Article title: "If in London have itchy balls, everybody scratches it here".: Early developments of punk in Chile and Spain: parallels and differences.

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**"If in London have itchy balls, everybody scratches it here".
Early developments of punk in Chile and Spain: parallels and differences.**

Abstract.

The diversity of manifestations within the punk scene has been previously noted in the academic literature. Punk diversity rests as much on the social and material conditions of musical production as on the peculiarities of the dominant culture and the socio-political situation of each region at a specific historical moment.

Some noticeable differences between the contexts of British and Spanish punk were the absence of differentiated youth culture in Spain, the tension between expectation, disillusionment and possibilism of the Spanish democratic transition, and the immaturity of the media and the political structures created. To a greater or lesser extent, these contexts were shared by their Latin American counterparts.

With these elements in mind, this article aims to outline the place that punk music and its derivatives had within the processes of democratic transition, drawing a comparison between Spain and Chile, given the historical and political confluences between the two countries. Thus, its developments, the generational rejection dimension, and the attempts at political appropriation to which punk and its derivatives were subjected, besides some elements that might distinguish Chilean and Spanish punk from their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, are discussed.

Keywords:

Punk, Local developments, Spain, Chile, Movida Madrileña, Democratic Transition

Introduction.

In Spain, we are currently witnessing a renewed interest in recovering the accounts encrypted in the artistic manifestations of the 1980s. This interest may be based, to some extent, on the nostalgia of the youth of those years, who are currently, and from different fields, seeking to reclaim the role of subcultural/countercultural forms of struggle and resistance, as well as their place in Spain's recent history.

It is certainly difficult for me as a researcher in the field of medicine to delve into the areas covered in this article; however, I believe it is relevant to provide a few brief outlines which, without seeking to exhaust the subject, may be useful in arousing the reader's curiosity to explore the readings proposed in the recommended bibliography.

My previous research has focused mainly on popular representations of psychiatry and mental disorders. Through the analysis of the products of popular culture and, more specifically, in the field of sung music, I have sought to elucidate the latent and overt contents related to the views held by the general population about people suffering from mental disorders (and those who treat them). In this sense, the study of rock and, specifically, punk music, has provided me with a direct, raw vehicle, devoid of artifice and rhetorical pretensions, to understand how these issues are represented from a subcultural perspective.

This is how I arrived at confirming my intuitions about the potential of this type of pieces, fast-paced little chronicles where the figure of the "madman" or the "mentally disturbed" appeared in stories woven on the asphalt, from the neighbourhood, the family, the work, or the authors' own experiences; always against the backdrop of the vindication of the "madman" as a metaphor of other-

ness. Thus, "madness" also appeared as a sign of identity, oscillating between self-marginalisation and the expression of a potential for an alternative existence that defied established social moulds.

This article aims to outline the place that this type of music had within the processes of democratic transition, drawing a comparison between Spain and Chile, given the confluence between the two countries. As Aguilar (2018) highlights, both Spain and Chile would present dynamics of lagged modernisation and cultural globalisation (Fernández García, 2016), as well as processes of political instability -although not concurrent in time- that include, among others: coup d'état, military dictatorship, loss of freedom, violation of human rights, isolation from the foreign world, transition to democracy and renovation of structures or reintegration into the global international framework as a modern democracy (Aguilar, 2018). As a difference between the two countries, the global cultural influence had a more subterranean development in Chile, which was determined by the political context (the last period of the dictatorship); while in Spain it had a more public character as it developed in the initial period of the Transition, being used as an example of foreign openness and an image of rupture with the previous system.

Punk: Neither Movida nor “Llanto” Nuevo nor Radical Rock.

It is important not to lose sight of the fact that musical manifestations, as cultural constructs, do not allow to directly infer the political situation of their time from their lyrical content. In John Street's words: "music-making is not just journalism with a backbeat" (p.246). Thus, music results from the interplay of political, commercial, aesthetic and institutional processes (Street, 2001), which impact the contents and how they are exhibited.

Today, the interest in "La Movida" has generated different narratives, both in academia and within the cultural ambit itself, which oscillate between mythification and trivialisation, leading to partial visions of a highly complex phenomenon.

We will understand "La Movida" as a cultural aggregation of artistic interventions, of an alternative character, which developed in Madrid in the early phase of the Spanish democratic transition and whose musical expression was close to "New Wave" in attitudes and aesthetics.

Probably one of the most insightful views of what La Movida was and what it meant on a social and political level can be found in the work of Wheeler (2018). This author criticizes the mythologized account of the Transition (and La Movida as a metaphor for it) as a "party", as well as the superficial readings that, by focusing on the positioning with respect to the previous dictatorial regime, overlook its dimensions of generational rejection. This rejection found expression in the abandonment and apparent indifference to any form of political militancy and, to a certain extent, in a pronounced distancing from the tradition of musicians whose social commitment was expressed in genres such as protest music. This aspect is one of the first points of confluence with the Chilean reality, where punk represented not only the rejection of the official culture and its youth-oriented proposal, the "New Chilean pop", but also the cultural heritage of the "Canto Nuevo"¹. The juvenile identity associated with the latter was rejected by Chilean punks, who, without neglecting a critical message against the regime, sought alternatives outside the existing circles, thus becoming identities that diverged from both militarist and militant cultures (Benítez, González and Senn, 2016). It

¹. *Canto Nuevo* was a cultural and musical movement developed in Chile since the end of the 1970s. It was critical of and opposed to the military dictatorship and had its antecedents in the *Nueva Canción Chilena* [Chilean New Song], a social-musical movement of folkloric renovation, developed in the 1960s, whose main exponents were Violeta Parra, Víctor Jara, Quilapayún or Inti Illimani, among other prominent figures.

contained a critique of the self-flagellant mood of the ironically named "Llanto nuevo" ("New Cry", a pun between "Canto" [Song] and "Llanto" [Cry]), as well as its cultural closed-mindedness, which left no room for novelties coming from abroad. At the core was the idea of breaking with conventions, which included not only the dictatorship, but also the political parties (including those in the opposition) and their forms of negotiation. It was a visceral reaction to existence in a space conditioned on a public and private level. The punks saw political parties as nothing more than outdated slogans, far distant from their breakaway tendencies and forms of denunciation (Aguayo, 2006). For their part, the opposition to the regime criticized punk's lack of commitment, associating it with "imperialist ambitions of listening and replicating music in English" (Aguayo, 2006).

Returning to La Movida, Wheeler (2018) proposes that rather than a reaction against Francoism, it was an attempt to break with the politicisation of everyday life and puncture the division between "art" and "popular culture".

Punk, which preceded La Movida, had to make do in Madrid with an existence on the margins of the latter and, although it had notable exponents and a consolidated scene, it did not achieve the prominence it had in other regions such as the Basque Country. There, under the label "Radical Basque rock" advocated by Herri Batasuna², some punk bands were promoted for propaganda purposes in what would come to be known as "Martxa eta borroka"³ (Party and Struggle).

² *Herri Batasuna (HB) was a Spanish political coalition that emerged in 1978 as the political arm of the terrorist organisation Euskadi ta Askatasuna (ETA). HB defined itself as a nationalist left-wing party, and its main objective was independence from Spain and socialism for the Basque Country.*

³ *"Martxa eta Borroka" was a sort of tour that began in March 1985 in the Basque Country. It included concerts, lectures and debates organized by HB. It was defined by the sympathetic press as "a showcase of music at the service of ideas".*

These examples give the reader a foretaste of the difficulties in dealing with "punk" in a general way, given the particularities of its adaptation to local realities and the different sensibilities involved in the understanding (and generation) of its message(s), which also co-evolve with social, cultural, political and economic developments.

Local Adaptations of Punk.

Local differences have also been described in other countries (for example, in US punk, the Detroit, NYC, or California scenes, to name a few, are distinguished). Thus, locality and socio-cultural environment are relevant for the development of a band's artistic identity (Ambrosch, 2015).

O'Connor (2016) highlights the diversity of manifestations within the punk scene, which leads him to propose punk as a practice within a field, following Bourdieu's concepts of "habitus" and "field".

While it is not my main objective to delve into the differential features of punk across regions, it is important to stress that its manifestations must be considered in the context of power relationships since the norms that punk challenges are produced and reinforced by the dominant culture. Thus, the diversity of punk expressions in different countries will rest on the social and material conditions of musical production and, regarding themes and influences, on the peculiarities of the dominant culture and the socio-political situation of each region at a specific historical moment. Additionally, geographical separation in the pre-internet era possibly contributed to a greater heterogeneity between local scenes. Nevertheless, some authors argue the existence of a punk "ethos" underlying the different regional expressions (Smith, 2020; Bestley, 2016).

A recent example of the immediacy of punk practices, their contingent development and the need to adapt to local realities can be found in the song "Idiota Portugalujo" by the group "Manifa", released on Youtube during the 2015 municipal election period. Parodying Green Day's "American Idiot" (2004), the lyrics criticize the electorate and the socialist leader of Portugalete, a small town near Bilbao.

Despite self-interested revisionism located a supposed origin of punk in Latin America (Chávez, 2011), the influence derived from the media diffusion of British punk, firstly, and American punk, later, is undeniable in Spanish and Latin American punk.

In Spain and Latin America, British and American punk was adapted to suit local particularities. Hispanic punks recreated the subculture, improvising, imagining and constructing it from their own perspective. The Rolling Stones, the Who, New York Dolls, Lou Reed, and Iggy Pop were relevant influences for the first waves of punk bands in Spain. As the years passed, the Spanish groups themselves became influential on the Spanish and Latin American scenes, with bands such as Eskorbuto and La Polla Records being among the more well-known, as well as other relevant Anglo-Saxon groups such as the Ramones, Sex Pistols and the Clash, among many others.

Spanish protopunk was represented by "La banda traperera del Río" in Barcelone (whose musical style was more akin to garage rock and urban rock) and "Kaka Deluxe" in Madrid. These groups could be considered as exponents of what would later become two recognisable branches of Spanish punk. On the one hand, a more socially rooted approach, representative of marginality and the disadvantaged social classes, was the legacy of the former. On the other hand, fun-oriented, provocative punk was the legacy of Kaka Deluxe.

Kaka Deluxe was part of a punk vanguard in Spain mainly composed of well-off young people who had the resources to travel to London, buy records and get musical gear. Gradually, punk reached a more massive character after broadcasting reportage on London punk on the Spanish public television (Dossier, "Informe Semanal", Televisión Española, 1977) which made young Spaniards from the less wealthy classes aware of the existence of punk. It was probably the spark that detonated the creation of punk groups across the different points of Spanish geography.

Thus, the Spanish punk forefront was a far cry from the presumed proletarian roots of the British punk scene. This heuristic and ideological tendency in UK punk was both the product and the cause of the doctrine of subcultures, through which opposition and oppression were reified to vindicate popular culture (Wheeler, 2018). So, the "macarra rock" (as it was called in those years) of Spanish groups as La Banda Trapera del Río was more attuned to British punk's statement of intent.

Other noticeable differences between the British and Spanish punk contexts were the absence of a clearly differentiated youth culture in Spain, the tension between expectation, disillusionment and possibilism of the Spanish Transition, and the immaturity of the media and the political structures created (Fouce, 2004). These contexts were, to a greater or lesser extent, shared by their Latin American counterparts.

The prevailing view of British punk narratives tends to portray its members as disaffected working-class youths and the subculture as an urban movement that emerged in the context of economic crisis and unemployment. On the other hand, in the United States, there was a greater representation of white, middle-class youth as a reaction to feelings of social and cultural alienation around the myth of suburbia (Ambrosch, 2015). In Spain and Chile, the punk vanguards were made up of young

people from the upper and upper-middle classes, later giving way to exponents from less privileged social groups, similar to what happened in Mexico (López, 2013) or Colombia (Restrepo, 2005).

Despite the nationalist exaltation during the Francoist dictatorship and the racist discourses of the right-wing throughout the ages, racial tensions have not been problematized in Spanish society to the same extent as in the United States. In that country, the lack of integration between "whites" and "blacks" partly accounts for the divergences in two similar but racially differentiated movements: "hip hop" and "punk". In his work, Court (2020) documents how punk's self-marginalisation led to racist verbalisations accepted in the subculture of those years. For its part, migration was a relevant component in the development of British punk (Ambrosch, 2015). In that country, the social tension resulting from immigration led to an increase in conservatism, returning to the traditional values symbolized by Queen Elizabeth II, something that punk opposed head-on (Ambrosch, 2015). Additionally, in the words of Dick Hebdige (1979), "punk aesthetics can be read in part as a white 'translation' of a black 'ethnicity'" (p. 64).

In early Spanish punk, immigration or racial tension did not constitute a relevant focus, especially if we consider that Spain was an emigrants' country (migrations to Spain were propitiated after the economic change of the late 2000s). Despite this, racist epithets may also be present in Spanish punk (mainly in its early period) as a form of provocation and self-affirmation. As an example, the light-hearted song "El sudaca nos ataca" ["The sudaca attacks us"] by Siniestro Total (1983), where "sudaca" is a pejorative term referring to people from South America.

In Chile, racial aspects were irrelevant in the initial punk narratives. From the 1990s onwards, references to indigenous groups (mainly Mapuche) appeared sporadically. The position of the Mapuche people vis-à-vis the Chilean State, in conflict since Spanish colonisation and subsequently throug-

hout the more than two hundred years of Chile's history as an independent republic, appears in the punk imaginary as a despised, spoliated and marginalised, yet deeply combative group. It led to the progressive assimilation of their struggles as part of the thematic melting pot that inhabits the lyrics of Chilean punk, this development being more noticeable from the late 1990s-early 2000s.

The oppressed and marginalised character of indigenous communities and an idealisation of their "resistance against the state" contributed to the incorporation of elements of Mapuche culture into the identity of a part of Chilean punk to highlight the combative spirit of the latter. For example, the logo of the longest-running Chilean punk band, Fiskales Ad-Hok, consists of the head of a Spanish conqueror pierced by a Mapuche spear (**Figure 1**). In 1996, the same band experimentally fused punk with Mapuche instrumentation in their song "Río Abajo".

A.

B.

Figure 1. A. The logo of Fiskales Ad-Hok, a veteran band of Chilean punk, alludes to the Mapuche resistance against Spanish conquerors. More globally, it became a sign of resistance against any oppression. **B.** Fiskales Ad-Hok's performance at the Chilean version of the Lollapalooza festival in 2019 caused a considerable stir. The Tomás Ives' interpretations of the iconic logo were projected during the group's performance. In place of the Spanish conqueror, they included a series of faces of the Chilean right-wing (including the then-president Sebastián Piñera, or -in the picture- Augusto Pinochet, to name a few examples). Over a Marshall guitar amplifier, a Mapuche flag could be seen during the spectacle.

In the discursive sphere, the group "Los Miserables", which achieved massive diffusion in the 1990s in Chile, includes Mapuche themes in some of their songs, for example, "Canto Eterno" (1997) and "Mapuche" (2001). For their part, the band "Sandino Rockers" titled their 2004 LP "Kiñe Newen Tüin" (which in the Mapuche language means "a unified force"). Finally, it is worth mentioning the foundation in 1996, in Temuco, of what could be considered one of the first "Mapuche punk" ⁴ bands in Chile: "Pirulonko".

Figure 2. Mapuche flags and musical instruments during the opening of Fiskales Ad-Hok's show at Lollapalooza Chile 2019. Photography by Carlos Müller. Source: <https://rocknvivo.com>

Both Fiskales Ad-Hok and Los Miserables played at the "Resistencia Mapuche" festival in 1997, sharing the stage with the Argentine punk band "Dos Minutos" and Chilean hip hop and metal

⁴ Mapuche punk is proposed as a sub-genre characterised by themes addressing the problems and experiences of the Mapuche, using Mapudungun as the language for its songs, as well as a musical aesthetic and clothing that fuses elements of the punk subculture with those of the Mapuche community; this includes the use of Mapuche instruments and attire. Mapuche punk has found expression in regions of Chile and Argentina.

bands. It was the first of three editions of what would later be known as "Marichiweu Rock" (Marichiweu in Mapudungun means "Ten and a thousand times we will be victorious"), organised by the Garra Blanca, supporters of football team Colo-Colo. On 19 June 1999, the third edition included mainly bands from the Chilean punk and hardcore scene. Among others, acted then: Fiskales Ad-Hok (who participated in all three editions), Los Miserables, BBS Paranoicos, and R.E.O.

In other field, the subversive critique of Americanness gave way to an alternative sense of it in US punk (Ambrosch, 2015), while in Spanish one, there was no proposal for an alternative national identity against the Spanishness inherited from Francoism, simply because - in general - it renounced any national identity. The nihilism in the Spanish Transition's punk is evident in the La Polla Records song "No somos nada" [We are nothing] (1987). In this piece, the only definition of identity that can be found is that of "we are the grandchildren of those who lost the [Spanish] civil war", with the chorus underlining: "We are nothing". Even subcultural identity is denied, "we are not punk, not mod, not heavy, rockers, skin, not techno", challenging in its last verses with the phrase "do you want to identify us? you have a problem". In Chilean punk, neither the rejection of national traditions, considered typical of the elites nor the intended rapprochement with the aboriginal communities translated into an alternative proposal of Chileanness, thus sharing elements of the nihilism of Spanish punk. Contrary to the narrative of progress and economic development inherited from the neoliberal model imposed by the dictatorship, the deepening social gaps resulting from the poor distribution of wealth are evidence of a fractured country. In this sense, and preceding the recent social mobilisations that began in 2019 in Chile, Fiskales Ad-Hok sang: "A stick without a flag is our only emblem" ("Un Palo sin Bandera", 2019).

Regarding the influences coming from foreign experiences, the same musical group reflects in songs like "Jamaica" (1987) or "En Londres" [In London] (1985) a critical view of the idealisation

that can underlie these cultural appropriations. In "Jamaica", they point out: "There are many people who are very naive and think that Jamaica is ska. The multinational companies made Bob Marley, sold reggae and marijuana. It is a very danceable rhythm, and in Jamaica, the dictatorship dances it with the famine." On the other hand, "En Londres" criticizes the lack of imagination that comes with punk not adapted to local realities while underlining the influence that British punk had on some part of the Spanish punks: *"If in London have itchy balls, everybody scratches it here... if the phones don't work, they worry, and frightened ask the traveller: what are people doing in London now? Their little bird-heads run out of food..."*.

Punk in Chile and Spain: Contexts.

Punk's musical anti-aesthetics, marked by simplicity and prioritisation of energy and volume over sophistication, offered a space where 'proficient' and 'incompetent' alike could participate (McKay, 2015). However, some authors argue that the absence of skill requirements in British punk's musical programme was purely ideological since, at a musical level, stylistic experimentalism would have taken precedence (Moore and Martin, 2018). Without ignoring the data that support the vision of these authors at a musicological level, it is necessary to attend to the impact that a "Punk musical programme" (even if it was a purely ideological declaration of intent including mass participation and anti-elitism, the illusion of unmediated expression and the absence of skill requirements) had in the Chilean and Spanish youth in the late seventies and early eighties. Although an experimentalist component (and its consequent elitism) existed in Spanish punk, it was relatively marginal within this sphere and was quickly absorbed by what would become "La Movida", moving towards other kinds of music. Thus, the noise of the "incompetents" and "three-chord bands" was a musical reality in the manifestations of Spanish punk, with a material existence that persists fundamentally in the

home recordings ("maquetas") of those years. Referring to the first punk bands in Spain, Gómez (2019) argues that: "The sound of most American and British bands still sounds clean compared to their Spanish counterparts". More than an aesthetic choice, these peculiarities resulted from the lack of budget and the absence of sound engineers specialized in these types of recordings. The Chilean reality would not be too different.

Wheeler (2018) considers punk the first global pop phenomenon that Spain experienced as intensely as its European neighbours. The social context at the beginning of the 1980s provided perfect conditions for the emergence of punk in this country. Two years after the death of dictator Francisco Franco, in May 1977, the single "God Save the Queen" by the British Sex Pistols kicked off the European punk scene. One month after the single's release, Spain held its first democratic elections since 1936. However, the political situation remained highly volatile, accentuated by the economic impact of the 1973 oil crisis, which hit the country with particular harshness in 1979, resulting in the de-industrialisation of crucial areas and consequent unemployment. It was compounded by the increase in drug trafficking and heroin addiction, which were especially problematic during this period. Thus, the early 1980s was a period of transition marked by the search for a democratic identity in an attempt to assimilate with the rest of the Western world, after almost 40 years of dictatorial confinement and in a context of economic crisis and social change.

In Chile, the final years of the dictatorship witnessed the emergence of new youth movements critical against the regime, mainly associated with the political left, parishes, or universities, which, in addition to clandestine activities, organized cultural gatherings (usually through folk music and Canto Nuevo) as a form of cultural resistance (Aguilar, 2018). On a political level, the opposition to the dictatorship began to reach higher levels of organisation (international pressure groups, trade unions, social and student collectives, political parties) in 1982 and 1983. The last was the year in

which citizen protests reaffirmed the existence of a critical mass that advocated for a change in the country's situation (Aguilar, 2018). On the other hand, the return of some exiled families and the social and technological possibilities of exchanging information with the outside world opened the way to incorporate stylistic trends and tendencies from Europe and North America. It would lead to the emergence of a movement alternative to political militancy or clandestine activism and, of course, disconnected from the official culture established by the dictatorship. It included the punk and new wave subcultures, as well as other cultural and avant-garde artistic movements that coexisted most notoriously between 1983 and 1988, in a melting pot that - after the illusion and possibilism awakened by the "NO" campaign (the opposition against Pinochet during Chile's national plebiscite in 1988) - dissolved. The discontent arising from the frustrated expectations of the return to democracy was channelled fundamentally through the punk subculture. Thus, the lyrical-musical message would be less expressive⁵ and more politicized from then on, finding greater development in the 1990s.

As examples of the disenchantment with the return of democracy in Chile, some fragments of the songs "El Circo" [The circus] by Fiskales Ad-Hok (1995) and "Cerdo por liebre" [Pig for hare] by Los Peores de Chile (1997) are reproduced:

"A new circus comes to town, Christian and Democrat is the ruler, clown politicians laugh as they pass and we have no money for entrance (...) If the big top is our homeland, why are we here, staring at it hungry without being able to enter?"

(The Circus, Fiskales Ad-Hok, 1995)

⁵ In his essay on the hippie movement, Stuart Hall (1977) highlights the movement's dialectic between the "expressive" and "activist" poles. The former would emphasize "the personal, psychic, subjective, cultural, private, aesthetic or bohemian" (emotions and political attitudes); the latter, "the political, social, collective, organisational commitment". C. Feixa used these ideas in his work on youth cultures in Spain (2004, p36).

"(...) Many rainbows, many joys, everything was going to change; you believed it.

We exchanged boots for cassocks, but now nothing is happening".

(Pig for hare, Los Peores de Chile, 1997)

The last song makes direct allusions to the "NO" campaign. On the one hand, the rainbow was the iconographic symbol of the campaign (**Figure 3**), alluding to the melting pot of political forces involved in their desire to achieve the end of the dictatorship by democratic means. On the other hand, "la alegría" (joy) was part of the campaign's jingle and slogan: "Chile, la alegría ya viene" ("Chile, joy is coming").

Figure 3. The rainbow in the logo of the Coalition of Parties for the NO ("Concertación de Partidos por el NO") was one of the main symbols of the opposition to the Chilean military dictatorship during the campaign for the 1988 National Plebiscite in Chile.

While Fiskales Ad-Hok's "El Circo" refers more generally to the disenchantment with the political system and the feelings of exclusion of the population that punk represents; "Cerdo por liebre" alludes directly to frustrated expectations of the Transition period: "everything was going to change, you believed it". Finally, "we exchanged boots for cassocks" refers to the transition from a military dictatorship to a Christian Democratic government, without it was materialising in a real change for the population "but now nothing is happening (*nothing new*)".

The circus metaphor, the Transition as a spectacle, as a pantomime masking the absence of real change, was taken up again in 1997 by Los Miserables. In their song "Cambian los payasos... pero el circo sigue" ("The clowns change... but the circus goes on"), from the homonymous album (1997), there is again an allusion to dissatisfaction with what is perceived as an absence of real change: "they don't use so many bullets, but they kill you anyway", "they are no longer in uniform, but they always chase me, clowns have changed, but the circus goes on". The idea of the absence of change is also present in the song "Borracho", from Fiskales Ad-Hok's first studio album (1993). In it, intertextual references to the slogan of the NO campaign can also be detected: "and we talked about the same thing we talked about the other day, we were still so sad when the joy arrived (...) They always offer you new life, but everything stays the same".

Attempts at appropriation of punk (or its derivatives) for political agendas.

Returning to the examples of "La Movida" (Madrid) and "Rock Radical Vasco" (Basque Country), it is relevant to mention that both labels were used for political exploitation in order to capture the youth of the time for different partisan purposes. In Chile, the participation of some punk or new

wave bands in the demonstrations in favour of the "NO" campaign was more spontaneous and less institutionalized. However, it was possible to observe how the initial subcultural character of this type of movement gave way, with the advent of democracy, to a progressive professionalisation and assimilation of some of its most notorious exponents by the mass cultural industry, fundamentally in the field of pop music. The alternative scene continued through the relegated, the representatives of the most strident sounds and the most vindictive messages (Aguilar, 2018).

In Spain, the election of Enrique Tierno Galván of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) as mayor of Madrid in 1979 is considered by some authors as the first relevant victory after the Second Republic (1931-1936) of a supposedly left-wing party (Wheeler, 2018). Tierno Galván remained in office until he died in 1986, and his role as "godfather" of "La Movida" is recurrently mentioned when the subject is addressed, such that some authors consider his death as a symbolic milestone of the end of La Movida madrileña (Fouce, 2004). The subsidising of concerts and band competitions, among other cultural policies, was part of a broader strategy to integrate the youth, aware of the electoral strength of a population that, largely as a result of Franco's ideal of the large family, was both vast in number and suffering from historic highs in unemployment. This potential may also have been one of Herri Batasuna's driving forces for its "Martxa eta Borroka", which included conferences and concerts by "Radical Basque Rock" groups.

For example, in 1981, around half of the Madrilenian population was under thirty, and only about 10% was over 65 (Stapell, 2010). Thus, despite their reputation for political apathy, youth abstention rates were lower than the national average in the 1979 and 1982 elections, and their voting tendency was towards the PSOE or regional left-wing parties (del Val, 2014).

On the other hand, the institutionalisation of "La Movida" between 1982 and 1986 functioned as an image of the country's (post)modernity and its new democratic credentials. Thus, it sought to establish the narrative of an open country, in the throes of change, ebullience and modernisation, in an attempt to assimilate with the rest of Europe after nearly 40 years of dictatorial confinement. A "young democracy" that needed to be socially legitimized and, as Fouce (2004) points out, sufficiently attractive to obviate the fact that it was the result of a pact with the survivors of the previous regime, with the consequent rejection of revolutionary change and the decision to turn a blind eye to the atrocities of the past.

The political appropriation of punk in the Basque Country did not go unnoticed by some groups such as Eskorbuto or Cicatriz. They were critical of the label of "Radical Basque Rock" and the instrumentalisation of youth: *"before we were drug addicts and degenerates and now we are 'the youth'"* (Natxo Etxebarrieta, vocalist of the group Cicatriz, 1985; quoted by Mota, 2017). In more contemporary records, other members of the subculture reflect on the change in attitude towards punk on the part of the Basque nationalist left:

"I remember people not being allowed to enter the abertzales⁶ places because of being punk (...). At the beginning of the eighties, those nationalists beat up punks, told them they wanted a clean Euskadi in which the punks had to stay out. When they discovered, four years later, that the whole of Euskal Herria⁷ was punk, they changed their attitude and changed their discourse..."

(José Calvo, vocalist of Delincuencia Sonora, in "Lo que hicimos fue secreto")

⁶ Abertzale: in Basque language, "patriot". Used as an adjective, it means "Basque nationalist" (Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy).

⁷ Euskal Herria is used to designate jointly the provinces of Alava, Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, Lapurdi (France), Lower Navarre (France), Upper Navarre, and Zuberoa (France). These share defined cultural traits, exceeding the current political-administrative delimitation of Euskadi (Basque Country), which includes only the first three provinces.

While the becoming from punk to "La Movida" was seen as an image of a "new Spain", modern and free; vindictive punk (for example, that of "Radical Basque rock") was considered in left-wing intellectual circles as the image of the failure of the Spanish Transition. Somehow, the one and the other constitute examples of a split youth between those who benefited from modernisation and cultural openness and those harmed by the crisis, unemployment, housing problems and the lack of expectations (Fouce, 2004).

Conclusion.

In summary, the cases of Chile and Spain, with their commonalities and divergences, reveal particular phenomena of resistance, mainly at the generational level, but also regarding the repressive context that surrounded or preceded them. In addition, the disenchantment with the unfulfilled promises and the frustration of the expectations placed on the return to democracy were a relevant breeding ground for punk expressions in these countries, a context that differentiates them from their Anglo-Saxon counterparts.

Thus, the thematic evolution of Spanish and Chilean punk contents shows how, after the predominance of the expressive pole in the 1980s (except for the so-called "Radical Basque rock"), a movement towards the activist pole gradually consolidated in the 1990s (exemplified by groups such as Reincidentes, Los Muertos de Cristo or Sin Dios in Spain; and Los Miserables, Sandino Rockers or Disturbio Menor in Chile). At least in Chile, it coincides with a progressive incorporation of the popular classes into this subculture, which, in the mid-1980s, it was rather represented by a van-

guard composed of the more affluent classes, art schools, or descendants of those who had returned from exile.

In Spain, at the beginning of the 21st century, a new generation of punks sought inspiration in the aesthetics, sound and depoliticized attitude of La Movida and some branches of 80s punk in order to find an outlet for their discomfort with a scene that was already considered lacking in imagination and plagued by repeated political slogans. It saw a clear expression in the so-called "Mongoloid Punk", among whose exponents are Webelos in Madrid and Leonor SS in Barcelona. In what seems to be a way of disavowing the politicized punk of the nineties, the members of Leonor SS describe themselves as "Demasiado Guapos para el Punk" [Too handsome to be a punk] in their song under the same title (2010). In 2012, Juanma Rueda used the exact phrase to title his documentary about new punk in Barcelona.

In the periods of democratic transition in Spain and Chile, some common factors can be identified at the musical and cultural levels, which respond to similar processes. They result from the influence of a series of global movements that, as Aguilar (2018) points out, arrive with a delay or some distortion compared to their counterpoints in other regions of the world. On the one hand, the progressive openness towards foreign cultural influences initially adopted by an avant-garde made up of young people from more privileged social classes resulted in more subjective, sometimes light-hearted and depoliticized musical themes. As the process progressed, and after the frustration of the expectations placed in democratic change, there was a greater representation of the popular classes (in what seems to be a reaction more akin to the origins of British punk, in terms of generational disenchantment). It resulted in contents becoming progressively politicized, reaching militant dimensions in some cases (for example, Reincidentes, closer to the left of the Communist Party, or

Sin Dios and Los Muertos de Cristo, militants of the CNT, a Spanish trade union with a marked anarcho-syndicalist tradition).

For its part, the role of the political appropriation of youth cultures, previously exemplified in the cases of Tierno Galván's Madrid and Herri Batasuna's *Martxa Eta Borroka* in the Basque Country, seems to be more specific to the Spanish case. In Chile, the new dissident music's political involvement was spontaneous and nourished by the effervescence and enthusiasm of the possibility of political change through the plebiscite, which promoted their participation in different facets of the "NO" campaign. In the aftermath, the most marketable groups were legitimized by their assimilation into the mass cultural industry, while the rest subsisted in a discrete and disconnected underground scene. What once brought together visual artists, poets, punks, and new waves, gradually disappeared and the subcultures atomized. In the documentary "*Malditos, la Historia de Fiskales Ad-hok*" (2004), the protagonists suggest how the figure of Pinochet united against him a diverse group of artistic and subcultural expressions, which after the dictator's overthrow became fragmented into different struggles and searches, including the futile confrontation between subcultures or "urban tribes".

Although not entirely misguided, the left's critique of these cultural movements has not sufficiently considered their generational claim. In Fouce (2004) words: "the expression of a new type of youth that no longer had anything to do with the progressists and political militancy". Therefore, these developments were not necessarily based on a class identity but a generational reaction; the rejection of a univocal vision of the youth condition and the restriction of its expressiveness (including both poles of the political spectrum).

While most criticisms of the Movida or early punk point to their frivolity and lack of ideological commitment, Aguilar emphasizes that these criticisms mainly refer to ideology as a political-partisan underpinning. The same author stresses that the transformative value of these subcultural instances lies in their capacity to "provoke, subvert stereotypes and conventions that had become stagnant in a society stuck in the past" (Aguilar, 2018). Thus, these movements proposed advances in the social sphere, such as gender issues or the questioning of heteronormativity. In Chile, the last years of the dictatorship and its repressive component made it inevitable that these creative energies were translated into a protest or "informal mobilisation", to use the words of Arias-Cardona & Alvarado (2015).

Regarding these aspects, and from a theoretical perspective, it is necessary to conclude by highlighting that although the meanings of ideology may vary according to the field of knowledge that deals with it, it is still a crucial concept in the study of popular culture (Turner, 1996), and is often used as its synonym (Storey, 2009). On the other hand, ideology understood as "ideological forms" is conceived as that particular image of the world present in popular culture texts. Typically, this understanding depends on a notion of society as conflictual rather than consensual, structured around inequality, exploitation and oppression, so that texts are generated to take sides, consciously or unconsciously, in such conflict. Althusser (2009) proposes that ideology is not only constituted by a body of ideas but is also a material practice; that is, it is possible to be reflected in everyday life practices and not only in ideas about it. Thus, the concept of "ideology" brings a political dimension to the conceptual landscape shared with "culture". Power relations inescapably mark the cultural terrain, even when talking about "leisure and entertainment", since, although less perceptible, the ideological dimension is still there.

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