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3. Ibid., 34.


6. Here, and throughout the text, the term “local political and cultural elite” is used to refer specifically to the group of Socialists and Communists that came to power in Madrid after the death of Francisco Franco. Of course, there were other members of the political elite in the capital, particularly those on the right, who opposed any transformation of the capital after the end of the dictatorship.

7. Spain’s Socialist party, or the PSOE (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español*—Spanish Socialist Worker’s Party), was the national governing party in Spain from October 1982 to March 1996.


Chapter 1


2. Despite the foreseeable objections, I will use the term “regionalism” from this point forward to refer both to the three historical nationalities (Catalonia, the Basque Country, and Galicia) and to the other projects to create new regional
collective identities in other parts of Spain, for example in Valencia. This is done for clarity and consistency within the text.

3. The debates surrounding the definitions of “nationalism” and “regionalism” are extensive. Here and throughout the text, as a member of the “modernist school,” I understand nationalism as a tool “for autonomy, unity, and identity of a population deemed to constitute a nation.” John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds., Nationalism: Critical Concepts in Political Science, vol. I (London: Routledge, 2000), 29. Likewise, just as I see nationalism producing nations and national identities, I use regionalism in this study to refer to the creation of an intrastate identity within the borders of a sovereign nation.


11. Ibid.


13. Ibid., 138.

14. While the post-1975 period continues to be overlooked, scholars have more recently begun to examine the development and functioning of Spanish nationalism in earlier periods. For example, José Álvarez Junco has argued that the appearance of the national idea of Spain, based in part on a distorted history of the Reconquest and of the Latin American Empire, did not occur until the late nineteenth century. See José Álvarez Junco, Mater Dolorosa: la idea de España en el siglo XIX (Madrid: Taurus, 2001). For a reappraisal of the intellectual origins and formation of Spanish nationalism under Franco, see Geoffrey Jensen, Irrational Triumph: Cultural Despair, Military Nationalism, and the Ideological Origins of Franco’s Spain (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2002).
18. Ibid.
21. Ibid., 144.
22. Ibid.
23. Despite the fact that most scholars discount the existence of Spanish nationalism and some kind of a Spanish national identity after 1978, empirical data show that the percentage of Spaniards that declare themselves to be opposed to a national Spanish identity has been very small. In fact, even in Catalonia, the Basque Country, and Galicia, the majority of a region’s population claims loyalty to both a regional and a national identity. See for example Xosé Manoel Núñez, “The Reawakening of Peripheral Nationalisms and the State of the Autonomous Communities,” in *Spanish History since 1808*, ed. José Álvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert (London: Arnold, 2000).
24. In addition to the works cited above, also see Miguel Platón, *La amenaza separatista. Mito y realidad de los nacionalismos en España* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 1994). In the realm of public opinion surveys, no one thought to ask the standard “dual identity” question in the region of Madrid until 1990, even though this question had been asked in practically every other region since the late 1970s, including in Andalusia, Valencia, and even Extremadura. For example, the question would read: “In general, do you feel more Valencian than Spanish, as Valencian as Spanish, or more Spanish than Valencian?” Public opinion researchers must have assumed, at least until 1990, that everyone living in Madrid simply felt Spanish; see, for example, Luis Moreno, *La federalización de España* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1997), 123–140.
25. By linking together the historical nationalities and newly created autonomous communities, it is not my intention to ignore some of the obvious differences between the two, nor is it to dismiss the claims for greater self-determination made by Catalonia, the Basque Country, and Galicia. Instead, my purpose here is to highlight the broad similarities in order to question the application of the center-periphery model in the Spanish context after the end of the dictatorship.
26. Michael Keating has suggested that, rather than representing something inherently new, such multiple geographical affiliations actually hearken back to the past: “These trends represent a step back in history, to an era of over lapping authority, multiple identity and complexity, before the rise of the modern state.” Michael Keating, “The Minority Nations of Spain and European Integration: A New Framework for Autonomy?,” *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 1, no. 1 (2000): 31. It also should be noted that along with geographical identities, class and gender affiliations often make up part of this plural identity as well.
28. In contrast to this argument, many scholars, beginning with Juan Linz in the mid 1970s, have linked the persistence of regional identities and weak
Spanish nationalism in the late twentieth century to incomplete nation building in the nineteenth century; see Juan J. Linz, “Early State Building and Late Peripheral Nationalisms Against the State: The Case of Spain,” in _Building States and Nations: Analysis by Region_, ed. S. N. Eisenstadt and Stein Rokkan (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1973). In this view, regional identities in Spain, especially those manifesting themselves in the twentieth century, are seen essentially as remnants of the past, mainly premodern, and opposed to a “modern” national identity. Regionalisms thus represent a certain backwardness, caused by incomplete economic modernization and political consolidation in the nineteenth century. This incomplete nationalization thesis has been supported by a wide range of authors, including: Borja de Riquer, “La débil nacionalización española del siglo XIX.” _Historia Social_ 20 (1994); Payne, “Nationalism, Regionalism and Micronationalism in Spain”; Juan Pablo Fusi, _España. La evolución de la identidad nacional_ (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 1999); José Álvarez Junco, “The Formation of Spanish identity and Its Adaptation to the Age of Nations,” _History and Memory: Studies in Representation of the Past_ 14, no. 1–2 (2002).

29. Eric Hobsbawm has persuasively argued that the emergence of new states and new forms of collective identity in this period was the result of “the weakening or collapse of previous states, and not as the product of some new wave of powerful nationalist movements or nationalist consciousness.” Eric Hobsbawm, “Nation, State, Ethnicity, Religion: Transformations of Identity,” in _Nationalism in Europe: Past and Present_, ed. Justo G. Beramendi and Xosé M. Núñez (Santiago de Compostela: University of Santiago de Compostela, 1994), 44.

30. Juan Linz has characterized the lack of an exclusively national or regional identity as a failure of both Spanish nationalism and the various regionalist projects within Spain. See Linz, “Los nacionalismos en España: una perspectiva comparativa.”

31. For example, Núñez has described the rise of new regionalisms (besides the three historical nationalities) after 1978 as a “fundamental contradiction” within the structure of the Spanish state. See Xosé Manoel Núñez, “Region Building in Spain During the 19th and 20th Centuries,” in _Region und Regionsbildung in Europa: Konzeptionen der Forschung und Empirische Befunde_, ed. Gerhard Brunn (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1996).


33. In his recent study of the 1992 Olympic Games, John Hargreaves offers a similar reading of the way multiple layers of identity—from the local to the national—can co-exist, and at times even reinforce one another, within the framework of a modern democratic nation-state. See John Hargreaves, _Freedom for Catalonia? Catalan Nationalism, Spanish Identity and the Barcelona Olympic Games_ (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

**Chapter 2**

3. For further information on the culture of repression during this early period of the Franco regime, see Michael Richards, _A Time of Silence: Civil War_
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5. For further information on the urban and cultural history of Madrid from the turn of the century to the early 1930s, see Deborah Parsons, *A Cultural History of Madrid: Modernism and the Urban Spectacle* (Oxford: Berg, 2003).


7. No regional institutions existed under Franco, as the country was divided up into 50 fragmented local provinces. In addition, regional customs, languages, and education were all repressed. For an analysis of the Franco regime’s educational policies with regard to the regional question, see Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875–1975* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 232–301.


9. Ibid., 158.


17. Madrid’s five mayors under the Franco regime included: Alberto Alcocer, José Moreno Torres, José Finat y Escrivá de Romani, Carlos Arias Navarro, and Miguel Angel Gracia Lomas.


20. Municipal elections were held on April 19, 1979, 48 years after the last free municipal elections on April 12, 1931.


22. In addition to initially serving as the Concejal de Hacienda, Joaquín Leguina later became the first president of the new autonomous community of Madrid in 1983.


28. Tierno Galán was also made honorary president of the PSOE for a brief period of time in 1978 and was a representative in Congress until 1982.

29. After a late diagnosis, Tierno Galán underwent surgery for colon cancer in February 1985 and died less than a year later in January 1986, at 67 years old.

30. In the absence of official reform, local administrative authority in the capital was based on the previous *Ley de Bases de Régimen Local* and on Article 140 of the new Constitution: “The constitution guarantees the autonomy of the municipalities. They shall enjoy full legal status. Their government and administration are the responsibility of their respective town halls, made up of the mayors and councilors.” Newton and Donaghy, *Institutions of Modern Spain*, 147.


32. Ibid.

33. Madrid was not the only uniprovincial Comunidad to be created under the new autonomous framework. Other uniprovincial Comunidades include Asturias, the Balearic Islands, Cantabria, La Rioja, and Murcia.
34. For a concise history of Madrid’s process to become an autonomous community, see Pedro Fernández Vicente, Madrid en Comunidad (Madrid: Bitácora, 1989), 149–160.
38. Ibid., 69.
40. For further analysis of the division between Tierno Galván and the PSOE, see Antonio García Santesmases, “Enrique Tierno: una luz en el tunel,” Leviatán, no. 23–24 (1986); Masllorens, La herencia y humana de Enrique Tierno Galván, 111–116.
41. By the mid 1980s, the nation PSOE had clearly moved from a traditional socialist program to more of a pragmatic political platform. Focusing far less on the nationalization of industries and more on supporting the private sector of the economy, the PSOE pursued neo-liberal fiscal and monetary policies in order to promote economic development and widen its electoral appeal. The promise to create 800,000 new jobs also caused the party to break its promises to the country’s trade unions. By the late 1980s, many of the PSOE’s policies had become indistinguishable from the conservative neoliberal administrations in England or Germany.
42. Masllorens, La herencia y humana de Enrique Tierno Galván, 111–116.
46. In fact, when the PSOE eventually lost its absolute majority in the general elections of 1993, the party chose to form a governing pact with Catalan nationalists instead of with the far left.
49. See, for example, Tierno Galván, “Un ajedrez con Enrique Tierno,” 20.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
Chapter 3

1. The desire to remake the capital after the end of the dictatorship has already been identified in one of the most authoritative histories of Madrid. In the “Epilogue” to Madrid, historia de una capital, Santos Juliá, David Ringrose, and Cristina Segura briefly highlight the overwhelming need to “renovate [recuperar] the city” after the dictatorship. The reinstatement of Madrid’s festivals, the rebirth of street life, and a renewed interest in the city’s history and traditions were all part of a program to recuperate “the call signs [las llamadas señas] of identity” after the capital’s extended association with Francoism. Santos Juliá, David Ringrose, and Cristina Segura, Madrid, historia de una capital (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2000), 572.

2. A good example of this kind of memory creation can be found in Carolyn Boyd’s article on collective identity in the region of Asturias. Boyd’s article describes how the memory of the Battle of Covadonga, fought in the eighth century, has been employed and contested, by both regionalists and nationalists, to claim a spectrum of collective identities throughout the twentieth century. See Carolyn P. Boyd, “The Second Battle of Covadonga: The Politics of Commemoration in Modern Spain,” History and Memory: Studies in Representation of the Past 14, no. 1–2 (2002). For an excellent discussion of the uses and misuses of “memory” and “collective memory” in the context of cultural history, see Alon Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method,” The American Historical Review 102, no. 5 (1997).


5. For more on Tierno Galván’s notion of a cultural revolution, see “Conferencias de Sanroma y Tierno sobre la Revolución Cultural,” El País, April 29, 1980.


8. Tierno Galván’s understanding of “culture” in this regard is similar to the E. Inman Fox’s definition of the term: “the interpretation . . . of a way of thinking, feeling and behaving: an interpretation which is derived from the cultural products themselves—history, literature, art—which provide images and ideas for ordering behavior; or for defining ways of thinking and believing.” E. Inman Fox, “Spain as Castile: Nationalism and National Identity,” in Modern Spanish Culture, ed. David T. Gies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 25.
9. de Azúa, “Enrique Tierno.”
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. For a detailed discussion of Madrid’s citizen movement in relation to different forms of democratic citizenship, see Pamela B. Radcliff, Citizenship, Gender, and the Transition to Democracy (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming).
14. Ibid.
17. de Azúa, “Enrique Tierno.”
18. Ibid.
22. Brown, Contemporary Nationalism, 34.
23. Ibid., 126.
25. For a further discussion about the predominance of ethnic nationalism over civic nationalism at the end of the twentieth century, see Chapter 6 in Eric Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism since 1780 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Jenkins and Sofos, “Nation and Nationalism in Contemporary Europe”; Brown, Contemporary Nationalism.
26. For a good example of how ethnic nationalism has been used to forge new collective identities in the Basque country, see Ludger Mees, “Between Votes and Bullets. Conflicting Ethnic Identities in the Basque Country,” Ethnic and Racial Studies 24, no. 5 (2001).
28. Ibid., 111.
29. Ibid., 112.
30. Ibid., 7. This statement also echoed a common slogan from the period: “No one is an outsider in Madrid [Nadie es forastero en Madrid].”
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
50. Ibid., 7.
51. The scale of the housing program was enormous. The *Plan General* called for the protection and rehabilitation of 7,000 housing units in the center and 25,000 units on the periphery, and the construction of 14,000 new units per year with a total of 112,000 after eight years. Ibid., 128.
52. Ibid., 128–133.
53. Ibid., 134–135.
54. Expansion of the public transportation system called for the creation of a network of suburban buses, with an “express” service, and the addition of 30 new kilometers and 42 new stations for Madrid’s metro. Ibid., 137.
55. Ibid., 140.
56. The expansion of city services called for the construction of 111 daycare centers, 116 athletic centers, 43 healthcare clinics, 51 retirement centers, 47 cultural centers, and 11 urban parks. Ibid., 136–140.
57. Ibid., 139–140.
58. Ibid., 95.
60. Ibid.
61. For a list of projects, see ibid.
62. Ibid., n. p.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid. Also, for example, investment in public works in the city of Madrid increased from $29 million in 1979 to $115 million in 1982. See Joaquín Leguina, “Duro Sevillano,” El País, October 7, 1982.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid., 17.
70. Ibid., 18.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. Scholars have recently argued that the construction and restoration of monuments tended to promote local or regional affiliations, and not a cohesive national identity, during the Restoration period. It appears as though what weakened nationalism in the earlier period was useful for promoting regional identity in the post-Francoist period. See Boyd, “The Second Battle of Covadonga”; José Álvarez Junco, Mater Dolorosa: la idea de España en el siglo XIX (Madrid: Taurus, 2001), 545–565.
77. Some other examples of the buildings restored included Banco Exterior de España (at Santa Catalina, 6), Residencia de Estudiantes (at Don Ramón de la Cruz, 4), Hemeroteca Nacional (Magdalena 10), and dozens of housing units (viviendas). For a comprehensive list of the restoration projects, see Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Plan Especial Villa de Madrid.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
83. See ibid.
85. Otero, “Inversión sin precedentes.”
86. The derogatory term “banusadas” came from the real estate developer, José Banús.
89. Ibid.
90. In 1960, the 2,028,091 residents of Madrid produced 252,427 metric tons of waste. In 1980, the city’s 3,368,466 inhabitants created 810,147 metric tons of waste. The 20 year period saw a 320 percent increase in waste with only a corresponding 66 percent increase in population. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Plan de limpieza de la ciudad de Madrid (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Área de Urbanismo e Infraestructuras, 1984), 129.
91. In all, more than 3,000 new solid waste containers and 5,000 public waste-paper cans were installed in Madrid. See Ayuntamiento de Madrid, “Madrid se lava la cara,” Villa de Madrid, no. 76 (1983-II): 130.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Plan de limpieza de la ciudad de Madrid, 43–44.
96. Ibid., 113.
98. Ibid., 129.
100. Otero, “Inversión sin precedentes.”
102. In conjunction with the PSI, the Plan de Acción Sur (PAS) also helped decrease the inequities of infrastructure and facilities between the northern and southern parts of the capital by giving pavement, lighting, and sewer systems to districts in the south. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, “Madrid se lava la cara,” 122.
106. Ibid., 126.
113. Tierno Galván, “Política de parques y jardines.”

115. Ibid., 23.


117. Ibid.


119. Ibid.


121. Ibid.


123. Many Tierno Galván’s early “chats” with the public were transcribed. See Tierno Galván, *Charlas de radio pronunciadas por el alcalde de Madrid*.

124. The *Bandos* were such a ubiquitous sight, in fact, that a political cartoon from the period likened their appearance on every available wall to out-of-control graffiti. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, *Bandos del Alcalde*, 23.

125. Ibid.

126. Ibid., 27–29.

127. Ibid., 31.

128. Ibid.

129. The four *Bandos* were from January 26, 1981; February 3, 1982; June 11, 1982; and November 16, 1982. Ibid., 41–44, 65–74.


132. Ibid.

133. Ibid.

134. Tierno Galván, *Charlas de radio pronunciadas por el alcalde de Madrid*, 23.


136. Ibid.

137. Ibid.

138. Ibid.

139. Tierno Galván, “Programa municipal para una enseñanza viva.”


141. Ibid.


144. Ibid., 5.

145. The regional government, in particular, sponsored numerous studies on everything from demographics and cultural demand, to how many pigs were being raised. See for example Comunidad de Madrid, *Informe sobre*

146. Masats and Carandell, Madrid es más que Madrid. For another example, see Juan Luna Wennberg, Nuestro Madrid (Madrid: Lunwerg, 1986).


148. Ibid., 11.

149. Ibid., 13.

150. Ibid., 14.

151. Ibid.


153. See ibid.


155. See ibid.


157. Ibid., 14–21.

158. Equipo Viajar and Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Conocer Madrid.


160. Ibid., 13.

161. Ibid., 278.


166. Michael T. Newton and Peter J. Donaghy, Institutions of Modern Spain: A Political and Economic Guide (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 145. According to Newton, because of the administrative neglect under the Franco regime, “the governments elected after 1977 were confronted not only with the need to democratize government at all levels but also with the necessity of overhauling an anachronistic system of local administration.” Newton and Donaghy, Institutions of Modern Spain, 145.


169. Ibid., 107–108.

It should be noted, however, that the local administration also created some new street names that appear to contradict this intention of recovering only traditional names. For example, such new names included Federico García Lorca, Antonio Machado, Pablo Iglesias, John Lennon, and Padre Llanos (the inventor of Esperanto).

Other material improvements to the police force included the addition of new vehicles and radios. More than 200 new vehicles were acquired in the first six months of the administration alone. Between 1983 and 1986 an additional 147 new cars and 256 motorcycles were acquired. Other improvements included the creation of a K-9 unit and the addition of off-road motorcycles for patrolling parks and open spaces. See Ayuntamiento de Madrid, “Seguridad y policía”; Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Madrid Avanza: 1983–1984, un año de gestión, 62–63; Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Madrid Avanza: 1983–1987, 115.
202. Tierno Galván, “La carta del alcalde.”
206. Ibid.
209. Ibid.
213. Ibid.
216. Ibid., 166–167.
217. Tierno Galván, “De la pasividad a la convivencia activa.”
220. Ibid.
222. See Ayuntamiento de Madrid, *Participación Ciudadana*.
230. Ibid.
231. Ibid., 199.
233. Ibid., 18.
234. Ibid., 17.
235. Ibid., 18.
236. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Recuperar Madrid, 199.
239. Ibid., 27.
242. Ibid.
243. Ibid., 9.
244. Ibid.
245. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Recuperar Madrid, 199.
246. For an exact breakdown of the suggestions by type, district, and organization, see Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid, 1985. Memoria General, 39–43. Also, according to a survey carried out in June and July of 1982, to gauge the effect of the information campaign, 66 percent of the population knew about the Preview of the Plan General and 75 percent knew that the Ayuntamiento wanted to “revitalize Madrid.” Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid, 1985. Memoria General, 16.
247. Ibid., 52.
248. For a detailed summary of all claims filed, see ibid., 57–74.
249. For a complete list of suggestions incorporated into the Plan General, see ibid., 44–46.
250. Ibid., 9.
253. Ibid., 8.
260. Fundación Villa y Corte, Madrid, Objetivo Cultural: actas de la semana de estudios sobre el presente y el futuro de la cultura madrileña celebrada durante los días 6 al 11 de febrero de 1984 (Madrid: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Madrid, 1985), 1.
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261. Ibid., 409.
262. Ibid.

Chapter 4

6. Ibid., 142.
13. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
24. Ibid., 82.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
35. Working with the Concejalía de Cultura, Eduardo Huertas and Ramón Herrero were largely responsible for the drive to open new cultural centers across the capital. See Ibid.
36. Ibid., 157.
42. Comunidad de Madrid, *Consejería de Cultura y Deportes, 1983–1987* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1987), 27. To further promote participation and patronage, a new Bibliobús program was even started. This program was designed to bring news and books to the smaller and more isolated towns of the Comunidad. An important step toward equal access to cultural resources was made with the introduction of five new Bibliobús in 1985, and the number was expanded to 13 in 1986. Altogether, the network of Bibliobús came to circulate more than 100,000 volumes and visited 160 different municipalities on over 38 routes. See Comunidad de Madrid, *Consejería de Cultura y Deportes, 1983–1987*, 27.
44. Ibid.
50. For additional information on the development of the region’s exhibit halls and expositions, see Alberto Mariñas, “Del cero al infinito,” *Lápiz*, Summer 1991.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
55. Ibid., 86.
57. Ibid., 3.
58. For example, for the first time in the capital’s history, the Ayuntamiento commissioned a survey in February 1981 to analyze and study Madrid’s youth. See Ayuntamiento de Madrid, “El Ayuntamiento con los jóvenes,” *Villa de Madrid* 1982-I.
59. José de la Paz, “Cambios demográficos recientes en la capital, el area metropolitana y la provincia,” *Alfoz*, no. 7–8 (1984): 29. It was precisely in 1964–1965 that the most babies were born in Spain. Of course, in 1985, those individuals turned 20 years old. By 1988, there were 9.7 million young people between the ages of 15 and 29 in Spain, more than in any time in the country’s history. See José Luis Zárraga, *Informe juventud en España: 1988* (Madrid: Instituto de la Juventud, 1989).
Notes

69. Ibid., 165.
70. Ibid., 166.
71. Ibid., 167.
72. Ibid.
76. Tierno Galván, “Festejos populares.”
78. Ibid.
79. Tierno Galván, “Festejos populares.”
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
83. Tierno Galván, “Festejos populares.”
84. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, “La cultura: cuatro años fecundos.”
88. Ibid.
90. Ibid.
92. Ibid.
93. “El Gobierno municipal opina.”
102. Ibid.
106. Ibid.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid., 7. For a complete list of the films presented at San Isidro 1984, see Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Madrid y el Cine: Fiesta de San Isidro 1984.

Chapter 5

3. Only a single book published in Spain before 2005 exclusively examines the movida: José Luis Gallero, Solo se vive una vez. Esplendor y ruina de la movida madrileña (Madrid: Adora, 1991). Up to this point, Gallero’s popular oral history of the period served as the most important source of information
for scholars interested in the movida. Even though Gallero’s book consists of nothing more than a series of interviews with former participants, nearly everyone has taken the words and interpretations of the movida’s participants at face value, without any recognition or interrogation of the possible distortions, intentional or not, that may come from the recollection of a period close to a decade in the past. This situation changed recently with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the movida madrileña. Along with a series of retrospective expositions, film screenings, and round-table discussions sponsored by the regional government of Madrid, the years 2006 and 2007 saw the publication of a variety of new books addressing different aspects of the movida; see Silvia Grijalba, Dios salve a la movida (Madrid: Espejo de Tinta, 2006); Víctor Coyote, Cruce de perros y otros relatos de los 80 (Madrid: Visual Books, 2006); Pablo Pérez Mínguez, Mi movida madrileña: fotografías 1979–1985 (Barcelona: Lunwerg, 2006); J. D. Álvarez, Ouka Lele: biografía (Madrid: Neverland Ediciones, 2006); Héctor Foure, El futuro ya está aquí (Madrid: Velecio Editores, 2007).

4. In the preface to their 1995 ground-breaking work on Spanish cultural studies, Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi call attention to the lack of work on the topic and point out that the “history of the movida has still to be written”; see Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi, “Editors’ Preface,” in Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction, ed. Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), vii. Since that time, not a single scholarly monograph has been written on the movida to fill that gap.


6. For an in-depth discussion of the historiography of the movida madrileña, see Hamilton Stapell, “Just a Teardrop in the Rain?”


9. Teresa M. Vilarós, “Los monos del desencanto español,” MLN 109 (1994): 232. The movida’s lack of any major literary legacy is explained by Vilarós as a kind of cultural hangover resulting from the long dictatorship. From this perspective, the movida represents a cultural void rather than a cultural rebirth in the post-Francoist period.


13. Ibid.

14. Ricardo de la Cierva, one of the early Ministers of Culture during the Transition period, has strongly criticized the left for their interventionism in matters of culture in the 1980s. See Ricardo de la Cierva, *España, la sociedad violada* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1989). Specifically see the chapter, “El frente popular de la cultura,” pages 229–260.


18. Ibid., 91.

19. For a detailed chronology of the movida, including bands, concerts, records, festivals, see Ordovás, *Historia de la música pop española*, 210–244.

20. See Jesús Ordovás, *De que va el Rrollo*.


27. For further information on the early nightclubs and bars of the movida, see Márquez, *Música moderna*, 87–89; Martín, *La movida*, 24–30.


30. For a description of early radio programming and the movida, see Márquez, *Música moderna*, 84; Martín, *La movida*, 12–17.

31. For further information on the development of Radio 3 in the 1980s, see Martín Sabas, *Radio 3. 20 años* (Valencia: La Máscara, 1998).

32. For a description of early radio programming and the movida, see Márquez, *Música moderna*, 84; Martín, *La movida*, 12–17.

33. For further information on the development of Radio 3 in the 1980s, see Martín Sabas, *Radio 3. 20 años* (Valencia: La Máscara, 1998).

34. For more information on these early television programs, see Martín, *La movida*, 17–18.

35. For additional information about film in Madrid in the 1980s, see José Ramón Rey, “El cine: entre el amor y el odio a la Ley,” in *Madrid, años ochenta*, ed. Rafael Sierra (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1989).


37. For more on fashion during this period, see Merche Yoyoba, “De Sid Vicious a la chipie generation,” in *La Edad de Oro del pop español*, ed. Carlos López (Madrid: Luca Editorial, 1992), 112–113.


47. For more on the popular press and the movida, see Javier Domingo, “La Luna, el Madriz, El Paseante . . . y otras especies de los 80,” in Madrid, años ochenta, ed. Rafael Sierra (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1989).

48. For further information on La Luna de Madrid, see Malcolm Allan Compitello, “Todavía en La Luna,” Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies 1 (1997); Domingo, “La Luna, el Madriz, El Paseante . . . y otras especies de los 80,” 313–316.


50. Thus, contrary to the conservative interpretation, the cultural phenomenon described above was not the creation of a conscious effort by public institutions to win votes, to pacify the masses with bread and circuses, or to battle the so-called desencanto. In fact, prior to 1984, Tierno Galván and Madrid’s other political elite had very little appreciation for or understanding of the movida. For example, there was no recognition of the movida in the many reports and studies put out by the Ayuntamiento, see, for example, Ayuntamiento de Madrid, “La fiesta somos nosotros,” Villa de Madrid 1982-I; Ayuntamiento de Madrid, “La cultura: cuatro años fecundos,” Villa de Madrid 1983-II; Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Madrid Avanza: 1983–1984, un año de gestión (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Concejalía de Relaciones Institucionales y Comunicación, 1984). In addition, the Comunidad of Madrid simply did not exist before the middle of 1983 to help promote the movida. To Tierno Galván and the rest of the political elite within the administration, the activity of the movida was just one part of Madrid’s increasingly vibrant cultural scene. The administration was simply not responsible for initially conceiving or engineering the culture of the movida.

51. Ordovás, Historia de la música pop española, 220.

52. López, La Edad de Oro del pop español, 11.


54. See, for example, ibid.


56. Ibid., 222.


59. Carlos Berlanga’s father was the famous Spanish film director, Luis García Berlanga.


62. Ibid., 332.

63. Ibid., 333.


66. Ibid., 21.


68. In 1985, only 46.7 percent of the residents of the *Comunidad de Madrid* had been born in the region. *Comunidad de Madrid, Informe sobre demanda latente de cultura y deporte* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1985), 21.

69. The fact that the movida’s cultural elite was not from Madrid represents the historical norm, rather than the exception. The three authors most closely associated with the culture of Madrid in the past were not originally madrileños: the *aragonés* Pedro Laín Entralgo, the *segoviano* Anselmo Carretero, and the *sevillano* Antonio Machado.


71. For further information on some of the different sites of the movida, see Dominguez Uceta, “Lugares de los 80.”

72. In 1982, for example, only approximately 20 percent of the musical groups in Madrid had made a record. Martín, *La movida*, 11.


75. Ibid.


77. Mark Allinson has specifically described the movida’s optimism with regards to the singer Alaska, see Allinson, “Alaska: Star of Stage and Screen and Optimistic Punk.”

78. There is no firm agreement over the exact origin this term. While some attribute the name to foreign journalists living in Madrid to cover the country’s political transition to democracy, others claim it came from Madrid’s drug culture, slang for scoring a hit. Even though both of these explanations place the origin of the term in Madrid itself, it appears as though the phrase was actually first applied to Madrid from the outside. Specifically, it came from a television program produced in Barcelona. In the summer of 1980, Ángel
Casas first used the phrase “la movida madrileña” on his program “Musical Express” (TVE) to describe the unique musical and cultural scene in Madrid, see Francisco Umbral, “El ‘Rock/nenuco’,” El País, July 6, 1980. Also see Márquez, Música moderna, 85; Martín, La movida, 18. Regardless of the actual origin of the phrase, the words, “movida” and “madrileña,” did become inexorably linked together. In the press, the two words were almost always used together and soon it became impossible to think of the movida without thinking of Madrid.

79. See, for example, Moncho Alpuente, “Tu no tienes la culpa Federico,” Madrid Me Mata, April 1985, 26.
82. Ibid.
84. See, for example, Borja Casani and José Tono Martínez, “Madrid 1984: ¡La Posmodernidad?,” La Luna de Madrid, November 1983. Also see Éric Beaumatin, “Madrid, la la décennie prodigieuse,” Autrement (1987).
85. See, for example, José Tono Martínez, ed., La polémica de la posmodernidad (Madrid: Editorial Libertas, 1986); Francisco Umbral, Guía de la posmodernidad (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 1987). For a further discussion of Spain within the postmodern context, see José B. Monléon, Del franquismo a la posmodernidad (Madrid: Akal, 1995); Eduardo Subirats, “Postmoderna modernidad: la España de los felices ochenta,” Quimera 145 (1996); Kathleen M. Vernon and Barbara Morris, Post-Franco, Postmodern: The Films of Pedro Almodóvar (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1995).
88. According to Bessière, the confusion surrounding the terms “modern,” “postmodern,” and “post modernity” was “without a doubt one of the most trivial aspects of the period.” Bernard Bessière, “El Madrid de la democracia: comportamientos culturales y crisol de creación. Realidades y dudas,” in España frente al siglo XXI: cultura y literatura, ed. Samuel Amell (Madrid: Cátedra, 1992), 64. Also see Bernard Bessière, “Le postmodernisme en Espagne dans les années 80,” Les Mélange de la Casa de Velázquez (1990).
89. This well known quote is attributed to Adolfo Domínguez. See Ordovás, Historia de la música pop española, 226.
90. The use of the word “jóvenes,” both at the time and later in the historiography, has led to confusion and misunderstanding, especially for Hispanists working outside of Spain. Unlike in the United States and England, the terms jóvenes and juventud refer to a population between 15 and 25 or 15 and 30 years old, not strictly to teenagers. See EDIS, La juventud de

91. The weeklong visit of the master of “pop” art to Madrid in 1983 had a significant impact on the movida in general and on some participants in particular. The movida singer Carlos Berlanga recalled, “To discover Warhol is like a Christian discovering God (Descubrir a Warhol es como para un cristiano descubrir a dios).” Comunidad de Madrid, Andy Warhol y España: exposición (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1987), 28.


93. Fundación Villa y Corte, Madrid, Objetivo Cultural: actas de la semana de estudios sobre el presente y el futuro de la cultura madrileña celebrada durante los días 6 al 11 de febrero de 1984 (Madrid: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Madrid, 1985), 410.

94. Ibid.


98. Ibid.

99. Ibid.


101. Ibid.


103. For more on Madrid Me Mata, see ibid., 318–321.

104. For example, see La Luna de Madrid, November 1983, no. 1. The journalist and writer Moncho Alpuente also confirmed the public support of these magazines through advertising in 1985. See Mariano Antolín Rato, “Historias de la movida: así nos la inventamos,” La Primera Línea de la Actualidad, November 1985, 38.


110. Jesús Ordovás has also speculated that the administration supported bars that hosted movida bands, see Javier Memb, “La movida, del infinito al cero,” Interviú, April 23, 1990, 110.

112. Ibid.
114. Ibid.
115. Even the title of the exposition linked the movida with the identity of the capital. The title “Madrid, Madrid, Madrid” was taken from the chorus of Agustín Lara’s 1951 song, “Madrid,” which over the years had become Madrid’s very popular unofficial anthem or hymn. With such a title, the exhibit, which almost exclusively featured the movida madrileña, was directly tied to a positive and long-standing symbol of Madrid, Lara’s famous song.
117. Ibid. Also see Ordovás, *Historia de la música pop española*, 237.
118. Acebes, “La movida de Madrid en imagen.”
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
121. “‘Viva el caos!’” *El País*, January 20, 1996.
122. However, with the official institutionalization of the movement came some restrictions and limitations. After a stabbing near the entrance of Rock-Ola, the movida’s most famous bar was permanently closed by the Ayuntamiento on March 14, 1985. Coincidentally, Paloma Chamorro’s popular television “La Edad de Oro” was canceled the same week. However, as the program aired on national television, TVE2, the cancellation of “La Edad de Oro” was not a municipal decision. After the closure of Rock-Ola, and an earlier fire at the disco Alcalá 20, other bars and concert halls, such as Sala Universal, had problems with the municipal administration and were forced to close. While the closure of these bars represented the local administration’s desire to control some of the excesses of the movida, official support for the movement far outweighed the few restrictions placed on it.
125. See, for example, *Villa de Madrid*, May 15, 1985.
126. See Alaska, “La fiesta debe continuar.”
132. “Nueve días de ‘Movida’.”
135. Ibid.
136. Ibid.
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138. Ibid.

139. Ibid.


143. Three individuals in particular from the regional administration have been linked to the official sponsorship of *La Luna de Madrid*: the Consejeros Virgilio Cano de Lope and Agapito Ramos, and the Director General de Cultura, Juan Miguel Hernández de León. See Domingo, “*La Luna, el Madriz, El Pasante...*” y otras especies de los 80,” 315.


145. For more on regional radio programming in Madrid during this period, see Eduardo García Matilla and Ortiz Miguel Angel, “Los jóvenes madrileños y la radio de los 80,” in *Madrid, años ochenta*, ed. Rafael Sierra (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1989).

Chapter 6


6. For more information on the popularity of the large number of expositions in Madrid during this period, see Julián Gallego Serrano, “Diez años de exposiciones madrileñas,” *Cuenta y Razón*, no. 35 (1988).


10. Ibid.

14. For a discussion of CBS’s experience with the movida music scene, see Jesús Ordovás, Historia de la música pop española (Madrid: Alianza, 1987), 205–208.
20. Ordovás, Historia de la música pop española, 235.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., 234.
31. Unfortunately, because this study was commissioned by the regional government of Madrid, instead of by the Ministry of Culture, similar statistics from other regions are not available for comparison. See Comunidad de Madrid, Informe sobre demanda latente de cultura y deporte (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1985).
32. Ibid., 63.
33. Additionally, as mentioned in Chapter 4, the overall use of Madrid’s regional public library system also significantly increased during this period, with patronage increasing from 216,000 books checked out in 1983 to 536,500 in 1987, almost a two and a half fold increase. See Comunidad de Madrid, Consejería de Cultura y Deportes, 1983–1987 (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1987), 27.
34. Comunidad de Madrid, _Informe sobre demanda latente de cultura y deporte_, 78.
35. Ibid., 65.
39. CIS, _Municipales Madrid (Estudio 1546)_.
40. Ibid.
43. “Madrid llora a su alcalde.”
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
54. To celebrate its fiftieth anniversary, Radio Nacional de España asked listeners from all across Spain to decide the most popular person in each Autonomous Community. Tierno Galván was the overwhelming winner in the Comunidad de Madrid. See “El más popular de Madrid,” _Villa de Madrid_, February 4, 1986.
56. See, for example, “Escriben los madrileños,” _Villa de Madrid_, March 15, 1986.
58. This was only the second time the City Council granted its highest honor. The first time was to the Congress (Cortes Generales) after the attempted coup in 1981. See “El pleno concede por unanimidad la Medalla de Honor de Madrid a Enrique Tierno,” _El País_, January 21, 1986.
59. The monument was eventually constructed in the Parque de las Delicias, later renamed Parque de Tierno Galván in the mayor’s honor. See Carmen Santamaría, “El Parque de las Delicias llevará su nombre,” _Villa de Madrid_, February 4, 1986.

62. On May 8, 1983, Tierno Galván and the PSOE won 29 of Madrid’s 57 City Council seats, compared to 23 by the conservative coalition of AP-PDP-UL (Alianza Popular, Partido Demócrata Popular, Unión Liberal). Despite winning the absolute majority of the City Council seats, Tierno Galván’s administration received just 49 percent of the overall vote, while 37 percent of madrileños voted for the Grupo Popular coalition. See Fernando García, “Los socialistas revalidan su triunfo,” *Villa de Madrid*, May 5, 1983.

63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. CIS, *Municipales Madrid (Estudio 1546).*
67. Ibid. Even as far back as 1982, the majority of the population supported the local administration’s cultural program. See Julio Fernandez, “La cultura centra el mayor grado de satisfacción de los madrileños con la actuación de su Ayuntamiento,” *El País*, October 7, 1982.

68. CIS, *Municipales Madrid (Estudio 1546).*
69. CIS, *Barómetro Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid I (Estudio 1503).*


75. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

80. Editorial, “El Alcalde de Madrid.”
81. Ibid.
85. Cited in ibid., 132.
86. Cited in ibid.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid.
91. CIS, Barómetro Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid I (Estudio 1503).
92. EDIS, Las elecciones generales 1986: valores sociales y actitudes políticas, movilidad y motivación del voto (Madrid: Fundación Friedrich Ebert, 1987), 78.
93. Ibid., 55.
99. Francisco Alvira Martín and José García López, “Los españoles y las autonomías,” Papeles de Economica Española 35 (1988): 403. The decrease in regionalist sentiment in areas such as the Basque Country and Galicia was probably due to regional aspirations being fulfilled by the development of the system of autonomous communities during this period.
100. Ibid.
101. CIS, Los españoles ante el segundo aniversario de la firma del tratado de adhesión de España a la Comunidad Europea (Madrid: CIS, 1988).
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid.
104. For further information on sociological studies regarding national and regional identity in Spain, see José Jiménez Blanco, La conciencia regional en España (Madrid: CIS, 1977); José Luis Sangrador García, Esterotipos de las nacionalidades y regiones de España (Madrid: CIS, 1981); Eduardo López Aranguren, La conciencia regional en el proceso autonómico español (Madrid: CIS, 1983); Gonzalo Herranz Rafael, La vigencia del nacionalismo (Madrid: CIS, 1992); M. García Ferrando, La conciencia nacional y regional en la España de las autonomies (Madrid: CIS, 1994); José Luis Sangrador García, Identidades, actitudes y estereotipos en la España de las autonomías (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1996); Félix Moral, Identidad regional y nacionalismo en el estado de las autonomías (Madrid: CIS, 1998).
105. Luis Moreno, La federalización de España (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1997), 130.
106. Ibid., 130–135.
107. Ibid., 130.
108. Ibid.
110. Gómez Rufo, Carta a un amigo sobre don Enrique Tierno Galván, 33.

Chapter 7

2. Ibid.
Notes

5. Undoubtedly, the PSOE’s program was also influenced to a degree by the general rise of neoliberalism during this period, symbolized by the successes of Margaret Thatcher (1979), Ronald Reagan (1980), and Helmut Kohl (1982), and by the general revitalization of the process of European integration across Western Europe in the 1980s.
6. James Petras has summed up the contradictions resulting from the PSOE’s embrace of a neoliberal program: “[It was] a party that contested for power from a strong working-class base (after all, it is officially the Spanish Socialist Workers Party—PSOE) and that upon assuming power pursued a business orientation with a single-mindedness that would impress the most earnest Thatcherite; a party that promised comprehensive social changes and realized a capitalist transformation; a party that ascended to power on the back of rising working-class militancy and presided over a policy aimed at weakening working-class organization; a party whose ideologues and publicists subscribed to and promoted an ideology promising to extend the power of civil society against the state and that in power witnessed the extension of state power over civil society; a party that attracted a substantial number of anti-bureaucratic intellectuals and transformed them into functionaries of the state.” James Petras, “Spanish Socialism: The Politics of Neo-liberalism,” in *Mediterranean Paradoxes: Politics and Social Structure in Southern Europe*, ed. James Kurth and James Petras (Providence: Berg, 1993), 95.

7. In fact, it has been argued that “the ideals of full participation in the process of European integration encompassed the ‘cardinal and transcendent thought’ to which the Socialists oriented themselves in formulating their hegemonic project” in the 1980s. Otto Holman, *Integrating Southern Europe. EC Expansion and the Transnationalization of Spain* (London: Routledge, 1996), 96.
11. Full membership in the European Economic Community (EEC) was applied for in 1977, immediately after the first democratic elections were held. The Treaty of Accession was finally signed by King Juan Carlos in June 1985, and Spain officially entered the European Community (EC) on January 1, 1986.


16. It should be noted that the national NATO referendum was only held after the death of Tierno Galván, one of the most vocal opponents of the PSOE’s proposal, and after Spain’s official entry into the EC at the beginning of 1986.

17. For further information on Spain’s economic development with regard to its integration into Europe, see K. G. Salmón, *The Modern Spanish Economy: Transformation and Integration into Europe* (London: Pinter, 1995); Holman, *Integrating Southern Europe*.


22. Javier Memba, “La movida, del infinito al cero,” *Interviú*, April 23, 1990, 109. It should be noted that not all of the artists, musicians, and designers of the movida were washed away and forgotten. There have been a few exceptions. As mentioned previously, Pedro Almodóvar has gone on to become the most famous child of the movida. The internationally famous director, and generally acknowledged enfant terrible, has won praise both at home and abroad for his films depicting the pleasures and perversions of post-Francoist society, even winning the Oscar for best foreign film in 2000 for *Todo Sobre Mi Madre*. The teenage singer, performer, and undisputed movida icon, Alaska, continues to pursue a musical career, and remains in the public’s eye through her numerous appearances on television. The fashions of a handful of designers, including Agatha Ruiz de la Prada and Sybilla, also have retained their popularity. In comparison to these few successes, though, the hundreds of rockers, artists, and would-be cultural icons, along with the cultural movement they helped create, have faded into oblivion since the mid 1980s.


24. Ibid., 17–18.

25. Ibid., 18.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., 18–20.

28. Ibid., 18.


33. Under the administration of Javier Solana, the Ministry of Culture provided financial support for regional cultural activities everywhere from Catalonia to Andalusia. See Emiliano Fernández Prado, *La política cultural. ¿Qué es y por qué sirve?* (Gijón: Ediciones Trea, 1991).


37. Ibid. Also see Bessière, “El Madrid de la democracia: comportamientos culturales y crisol de creación. Realidades y dudas,” 70. In light of this information, the minister of culture at the time, Jorge Semprún, promised to correct the inequalities between Madrid and the other regions. While the Ministry of Culture promised to protect the cultural interests of all of the country’s autonomous regions in this example, the institution most often mirrored and reinforced the main priorities of the national PSOE between 1986 and 1991. See “Semprún admite que deben corregirse los desequilibrios entre Madrid y Barcelona,” *El País*, July 27, 1989.

38. Conceived in 1985 by the Ministry of Culture of the EEC, the yearly designation of a European cultural capital was designed to improve the exchange and integration of the different cultures that constituted the EC. Athens was the first city to be selected in 1985. Subsequent nominations included Florence, Amsterdam, Berlin, Paris, Glasgow, Dublin, and finally, in 1992, Madrid.


40. “Madrid, elegida por la EC capital cultural de Europa en 1992,” *El País*, May 28, 1988. Apart from the funding provided by the national administration, Madrid’s program for its promotion as the Cultural Capital of Europe in 1992 relied heavily on support from the private sector. The four biggest sponsors, Caja Madrid, Telefónica, El Corte Inglés, and Leche Pascual, contributed more than $12 million. This figure was only slightly less than the total investment made by the Ayuntamiento of Madrid: $13 million. Consorcio para la organización de Madrid Capital Europea de Cultura, *Madrid Capital Europea de Cultura 1992*, 295.

41. In 1992, Barcelona celebrated Spain’s first Olympic Games amidst much fanfare and Seville held an international exposition, Expo-92, to commemorate the quincentennial of America’s “discovery.”

43. Ibid., 1.
44. Ibid., 3.
49. Ibid., 107.
50. Ibid., 161.
51. Ibid., 162.
53. Ibid., 5–6.
54. Ibid., 57.
55. Ibid., 203.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid., 204–205.
58. Ibid., 217.
59. Ibid., 215.
60. Ibid., 220–221.
61. Ibid., 205.
62. Ibid., 47.
63. See, for example, Anabel Díez, “‘Vamos a ganar estas y las próximas elecciones’ asegura Felipe González,” El País, June 8, 1987.
64. Despite the rivalry between Adolfo Suárez and Manuel Fraga, the CDS and the Partido Popular (PP) decided in 1989 to bring motions of censure in several cities across Spain where Socialists governed with only a simple majority. This strategy’s most spectacular success came in Madrid, where Juan Barranco was deposed in June 1989 and Joaquín Leguina held on as president of the Comunidad of Madrid by only a single vote, averting the creation of a center-right regional government under the leadership of Alberto Ruiz Gallardón (PP). Despite the fact that the CDS only won 8 percent of the popular vote in the 1987 municipal elections, Barranco’s replacement was the head of the CDS in Madrid, Agustín Rodríguez Sahagún. The center-right coalition lasted for two years, until 1991, when the PP’s candidate, José María Álvarez del Manzano, won the absolute majority after the disintegration of the CDS. For more on the crisis related to the censure of Barranco, see Javier Echenagusia, “Galerna en el rompeoplas,” Alfóz, no. 64 (1989).
69. Ibid.
74. “Barranco invitará a empresarios franceses a invertir en Madrid.”
76. Ibid.
77. See, for example, Juan Barranco, “La Capital Europea de la Cultura,” Villa de Madrid, 1 February 1987.
78. Juan Barranco, “‘Empezaremos a ver los frutos de las grandes obras’,” Villa de Madrid, January 1, 1986.
79. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
85. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Madrid, cultura viva, 12.
87. Ibid., 11.
88. Ibid., 26.
93. Ibid.
97. Castilla, “Desaparece la revista Madrís, financiada durante tres años por la Concejalía de Juventud.”
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101. Ibid.
103. López, La Edad de Oro del pop español, 16.
105. Ibid.
109. The motion specifically outlawed demonstrations from the center of the city, even with prior authorization. In addition, no demonstrations were allowed between 8:00 a.m. and 8:00 p.m. during the workweek in the center or on any of the city’s major streets. Some of the prohibited streets included Castellana, Princesa, Gran Vía, and Alcalá. The local administration even went so far as to suggest the implementation of a “demonstration stadium” (manifestódromo) located away from the city. For more on limiting the right to protest in Madrid, see Rodolfo Serrano, “Los sindicatos rechazan la prohibición de manifestarse por el centro de la ciudad,” El País, November 11, 1987. Also see “El Tribunal fija el recorrido de una manifestación,” El País, November 21, 1987; “Sólo Izquierda Unida rechazó la propuesta del PSOE,” El País, November 27, 1987; Ramón Adell Argiles, “Madrid: capital de manifestaciones,” Alfóz, no. 74–75 (1990).


119. Ibid.


125. See ibid.

126. Ibid.

127. Ibid.


132. Ibid.

133. Íñiguez, “Los músicos de la movida madrileña, contra la política cultural del alcalde.”


135. Other observers have been critical of the costs generally associated with the PSOE’s emphasis on economic neoliberalism and consumption. John Trumpbour, for example, has criticized the national PSOE’s particular brand of socialism: “Spain’s *via thatcheriana* brought in its wake unemployment approaching 20 percent amidst vandalized public services, a ravaged physical environment, and large scale projects designed to slake the thirst for predatory over-consumption among the middle and upper classes.” John Trumpbour, “Preface: Southern Europe Past and Present,” in *Mediterranean Paradoxes: Politics and Social Structure in Southern Europe*, ed. James Kurth and James Petras (Providence: Berg, 1993), 10.


137. Ibid.

138. For further information on Spain’s economic development with regard to its integration into Europe, see Salmón, *The Modern Spanish Economy: Transformation and Integration into Europe*; Holman, *Integrating Southern Europe. EC Expansion and the Transnationalization of Spain*.


141. Leguina, “La economía madrileña y los socialistas.”
142. Ibid.
145. Spain’s seven-year transition period came to an end in 1993, further exacerbating the country’s post-1992 economic recession.
147. de Miguel, “La juventud Madrileña de los años 80: la última invasión de los bárbaros,” 56.
148. Ibid.
153. Ibid.
156. Ibid., 94.
160. “La Comunidad de Madrid reduce el presupuesto del Festival de Otoño.”; “80.000 personas asistieron al Festival de Otoño de Madrid.”
162. Ibid.
164. Ibid.
167. Ibid.
169. Ibid.
170. Ibid., 34.


By the end of the decade, the Comunidad of Madrid had become more European in another small but symbolic way. Between 1984 and 1989, the number of Europeans living in the region more than doubled, increasing from 14,852 to 33,574. Comunidad de Madrid, *Anuario Estadístico*, 148.


Once again, data from the years 1990 to 1995 must be used here for analysis because the “dual identity” question was not put to the residents of Madrid during the 1980s.


Pérez Navarro, “Casa Regional para Madrid.”

Ibid.

See, for example, Juan Antonio Carbajo, “San Isidro, el santo del agua,” *El País*, May 15, 1989.


Ibid., 73.

Chapter 8

the apparent dominance of neoliberalism at the end of the 1980s in a decidedly positive light, the opposite interpretation is, of course, possible. The triumphalism of liberal democratic regimes and the unquestioned embrace of the “logic” of the market can also be seen as limiting the possibility of pursuing political alternatives that would eventually lead to greater egalitarianism, social justice, and democratization. From this perspective, the perceived end of ideological alternatives represents not a victory for capitalism and the West, but a defeat for more progressive models of democracy.


4. For example, scholars such as Guillermo O’Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter argue that while popular mobilization may promote democratization during the early stages of transition from authoritarian rule, highly active or militant political participation usually represents a threat to democratic consolidation in the long term: “[Popular mobilization] may be an efficacious instrument for bringing down a dictatorship but may make subsequent democratic consolidation difficult, and under some circumstances may provide an important motive for regression to an even more brutal form of authoritarian rule.” Guillermo O’Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 65. For a good general discussion of the major lines of debate surrounding the democratic consolidation of former authoritarian regimes, see Diane Ethier, “Introduction: Processes of Transition and Democratic Consolidation: Theoretical Indicators,” in Democratic Transition and Consolidation in Southern Europe, Latin America, and Southeast Asia, ed. Diane Ethier (London: Macmillan Press, 1990).


6. Ibid. In contrast to those who see demobilization as a prerequisite for a stable democracy, other scholars, such as Peter McDonough, Doh Shin, and José Álvaro Moisés, maintain that low levels of popular participation undermine “the quality of democracy.” Peter McDonough, Doh Shin, and José Álvaro Moisés, “Democratization and Participation: Comparing Spain, Brazil, and Korea,” The Journal of Politics 60, no. 4 (1998): 945. For a classic treatment of this issue, see Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).


9. Sandie Holguín argues that the Republican-Socialist insistence on a national identity based on the primacy of Castilian culture, which also failed to celebrate cultural diversity, led in part to the failure of the Second Republic. See ibid.

10. Ignasi Riera, “Autonomía de la cultura, cultura de la autonomía,” in Encuentros en Madrid 1985: por la renovación cultural, por la democratización
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11. Ibid., 76.
16. Despite this ignoral by ABC, the Ayuntamiento of Madrid placed full-page advertisements in the newspaper promoting San Isidro 1985. See, for example, ABC, May 10, 1985.
17. See, for example, Ernesto Carvajal, “Tamames, los bares y el goatíné,” ABC, January 11, 1986.
18. Pilar Bidagor Altuna was writing in response to the issue: Alfós, no. 7–8, September 1984.
20. Ibid.
27. Geoff Eley makes a similar argument about the general “deradicalization” of European socialist parties during this period in his recent book: “Profoundly deradicalized, they were separating rapidly from the political cultures and social histories that had sustained them . . . No one talked any longer of abolishing capitalism, of regulating its dysfunctions and excesses, or even of modifying its most egregiously destructive social effects. For a decade after 1989, the space for imagining alternatives narrowed to virtually nothing.” See Eley, Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850–2000, vii.

Conclusion


6. Beyond anecdotal evidence, it is difficult to link an increase of drug use directly with the *movida*. This task is made even more difficult by the fact that there is little information in general regarding drug use specifically in the capital during this period. However, one study from the mid-1980s showed that the proportion of young people in Madrid between the ages of 15 and 24 years that smoked marijuana on a regular basis increased from 19 percent in 1982 to 24 percent in 1985. See Amando de Miguel, “La juventud Madrileña de los años 80: la última invasión de los bárbaros,” in *Madrid, años ochenta*, ed. Rafael Sierra (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1989), 44.

7. In fact, with regard to those associated with the *movida*, AIDS claimed the lives of the writer Eduardo Haro Ibars, the gallery owner Fernando Vijande, and half of the artistic duo known as Los Costus.


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