

***Flamenco*, Culture of Marginalization or Culture of Resistance?**

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Abstract

We carry out this approach to *flamenco* from Anthropology, with the tools of this science, but also with others such as history, musicology, etc. In this work *flamenco* is analyzed anthropologically, in interaction with other elements of culture and the social context in which it arises, its background is also described and whether it is a culture of resistance or marginalization. With these premises, in this work, it ends up concluding that the difficult interaction between all these factors prevents a clear judgment about where this cultural manifestation is headed and if the influences of global society will end up disfiguring it or causing it to stop working. to be a symbol of Andalusian identity. The importance of the concept of neighborhood for the Andalusian is also made clear in this place: it constitutes their hallmark and this in turn impregnates *flamenco*, which, as a consequence, means that, although *flamenco* can be done in places outside Andalusia, or by people outside it, in order for it to have overtones of *flamenco* authenticity, this cultural expression must have Andalusia and its humanized space as its point of reference: its territory, if we are not talking about something else.

Key words: Cultural identity, Cultural appropriation, Musicology, Social Anthropology, *Flamenco*, Interculturalidad.

1. Introduction. Anthropology as a reference

We carry out this work from a multidisciplinary point of view, but always focusing on the methodologies and tools that Social Anthropology mainly uses².

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² “The oral in an art like *flamenco* has been until recently, as happened to Demófilo with the cantaoJruanelo, almost the only source of information. It has its drawbacks, including self-serving lies, lack of memory or misrepresentation of data on the part of the informant (Mairena himself believed that EstébanezCalderón, at the famous party in Triana, was deceived, if not completely, then in part, since he was not given the *flamenco* fact in its fullness). Only the latest bibliography and research, carried out using the scientific method, from various areas (sociology, philology, anthropology, philosophy, anthropology, etc.) is based on what is written (treaties, press, posters...), which in many cases gives a history of *flamenco* that is different from the official one from the oral source or singer, although it can be said, so we believe, that what is written can also be, in fact, it often is, subjective, partial, self-interested, full of connotations and even -at its own

With its resources, we have tried to make an approach inspired by the current that is dedicated to studying the phenomena of cultural appropriation. And it is that, in the current era, the notion of “cultural appropriation” is used insistently. This concept refers to the process by which an individual or people adopts the patterns and tastes of their original culture or, at least, of a part of it. Always keeping in mind that, if everything happened without the pressures of global culture (imposing patterns and tastes) or of other more powerful cultures, this appropriation process may not be necessary: because the individual, or the affected peoples, would grow naturally, developing their own culture; and acting as an amniotic fluid, which nourishes it and protects it from spurious influences.

But the reality is quite different: cultures superimpose, overlap or compete with each other, absorb elements from others or renounce as many of their own; causing the elements that remain, losing contact with those that have already disappeared, to lose a point of their meaning; while the culture from which they emanated loses a bit of its identity. On the contrary, cultures that develop fully, without being subject to others, if possible, develop according to their own impulses and their own ecological mechanisms of adaptation to reality (LisonTolosana, 1969).

In the event that it is not able to get rid of this subordination, the identities of the peoples or their very physical existence are threatened; which eventually causes the disappearance of their cultures or themselves. Thus, the processes of enculturation, acculturation, appropriation or diffusion appear to be responsible for cultural forms and evolution.

One of these processes -cultural appropriation- appears as a resistance mechanism, which, in the unstable balance of the enculturation versus acculturation relationship, tries to tip the balance in favor of the former. We could then say that, in this struggle for cultural appropriation, the same culture is transformed, acquiring more resistant characters that make it a culture of resistance. However, on other occasions, the resistance is not complete, because it does not flow from a full awareness, which implies that the participants in a culture are aware of being different, but are not aware of how they are different or why, and not even aware that it is necessary to resist in order not to disappear.

Flamenco is found in this order of things, as a cultural manifestation that emerged mainly in the South of Spain, in Andalusia, and it is in this context that we ask ourselves if *flamenco* is a culture of resistance or marginalization, or any other type of culture: to answer this question, we will surely have to handle the aforementioned concepts, with greater care, in order to better focus on the situation raised..

2. The importance of music in Andalusian identity

A observation,not necessarily rigorous,allows us to verify the importance of music in Andalusian culture, and a slightly more detailed one will allow us to glimpse that, almost by elimination, this is the main identity element of the Andalusians, since it cannot be the language, as it is shared with other nationalities, such as the Castilian;

discretion.time - of the same inaccuracies as the document or oral source. (Mairena & Molina, 1963, p. XXI)”.Or, on the other hand:(Arrebola Sánchez, 1987).

Nor can it be the ethnic group, since we have identified at least three (one of them subsumed in the other two)...What remains is the territory, always loved by all Andalusians, and the music. But if we look for more solid causes, and not only those obtained by excluding others, we could say that music is an element of Andalusian identity. We see some of them:

- a) As a reflection of their position between hedonism and asceticism (of which we have good examples in our culture; *ibid*, Morgado, 2001), they lead to music, transforming it into a resource to stay sober, without renouncing pleasure, since it provides it.
- b) Because it marks a leisurely existence, without the pressures of excessive competitiveness and with the delight of its aesthetics.
- c) The *compás* of the music, marks a rhythm of life, typical of the Andalusian people, in its different variants.

Thus, to the question of why Andalusian identity is expressed through music, we try to answer it, in our work on Andalusian orphism (Morgado Giraldo, 2003a). That orphism seemed to us then a third way between hedonism and asceticism: an alternative between both excesses. Now we also think that the cosmogony of the classical world also has a lot to do with it: time devours even the gods and only the ingenuity of Rhea (representing fertility) will save her son Zeus from being devoured by the Titan Cronus, his father. A whole allegory of the way in which the classical Greeks represented by Hesiod (Hesiod, 700 B.C.E.), understood transcendence: this was based on achieving it through the children that fertility (Rhea) provides, and thus defeating time (Cronos).

However, the Andalusian way of defeating time is by means of the *compás*, thanks to which nature mocks the tyrannical arbitrariness of random time, becomes the owner of that time and makes each moment its own, transcending the passage of time, since it does not affect it.

3. The historical context. *Andalusi* heritage

The traditional Andalusian society, which emerged as such at the end of the 18th century and lasted until the middle of the 20th century³; had its antecedents in the s. XVII, or even before, with the final fall of Al-Andalus. In those moments of the fall, the subsumption of the *Andalusi* ethnic group⁴ by the Castilian began, at the same time that, after the expulsion to North Africa, it became part of the mosaic of Moghreb ethnic groups, including the Amazig.

The *Andalusi* ethnic group, having reached this point of difficult survival, was the bearer of ancestral cultural patterns, not exclusively from the Islamic-Muslim civilization, but which, as some authors think, could even have some pre-Roman origins. Among these patterns were those of music. To find those musical patterns, the work of Julián Ribera y Tarragó (Ribera & García Gómez, 2000) can serve as a beginning.

³ When the first pre-romantic travelers discover it.

⁴ To see in more detail multi-ethnicity in contemporary societies, consult Fabregat's book included in the Bibliography (Esteva Fabregat, 1984).

Just at the time when the *Andalusi* ethnic group saw its survival most threatened, another ethnic group appeared in the Iberian Peninsula, that of the Egyptians or Gypsies, so called because then it was believed that they came from Egypt, although later it seems to have been shown that they came from further afield, perhaps from the Hindu Punjab⁵.

Thus, they found themselves in the soil of what had been Al-Andalus, at least three ethnic groups in interaction⁶. From this interaction arose rejections, mergers or eclectic mixes (Manuel, 2018), whose results were, at that time, unpredictable.

With regard to music, the rejection caused the passage of the Strait (of Gibraltar) of *Andalusi* music (the music of the *nubas*⁷, which in Morocco is called *Alalá*, in Algeria *Gharnâti*, *San'a* or *Ma'luf*, and in Tunisia or Libya, *Ma'luf*⁸) or the *jarchas* of Sephardic music⁹.

Meanwhile, in the peninsula, the fusion began not only with the adoption of the *Andalusi* metric by the Castilians, from remote times, as in the thirteenth century at least (ibid Ribera, 2018); but also by the “andalusining” (now we will say “evolve towards *flamenco*”) of *jotas* and *seguidillas*, passing over time, the first being called *fandangos*, or the second acquiring the nickname of “*sevillanas*”.

The eclectic mix possibly occurred: in roadside inns or inns (Mandly Robles, 2010), in neighborhood patios (Morgado Giraldo, 2003b), in taverns, in brothels... in places where the common people mixed, or at least interacted, listening to each other and imitating songs, compasses, and musical techniques, not to mention the metrics of the couplets, which had already been happening since the times of Alfonso X.

During this period of strong ethnic tensions, which goes from the s. XVI to XVII, but started several centuries before, and in which an amalgamation takes place, which transforms the *Mudejar* into the Baroque, and which leaves traces of the Andalusian refuge in the language (syntax, pronunciation and vocabulary, music and some customs), at the same time, the Pragmatic Sanctions are keeping the gypsies at bay, and preventing them from occupying a moderately relevant place in the Andalusian social structure and, much less, the Spanish one (Pérez de Guzman, 1982).

4. The role of the territory: the neighborhood

In that multicultural Andalusian society, the territory acted, as it does now, as one of the cohesive elements of society.

⁵ Through two routes: one through Egypt and the other through the Balkans. A través de dos rutas: una por Egipto y la otra por los Balcanes.

⁶ With regard to the Andalusian, a mixture of Arabs, Berbers -with their respective tribes- or Hispano-Romans-Goths (for example: the *kati*) could be found in it. Even recent studies give a considerable volume to the population of black slaves.

⁷Or turn.

⁸ “It is called *maluf* (traditional) in Libya, Tunisia, and in the Constantine region, *san á* (artistic honor) in Algeria, and *alat* (instruments) or *tarab* (emotion) in Morocco. The series of compilations along narratives. In the Middle Ages there was an eastern *kanuba*, differentiated from the western one, although the term *nuba* has been replaced by *was-la* in the Near East or *fasil* in Turkey” (Fernandez Manzano, 2018), or also Guettat (Guettat et al., 1999).

⁹*Jarchas*, *zéjeles* and *moajaxas*.

It is true that this can be a source of conflict, and in fact it is when the territory is a means of production, as in smallholder societies, in which smallholders frequently suffer the stress of losing their small part of the territory, at the hands of their neighbors.

But it is at this moment that one of the three cohesive elements, recognizable in Andalusia¹⁰, intervenes: the attachment of the Andalusians to their land (probably a product of the economic structure and early urbanization of the Andalusian territory). This cohesive element, according to which the economy is nourished by high-performance agricultural production, which requires large amounts of labor at certain times of the year; This made it necessary for a significant number of medium-sized towns to retain that necessary labor force, not only because they provided work, but because of a strong feeling of identity, they remained for a while in them, for reasons that went beyond those of economic logic.

This attachment means that when consanguinity or affinity act at certain times as divisive elements (because those who are not of one's own blood, or are not of one's own social group, are excluded), then neighborhood¹¹ acts as an emergency guarantor for cohesion between ethnic groups of a people that groups them, in this case the Andalusian people. Thus, being "neighbors" (Press, 1979) of Triana¹², will make non-gypsies, in their capacity as fellow-neighbors, intercede for Triana gypsies so that they are not expelled by the Pragmatic Sanction (ibid Pérez de Guzmán); and the attachment to the territory of the Andalusians will make the *Andalusies*¹³ take the *taqiyya*¹⁴ to such an extreme, as long as they are not expelled, that not even their own descendants will be aware of their own identity in the future (ibid, Antonio Manuel); or, rather, of that part of their ethnic identity, making only the part inherited from the Castilian conquerors emerge.

In this game and movement of cultures, customs and beliefs, it seems that the mixture of Moors with gypsies took place (Infante Pérez de Vargas, 1980), Moors posing as Old Christians... and, meanwhile, from what was Al-Andalus, Turdetania, or La Bética, Andalusia is emerging, and what will later be *flamenco* is being forged along with it; This matter does not seem casual to us, because as we tried to demonstrate at the time (Morgado Giraldo, 2010), music and identity seem to go together, since remote times difficult to specify. These two terms are shown united in this territory¹⁵ that includes the Guadalquivir valley and its counter-slope towards the Mediterranean, forming a clearly definable (ecological-cultural and bio-ecological) system, with its edges included.

And as a witness feature of all these processes of cultural miscegenation, the word "payo" remains, its original meaning already forgotten or, worse still, trivialized; pro keeping in itself the flavor of what happens in Andalusia: a vanished (almost ghostly) ethnic group,

¹⁰ Consanguinity, affinity and neighborhood. Proof of this are the artistic nicknames adopted by *flamenco* performers: Niña Pastori, Niño Ricardo, as examples of the first case; El Turroneiro, El Cabrero, La Niña de los Peines, for the second, or Niña de la Puebla, Camarón de la Isla or Antonio Mairena for the third.

¹¹ *Vecindad* in Spanish.

¹² Seville neighborhood.

¹³ People whose origin is in Al-Andalus.

¹⁴ Dissimulation of religious beliefs.

¹⁵ Understood as a humanized space.

Apparently disappeared, but which has left its aftertaste in many uses, customs and Andalusian cultural traits. Another ethnic group, the resident, the one that identifies with the territory, another mobile, the so-called gypsies, who, as they become sedentary, also identify with the territory (humanized space), not as the element of production, but as an element of identification, in which the cultural products that emerge have a local imprint.

5. What does it mean to be payo? What does it mean to be a gypsy?

5.1 The *payos*. During the mixing process, little by little, the individuals of the non-dominant ethnic groups (who managed not to be expelled) were subsumed into the main ethnic group, leaving only the Gypsies as a redoubt, who in Andalusia there were not so many *romaníes*¹⁶ anymore, as a melting pot of other ethnic groups, which were integrated into it, mainly the Andalusian (now called Moorish) and a fusion of cultural patterns of all of them.

In the case of non-gypsies, called *payos* or peasants by the gypsies, they also biologically and culturally welcomed the contributions of the *Andalusi* ethnic group, and others present in that period, especially in the ports¹⁷, where these exchanges were frequent. In the field of music, we can consider that this subsumption of the *Andalusi* ethnic group is manifested not only in Seville, with the “evolve towards *flamenco*”) of the seguidillas, becoming called “sevillanas”; but also that of the fandangos, which will be the result of *flamenco* playing the jacks, etc.

In the case of singing and dancing through Sevillanas, the most peculiar anthropological characteristics of Andalusian culture will be revealed: the coexistence of patriarchy, predominant in most societies, together with matrifocality and matricentrality, serving as proof of this the great role played by women in the *casas de vecindad*¹⁸, in their management and maintenance of order; along with the creation of these and other cultural elements; but in this case in the creation of lyrics and in the interpretation of the first known sevillanas.

5.2 The gypsies. The expression “gypsy” refers in Spanish and other languages to the supposed geographical origin of this ethnic group (Egyptians or from Egypt). Historical research seems to have shown that, indeed, one of the branches of their emigration passed through there, while the other passed through the Bosphorus Strait; although it appears that they originally set out from the Indian Punjab.

However, this denomination of gypsies refers to a possible origin, but says nothing of a "destination". This destination appears to be Andalusia, which has acted as a "bottom of the sack" or "end of the road", upon reaching which the gypsies did not continue progressing towards the West; as can be deduced from the scarce existing documentation on the emigration of gypsies to America and from the small percentage of these that now seems to be on that continent.

If this arrival in Andalusia had been in a specific historical interval, the fusion of payos and gypsies would have been a matter of time; but there are at least two factors that have prevented this consolidation:

¹⁶ Gypsies.

¹⁷ Including Flemish, Genoese and German.

¹⁸ Tenement houses.

a) “the gypsy custom”, which counteracts the “neighborhood” effect, which is so strong in Andalusia, and the fact that gypsy immigration is a living process, fed by a continuous trickle of gypsies from other countries (Portugal or Romania, for example) who have barely made contact with the local culture. This last phenomenon means that traditional Gypsy subgroups, such as *canasteros*¹⁹ (with more nomadic customs) or blacksmiths (more sedentary), have been followed by others who sometimes have difficulties living with local Gypsies.

6. Characteristics of *flamenco*. The *compás*, the complexity and the continuous tonality²⁰.

Once the ethnic groups involved in our object of study here: *flamenco* have been briefly described, we will describe some of its characteristics, in order to better understand the role it plays in the relations between the different Andalusian human groups. With this purpose, we will give here some brushstrokes on the terms mentioned in the heading of this section, although we cannot go into detail in explaining them, although we can highlight their importance and outline them:

- The *compás*, predominant in Andalusian music and in almost all the music of the "South"²¹. In these cases, the time signature is just as important as the key, if not more so; in contrast to Central European music, which emphasizes the latter.
- The complexity, or tendency to pay attention to details, both in singing (mellisma...), and in playing (strumming, biting, arpeggios...) or in dancing (with the absence of hieratic expression in body language).
- The continuous tonality, which does not make abrupt transitions between tone and tone, surely influenced by the flexibility of bowed string instruments, mainly the ravel (rebab) or similar (violin, viola...), surely of Mesopotamian origin.

Andalusian music all have in common at least the importance given to the *compás*²² and the mellisma, the continuous and linked tonality being more typical of *flamenco*.

Regarding the origin of Andalusian and/or Andalusian music, expert musicologists (ibid Ribera, 2000), (Guettat et al., 1999) mention Ziriab (El Mirlo), who came from the Eastern school, in the 12th century. But we do not know to what extent his arrival produced a musical revolution or if he limited himself to giving shape to a pre-existing cultural heritage²³: at least in the field of the metric of the couplets, it seems that there was an important local contribution in the sequence moajaxa-zéjel-jarcha (ibid).

¹⁹They make baskets from the willow trees when they walk along the roads.

²⁰ “[...] the *flamenco* guitar alternates the strumming, characteristic of the Castilian guitar, with the dotting, from the *morisca* guitar. Both styles make use of an ordered and symmetrical rhythmic structure, and profusely use microtonalism (sound intervals below half a tone)[...] (Franco, s.f.).

²¹ Understanding the South as all those cultures that, including part of the South of Europe, are to the South of the Central and North-European cultures and their derivatives.

²² You can feel the *compás*, for example, in the procession of a *paso de palio*: in the gusting of the feet of the bearers, the rubbing of the skirts with the poles and in the music of the band itself.

²³As in the case of Manuel de Falla, who collected a large part of the Andalusian musical heritage.

It is noteworthy that Julián Ribera already believed, more than a century ago, that the roots of soleares and playas, to give just two examples, were in musical forms from almost a thousand years ago (with the repetition of the chords La, Sol, Fa, Mi)²⁴

7. The crossroads of identity: *flamenco* in dispute

We can find *flamencos* both among *payos* and among gypsies; but it is true that the proportion of "*flamencos*" among gypsies is much higher than among *payos* (although not so much in Andalusian song or copla), at least in appearance, lacking a clear demonstration that this numerical superiority is such, and without denying it a priori, we can identify several reasons why this is so:

1. **Because the *Andalusi* heritage has more weight among the gypsies than among the *payos*.** This is difficult to specify, because it would be necessary to identify in both current ethnic groups what this Andalusian heritage is and its relevance with respect to the totality of cultural manifestations.
2. **Because the way of life of the *payos* is more open to exchanges with other cultures,** by participating more intensely in the processes of contemporary complex societies and, therefore, more easily adulterated.
3. **Because the transmission of *flamenco* necessarily occurs from teacher to disciple (it requires an initiation) and this very personal contact is facilitated by the family and social structure of the gypsies,** which is fundamentally based on consanguinity and is continuously reinforced by rituals that promote endogeneity.
4. **Because, on the contrary, the family and social structure of non-gypsy Andalusians is based not only on consanguinity, but also on affinity** and must materialize in common places, such as taverns, inns, *tablaos*, clubs, neighborhood *patios*... in the case of *flamenco*. But many of these places have either ceased to exist or are not always available; for various reasons, such as the ban on singing in taverns and even their disappearance, or due to the economic difficulties of the COVID pandemic, or prior to it.
5. **The gypsies have *flamenco* as a higher priority way of life than for the non-gypsies** (since their job opportunities are in a narrower range than in the case of the gypsies). There is still a high percentage of the gypsy population (the one that follows "the custom") that dedicates itself to street commerce, and those that dedicate themselves to other activities are surely less, in proportion, than that of the *payos*. For these reasons, *flamenco* is well supposed to be a refreshing way out of such few job prospects.
6. **For non-gypsy Andalusians, *flamenco* is more of a hobby, which can only be cultivated in free time:** the opportunities to achieve excellence in singing, dancing or playing decrease then, in direct proportion to the time they dedicate to practicing and learning.

8. Threats to Andalusian and gypsy identity

8.1. As it seems to us, the gypsy identity appears to be threatened by:

- **The influence of conventional society on the patriarchal structure of the gypsy family.**

a) The persistence of both the "request of the bride" (called *pediura* by them), as well as the alternative rite of the "kidnapping" of the bride.

²⁴ (Ribera & García Gómez, 2000).

- b) Related to the above, the requirement of the virginity of the bride, at the time of marriage, causes the prevalence of very premature marriages, in order to prevent young people from having to endure a long time without having intimate sexual relations.
- c) The subordination of the young woman to the groom's mother (matricentrism-patrilocalism); united to the general patriarchy of the ethnic group.
- d) The persistence of a high functional illiteracy rate, which is produced as a result of early school dropout, caused -among other reasons- by such early marriages.
- e) Little access to the labor market, given the limited training that young Roma have access to, for the reasons stated above, mainly due to very premature marriages and paternity which, in many cases, prevent them from continuing their studies.

- **The difficulties derived from a difficult rooting in the territory**, although in Andalusia, this is a phenomenon of lesser or lesser intensity; since, in Andalusia, the high value that neighborly relations reach (being a neighbor), overlaps with the tribal binder of the gypsies and the affinity²⁵ binder that unites the *payos*²⁶ more strongly than the gypsies.

- **The maintenance of a narrow range of professions**, due, generally, to an early abandonment of studies by young people (who graduate in a very low proportion), since traditionally they were blacksmiths (Pérez de Guzmán, 1982), cattle dealers, basket makers... trades all of which have almost disappeared today; Only work in street markets, or *flamenco* interpreter (singing, dancing or toque) remaining with some relevance (Steingress, 2005). However, this range is expanding with other professions; not without great efforts, which are seen, in a certain way, slowed down, by the fear of the gypsy community of moving away, in this way, from the guidelines that "customs" set for them.

- **The breaking of family ties, when drug trafficking makes its appearance**. This fact causes anomie and the destructuring of the gypsy community, since they are thus left without tools to face the threats of the environment and the disruptive forces of their culture.

- **The difficult (apart from inadequate) use of the racial argument as a cohesive element of the gypsy ethnic group**; given the obsolete nature of this term and the frequent biological interbreeding between payos and gypsies, throughout more than five centuries.

In this exposed situation, professionalization in *flamenco* appears as a viable option to reach prestigious positions on the social scale. For this reason, they may see the presence of payos in *flamenco* as a threat, or the recognition of its Andalusí origin.

8.2. The threats to the Andalusian identity are also of various types:

- **The prejudice about "mesticity"²⁷**, according to which traits that distance us from what is Andalusian are accentuated and valued more: people continue to try to appear "old Christian".
- **The search for prestige in Europeanizing aesthetics and ideas**. Common trait in towns located in the lowest levels of social prestige.
- **The kidnapping of identity signs considered valuable, such as music, language,**

²⁵ They become friends by affinity of character, hobbies, ideas, beliefs, professions...

²⁶ In this work we have been inclined to attribute to the term payo or paya a lexical or semantic root related to country. In this way, the payo is not only the farmer who cultivates the country's land, but is, above all, "a countryman": someone who belongs to the country, not that the country belongs to him.

²⁷ The fact of miscegenation.

literature, character... According to this procedure, the Andalusian is imitated and, at the same time, paradoxically belittled. The Andalusian is maliciously confused with the Spanish, thus diluting in the thinking of the speakers, the Andalusian identity: it is a process through which the speaker goes from thinking of the Andalusian as a variety of Spanish identity, to considering it as an identity. That is, -symbolically speaking-the Andalusian goes from being a subset of the Spanish to an identity; that is to say:

- **Confusion of identity.** The Andalusian is not that it is considered part of the Spanish, it is that it is confused with the Spanish and becomes blurred. A part is confused with the whole. In this sea of doubts, Andalusian cultural elements automatically become Spanish. Thus, for example, the Andalusian horse (related to the Arab) becomes a "Spanish horse", as if the Asturian horses, for example, were not; the Andalusian guitar (related to the Moorish), becomes "Spanish guitar"; The Andalusian song is the "Spanish song", the language we speak is not the product of the interaction between different linguistic forms, from the 12th-13th to the 17th centuries, but is the result of the "purity" with which the Castilians maintained their Latin heritage (therefore, the language we speak is not Spanish, in its Andalusian variant, but a "badly spoken" Castilian), and *flamenco* is Spanish...

- **The lack of powerful cultural or political pressure groups.** This causes the autochthonous point of view to be diluted when it comes into confrontation, for some reason, with foreign interests.

9. Two identities in crisis interfere in the debate on the origins of *flamenco*

Faced with these threats, the two identities (and the third subsumed) present on Andalusian soil, almost without realizing it, cling to music as the main anchor, along with their love for the Andalusian territory, understood as a humanized space. Possibly the non-gypsy or non-gypsy identity is based on the copla, processional music, *sevillanas-flamenco* and non-*flamenco*- in general and *flamenco*. For her part, the gypsy focuses on *flamenco*, often *jondo*²⁸; but also *flamenco* variants, of lower quality.

Until now, both ethnic groups have shared *flamenco* as part of their *Andalusi* heritage. But currently a certain external intention appears because we stop sharing that common heritage²⁹. This occurs, surely, for a mainly commercial interest: if *flamencois* exclusive to gypsies, that means that other gypsies in the world can also interpret it and, therefore, record companies, or others in the world of musical entertainment, can obtain commercial benefits with it.

10. The denial of the *Andalusi* heritage in Andalusian culture

This denial appears more or less conspicuously or in disguise, and it is a denial encouraged by the anti-Islamic wave that violence from Islamists has produced in recent decades or, simply,

²⁸ A more spiritual and intense variant of *flamenco*.

²⁹ Perhaps Infante's thesis (Infante Pérez de Vargas, 1980), on the role of gypsies in maintaining the Andalusian musical heritage, overestimates the role of gypsies in this transmission. Quite the contrary, this maintenance has also been the responsibility of the payos, because without their collaboration, *flamenco* would not have come out of marginality, given the situation of unfair marginalization that the gypsy people have suffered for a long time. Between payos and gypsies, sounds, compasses and techniques of Andalusian origin were shared that gave rise to *flamenco*, and when it emerged, both ethnic groups jealously guarded it, and enriched it.

by the underlying and latent xenophobia that exists in the West towards Islam. On many occasions it seems to us that the origin of this denial is this.

On other occasions, it seems to us that a linear interpretation of History can lead to this situation of doubting the *Andalusi* contribution because it is verified that the musical similarities on both sides of the strait are due to recent cultural contacts (Cruces Roldán, 2003)³⁰. However, what this verification actually³¹ proves is the cultural affinity that persists, and that these new contributions are well received because there are underlying musical structures similar enough to assume their common origin. However, at this point we come close to the diatribe between localizationism and diffusionism, a controversy that would not contribute anything to us, since the ways in which *flamenco* is “generated” are more diverse than that; something that we will try to demonstrate in another work later.

11. Nature of *flamenco*: Denuncia³², Autoafirmación³³ or Quejío³⁴?

a) Complaint. It can be said that *flamenco* is denouncing when it has a combative attitude, generally with a social content. We can find it in lyrics by José Menese (Moreno Galván), El Gloria, Manuel Gerena, El Cabrero, Carmen Linares...

b) Self signature. Related to identity; whether Andalusian, Andalusian or gypsy. We can find it in Lebrijano, Lole y Manuel, Estrella Morente, Antonia Contreras, Antonio Mairena... (Also in performers like Carlos Cano, La Banda Morisca, etc., in other *flamenco* influenced music)³⁵.

When the expression of identity does not manifest itself as resistance, it manifests itself only as a lament and as an expression of marginalization, sometimes remaining in quejío, without becoming jondo, in these cases because it does not manage to define its identity. This identity is sometimes clearly perceived as flowing from the Andalusian heritage, but it may still have manifested itself from earlier times. Thus, for example, the couplet:

"How do you want me to have
the white face
being a carbonite
of Salamanca?
on the air yes
not on air".

It is replaced by Antonia la negra by:

"How do you want me to have
the white face,
yesi am gypsy
from Casablanca?"

³⁰ The author wonders: are we then to speak of "inheritance" or simply "forced comparisons"? (Cruces, 2003: 125).

³¹ In the rise and growth of the zambras, for example.

³² Complaint.

³³ Self-signature.

³⁴ Regret.

³⁵ We use here references from well-known professionals, to situate the reader well, but in reality, these same tendencies appear among amateur interpreters.

c) The *quejío*. Perhaps the representative who has most innovated in this expressive facet of *flamenco* has been Camarón de la Isla, who came to recreate hundreds of nuances of the *quejío*. But despite everything, this sad version of *flamenco* does not seem to have gone beyond an aestheticism, which has been limited to making improvements in the sound of what is interpreted.

Finally, to conclude this section, we have to mention the multiple attempts to commercialize *flamenco* by emphasizing its passionate aspect. In our case, we cannot help but remember the work we did in 2010 (Morgado Giraldo, 2011) about the roles attributed to the cultures of the symbolic South and those of the symbolic North; attributing passion to the first and reasoning to the second. We will not discuss this statement here, but we maintain that it seems to us to be incorrect.

12. Conclusions

The complexity of the forces and currents that flow around *flamenco* make them neutralize in terms of the maintenance and even the growth of *flamenco*, on many occasions.

This complexity leads us to address the sources of these currents, which can be the social unifying factors, such as: a) ethnicity –which unites those of the same ethnic group, but which separates them from the rest of the population- b) the various types of affinities that can occur in complex societies³⁶ –which all produce some type of segmentation, often the cause of antagonism-, and c) the territory and the experience of neighborhood that it produces.

For these reasons, identification with the territory seems to us to be the crucial element for the maintenance of *flamenco*, since it has caused the gypsies to become sedentary or semi-sedentary (rotating between the different neighborhoods of the towns, or between more or less nearby towns), the payos yearn that they could finally own the land (or territory) to which they belong, and the Andalusians continue to yearn for the lost paradise, in the form of the territory from which they were dispossessed. In other words, the neighborhood can cause discomfort or, at times, coexistence problems, but it does not produce, in itself, segmentation, but rather partially heals existing wounds for other reasons³⁷.

On the other hand, self-affirmation seems to us to be the attitude of *flamencos* that most leads them to modernity, since it is the only one that, deep down, leads them to avoid depersonalization and anomie, and avoids the disadvantages of cultural globalization, which impoverishes cultural creation and ends up boring its consumers, who are always on the hunt for the latest musical novelty, because the penultimate one no longer tells them anything. Because the complainer has his moment, to show that the damage is being done or has been done. After the complaint, those who suffer from the disease or empathize with its victims expect something more. And the complaint is a step forward, but it does not allow us to see what the next one will be, if there is one.

³⁶ Social class, professional group, gender, belief, ideology, sports, artistic tastes, etc.

³⁷ See, in this regard, the opinions expressed by us in our doctoral thesis (Morgado Giraldo, 2003b) regarding the use of common space, and those collected, in the same thesis, by Irving Press (Press, 1979) in "Being a neighbor".

In any case, it seems to us that self-affirmation, through the recovery of cultural memory, and the consequent reappropriation of what has been abandoned, either due to weakness, usurpation or even prohibition, is the path to -worth the neologism- the de-alienation of one's own culture. And there is already quite a bit of literature on this current of cultural appropriation, which we invite the reader to review³⁸. And to avoid external manipulations, that self-affirmation, we believe that it should be combined; that is to say, that each of the Andalusian ethnic groups or subcultures have played a fundamental role in the emergence of *flamenco*; each one has contributed its personal seal, which has given it its global nature. And all this, thanks to the territory factor³⁹: the concept of neighborhood, which since ancient times has favored that relationship with the territory, so peculiar to Andalusians.

It is in this context of self-affirmation, from which we can say that the more *flamencois* directed towards self-affirmation, the closer it will come to resistance, directed against adulteration or alienation by economic and social forces, foreign to the Andalusian people, its creator.

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³⁸Araya Fuentes, 2020; Arya, 2021; Celigueta, 2020; De Murcia et al., n.d.; Germain, 2021; Hamel, 2021; Jackson, 2021; Lenard & Balint, 2019; Nicklas, 2012; Rogers, 2006; Sørensen & Hatling, 2000; Young, 2010; Young & Brunk, 2012 y Ziff & Rao, 1997.

³⁹ “...it is the Andalusian people who create *flamenco* art. But this statement should not raise blisters, nor hurt anyone's sensibilities, since the only thing we are affirming is that *flamenco* was born (or, rather, is being born) during a very broad and extensive historical process of miscegenation and cultural hybridization, but always within the Andalusian land”. (Silva Martínez, 2022: 24)

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