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Triana Toribio, Núria (2017) Memorias selectivas: Two Films by Spanish Punk Women. *Lectora* (23). pp. 35-50. ISSN 1136-5781.

DOI

<https://doi.org/10.1344/Lectora2017.23.3>

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MEMORIAS SELECTIVAS: TWO FILMS BY SPANISH PUNK WOMEN

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The role of women in punk has been dominated by a particular doxa and by repeated acts of omission and misrepresentation. This has certainly been the case in much of the historiography and journalism about Spanish punk/*la Movida*, where a more nuanced and rigorous narrative about punk/*la Movida* and its women still needs to be created. This article addresses some discourses that dominate the commemorations of the movement and how they interact in the work of two women who were not simply witnesses but took part in the musical scene: Chus Gutiérrez and Beatriz Alonso Aranzábal.

KEY WORDS: gender, punk, Spain, *la Movida*, *la transición*.

Memorias selectivas: Dos películas de mujeres punk españolas

El papel de las mujeres en el punk ha estado dominado por una doxa específica y por actos repetidos de omisión y tergiversación. Este ha sido ciertamente el caso en gran parte de la historiografía y el periodismo sobre el punk/*la Movida* español/a. Aun está pendiente la creación de una narrativa más matizada y rigurosa sobre el punk/*la Movida* y, en particular, sobre sus mujeres. Este artículo aborda algunos de los discursos que dominan las conmemoraciones del movimiento y cómo éstos interactúan en el trabajo de dos mujeres que no fueron simplemente testigos de la época sino que tomaron parte en la escena musical: Chus Gutiérrez y Beatriz Alonso Aranzábal.

PALABRAS CLAVE: género, punk, España, *la Movida*, *la transición*.

For the UK, 2016 was the year of Brexit but it was also the year of punk. This was the clear message that came from the official website *punk.london* and from the events advertised through it, all curated, endorsed and supported by respectable national institutions such as the British Library, the British Film Institute, The Barbican Centre and the Heritage Lottery Fund, and more disconcertingly, by the Office of the Mayor of London. I say disconcertingly since the Mayor of Lon-

don during the period leading up to the celebration of 2016 was a member of the Conservative Party, and therefore the very heart of the British establishment.¹

This sudden embracing of punk by the mainstream and the Conservative establishment forty years after the fact exasperated many. Leading the outrage was one of punk's true biological heirs, Joe Corr , founder of Agent Provocateur and son of Vivienne Westwood and Malcolm McLaren. In response to reports that Elizabeth Windsor, Queen of England, supported the programmed celebrations (*The Guardian* stated that Westwood was in talks with Buckingham Palace about the planning and content of the festivities), Corr  threatened (also in March 2016) to destroy punk memorabilia amounting to  5m, a threat he carried out on November 26, 2016, to coincide with the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the release of the Sex Pistols' first single, "Anarchy in the UK" (Jonze, 2016: n.p. and Jenkins, 2016: 14). The Queen's alleged endorsement may have been the straw that broke the camel's back, but Corr  could have picked a number of earlier moments to vent his frustration. The mainstream co-optation of punk has been gradual but unrelenting and punk's conversion into heritage is a long-standing practice: museums, university archives, published memoirs and private collectors have seen to that. In the years leading up to 2016, the movement's legacy had been meticulously sifted through and curated in international exhibitions such as "Punk: Chaos to Couture" at the Metropolitan Museum, in New York (May to August 2013). Such co-optations by the media and curators have generated a degree of cynicism among those who still remember the energy and protean capacities of the punk movement, and who wonder what it meant for those performers and musicians who took part in it.

To the outrage of purists and first hand witnesses, in London, punk was everywhere in 2016 except in the streets, pubs and music venues that had been its natural habitat forty years earlier. It was staring at us from museums and art

¹ See "London to Celebrate 40 Years of Punk Culture in 2016" <<https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/london-celebrate-40-years-punk-culture-2016>>. The British Library exhibition was entitled "punk 1976-78" and was part of "a year of events, gigs, films, talks and exhibits celebrating 40 years of punk heritage and influence in London" (as the exhibition website explained). It was placed in the foyer of the library. For further information, see Killian Fox's article for *The Guardian*, "Happy Birthday punk: the British Library Celebrates 40 Years of Anarchy and Innovation" <<http://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/mar/13/punk-1976-1978-british-library-40th-anniversary-sex-pistols-buzzcocks>>. In order to understand the momentous change of attitude to punk that these celebrations and featuring the Sex Pistols' "God Save the Queen" at the opening ceremony for the London Olympics in 2012 indicate, it is illustrative that in 2000, when Mark Allinson wrote about the generosity and liberality of Madrid's City Council in the 1980s, he made the following comparison: "Tax-payers' money was also spent in subsidizing a San Isidro fiesta where the main act was a group called La Polla Records [...] An equivalent in the UK would be the London Borough of Westminster subsidizing a Sex Pistols concert in Westminster Hall" (Allinson, 2000: 269).

cinema screens and from the ubiquitous free newspapers and magazines, such as *Metro News* or *Stylist*, which are handed out to passers-by at the entrances of tube stations and which eventually end up discarded and spread over floors and transport seats, becoming London's unofficial street decorations. In March 2016, for instance, punk commemoration in mainstream print took the shape of a very non-subcultural article in *Stylist*, which used distinctive shades of yellow and pink and borrowed the cut out letters used in the cover design of the Sex Pistols' *Never Mind the Bollocks* album to confirm its punk credentials. In this article, Lizzie Pook argued that the "Queens of the Punk Age" also deserved to be celebrated in 2016. Even though the idea of punk conjures up male names first, Pook claimed, "it's punk fearless women who have left the biggest legacy" (Pook, 2016: 59). I have been concerned with how punk women seem in recent decades to have been "lost", as Helen Reddington put it in 2007, so I was pleasantly surprised to see this piece in a mainstream publication, particularly when other mainstream articles and documentaries in the build up to the punk commemoration, as recently as 2014, worried the lack of recognition of these women.² Most notably, *The Culture Show* on the BBC devoted a special episode to punk women, entitled "Girls Will Be Girls", which focused on their absence from the standard histories. The same week, Charlotte Richardson Andrews also wrote in *The Guardian* on this exclusion, and on the need for researchers and performers urgently to bring back to the fore that first generation of punk women, who were *the* punk rockers, not just fans, wives and girlfriends. As Richardson Andrews's article goes on to explain, even in present-day punk scenes in the US and the UK, punk continues to have a problem with women (Richardson Andrews, 2014).³

Pook's 2016 article promised to add to this chorus demanding that images of Johnny Rotten, Sid Vicious, or The Clash, not always be the automatic shorthand for punk. The tone was refreshingly positive in its reverent and celebratory tone of women's contributions to the movement. It is easy to cast our minds back to the mid-1970s, when anything punk in the press was derisory and calculated to offend mainstream British sensibilities; punk was treated as something that would never become valuable heritage. Here, though, was an account that was positive and focused on punk's women. However, as the article went on, it was clear that punk women were still put in a supporting role. This time cast as the midwives of punk, rather than the real stars. For instance, Pook tells us, "[i]t is easy to forget that Chrissie Hynde taught Johnny Rotten to play guitar. That Caroline Coon managed The Clash and Vivienne Westwood essentially told the

² Reddington's book, entitled *The Lost Women in Rock Music. Female Musicians of the Punk Era*, declares revisionist intentions from the outset. See Reddington (2017).

³ *The Lost Women in Rock Music. Female Musicians of the Punk Era* was written out of Reddington's frustration with "the lack of documentation about what actually happened at the [...] time from the point of view of its female protagonists" and to challenge the enduring myth of a London-centric punk movement (2007: 1-3).

Sex Pistols how to get dressed each morning” (2016: 59).⁴ This construction, alongside the knowledge that such an article is part of a carefully orchestrated news cycle (March 8th is International Women’s Day, therefore, if it is March in the Year of Punk, then it is time to celebrate punk’s women), seemed an indication that commemorations of punk would still consign women to a secondary role, acknowledging them when and whether the male-centred doxa about punk permitted.

And indeed, the suspicion this mainstream article instilled was realized at the British Library exhibition “Punk 1976-78”, where the section about women was relegated to a corner, and was mostly made up of a small screen showing excerpts from Gina Birch and Reddington’s documentary in progress, *Stories From The She Punks*, on a loop. Next to it, there was a small explanatory plate. The unfinished documentary itself was screened, as work in progress, on June 10, 2016 at the British Library. However, punk women’s names and bands were not even featured on the larger, main text boards introducing the exhibition. In response, Viv Albertine, who took part in a Q&A session at the site on July 18, 2016, corrected the text on the spot with a felt tip pen. Christian Eede describes the scene:

[w]hile attending the exhibition, [Albertine] took issue with one aspect of it which overlooked women’s role in punk, instead focusing on Sex Pistols, the Clash, and Buzzcocks. Having crossed through their names, she wrote, “The Slits, X-Ray Spex, Siouxsie & the Banshees. (What about the women!!).” Taking ownership of the act, she later wrote on Twitter: “I did it and I signed it.” (2016: n.p.)

In these absences and presences in the commemorations of Punk.London in 2016, which prompted Corré and Albertine to act, we can find echoes of the modes of memorialization and representation that have prompted action by Spanish punk women.

Spanish punk/*la Movida* happened when influences from the UK and the US took root between 1977 and 1985 in a country that was enjoying a surge in freedom and creativity after the death of the dictator, particularly in the capital, Madrid. Many Spanish young men and women felt the call to arms, became audi-

⁴ Pook’s article is no doubt indebted to research on women in music that has taken place in the UK and the US, although their work is unacknowledged. Sheila Whiteley, who died recently, led a long line of feminist musicologists and sociologists who have recorded punk’s women work and legacy. In 2012, after the death of Ari Up (2010) and Poly Styrene (2011), Reddington, academic and bass player in an all-female punk band, published her monograph, mentioned above, which was reprinted several times. Other monographs deserve mention: Maria Raha’s *Cinderella’s Own Score* (2005) and for its chapter on punk women, Lucy O’Brien’s *She Bop. The Ultimate Guide to Women in Popular Music* (1995, republished in 2012).

ences of Punk groups, formed bands, and created fanzines.⁵ Like punk in the UK, Spanish punk/*la Movida* was appropriated by the Office of the Mayor of Madrid (when it was occupied by Enrique Tierno Galván) and by the liberal State cultural and political establishment under the PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español), but not gradually or forty years later —instead, it was “institutionalized” as it happened. That this could happen is partly explained by the fact that Spanish punk was, for the most part, not a deviant subculture, as was the case in the UK, but a shared expression of a newly regained freedom. This appropriation also involved a series of absences and presences, of works and histories that record certain aspects and discard others.⁶ What became doxa prompted disaffection from those cultural figures who fit uneasily (Mira, 2009: 155-156; Jeremy, 2013: n.p.). In this article, I want to investigate what these inclusions and exclusions tell us about the doxa about punk/*la Movida*, and punk women through two films that tackle this controversy, one fiction, one documentary, both autobiographical and made by women about it.

Talking back

The two films in question are the feature *El Calentito* (2005) directed by Chus Gutiérrez, and the documentary *De un tiempo libre a esta parte* (2015) directed by Beatriz Alonso Aranzábal. Both filmmakers were direct participants in Spanish punk/*la Movida*, and are roughly the same age: Gutiérrez was born in 1962 and Alonso Aranzábal in 1963. Alonso Aranzábal played the keyboard in the band Los Monaguillosh, and Gutiérrez was founding member of Las Xoxonees, a feminist post-punk band of Flamenco-rap, which was formed initially in New York in 1983 (see Gutiérrez’s website). Their films will be read here symptomatically, as additions to or interventions in the doxa, driven by the same urge as the one that led Viv Albertine to insert women’s groups’ names onto the plate at the British Library exhibition in July 2016.

El Calentito is a coming-of-age story about a punk called Sara set in February 1981 in Madrid. It is the first female-directed and co-scripted film (with Juan Carlos Rubio) to tell a tale of an all-female Punk band in *la Movida*. In it, Gutiérrez draws on personal experience: “Me he servido de lo que aprendí entonces sobre las relaciones profesionales entre mujeres. Los trapicheos con managers y discográficas también están reflejados” (qtd. in Manrique 2005: n.p.). Alonso

⁵ Scholarship on *la Movida* is extensive. Beyond those quoted in this article, other key sources are Patricia Godes (2013) and Teresa Vilarós (1998).

⁶ The debate about the extent and purpose of this co-optation continues. See, for instance, “La Movida as a Debate” (Marí, 2013: 16-18). Some aspects and participants of *la Movida* were never incorporated in the hegemonic history of the movement. Some researchers speak of *dos movidas*, the official one and another phenomenon that took place in the underground. See: Mira, 2009: 155-169, and Jeremy, 2013: n.p.

Aranzábal also relies on biography —hers and others’. Throughout 2015, Alonso Aranzábal tracked down and interviewed her contemporaries, many of them women, mostly in New Wave and Techno groups, who were first inspired to take up instruments by Punk: Marta Cervera from Aviador Dro; María José González “Ye, Yé”, from Glutamato; Clara Morán Calvo-Sotelo from Oviformia SCI; Almudena de Maeztu from Las Brujas and La Mode; Lydia Iovane, and others. In a conventional documentary style, through several interviews and with the use of stills of concerts, DIY publicity material for gigs, covers of fanzines, and photographs, both personal and from published media, she weaves a tale of memories of the creative teen years of her protagonists, focusing on Madrid and on their beginnings, in the period between 1977 and 1984. The documentary had an official theatrical release in Madrid on November 27, 2015, is available through the online platform Filmin (filmin.es), and was shown in small venues in Madrid, Mexico City, Oviedo (Plaza del Paraguas, September 2016) and London (Red Gallery / Instituto Cervantes, November 9, 2016) throughout 2015 and 2016.

The doxa

My study begins by setting out some of the main narratives about punk/*la Movida* and its women. One is about the class of its participants, the lack of political engagement among them and their “hedonist and nihilist focus on the present”, which applies equally to both genders (Tango, 2006: 60). The other is about the centrality and ubiquity of women in main roles, instead of the support ones to which historiography and memorialization seem determined to relegate their British counterparts.

Although co-opted by the PSOE, in power from October 1982, and championed by Madrid’s Mayor, punk/*la Movida* has usually been remembered as apolitical. Or rather, as Héctor Foucé argues, *la Movida*, “[e]n lo político, [...] representa el rechazo de la cultura del compromiso y la utopía, que había caracterizado la oposición al franquismo” (2006: 30). Spain’s punks felt that the direct political fight and political engagement had been the task of the older generation, and that it was anachronistic to engage in it any longer. Ana Curra explains in an interview that, “[q]uerríamos un cambio, queríamos color, vida, electricidad... [...] a nuestros hermanos mayores les había tocado luchar contra esa represión [de la dictadura]” (qtd. in Jeremy, 2013: n.p.). As she argues, politics was not their fight, and their distance from it served as a form of distinction from the previous generation. Political ideologies were inimical to the hedonistic Spanish punk moment, claims Borja Casani, editor of the influential magazine, *La luna de Madrid*: “[q]uienes se hallaban en los grupos dogmáticos, los grupos comunistas, no podían estar preparados para participar en un movimiento como la Movida. [...] La gente que estaba preparada provenía de un rechazo, posiblemente burgués y de clase media-alta [...] hacia la imposición de unas teorías” (qtd. in Gallero, 1991: 43).

Pedro Almodóvar, whose place at the heart of *la Movida* is undisputed, made films that were “founded on the [...] rejection of the leftist critics of Franco” (Smith, 1994: 19). The director often confirmed this view about his work specifically, and *la Movida* more generally, explaining that frivolity replaced traditional political struggle and became in itself a political position: “La frivolidad se convertía casi en una postura política, en un modo de enfrentarse a la vida que rechazaba absolutamente la pesadez. El apoliticismo de esos años era una respuesta muy sana a toda una actividad política nefasta que no había conseguido nada” (qtd. in Gallero, 1991: 219). He justified apoliticism to Marsha Kinder in an extended interview, where he coined the famous dictum that he made films as though Franco had never existed. The country, he argued, had “recuperated the inclination towards sensuality, hedonism which matched this culture of living in and for the present” (Kinder, 1987: 36). About this new mentality, exemplified in Almodóvar’s words and films and, at the time, “the official image of Spain”, Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi write, “[w]here the new hedonism has, however, been genuinely liberating is in the area of sexuality, with the erosion of fixed gender roles and increasing acceptance of sexualities in the plural” (1995: 313).

This absence of leftist commitment in lyrics, attitudes and aesthetics, this hedonism, combined with the middle and upper class origin of some of the best known musicians and artists, to which Casani alludes above, prompts readings of *la Movida* as elitist, narcissistic and disengaged with social reality, and uninterested in the material conditions of those less privileged. This reading has become the default narrative about the period, and it is used as evidence of the failure of the *Transición* to effect any real change, as the elites, never challenged, continue to dominate in politics and culture.⁷ Víctor Lenore argues that

La música moderna en España, empezando en estos años [la Movida] siempre ha tenido cierto afán de distinción, de hacer que el oyente se sienta por encima del resto de los mortales. [...] La inmensa mayoría de los grupos españoles se forman entre los jóvenes que pueden permitirse comprar discos, instrumentos y viajes al extranjero. Es lógico que sus canciones reflejen precisamente los valores de las clases medias y alta (aunque sería deseable que aprendieran a combatirlos o al menos a desmontarlos). Tenemos que agradecer a la Movida que aplicase un tratamiento de shock al pop franquista, pero el movimiento no tardó en convertirse en una fiesta estirada, medio autista y tirando a egomaniaca. (2012: 121)

⁷ Besides the class origin of many of its main figures, which has been documented by Cervera (2002), among others, other markers of class include the fact that many of these newly-minted punks were students either in secondary school (many attended the famous Instituto Santamarca in Madrid) or universities. Their first concerts were often in halls of residence in Madrid, the type of venue that, to a large extent, self-selects student audiences.

The second doxa places women at the heart of Spanish punk/*la Movida*. Legend has it that without one woman, Olvido Gara/Alaska, there would not have been any Spanish punk in the first place. This is the testimony of Fernando Márquez, “El Zurdo” (2014: 19), echoed by Almodóvar, Rafa Cervera (2002) and many others. From Márquez’s account of the foundational moment of Spain’s first punk band in 1977, Kaka de Luxe, we know that Gara was the only punk in Madrid at that time: “[la] única punky nacional en aquel momento”. Not only that, but she was, Márquez tells us, the most knowledgeable person about the movement, being fluent in English, and familiar with US bands such as the New York Dolls and Ramones, as well as UK ones, and became a source of information and inspiration to other musicians and artists (19). Jesús Ordovás, key music critic and radio DJ, and also instrumental to the development of punk/*la Movida*, (called the Spanish John Peel), has written extensively about the movement and the many women in it. Here, in one of his frequent lists, is evidence of this abundance:

Una chica que estudia piano y farmacia entra a formar parte de Los Pegamoides. Y Montse, que solía ir con Los Corazones Automáticos al Palace cuando Brian Ferry pasaba por Madrid a tomar el té, empieza a tocar el bajo eléctrico. Y una tal Luna pone los dedos sobre las duras cuerdas de una guitarra eléctrica mientras otra chica, morena ella se desahoga contra los salvajes a través de un micro. Una cuarta, madrileña, Miluca saca sonidos intrigantes de un Farfisa. Y el grupo se completa con una punk profesional, Speedy. [...] Las Chinas, el primer grupo de chicas que toca, graba, convence y sorprende con su look, sus canciones y su personalidad. Aunque no son las únicas. (1987: 115)

The list, as Ordovás suggests, goes on and on, as historiography records a time when young women were able to take part in the movement fully as performers as well as audience members and fans. They took advantage of this opportunity with relish.

Seeing this unprecedented abundance of women or trans women, of drag queens with agency in music, with ideas and skills, and performing in the public arena, prompted photographers, writers and researchers, influenced by the long standing cultural practice of using images of women as “expressions for ideas and desiderata” (Warner, 1985: xix), to visualize Spanish modernity as female. The choice seemed obvious, since women under Franco had been subject to so much retrograde and decidedly un-modern legislation of their sexual agency and reproductive rights. Only a generation before, the mothers of these punk women had been closely policed by the marriage of Fascist and Catholic morality that informed the *Sección Femenina de Falange* in its drive for a specific socialization of women (see, for instance, Enders, 1992: 673-680). Thus, the stereotypical image of the Spanish Female Punk which has become doxa may contain much of what

cultural historians wanted to prove existed, that is, the “genuine liberating [of new] sexuality, with the erosion of fixed gender roles and increasing sexualities in the plural” (Graham and Labanyi, 1995: 313). This image, in other words, was useful as index of democracy and modernity.

The complexity of the doxa about women that we have inherited comes from the mix of biographical elements about women’s agency and creativity as musicians (recorded by musicologists and music journalists), and stories that focus on this “erosion of fixed gender roles”, on their agency as sexual beings (theorized by cultural historians). However, it is almost exclusively the second component of the mix that leads them to feature as symbols of change, as icons of punk/*la Movida*. Images of female punks in the early films by Almodóvar, *Pepi, Luci, Bom y otras chicas del montón* (1980) and *Laberinto de pasiones* (1982) remain central to what is remembered about the Spanish punk/*la Movida* and the *Cambio*. It is a memory in which punk women are agents of sexual(ised) change, but in which they are rarely found holding musical instruments. The Lycra leopard-print legging-wearing Bom —played by Alaska, “the poster girl for Spain’s Transition” (Wheeler, 2016: 375)— leading Luci (Eva Siva) by a dog collar and leash through the streets of Madrid in *Pepi, Luci, Bom* has become short-hand for Spanish punk, but also an iconic image to represent the spectacular transformation in Spain’s sexual and gender behaviors in general. The transgressive clothing and the ostentatious make up prompt a reading of these images as pure hedonism. From a policing of women’s clothing which condemned anything revealing as provocative —*escandaloso*— and immodest, and which underwent a *destape* period where nudity and scantily-clad celebrities induced a moral panic, we move to photographs of Alaska and Ana Curra, young middle-class women after all, in black leather micro skirts and fishnet tights like their Anglo-American counterparts. Almodóvar’s fictional *la Movida* women, the strongest visual traces left by the movement, signal their modernity by wearing latex bondage gear, like Sexilia (Cecilia Roth) in *Laberinto de pasiones*, but they rarely pick up a guitar.

With and against the doxa

El Calentito and *De un tiempo libre a esta parte* both bring expected and unexpected perspectives to the memorialization of women in punk/*la Movida*, confirming at times what has become history and, at others, contradicting the doxa. In terms of the class background and lack of political engagement of punk’s participants, *De un tiempo libre a esta parte* presents a somewhat contradictory account. On the one hand, in response to an off-screen question about the importance of the future in their lives, the interviewees for the most part declare that they did not think ahead beyond the following day. No one mentions politics. On the other, we have a passionate declaration by Clara Morán that “la política me emocionaba mucho”, followed by a confession of having attended political meetings and taken part fully, joining in the singing of the Socialist an-

them. This confession by Morán is the only admission to interest in party politics, and comes from someone who belongs to a well-known political family.⁸ The documentary supports the doxa, the mainstream reading of the movement, with the inclusion of an exception that proves the rule.

It is in the fiction film, where we find a “correction” of the doxa that demands a closer look. *El Calentito* follows the progress of Sara (Verónica Sánchez) from *niña pija* (substantiating the mainstream reading) to independent and sexually liberated punk singer of Las Siux.⁹ The group’s rehearsals, performances, and dealings with the producer and record company feature centrally. Their crucial concert, in front of a record producer and therefore likely to get them a contract, is to take place on February 23, 1981 at the music venue “El Calentito”. Through the choice of this date, Gutiérrez consciously moves the focus onto politics, since the date 23F resonates symbolically as the evening of the failed *golpe de estado* against Spain’s democracy by a section of its military (Preston, 1986: 192-209). The importance of the date enters the film through the character of Ferdy (Jordi Vilches), Leo’s boyfriend, who has a mainly supportive role in Las Siux. Leo (Macarena Gómez) is constructed as an imaginative, rebellious young woman with a southern accent and a Catalan boyfriend. He attends rehearsals, acts as mannequin for Leo’s clothing creations, and in several shots he manages the soundboard at concerts. He is also very affectionate to Leo, whom he calls “punkita”. However, he is secretive. He disappears at various moments without explanation, and Leo fears the worst: that he has another lover. On 23F it is revealed that what Ferdy is concealing is his political activism. He arrives at “El Calentito”, dressed in a blazer (the clothing of the upper-class), with his hair combed back, wearing *gomina* and carrying a tennis bag. He is clearly agitated and fearful. Once safely inside, he appeals for Leo’s support in disposing of political propaganda leaflets. Leo, relieved that Ferdy’s secret is not another lover, joins in the destruction.

The lines that Leo and Ferdy exchange while disposing of the political pamphlets are indicative of the ambiguity of punk/*la Movida* towards this political moment. Leo asks Ferdy how long he has been an activist and he confesses that a while. Then, with the apoliticism that has come to be associated with punk/*la Movida* and the *desencanto* more generally, she underscores the frivolity of the movement by reminding him that politicians are not to be trusted, they are char-

⁸ Clara Morán Calvo-Sotelo is Fernando Morán’s daughter. He was Minister of foreign affairs in the first Socialist cabinet (1982- 1985). Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo, her maternal uncle, succeeded Adolfo Suárez as Prime Minister in February 1981.

⁹ Sánchez is known to Spanish viewers for her character in the popular family-oriented series *Los Serrano* (2003 to 2008) produced by Globomedia-Telecinco and broadcast on Telecinco.

latans on the make, and democracy will not effect real change.¹⁰ On the subject of politicians, Ferdy disagrees. Not all of them are liars. “No, todos no”, he declares with conviction. Ferdy, then, contradicts the punk traits that have made it into the mainstream story. He is thus anachronistic, but at the same time, a kind of correction, a product of hindsight in 2005. Through Ferdy, Gutiérrez puts in the political involvement that was not there but should have been, or that was there, but remains unremembered.

This revisionist moment is followed in the film by more openly political declarations in support of democracy after the *golpe de estado* has failed. Characters who felt emboldened by the army rebellion while it lasted—a couple of old, fascist neighbours—are thrown out of the club in the final scenes. But significantly the key declarations for democracy are put in the mouths of older characters, the record producer (Sr. Matas, played by Antonio Dechent), and the transgender club-owner, Antonia (Nuria González). Ferdy seems artificially inserted into the plot as the only politicised subject of his generation, and noticeably, none of the women are. It is only at the end, when Las Siux reveal their torsos to the audience and then turn around to show the word “libertad” written on their backs, that the punk women become carriers of a political message. As with Morán’s unique testimony in *De un tiempo libre*, the question is how significant are the exceptions in the sea of apoliticism? Does the doxa on the politics of punk tell the whole story? Or are there stories of allegiance to the right and left organizations that have not made it into the mainstream? Are there women excluded from this mainstream history of Madrid’s punk/*la Movida* because they do not respond to the image of the frivolous, hedonistic, and privileged young woman that we have inherited?

As for the second standard narrative, both films go with the grain of the received wisdom about Spanish punk, that “[h]abía muchísimas chicas” (Villar, qtd. in *De un tiempo libre*). Where *El Calentito* and *De un tiempo libre* are most divergent is on the specific politics of sexuality and gender. These feature largely in *El Calentito*, in what is, after all, a fairly conventional *bildung* of a young woman coming-of-age, musically and sexually. In *De un tiempo libre*, the testimonies of women—and men—are given similar weight and screen time. Although there is much description of what they did as teenagers, besides creating and being part of music groups, there is no focus on relationships or sexual liberation in their testimonies, and we do not get the sense of their teens being years of experimentation and freedom. In fact, in contrast to the defiant and revealing clothes of the fictional Siux, the photographs and testimonies of women in *De un tiempo libre* paint a different portrait of the women in these groups. They appear completely

¹⁰ *Desencanto* is described by Labanyi and Graham as “the mood of political disenchantment/dissapointment that prevailed in Spain in the later years of the transition period (1979/82), anticipated by the film *El desencanto* (Chávarri, 1976)” (1995: 421).

covered, sometimes in androgynous disguises (men and women wearing the same overalls, for instance) and often even in industrial-type goggles or masks. As Marta Cervera from *Los Iniciados* and *El Aviador Dro* explains in *De un tiempo libre*, it was precisely the cover-up and masks that helped her to muster the courage to go on stage. Both films make clear that women and men were subject to different rules in their families, something that challenges any narrative of equality between the genders in the 1970s and 1980s. Most families enforced a curfew of 10 or 10:30, *para las chicas*, as Cervera explains. In *El Calentito*, where some characters enjoy sexual liberation, Sara must leave the family home to enjoy it.

Both films portray the agency of punk women as creators and participants, reflective about their influences and managing areas such as image, music performance and composition and the dissemination of their work. The doxa of *la Movida* as a moment when women as performers and creators had control over their careers is therefore confirmed by both films. Likewise, both present tales of the inspiration to become punk as the result of concert attendance, in what is a standard narrative, both in Spain but also in the UK. The participants in *De un tiempo libre* tell of formative concerts of punk groups or by those who, like Lou Reed, were punk's forerunners. Alonso Aranzábal, for instance, remembers going to a Lou Reed concert in Madrid in 1979 and a Ramones one at the Plaza de Toros de Vista Alegre in 1980. Ye-ye remembers Rock-Ola concerts and declares "de repente, oyes a los Sex Pistols, oyes a los Clash, a Siouxié [...] y dices, esto es lo que me mola" (qtd. in *De un tiempo libre*). Transposed to the fictional realm, watching Las Siux perform is life changing for Sara in *El Calentito*. The group's name comes from Siouxié and the Banshees, fronted by Siouxié Sioux, one of punk's most iconic and influential women. From the outset, Sara is constructed as a budding musician. She is writing song lyrics hastily, her scribbled words shown in the shot in close up and heard in voiceover, as she waits for her boyfriend in the street. In the following scene, the boyfriend dumps her for being too absorbed in the group's performance. Through a series of coincidences and mishaps, Las Siux loses their lead singer Chus (Luna Rojo) and boyfriend-free Sara replaces her. This is her true calling.

Gutiérrez's film is named after a music venue, and performance and concerts are central to it, as is the degree of agency and creativity that women performers could carve out at the time. The film shows Las Siux fighting for the right to be "authentic" and not a record company product, a struggle to control their image that runs parallel to the struggle of club-owner Antonia to live as her chosen gender, and the fight of Spain's young democracy to hang onto its recent freedoms. For example, the band's manager wants them to only play the most appealing and unchallenging songs that will be part of their record, but Leo insists that they perform their non-commercial song "Gimme". Leo also stages a half-way rebellion against a commercial stage punk image that panders to traditional

femininity —that women’s hair is unsightly, and therefore their underarms and legs should be waxed or shaven—, by refusing to shave one underarm. The film also has a number of the backstage scenes showing the disagreements and fights among the members; and providing images of women learning their craft as musicians, of collaborating, but also undermining each other. Manrique argues that these moments seem to come from direct experience and confer a spur-of-the-moment freshness on the film (2005: n.p.).

The experience of rehearsal and collaboration is given pride of place in *De un tiempo libre*, even if it is not represented onscreen, and this aspect of the memorialization of the punk/*la Movida* moment in the documentary deserves close attention. Alonso Aranzábal herself, in direct address to the camera, a mode that seeks intimacy with the spectator, delivers a speech declaring that:

Para mí, la época en que estuve componiendo, creando sonidos, atmosferas, y estéticas, con Los Monaguillosh, fue una época maravillosa. El placer que produce la creación en un local de ensayo, cuando distintas personalidades se juntan y cada uno a su manera ponen en común algo que surge de dentro, es algo increíble... (qtd. in *De un tiempo libre*, 2015)

This evocative and wistful declaration of an “oceanic feeling”: “[t]hat feeling of oneness with the universe” (Freud, 1956: 8) that is sorely missed, is delivered within a mise-en-scene of “adulthood”, made up by the accessories of middle-class lifestyle (the white leather sofa, the digital sound system, the carefully organized rows of books placed on a built-in bookshelf). The contrast is sharp between this setting and the backdrops to the punks in the photographs used in the documentary (bars, clubs, streets, unkempt public spaces with graffiti and rubbish) and where punk/*la Movida* happened. Evoking the past as a golden time of possibility and community resonated with reviewers of the film who reflected through it on their own past. For instance, Eloy Tizón in *El Cultural* stated that viewing the documentary: “produce una extraña sensación agrisulce ver tu propia juventud desfilar por la pantalla” (Tizón, 2016: n.p.)

How and why punk/*la Movida* are being remembered matters not only to those women who were part of it, but also to the future generations of male and female performers and audiences and to revisionist cultural historians. Who and what is being memorialized and for what purpose? Behind selective memories that single out certain aspects for remembrance such as sexual experimentation, freedom, creativity, the agency shown in being able to jump from audiences to performers, are corners that are not sufficiently explored. Not least, how and why belonging to a certain class enabled and yet curtailed some young women as punks. More concern and awareness about how punk/*la Movida* was adopted by some women in a country with deep inequality gaps, great identity chasms between the regions, north and south, city and countryside, is still needed. Remem-

bering punk/*la Movida* is largely a work in progress, in spite of all the ink spilled. Can we take it that in Spain women have not been edited out of punk, or is it perhaps, that in their function as ciphers, and in the many exclusions in their memorialization they too have been assigned the same secondary role as their UK counterparts?

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