

## **The Dynamics of Intercultural Music Making in Granada: Everyday Multiculturalism and Moroccan Integration**

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In December 2018, the emergent populist party Vox gained seats in the Andalusian parliamentary elections, the first far-right party to enter government since the Franco regime. This political earthquake in the Spanish system was a long-time coming: right-wing populism has been on the rise in Spain fuelled by the aftermath of the financial crisis, debates around immigration, and the refugee crisis. As a result, Moroccan immigrants in Spain have increasingly become the target of racism and Islamophobia, mapped onto a perceived cultural incompatibility between European secularism (not to mention Spanish Catholicism) and Islam. Andalusia, the southernmost autonomous region, is home to one of the largest Moroccan expatriate communities in Spain, with millions of Moroccans having migrated in the last 30–40 years in search of better economic opportunities. In Granada, where research for this article is based, there exists a somewhat contradictory relationship with the Moroccan “other.” While this broader increase in Islamophobia and anti-immigration rhetoric is visible in graffiti statements such as “moors get out” and rising support for right-wing populism in the city,<sup>1</sup> Granada is also a living museum to the cultural legacies of Muslim Spain or al-Andalus (711–1492) and the alleged interfaith coexistence [*convivencia*] and dialogue between Christians, Jews, and Muslims.<sup>2</sup> A utopian reading of al-Andalus as “a model of tolerance and coexistence” (Anidjar 2006:235) is an intrinsic part of both the tourism industry and local identity constructions in Granada, as well as across Andalusia.

Granada is also home to a small but visible fusion scene in which flamenco is mixed with Arab-Andalusian musical styles, built on intercultural collaborations between predominantly Andalusian and Moroccan musicians. Often referred to by practitioners as flamenco-andalusí, such collaborations are underpinned by the idea that the parent genres are the musical by-products of al-Andalus and thus embody a shared musical heritage that crosses the Strait of Gibraltar. Such musical evocations of *convivencia* are often capitalized upon by cultural organizations and governmental institutions as a model for interculturalism [*interculturalidad*]: that is, the promotion of dialogue between communities and the synthesis of cultural difference and commonality. And in the context of rising Islamophobia and anti-immigration rhetoric, any attempt to promote cultural commonality might be seen as a positive step towards the integration of the Moroccan community. Yet, this is a community that is also intrinsically bound up with a utopian and somewhat orientalist interpretation of al-Andalus that is sold as race relations and touristic capital. As such, Moroccan musicians often need to adapt their music making to suit local tastes and commercial markets, at times entering into a process of strategic essentialism in order to benefit from a local music scene that thrives on Granada's orientalized past. In this article, I wish to explore the socio-musical space in between a utopian reading of al-Andalus on the one hand, and the commercial, orientalist underpinnings of Moroccan musical practice in Granada on the other. I examine the ways in which Moroccan musicians negotiate their day-to-day musical landscape and the tensions between overt displays of cultural difference, social integration, and musicians' own artistic aspirations.

To do so, I focus my analysis on the musical life of one individual: Suhail Serghini. Born in Tétouan in Northern Morocco, but having lived in Granada since

the 1980s, Suhail is one of the most well-known practitioners of flamenco-andalusí. The inspiration for this article emerged from an interview I had with Suhail in March 2016. When describing his musical collaborations, Suhail drew on the terminology of multiculturalism versus interculturalism. Using visual aids to illustrate his thoughts, Suhail felt that multiculturalism characterizes the ways in which some minority communities live parallel lives, where cultural difference is categorized and sold for commercial purposes. Interculturalism, on the other hand, operates as a mode of dialogue and exchange, the working through of difference and the development of mutual understanding. It is the latter term that Suhail actively uses in his music making. I was intrigued that Suhail had drawn on terminology usually associated with politicians and academics to describe how he musically negotiates multicultural diversity in Granada. This article, therefore, has two principle aims: the first is to analyse the ways in which Suhail uses music to negotiate debates around immigration and his own identity as a Spanish-Moroccan in Andalusia. The second aim is to examine how Suhail conceptualizes and employs interculturalism in his music making, both in the context of political, institutionally-supported projects and in terms of his own musical worldview. I seek to offer what Benjamin Brinner has called an “ethnography of micropractices,” through “a study of musicians as individual actors operating within existing cultural configurations and building new bridges between those configurations” (2009:12).

### **Flamenco-andalusí and Everyday Multiculturalism**

Flamenco-andalusí as a fusion genre is a complex amalgamation of structural similarities between its parent genres and the discursive underpinning of a common point of origins. Practitioners and scholars alike usually view flamenco and Arab-

Andalusian music as cultural by-products of Spain's interfaith past. While flamenco as it is performed today only really emerged as a standardized genre in the nineteenth century, many people trace its older song repertoires and structural features back to Arab and Jewish influence in medieval Spain. Similarly, Arab-Andalusian music refers to a gamut of genres that are believed to trace their origins to al-Andalus, but which now exist across the Maghreb and into parts of the Middle East. In Morocco, Arab-Andalusian music is regarded as a form of national patrimony (Davila 2013: Shannon 2015: 84–118), and some of its practitioners claim genealogical links to the old families of al-Andalus that migrated as a result of the Catholic reconquest. As Shannon notes, the genealogical imagination that surrounds Arab-Andalusian music “sonically connects Moroccans to medieval Iberia, echoing shared histories and genealogies that tie them directly to Europe and European culture” (2015:87).

Taken together, Shannon argues that Arab-Andalusian music and flamenco serve as “musical bridge[s]” between cultures and histories (2015:123). For many musicians I have worked with, the fusion of flamenco and Arab-Andalusian music is seen as the natural coming together of two sister genres. But while there may be certain similarities in terms of mode, rhythmic structure, and ornamentation (Cruces Roldán 2003), the two parent musical cultures of this hybridity are fundamentally disjunct, especially in terms of performance practice and social status. Arab-Andalusian music is most commonly associated with the middle-class elites in Morocco, whereas throughout flamenco's history the tradition has been mapped onto class struggle and the socio-economic marginalization of Gypsies and working-class communities in Andalusia. Moreover, the so-called Arab-Andalusian components of this fusion are only loosely related to the *Al-Āla* tradition in Morocco, with musicians drawing indiscriminately on poetic forms (*muwashshahat*) and rhythmic structures

derived from the classical repertoire. Therefore, I argue that it is the discourse of a shared history that ties together these fusions more closely than any structural commonalities. And by extension, the idea of a shared musical heritage exerts influence on Spanish-Moroccan relations more broadly, due to the perceived ability of these fusions to bring into dialogue two communities that are often distinguished along the lines of religion and culture.

Existing research on Spanish-Moroccan collaborations of this type has tended to focus on stylistic development and issues regarding musical competency, commercial consumption, and power inequalities (Goldstein 2017; Karl 2014; Oberlander 2017). Brian Karl (2014), for example, offers a postcolonial critique of Moroccan music making in Granada, focusing on the various strategies that Moroccan musicians employ and the genres (such as flamenco, pan-Arabic music, Arab-Andalusian music ensembles, belly dancing) they tap into in order to get work in Spain. He even fleetingly mentions Suhail Serghini, describing him as a “savvy showman” who always has an “eye towards market possibilities” (Karl 2014:4). Karl argues that there are competing cosmopolitanisms at play in the local music scenes of cities such as Granada. Moroccan music making, he contends, is characterized by a “pragmatic” cosmopolitanism (that is, the ability to conform to local musical styles and tastes through cross-cultural exchange) vis-à-vis the “limited” cosmopolitanism of Spaniards who are “dim in their understanding of or interest in the cultural production of a significant minority population relocated to their own nation from a neighboring country with a substantially overlapping history” (2014:4). In order to get work, Karl maintains, Moroccans must “participate in the cultural currency of any region’s markets of exchange” (2014:12), drawing on a cosmopolitan musical palette that Shannon has described elsewhere as “flexible musical specialization” (2015:149).

While I sympathize with such a reading, I feel it is too heavily based on postcolonial critique, overemphasizing issues such as the consumption of cultural difference, power relations, and strategic essentialism. Karl leaves the impression that Moroccan musicians simply pander to local tastes without accounting for the ways in which their music making is inflected by their own personal aspirations and identities. Building on such a critique, in this article I offer the first sustained ethnographic analysis of an individual practitioner in the flamenco-andalusí genre and how he views his music making in relation to his own social position within Andalusian society. While I recognize the power inequalities at play, my aim is to present how Suhail's views his music as a mode of interculturalism and as a way of operating in the everyday multicultural space of Granada.

My approach is influenced by a combination of recent work in multiculturalism studies and ethnomusicological research on music's relationship with immigration and social integration. Multiculturalism as a liberal ideology and policy framework refers to the ways in which cultural difference is organized, received, and managed in societies. As a response to globalization and increased immigration across Europe (particularly from the 1990s onwards), governments focused political attention on the ability for ethnic minorities to maintain their own cultural identities through language, educational, and community-based programmes, with less focus on the building of relations between majority and minority communities. Critics claim that this approach to multiculturalism policy has exacerbated racial tensions and community segregation (Kymlicka 2012: 4–5; Modood 2013: 9–13; Sharma 2009). As a result, there has been considerable backlash towards multiculturalism as a set of political policies that have supposedly focused too heavily on the celebration of difference at the expense of community cohesion

(Kymlicka 2012). Some governments and intellectuals have proposed a move towards interculturalism as an “antidote” to the perceived failings of state multiculturalism. Ted Cattle (2012), for example, pertains that interculturalism should be characterized by both the celebration of difference and shared cultural values. Unlike multiculturalism, it emphasizes the fluidness of identity and the transnational connections that characterize diasporic communities. Moreover, it promotes the building of dialogue across communities by focusing on the similarities, rather than differences, between them.

My choice to base my theoretical focus on this contrast between multiculturalism and interculturalism is because this is exactly how Suhail positions his own music making. What I seek to explore is how Suhail conceptualizes his music as a form of interculturalism, a way of engendering dialogue rather than emphasizing difference, and what this might mean for his social integration in Andalusia. It is important to note that such debates around multiculturalism tend to be implicit in ethnomusicological discourse. Employing a range of terms that are conceptually related to multiculturalism (such as cultural hybridity, cosmopolitanism, and transnationalism), scholars have sought to understand the hybrid musical forms that have emerged as a result of diasporic movements and globalization (for example, see Stokes 2004; Taylor 2007; White 2012). Often, however, such scholarship has been understood in local–global terms, focusing on how musicians navigate global markets and the world music industry.

In recent years, there has been a shift away from local–global frames of reference and towards the study of music making between host and minority communities, examining how music is caught up in debates surrounding immigration, the rise of nationalism, and social integration (Betz 2014; Clausen et. al 2009;

Kaminsky 2012, 2015; Keegan-Phipps 2017; O'Toole 2014; Ramnarine 2007; Webster-Kogen 2014). I do not wish to suggest that the two frames of reference (local–global vis-à-vis host–minority) are mutually exclusive, but rather position my own work at the intersection between multiculturalism studies more broadly and ethnomusicological work that foregrounds the study of minority-majority relations within national borders rather than transnationally. In the context of Suhail's own music making, theoretical frameworks concerning the world music industry and transnationalism are insufficient. His musical life is mostly directed inwards, towards dialogue with Andalusians, and towards overcoming negative perceptions of the Moroccan community. His music is more focused on his conviviality with Andalusians than the building of transnational connections with Morocco or engaging with global music markets. Ultimately, I analyse Suhail's music making from the perspective of what Wise and Velayutham (2009) describe as everyday multiculturalism, that is “a grounded approach to looking at the *everyday practice* and lived experience of diversity in specific situations and spaces of encounter. [Everyday multiculturalism] explores how social actors experience and negotiate cultural difference on the ground and how their social relations and identities are shaped and re-shaped in the process” (2009:3). Such an approach transcends a political reading of multiculturalism, instead focusing on the lived realities of multicultural life and how people negotiate their belonging in everyday spaces of interaction.

Ethnomusicologists are uniquely positioned to contribute to this more bottom-up approach to multiculturalism. We are keenly aware of both the structural inequalities that can inflect cross-community music making and the ways in which music can be used as a form of conviviality or a “mode of togetherness” (Nowicka and Vertovec 2014:342). We are attuned to how musicians interact in diverse cultural



environments, moving between different social groups, audiences, and taste categories – what Ramnarine describes as the “ordinariness of creative production, as musicians working as individual agents in their everyday environments, making musical choices that suit them and their audiences” (2007:7). In Suhail’s own everyday multiculturalism, the notion of interculturalism has become an integral part of his musical practice and has enabled him to conciliate his difference as a Moroccan with that of the host society. I explore how Suhail’s music resonates with discourses around regional identity and institutional projects of interculturalism, while at the same time expounding his own vision for interculturalism as what Royona Mitra calls a “life condition” (Mitra 2015:11. Also cited in Bayley and Nooshin 2017).

### **“We Have a Common History”: Moroccan Immigration in Granada**

In an interview with Suhail entitled “We Have a Common History” (Barrionuevo Sánchez 2013), the journalist quizzes him on how the idea of a common history between Spain and Morocco factors into his music making. However, while emphasizing notions of commonality and exchange, the journalist also pressed Suhail on his Moroccan, Muslim identity and his level of integration. He asks: “Do you feel integrated?”, to which Suhail responds “I have lived together well [with Andalusians], I live together well with them now, and I will continue to live together with them, if they let me. I find the word ‘integration’ strange; different cultures and peoples can live together while maintaining their roots.” Despite possessing dual citizenship and identifying as a Spanish-Moroccan, Suhail is still marked out as an “other” in society and, as is the case in this interview, appears judged by his ability to integrate. When I asked him how he felt about these media portrayals, he told me: “when people hear my name Suhail or that I am a Muslim, they mark me out as an immigrant, as

different, even though I speak Castilian better than they do!” (personal communication, 28 November 2017, Granada).

This anecdote is symptomatic of a somewhat ambivalent relationship between Spaniards and the Moroccan “other.” There has been much sociological research in recent years on public perceptions of Moroccans in Spain, and the rising levels of racism and stigmatization that they face (Dietz 2004; Flesler 2008; Rogozen-Soltar 2007, 2012; Suárez Navaz 2004; Zapata-Barrero 2006). Many scholars have argued that Moroccans are viewed in Spanish society as less assimilable than other groups due to perceived cultural and religious differences, compounded by Spain’s economic crisis in recent years particularly in the region of Andalusia. Interestingly, however, the sociologist Patricia Bezunartea (2011) argues that there is a fundamental discrepancy between immigrant and host perceptions of social integration. She argues that while Moroccan Muslims may claim that they feel well integrated, the host society has a more negative perception of their integration. An us-and-them divide has emerged that represents Islam as a perceived threat, a perception that has gotten worse since the 2004 Madrid bombings and the rise of Islamic extremism (Bezunartea 2011).

However, the Moroccan “other” is intricately interwoven with debates about Spanish national identity. The anthropologist Daniela Flesler believes that the increasing “rejection of Moroccan immigrants is related to the fact that they are the one group most directly implicated in the question of Spanish identity” (2008:3). This identity is grounded in how the Spanish understand their own Muslim past and the country’s postcolonial relations with Morocco. Flesler contends that Spanish perceptions of Moroccans today are often symbolically conflated with the historical trope of the invading “moor,” the traditional “enemy” of Spain that has returned to

“retake” the Peninsula. The rise of nationalist populism and the far-right has sharpened focus on the visibility of Islam in Spain and given a platform for rising Islamophobia that draws on the narrative of Catholic reconquest in Spanish history and the ousting of the “moors.”

Yet there is a strong Islamophilic component in Spanish society, and above all in the region of Andalusia, where the history of al-Andalus and alleged interfaith dialogue (or *convivencia*) are upheld as symbolic of the values of tolerance and respect for diversity. Nonetheless, some anthropologists argue that the idealization of *convivencia* may in fact obscure the social realities of relations between Spaniards and Moroccans, especially in a climate of growing racism and Islamophobia (Calderwood 2014a; Flesler 2008; Rozogen-Soltar 2007). To complicate matters, in Andalusia the region’s Muslim past has become something of a marketing tool, especially in the tourism sector, where cultural and religious difference is commodified for the promotion of a utopian image of Andalusia’s interfaith history. As will be discussed, this image is also a fundamental part of Andalusian regionalism and the Andalusian autonomous government frequently lauds the cultural legacies of al-Andalus through various institutions and projects as a way of fostering a sense of regional identity.

Granada is perhaps most representative of this complex situation. The city is home to one of the largest Moroccan communities in Andalusia, as well as being the epicenter of both the legacy of al-Andalus and the flamenco-andalusí scene. Besides from the working-class Moroccan community resident in the peripheral and more economically marginalized neighborhood of Zaidin, it is the center of Granada in which Moroccans are most visible. Indeed, Moroccans have become an integral part of the tourism industry, encapsulated by the al-Andalus-themed streets of the historic

Albaicín neighborhood. As Robin Finlay (2017) has shown, this is more than simply a case of Andalusian cultural appropriation of a shared past for the benefit of economics and tourism. He argues that Moroccans also claim a right to Granada by dint of its cultural heritage. Some Moroccans (particularly those from higher social classes) claim genealogical links to the andalusí families that were expelled from Muslim Spain, especially following the Catholic reconquest of Granada in 1492. Finlay maintains that “through the intersections of migrant place-making strategies with specific features of Granada’s context, Moroccan migrants have partly appropriated the Muslim history of al-Andalus and gained the right to produce a multi-sensory, self-orientalised diaspora space” (2017:3). This has, for the most part, enabled Moroccans to integrate relatively well into the social life of the city, especially in its historical center.

#### *Suhail’s Musical Background*

Suhail moved to Granada in the 1980s with the first wave of Moroccan migrants who chose to settle in Spain primarily for economic reasons. Like many middle-class educated Moroccans now living in the city, Suhail studied at the University of Granada and has remained in the city ever since, combining a part-time musical career with his public service position in the library of Granada. Suhail has an eclectic musical upbringing. He studied classical guitar at the Conservatoire of Music in Tétouan, an institution formed under the auspices of Spanish colonialism in the 1940s. While he has no formal training in Arab-Andalusian music, he has become a proficient oud player and sometimes performs in stripped-down versions of classical Arab-Andalusian and Arabic music ensembles. Flamenco has also formed an important part of his musical upbringing, and he told me that flamenco records were

regularly played in his house when he was young. As a result, he has fostered a keen interest in the links between flamenco and Moroccan Arab-Andalusian music. He was keen to stress, however, that he also dabbles with a range of other genres including raï, gnawa, blues, jazz, and rock. Indeed, during the 1980s and 90s he worked as a session musician in a range of styles, including performances with the pop singer Shakira. It was Suhail's knowledge of raï and Arab popular music, basically unknown in Spain at the time, which enabled him to develop his reputation as a session musician. It is this more cosmopolitan edge to Suhail's musicality that marks him out as relatively unique amongst other Moroccan musicians working in the flamenco-andalusí scene, something I will discuss towards the end of this article.

In 1995, Suhail began to focus more intently on flamenco-andalusí fusions with the formation of his group *Kassida Andalusí*, which later became *Suhail Ensemble*. When I pressed Suhail on why he moved away from popular music and raï to flamenco-andalusí fusions, he felt that he was part of a second generation of performers who were experimenting with this sort of fusion, after the success of the well-known collaborative project by Pepe Heredia *Macama jonda* (Machin-Autenrieth, 2019), and the work of other artists such as el Lebrijano during the 1980s. I would also argue that there was a certain degree of commercial pragmatism on Suhail's part, in that he identified a shift in attention in Spain towards Moroccan music and its associations with Andalusia's own cultural heritage, which has become more apparent throughout the twenty-first century. Put simply, he is keenly aware of the somewhat utopian image that surrounds the notion of *convivencia*,<sup>3</sup> and its marketable potential in a musical context.

However, I wish not to characterize Suhail's choice to focus on flamenco-andalusí as simply commercially motivated by local tastes and discourses. Suhail's

foray into flamenco-andalusí fusions is the natural culmination of a life-long interest in the historical links between flamenco and Arab-Andalusian music. For Suhail the fusion between these two musics is completely logical, because he strongly believes that they both emerged from the same root. Any fusion, then, is not really a fusion at all: he told me that these musics were already fused at birth (personal communication, 25 August 2015, Granada). This coming together of history and musical style has important implications for how Suhail categorizes these projects. He dislikes the word fusion, a term that he views as ambiguous and superficial.<sup>4</sup> Rather he describes his music as “intercultural dialogue,” a term he frequently uses in public interviews, promotional materials, and in our own conversations. On Suhail’s website it states that his ensemble’s “musical language [...] is the fruit of a mutual search for a shared legacy, a Spanish-Moroccan musical heritage made with dedication and passion by people from both shores who believe in musical dialogue. [The group] is also a vehicle to develop and intensify mutual understanding, convivencia, collaboration, and solidarity.”<sup>5</sup>

It is the melding together of market sensibilities, musical professionalism, and Suhail’s emphasis on interculturalism that has enabled him to package his music as a safe and accessible form of difference, in an attempt to overcome anxieties surrounding Moroccan immigration amongst the majority population as discussed above. In a similar vein, Michael O’Toole (2014) explores the ways in which Turkish musicians have intervened in public spaces in Germany to shape public opinion about the immigrant community, a process that he describes as “sonic citizenship.” O’Toole argues that debates about multiculturalism have focused on the Turkish community’s ability to integrate into German society. He looks at the ways in which Turkish musicians have become “connected in diverse and significant ways to wider networks

of music scenes, institutions, and musicians in Berlin” (2014:37), using music as an integrative and intercultural tool to promote more positive discourses about the contributions of the Turkish community to German society. I argue that Suhail enters into a similar process of “sonic citizenship,” using his music to overcome negative cultural stereotypes of Moroccans, and to illustrate points of commonality and dialogue between host and minority communities. In what follows, I will explore how Suhail adapts his music making to suit broader social trends in Granada towards Andalusian regionalism and political interculturalism, while at the same time upholding his own vision of interculturalism as a “life condition.”

### **Al-Andalus and Andalusia: Allusions to Regionalism in Suhail’s Music**

One salient aspect of Suhail’s interculturalism is his ability to align his music making with the wider project of Andalusian identity building. Since the early-twentieth century, *convivencia* and al-Andalus have been pillars of Andalusian regionalism [*andalucismo*]. At one level, this regional appropriation of al-Andalus is logical given that the majority of Muslim rule in Spain was located in the south, and the Andalusian region contains a number of indelible marks of this rule in its architecture, cuisine, and cultural practices such as music. Since the early-twentieth century, the legacies of al-Andalus have also been tied up with the political struggle for Andalusian autonomy. The so-called father of *andalucismo* Blas Infante (1885–1936) placed particular emphasis on al-Andalus as the golden age of Andalusian history.<sup>6</sup> In Infante’s writings, there is “constant slippage between al-Andalus and Andalucía” (Calderwood 2014a:37), where he views them as synonymous territorial entities. The Catholic reconquest in 1492 was, according to Infante, a disaster for Andalusia that

eradicated the alleged peace and tolerance that had been developed between the three faiths, and that precipitated Andalusia's social and economic decline.

Infante's views are intertwined with the wider context of Spanish colonialism in Morocco (1912–56). As Eric Calderwood notes, Infante's territorial aspirations for an autonomous Andalusia expanded to include Morocco within the region: "For Infante, the role of andalucismo in colonial Morocco was to unite Peninsular Andalusians with the exiled Andalusians [those from al-Andalus]" (2014b:409). But Infante's emphasis on the history of al-Andalus as a bridge between Andalusian regionalism and colonialism in Morocco was transformed by Franco-era writers, such as Rodolfo Gil Benumeya (1901–75), into a broader Spanish project by which the Franco regime sought to promote a Spanish-Moroccan brotherhood as a tool for the legitimization of colonial authority (Calderwood 2014b). Following the Franco regime and Spain's transition to democracy in the late 1970s, the country was decentralized into seventeen autonomous communities with regional governments being encouraged to foreground their own cultural identities. In the twenty-first century, there has been a "second wave of decentralization" (Keating and Wilson 2009:537), with more attention focused on regional autonomy and identity. In Andalusia, the legacy of al-Andalus is now a prominent feature of institutional displays of regional identity, particularly through cultural organizations such as the *Legado Andalusi: Fundación Pública Andaluza* [The *Andalusí* Legacy: Andalusian Public Foundation].

I argue that part of the reason Suhail's music is palatable for the Andalusian public is due to its resonances with the discourse of andalucismo. This is immediately obvious in the ways in which he packages his music. In public interviews, promotional materials, and the music itself, Suhail frequently grounds his work in



common narratives regarding Andalusian musical and cultural history. On his CD *La Rueda de la Vida* [The Wheel of Life], the song “Felah Minkum” is an illustrative example. A fusion between his own interpretation of an Arab-Andalusian muwashahah and flamenco, the title of the piece is particularly significant. It is an adaptation of a common etymological theory for flamenco first proposed by Blas Infante. In the book *Orígenes de lo flamenco y secreto del cante jondo* [Origins of Flamenco and the Secret of Deep Song] (Infante 1929–33), Infante traces the origins of flamenco to al-Andalus and the *Moriscos* (Muslims who were forced to convert to Christianity) that remained in Andalusia following the reconquest. Infante claims that the word flamenco emerged from a corruption of the Arabic “felah-mengu” or “exiled peasant.” This supposedly referred to Moriscos who had concealed themselves among *Gitano* [Gypsy] communities following the final expulsion of the Morisco community in the early-seventeenth century.

While many historians have debunked this theory, it remains a pervasive part of the narrative of flamenco’s origins. In the context of andalucismo, Infante’s views about flamenco were inseparable from his wider regionalist conception of history: for him, flamenco was a product of Andalusia’s confluence of cultures and a remnant of al-Andalus.<sup>7</sup> Even today, regionalist interpretations of flamenco often take Infante’s theories as a starting point. Suhail explained to me that his song “Falah Minkum” is meant as a direct reference to Infante’s etymology, but his play on words means “peasant among us.” This makes reference to the idea of a shared cultural heritage; of the confluence of cultures that has formed the basis for Andalusian regionalism. And for Suhail the song also represents the idea of Moriscos still living amongst Andalusian society. At a discursive level, this is one example of how Suhail’s work resonates with wider perceptions of Andalusian history.

The link between andalucismo and Suhail's work is most apparent in the institutional projects that he takes part in. Suhail is often contracted to perform at events hosted by cultural organizations such as the Fundación Tres Culturas [Three Cultures Foundation] or El Legado Andalusi, which promote the legacy of al-Andalus and its relevance for Andalusian identity. In these events, Suhail's work is often constructed as a sonic metaphor for the reconciliation of Andalusia's past and present, bringing together the music of al-Andalus with the most prominent cultural symbol of contemporary Andalusia, namely flamenco. It is worth reflecting here on the audience make-up of such events. While Suhail notes that he has some support for his concerts within the Moroccan community, these sorts of institutional events are largely attended by locals or tourists interested in Andalusian history and the cultures of al-Andalus. They might be read, then, as an example of Suhail's "sonic citizenship" (O'Toole 2014), a way of positioning Suhail's own cultural background within the context of Andalusian society at large. This is not simply a case of marketing music for a liberal or tourist audience, but more a way of reinforcing local readings of history and identity. As Gunter Dietz (2004) has noted, there is a conceptual overlap between multiculturalism and the values of Andalusian regionalism, whereby Moroccan immigration is seen as compatible with (and indeed historically contingent on) the legacy of al-Andalus as a regional golden age of tolerance and diversity. Put simply, Dietz argues that regionalism and multiculturalism in Andalusia have become "mutually reinforcing" phenomena (2004:1089).

This idea of Moroccan immigration and Andalusian regionalism as mutually reinforcing is evident in the various workshops that Suhail leads. For example, the Andalusian public library in Granada, where Suhail holds his day job, has invited school classes to attend workshops where Suhail teaches the history of al-Andalus

through reference to architecture, science, and above all music. By introducing students to the styles of Arab-Andalusian music, the history of al-Andalus and modern-day flamenco, Suhail knits together Andalusia's past and present in a manner that underscores Andalusian regionalism, but through his own musical expertise and cultural background as a Moroccan Muslim. He told me that this is a way of introducing children to an aspect of their history and culture that they may not be familiar with (personal communication, 17 March 2016, Granada). He said that most young people know of al-Andalus and the idea of *convivencia*, but that they remain peripheral to young people's understanding of Andalusian history even if they have become fundamental components of the discourse of regionalism.

These workshops are not only a way of introducing Andalusians to their own history. For Suhail, they also provide an avenue through which he can normalize Moroccan culture in Andalusia, offering him a unique opportunity to shape the impressions of regional history that local audiences receive. Suhail told me that he viewed the workshops as a context in which he can "raise the Andalusian population's awareness [*sensibilizar*] of Moroccan culture" (personal communication, 28 November 2017, Granada). By foregrounding his own self-identification as a Spanish-Moroccan and focusing on Arab contributions to Andalusian society, he is able to position the Moroccan "other" within the broader symbolic framework of local identity. This resonates with Illana Webster-Kogen's use of the term diasporic intimacy, which she describes as "a variation of localised nationalism that marshals the minority's sounds with a view to incorporating it into a national narrative" (2014:29). In a sense this process of diasporic intimacy facilitates Suhail's integration into Andalusian society. His own identity as a Moroccan, while diffracted through the prism of Andalusian regionalism, is made compatible with that of the host culture.

### **Musical Interculturalism: As Politics and As Life Condition**

The multicultural legacy of al-Andalus as a model of tolerance is not simply an outward marker of Andalusian regional pride, but is also co-opted by Andalusian institutions and musicians to promote interculturalism and the social integration of Moroccans in Andalusian society. Across the region, a number of cultural and governmental organizations draw on the ideals of interfaith *convivencia* in an attempt to facilitate intercultural dialogue with Moroccan communities through community-based projects of which music is often a part. The standard narrative that Spain and Morocco have a shared cultural heritage in which different cultures and faiths in al-Andalus were able to flourish and interact undergirds the very foundations of interculturalism as an ideological approach to majority-minority relations. Put simply, al-Andalus is capitalized upon by institutions as a model for what intercultural dialogue in the present might look like. Leaving aside the historical accuracies of the *convivencia* legend, the notion is “good to think” as Shannon proposes (2015:29). It is a “postmulticultural form [that] might serve as a model for structuring difference in contemporary society” (Shannon 2015:163). The musical encounters that Suhail is involved in are a powerful example of how the *andalusí* past might be adapted for intercultural ends in the present.

Two key questions remain, however: whose intercultural legacy is this? And how is the language of musical interculturalism utilized by different actors? To answer these questions, I will now examine how Suhail adapts his music making according to both institutional and his own personal interpretations of interculturalism. At one level, Suhail taps into a wider trend in Andalusian society towards the policy of interculturalism as a mode of social integration. However, while Suhail himself may be the epitome of an integrated Moroccan, the extent to which

such projects are of relevance to the wider Moroccan community is debatable. Suhail is keenly aware of the limited efficacy of such projects with which he appears to maintain a somewhat “commercial” relationship. However, in our conversations Suhail offered his own reading of interculturalism as a fundamental building block for his music making. It is this disjuncture between interculturalism as policy and interculturalism as what Mitra (2015) has described as “life condition” that I wish to explore.

### *Institutional Interculturalism in Andalusia and the Legacy of al-Andalus*

In Europe, a number of nation states have moved towards interculturalism as a policy framework for social integration (Bello 2017:23; Council of Europe 2008; Kymlicka 2012; Meer and Modood 2012). The political sociologist Valeria Bello states that “the paradigm of interculturalism is currently presented as a new tool to both better integrate immigrants in host societies and to frame relationships between communities and groups of different cultural backgrounds in more positive ways” (2017:24). As discussed above, interculturalism tends to emphasize dialogue between individuals and communities, rather than the somewhat “groupist” approach of multiculturalism policies that many politicians from across Europe (as well as academics) argue has led to communities living parallel lives and an increase in racism and community tension (Kymlicka 2012; Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010). In Spain, policies aimed at facilitating the social integration of minority communities only recently formed part of government policy due to the country’s late transformation into a site of immigration (Conversi and Jeram 2017:56). Structured integration policies came relatively late, notably with the *Plan de Ciudadanía e Integración* [Plan for Citizenship and Integration] in 2007. Given the backlash

towards multiculturalism in other nation states, this plan identified interculturalism as the key model for achieving integration (Conversi and Jeram 2017: 57–8). In Andalusia, interculturalism also forms the bedrock for the region’s own immigration policies, and it often guides educational and cultural projects aimed at facilitating the integration of immigrants.

The notion of interculturalism as a framework for dialogue and the integration of immigrant communities seems to have defined Suhail’s professional life, both in his music projects and his role as an “intercultural mediator” at the “Intercultural Libraries of Andalusia” project funded by the Andalusian Government. In 2009, Suhail won the Andalusian Prize for Migration, an annual competition that

“recognizes the activities that best contribute to the promotion of interculturalism [*interculturalidad*] and the cultural and social diversity that exists in Andalusia [...], in order to raise awareness within our society of a coexistence of mutual enrichment and to favor the full social integration of immigrants in our community” (Junta de Andalucía 2017).<sup>8</sup>

Each year, immigrants enter the competition with intercultural projects, artistic works, educational programs and so forth, and are judged for their capacity for interculturalism and their ability to integrate into society. Suhail won the prize in recognition of his “28 years of music and interculturalism.” Such competitions are an example of the ways in which “otherness” might become a form of capital to be exploited and marketed, putting different minority communities into conflict for resources (Nagle 2009:9). John Nagle goes so far as to argue that such state-sponsored events are “a direct transplantation of colonial strategies to manage

subjugated groups by dividing them into discrete rival ethnic categories” (2009:11–12). However, from an ethnographic perspective, Suhail viewed the prize both as a source of pride and an opportunity to promote his music and benefit from institutional support. And it presented a publicly visible opportunity for him to deconstruct the image of the Moroccan “other” by illustrating the commonalities and dialogues that exist between Andalusians and Moroccans.

Since the competition, Suhail has been contracted more frequently for large-scale projects, many of which are based on themes of social integration and interculturalism. For example, between 2012–14 he performed as part of the project *Flamenco de orilla a orilla* [Flamenco from Shore to Shore]. Led by the Andalusian Government’s *Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco* [Andalusian Institute of Flamenco] and funded partly through the European Regional Development Fund, the aim of this transnational project was to promote flamenco as a cultural and economic “motor” both within Morocco and in Andalusia, encouraging the creation of new collaborative opportunities between artists, promotion companies, and cultural managers. At its core were ten courses where pre-selected students were trained in the production of flamenco concerts with sessions on cultural management, technical skills (sound and lighting), and the history and anthropology of flamenco. In addition to these courses, there were 55 talks on various flamenco topics, six networking days for artists and workers in the cultural sector, two exhibitions, and 16 concerts that featured a number of flamenco-andalusí groups.

I am interested less, in this article, in the implications of this project for flamenco’s transnational development in Morocco, but rather in the project’s implications for political interculturalism in Andalusia. With institutional backing from the Andalusian Department for Migratory Policies, one of the aims of the project

was to facilitate intercultural dialogue between communities and the social integration of Moroccans through flamenco as a shared component of Andalusian-Moroccan identity. The promotional material stated:

*“Flamenco de orilla a orilla* aims to raise awareness and exchange amongst the indigenous population and Moroccans resident in Andalusia so that they can identify with flamenco culture [...]. It is of utmost importance to facilitate and promote a process of mutual understanding between Andalusia and Morocco that benefits the integration of Moroccans resident in Andalusia without renouncing their origins.”

(Vargas Martínez cited in Consejería de Justicia e Interior 2013:15).

However, from conversations with participants (including Suhail) and organisers, it appears that the Moroccan community in Andalusia had limited involvement in the project’s workshops and concerts. The intercultural potential of such projects is dubious, as they appear largely to attract Spanish audiences. Even though Suhail participated as a musician in this event (and others like it), he is somewhat critical of the ways in which large institutions use music to promote interculturalism, because they end up attracting predominantly middle-class Spanish and tourist audiences. He feels that such projects have limited relevance for the wider Moroccan community and that they constitute a form of “political” interculturalism. Specifically in relation to *Flamenco de orilla a orilla*, he felt the event was more focused on building flamenco’s reputation in Morocco than in its claims to the integration of Moroccans resident in Andalusia (personal communication, 28 November 2017, Granada).



Where does this leave the notion of interculturalism? Are these sorts of institutional events merely a “multicultural trick” (Hutnyk, cited in Karl 2014:5), directed more towards the promotion of Moroccan culture and its intersections with local cultural practices (such as flamenco) for the Andalusian community, than engendering actual dialogue and interaction between communities? Whose interculturalism are we talking about – the Moroccan community’s, Suhail’s, Andalusia’s? I would argue that these sorts of institutional events are largely Andalusian readings of interculturalism – a way of harnessing the past to promote the ideals of dialogue in the present. Suhail benefits from such events because he represents the epitome of a well-integrated Moroccan, and his involvement constitutes a degree of pragmatism on his part. His participation in such events enables him to raise awareness of the Moroccan “other” especially in the face of rising Islamophobia and anti-immigration rhetoric, even if the Moroccan community at large is rarely brought into the fold.

### *Interculturalism as a “Life Condition”*

The politics surrounding interculturalism only presents one side of Suhail’s musical story. In the remainder of this article, I wish to focus on Suhail’s own views of interculturalism, a term he actively uses in how he defines his musical worldview. Here, I draw on the work of Royona Mitra (2015) and her use of the term interculturalism in the context of British-Asian contemporary dance. Focusing on the dancer Akram Khan, Mitra argues that “driven by the lived experience of diasporic realities, which necessitates subjects having to simultaneously negotiate multiple cultures, [...] interculturalism is a life-condition as much as an aesthetic and political intervention” (2015:11). I argue that for Suhail interculturalism is a “life condition” –

it is a worldview that underpins his music making and how he operates in the context of everyday multiculturalism.

At one level, Suhail's own inclination towards interculturalism is a political act, not in the institutional sense that I have described above, but in the sense of social critique. Like many musicians I have worked with, Suhail feels that the utopian notion of *convivencia* sometimes espoused by institutions may actually obscure rather than help overcome the more negative realities of immigration, including rising racism, the refugee crisis, and human trafficking. As such, Suhail harnesses his interculturalism through music to comment on issues that affect not only his Moroccan compatriots, but also that resonate around the globe. In 2009, Suhail was the lead musician in a piece of music for the film *Retorno a Hansala* [Return to Hansala], which was nominated for the award of best song in the 23<sup>rd</sup> Goya awards. This film depicts the gritty reality of illegal migration across the Strait of Gibraltar and the number of people who have lost their lives trying to make the journey. Similarly, he recently released a recording on YouTube called "Sentidos del alma" [Feelings of the Soul] in which both flamenco and andalusí vocals were overlapped with images of the refugee crisis and Syrian War punctuating the soundtrack. Suhail's music making becomes, therefore, a political statement of the need to engage with some of the pressing issues facing North-South relations across the Mediterranean. This musical engagement with social critique is compounded by Suhail's involvement with numerous non-governmental organizations that support refugees and marginalized immigrant communities.

Beyond this more politicized approach, Suhail's interculturalism can also be understood as the formation of a space of collaborative exchange. Jason Stanyek (2004) has explored a similar issue in relation to pan-African jazz. He argues that the

most powerful element of the genre is “the ability of musicians to use Pan-Africanism as a basis for constructing a collaborative space in which they make direct contact with each other and communicate and create in spite of extreme difference of musical style and despite profound linguistic, historical, and cultural disjunctures” (Stanyek 2004:91). I believe that flamenco-andalusí can be understood in a similar way: as a collaborative space that enables musicians from different cultural backgrounds to come together. At a time when cultural and religious differences between Spain and Morocco feature more prominently in anti-immigration rhetoric, the utilization of music in an intercultural capacity is of utmost importance. The narrative of a common cultural and musical history (however utopian that history may be) provides what Stanyek calls an “organizational strategy” for the creation of a creative space in which “contradictory musical ideas can exist” (2004:91), as well as constituting a mode of listening through which shared meanings can be constructed. In a similar fashion to pan-African jazz, flamenco-andalusí collaborations can be viewed as a “historical continuum of interethnic communication and collaboration” (Stanyek 2004:91).

As Amanda Bayley and Chartwell Dutiro have pointed out, intercultural music making “requires exploring the space between cultures,” and enables “dialogues [to] develop between musicians throughout the process of creative collaboration and across diverse cultures” (2016:391). While their chapter focuses more on the inner-workings of the collaborative process, this quotation relates closely to Suhail’s own view of musical dialogue. As a space for exchange, Suhail regards the process of musical interculturalism as more than simply a form of social integration – rather it is the way in which he is able to *convivir* [live together] with Andalusians and those of different cultural backgrounds. Indeed, he is rather critical of the word integration,

which he views as analogous with assimilation – the idea that one must lose something of one’s self in order to fit in. Rather, he told me that he “takes things [referring to musical styles, techniques] needed to live together [convivir] with others. There are no borders between musicians, they live together [conviven]” (personal communication, 28 November 2017, Granada). It is this notion of living together through music that is central to his understanding of interculturalism.

Suhail’s use of the word *convivir* is interesting here. Despite being the root of *convivencia*, Suhail does not employ it in the sense of the idealized history of interfaith relations in al-Andalus, but rather to refer to the ways in which humans interact with each other in day-to-day life. This understanding is remarkably similar to recent work in the field of everyday multiculturalism regarding the term *conviviality*, which refers to “the ways people liv[e] together successfully, how they envision a *modus co-vivendi* and what strategies they create in order to practice it” (Nowicka and Vertovec 2014:342). If, as Wise and Noble argue, *conviviality* can be understood as a “performative phenomenon” (2016: 426), then music is one tangible way in which it is performed. In Suhail’s case, music provides a basis for the building of lasting relationships and mutual understanding with his fellow citizens. Music’s intercultural potential is central to how he and other Moroccan musicians around him *convivir* with Andalusians, beyond the touristic tropes and marketing strategies of historical *convivencia*.

However, Wise and Noble point out that their understanding of *conviviality* “includes an emphasis on practice, effort, negotiation, and achievement. This sense of ‘rubbing along’ includes not just ‘happy togetherness’ but negotiation, friction, and sometimes conflict” (2016:425). This idea of effort and negotiation is definitely true in Suhail’s context, particularly in relation to his own musical competencies. Over

many years, he has developed competency in flamenco in order to engage more effectively in fusion projects with Andalusians given the functional similarities between flamenco and Arab-Andalusian music. Now he can move fluently between Spanish and Arabic texts adopting an amalgamation of flamenco and Arab-Andalusian vocal styles and forms. He plays some degree of flamenco guitar and teaches his fellow flamenco musicians the sorts of melodic and harmonic material that he has in mind for his compositions from a flamenco perspective.

At one level, Suhail has needed to adapt his musical styles to that of the flamenco majority culture – to become bi-musical to enable his fusions to take place. This process tends to be unidirectional: Spanish musicians he has worked with rarely have any knowledge of (or particular interest in learning) his own musical competencies. As Brian Karl argues, Moroccan musicians often conform to the cultural monopoly of flamenco: as one of his informants told him, “Moroccan musicians need flamenco, not the other way around” (2014:10). Arguably, then, this is a skewed interculturalism: an unequal distribution of aesthetic power that privileges flamenco and that becomes a metaphor for the minority status of Moroccans in Andalusian society. But the very fact that he is knowledgeable in flamenco does afford him a degree of cultural capital – that is, he is able to engage with Andalusians on their own musical terms. For a Moroccan to be proficient and emotionally invested with such a strong symbol of regional culture, indicates to the host society a wish to belong, a wish to integrate. It is also important to recognize Suhail’s own identification with flamenco. He was exposed to the genre from an early age and has always been deeply invested in its links with Arab-Andalusian music. As such, flamenco isn’t simply an Andalusian product that Suhail has needed to conform to, or bolted onto his practice, but it is intrinsically part of his own unique musical identity.

He told me: “I feel like a flamenco and when I perform it, I feel it. You could say that I have an ear for flamenco and I have an ear for Arab-Andalusian music...I am divided in two” (personal communication, 25 August 2015, Granada).

### “Indirect” Interculturalism

I must be careful here not to reduce Suhail’s music making into a discourse of “happy hybridity”; a binary categorisation that melds together seemingly homogenous categories of identity, namely Spanish and Moroccan. Suhail’s conception of interculturalism stretches beyond the flamenco-andalusí nexus. While Suhail lauds the intercultural potential of these fusion projects and their ability to illustrate commonality between Spaniards and Moroccans, he is also cognizant of the essentialisms at play. He is keenly aware that such fusions might end up reinforcing his cultural “otherness.” At times Suhail performs in events that perpetuate stereotypical depictions of Moroccan culture and orientalist tropes such as belly dancing or a generic Arabic musical palette (Karl 2014:4–5). Indeed, anecdotally I have come across some opposition to flamenco-andalusí fusions amongst flamenco circles. I remember being told by a flamenco friend in Granada that the flamenco singer El Lebrijano who has collaborated with numerous Moroccan musicians was once criticized by a flamenco aficionado, saying “there he goes again with the moors.” I, too, have heard racial slurs and orientalist stereotypes when discussing these fusions.

As such, Suhail’s interculturalism stretches beyond a Spanish-Moroccan musical hybridity and into something that we might normally associate with cosmopolitanism. Suhail is able to move between a range of popular music styles and break away from the dominant stereotypes of orientalism that characterize Moroccan

difference in Andalusian society. Even though flamenco-andalusí may be the most public face of Suhail's musical persona, he is keen to stress that it is not his defining feature. He regards himself as a musical "chef" who will "cook up whatever you want and whatever I feel like!" He told me, "I am lucky to be a chef; I am rich without the money" (personal communication, 28 November 2017, Granada). One need only look at his website and YouTube videos to see an array of music projects from electro Arab pop, to blues and jazz inflected fusions, to his numerous projects as a session musician. His cosmopolitan attitude is also evident in the way he described his view of music to me: "it's because music has no borders, it has no limits, it is like the sky" (personal communication, 25 August 2015, Granada).

A more universalist or cosmopolitan conception of music is rooted in what Suhail understands interculturalism to be; it is the crux of his musicality as a whole. For Suhail, "interculturalism is a fountain of richness" (personal communication, 28 November 2017, Granada). He gave the analogy of a woman drinking Colombian coffee in Berlin, wearing American jeans, eating Thai food, and listening to world music. I could not help but view such a portrayal as the epitome of an elite cosmopolitanism, which has been heavily critiqued in ethnomusicology: a westerner with sufficient cultural and economic capital to be able to pick and choose from a supermarket of world influences and cultural commodities. So, pressing Suhail further, I asked him "isn't this a person just taking from other cultures? What does it have to do with dialogue?" He then described this as "indirect interculturalism": that is, a person adapting things from other cultures and synthesizing them, internalizing them, making them her own. This, he argues, is the starting point for true interculturalism: for dialogue and exchange that has become a "life condition" in how Suhail interacts in Andalusian society.

This reading of Suhail's interculturalism nuances an understanding of how he navigates his socio-musical world. His cosmopolitan outlook and musical flexibility have afforded him access to different parts of the local music scene and have facilitated his session career. But this should not simply be viewed as pragmatic cosmopolitanism, whereby Suhail's main aim is to tap into commercial opportunities. It is also a way in which he defines his musicality and a mechanism by which he is able to transcend the stereotypes associated with flamenco-andalusí fusions that might emphasize, rather than conciliate, Moroccan otherness. As such, he presents an alternative side to his musicality: one that is not simply confined to the realm of a utopian andalusí past, but one that is thoroughly modern and "global." This, I argue, is what makes Suhail so successful in his ability to use music as a way of promoting his own identity within the majority society, of his ability to convivir with Andalusians.

## **Conclusion**

Suhail Serghini belongs to a network of Moroccan musicians involved in various fusion projects in the city of Granada, who use music to promote intercultural relations between majority and minority communities. Yet he is relatively unique in his ability to move deftly between different genres, entering into a range of musical projects that engage with various local tastes. Through his fusion ensembles, concerts, workshops, and institutional projects, music has become an important way in which Suhail has facilitated his own social integration in Spain. Yet despite having lived in Granada for the majority of his life and fundamentally identifying as a dual-citizen, Suhail still feels othered in society given his Moroccan background and Muslim faith, the result of lingering anxieties around Moroccan immigration and the rise of



Islamophobia. Here, Suhail has capitalized on the narrative of a shared cultural heritage rooted in the legacies of al-Andalus to raise awareness of the Moroccan “other” and to facilitate intercultural dialogue. His historically-contingent brand of musical exchange enables him to retrieve the ideals of Spanish-Moroccan commonality from the residues of the Andalusian past and position himself as an inheritor of these ideals in the present.

It is tempting to view Suhail’s music making from a position of postcolonial critique: to focus attention on the inherent power inequalities that inflect his musical practice and on the strategies that he adopts to capitalize on orientalist stereotypes that are all-too-often associated with Moroccans. In this article, however, I have tried to move the conversation away from emphasizing the language of power and strategy, and towards a consideration of how Suhail views his own music making in the wider context of everyday multiculturalism in Granada. My analysis has been guided by his own story and personal reflections on where his music fits in the broader context of majority–minority relations. At the core of Suhail’s musical and personal worldview is the notion of interculturalism, which defines how he interacts with the musicians, institutions, and audiences he encounters in his day-to-day life. By emphasizing the intercultural potential of both his fusion projects and his cosmopolitan musical palette, Suhail has been able to tap into the discourse of Andalusian regionalism, political interculturalism, and popular music scenes. At a time of increasing societal tensions within Spain and further afield, I argue that a focus on the micro-practices of individual musicians offers important insights on the ways in which Moroccan expatriates use music to convivir with those in the host society.

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The term “moor” [*moro*] is normally associated with somewhat negative depictions of the Arabs and Berbers that conquered Spain in the eighth century and which is sometimes used to refer to Moroccan immigrants today.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the intellectual history of *convivencia* in Spain and historiographical deconstructions of the term, see Akasoy’s (2010) excellent overview article “*Convivencia* and its Discontents: Interfaith Life in al-Andalus.”

<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting here that Suhail’s conception of *convivencia* is slightly different to what we might normally assume. When describing his musical fusions, he usually refers to the

Christian-Muslim side of the *convivencia* legend. He notes the overwhelming absence of Jews in Spain and criticizes marketing programmes (for tourism or cultural projects, especially in cities such as Granada) that rest on the notion of the three cultures or faiths living together in tolerance in medieval Spain.

<sup>4</sup> Brinner notes a similar critique of fusions in the Israeli-Palestinian context, where for some musicians the term fusion “connotes shallowness due to the popularity of the term in world music circles and the perceived superficiality of much of the music advertised as fusion” (2009:215).

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.suhailmusica.com/spanish/index2.htm> [Accessed 16 April 2019].

<sup>6</sup> In his doctoral dissertation, Oberlander explores the relationship between flamenco’s supposed historical connections with al-Andalus and regionalism, focusing on the legacy of Infante’s work (2017:67–118).

<sup>7</sup> Elsewhere, I consider in depth the relationship between flamenco and Andalusian regionalism from a historical and ethnographic perspective (Machin-Autenrieth 2017).

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/servicios/premios-concursos/detalle/77404.html> [Accessed 16 April 2019].

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