attention of Tierno Galván as he viewed la Movida as something to help carry Spain into the future- an interesting perspective considering la Movida was established primarily on appreciation of the present. While government support and musical developments align quite nicely when writing the history of music during la Movida, it is hard to believe that funds were given to magazines, bands and radio stations simply because the mayor wanted people to have a good time. On one hand, in 1986 you have bands like Los Secretos, at the peak of their popularity, still singing songs that proclaim “Porque estoy acostumbrado a correr sin dirección/ sin dirección, sin dirección/ corriendo por la noche con la misma obsesión” (English: *Because I am accustomed to running without direction, without direction, without direction, running all night with the same obsession*). At the same time, the government of Madrid was working to establish a plan that would carry the city well into the future, a plan that would take the communities that had established themselves around contempt of the old Spain and admiration for the “modern Spain.” This was very different than moving “without direction,” in fact, it did have quite a clear direction. Galván spoke specifically about this idea of a permanent pedagogy, one centered around the visual communities that were gaining momentum with the spread and success of chart topping bands and successful publications. Speaking about a particular community gathering for the festival of San Isidro (featuring Alaska and Radio Futura headlining alongside the likes of established superstars like Caetano Veloso), Tierno Galván stated, “We want the festivals of Madrid to form

a part of our attempt to make the city a living lesson, a permanent pedagogy” (Stapell 89).

In line with this comment about establishing a permanent pedagogy, a paper by Charles R. Garoian and Yvonne M. Gaudelius explores the concept of “politics as spectacle” as it relates to earlier visual communities and the establishment of aesthetic choices. When speaking of spectacle culture in its pedagogical functioning, Garoian and Gaudelius assert that “its captivating visual stimulus overwhelms and arrests our bodies’ attention and in doing so inscribes it with the self-validating ideology of commodity culture, a form of ‘titillation’... spectacle culture continues to establish itself as a driving force in determining both private and public desires” (Garoian 301). The intersection of private and public desire during la Movida is unique because it focused heavily on individual means of production that would also benefit the public sphere. By fostering a do-it-yourself attitude and unique methods of productivity, Tierno Galván’s administration in Madrid was successfully giving individual participants a voice that ended up echoing out much further than just in Madrid, spreading a very different idea of the city worldwide. In the case of la Movida, the personal did very much become political, to borrow from a popular feminist adage. Tierno Galván and his advisors had a definite vested interest in promoting the development of culture within Madrid in the hope that it would help not only to revitalize their national image but also to fix some of the internal problems that abounded within the communities that were hard hit by Franco’s policies. What we can extract from the idea of “determining both private and public desires” is that the government’s

support, however earnest or political it may have been, was still for the benefit of the state as well as the people.

A major way in which government involvement changed the discourse surrounding pop music of la Movida was by creating a subtle shift from present preoccupation to more forward thinking. As earlier quoted in the Los Secretos song “Sin Dirección,” high profile members of la Movida had no plans to sing about working towards a brighter tomorrow or any form of radical progress, perhaps understandably so. Many of them expressed the sentiment that their new freedom was enough and they were more interested in participating and getting to know one another than laying down the framework for anything long term. Since la Movida was the most popular and definitely the most convenient element of Spain for the regional government to co-opt, Tierno Galván’s administration could not simply sit back and let la Movida remain in the present when he had very clear goals to align Madrid more closely with Europe and the United States, perhaps even elevating his city above those places. One way in which government influence could be felt throughout the music scene was through publications that served as a mouthpiece for many critics and tastemakers who were directly promoting and popularizing Movida artists. Further institutionalization and public recognition came about in a very unique way when the Ayuntamiento de Madrid became directly involved in the DIY publication scene by launching its very own Movida-inspired comic magazine called *Madrid* (Stapell 114). In the very first issue of this magazine, which provided a platform for graphic artists, cartoonists, and writers in Madrid, the Ayuntamiento directly credited the people (young and

old) of la Movida for allowing imagination “and irresistible advances over what is dead and the old expired ‘glories’ of official culture” (Stapell 114) to take over the street.

In this case, the political climate surrounding the democratic transition was filling the cultural void left by the dictatorship with the budding Movida movement, therefore supporting and applauding its development all the while. In sharp contrast to similar artistic and musical scenes in the UK and Britain, punk and music culture oftentimes arose because music itself was filling the void of a disappointing and dismissive political scene that can be mapped through the emergence of dissatisfied and contradictory songs like “In the City” by the Jam (about police brutality) and “Germ Free Adolescents” by X-Ray Spex (about consumerism). The similarity of the two movements lies in the fact that both punks abroad and Movida participants in Spain were dissatisfied and disillusioned, while higher powers in the UK and US turned more of a blind eye.

Placing the two on a national stage side by side, la Movida garnered greater attention in a more surprising way because of Spain’s recent past and its emergence as a unified movement in the city of Madrid, while punk was a more jumbled and nuanced reaction to a variety of concerns, none of which had the same unifying trauma that the Spanish dictatorship had inflicted. However, it is impossible to talk about the popularity peak and eventual decline of la Movida without speaking to perhaps its most important publication- *La Luna De Madrid*. *La Luna* was a highly organized and successful magazine of la Movida that paralleled many early punk and New Wave publications abroad that worked to

foster and propel the messages of musical and artistic communities. *La Luna* was best known for being a chronicler of la Movida (art, music, design, philosophy, notable postmodern discussion) that eventually transformed into a promoter of la Movida when editor Borja Casini aligned the publication with the cultural initiatives of the Comunidad de Madrid, for example (Nichols 189).

The first issue of *La Luna de Madrid* was much more eclectic and hybrid than it became in its later years. Featuring a spread on “Madrid 1984, la posmodernidad” alongside the first installment of porn star Patty Diphua’s memoirs (penned by Almodóvar), articles on punk, pop, photos, and cinema, *La Luna* was an eclectic collage of culture (Allinson 270). An entire page of *La Luna*’s first issue released in November 1983 featured lyrics from Siniestro Total’s song “Sexo chungo,” a track that lewdly proclaimed “Pero no, pero no/ sexo chungo quiero yo” (English: *But no, but no, I want gross/rotten sex*). Here we can note that though la Movida was later marketed as a strictly madrileño phenomenon, bands like Siniestro Total who came from Galicia were included in the earliest beginnings of musical communities and definitely contributed lyrics that fit the bill of sexuality, liberation, and experimentation. Drawing on la Movida’s magnetic quality, Hector Fouce highlights in the book *Made in Spain*, “It is important to mention that the attractiveness of la Movida madrileña had a magnetic effect, so bands from Barcelona, the Basque Country, or the Galicians Siniestro Total settled for long periods in the city” (Martínez 131). What *La Luna de Madrid* did was foster a network of communication not only within Madrid but throughout all of Spain. Through the creation of a space like their publication they

were encouraging the spread of discourse and ideas, primarily through music, that happened to also attract philosophers, artists, writers and filmmakers to the central hub of Madrid. So although Madrid was technically ground zero for the cultural developments of la Movida, it would not have been possible without the musical influence from bands that came in from outside the capital city.

The early experimentation of *La Luna* created connections between artists that resulted in the establishment of a national culture particular to Spain, which was a required step before Spain's entry into a more global consumer market. The transitory nature of this period (hence its name "la transición") does refer to the transition from a dictatorship to democracy, but as evidenced by *La Luna de Madrid*, we can also map this transition through the lens of music and culture. As Madrid and the rest of Spain became more focused on their entry into the European and global market, the shape of music and visual communities began to shift and grow outwards, drawing attention away from regional aesthetic and moving towards a national imagining of the country and city. *La Luna de Madrid's* shift in this direction can more or less be traced to the aforementioned beginnings of editor Borja Casani's collaboration with the cultural initiatives of the Comunidad de Madrid and larger citywide organizations.

Casani's collaboration with more government-aligned spaces represented one of the most crucial shifts of la Movida in the direction of institutionalization and professionalization. In a roundtable discussion with former *La Luna* staff conducted in 1997, the disavowal of former *La Luna* characteristics such as an examination of postmodernism and cultural theories was deemed as necessary

“when hordes of ‘hangers on’ who wished to become up to date and ‘in’ attached themselves to the surface manifestations of what *La Luna* espoused without understanding the strongly-held motivations for advocating a wholly different version of what Spain should and could be” (*Todavía en La Luna* 154). This stark decree of policy shift by *La Luna* is representative of a larger phenomenon that began occurring once government involvement became more transparent in the arts and culture scene of la Movida. There are certainly groups of people who point to *La Luna*’s commercialization and shifting style as an indicator of the decline of la Movida, and there are others who point to Tierno Galván’s death in 1986 as the end of the movement. Either way, what is being signified in tracking cultural trends in this manner is a shift from the grassroots “authentic” beginning of la Movida to a more monolithic, “mainstream” version of itself.

This form of studying the music and culture of la Movida tries to place specific timelines on when magazines like *La Luna* or musicians/filmmakers like Almodóvar “changed” into something that was other than la Movida. Instead of viewing specific moments or individual dates when shifts occurred, it makes more sense on a musical timeline to look at la Movida in a way that Christine Henseler advocates in her essay on authenticity. “To place emphasis on spaces of transition and movement, whether they refer to physical, psychological, or mediated ones, allows us to understand la Movida through more fluid, multi-faceted, and contradictory convergences” (Henseler, 80). Rather than pinpointing specific start or end dates for trends, it is more illuminating to instead map fluctuations and gradual shifts in the hope that studying these trends will reflect larger changing

attitudes as a whole as opposed to single actions by individuals that may have an impact on one publication or one band. In rare cases such as with the editor Casani, an individual's actions did have a large impact on a very dependent, much more extensive community, but what motivated Casani to shift the goals of *La Luna* was a larger issue concerning the convergence of insider culture and a very public mission.

These contradictory convergences can be found in virtually any cultural movement that attained popularity, but particularly in music where credibility of bands and their audiences heavily influences how its culture is perceived and to what degree its fans want anything to do with it. To claim that government appropriation of la Movida or a shift in the goals of popular magazines singlehandedly ended la Movida is disingenuous. A perspective like this implies that la Movida was entirely grassroots and then at one particular point was adopted and destroyed by the government, when in reality there all the while existed an interplay between subcultures, commercial culture, and media. "The drug that was la Movida was by definition altering... in fact it was the action of selling, trafficking, procuring, getting high on drugs and sex that the youth experienced motion and movement, excess and lows, rather than stasis and the finality of an authentic Movida imaginary" (Henseler 76). Though perhaps the fine balance between independent production and mainstream adoption did tip towards the latter in the mid 1980's, what had existed all along and enabled la Movida to thrive were symbolic exchanges between various members of la Movida- to make and listen to music that sounded madrileño, to dress

accordingly, to participate. These exchanges were formative to la Movida's existence and emerged not only as a definition of Movida participants or a set of characteristics that defined them, but as an active practice and engagement in the music and culture.

Here once more do both punk and la Movida align, each at its peak in popularity and the point at which many said they "sold out" to become something else or disappear altogether. These subcultural sites were where youth engaged in what punk historian William Force refers to as "personal authentication," something that was not typically allowed by conventional institutions such as churches and schools (Force 291). Musicians like Fabio McNamara, one of the most iconic figures of the early Movida engaged in a kind of authentication and affirmation that was provided by spaces that were oftentimes funded and sanctioned by the government. A particular description of McNamara's arrival to a club describes this kind of identity formation perfectly, "A modest Fabio gets on the bus as a normal guy, but as the stop for Rock-Ola approaches, he starts to let loose and, when he gets off the bus he has transformed into the exhibitionist McNamara, the most important icon of la Movida" (Henseler 75). At Rock-Ola, McNamara was prepping to perform an authentic Movida performance, based on his knowledge of the tastes and practices that were popular at the time. The way in which those practices became popular however would not have been possible without the involvement of a bigger machine to spread exactly what made the Movida aesthetic exactly "Movida." The delicate interplay between the mode of cultural production and political involvement were always present, but really only

acknowledged when participants of la Movida began to question the authenticity of their identities, and started to wonder if they were really coming up with their ideas themselves.

The identity transformations Henseler describes such as the Nelly hairspray, makeup, accessories, spiked bracelets and fishnet stockings (74) that characterized people and performers like McNamara were signifiers to rock stars and teenagers that if you were wearing clothes like that, you too were participating in an organized youth movement for the first time in many years in Spain. Because of the fluidity of these performances of identity (whether in the form of rock star or fan), it is shortchanging the active applications of what it means to be “authentically Movida” to say that youth of la Movida were one way or the other. There was not one type of band or one type of fan, but rather an amalgamation that grew and developed until Madrid began to shift its focus outward and more nationally.

The aforementioned changes in *La Luna de Madrid* when governmental priorities moved towards inserting Spain into a more international discussion were also reflected in music when venues like Rock-Ola, the “temple of la Movida,” began hosting current European and North American bands like Depeche Mode in 1982 and showing music videos and concerts of American artists. Though these musicians definitely provided massive sources of inspiration for Movida groups, by promoting and tolerating their presence at places like Rock-Ola, gone were the days when unknown teens made their debut at these venues. Because the formerly unknown teens had now become stars and la Movida had established itself as a

trendsetter nearly as influential as the punk and New Wave of the day, the physical landscape in Madrid had been transformed by the cultural explosion that emerged from the transition. In defying the past and actively resisting campaigning for any particular future, Movida musicians, publishers, DJs and record labels had unintentionally created a network that would contradict the “goal” of having no goal that they had formerly been so vocal about. What they had done was pave the way for a new way of producing culture and creating spaces that was taking them directly into the future, as people were branding them the future of music, and the future of Spain. With all the recent responsibility of having created a newfound, nationally significant identity, la Movida began to lose some of the disenchantment that had previously characterized it as it evolved into a completely enchanted period in artistic and musical history. Spain’s onward journey into the future that the government was so keen on showing to the rest of the world began to be simply too incongruous with la Movida, and the years following 1986 more or less sounded the death knell of la Movida as many knew it.

Whether it was coincidence or not, the death of Tierno Galván, the unofficial father of la Movida, in 1986 signaled a decisive shift in local and national politics. Galván’s death did not result in a new party taking over and wiping out the remnants of la Movida, but rather resulted in his own party, the PSOE, redefining and further pushing their bid for European integration. “Specifically, new restrictions and demands on Madrid from the national level caused the space for a unique regional identity in the capital to close,” explains Stapell (148). And as the

metaphorical space for regional identity began to narrow and shut down, so did physical spaces that had been so important in fostering artistic relationships and visual communities in the earlier part of the decade. Rock-Ola closed its doors in 1985, the same year that *La edad de oro*, a highly significant pop program on television was taken off the air. Aesthetic began to change as teenagers and young adults no longer saw Movida style represented in the media, and no longer cared to reflect it. And while much research has been done concerning the political implications of Spain's move into a national discussion, there has been little published about a second musical transition that occurred between la Movida and the early years of the 1990's. Many of the same visual communities that had established around artists like Alaska and Nacha Pop when they were performing at small venues in Madrid did not have the financial means nor the desire to follow these artists abroad and further into their careers. The effect the government's transition onto the world stage had on the people of Madrid can be seen in the way their pop stars developed and how Spanish taste developed. Once more, these trends are greatly apparent through mapping visual communities alongside political ones.

If Movida bands were lucky enough to have survived the years of drug use and the raging AIDS epidemic that presented itself within Spain during the mid to late 1980's, the style of music they had formerly produced changed drastically. Simply by examining the lyrical content of the artists who were so popular during la Movida, a distinct shift can be noticed that parallels that of the government's outward expansion. Mecano, a Spanish pop band that formed in 1981 and was

active until 1992, exemplifies this stylistic shift that Movida artists had to make to stay relevant and make the transition with their country into a more international dialogue. On their 1988 album *Descanso Dominical*, their first release since la Movida had officially ended in Madrid, the lyrical content of their songs shifted from regional descriptions and cultural cues to one with a much wider scope. In 1983 during some of the peak productivity of the band before la Movida really exploded and entered its period of vast commercialization, Mecano released a song called “No Hay Marcha en Nueva York” that proudly proclaimed “Y aunque no me guste el avión, soy un hombre de acción, y por eso, Me marchó a Nueva York!” (English translation: “*And although I don’t like airplanes, I am a man of action, and because of this, I am off to New York!*”).

This kind of idealization of the Western world is a trend that became more and more common in the music of la Movida bands. At this period of time when most bands were singing about New York or Los Angeles, regional aesthetic began to go out of style with the increasing globalization that was occurring. As theorized by Mark Allinson, “By the mid-1990’s, the lives of young people in Spain were in many respects indistinguishable from those of the young across the Western world” (Allinson 271). While it is a pretty sweeping claim to assert that their lives were “indistinguishable,” youth were certainly not as fervently broadcasting their pride in being strictly madrileño. The aforementioned mega group Mecano quite literally embodies this theory of Allinson, as earlier songs of theirs were much more representative of the pride and production that was occurring primarily in Madrid in the early 1980’s. An early song of Mecano’s second studio album in

1983 proudly proclaims, “En Madrid, caen sombras largas, de edificios sobre mi, oh, bajo mis pies siento crecer Madrid. Oh, Madrid! Se ha hecho tan grande y tan pequeño para mí” (English translation: “*In Madrid, long shadows fall from buildings on top of me, oh, underneath my feet I feel Madrid growing. Oh, Madrid! It has been so big and so little for me*”). Interestingly, both of Mecano’s songs about Madrid and New York do not really demonstrate an extreme preference or any kind of pessimism towards one city or the other. And while regionalism was definitely highly celebrated during the peak of la Movida, the transition into a worldwide market was not met with sadness or much protest from bands and fan groups. Although unemployment peaked in the mid 1990’s at 24% in Spain, there was not much animosity towards the government or political parties for reaching this stage. So why then, after the period of relative political inactivity of la Movida, did bands and visual communities not become more politically involved when they realized that their confidence in new democracy was not entirely warranted?

A large part of the answer to that question lies in the engaging and relatively gradual approach the government implemented in moving Madrid (along with its arts and culture) into a new time and economic period. The negotiated approach to stabilizing Spain’s economy was very different than the drastic one that was implemented in countries in South American and Eastern Europe that resulted in a much more rapid loss of faith and trust in new democracy. By slowly shifting its policies and subtly directing culture outward, there was nothing sudden or upsetting enough to provoke a national response like the protests and

dissatisfaction that manifested in places like Argentina or Brazil when their governments implemented new policies secretly or without the direct involvement of the people. This is not to say the PSOE was free from corruption or unethical practices, but at the very least they managed Spain in such a way that the citizens did not have as much of a chance to get upset and fight back. So while lack of explicit protest did still manage to carry over in Madrid of the late 1980's and early 1990's, many of the stylistic features of la Movida had shifted in a nearly unrecognizable way.

The aforementioned gradual shift towards economic stabilization and European unity also resulted in the Madrid of Mecano's songs becoming a place that could not be claimed by one person but rather fit into a much larger, more sweeping definition of Spanishness. The capital's entry into a European discourse required a rebranding that did not conflict with the country's expansionist agenda, so understandably, the highly regional songs of early Alaska, Siniestro Total and Mecano were no longer promoted in the same way by the government organizations that had supported them so strongly before. What happened instead was a new focus on readopting Madrid as the symbolic capital of Spain, and what this meant was a more recognizable and "classic" image of the country that was more in keeping with perhaps Paris, Rome, or other established European capitals. At about this time in Spain's history, bands that mixed copla or flamenco with rock, or electronic music, or hip hop began to gain some traction within the country because in their own way they were entering the more commercial, modern aesthetic surrounding music, but they were also subtly promoting a Spain

that contained flamenco dancers and maybe a bullfight or two. Again, former Movida supporters did not rebel or protest this musical transition. Instead, they embraced it.

As the transition from the music of la Movida evolved into something that was not yet distinctly recognizable, certain features within the music of the early 1990's can be isolated and examined as direct products of la Movida and its fan base. One of the most striking features of post-Movida music is the inclusion of traditional Spanish styles such as copla and flamenco. Linking directly to the aforementioned push to a more symbolic capital, music that was coming out of Madrid after 1986 was distinctly classic in its take on styles, rhythms, and instrumentation. Bands and musicians like the members of flamenco rock group La Shica were described by critics as having a sound “that runs by flamenco (baile included), hip hop, Brazilian music, copla and even reggae, cooked up in a refreshing live show and served with the sole inspiration of not sounding like anyone else” (Calado, Flamenco-World). Even with the government's move towards a different presentation of the city of Madrid, it seems strange that an entire audience and industry would so easily forget about the fervent rejection of traditional music that existed in la Movida. On the surface, nothing seemed further away from a “symbolic” Spain than Pedro Almodóvar dressed in drag or the Spanish techno stylings of Aviador Dro. And yes, the popular claim that la Movida disappeared in sound and style after 1986 is relatively true, nothing else like it has emerged in Madrid since Tierno Galván's death. But this is not to say that bands like La Shica are not direct inheritors of la Movida.

What makes the existence of groups like La Shica possible is the environment that was created during la Movida that welcomed and embraced a fusion of genres and fan bases within the same music scene. La Movida fostered New Wave, punk music, urban rock, metal, outsider music, queer artists, and a variety of other genres that formerly had no place on the same stage. Within these various communities fans came together to support these artists who were familiar sights within their community or at the Rastro. So a fusion band like La Shica, with a little extra push and support from a government that was looking to capitalize on a presentation of some flamenco music is not a surprising development in the legacy of la Movida. Elsa Rovayo, lead singer of the group, even directly credits the television program *La Bola de Cristal* (hosted by singer Alaska) for introducing her to the songs she had been singing since she was a little girl (Calado, *Flamenco-World*). So while perhaps La Shica would not have headlined with Movida groups at Rock-Ola when it first opened, many bands that came out of Spain after la Movida were directly influenced by the impact they had on both pop and the fans that supported these new pop acts.

While the sound of bands coming out of Madrid in the late 80's and early 90's owed something to la Movida, the content and themes were even more indebted to its punk and New Wave predecessor. Classical music styles that began to manifest themselves in Spanish music may have been supported by the government, but would not have been so easily devoured and promoted by fans and visual communities if not for the progress la Movida made in distancing modern Spain from its historical ties to Spanish traditions. A major reason artists were able to

successfully adopt these styles was because “The ironic use of the genres and the Spanish traditional styles broke their association with the obscure Spanish myths and gave them a modern, flexible look” (Martínez 133). Looking at this shift in cultural signifiers through examples is a good way to see just how dramatically and directly la Movida stars confronted issues like classism, religion and a state-sanctioned Spanishness. By appropriating signifiers like crosses, bullfighting, and even the Spanish language into music, Movida bands promoted new ownership of these traditionally Spanish symbols after Franco’s dictatorship had created such a negative image of Spanish traditionalism.

A particularly memorable clip in *¿Qué he hecho yo para merecer esto!!* (What Have I Done To Deserve This) (1984) featuring Pedro Almodóvar showcases this changing of signifiers as he lip syncs to a classic Spanish song “La bien paga.” Employing heavy melodrama, over-articulated gestures, and a man in drag as his love interest, Almodóvar took a song that was commonly used throughout the world as a revered tango, a “classic” that the preceding generation had loved, and flipped it on its head. “Qué bonitas son las canciones de mi época” (English: *How lovely are the songs of my generation!*) is the last line in the scene, punctuating the clip with a power that signaled to the “in crowd” of la Movida that Almodóvar was making a mockery of this music. Through irony and parody, classic styles began to be okay again in a way that gave a younger generation renewed ownership of their country and its traditions. In a similar vein, Parálisis Permanente was also part of this dialogue to assign new meaning to classical Spanish signifiers. The 1982 album *Quiero Ser Santa* did a similar thing for

religion, with a blatant upheaval of religious values demonstrated by a naked woman crucified in place of Jesus Christ on the album cover.

The common argument that there is no trace of la Movida within Spanish society today is a flawed perspective. As evidenced by the more traditional sounding music that began to fuse with electronic and rap, la Movida had to be found elsewhere in music. As Spain leapt forward in the mid 1990's and into the new millennium, dance music became the reigning king on the club scene and in discotheques. A type of music known as *bakalao* emerged that was characterized by heavy rhythms, thumping bass and a wild party scene. *Bakalao* bordered more on techno than it did New Wave or punk, so it is understandable that many fans do not see the similarities between this genre and the ones that were popular 20 years ago. Bands like Aviador Dro were around and did embody something of a techno style in the spirit of German electronic bands like Kraftwerk, but it was a far cry from the fast paced, highly commercialized international style that was making its way in to Spain. However, studies on communities that have evolved around electronic and dance music in Spain show that the similarities between present day Madrid and la Movida may not be in style and sound, but rather in community. As la Movida was popularized and supported by an insider fan base that found solace and community around the art and music they supported, so does *bakalao* and contemporary popular Spanish music. "The current diversification of the dance halls... allows people to enjoy music and dance in very different settings. They can find very select, and relatively expensive,

options linked to images of luxury, elegance and exclusivity, and other realities based on different values and meanings” (Martínez 141).

The style of listening and fandom that these venues and genres create mimics the inclusivity of la Movida in a very similar way. What is lacking is the mindset of “everyone being a participant and a creator” that was pervasive during la Movida, but the inclusivity is something that has not yet gone away. And it is not to say that la Movida was the first to create inclusive communities, but it was the first to do so after Franco’s death, effectively ushering in an age in Spain where it was possible to experience “other possibilities of oneself through music and dance, inside the discos” (Martínez 142). Viewing la Movida as a link between what was effectively a closed culture to one that became very open is an important method in appreciating its impact on visual communities today. Of course, 40 years later, direct comparisons are few and far between; but Madrid has moved towards celebrating la Movida in a retrospective format in light of its 30th and 40th anniversaries in Spain. Directors like Pedro Almodóvar and singers such as Alaska and Radio Futura are still producing music and touring, providing at least some tangible link to the past. How la Movida is perceived today says a lot about the current state of Spanish visual and musical communities, and has the promise of providing a glimpse into what may lie ahead for madrileño music.

INTERVIEW WITH ÁLVARO PERDICES

Álvaro Perdices is a Spanish artist who was born in Madrid in 1971. He divides his time between Spain and Los Angeles, exhibiting his artwork all over the world. You can learn about him at his website, <http://www.alvaroperdices.com/>.

(Interview originally conducted in Spanish, has been translated into English)

Winona: What was your connection with La Movida? How old were you during the transition and Movida?

Álvaro: I was born in 1971, so the Transition happened very early for me... but I remember going to see Franco's dead body, my parents took me not because they were Franquistas (supporters of Franco), but because it was a spectacle to at last see this bastard dead, and you know this is a very morbid thing. I remember the unending lines, the heat of the day, the pain...

La Movida, certainly it is something that I have realized over the years. La Movida was what was happening and to be part of it, you can't look over what was inescapable- the infinite capacity of play, the experimentation with humor, the joy, to have fun doing art, making music... whatever was in any facet of the creative realm.

W: Were there musical groups you liked more than others? Who were they? Why did you enjoy them?

A: My taste has continued changing, perhaps at first I was seduced by the sweetest music, the most sweetened. Today when I listen to music from that age,

which I think is the best that has been produced in Spain, I prefer things pre-Movida, with Las Grecas, Kaka de Luxe, Nacha Pop, Almodóvar y Macnamara, early music from Alaska... Los Nikis were fantastic, Peor Imposible, Las Vulpes, Paralisis Permanente...

W: Do you think La Movida was a movement specifically for the youth?

A: It was generated by young people who experienced for the first time pleasure in an open way, occupying creative territories that until then did not exist or were closed off by the dictatorship.

W: Do you think music and youth culture during La Movida was influenced by the transition (to democracy)?

A: It's a fundamental consequence. The mayor of Madrid Enrique Tierno Galván is a key figure in all of this, an atheistic socialist, who permitted a secular space where he gave visibility and space to an infinite amount of behaviors.

W: Who was listening to the music of La Movida?

A: Musicians of course and young people throughout the country, parallel to Madrid appeared other centers of cultural production in Vigo, Bilbao, in Seville...

W: Why do you think the music of La Movida was so popular in Spain?

A: A new language had appeared that did not exist, the influence of London Pop, Punk, and how these archetypes mixed with local methods, generating exaggerations and gestures that connected the modernity of the moment with Spanish localism.

W: How did a type of music so different and new bridge the gap between so many genres and exist as a generally beloved new sound?

A: Because the content and rhythm of these lyrics spoke of new places, new relationships, new (or at least up until this point invisible) sexualities... it was a transvestism that shook and colored and dislocated with humor all that it touched.

W: Do you think that the aesthetic and musical influence of La Movida is present in Spanish culture today?

A: Lamentably few, they've been left behind in certain places, but the level of incessant production, the occurrences of bands emerging like mushrooms in every barrio, in every city have disappeared, as have art exhibitions. The professionalism and market (of music) has diminished the casual creativity of la Movida, it lacks desire, the drugs are not the same, everything is more premeditated. The artist has stopped thinking and acting like an artist and converted into a professional in the market.

Through memory, nostalgia, and academics the Movida has been converted into study and investigation. We have renounced the pleasure and language of those years for a new, nostalgic revision of it.

CHAPTER 3: FINDING LA MOVIDA TODAY

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Quizás hoy llegues | <i>Maybe today you will get</i> |
| Donde yo no llegué | <i>Where I never got</i> |
| Otros mundos, | <i>Other worlds,</i> |
| Otras estrellas, | <i>Other stars,</i> |
| Para empezar otra vez | <i>To start again</i> |
| Desde mucho más alto. | <i>From so much higher</i> |

-Aviador Dro, “Selector de Frecuencias” lyrics (1982)

For the most part, Madrid’s current cultural identity seems to naturally fall within the confines of a relatively liberal, democratic capital of a major European country. Tourism is high, its art and music scene is well regarded, and it steadily imports and exports culture to and from around the world. Still, somehow, la Movida has managed to more or less fade from the memory of most people living outside Spain. In an attempt to sum up Madrid’s goal going into the mid 1970’s, historian Michael Richards stated “The challenge facing Spaniards in the period after the death of Franco was nothing less than the reinvention of Spain as a state and as a nation” (Stapell 52). While definitely a major goal, this reinvention would not have been possible with nuanced and considerable reworking of established Spanish ideals and traditions. Though there does exist the smattering of perspectives that claim la Movida was a short lived and relatively unimportant period in Spanish history, the Madrid of today is hard evidence to the contrary. La Movida was a major component in providing a solid foundation based on regional

identity that both the city of Madrid and the larger country of Spain were able to use to successfully move away from the image of a walled-off dictatorship and towards one of a major player in world democracy and culture.

Since la Movida moved from the focus of national attention, Madrid has not stopped expanding outward. The extent to which Madrid has integrated itself into the mammoth mode of cultural production that is headed by the United States of America is most evident in the popular music in Madrid today. Although in 1985 Movida superstars were at the top of the charts, a quick comparison between Spain and the United States of top singles from the month of April 2014 shows just how much the focus has shifted from promoting regional identity to successfully maintaining an international exchange of music and culture. On the Billboard Spanish singles chart for the week of April 4th, only two of the top 10 artists are Spanish or Spanish speaking. Otherwise, the presence of Eminem, Avicii, Pitbull and Lorde is exactly the same kind of playlist that one might encounter on a Los Angeles radio station. When compared to the same top 10 playlist for Spain in 1985, the difference is like night and day. Instead of seeing popular English speaking artists like Duran Duran or Depeche Mode, there is not one single English song title on the list. Instead we have Los Inhumanos at number one, Radio Futura at number two, and even Alaska y Dinarama at number seven on the top ten list (Lista de éxitos). Unsurprisingly, outside of Movida scholarship there is no longer much mention of any of these groups as we often see in the United States when bands like Devo or the Rolling Stones come back to top the charts again 30 years later. La Movida has very much faded from public

view, but has managed to re-emerge within the museum and cultural programming circuit as commemorations and exhibitions have begun to pop up periodically throughout Madrid.

Though la Movida is no longer as well known outside of Spain as it was in 1980, Madrid has begun to embrace and resurrect a version of la Movida that more often than not tells a selective version of the events that occurred in Madrid between 1975 and 1985. Nichols provides a thorough summation of publications and commemorations that began emerging around the 20th anniversary of la Movida's inception (circa 1995). Paying homage to what was oftentimes portrayed as a much rosier version of la Movida were documentary films such as *La movida: La edad de oro* (2001), novels like Luis Antonio Villena's *Madrid ha muerto: Esplendor y caos en una ciudad feliz de los ochenta* (1999) and a multitude of museum exhibitions at a host of major galleries and institutions (Nichols 276). There is no definitive answer when asking exactly how much la Movida exists within madrileño culture today, because the impact will vary when looking at certain styles of music and subgroups within Madrid. It is prudent to remember that not since the late 1970's has Madrid seen any one kind of music or aesthetic as unifying and striking as la Movida was when it swept through the city. This is due largely to Madrid's aforementioned success in inserting itself in a much more international discussion. The wide variety of styles and visual resources that youth have today in Madrid has multiplied exponentially due to Internet, television, and a large amount of imported music and movies. But still, even with all of these additional influences, people keep coming back to la

Movida in a way that has shifted to a more academic and aesthetic appreciation. Gone is the lifestyle, but a significant amount about la Movida's impact on contemporary madrileño society can be observed by looking at a few recent commemorations of the bands, venues and songs that remain a crucial part of Spanish history.

Although the presence of la Movida has diminished in Madrid, when it does emerge for exhibitions or commemoration in the present day it shares some uncanny similarities with the treatment of la Movida in 1980. For instance, one of the largest celebrations of la Movida that occurred in 2006 was an officially sanctioned, government-supported exhibition simply titled "LA MOVIDA." Organized by the Dirección General de Archivos, Museos y Bibliotecas in the Consejería de Cultura y Deportes of the Comunidad de Madrid, the exhibition was presented in a typically contradictory Movida style (Nichols 282). Though the exhibition was labeled as a "reconocimiento póstumo" (posthumous recognition), the organizers claimed they hosted the show with the purpose of "revivir la efervescencia de aquellos años" (revive the effervescence of those years). The vitality and energy of la Movida was so intense that even in an exhibition setting organizers began to recognize that it was not something that would sit still in a gallery, but needed to be portrayed as a more active entity. This exhibition was complicated by the fact that presenting la Movida as a fleeting flash in the pan would defeat the purpose of having an exhibition; without proper context and sentiment the art on the walls would look amateurish and the music would sound subpar to those unfamiliar with its history. Still however, the

government pushed onwards in hosting the exhibition and developed an incredibly innovative way of presenting la Movida that seemed highly effective considering the circumstances. They turned towards what Nichols calls a “museum without walls” that took a traditional exhibition and converted it into a public practice that was composed of reuniting Movida bands, hosting a series of roundtable discussions, and trying as hard as they possibly could to create a similar sentiment and vibrancy that la Movida would have hosted in its prime (Nichols 284).

Though an unconventional approach to la Movida seems a more thematically appropriate way of revisiting the topic, the act of reuniting bands and presenting la Movida as a cultural explosion, aesthetically charming but devoid of many of the more troublesome tensions that existed underneath the fun exterior of visual groups like Aviador Dro, again demonstrates how the local government has not stopped using la Movida to further its own agenda. Esperanza Aguirre, president of the Comunidad de Madrid at the time of this exhibition, engaged in what Nichols calls an inversion of “the flow of cultural production associated with la Movida to assert Madrid’s entrance and influence on a global stage rather than recognize the importance of models external to Spain that affected music, film, photography, fashion and more during the 1980s” (Nichols 284). Fetishizing la Movida in a way that strips it of much of its intricacies and darker realities establishes groups like Radio Futura and the duo of Almodóvar y McNamara as an escape into the “mythic origins of an artificial past” (Nichols 286). This kind of a celebration of la Movida conflates a number of very different things

including history and memory. While the historical narrative of la Movida belongs to a much larger collective society, individual memories are invoked with the inclusion of an experiential way of reliving la Movida through more active participation through the exhibition. Linking the past Movida experience with the present day and time also establishes a continuity link between the communities of the two periods and the complicated dynamics of power that were instrumental in inciting this cultural moment.

The very nature of having local government involved in presenting a communal history establishes a striking power dynamic once more between the music and culture of la Movida and the audience consuming it. Museum historian Tony Bennett specifically explores the significance of open-air and non-traditional exhibitions in his book *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*: “the people are encountered usually only in those massively idealized and deeply regressive forms which stalk the middle-class imagination” (Bennett 110). He then goes on to cite these kinds of open-air exhibitions as “working-class” experiences that have been tailor made for the public to more easily and unquestionably understand. The act of presenting la Movida in this more sanitized way for the general public is a creative reworking of a past that has been “shaped by different pressures, in response to different constituencies, and moulded by different discourses” (Bennett 146). This approach in the context of an exhibition moves towards a way in which contemporary Spain has absorbed la Movida into part of its collective national history, which somewhat explains the presentation of

la Movida for the most part as a vehicle with which modern Madrid can present and borderline exploit its cultural history in a much more consumable way.

Aside from a departure from the objective history of la Movida that the LA MOVIDA exhibition was guilty of promoting in favor of a more marketable image, why then was there also the push to physically recreate the music scene of la Movida? Using phrases like “posthumous recognition” and hosting a historical exhibition point to what Silvia Bermúdez calls an “accelerated fossilization” (Bermúdez 302) that rushes to contextualize la Movida in a historical and immobile way, allowing for easier analysis and presentation based upon the idea that because la Movida is “dead” it can no longer change and disrupt the exhibition’s interpretation of it. However, because the Comunidad de Madrid was presenting a history that was recent enough to still have a number of participants alive and well in Madrid today, re-creation was a crucial part of presenting the space one more time in a way that helped to eliminate “lingering remnants of conflict or anti-social behavior” (Nichols 286) associated with the lived history of la Movida. Spectators, fans and band members of la Movida oftentimes lived anything but a rosy life, and the drug use, illnesses, and accidents that befell people like Paralisis Permanente frontman Eduardo Benavente or drummer Canito of Tos brought death and mortality to the forefront of everyone’s attention as the movement drew to a close and AIDS was becoming a local and worldwide epidemic.

The trauma of death and accidents that ran rampant in a cultural community that experienced so much overlap between art, music and performance was an

incredible challenge to be presented with on the heels of recovering from the even greater trauma of the dictatorship. The desire to recreate a version of la Movida with its surviving members and having them participate in concerts and discussions reconciles the unresolved feelings and emotions associated with those who were close to the music scene which was oftentimes based at the center of popular clubs and activities. LA MOVIDA curator Blanca Sánchez specifically addressed this portion of cultural re-creation in a passage included in the catalog for the exhibition where she stated:

“AIDS interrupted the Movida, as in the rest of the world, unexpectedly, and it contributed to the deflation of all those strong emotions and to make that really fun world really sad. The heavy drugs, also contributed their grain of sand to make everything much more difficult. Although it is a recurring theme of this period, I do not want to remember all the ruins that gave rise to [the demise of] so many friends” (Catálogo).

While it is uncommon for a curator to occupy both the roles of a presenter and also a participant, Blanca Sánchez expresses a desire to not only present the “ruins” and fossils of the period but to create an environment where her friends and other Movida participants can once more partake in la Movida in a present day version that works to rewrite the tumultuous past. La Movida’s focus on the present makes any kind of retrospective seem counterintuitive to its mission and place in social history. So for survivors and participants of la Movida, of which there are plenty in Madrid, bringing bands like Aviador Dro or performers like Alaska for interviews and performances centered around la Movida pays homage

to the legacy of that period in the most idealistic way possible- by reliving it as though nothing had gone wrong and all that was left was the music.

Vitality and production in the face of incredible political upheaval are defining characteristics of la Movida. The escapist desires of people who want to celebrate and re-create that same kind of culture 30 years later is not surprising when surveying the current music scene. As one can observe from the actions of Sánchez and other organizers of Movida retrospectives, it is easy for members of previous generations to idealize the music and culture of their youth and to elevate it above contemporary production. But looking around Madrid in the year 2014, there does not appear to be a similarly vibrant reaction to the current political scene as there was during la Movida. Although la Movida's reaction was not overtly political, or only political in a round about way, the youth reacted with a strikingly new aesthetic and desire to establish community. Perhaps this kind of political action was not as direct as those seen by contemporaries like The Sex Pistols or The Clash, but cultural production and community building in and of itself was a definite, unified reaction to a changing regional climate.

In comparison with the Madrid of 1985, today's version of the city is faced with its own unique set of challenges and difficulties when it comes to youth culture and employment. The late 2000's economic crisis that struck Spain in 2008 has been characterized by bankruptcy of major companies, a building market crash, and most notably a severe increase in unemployment. During the 1980's in Spain unemployment routinely hovered around 20%, which even then was one of the highest rates of unemployment in all of Europe. Today however,

the situation is even more extreme with a recent unemployment report published by Eurostat claiming that Spain now has a 26.7% unemployment rate. Madrid alone has an unemployment rate of 21.03%. So while Madrid today parallels and even exceeds the crippling levels of unemployment, especially amongst youth, there are not the same kinds of outlets and opportunities for art and musical production today as there were even in the 1980's in Spain. Nichols' observation that internal migration was a large part of why la Movida developed in the first place due to "the youth who moves from the province into the city in search of his or her dream," (Nichols 7) is rapidly shifting into something very different. With unemployment running rampant in Madrid especially, there has been a flight from the country. And along with the unemployed youth who are leaving Madrid in search of more opportunities is the chance for another unified cultural movement that can in some way recapture the energy of la Movida.

In an article published by *El País* in October of 2013, this departure of local culture was chronicled in an article entitled "La decadencia de Madrid" by Rafael Méndez. The article claimed that Madrid was "arruinada y sucia" (ruined and dirty), and alongside its languishing culture and diminishing tourism, the country was far from its former state during la Movida (Méndez). Similar to the aforementioned exhibition, this article is also guilty of glossing over many of the harsher realities that were present during la Movida. Madrid was not always a clean city and it has recovered from that, as evidenced by the infrastructure that had to be built from the ground up when "years of neglect under Franco left the region facing a mosquito and rat infestation, stagnant run-off in neighborhoods on

the periphery, and the accumulation of 30 years of industrial discharge in the city's river" (Stapell 55). So it is not just that the city is dirty or unpleasant that is causing youth to leave in large numbers and tourism to fall significantly. The problem of unemployment has fed into the problem of revitalizing culture, and diversion is a hard thing to manage when there are plenty of people who do not even have a job.

The *El País* article points out that this year "there was no jazz in Madrid" (Méndez). The jazz festival that had been a staple in Madrid since 1979 did not occur in 2013 during the worst of the economic crisis. The article goes on to explain that within the last month alone 14 scheduled concerts were cancelled and the city appears to be one "sin proyecto, sin imagen, sin relato, según muchos críticos" ("without a project, without an image, without a story, according to many critics") (Méndez). Based on this description alone it appears that Madrid could be no further from la Movida than it is today. And while there are exceptions to any rule including this one, for the most part things are not as vibrant and cutting edge as they seemed in the 70's and 80's. Though the Madrid of la Movida had its fair share of difficulties to overcome, the city itself was very goal-oriented and had the fortune of being led by a man who used incredibly innovative tactics to attain the goal of cultural production and openness. Though Tierno Galván may have provided the project, la Movida supplied the story and the image. La Movida would not have been as successful as it was without its impressive institutional support, so perhaps most of what is lacking in Madrid

today is not a result of youth not being as interested or creative, but simply being forced to take that creativity elsewhere.

In most recent years as Spanish youth are looking to move out of the country and more specifically the city of Madrid, there has been an influx of immigrants that has greatly altered the cultural landscape of the country. A report published by the migration policy institute points to the international economic crisis of the 1970's as having been responsible for an influx of approximately 100,000 annually immigrants between the years of 1961 and 1974. And after this massive influx, the foreign population had a moderate average of an annual 2.2% increase in immigrants since 1975 (Pérez). Understandably, an influx of this magnitude is not only changing the musical landscape of Madrid but is also altering the social and political agenda of the city.

For the first time in many years, Madrid has become a city with a large population of immigrants that have begun to influence Spanish musical traditions as well as bring traditions of their own, and with a new population of people comes other social factors such as wealth and class inequality that shapes the way their music and legacy will be perceived in future years. The discussion of wealth disparity is one that has come up again recently with the hardships both Spanish natives and recent immigrants are faced with during the economic crisis. Back during *la Movida*, wealth and class had plenty to do with musical and cultural production as “some youth were rescued by families to clean up abroad and return with academic degrees to resume their profession careers... while others with no prospects or resources faded away” (Nichols 8). So although immigrants and

native Spaniards come from varied backgrounds, the economic crisis has been a great equalizer in the way music is being experienced today in Spain, creating unity within hardship. Unfortunately this is some of the only cultural unity visible when examining the contemporary music scene, as there is nothing nearly as singular as la Movida taking place today. But even against a relatively bleak backdrop of extreme economic difficulty and uncertainty, music is developing in a very heterogeneous way due largely to the fact that so many cultures have come together in the city for the first time in a long while.

The sentiment and disappointment in Madrid's art and culture scene that is portrayed by *El País* is not an uncommon perspective. Of course the musical landscape seems scattered and nonexistent when compared to a movement that seemed to happen around a more focused kind of musician, all of whom were playing a similar style of music for a similar audience. La Movida was a cultural phenomenon that cannot be replicated and it is useless trying to locate its replica in contemporary madrileño culture. Apart from the music dominating the top of the charts, a much more appropriately scaled analysis of the musical scene can be found through the examination of live music going on in the city. Music played on the radio may have formerly been a more reliable indicator for what was popular when there may not have been as much variety, but today it speaks to only a particular kind of taste. *El País* calling Madrid dirty or bloated or void of culture ignores many of the smaller communities that are diversifying the music of Madrid in a way that simply did not happen during la Movida. Perhaps their critique stems from the fact that Madrid seems dull against the backdrop of a once

in a lifetime movement that most likely will never be replicated again due to the abundance of information and options available in terms of music. But once one stops looking for direct similarities between la Movida and the present, and whether or not la Movida exists today, it becomes more apparent that the similarities are not in the number of albums sold or radio plays but rather in the similar mindset around art and music-based community activities.

The aforementioned increasingly diverse make-up of the city of Madrid has led to an unusually vibrant and thriving scene of live music throughout the city. Granted there does not seem to be any singular venue like Rock-Ola, but the sentiment of community that was established in the new democracy in the late 1970's has continued to survive within the music scene of Madrid, and perhaps even improved with the now more varied and inclusive live music options. Through a quick Google search anyone visiting or living in Madrid can pull up a list of local and eclectic venues offering a big selection of musical stylings and sounds. Social media aggregates and websites are highly reminiscent of the zines and publications that alerted the city of Madrid in 1979 to weekend events and happenings. A search of "live music in Madrid" turns up sites like Lonely Planet, a popular travel and tourism site that hosts links to Sala El Sol (a holdover from la Movida), a respected jazz club called Café Central, a post-punk and indie rock staple called Nasti Club, and a locally focused venue called Café La Palma.

On this one page you can find a club for nearly any interest, which is a far cry from the mostly similar glam and New Wave sounding acts that peppered la Movida's scene and musical publications. And while there is certainly the

argument to be made that other music did exist outside of la Movida staples, which it certainly did, there was not the same ease with which people could discover it. The simplicity with which a Google search can turn up results reduces the reputation of a highly “obscured” underground culture as things have become more public, but in the same way that la Movida was “distinctly shaped by new modes of consumption and production” (Henseler 78) the contemporary music landscape is also formed by the influx of tourism and residents from other countries that are eager to explore and contribute to Madrid’s music scene.

An interesting case study in how music has evolved in the spirit of la Movida, but with an entirely different demographic can be found in Lavapiés, Madrid. Located on the southeast part of the historical center of Madrid is the former Jewish quarter of Lavapiés. Lavapiés exemplifies the other side of the coin that is not populated by commercial homogenized radio, but exists as a living testament to the musical communities and artistic freedom of la Movida. Characteristic of Lavapiés is the thriving music and culture scene that is highly reminiscent of the collaborative spaces of la Movida. A profile on Lavapiés featured by *In Madrid Magazine* focuses on the music and arts venues that pepper Calle Lavapiés and Calle Embajadores. In the heart of Lavapiés is a particular space described by *In Madrid* called La Tabacalera that was a former Spanish tobacco factory but is now a huge social and art center “put together with the cooperation of local artists and the Spanish Ministry of Culture” (Light). Aside from music and drinks there are a variety of workshops available ranging from bicycle making to Spanish lessons. And just down the street from La Tabacalera is a library café called La

Libre that specializes in selling second-hand books in various languages. The blending of spaces in Lavapiés that range from workshop locations to concert venues to Senegalese dance concerts demonstrates that the cultural hotbed in Madrid can no longer be found on cable TV or on every radio station, but is slowly going the way of experiential knowledge.

Though a web search does turn up results depending on a person's specific interests, the popular activities today are very much like those of la Movida in that they require people participating and becoming an active part of their communities. Though there is no modern equivalent of la Movida, perhaps what Madrid has today is a more representative version of a cultural movement that is struggling beneath the weight of a country that is facing a severe economic crisis. With exhibitions, street life, and memory, the spirit of la Movida thrives in an entirely different way than many people are looking for. And while la Movida itself may be memorialized and appreciated much more than it is exemplified in style and sound, the changing landscape and demographic of Madrid would not fit into the very specific and sometimes narrow parameters that defined la Movida. And maybe that is not such a bad thing.

CONCLUSION

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Siento algo dentro de mi cuerpo | <i>I feel something inside my body</i> |
| una extraña sensación | <i>A strange sensation</i> |
| siento algo que se mueve dentro | <i>I feel something move inside</i> |
| no se bien lo que siento | <i>I don't know very well what I feel</i> |
| Tengo un pasajero | <i>I have a passenger.</i> |

-Paralisis Permanente, "Tengo Un Pasajero" lyrics (1982)

La Movida is something that continues to fascinate and influence Madrid in a variety of ways. Though resurgences of cultural movements are not unusual, la Movida exists in a much different way today. La Movida and punk have always been on different points of the musical and political spectrum, but punk has dramatically captured the attention of a whole new generation of youth in the United States and UK. La Movida on the other hand exists in a very different manner through the vitality and struggle of youth in Madrid today, and within the much more controlled walls of museum and cultural institutions.

The gift of retrospection has allowed historians and scholars to look back on la Movida in a way that takes into account the trauma, nuance, and tremendous influence that rowdy crowd inside Rock Ola had on an entire generation of people. Rather than dismissing la Movida as apolitical, which was a gross oversimplification of the politics of gender and performance, contemporary critical theory and queer theory have helped to develop a new variety of

perspectives and motivations surrounding the study of this period in time. Interest in complicating and problematizing la Movida poses a unique challenge due to la Movida's recent place in history, and many surviving members push back on institutionalization or refuse to participate in it. Those who do participate, like Alaska and Aviador Dro, lend a unique perspective that should be considered invaluable to the re-examination of la Movida.

I will end with a brief anecdote about an exhibition I hosted on la Movida during the fall of 2013. Alongside movie posters, music, and artwork from la Movida, I had a steady stream of music and accompanying videos projected on a screen at the front of the room. I watched my peers immediately move past the images and albums and towards the screen, standing transfixed for almost 20 or 30 minutes at a time watching the playlist of videos I had set up on the makeshift projector. These were students who knew nothing of Madrid, nothing of la Movida, and yet they were there, tapping their feet and asking questions, perhaps reminded of a small underground show at any one of the independent Los Angeles clubs they had visited this last year. Halfway through my opening night an exchange student from Madrid walked in and asked me why I was playing the same music her parents listened to. I explained to her my project and she laughed and thanked me, and then quickly joined the audience of American teens and twenty-somethings in watching the videos and listening to the music. The most honest part of my exhibition seemed rooted in the experience of listening to the music and considering la Movida as a vibrant and restless entity, something that seemed dangerous and seductive. By generating conversation about the

communities that gathered and still gather around la Movida, we can finally approach a more holistic view of a cultural moment that will in all likelihood never see an equal in intensity or oneness.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allinson, Mark. "The Construction of Youth in Spain in the 1980s and 1990s." Ed. Barry Jordan and Rikki Morgan-Tamosunas. *Contemporary Spanish Cultural Studies* (2000): 265-73. Print.
- Bennett, Tony. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. London: Routledge, 1995. Print.
- Bermúdez, Silvia. "Memory and Archive: La Movida, Alaska, and Processes of Cultural Archeology." *Toward a Cultural Archive of La Movida: Back to the Future*. By William J. Nichols. Lanham, Maryland: Farleigh Dickinson UP, 2014. 293-302. Print.
- Calado, Silvia. "La Shica, Alternative Flamenco Group. Interview." *Flamenco World*. N.p., Oct. 2005. Web. 12 Mar. 2014. <http://www.flamenco-world.com/artists/la_shica/shica21102005.htm>.
- Catálogo LA MOVIDA*. Madrid: Edición de la Consejería de Cultura y Deportes de la Comunidad de Madrid, 2007.
- "Euro Area Unemployment Rate." *Eurostat*. N.p., Nov. 2013. Web. 5 Apr. 2014. <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_PUBLIC/3-08012014-BP/EN/3-08012014-BP-EN.PDF>.
- Force, William Ryan. "Consumption Styles and the Fluid Complexity of Punk Authenticity." *Symbolic Interaction* 32.4 (2009): 289-309. Print.

- Fouce, Hector. "From the Unrest to La Movida." *Toward a Cultural Archive of La Movida: Back to the Future*. By William J. Nichols. Lanham: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2014. 37-49. Print.
- Freedman, Kerry. "Adolescents, Identity, and Visual Community." *Visual Arts Research* 32.2 (2004): 26-27. Print.
- Galbraith, Cliff. "PUNK Magazine Began With Lou Reed Comic." *13th Dimension Comics Creators Culture*. 13th Dimension, 28 Oct. 2013. Web. 30 Dec. 2013.
- Garoian, Charles R., and Yvonne M. Gaudelius. "The Spectacle of Visual Culture." *Studies in Art Education* 45.4 (2004): 298-312. Print.
- Grossman, Perry. "Identity Crisis: The Dialectics of Rock, Punk, and Grunge." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 41. Youth and Youth Culture (1996): 19-40. JSTOR. Web. 23 Apr. 2014.
- Henseler, Christine. "In/Authenticities." *Toward a Cultural Archive of La Movida: Back to the Future*. By William J. Nichols. Lanham, Maryland: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2014. 69-85. Print.
- Kelly, Dorothy. "Selling Spanish 'otherness' since the 1960's." *Contemporary Spanish Cultural Studies*. London: Arnold, 2000. 29-37. Print.
- Light, Alexandra. "Lavapiés | InMadrid." *Lavapiés | InMadrid*. In Madrid, 24 July 2012. Web. 11 Apr. 2014.
- "Lista de éxitos en España." *Cuando Calienta El Sol » Lista De éxitos España*. Cuando Calienta El Sol, n.d. Web. 07 Apr. 2014.

- Martínez, Sílvia, and Héctor Fouce. *Made in Spain: Studies in Popular Music*.
New York: Routledge, 2013. Print.
- Méndez, Rafael. "La Decadencia De Madrid." *El País* [Madrid] 5 Oct. 2013: n.
pag. Print.
- Moore, Ryan. "Postmodernism and Punk Subculture: Cultures of Authenticity and
Deconstruction." *The Communication Review* 7 (2004): 305-27.
Department of Sociology: University of Kansas. Web.
- Nichols, William J., and H. Rosi Song. *Toward a Cultural Archive of La Movida:
Back to the Future*. N.p.: Fairleigh Dickinson, 2013. Print.
- Pérez, Nieves O. "Spain: Forging an Immigration Policy." *Migrationpolicy.org*.
Migration Policy Institute, 3 Feb. 2003. Web. 07 Apr. 2014.
- Stalcup, Scott. "Noise Noise Noise: Punk Rock's History Since 1965." *Studies in
Popular Culture* 23.3 (2001): 51-64. Print.
- Stapell, Hamilton M. *Remaking Madrid: Culture, Politics, and Identity after
Franco*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. Print.
- "Todavía En La Luna." *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies* 1 (1997):
153-68. *Dialnet OAI Articles*. Web. 1 Mar. 2014.
- Toribio, Núria T. "A Punk Called Pedro: La Movida in the Films of Pedro
Almodóvar." *Contemporary Spanish Cultural Studies*. By Barry Jordan
and Rikki Morgan-Tamosunas. London: Arnold, 2000. 274-83. Print.