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Challenges through Cultural Heritage in the North-Spanish Rural Musical Underground

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Challenges through Cultural Heritage in the North-Spanish Rural Musical Underground

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ABSTRACT

This article analyses musical practices of rurality in Asturias (northern Spain), focusing on these practices as transits beyond rural-urban, local-transnational, and music-life dichotomies. We map out the three modes of the production of locality in relation to musical heritage in order to point out a prevalence of the phenomena of “aural friction” (García-Flórez) and “mutuality” (Colón-Montijo) in expressive practices connected to this underground scene in the context of 2008’s rise of neo-liberalism. The introduction of these two concepts leads us to point out a correlation between the current transformation of the local and the social that coincide with a general questioning of the multicultural politics of recognition in Spain.

KEYWORDS: Acoustic assemblage; Asturian musical heritage; Hispanic studies; rural feminism; underground

Introduction

This article studies a set of musical practices of rurality linked to the “production of locality” (Appadurai 178-200) in the northern autonomous Spanish community of Asturias. By reworking the Appadurian sense of the locality, we aim to depart from an exoticist approach to the rural and provide an alternative framework from which to grasp the “geontological” (Povinelli) overtones of the social. We consider the articulation between music and rurality as an entry point that blends the very opposition between the social and the local. As this opposition has largely been informing many definitions of both the sociology and anthropology of music, we emphasize this mutuality (social/local) in order to pose an unresolved question between the “methods and truth values” associated with each discipline within the wider field of music studies (Ochoa Gautier, *Acoustic* 117).

The starting point is our fieldwork with musicians, dancers, and amateur researchers of local folklore, carried out between 2012 and the present day. Throughout this ethnography, we have observed and taken part in diverse musical, dance, and poetry projects, all directed by people firmly committed to local culture, most of them young. In many of these ventures, transit occurs between genres and practices tied to popular music (disco, *asturianada*¹, cuplé) and others directly related to Asturian musical heritage. Deeply influenced by the relation between music, rurality, politics, and territory, they are conditioned by the demographic and sociocultural reality of the source area: a profound economic crisis, depopulation, and high youth unemployment. Analysis of the

standpoints and categories created by some of the leading figures of this music scene lead us to question how musical practices infused by rural and regional factors help us to study the changing nature of the social within the Spanish rise of neo-liberalism².

In this article we propose firstly to map out three modes of production of locality featuring prominently in our ethnography. This preliminary section establishes a general background for our understanding of the rural as a concept whose meaning emerges in relation to different senses of both locality and sociality within the contemporary history of Spain. Secondly, we present different ideas tied to music shaped from rural Asturian origins: some based on DIY strategies, others performing undisciplined projections of rurality, and some sharing very militant feminist standpoints. All of them, linked in some way to the "Asturies Underground" slogan, are interrelated and host the echoes of one or several of the modes of production of locality previously defined. Finally, we put forward a reading of the tensions and contradictions generated in this scene, making use of the concepts of "acoustic assemblage" (Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality* 22) and "aural friction" (García-Flórez), as well as some of the categories coined by local actors, such as "natural dance" and "post-folk". From this, we conclude that the various transits that make up our study (rural/urban, local/transnational, music/life) show a prevalence for musical practices linked to mutuality (Sahlins; Colon-Montijo) and growing intensification of micropolitics in Asturias.

Music and the production of locality: *Folklorisation and Spectral Francoism*

There is one nationwide mode of production of locality in Spain that is tied in with the context begun when the Spanish Civil War ended (1936-1939) and a dictatorial state was set up from 1940 onwards, one commanded by General Franco. In this setting, ideas surrounding categorisation of sound were the central elements in the forging of a political and economic state theology, one based around the ideology of National Catholicism (see Martínez and Fouce). For example, a significant part of the knowledge regarding music and the locality was produced through state institutions such as the Women's Section of the Falange (Choirs and Dances). This section of the Falange, the fascist organisation that was the mainstay of the Francoist regime, combined folkloric research work with the dissemination of cultural heritage across the country (see Casero; Martínez del Fresno). Another very productive pathway was that worked by the so-called Folkloric Missions, under the Spanish Institute of Musicology from the 1940s to the 1960s, whose "Folklore Section" was entirely devoted to curating and spreading Spanish musical heritage (see Martí). Obviously, these initiatives behind the urgent recuperation of traditional music were not an activity that came into being with Francoism; they establish a continuity with earlier initiatives linked to the Spanish post-imperial context (see Gabilondo) and similar projects in other countries of Europe. What can be asserted is that the dictatorship's political-cultural project leant on these initiatives in its state control over such collation (see Cayuela Sánchez) as part of the dynamics of folklorism (see Martí i Pérez). Furthermore, in terms of internal politics, these projects served as biopolitical government techniques based on an immunized inclusion of regional differences (see San Martín Antuña).

Music and the production of locality: *Dignification and Consensus Democracy*

The second mode of production of locality we find in current practices connects genealogically to the Spanish democratic transition (1975-1983) and the so called postfrancoist policies of “dignification³”. In this context, modes of production of locality associated with Francoism were unsettled by the arrival of a wave of modernisation, one that would exhibit close links to the construction of Spain as a homologous democracy in the context of the European Common Market. In this process, the postcolonial politicisation of the expressive culture of locality carried just as much weight as domestic social protest or Spain's relation within international political circumstances (Martínez). In Asturias, as in other regions of Spain, this politicisation of the local sphere had its roots in the defence of local languages (Asturian and Galician-Asturian), which had been inferiorized and stigmatized under Francoist politics of voice. Similar to what occurred in many other areas of Spain, this linguistic defence was actively contributed to by the singer-songwriter movement (Nuéu Canciu Astur - New Asturian Song), rock groups working in Asturian, and Celtic folk ensembles. In recent years, not only has the language been revived, but also the Asturian bagpipe (*gaita*), an instrument with an increasingly major role in the spread of postfrancoist Asturianness.

In the face of the autarchical model presided over by production of locality under Francoism, the arrival of these modernising influences led to an intensification of affective transnational circulation. And in the case of Asturias —as in Galicia—this transnational association was carried by Celtic music. This coincided with a critical turn with regard to policies of folklorisation, especially in respect of the inheritance of the ideology of the Woman's Section of post-Francoist dance groups. Many of our research participants frame their thinking within this critical genealogy, whose baseline is the unsettling of the relationship between tradition, politics, and life.

These processes are taking place within the context of an injection of politics of recognition that forms part of a post-Francoist project framing Spain as a liberal, multicultural state. We have observed that its mainstays include “purification” strategies of music and other expressive practices, linked to the production of locality (Bauman and Briggs). In this framework, we interpret the keenness shown by some amateur ethnographic research groups in travelling to remote spots of this region: only by doing this do they see how to create a body of sonic and visual objects relating to an Asturianness other than that presented by Francoism.

Music and the production of locality: *Post-folk and Neo-liberalism*

The latest mode of production of locality, which will be central to our ethnography, arose along with the increased mercantilization of life resulting from the economic crisis of 2008. In this context, the process of modernisation of democratic transition was cut short, and with it a hegemonic sense of progress that the European Union had represented for the Spanish people. With this project stifled, a sense of shared indignation came to the surface, crystallising in 2011 with the movement of the *Indignados*, a forerunner of the international *Occupy* movements. Closely connected with this, other political expressions were to emerge from the regime crisis in Spain, chiming directly with the real world experiences of many of our interlocutors: these were the mass citizen rallies that followed the May 15 (15-M) movement in 2011, the Catalan independence calls from 2012, the birth of the political party Podemos in 2014, and feminist strikes in 2018. We are aware that this series of mobilisations has often been seen as a reaction to an erosive state

neoliberalism operating vertically, from the top downwards; nevertheless, from our perspective, we consider these protests also to be related to a kind of "neoliberalism from below" (Gago), a transit directly related to micropolitical phenomena such as production of locality.

In this context, we note a generalised distrust among local musicians in regard to the capacity and legitimacy of state infrastructures to manage cultural heritage. "The institution for whoever wants it: the best way to do it is beginning with the grassroots" said Furción, a person with a wide experience of working for the Asturian institution in themes of rural heritage⁴. Conversely, during the course of our fieldwork we have seen many initiatives emerge that put such heritage into circulation otherwise, many of them self-managed and with a horizontal internal organisation. Outstanding among these are projects such as *Nueche en Danza*, a co-operative venture that manages itinerant events around traditional Asturian dance, and which is closely involved with a large DIY archive (*Archivu de la Tradición Oral d'Ambás*). Also in this line are *Nun tamos toes*, a group of neorural tambourine players and militant feminists, who champion the political use of this local instrument customarily subaltern in relation to the Asturian bagpipe; the electric guitar and tambourine duo L-R, whose vocalist used the term "post-folk" to describe their own musical production, in a gesture that blends ontology and pragmatics. Similarly, *LaKadarma*, a camp bagpipe band, and *Rodrigo Cuevas*, a self-labelled "folk-stirrer" who creates shows combining popular music and cabaret from Asturian song and other vocal genres. All these initiatives, interrelated to greater or lesser degrees, make up a heterogenous set of musical responses to the transformation of the locality in late capitalism.

Regarding aesthetic policies linked to these musical practices (see Rancière), it is interesting to observe how they seem to destabilise the purifying and normalising emphasis we have previously described, either as part of modes of production of locality under Francoism or during Spain's transition. As we will see later in this article, one paradigmatic example of this is how iconic instruments such as the Asturian bagpipe and the tambourine are conceived as liminal, on the threshold between music and "noise".

Dancing Together Otherwise: The *Nueche en Danza* (Night in Dance)

Dance and get-togethers for dancing are fundamental in Asturian musical practices of rurality. Clearly, music and dance have always shared the spotlight at major dates in annual or life cycles, but also in more quotidian moments of community life, such as during collective work actions, which would customarily end with their participants dancing and singing. Dance, therefore—joined here by voice and percussion, and mainly performed by women—has traditionally been a meeting point of crucial significance in establishing forms of sociability linked to music.

As we previously observed, these community practices underwent firm folklorisation processes which, in the case of dance, led to a boom in dance groups⁵. During the Francoist dictatorship, traditional dance, and more specifically said groups, functioned as genuine state "infrastructures"⁶ oriented towards disciplining the relationship between body, territory, and femininity (see Martínez del Fresno). Since the 1980s, Asturias has seen the proliferation of dance groups that move between spaces of folklorised representation and the ways in which traditional dance is experienced in rural communities. From the experience of these groups, the *Nueche en Danza* emerged

in 2015, an idea whose objective is to "keep dance alive" and to "escape from the ties of traditional dance" (Fernández Martínez, 23 August 2017). Its appearance represents a clear alternative to the concept of dance oriented towards representing the outcome of how dance groups put across rural matrix dance musics, but not only this; it is also a kind of "conjunction" against the spectres of Francoism in traditional Asturian dance, in the sense that it proposes exploration of other types of problem found on the threshold of that same logic of representation.

Nueche en Danza is a self-managed, co-operative project consisting of a series of touring events through various Asturian places, generally small villages and hamlets, their aim simply to foment singing, the playing of music, and dance. It is important to underline that this initiative comes from, and is carried out by, the actual young members of the dance groups, because in the Nueche en Danza these people aim to emphasise aspects of sociability and bonds with territory. For some of our interviewees, the focus placed on using peripheral locations for event venues represents a sense of redistribution of the symbolic capital and material generated by the event. It is, therefore, a question of placing more regular directionality into the politics of folklorisation, in which musics move around from rural settings—from where they are extracted—to urban spaces—where they are exhibited, studied, represented and turned into commodities.

The premises behind the organisation of a Nueche en Danza action are well defined: the gatherings take place in communal spaces—sports centres or similar public facilities; entry must be free, no door charge is allowed, nor are those performing at these events paid; organisation must include the participation of a local collective or group of people from the village where the event is held. The involvement of these local collectives is a requirement of great importance, given that the Nueche en Danza's circulation around rural Asturian geography is not arbitrary, but deliberately conditioned to the active cooperation of the local associative fabric. This co-management is indispensable for the dance to be an event that embraces the community, but also for its financial viability. The music for the dance is always live and any group formation is acceptable as long as it conforms to the rhythmical patterns allowing the engagement of forms of traditional dance (*jota*, *muñeira*, *agarrao* or close circle dancing, etc.). It is common for tambourine and voice groupings to play a leading role: those who learn to sing and dance are also used to learning tambourine beats, in line with tradition. But it is also common to find other traditional formations accompanying the dance, such as bagpipes and drums, or small folk and traditional bands with melodeon, violin, saxophone, diverse kinds of drums or other instruments.

While the origin of the Nueche en Danza can be linked in part to a broader critical genealogy in relation to post-Francoism, the popularisation of this event is closely linked to the ethnographic work carried out over the last twenty years by the musician and dancer Xosé A. Fernández Martínez "Ambás". The reflection promoted by Ambás through his fieldwork in the Asturian rural world has led to fundamental changes in the production of locality linked to the Asturian rural matrix music in this study. Central among these is *baille anárquicu* ("anarchic dance") or "natural" dance, a concept by our interlocutor to emphasise an aesthetic and certain policies of audible sound as alternatives to those present in what he calls "the folkloric dance group concept" (García-Flórez 503). This idea is one of the formative axes of the events of the Nueche en Danza: from its musical and dance aesthetics, and its relationship with Asturian politics. This is the origin of, for example, the defence of radical corporeal, vocal, and choreographic variability—present in the ethnographic archive—as a constitutive element of the dance,

and not its exception, as in the case of approaches associated with dance groups. This defence of variability is also related to a sense of mutuality in which dance is not considered in absolute terms but made up from an assemblage of connections with "what others do", "what the music does", and "what your body lets you do" (Fernández Martínez, 23 January 2017). Linked to this, an emphasis also appears in aspects of sociability connected to fun and enjoyment, in opposition to the seriousness and transcendence of dance, as something more shut off. Thus, Ambás himself and many participants in the Nueche en Danza could be effecting a transformation of the dance, one capable of saturating and destabilising immunised techniques associated with folklorisation, a transformation brought about by "productive moments of this misunderstanding" (Tsing 4) through sound. This way of making a subject of acoustic equivocation, linked to the creation of musical transit policies as alternatives to the affective circulation methods prevalent in late capitalism (Shaviro), is the type of "acoustic assemblage" (Ochoa Gautier, Aurality 23) we call "aural friction"⁷.

Sex, Clogs & Rock and Roll

In March 2016, a peak-audience show broadcast on regional TV featured a young singer performing a habanera that was very popular in Asturias, flanked by a bagpipe and percussion band of the kind frequently present in some institutional events and some traditional local celebrations. The song, "Soi de Verdiciu" (I'm from Verdiciu), refers to a small corner on the Cantabrian coast and, telling a story involving quotidian, vernacular details, is one of the most recognized from the local repertoire.

In fact, the performance itself would boast nothing of particular interest were the singer on the stage not wearing a particular costume: a wide red cummerbund emblematic of the folkloric monologist, and a pair of *madreñes*, the basic wooden clog worn in villages in northern Spain as footwear for agricultural work. The dress is further added to by a black cape, lace stockings with suspenders, black underwear, and sunglasses. Completing the attire is a vest with "Asturies Underground" inscribed across it, apparel that has been developed over recent years as an icon repeatedly used by musicians and members of the public on the alternative circuit. The Asturian bagpipe band, LaKadarma, does not stick to traditional dress either in this kind of grouping, draping themselves in just a skimpy cummerbund, mini-skirt style, and the same "Underground" t-shirt.

In musical aspects, the parallel is clear: while the melody of the habanera keeps its traditional form, from the beginning the song relies on an unexpected electronic baseline that serves to support the voice and harmony. In the first third of the song, the accompanying instruments serve only to visually simulate hoes and to silently accompany the singer's dance moves. Presently, the electronic baseline echoes the theme from "Ritmo de la Noche", thus engaging with the famous Eurodance hit popularised in the 1990s by the group Mystic. At this moment, the snares, kettledrums, and bass drum start doubling the song's rhythm patterns, while the Asturian bagpipes are used to double up on the keyboard melody, shortly after percussively punctuating some stretches of the song as if they were whistle blasts. On concluding the performance, not much remains of the original habanera, nor indeed of the singer's cape or t-shirt: as is usual in all performances by this self-labelled "folk stirrer and sex-symbol singer", by the end of the show, Rodrigo Cuevas has divested himself of his attire in a

gradual strip-tease that leaves him half-naked: "Most would catalogue him [Rodrigo Cuevas] as a rebel, since he loves to provoke, entertain, shake up consciences, stoke bewilderment, even though he himself feigns surprise when this is suggested to him" (Neira)

As stated in the introduction to this interview published in the most widely circulated Spanish daily newspaper, these and other projects from the same scene are interpreted as transgressions by a large number of journalists and critics points to a case of ill-conceived expectations. The misapprehension occurs because of a folklorized notion of the rural, and its connections in relation to the politics of circulation. In contrast to the prevalent framework of the production of locality that we described initially as belonging to Spain's democratic transition—in which Celtic music played a hegemonic role—Rodrigo Cuevas and LaKadarma explore other types of translocal connections.

Another facet of Rodrigo Cuevas that is invariably referred to as a provocation is his resort to striptease, along with choreographic variations balanced between playfulness and eroticism, moves that combine gestures from cuplé, hip-hop, voguing, and Bollywood dance, among other sources. A similar effect is achieved, in the case of LaKadarma, through their specific dance routines, juggling with drumsticks, a relaxation in attitude with regard to the habitual solemnity in other bagpipe bands. In both cases, the choreography and bodily presentation in performance seems to destabilize the modes of vocal and corporeal discipline born out of association with the historical processes of dignification of traditional musics in Spain. In the ways in which locality was produced and circulated under post-Francoist policies of dignification, the public presentation of these musics was mediated by a biopolitical disciplining linked to a certain notion of seriousness and transcendence. In contrast to that, what we find on stage here are practices that tend to place the focus on different ways to thematize the relationship between music, fun, and sexuality. This is most particularly so in the case of Rodrigo Cuevas who, in addition to his emblematic flirtatious behaviour with his audiences, has based a meticulous audiovisual promotion on such an image, using photos, posters, and videos that have gone viral on digital social networks and online audiovisual platforms. Through this, he has not only achieved a visibility that has taken him rapidly to mainstream circuits, but he has also eroded the techniques of folk representation fixed over three decades. Meanwhile, as in the case of the *Nueche en Danza*, what we see here is a phenomenon of "aural friction" in which fun and eroticism are used to question the transcendentalisms implicit in folklorisation practices linked to that of representation.

Although it amounts to a less evident tension, the perception of LaKadarma as an original and transgressive band on the circuit of local music groups comes from the way in which its members use the Asturian bagpipes and percussion. The band modifies the musical role in which these kinds of groups are framed within production of locality modes shaped by folklorisation politics. If the bagpipe bands were then subject to practices of what Ochoa Gautier calls "vocal immunity" (*Aurality* 165-205), LaKadarma purposefully plays with alternative compositional and performative techniques that turn into a source of experimentation, underlining, for example, the liminal character of the Asturian bagpipe in relation to the definition between music and noise, or through incorporating percussion instruments excluded from band canons associated with dance.

However, neither Rodrigo Cuevas nor the members of LaKadarma regard their own musical discourse as particularly characterized by a rupture from a past that has

split from the present. Instead of that, what seeks to interests them is to explore alternative musical genealogies: an initiation of another type of relationship with the past. This disidentification with the exclusion of the past linked to the idea of novelty lets us consider the articulation between music and rurality as a phenomenon connected to a sense of mutuality, initially proposed by Marshal Sahlins in the anthropology of kinship to define relations between "persons who participate intrinsically in each other's existence" (ix)⁸. In place of the logic of purification, the starting point of which is the separation of these two topologies, the concept of mutuality lets us give a central focus to a geopolitical conception of the rural and urban as mutually constitutive aspects. From this logic, and in contrast to the immunitarian prevalence associated with the hitherto identified production modes of Francoism and the transition, the aesthetic politics that arises from the perspective of the scene's participants seems to transform not only the content but also the nature itself of the existing relationship between the rural and the urban.

Acoustics of Femininity, Politics, and Life

Nun tamos toes (Not All Present) is the name of the group of activist tambourinists which grew out of the heat of protest gatherings related to the feminist strike of March 8, 2018. It comprises women of different ages. All of them are amateur players and have ties to L'Apiaderu, a self-managed social centre located in the rural parish of El Remediu (Nava), a small village of 200 inhabitants. The group gained wider visibility in the Asturian public sphere thanks to the 1st International Mural Intervention Festival. At this gathering, organized by the Town Council of Uviéu, one of the most emblematic painted murals covered a side wall of a six-storey building in the centre of town, featuring a large-scale representation of this group of tambourinists.

In Asturias, the tambourine has a very close attachment to the territory, and has traditionally been associated with women, who have used the instrument as an accompaniment to everyday song, religious events, and community dancing, among others. Nun tamos toes compose collectively new lyrics over popular songs, changing their lyrics to tell, as they themselves put it, "our things" in radical, explicit feminist wordings. The fact that all are women and, in most cases, mothers, means the group is often lacking a member or two when it performs. The name they chose, as well as being an obvious reference to the scourge of femicide, was also a way of stressing the work of caring. As feminists who place vulnerability and caring on a common footing, the members of this group of tambourinists turn the fact of not being all present into a projection, a launch pad, rather than a deficiency. In line with resurgence of this dynamic in the feminism of recent years, they highlight the specific task of caring and, more in general, the actual make-up —not optional, not merely instrumental— of the overlap between politics and life.

The artistic project of Nun tamos toes is not an exception but something that forms part of a tendency we have detected in this scene, in which the development of musical projects goes beyond the identity policies to imply a transformation of the relationship between music and life. In this case, the music group connects to the emergence of feminism as a hegemonic political agent in the Asturian public sphere, and the Spanish sphere in general. Its overlapping is reflected in the lyrics, which are direct and deliberately explicit, the aim being to bluntly incorporate an attitude unequivocally identifiable as feminist into musical practices of rurality. However, this evident dynamic

is complemented by another: just as feminism in recent years is transforming the actual nature of the political, the work of Nun tamos toes seek to invert the gesture of multicultural immunity—wherein the construction of the singularity is initially broken off from the world it belonged to, later to be inoculated as part of the process of folklorisation. In this inversion of the relationship between what is considered as specific (not all of them are present) and that considered general (they are a collective), the tambourinists of Nun tamos toes transduce this singularity, making it an infrastructure, in the sense described by Larkin already referred to; an infrastructure that not only creates permeability at the frontier of those who are in and who are not in the group, but also emphasizes the idea of "partial connections" (Strathern), a type of relation that forges ways of being in a group that transcends the propositional logic of a strict yes/no.

Analogously, this type of conceptualization emerges in our interpretation of the ethnography when considering the basic categories we believe to be constitutive of the scene: locality, rurality, alternative music politics. In contrast to the focus on identity that a liberal multiculturalist reading might propose, we advocate for listening to these projects as different musical responses to a current "trembling" in the "governance of the markets and the difference" (Povinelli 16,5). Conversely to the emphasis on processes of immunisation and exclusion, we think that the musical practices of rurality that have appeared during our fieldwork can better be analyzed as transducing different ways of considering otherness, the "outside" (Seeger). Thereby, the aesthetic perception of singularity and the work of infrastructure seemed to present here as two mutually constitutive and constituent aspects of the social life of music.

From that perspective, we wanted our interpretation of the scene to focus centrally on the different phenomena of equivocation that have arisen as an intraducibility threshold via which the relationship with the other is constituted (see Viveiros de Castro). This has led us to construct the sense of this scene as a set of "acoustic assemblages", the theoretical tool conceived by Ana M. Ochoa Gautier to refer to the "multiplicity of variables of relation between the given and the made that is generated through sound/listening" (Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality* 22). This concept allows us to relate two of the main ideas in our article: a) the potentialities of sound to simultaneously link issues of epistemology and ontology; b) the acknowledgment of the multiplicity of ways through which the relationship between epistemology and ontology can be bridged beyond multiculturalism. This proves particularly interesting for thinking about the type of transformations that a non-exoticist perspective of the rural could bring when it comes to reflecting on the current transformation of the concept of scene.

Conclusion

In this article we have dealt with a set of musical practices of rurality from the north of Spain, linked to the "production of locality" (Appadurai 178-200). Based on an ethnography carried out over a long period in Asturias (Spain), a series of similarities emerges that leads us to point out a prevalence of the phenomenon of mutuality in the expressive practices connected to this scene. This prevalence, at first manifested as a tension or conflict, is reworked in the light of the type of categorisations provided by the notion of acoustic assemblage (Ochoa Gautier, "Acoustic"). On doing this, the consideration of the positionings and categories generated by the actors of this musical

scene is relocated according to a different perspective, one linked to the ethnographic concept of "aural friction". This sense of equivocity lets us to focus on the irreducible character of heterogeneity, in contrast to the susceptible exception of being represented proposed from a multicultural exoticist aesthetics. Finally, this leads us to assert that musical practices crossed by the rural and the regional in this scene are profoundly connected to the current changing nature of the social, as they made audible further transformations concerning the production of locality. We can conclude by pointing out a correlation between the transformation of both the social and the local in a political context marked by distinct issues concerning the governance of the markets and the difference within the context of the Spanish rise of neo-liberalism.

NOTES

¹ A canonical and highly idetarian vocal genre in Asturias, also deeply grounded in different ideas about rurality.

² By "the changing nature of the social whithin the rise of neo-liberalism" we refer a general more-than-human framework marked by what Isabelle Stengers has called "the intrusion of Gaia" (Stengers, especially chapter 4). This means that we conceptualize "the social" is a problem rather than an object properly understood. See also Strathern and Latour.

³ "Dignification" was a concept widely used in this context. It named the desire for the State to get repaired the damage done by the Franco regime in various expressive practices (Asturian music, dance, language, traditions).

⁴ Coined by the women of LaKadarma to envoice the "dark side" of the ethnographic archive, the notion of "Furción" works here as a pseudonim. The quote comes from the round table we organized "Alderique sol estáu de la cuestión del baille tradicional n'Asturies" (15 July 2016).

⁵ "Dance group" should be taken to mean a formally constituted group of persons who meet in order to share traditional dances.

⁶ "Matter than enable the movement of of other matter" (Larkin 329).

⁷ By "aural friction" we refer general analitical framework based on the consideration of equivocity as an acoustic phenomena that stands at the heart of the global history of listening. For a detailed description of the concept "aural friction", see García-Flórez.

⁸ On the development of the notion of mutuality and music, see Colón-Montijo and Ochoa Gautier.

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Llorián García-Flórez is a PhD Candidate in Ethnomusicology at the University of Oviedo. His dissertation, *Music, Tradition and Spectral Politics of Aurality in the Postfrancoist Impasse*, a deeply grounded ethnographic work, focuses on the way musical ambiguity could be used to make designs for the pluriverse. He has been Visiting PhD Scholar at Columbia University (2016) and contributed to the collective work *Dance, Ideology and Power in Francoist Spain (1938-1968)* edited by Beatriz Martínez del Fresno and Belén Vega Pichaco (Brepols, 2017).

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