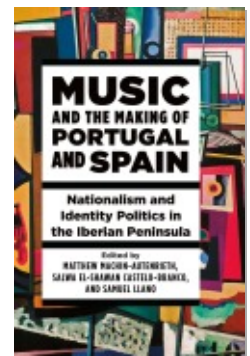




PROJECT MUSE®

---

Chapter 8. Towards a Critical Approach to Flamenco Hybridity  
in Post-Franco Spain: Rock Music, Nation, and Heritage in  
Andalusia



Published by

Music and the Making of Portugal and Spain: Nationalism and Identity Politics in the Iberian Peninsula.

University of Illinois Press, 2023.

Project MUSE. <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/114097>.

➔ For additional information about this book

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/114097>



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.  
[78.30.14.47] Project MUSE (2024-12-17 12:48 GMT)

# 8

## **Towards a Critical Approach to Flamenco Hybridity in Post-Franco Spain**

### *Rock Music, Nation, and Heritage in Andalusia*

DIEGO GARCÍA-PEINAZO

In 1962, the Spanish music magazine *Discóbolo* published an article that states, “flamenco and modern rhythms fight each other for the preferences of juke-box customers” (“Música en los bares” 1962, 25). One year later, the same magazine featured an interview with Pablito Rodrigo, a ten-year-old child who had extraordinary musical skills for the new rhythms of popular song. Pablito showed his preference for contemporary popular music styles, saying, “Flamenco NO, Twist SÍ” (“Pablito Rodrigo, intérprete de ritmos modernos” 1963, 15). Yet despite these clear distinctions between flamenco and “modern popular music,” flamenco cannot be understood without its historical links with modernity (Steingress 2002; Romero 2016). The mixing of flamenco and other genres of popular music has been a constant since at least the second half of the nineteenth century: from *zarzuela*, jazz, *cuplé*, rock and roll, beat, or progressive rock, to world music, heavy metal, hip-hop, EDM, or trap, among others. However, even when it is common to find narratives that celebrate flamenco hybridity and the genre’s encounters with other musics, the nature of these relations has not always been stable and indisputable.

This chapter examines some of the conflicting dynamics surrounding flamenco hybridity through a case study of rock music in Andalusia during the Spanish Transition to Democracy (ca. 1975–1982), a period when regional identities, political claims against centralization, and the resignification of cultural discourses and practices (re)emerged.<sup>1</sup> On the one hand, this chapter focuses on so-called *rock andaluz* bands (from now on referred to as RA), a hybrid musical phenomenon mixing progressive rock and flamenco that reached its peak in the 1970s. On the other hand, I consider other rock music bands in Andalusia during the period that did not use flamenco music in their recorded songs.<sup>2</sup> Drawing on press sources, oral interviews, and recorded songs, I analyze how flamenco evocations became an aesthetic and ideological requirement for rock bands to be considered as genuinely “Andalusian” during the second half of the 1970s. Moreover, such evocations became a symbolic imperative in order to create, during the Spanish transition to democracy, a “genuine” and “authentic” rock expression that could articulate an identity distinct from that of the Anglo-American canon of progressive rock. In Andalusia today, the RA movement has become progressively canonized as one of the most important stages in the history of Andalusian popular music. These two main ways of understanding rock—that is, bands that included “autochthonous” musical references such as flamenco and bands that shunned these aesthetic devices in the construction of their identity and image—coexisted during the transition to democracy. However, recent heritagization processes of the history of Andalusian popular music of the second half of the twentieth century primarily reinforce the centrality of a flamenco hybridity in the construction of narratives about the “real roots” of rock in Southern Spain.

### **Popular Music, Flamenco, and Identities in Spain: The Case of *Rock Andaluz***

As Samuel Llano points out, the formation and categorization of “Spanish music” is “a dynamic historical and cultural process that precisely encompasses a set of individual and collective experiences, as well as the personal and institutional agents engaged in their practice” (2013, 237). Throughout the twentieth century, popular music has often included elements that reinforce the idea of a “local/national color,” and in this context flamenco has definitely played a central role in the formation of an “imagined community” around what it means to be Spanish. In this sense, even when flamenco might be understood more broadly as a popular music expression, in this chapter I often adopt the definition of flamenco as “traditional music,” because this is how several rock bands in An-

andalusia view the genre. In so doing, they set up discursive, contrasting relations between metaphors of modernities, tradition, and the Other in popular music.

Interactions between flamenco and the emergent rock and roll can be found since the late 1950s in popular music for dance orchestras with labels such as “flamenco rock” or “flamenco rock and roll” (García-Peinazo 2017, 86–90), with such interactions being developed further during the 1960s, especially in relation to the beat movement (Alonso González 2005; 2010a). Nonetheless, in the late 1960s there was an initial lack of significant interest in flamenco music among numerous rock musicians from Andalusia, since at this time flamenco represented, for them, an anti-modern and even a Francoist manifestation.<sup>3</sup> However, in the late Francoist period, flamenco carved out spaces of symbolic contestation and political subversion, such as the so-called “flamenco protesta” movement in the late 1960s (Ordóñez Eslava 2013). In the mid-1970s, as the Franco regime came to an end, popular musicians in Andalusia stopped ignoring flamenco and began to integrate it in the musical discourse of rock.

*Rock andaluz* arose in tandem with regional claims in southern Spain that re-emerged at the end of the Franco era (1975) and was one of the most famous popular music expressions in Andalusia until the consolidation of democracy in Spain around 1982. This musical phenomenon merged common styles performed by Anglo-American progressive and hard rock bands with references to traditional musics from Andalusia. This musical strategy also occurred in other peripheral sub-state nations in Spain such as the Basque Country, Asturias, Catalonia, and Galicia, among others (García Salueña 2017). During the 1970s, this tendency was characterized as “rock con raíces” (rock with roots) and was promoted by the label Gong-Movieplay and its producer Gonzalo García Pelayo (García-Peinazo 2019). Flamenco music was the privileged intertextual genre performed by RA bands such as Triana, Alameda, or Medina Azahara in their resignification of tradition in Andalusia, although other musics, from *copla* to evocations of Arab music and Andalusí traditional musics, was also included.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the mostly exclusive use of lyrics in the Spanish language, RA also utilized the Andalusian “accent” as a means of expression.

RA can also be understood as a process through which the construction of rock as a global practice in peripheral countries dialogued with the rock canon articulated by US and UK bands during the 1970s. In accordance with the conventional periods of pop-rock history outlined by Motti Regev (2013), countries peripheral to the canon of popular music transition from mimesis of the canon to the use of local elements to evidence the differences between “national” rock styles—vernacular languages rather than English, use of melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic structures of traditional musics, etc.—but also to combine with other

“international” common styles. Regev describes this process as “expressive isomorphism” and “aesthetic cosmopolitanism” (2013). On the other hand, during the Spanish transition to democracy, flamenco was resignified by a generation of young Andalusian rock musicians, who were able to transform a music that supposedly represented Francoist values into a transgressive, distinctive music from Andalusia. In the search for these “roots,” flamenco was relocated as the clearest example of an “authentic” expression of Andalusian music. One of the members of Triana—the most emblematic RA band—argues that his group embodied the idea of “Andalusia without its [negative] stereotypes” (Rodríguez Rodway-Triana, personal communication, June 2, 2015).<sup>5</sup>

According to Cruces Roldán, after *mairenismo*,<sup>6</sup> between 1970 and 1990, there was a proliferation of festivals and competitions in Andalusia and other locations in Spain as well as the (re)emergence of flamenco *peñismo* (the gathering of flamenco *aficionados*, especially at emblematic venues for flamenco performance called *peñas*) and the “articulation of flamenco audiences around cult discography” (2017, 336). In this context, flamenco music was paradoxically understood by RA bands of the late 1970s according to the categories of “purity” and “authenticity” in a way that might be curiously reminiscent of *mairenismo* but in a popular music setting (García-Peinazo 2017, 333). In this sense, in his study of flamenco jazz during Franco’s regime, Iván Iglesias points out that albums such as Pedro Iturralde’s *Flamenco Jazz* (1967) constitute, through the use of flamenco, an expression of ideas about flamenco purity promulgated by *mairenismo* as well as an implicit recognition of the poet García Lorca as a left-wing intellectual: “What Iturralde combined with jazz in his Hispavox albums, consciously or unconsciously, was the matter of gitanismo<sup>7</sup> and mairenismo, an aesthetic that many Spanish young people and intellectuals identified at that time with ‘true’ flamenco art and with the political opposition to the Franco regime” (Iglesias 2017, 331).<sup>8</sup>

At this point it should be emphasized that the relationship between popular music and national/regional identity was articulated during the 1970s according to complex and often contradictory readings of what Andalusia represented to RA bands. In contrast to the idea of Andalusian identity as a homogeneous expression, several authors have pointed out that fragmentation and localism complicate Andalusian identity due to factors such as feelings of marginalization in some parts of the region due to the alleged process of recentralization in Seville, the capital of Andalusia. Indeed, this has led to fragmentation around what constitutes the Andalusian territory, especially the division between west Andalusia and east Andalusia. González Alcántud (2004) examines this fragmentation between two symbolic cores, around west and east, and the presence

of localisms across the Andalusian region. In this sense, flamenco can also be observed under the umbrella of these two cores in Andalusia in their relationship with political geography, as Machin-Autenrieth (2017) has demonstrated (see especially the chapter “Flamenco, Something of Ours?”). If most RA bands were from west Andalusia, several practices around rock in Andalusia articulated this discursive tendency to polarize into “two Andalusias” (García-Peinazo 2013a; 2017). Furthermore, Andalusian identity as performed by RA bands was also articulated through essentialist discourses in several Spanish rock magazines, which discussed the lack of authenticity and racial roots of bands from other locations outside of Spain. These bands hybridized flamenco with rock, such as the Californian group Carmen, and their work was covered by UK music magazines such as *Melody Maker*, which branded Carmen as “The World’s First Flamenco Rock Band” (García-Peinazo 2020b).

### “Rock for Andalusia” and Its Others

The narratives about the history of rock in Andalusia often highlight RA as a turning point in popular music. However, these narratives sometimes minimize the fact that even when it was common for bands in Andalusia during the 1970s to assume the aesthetics and ideology of *rock con raíces*, that is, the inclusion of flamenco as a central element in their music, other rock bands from Andalusia did not include any of these evocations. In this context, it is important to explore the complex dynamics surrounding the inclusion and non-inclusion of these musical practices. In what follows, I present some examples that illustrate the main arguments of other rock bands in Andalusia that were against the RA movement.

The symbolic association of flamenco and *copla* with Francoism<sup>9</sup> was a crucial factor in the decision taken by Los Solos (a rock band from Jerez de la Frontera in Cádiz) to relegate these genres to the background. Their bass player, Tito Gil, remembers that during the rise of RA (the second half of the 1970s), it was more difficult to arrange live performances for his band. Gil points out that during the transition to democracy, “rock andaluz sounded to us like *copla*, as a pro-Franco past, even when this movement reached its peak after Franco’s death” (Tito Gil, personal interview, March 15, 2013). Dofus, another rock band from Granada that published its debut and only studio album *Suite Azul Rock* (1979), did not feel any sort of aesthetic or stylistic interest in the RA movement, not even its flamenco evocations: “We never wanted to mix our music with *copla* or flamenco. Never. It was foreign to us [. . .]. The musical training and education, no matter who may disagree, was completely Anglo-American” (Jolís Gualda, personal communication, March 21, 2013).

The hegemony of Andalusia's capital, Seville, in terms of the music industry when compared to other cities, and the supposedly lesser presence of flamenco in East Andalusia, were other arguments used against RA. For example, Dofus's vocalist, guitarist, and band leader Jolís Gualda suggests that the RA scene was mainly related to Seville, Córdoba, and Cádiz, arguing that there was no popular flamenco scene in Granada at the time (Jolís Gualda, personal interview, March 21, 2013). Similarly, Nono Cruz, guitarist for La Banda de los Hermanos Cruz, a band from Granada, stated in 1977 in the Spanish rock magazine *Popular 1*: "There has been a sort of fashion for roots [. . .]. These roots are artificial [. . .]. While a lot of musicians create unreal roots, we suffer the plundering of our own music [. . .]. The idea of roots is harmful for our band, since RA bands appropriate flamenco music, and because they associate flamenco with Andalusia." Here, Cruz expressed his critique towards centralization processes in the music industry, and the secondary place occupied by cities such as Granada: "apart from Madrid and Barcelona, in Andalusia it seems that only Seville exists, and the rest are marginalized" (Esteban 1977, 66).

The tendency to focus on local identities (i.e., related to particular cities or neighborhoods inside Andalusia) instead of an homogeneous Andalusian identity was another way to discuss the RA movement. *Tabletom*, a rock band from Málaga that published its first album, *Mezclalina*, in 1979—a key year in the success of groups such as Medina Azahara, Alameda, and Triana—rejected the RA phenomenon. "In the Spanish transition to democracy, we did not like flamenco music, until we started afterwards listening to Camarón [de la Isla], Paco de Lucía, etc. But at that time we had never listened to flamenco. In our family there was no place for flamenco music [In reference to RA bands]. However, we also felt very Andalusian and felt that our music—and the things we said and sang—defended a lot of aspects of what we liked about Andalusia [. . .]. We did not play RA, we played 'rock étnico-malagueño [ethnic rock from Malaga]'" (Perico Ramírez, guitarist, *Tabletom*, personal communication, April 5, 2013).<sup>10</sup> In spite of the testimonies above, the West Andalusian origins of RA bands cannot be understood as the exclusive reason for the tendency to oppose flamenco evocations in other rock bands. There were also other rock bands in Seville that did not follow the RA tendency to include flamenco references, like *The Storm*, a band that was completely opposed to the idea and aesthetic premises of RA.

### **The Storm: Flamenco as Anxiety of Influence**

The Sevillian band *The Storm* gained recognition around 1974. That year, they represented Spain in the BBC Radio 2 Contest *European Pop Jury* ("Storm repre-

sentan a España” 1974, 15). The Storm were also the support band at a concert by British rock band Queen in Barcelona in 1974. However, and despite this initial success, in the second half of the 1970s, with the emergence of RA, The Storm was described in several rock magazines of the period in terms of their “lack of originality,” “lack of authenticity,” and “lack of independence” from Anglo-American rock.

All these values were considered “negative” and in opposition to the development of a particular expression of rock with “home” roots. For example, such sentiment was expressed in the words of music critics such as Jesús Ordovás, who published an article on the band in 1978 with the telling title “The Storm: Dependent Language,” in *Disco Exprés*, which was probably the most influential rock music magazine in Spain during the 1970s: “Why do you not create songs in Andalusian, man? You are Andalusians, aren’t you?” (Ordovás 1978, 14). The emergence of RA meant that The Storm was seen as an “out of fashion” band in the new musical context of rock in Andalusia. Ordovás finished his article by lauding the originality, and unique and indigenous character of the RA bands that hybridized flamenco and Andalusian music with rock, like Triana, Imán, and Guadalquivir. At the same time, he suggested that The Storm had to change their musical style and must go the same way as RA bands in order to overcome “their limitations and Anglo-American subordinations and build their own style” (14). The Storm was, then, undervalued in rock magazines due to their stylistic decision. The main consequence was a necessity for The Storm to demonstrate that they had flamenco roots and flamenco “blood.” As a result, members of the band tried to prove their flamenco lineage or ancestry stating “we have flamenco blood but we belong to the rock generation and so we do rock” (Serra I Fabra 1975, 6).

However, in their two studio albums (LP *Storm*, 1974; LP *El día de la tormenta*, 1979) there was no trace of elements potentially connotative of flamenco or Andalusian-based music such as evocations of the flamenco guitar, Andalusian cadences, *ayeos* and *jaleos*,<sup>11</sup> or the so-called *compases de doce*.<sup>12</sup> In terms of melodic and harmonic structures, the music of The Storm is mainly based on the Aeolian and the Dorian modes, often used in hard rock bands such as Deep Purple, the main musical stylistic reference for The Storm. It should be noted that Deep Purple often employed the harmonic minor scale in their songs, e.g., in “Highway Star” and “Child in Time” (1972), a scale that uses the augmented second, an element that became a signature of their electric guitar and Hammond organ solos. The influence of Deep Purple guitarist Richie Blackmore and his solos—with a strong influence of Baroque repertoires (Walser 1992, 268)—on The Storm is also remarkable, with structures such as the *Bachian* scale, which allows the presence of chords close to the Dorian mode.



It is interesting that the interval of the augmented second, a melodic structure frequent in the music of Deep Purple, was not included in The Storm's melodic constructions. From the point of view of musical meaning, it is significant that in spite of the influence of Deep Purple on the musical style of The Storm, we can perceive a sort of "selective listening" of the well-known British band. The network of significations is even more complex because not only is this kind of musical structure often used by Deep Purple, but it is also a common musical stereotype to evoke flamenco music and Spanish sounds, alongside the importance of timbre in the construction of cultural and social meaning in harmonic and melodic patterns (Tagg 2013, 305–42). The matter of non-inclusion of the augmented second in the music of The Storm, in order to avoid the possibility of an evocation of the "Spanish sound," exemplifies how musical style operates as a toolkit in which some elements are included and others excluded according to cultural and social meanings and contexts.

Here, Ann Swidler's notion of culture as a "toolkit" implies the existence of a series of skills, habits, and conceptions of the world that individuals use differently according to the context through differing "strategies of action" (1996). Building these strategies implies selecting and choosing particular elements of culture that articulate concrete meanings in specific circumstances (Swidler 1996, 148). Furthermore, in their approach to cultural appropriation and otherness in different musics, Born and Hesmondhalgh argue that it is important to explore "the nature of hybrids resulting from their musical borrowings, and how certain musics are constituted through the purposive or ambivalent absenting or mastery of other musics and cultures" (2000, 3). Musical style is, then, a matter of choice and representation. If, following musicologist Allan F. Moore (2012, 8), stylistic analysis of popular music is crucial in order to clarify what is normative and what is not in a defined style, then The Storm's exclusion of augmented seconds—a normative compositional device in Deep Purple's music—can be interpreted as a strategy in order to avoid RA's association with flamenco sonorities.

The Storm were questioned in relation to this stylistic choice, since according to rock magazines such as *Disco Exprés* they did not create an "original mix between rock, flamenco, and pop" (Ordovás 1978, 15). In this sense, it is not only possible to appreciate the symbolic exclusion of bands that did not use flamenco music during the rise of *rock con raíces* but also a discourse of resistance based on the ideals of authenticity around hard rock music. The Storm tried to validate their musical style in terms of a sort of authenticity around rock.<sup>13</sup> This point is expressed by Diego Ruiz, drummer of The Storm, who considers that the band "resisted" RA and the inclusion of flamenco during its successful period in the

late 1970s: “I am Sevillian! From San Jerónimo! It was a time in which we (The Storm) thought about the possibility of playing RA music, but we said ‘we could, but we will not do it!’” (Diego Ruiz, personal communication, December 18, 2014). In relation to the international image of The Storm as a Spanish or Andalusian band, Ruiz suggests that it was easier for bands such as “Triana, Guadalquivir, Alameda, Medina Azahara” [RA bands] to forge a national or regional image than it was for a hard rock group—The Storm—from Spain, since RA bands were identified with “Andalusia and the image of [the] Spanish product” (2014). The reception and vicissitudes of the Sevillian band The Storm during the emergence of the RA movement entailed, therefore, a process of symbolic marginalization due to hegemonic narratives about ethnicity and purity in Andalusian popular music history based on a presupposed greater degree of authenticity of some roots when compared to others. In this sense, it could be argued that flamenco was regarded as a form of oppression in terms of musical style.

### **Rock Andaluz as Heritage in Andalusia: From Covers to PDO Wines**

Today, new processes around the production of RA as cultural heritage are being enacted by institutions, cultural industries, the media, and fan clubs that continue to remember the “legacy” of the musical practices of the 1970s. Cultural associations like Arabian Rock (Jerez de la Frontera, Cádiz) describe RA bands from that decade in terms of “our wine cellar” and “certificate of origin” and highlight the need to “safeguard” this music as “heritage.” Furthermore, the Andalusian Educational System of the Junta de Andalucía (the regional government) has recently legitimized RA’s status as “heritage” by including it in its official syllabus for secondary schools in the region, stating that this is a movement that is “part of our Andalusian cultural heritage” (Orden de 14 de junio de 2016, 291). This move aligns with recent efforts within regional policy to institutionalize several Andalusian cultural practices, most notably since UNESCO’s inscription of flamenco on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (Machin-Autenrieth 2020). Ultimately, all these processes might be linked with the so-called “second wave of decentralization” (Keating and Wilson 2009, 549), which has occurred across different autonomous communities such as Andalusia since the early twenty-first century.

The practice of covering is also a space for the construction of heritage narratives. A cover implies the resignification of previous musical texts such as “reference cover versions” (López-Cano 2012), from parody to satire, pastiche, or “devotional” tribute. In the same way, cover or tribute bands that perform in

Andalusia today try to revive the sound, lyrics, and topics of RA from the 1970s. As is common in selective readings of the history of popular music, particular bands are viewed as representative models for the process of revival. Examples such as the tribute band Zaguán show the cultural impact of the RA band Triana as the icon of popular music history in Andalusia (García-Peinazo 2014b).

Serge Lacasse has pointed out that “transphonography” and its typologies—such as interphonography or hyperphonography—are more precise terms than transtextuality in referring to the processes of textuality in recorded popular song (2018). According to Lacasse, the cover is a type of “hyperphonography” that can articulate different models, since it depends on a degree of transformation of the musical text (19). In this sense, it is also possible to find bands that include allusions to RA “phonographic heritage,” and that even when they cannot be considered as tribute bands, these allusions often tend to mix different perspectives of covering. The Sevillian bands Derby Motoreta’s *Burrito Kachimba*, and Quentin Gas & Los Zíngaros are two interesting examples of these hybrid strategies in which RA has become popular heritage in Andalusia.

Derby Motoreta’s *Burrito Kachimba* recorded its self-titled debut album in 2019. They are defined in the press as “a ‘kinki’ revision of RA with psychedelic evocations” (Tocino 2019) and as a legacy of RA of the 1970s in which the band “goes around causing trouble with those sounds” (Mendoza Arriaga 2019). In fact, the band uses several timbres that are reminiscent of progressive rock of the 1970s, such as analog synthesizers like the Mini Moog. Other stylistic devices close to RA, such as the distorted Phrygian I-bII-bIII-bII-I harmonic pattern in the electric guitar or the use of *ayeos* and vocal expressions in this mode are also common in the music of Derby Motoreta’s *Burrito Kachimba*.

“Grecas,” a track from their debut album, *Derby Motoreta’s Burrito Kachimba* (2019), comprises all these aspects. After a hard rock/funk rock-based intro (00:00–00:11)—homophonic structures with two electric guitars playing a riff in octaves—a prototypical Andalusian (Phrygian) cadence is played by the electric guitar with overdrive, combining power chords and palm muting (00:12–00:18). The voice of the singer appears in the first repetition of this harmonic pattern with clear vocal resonances of Jesús de la Rosa, singer of the band Triana, and probably the most important icon in the history of RA. Apart from the fact that the title of the song, “Grecas,” operates as an intertextual reference to the Gypsy rock band of the 1970s called Las Grecas, the lyrics of the song incorporate allusions to Lole y Manuel, another iconic duo closely related to the RA of the 1970s. The verse “el aire huele a pan nuevo” (“the air smells like freshly baked bread”), written by the poet Flores Talavera as part of the lyrics of Lole y Manuel’s song

“Nuevo Día” (album *Nuevo Día*, 1975), can be heard in “Grecas” (around 01:19) but with a different harmonic structure.

Quentin Gas & Los Zíngaros, another recent band from Seville, honor the RA phenomenon in their three recent albums (*Big Sur*, 2016; *Caravana*, 2017; *Sinfonía Universal Cap. 02*, 2018). *Caravana* is probably the album with the most musical references to bands such as Triana, something that can be heard in the constant presence of the Phrygian harmonic patterns played on the Hammond. This stylistic device, characteristic of the music of Triana in emblematic songs such as “Recuerdos de una noche” (1975), is the main compositional strategy in Quentin Gas & Los Zíngaros’ album *Caravana*. In the popular music magazine *Mundo Sonoro* it is described as an “electric storm of riffs, *quejíos*,<sup>14</sup> and omnipresent keyboard” (Pérez 2017). The augmented second is also used in the Hammond organ solo of the song “Caravana” (01:33–01:58). In their latest album, *Sinfonía Universal Cap. 02* (2018), the treatment of timbre through music production co-exists with these tributes to RA. Quentin Gas & Los Zíngaros’s track titled “IO” introduces an allusion to the emblematic verse “todo es de color” (performed by bands from the 1970s such as Triana, Goma, and Lole y Manuel). In this song, however, instead of the expected “todo es de color” (“everything is in colour”), they sing “todo no es de color” (“not everything is in color”), using a vocal line with *quejíos* in the Phrygian mode (around 02:05).

The examples mentioned above are related to the revival and canonization of RA through practices of covering, tribute bands and musical allusions, and through the use of heritagization discourses by fans and audiences. In all these narratives, RA bands of the 1970s are described and understood in terms of Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), that is, a “popular music heritage” from a differential, particular geographical location (Andalusia) that must be preserved. Ultimately, these efforts evidence that the history of RA, then, has become the entire—selective—history of rock in Andalusia.

### **Eplilogue: How Equal Is Flamenco Hybridity?**

Gerhard Steingress describes flamenco hybridity in terms of the tension between the discourses of “purity” and “experimentation” as well as in terms of its relationships with modernity (2002). He accounts for four main “steps” or stages of hybridity in flamenco’s history (177–88). In the fourth and last step (from 1955 to 1990), Steingress includes hybrid forms such as jazz, rock, pop, as well as the so-called *Nuevo Flamenco* (New Flamenco) of the 1980s. (For a detailed study of *Nuevo Flamenco*, see Cruces Roldán 2017, 369–404.) Similarly, a

significant example of the importance of hybridity as a core element of flamenco history can be found in the books written by the journalist and flamenco expert Luis Clemente, even when this author often uses the term “fusion” instead of “hybridity” (Clemente 1995; 2002). In his works, flamenco hybridity is often understood as a celebratory practice that always contributes to the evolution of the genre: a history of wondrous fusions, which reflects positive encounters between different cultural expressions.

Despite the rise of interest in hybridity in flamenco, not enough attention has been devoted in academic literature to the ways in which flamenco has become intertwined with discourses and tensions relevant to other contemporary popular musical practices that, even if they may not use any direct references to flamenco music, coexist within the discursive construction of “Andalusian music” and, by extension, Andalusian identity. The complex and at times conflicting relationship between flamenco and popular music styles is often minimized or ignored in both flamenco studies and popular music studies. This oversight is due to a tendency to observe hybridity in flamenco as a “celebration” of intercultural exchanges between diverse musics rather than as a critical approach that understands hybridity as a space where the hegemony of some music styles is constructed at the expense of others. A critical approach that focuses on power relationships around flamenco music is missing from current scholarship.<sup>15</sup>

In his critical study about hybridity, Pieterse points out that “hybridity skips over questions of power and inequality,” since “hybridity is not parity” (2001, 224). In the same way, Alabarces (2012) suggests that even though hybridity has become a frequent practice in the twentieth century, this fact does not hide power relationships, since hybridity discourses in academia have sometimes operated as a form of fetishism articulated by researchers (18). In his critical revision of García Canclini’s work, Alabarces underlines that power issues have been relegated to the background in studies about hybridity, since there is less consideration of what is inside the mix and the power relationships that emerge (17). Alabarces exposes the necessity to analyze “who speaks, who represents. What is said and what is represented. And, more important, who manages, authorizes, and spreads this representation and this voice” (31).

Describing the popular music context in Spain during the 1970s, music journalist Diego Manrique pointed out that “the matter of roots” has carried with it “an attitude close to xenophobia” (1976, 20). After studying the case of RA in this chapter, I argue that the hybridization of rock music and flamenco—and in a broader sense, the notion of “Andalusian music” and “Spanish music”—functioned as a sort of aesthetic imposition in that context. It was used to create a form of local/regional rock that was in opposition to other rock bands

in Andalusia that were negatively characterized as “mimetic bands.” However, this situation was only a fragment of the complex socio-political context of post-Franco Spain. While RA was relatively hegemonic in the second half of the 1970s, it was partly forgotten in the 1980s. As with audiences today, flamenco hybridity is celebrated by some citizens but criticized by others. Overall, what is key here is to understand that musical style in recorded popular song constituted a space for inclusions and exclusions, a fact that contributes to the rhizomatic nature of cultural identities.

### Notes

1. The complex relation between music and politics during the transition to democracy has been examined across several scenes and music styles. Regarding Western art music, see Medina (2010) and Solís Marquín (2020); for songwriters in Spain, see Martínez (2016); for music and left-wing political campaigning, see García-Peinazo (2014a); for popular music, politics, and (unofficial) national anthems, see García-Peinazo (2020a); for an overview of rock music and politics during the transition to democracy, see Val (2017). An overview of the Spanish transition to democracy can be found in Tusell (2007). Regarding culture, politics, and national identity during that period, see Balfour and Quiroga (2007).

2. Works by Moore (2001), Everett (2009), and Covach and Flory (2012), among others, constitute important overall approaches to rock history and musical structures. For rock music and place in local and global contexts, see Regev (2020) and Stahl (2020).

3. See also the avoidance of flamenco by Nova Cançó songwriters in Catalunya due to its perceived Francoist connotations (Ayats and Salicrú-Maltas 2013).

4. For evocations of Andalusí traditional music, I mean here both the musical practices during the Al-Andalus period in the Iberian Peninsula (ca. ss. 711–1492) and contemporary Andalusí orchestras as musical practices in North Africa. For the study of different fusion between flamenco and Arab-Andalusian musics, see Steingress (2002); Cruces Roldán (2003); Paetzold (2009); García-Peinazo (2013b); Shannon (2015); Machin-Autenrieth (2019). The fusions between both musics are also one of the core research areas of the European Research Council-funded project “Past and Present Musical Encounters Across the Strait of Gibraltar” (MESG, 2018–2023).

5. It should be noted that images and meanings about an exotic Andalusia had been constructed in Andalusia, Spain, and other countries since the late eighteenth century. An approximation about some of these stereotypes, with a consideration of their musical manifestations, can be found in Alonso (2010b).

6. *Mairenismo* is understood as a cultural ideology that started in the 1950s through the writings and ideas of the *cantaor* (flamenco singer) Antonio Mairena about the necessity of the “rebirth” of the presumed purity and roots of real Andalusian gypsy *cante* in contrast to the “degeneration” and mass popularization of flamenco practices such as the so-called *ópera flamenca*.

7. The term “gitanismo” refers to the narratives that emphasize the predominance of Gypsy (Gitano) people in the history and roots of flamenco.

8. “Lo que Iturralde combinó con el jazz en sus discos de Hispavox, consciente o inconscientemente, fue gitanismo o mairenismo, estética que muchos jóvenes e intelectuales españoles identificaban entonces con el ‘verdadero’ arte flamenco y con la oposición política al régimen de Franco” (translation by the author).

9. It should be noted that even though *copla* has often been linked to Francoism, this perspective is reductionist, since it only considers one of multiple significations of this musical practice. For example, see Stephanie Sieburth (2016) for an analysis of *copla* as a space for political dissidence through the case study of Conchita Piquer.

10. “El rock andaluz es para mí, simplemente que si eres andaluz y haces rock, ya lo puedes llamar rock andaluz; ahora, si hablamos de lo que se ha etiquetado como el estilo musical que se ha denominado rock andaluz, lo respeto como cualquier otro estilo, pero Tabletom nunca nos hemos identificado con esa manera de hacer. Nuestra música no la consideramos rock andaluz, lo que pasa es que si eres andaluz y haces rock pues entramos dentro del rock andaluz, pero no en el estilo musical [. . .] nuestra música, más que rock andaluz, yo la llamaría ‘rock étnico malagueño.’” Original text of the interview in Spanish, cited in García-Peinazo (2013a, 306).

11. In flamenco music, *ayeos* and *jaleos* refer to, respectively, vocal melismata and shouted out/spoken vocal expressions during performances.

12. *Compases de doce*—twelve-beat patterns—are rhythmic and metric structures that constitute the core of *palos* such as *siguiriyas*, *bulerías*, *alegrías*, and *soleares*, among others.

13. For authenticities in rock music, see Keightley (2001); for the concept of “multiple authenticities” in RA, see García-Peinazo (2017).

14. In flamenco, *quejíos* are paralinguistic musical expressions related to an extreme, dramatized use of sung voice.

15. An exception related to this issue can be found in Samuel Llano’s study about flamenco as a palimpsest (2020).

## References

- Alabarces, Pablo. 2012. “Transculturadas populares: El retorno de las culturas populares en las ciencias sociales latinoamericanas.” *Cultura y Representaciones Sociales* 7, no. 13: 7–39.
- Alonso González, Celsa. 2005. “El beat español: entre la frivolidad, la modernidad y la subversión.” *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 10: 225–53.
- . 2010a. “Símbolos y estereotipos nacionales en la música popular de los años sesenta: Entre la representación y la negociación.” In *Creación musical, cultura popular y construcción nacional en la España contemporánea*, edited by Celsa Alonso González, Julio Arce, and Teresa Fraile Preto, 205–31. Madrid: ICCMU.
- . 2010b. “En el espejo de ‘los otros’: Andalucismo, exotismo e hispanismo.” In *Creación musical, cultura popular y construcción nacional en la España contemporánea*, edited by Celsa Alonso González, Julio Arce, and Teresa Fraile Preto, 83–104. Madrid: ICCMU.
- Ayats, Jaume, and María Salicrú-Maltas. 2013. “Singing Against the Dictatorship (1959–1975): The Nova Cançó.” In *Made in Spain: Studies in Popular Music*, edited by Sílvia Martínez and Héctor Fouce, 28–41. London: Routledge.
- Balfour, Sebastián, and Alejandro Quiroga. 2007. *The Reinvention of Spain: Nation and Identity Since Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Born, Georgina, and David Hesmondhalgh. 2000. “Introduction: On Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music.” In *Western Music and Its Others: Difference,*

- Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, edited by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, 1–58. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Celemente, Luis. 1995. *Filigranas: Una historia de las fusiones flamencas*. Valencia: La Máscara.
- . 2002. *Flamenco! de evolución*. Sevilla: Lapislázuli.
- Covach, John, and Andrew Flory. 2012. *What's That Sound? An Introduction to Rock and Its History*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Cruces Roldán, Cristina. 2002. *El flamenco y la música andalusí: Argumentos para un encuentro*. Barcelona: Carena.
- . 2017. *Flamenco. Negro sobre blanco: Investigación, patrimonio, cine y neoflamenco*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla.
- Esteban, José María. 1977. "Patilleros, revivales y sinfónicos hispánicos." *Popular* 1 54, December 1977, 66.
- Everett, Walter. 2009. *The Foundations of Rock: From "Blue Suede Shoes" to "Suite: Judy Blue Eyes"*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- García Salueña, Eduardo. 2017. *Música para la libertad: Nuevas tecnologías, experimentación y procesos de fusión en el rock progresivo de la España de la Transición: La zona norte*. Gijón, ES: Norte Sur.
- García-Peinazo, Diego. 2013a. "El Ideal del Rock Andaluz: Lógica y conflicto en la construcción musical de una identidad andaluza." *Musiker: Cuadernos de música* 20: 299–325.
- . 2013b. "Rock andaluz, orientalismos e identidad en la Andalucía de la transición (1975–1982)." In *Musicología Global, Musicología Local*, edited by Javier Marín López, Germán Gan Quesada, Elena Torres Clemente, and Pilar Ramos López, 759–78. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología.
- . 2014a. "Música, prensa y argumentaciones políticas de la transición española en los órganos de expresión del PCE y el PSOE (1977–1982)." *Ensayos: Revista de la Facultad de Educación de Albacete* 29: 95–113.
- . 2014b. "Prácticas culturales en torno al rock andaluz: Entre el imaginario y la nostalgia de Andalucía." In *Andalucía en la música: Expresión de comunidad, construcción de identidad*, edited by Francisco J. García Gallardo and Herminia Arredondo Pérez, 151–71. Seville: Centro de Estudios Andaluces.
- . 2017. *Rock andaluz: Significación musical, identidades e ideología en la España del tardofranquismo y la Transición (1969–1982)*. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología.
- . 2019. "¿Es 'nuestra música'? Rock con raíces e identidades nacionales en España." *ANDULI: Revista Andaluza de Ciencias Sociales* 18: 73–92.
- . 2020a. "'Libertad sin ira,' indignación en (la) Transición: Reapropiaciones políticas y relatos sonoros de un himno para la España democrática (1976–2017)." *Historia y Política* 43: 361–85.
- . 2020b. "'The World's First Flamenco Rock Band'? Anglo-American Progressive Rock, Politics and National Identity in Spain around Carmen's *Fandangos in Space* (1973)." *Rock Music Studies* 7, no. 1: 1–20.
- González Alcantud, José Antonio. 2004. *Deseo y negación de Andalucía: Lo local y la contraposición Oriente/Occidente en la realidad andaluza*. Granada: Universidad de Granada.
- Iglesias, Iván. 2017. *La modernidad elusiva: Jazz, baile y política en la Guerra Civil española y el Franquismo (1936–1968)*. Madrid: CSIC.
- Keating, Michael, and Alex Wilson. 2009. "Renegotiating the State of Autonomies: Statute Reform and Multi-level politics in Spain." *West European Politics* 32, no. 3: 536–58.



- Keightley, Keir. 2001. "Reconsidering Rock." In *The Cambridge Companion to Pop and Rock*, edited by Simon Frith, Will Straw, and John Street, 109–42. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lacasse, Serge. 2018. "Toward a Model of Transphonography." In *The Pop Palimpsest: Intertextuality in Recorded Popular Song*, edited by Lori Burns and Serge Lacasse, 9–60. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Llano, Samuel. 2013. *Whose Spain? Negotiating "Spanish Music" in Paris, 1909–1929*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2020. "Flamenco as Palimpsest: Reading Through Hybridity." In *Transnational Spanish Studies*, edited by Catherine Davies and Rory O'Bryen, 161–75. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- López-Cano, Rubén. 2012. "Lo original es la versión: Covers, versiones y originales en la música popular urbana." *ArtCultura: Uberlândia* 14, no. 24: 81–98.
- Machin-Autenrieth, Matthew. 2017. *Flamenco, Regionalism and Musical Heritage in Southern Spain*. Farnham, UK: Routledge.
- . 2019. "Spanish Musical Responses to Moroccan Immigration and the Cultural Memory of al-Andalus." *Twentieth-Century Music* 16, no. 2: 259–87.
- . 2020. "Flamenco for Andalusia, Flamenco for Humanity: Regionalisation and Intangible Cultural Heritage in Spain." In *Cultural Mapping and Musical Diversity*, edited by Britta Sweers and Sarah M. Ross, 256–78. Sheffield, UK: Equinox.
- Manrique, Diego A. 1976. "Rock, ¿Qué rock? Cómo usar los kilovatios y la saliva." *Star* 26: 20.
- Martínez, Silvia. 2016. "Judges, Guitars, Freedom and the Mainstream: Problematizing the Early Cantautor in Spain." In *The Singer-Songwriter in Europe: Paradigms, Politics and Place*, edited by Isabelle Marc and Stuart Green, 123–35. New York: Routledge.
- Medina, Ángel. 2010. "Acotaciones musicales a la transición democrática en España." In *Creación musical, cultura popular y construcción nacional en la España Contemporánea*, edited by Celsa Alonso, 267–82. Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales.
- Mendoza Arriaga, Alejandro. 2019. "Derby Motoreta's Burrito Kachimba, un delirio de psicodelia y flamenco." *El País*, February 9, 2019. [https://elpais.com/cultura/2019/02/09/actualidad/1549669838\\_455114.html](https://elpais.com/cultura/2019/02/09/actualidad/1549669838_455114.html).
- Moore, Allan F. 2001. *Rock: The Primary Text. Developing a Musicology of Rock*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- . 2012. *Song Means: Analysing and Interpreting Recorded Popular Song*. Surrey, UK: Ashgate.
- "Música en los bares." 1962. *Discóbolo* 4, May 10, 1962: 25.
- "Orden de 14 de junio de 2016, por la que se desarrolla en currículo de educación secundaria obligatoria en Andalucía." 2016. *Boletín Oficial de la Junta de Andalucía*, 144, July 28, 2016. <https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/boja/2016/144/18>.
- Ordóñez Eslava, Pedro. 2013. "Qualities of Flamenco in the Francoism: Between the Renaissance and the Conscience of Protest." In *Music and Francoism*, edited by Gemma Pérez Zalduondo and Germán Gan Quesada, 265–83. Turnhout, BE: Brepols.
- Ordovás, Jesús. 1978. "Triana y la nueva avalancha andaluza por la cara." *Disco Exprés* 467, March 3, 1978.

- “Pablito Rodrigo, intérprete de ritmos modernos.” *Discóbolo* 24, March 15, 1963: 15.
- Paetzold, Christopher. 2009. “Singing beneath the Alhambra: The North African and Arabic Past and Present in Contemporary Andalusian Music.” *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 10, no. 2: 207–23.
- Pérez, David. 2017. “Quentin Gas & Los Zíngaros: Caravana.” *Mundo Sonoro*, February 16, 2017. <https://www.mundosonoro.com/criticas/discos-musica/quentin-gas-caravana>.
- Pieterse, Jan N. 2001. “Hybridity, So What? The Anti-Hybridity Backlash and the Riddles of Recognition.” *Theory Culture and Society* 18, no. 2–3: 219–45.
- Regev, Motti. 2013. *Pop-Rock Music: Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism in Late Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.
- . 2020. “In the World: Beyond the English-Speaking West.” In *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Rock Music Research*, edited by Allan Moore and Paul Carr, 459–68. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Romero, Pedro G. 2016. *El ojo partido: Flamenco, cultura de masas y vanguardias. Tientos y materiales para una corrección óptica de la historia del flamenco*. Seville: Athenaica.
- Serra i Fabra, Jordi. 1975. “I. 15 H Burgos 1975.” *Popular* 1, October 22, 1975: 6.
- Shannon, Jonathan Holt. 2015. *Performing Al-Andalus: Music and Nostalgia Across the Mediterranean*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Sieburth, Stephanie. 2016. *Coplas para sobrevivir: Conchita Piquer, los vencidos y la represión franquista*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Solís Marquínez, Ana Toya. 2020. “Creación musical académica en la transición democrática española (1975–1982): Políticas, debates y realizaciones.” PhD diss., Universidad de Oviedo. <https://digibuo.uniovi.es/dspace/handle/10651/57074>.
- Stahl, Geoff. 2020. “Rock Music and Place.” In *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Rock Music Research*, edited by Allan Moore and Paul Carr, 487–96. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Steingress, Gerhard. 2002. “Flamenco Fusion and New Flamenco as Postmodern Phenomena: An Essay on Creative Ambiguity in Popular Music.” In *Songs of the Minotaur: Hybridity and Popular Music in the Era of Globalization*, edited by Gerhard Steingress, 169–216. Münster: Liv Verlag.
- Swidler, Ann. 1996. “La cultura en acción: Símbolos y estrategias.” *Zona Abierta* 77/78: 127–62.
- Tagg, Philip. 2013. *Music’s Meanings: A Modern Musicology for Non-Musos*. New York: The Mass Media Music Scholars’ Press.
- Tocino, Pablo. 2019. “Derby Motoreta’s Burrito Kachimba.” *MundoSonoro*, March 3, 2019. <https://www.mundosonoro.com/artistas-musica/derby-motoretas-burrito-kachimba>.
- Tusell, Javier. 2007. *La Transición a la democracia: España (1975–1982)*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- Val, Fernán del. 2017. *Rockeros insurgentes, modernos complacientes: Un análisis sociológico del rock en la Transición (1975–1985)*. Madrid: Fundación de la Sociedad General de Autores y Editores.
- Walser, Robert. 1992. “Eruptions: Heavy Metal Appropriations of Classical Virtuosity.” *Popular Music* 11, no. 3: 263–308.