The gitanos of Mexico City: rhythmicity, mimesis and domestication of the payos

Abstract
This text addresses a tentative approach to groups in Mexico such as the Roma, who remain poorly known even though their presence is attested in the territory for 500 years. The analysis focuses on problematizing the particular cultural and economic reproduction strategies of an urban group of gitanos (Calós) in Mexico City. Greater attention is placed particularly on the rhythmicity of ordinary life, on the performance and the mimesis in economic exchange, and on the domestication of the Payos. The aim is to provide knowledge concerning the country’s cultural diversity, and specifically, to help broaden the discourse on the Roma as well as to exercise control and vigilance on the uncritical generalizations so costly for social anthropology.

Keywords: gitanos, culture, Mexico performance

Introduction
The presence

Is a truism to note that academic hierarchies and the corpus of anthropology, sociology and history in Mexico ignore the historical role of the Roma in the incomplete process of nation-building? The various Roma groups have historically been devalued in relation to nation-building not only in Mexico but also in the American continent. Moreover, the Roma are not even mentioned as part of the national histories and subjects thereof. Therefore, the political struggle against the denationalization of the Roma, which refers to the Mexican national culture against its own implosion, remains the crucial matter. The lack of cultural and political commitment to dignify the history and anthropology of the Roma has imperceptibly increased the risks as well as the illusion that the Roma are “always the same”. Mexican scientific literature has not constructed a Roma topic. In fact, the denigration of them in the country is a reflection of the difficulties of institutionalizing studies on the Roma who do not fit into pre-established frameworks: To what do they belong? To the folk? To the urban poor? To the ethnic? To the immigrants? This reveals a strange task: to build an understanding of a subject both anthropology and history understand with difficulties. On the one hand, gypsyology has built vulgarizations through series of negative terms assigned to the Roma: “no-religion, no-state, no-territory,” which is a danger to the ethnographies. In addition, it is difficult to point out the absence of the features in a social and institutional organization that typically interest ethnographers such as the corporate groups of descendancy, the great variety of religious affiliations, the particular marriage alliance systems, the presence of leaders with a diffuse power, the immense variety of groups of huge composition and fluidity, makes the Roma into a cluster of societies inherently untreatable. In effect, the problems posed by the Roma are impossible to resolve from any orthodox approach. On another hand, the gap within the public opinion about the Roma is vast, allowing for the anticipation of the elements of a mental conjuncture. The effects of the mental conjuncture have generated a series of screenings and social definitions of common sense, resulting in the mental impossibility for a Mexican citizen to understand and appreciate the inwardsness of the Roma people. In this sense, the limited repertoire of moral judgments of classification has become a device that has made a collective definition which expresses, in its negative dimension, an empty architecture of Roma diversity and complexity, thus building an imaginary topography.

The above does not require social scientists to recreate themselves in a plane so far removed from the practice as if everything were reduced to a set of sterile signs (phantasmagoria) between the global society and the Roma. The methodology I chose attempts to translate those elements that are possible with the idea of fabricating a coherent representation with which the Roma are made interesting and intelligible. This choice is determined by each Roma group’s type of cultural creativity while questioning if that creativity is capable of dialoguing with the ethnography of these groups. According to Wolf the continuous historical process of construction and reconstruction of cultures relate to processes operating in the general areas of the ecological environment, the society, the economy and the politics. He also explains that the exercise of power is a crucial factor in the regulation of social relations and in the creation of meaning within the cultural arena so that the power of the culture constitutes the strength and the ability to influence the social domain and its different areas of activity such as the social relations between people. For the purposes of this text I have chosen one of these spheres of activity as the axis of reflection, namely, the economic environment of the Roma.

1The concept of “presence” evokes, in a philosophical sense, the notions of “be in the world”, “be present in the history” through the culture.
2See Declaración del Pueblo Roma.
3The Roma presence the Americas is attested since the third voyage of Christopher Columbus in 14983 and we have information, but scarce, of various kinds on the history of migration and Roma presence in America.
4At present, there are Kaldarsh Roma colonies in Mexico City, Puebla, Guadalajara, Michoacán, Querétaro, Oaxaca and Veracruz; Roma Ludar groups in central Mexico (San Luís Potosí, Jalisco) and a small community of Spanish Caló which lives in Mexico City. Estimates, not very reliable, suggest that there may be around 15,000 Roma in Mexico.
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Structured as a constitutive ritual act that is subjected to constitutive rules, it produces an uncertain performative effect. Such everyday performative acts “elicit” (in the sense of arousing, inciting) shared meanings and moods—an ethos. Simultaneously, they symbolically achieve control and power over the Payo world as an unpredictable universe, yielding a power that transcends subjects. On the one hand, the commercial transaction describes an order of interaction in which symbolic constructs relate to the moral values of the group; on the other, it exercises power and domination. Stewart11 points out that the domination of the Gaze by Hungarian Vilach Roma represented in the horse market transactions is an ideological construct. First, it refers to an image of sufficiency by obtaining Payo resources (without establishing a reciprocal relationship with them). Secondly, it refers to equality and the ethos of sharing. Wolf20 emphasises how power plays in human relationships of interdependence. He contrasts ideas (mental constructs of the world) with ideologies (unified schemes to manifest power) and notes that both play a crucial role as emblems and instruments to bound people or to separate them in cooperation or in conflict. Wolf’s approach allows an understanding of the link between the material relations and the ideological schemes at the level of the subjects involved in the reproduction of the ideological and instrumental means of ratification of the social organization and the ever-changing pursuit of consistency.

Overall, it shows that the construction of meaning is an activity linked to ordinary social life. With this, we describe a relational perspective of power as constituted through language and everyday practice14 that is produced and reproduced through the contextual actions and interpretations of social interaction in complex strategic situations. This way, the cultural model and the social morphology are so interrelated that they enable each individual to construct their ideas about themselves as well as about the world beginning from the socio-symbolic action which is generating identity awareness. Therefore, cultural identity among the Calós is built into the details of the practice of everyday life while at the same time it takes on an economic, aesthetic and political construction involving the simultaneous formation of both objects and subjects. It is important to highlight that we refer to identity, not identification (coming from the outside), as a lived identity, a memoir of life, which is constructed subjectively and is objectified in a cultural identity through sociability. Lived identity is “that recognition that human life, which is mainly characterized by paying attention to the memory of what was lived, its emotional impact, and the feelings and rights of attachment and bonding that this memory requests (…) also causes arguments, explicit wishes, experiences that are designed strongly concerning objectives, formal treatment and moral standards. Terradas notes that this life memory is usually not expressed explicitly but implicitly which connects with what other authors have defined. On one hand, it connects with the defined construction of an own sense and with the establishment of the Roma presence in the world. On the other hand, it connects with how culture is imprinted in the body, the gestures, the postures, and the ways of speaking in the manner of a linguistic code—not an objectified cultural trait, a habitus. The political identification (Spanish, Gypsy) is assumed to be an external attribution to a cultural and historical fact, assumed by the Calós. Uncle (tio) Quine points out: we are Spanish Gitanos. When we arrived in Spain they got our ‘ethnicity’. There are Gitano doctors, police, teachers … We are like the payos, we have culture.

Peddling creates a practical relationship with the environment.7

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1Personal communication.
2To speak of a civilization, neither writing nor a sizeable human mass, among other things, is essential. The only thing the Roma lack to be a “classical” civilization is writing (Sumerians, the first Hindus, Jews or the Romans did have writing). Stewart argues that a general trait among the Roma is precisely their “natural” environment which is composed of partners and representatives of other ethnic groups (Roma, gaze, living/dead, relatives/non-relatives, etc.), never indifferent.
3Flamenco singer Antonio Mairena formulated his theory of disembodied reason (la razón incorpórea), something indefinable, impalpable, that must feel and respect for being a good gitan. It is our honor, the basis of gitan
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These approaches have attempted to defend the independence of the lived identity from any anthropological reductionism. The idea is that the processes of cultural identification refer to the basic Caló social universe, which reveals epistemological beliefs and assumptions shared by the group in relation to the Payo universe. This universe is not a simple “context” or “environment”; it is a form of participation whose relationship is dynamic, productive, changing, and of mutual transformation, symbiotic. The relationship is not a symbolic construction nor of a representational type.41 The idea is that the Calós construct idealized models of the real world during everyday experience in the ecological context within the community. In these contexts the Calós put into practice a communion of experience which is the core of sociality and does not depend on the organization of sensory data in an objective system of collective representations (the mind as a processor of information, in the Bateson’s way). Instead, it relates to the direct perceptual involvement of subjects in a relational context of shared patterns of daily activities in environments that are “experienced”.42 From this perspective, cognition is understood as an activity not removed from the experiential flow and being under a permanent reformulation process, not isolated, of the Calós in relationship to the global society. This gives us the elements of analysis of the cultural construction through a distance game with the payos, seeking to explain something that does not seem to have an immediate sense, using for this purpose then several observation angles. The attempt is to present a coherent reality and a sense of unity from the overall significance of the observed facts from a contextualist approach and in relation to integrative principles as reproduction of culture in social practice.

The gitanos of Mexico city

This section attempts to focus on the specific analysis of a group of Spanish Calós living in Mexico City, from a dialogical and performative culture perspective.43 The group consists of about 150 individuals who identify themselves as “Spanish Gypsies” and who live in the “Zona Rosa”,44 a part of Colonia Juarez, a residential neighborhood of middle and upper class level. The local community was formed 35 years ago by members who had previously lived in Brazil, Venezuela and Argentina. It is not a closed community. It is a product of immigration that has left a composition of family networks under permanent construction, making the entire social structure more porous and notorious for various aspects such as secessions and histories of origin.45 The shape and physiology of this transnational community is interstitial, rhizomatic,46 and, simultaneously, reticular, comprised of networks and nodes.47 Following Alba’s,48 the internal space of the Zona Rosa which is reproduced in social networking is, first, an intersitital space of relative separation since Calós do not live apart from their neighbors but scattered at a good distance. The separation between the Mexican and the Caló community is revealed in the preservation of linguistic, economic, social and cultural rights that protect the intimate space of social relationship. In addition, space is reticul in the sense that it is an assembly of a transnational social space in which the community social networks communicate with the nodes of the Iberian Peninsula and Canary Islands (by the phone and internet).

The transnational friendship and kinship ties do not erode and are a key element in the reproduction of social life in the transnational social space. In fact, the reproductive strategies of the local community rely on marriage alliances. Through a web of fluid and flexible parental networks, any individual is related by some kind of family relationship, near or far.49 And it is in this net where we will find the exchange, the solidarity and the neighborhood bonding, besides being also the first circle of conflict. Cultural regularities form a transition system, hybridized, in its diasporic dimension. This dimension is shown in the attachment to land and to the commitment to return to the country of origin as well as in the importance of the deceased. For example, the remains of the deceased (one of the pillars of identity) are buried in Spain50 or when an elderly person feels that their life is near to its end, they travel back to the country to spend their last days. Active conservation of memory, the image and the myth of the homeland are also a diasporic dimension. Some examples of these are the transnational social networks and the awareness of discrimination toward “gypsies”, the latter unequally distributed among subjects. Obviously, some are more diasporic than others because the processes refer to particular experiences. However, regardless of the uniqueness of every process, the stories and personal accounts from significant events of an individual and collective memory can be heard constantly upon meetings with Caló men on the street, in a cafe or in a restaurant.

The dissemination of knowledge and expertise takes place orally, not through a written text, and it is on a daily basis that cultural consensus is built in line with the social consensus so that social practices recreate the cultural ethos. The latter has the idea of sociality in its conceptual core, both in regard to family relationships and in relation to the values of respect (to the group, the deceased) or of rejection (toward the Payos).51 One of the characteristics that strengthen the Calós society is the ideology of equality coupled with the principle of non-interference in a society of bilateral egos.52 The local community is characterized by the importance of respect for elderly men (hombres de respeto, tíos) who concentrate the prestige and authority of their age in their role as peacemakers. The community is organized as an androcentric society of egos in a fluid kindred structure where decisions are non-collegial yet remain unspoken. Individuals maintain personal autonomy in their ways of conceptualizing the powers of the other (human and non-human). This ideology of equality articulates a principle of authority based on the categories of age and gender in a society structured by ties of kinship and affinity. In phenomenological terms, and before the

41 The Calós used various expressions to denote closeness (familia de sangre/familia carnal/me toca mucha familia) or less parental closeness (familia retirada). The term “descent” to categorize kinship networks is inadequate.
42Portugal also in its respect to a family of Portuguese origin.
43In the latter case, the verbal treatment to naming the deceased implies adding the phrase “rest in peace”, being that paradoxically, discretion and the relative silence toward the dead are an element of intensification and relational reinforcement of the group. 52 In addition, the violation of these rules by a Payo produces a reaction involving a strong group commitment.
44We do not propose that the behavior is explained by ideology, which is to assume that there is no problem in accepting such explanations for the local community.

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apparent power of the elderly, there is no mere leadership such as people to incite action, so the authority surges from within the society. This idea, although it evokes Durkheim’s theory of integration in a general, stresses that life in this local community involves the survival of all. The power proceeds from this society although not clearly visible since it corresponds to the whole society and its multiple relations, causing this vagueness. The taste for social life is an important aspect in harvesting the social consensus among the Calós and is reflected in the more visible daily practice of the dominion 17 game played by men in cafes and in hotels of the Zona Rosa. The game is qualitative, is loaded with meanings, and takes place during a non-quantifiable time period. The game is part of the morphology of cultural identity in their everyday aspect, oriented toward an “inside” of the community instead of toward its aspect of external negotiation and mobilization (more political). It is subject to the pure social relationship charged with affective, symbolic and perceptive valences such as: showing off a new car, offering to provide drinks or to go party (irse de jugar) for the men, going to the Pentecostal Church, celebrating a birthday (a more feminine and domestic activity), have dinner and a drink at McDonald’s restaurant, preparing events, participating in a collective breakfast at Gaby’s cafeteria or playing dominoes in the evenings and at night for men at Hotel del Principado (who owner is from Asturias, Spain). The individuals are moral persons that, as social subjects united by common interests, internalize social norms and reproduce them. This “[staying] and doing things together” is a fluid social and cultural style, contextual and discrete mobile interaction, always of overlapping. 18 One of those patterns is expressed on the daily practices embodied in the aesthetic and communicative dimension of art. If we complete a phenomenological reading of the corporal kinesthesia, the competence in the sense of movement and position of the body and its parts is revealed in the integration of rhythm as a social pace. One example is the fact that Calós sing and dance at any time and place, which embarrasses any outside observer. Among the Calós, the cultural significance is revealed not only through language but also through verbal actions that act as social catalysts which function as performative operators that the Calós use to explain things in society.

So, singing and dancing are the languages of social integration (of the life cycle) and politics (of the gesture, the invitation). The singing and dancing together, in an improvised way, is the most basic form of integration, stressing the importance of social ties and the importance of living in society, the existential and experiential recognition of the need “to live in society”. “Be agree” is also singing together. We propose that the performative meaning is a contingent and emergent social process; the latter metaphor indicates that the whole transcends system components, the whole being more than the sum of its parts. 19 This reveals the irreducible dimension of social life: man is a self-performative animal. 20 In this sense, the Calós can make something out of improvisation, tearing apart a dance or a song to reach the crucial

17 We did not observe a political system in which the political structure and kinship organization are merged, nor in which they are a typical lineages in a structural-functional way. 17
18 Dominos are played in couples and require great intelligence, cooperation and insight. Among the Calós of Mataró (Barcelona), the card game practiced daily among men is the botifarra, a popular game from Lleida, especially in the region of Pallars. Both games share these characteristics and the fact of being awake and being resourceful. Dominos, like gambling or sports ritual, is a model of culture in their commonality, based on modalities of magical efficiency that in turn generate new myths and rituals. 56
Within the community does not appear calculated reciprocity gift-counter-type57 but it depends on the circumstances, in the manner of a natural economy posed by economists, and ad hoc reciprocity.

starting point: society, the vaguest things that exists. Not getting out of this primordial vitality involving basic integration is represented by the half ceremonial, half playful undifferentiated gesture.

If we refine this and describe it as “art”, the integration is lost. For the Calós, singing and dancing is not a segregated activity as it is for the majority of society; rejecting to dance is equivalent to rejecting sociability. This is symbolized by the right to own rhythmic expression in the spontaneous expression as well as in the most formal dimension. That which may annoy an outside observer is not the singing or the dancing itself but the spontaneous way in which it is exercised. For the Calós, Payos are static and limited because they do not have the ability to move in any space and place. Dance is an expression of the power and strength of the community 18 and it constitutes a discrimination of privilege and inferiority toward Payos. The ritual specificity of the Calós is the articulation of elements of their social rhythms (recreational, economic, etc.). The endogenous rhythms common to human populations, that Mauss discovered among the Eskimos, are a similar to the endogenous, circadian rhythms, among living organisms that biologists identify. These rhythms respond to an inner need to oscillate. 20 For example, in the months of higher sales (November, December and January, and summer) the time coming together and relaxing are scarce. Meanwhile, the daily activity cycle has two strong moments: breakfast at Gaby’s and, most important, the reunion in the afternoon at Giordano Bruno Square, at George Washington Square, and in the evening at McDonald’s restaurant. 21 Time and space are categories perceived on movement.

The perception of the 21 is the experience of the space-time coordinates, understood always in motion. There are constant movements on the peddling, in the long distance travel or short range displacements in the city or metropolitan area. People, Hidalgo, Morelos, Estado de Mexico, Querétaro. The largest human movement takes place within three months of end and beginning of each year, the rest there are times when expansion occurs, for example, travel to the summer resorts in the coast of Oaxaca (Huatulco), Guerrero (from Acapulco to Ixtapa-Zihuatanejo), Ialisco (Puerto Vallarta) or in Chiapas (San Cristóbal de las Casas). This also indicates that the same performative-action on peddling has different effects and not is related to the expected outcome because there are more economic success in a part of the year. So, the effectiveness of the performance is also linked to the temporal context: it depends on the ritual, but the moment it happens. Assé 20 identifies a “circulation principle” among the Europeans roma. As the Eskimos, among Calós, and before that of nomadism, we have to talk about movement based on cyclical and not regular displacements. 22 There is a strong attachment to specific places that are visited repeatedly, as the tourist corridor from

20 In the ethnography with Catalans Calós I described the specific coincidence between the seasonal change and people due to the relative motion from the Payos, especially tourists who came to spend the summer in the north coastal (Costa Brava). The arrival of winter marked a relaxation in the investment of time, money and mobility, to develop more human sociality and community contacts yet more work for women in doorstep selling to offset the drop in revenue of peddling in authorized street markets. In this period, the men work less, being jokingly reprimanded by the women in their private conversations. In autumn and winter had more stress and more social intimate rituals and ceremonies of wedding and pre-wedding thanks to accumulated capital during good months in the summer, the spring being a transition stage.
21 A frequent routes part to Queretaro, Aguascalientes, Zacatecas, Torreon, Durango, and the return to Tamaulipas, San Luis Potosi, Veracruz, although at present and due to the growing insecurity in the country the routes directed more to the south (Puebla, Chiapas, Oaxaca). The coastal area is also popular as tourist corridor extending from Acapulco to Puerto Vallarta, and the Oaxaca coast.

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Oaxaca to Jalisco state. Disputes are avoided by existing resources and on share information about them, which do not belong to any group. Places are temporarily occupied by individuals and families. Another individual or family can pass through them, and established with agreement. There is a “go and come” not violent or competitive between space and seasonality.

The destination of choice for business transaction can be both prospective and fixed and repetitive. The Calós constantly move and this movement is based on site conditions. This idea of possession of territory is based on constant mobility and freedom culture at local, regional and transnational level; is their lived cultural identity: Brazil, Buenos Aires, Venezuela, Mexico, if we do not feel free we do not live. The payo is not like us, loses his job, his contract and does not know what to do. We travel anywhere, we talk, quality with people, four cuts of clothing] ... Mexico is the country of freedom, expression of the word, no one bothers you. The roots in the country, the attachment to the Zona Rosa where they reside (eating, sleeping) and live (community worship, buying wear, business, leisure), and attachment to certain places in relation to the territory are elements that distort projections and uncritical generalizations on detachment to the territory of the Calós, and by extension, of Roma. In relation to the position in space of the global society, Piacenza refers favorite location of Roma in the ends, the most fragile of the political organization of the State as a form of a more general strategy of integration into the “sfasatura”, the geopolitical, economic and commercial discontinuity of gaze society. As part of a differential perception of risk as a concept-model, Calós are at the margins of the economic system and try to improve their conditions of exploitation of resources at local and regional level, resisting the neoliberal state. The Mexican context is conducive to the informal economy (29% of Mexico’s GDP), and Calós, by way of practice, conduct informal economic practices that show great flexibility, frequent successes and cultural creativity, while in Spain productive organization of Calós is more subject to standardization and legal oversight (regulations, taxes).22

The practice of the material life of the Roma, from the occupations to the mode of their “presence” in the territory, is the result of choices and values articulated with the situation, creatively unfolding.23 The economic anchor and circulation of Calós in the territories indicated the relevance of a set of strategies like living in the informal sector, move to exploit economic niches and places on a regular or irregular ecocultural niches remain for shorter or longer periods, and generally, the symbiotic relationships with local, regional and national levels. The anchor denotes a circulation regime and a mobility knowledge-capital about the intermittent demands of the territory, so that “the principle of circulation” always organizes and offers more opportunities for economic success.24 The spiral movement on the territory is not the exception but the rule; in this movement resides the group’s identity, the rhythmicity. This suggests redefining the movement of those Calós who are rooted in the territory in which circulate freely. This multiple and fine territorialization of Calós is an element that has built up over the years, not only an hold and lived identity, but a whole anthropological and historical system which is a whole cultural, mixing reproduction of mutual relationships with economic integration, being integral to the history and global society. The main occupation25 among Calós is peddling. Products offered

22 Another question is to ask how the various Calós groups in Spain live the economy, if they are worried by the market taxes. Have they a tax experience or is thought? The economy–expenses, taxes-surpass them?
23 Some seller’s males, plus a few young salesmen, combine the labor with the work as artist, playing guitar and singing in nightclubs in the Zona Rosa. Other minority activities are owned businesses as dry cleaners in the area. In the past to potential customers are leather jackets (chamarras), accessories (sunglasses, watches, pens, etc.), perfumes, clothes (shirts, pants), silver frames, cutlery, tablecloths, bedspreads and other products. The strategy of the vendor is to provide either an individual product (jacket, accessories) or a set of products in a bagage (lote) for a total price.24 To do this, they go to private homes, markets, public buildings and government enterprises, small and medium businesses, and move to different areas of metropolitan Mexico City and the rest of the country.

Economic calculation involves both quantifiable and non quantifiable factors in frontier situations.25 One Caló describes how silver frame and cutlery are more difficult and slow to sell but more profit (silver frames can be sold easily if you convince the customer that they are works of art), while the leather jacket is a quicker sale and more feasible (the jacket alone is more acceptable and the lot, there is more profit in every jacket sold). Several combinations are possible. The leather jacket can be accompanied by a gift of tablecloths or quilt. Sometimes they offer to a wholesale buyer (who wants to resell the product) a large lot of jackets at a lower price than if on sold individually. In the marketing risk is valued as marginal occupation, not units -jackets, accessories sold-depending on the circumstances of the risk. Thus, the product being sold is defined in terms of what you risk if you can bring more value and therefore involves no more work, no work-units exploding.26 The cost of the leather jacket that sell Calós is low, so if the price increases and sells for much more than its actual value, it increases in value (marginal value).27

Thus, according to the circumstances of the sale may be risk individually or in groups, and this indicates that these circumstances are social risk. Among Calós preparing the sale involves the exchange of information, cooperation between family, work groups,28 etc., and recreates social relations, risking little financially. Conversely, their risk more in social relations, for example, marriage alliances. One of the important places for this planning that reduces risks and the possible tension, is the Gaby’s29 café where Calós meet for breakfast every day, men and women, men require the shoe shine (bolear) the shoes, and finalizing plans for the day. Within Calós society the economy strengthens the group with the desire to have related with flamenco bars in Cancun.30

The peddling of the lote was a type of business strategy driven by Spanish gitanos from the ‘50’s with the mechanization of the countryside, reaching great importance until the 70’s. In the sale of the lote the profit margin is higher and the time of sale less than if it was to sell one by one all the products offered.

25Marginalist theory25 describes how concern for sell 100 pieces of clothing is not the same in relation to the 80 already sold to over the last 20. These are decisions that are going to extremes, to rush, which move the interest margins, i.e., to what interests rush more, the profit.

26These economic strategies are common to certain roma groups in Mexican territory. Rom intermedia in the Midwest that diversify their activities as buying/selling cars, or brokers that provide the industries mechanical to repair industrial machinery. A good sale or a good service to the industry can accumulate large amounts of money that allows them to manage work units and working time.

27One of the vendors indicated that he had sold a leather jacket for 600 pesos and that another had sold only in 300 pesos in a grocery store. He added that the jackets were not of high quality, but as Calós they could get high profits.

28Often teams are organized in couples (two men, two women, a married couple). In this aspect, recruitment is not based solely on kinship. While brothers, husbands or wives, nephews, uncles or cousins undertake economic partnerships, other people can also join the work, not necessarily relatives each other. Acceptance of the work does not force anyone. It is also optional and mobile.

29Potential customers do not know the backstage, otherwise, if they would know, would say Goffman, the performance would be compromised.
preserve the family, considering the economic system as a strategy and adaptation. Lived identity is also constructed by a collective benefit system in support to those who are economically challenged by the conjuncture: help with jackets to someone that needs it (we help each other). Borrowing money, goods or organizing working groups are expressions of economic cooperation between families. This is part of this lived world, safer and freer. The Mexicans Calo’s, like the Andalusians Calo’s and Catalans Calo’s, have created societies that have been designed very well. The building of these Roma communities is not economic but social as they create and cultivate relationships. It is not very common to find individuals who are alone; this individuality can be a voluntary or an imposed marginalization by the family or the community.39

Mimesis and performance

In the communication process of economic exchange with the Payos, Mexican Calo’s resort to gesture, aesthetics, performance and impression management40 as inventions of ordinary life, to which are added in the form rationalizations of ideas and beliefs that are part of a hierarchy of values. The peddling is a performative act41-44 and the conviviality that integrates performative and cultural ethos through its effectiveness, its success or failure and their effects. The commercial transaction in front the Payos social space is constructed dialectically through the game of the distance (against social intimacy), supported by the conventionality and formality of the external device (the performance). The expectation of risk in the business transaction (being identified as Gitanos) is neutralized by the manipulation of symbolic codes regarding political identification: it makes a positive self-identification, so that Calo’s hide their identity as Gitanos (negative identification) and presented to the client and Spanish (positive identification).45 This is part of the social poetics in which the game of distance and staging to an “outside” is a political, anthropological and historical construction that relies on symbolic devices. What singles out Mexican Calo’s is the product of the type of exchange, joint social and historical contingencies Piasere46 that provide acceptability in Mexican territory. Therefore, knowledge of the other is recognized among Calo’s as an invisibility strategy based on the next premise: when a difference breaks the panorama of the accepted difference (visibility), invisibility proves to be the most prudent and successful strategy.

By presenting themselves as “Spanish”, the stigma-prone Calo’s are not stigmatized. Through mimesis and identification with an external other, the Calo’s “survive”.47 In addition to that, we note the effects of achieving a higher socioeconomic status than in Spain. An adult man notes: in Spain I’m a fucking gypsy. Here I am a gentleman. My children eat every day in restaurants. I go out, the shoeshine boys shine my shoes. One tells me: “was your car for 20 pesos?” I have the latest car. I can express myself through speech, I can vocalize, interact socially… here it is possible. I get dressed up and perfumed, and sell four jackets that cost me 1500 pesos and sell for 5000. I earn 3500 pesos in 20 minutes. The manipulation of identity is a strategy followed by other Roma communities in commercial contact with the Gaze.33-63 Obviously, there are scenarios and historical moments in which to be Roma is recognized as relatively safe and advantageous or disadvantageous.44,47-66 Lisón47 notes that since the arrival of gypsies on the Iberian Peninsula, they have been perceived as and presented themselves to the Payos through a carnival of pragmatic, legal, religious and symbolic-allegorical masks that appeared and disappeared and were transformed continuously.48,49 In fact, popular imagination in Spain continues to assign archaic views to the Gitanos, such as the stereotypical roguy (and at the same time anti-materialist), violent, reveling and carnivalesque gypsy (as in the Bajtin’s world of drunkenness and excrement), with no social responsibilities, in short, one who does not seem to have reached the threshold of modern life. In sum, a postmodern and disturbing hero that puts a strain on local identities and institutions.32-70

However, the Calo’s combinatorial status, the social poetics, is the substratum of cultural creativity. Against this explicit social process, harsh and discriminatory, the Calo’s play creatively with different labels which in turn are offensive and damaging; the power to manipulate reality consists in shedding a distinctive identification and behavioral label (“Gitanos”), which involves specific content (tradition, racism, etc). Expectations or interpretation schemata48 of a problematic social situation (anti-Gitano prejudice), linked to cognitive and affective processes, are invigorated by frames and the collective ideas (not reducible to ideologies) that from a sociological point of view refer to dialogic situations of social interaction.71 The reaction that is expected of the Payo as a subject receiving stimuli and reacting to the information of the “perfect” communicative act (as in the case of G. H. Mead’s symbolic interactionism), is an enthusiastic response and/or submission. Although it is assumed that failure is a natural performance, the desired effect is reached through the transmission of symbolically coded information of the physiological, psychological and social status of the issuer, resorting to impression management and verbal art performance as key elements of persuasion72 and, in general, control of the context of action,73 in turn determined by cultural conventions. Foucault explains that what defines a relationship of power is not act directly and immediately on others, but act upon their actions: action upon an action, or over eventual or current actions, present or future.44 The Calo’s power is exercised in marketing, developing persuasive skills they possess to influence someone to buy a product; in other words, the ways that

33The ethnic “invisibility” among the Rom Kalderas of Paris, according to Patrick Williams, or the “super-communication” of ethnicity among American Romnicel as stated by Matt and Sheila Salo, is a technique also seen by Piasere among Slovenian Roms in northern Italy who act the part of illiterate gypsies in order to glean scrap iron from farmers and repair shops for free or at a low cost for scrap iron present in front peasants and repair as poor illiterate gypsies- “super-communication”-to get free or inexpensive materials.73

44In Mexico, Roma women become visible by practicing palm reading on the Veracruz coast or in the center of Coyocan in Mexico City, exploiting the image of the colorful and exotic woman who divines the future, and adapting to Eastern aesthetics; the Rom Ladur provide entertainment through magic shows, and the circus, so that inevitable amazement and wonder they produce fits the archetype of exotic Roma; Roma groups in Mexico City and the center of the country which engage in trade, transportation, heavy equipment repair and buying-selling of cars hide their Roma identity.

55When highly standardized communication patterns are broken, the cybernetic model of communication can lead to failure. Failed communication in interactions can lead, in certain cases, to the oath (swearing on the dead)—as an insult—or to a curse. The Zuluaka challenging behavior of swearing and cursing (both forms of ritual) imply discontinuity on the cyber level.55 Both are expressions of the power of the verb as warning and punishment, as well as the verbal form of persuasion (sales performance).
One of the strategies most employed to stimulate motivation is mimicking a flight attendant or airline pilot, or other roles (eg, New York Times correspondent in Madrid): I’m an airline pilot and bought these clothes for my children in El Corte Inglés [a mall] in Madrid, but they are too small. These leather jackets are good but I have to get back to Spain and I want to exchange these jackets for bottles of tequila. Botero describes his work: I go to the Courthouse, to the military government office, and talk with the Minister: ‘Look, I have some sample clothes and I have to get back to Spain. I have to go through customs and they charge me 12%. Look, I’ll give these to you. When I come back from Spain I’ll bring you whatever you want’. This is marketing.36 Women emphasize their status as Spanish citizens and traders of imported clothes, or simply argue that they must make a return trip and get rid of clothes because of customs fees or in exchange for gifts or tequilas. Caló power lies in their ability to persuade and how they project an illusion37 in the minds of customers. The imagination of the Payos feeds the artistic ability of the Caló to create these illusions aimed at altering the perception of others in order to sell the product.38 It is also the illusion of appearing to be someone else, the chameleon-like power, secrecy and invisibility. We refer not only to a performance of a (the “real” airplane pilot or the New York Times reporter),39 but a transformative cultural process through physical and bodily acts which build identities, relationships and rules based on otherness, and employing the faculty to copy, to imitate, in order to make models, explore differences, and “become someone else” — not literally even to the point of taking on the character and power of that other person.39 So, having the capacity to imitate is the chameleonic and magical power to copy, forge and mask, and in turn implies the power contained in this capability of representing the world, making this Caló ability like a game of mirrors: a drifting of the power of representation which explains the power of representation of Roma as an object by anthropology. So, when copying and imitating the original model, that is, the representation and objectification of the Payo figure (flight attendant, pilot, journalist and any other role), this implies the subject’s appropriation of the character and power of those original figures.

In short, instead of observing the performance as a parody or an assimilationist desire to be “like the Payos”, it is better understood as an act of mimetic, cultural imagination. The Calós can protect themselves from an uncertain and hostile environment by deleting the biased category of “Gitano”, magically acquiring the essence of the other people in the everyday act of appearances, an art that cultivates the insoluble paradox of essence/appearance (ibid. p. 176). The interrelationship between the cognitive and sociological aspects builds the dynamic social relationships and cultural ideologies of domestication, power and control over the Payos, and describes the feeling of superiority that the Calós have over the Payos.78 The effect of domesticating and encapsulating the Payos into objective and practical categories has wider implications because superiority would not be circumstantial but would be built as a social structure in which the Payo ideologically can’t start a relationship of reciprocity with the Calós. The efficiency of rejecting the interaction, which is articulated effectively with other kinds of rejections in relation to moral values and associated taboos described in other social spheres (mentioning the deceased, separation of the sexes, etc.), however, is an issue that depends on the contexts of social, economic and historical exchange: Mexicans here are “Payos, Payos”, we do not have a relationship with them, we sell to them. On the other hand, I have Payo friends in Spain, we have lived together. Here the Mexicans have their rules: ‘yes, sir’, ‘excuse me’, ‘thank you very much’. This indicates, first, that the game of distance for the Mexican expresses a dimension of diaspora and, second, that the mark of otherness is a specific and contextual construction Stewart (the Hungarian peasant is more “other”).

Intercultural affinity, as incorporated activity and reflexive discourse, is part of the fabrication of the contents of culture, revealing that it is built by having absorbed, often imperceptibly, elements from other cultures (we have been like chameleons, adapted to each location. If we have seen anything good in you, we have absorbed it). This absorption cannot be explained merely as non-conscious mimicry.41 To study Calós is to understand elements that really are not exclusive; they are imported, and therefore are loans from other contexts,41 forced or not, which are assembled in an imperfect pairwise tradition, although, once they begin to adapt, they do so according to the needs of local populations. A business transaction is an aesthetic construction of life that also shows how constructing the Calós’ world of experience depends on fluid types of identity and identification, not on essentials. The Calós teach us that the distinction between the instrumental and the expressive is dissolved. That is, a theatrical model realized exclusively as “fraudulent” in the staging of self would be simplistic and reductionist if compared to the sham inherent in every human being living in society had we not added other dimensions of the person as in this case it would be the cultural affinities. As noted by Joseph40 notions of (national) citizenship images are imbued with public, official definitions, the usual practice, informal social products.

36This is stated by Botero a former Pentecostal pastor in Seville: I was a Pentecostal pastor in Seville and for that you have to be a spiritual leader and lead a good life but here I have to ‘cheat’ and I have left that life behind. Botero’s case illustrates how there is a continuum between the “sincere” and the “cynical” roles in Goffman microsociology. The game consists in having the Calós perform the “cynical” role linked with a motive or subsequent goal in front of an audience, and in which the interpreter believes he is “cheating”. Botero is aware that he is playing a role and projecting a fictitious image. The moral character of the act creates a dilemma because the arrangement is associated with dishonesty. It also indicates how Pentecostalism as moral discourse affects the resolution of Caló practices relating to the illegal but social products.

37Verbal loquacity is important: we sell jackets. A person may be seeing the jacket in the store but we are chatty, we sell things... and fast because if not they leave... as well is an understanding of psychology. A young Caló described their sale as “illusion selling” using communicative resources (verbal, gestural, clothes) to entice the buyer: we say that these tablecloths are made by the Carmelite sisters. I believe it. It is all based on you believing it yourself.

38In Plato’s Republic the philosopher pointed out how mimetic ability produced sensory knowledge like a game of mirrors: a drifting of the power of representation which explains the power of representation of Roma as an object by anthropology. In Plato’s Republic the philosopher pointed out how mimetic ability produced sensory knowledge like a game of mirrors: a drifting of the power of representation which explains the power of representation of Roma as an object by anthropology.

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40When Payos gain advantage in the inter-relationship they are criticized. Uncle John was critical of the country’s chaos: the money stays in this country. I bought a car and was stopped at a red light and I was hit. Since its engine was at the back, we had to come to an agreement... It took two thousand pesos, but I have the car in the repair shop and it costs eight thousand pesos. I have left the car. This country is impossible; I want to go back to Spain. Unlike the Mexican chaos, in Spain it is the bureaucracy and taxes which precludes obtaining resources: in Spain the government is your pimp. You have five apples and they keep three.

41To see something or hear something is to enter into a relationship with that something, establishing a contact. The distinction between the copy and the original cannot be explained merely as non-conscious mimicry.

42To see something or hear something is to enter into a relationship with that something, establishing a contact. The distinction between the copy and the original cannot be explained merely as non-conscious mimicry.

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The gitanos of Mexico City: rhythmicity, mimesis and domestication of the payos

make people behave differently on their own.75,76
nostalgic yearnings, accumulated historical memory, material culture, mythologies, and lessons learned from previous rejections.

Thus, performance of the (Spanish) national attributes that Calós consistently use in their social life, and that includes both the aesthetic and technical dimensions of the issues at stake, is best understood as a place in which the “person” feel realized in the complex areas of everyday life (ibid. p. 4). In following Benjamin, the basic mimetic impulse offers “similarity”, to become one similar to the other, not a mere imitation. Therefore, in commercial transactions Calós also state and exhibit culturally marked preferences, national identity elements that are part of their Spanish heritage, and through these seem to suggest intercultural affinities. In this sense, mimesis-imitation is the reflection of the flexibility and porosity of the difference between self and the other, in which the “distance” from what is imitated can always be found. Covering up the differences and affirming what is shared as a situational-adaptation process -that coexists with regulatory processes and broader social coordination implies that Calós are careful not to be identified as Gitanos, stating that as Spanish people and traders they are expressing economic, social and cultural relationships which complement the Mexicans. This is an element of adaptive culture that tells us how the meaning of consciousness and attribution of meaning to “race” and culture as well as negotiating with outsiders is produced through exchanges and interactions the Payos. This would express a particular ethos as well as symbolize conventional distinctions and categories, not static nor uniform, on which Calós build their trade relations. It is not only the instrumentality, usefulness or the characteristics of a meta-language that defines the performance but the expressiveness of it, which is what, makes sense as Spaniards and as Calós.

Naturalization and domestication

Power comes from three sources: nature, society and, more directly, the power exercised by the people themselves, so, power is a feature of human relationships and indicates the need for one person to partially control others through domestication, the processes of socialization and power. Payos are located at a specific position in the world through classification systems that are cognitive tools and are in fact the product of social-political dynamics and specific social and cultural ideologies whose ultimate cause are logical and formal: establish contrasts of incompatibility based in representation systems that project negative attributes which are presented as being natural. The idea is that human groups “naturalize” cultural differences, and it is also an instrument of domestication, power and control.

Just as a peasant domesticates animals, the fact that there is domestication among humans is frequently overlooked. A relationship of domestication between different species supposes that the species that domesticates the other is more capable of adapting to the environment (symbiosis, parasitism, etc.). Domestication can also come from the group that apparently holds no political or economic power. Humans construct rationality through particular conditions that are inspired by domestication. This is a universal and objective fact that expresses how cultural learning processes–uninformed, of course–are also subject to the naturalization process. When trying to strengthen something it is naturalized and to reinforce society’s discriminations, these are naturalized. One of the areas of domestication that receives more naturalizations, along with generational aggression (age) and sexual dimorphism (gender) is “race”, this being a “more natural” state. Thus, domestication is identified, not just with sexism or ageism, but also with racism. In reference to the division between nature and culture, Olivera recently showed that the rom gabori see the gaze as “nature”–humanized, reversing the perception of the Slovenian-Croatian Roma of Gaze as humanity–“nature”. Without going fully into this controversy that deserves a longer article, I would like to toy with a very simple idea: how the naturalization of the Gaze represents the realization of a cultural event that has become natural, without actually being natural.

Denying the humanity of others and denying their moral (human) condition as a person and comparing it to a species (animal), is part of a concept of nature seen in Western history. The concern is that, although each society may have different conceptions about nature (or not having them), it is possible to identify a minimum of implicit assumptions on which these concepts are built. Performance, and in general the Calós transactional culture, highlights issues of power, ideology and historical processes of dialogue/resistance. We are not referring here to specific Calós ideologies (pure blood, ethnicity, honor/dishonor, labor, time management, etc.) that affect several areas of social life, including the construction of a second nature in the magical-mimetic relationship regarding the Payos. We refer, instead, to the historical application of external power ideologies, of accommodation and resistance, whose binary structural model has been historically accepted to theorize oppression. From this perspective (and in a very general sense) it can start from the historical interrelationship between Roma/Gaze as well as other relationships and hierarchies between people, nations and civilizations, based on two types of dialogism: a) polyphonic, where there is discussion and disagreement, but no substitution nor deletion, and b) radical, the historical experience where the logos are not present polyphonically but some individuals and groups are destroyed and replaced by others.

In this kind of radical dialogism the impossibility of having a synthetic group is revealed. The Marxist theory of social contradiction as historical phenomenon and opposition of human interests is their paradigm. From a neo-Marxist approach, Roma history can be seen as a history of mutual hostility established with the various Roma groups, identifying three models of relationships: Spanish, Western and Balkan. It is also recognized by his physical appearance. Payo is a South American, not a. Among Catalanon Calós and in reference to gender one of the oncos noted that women have three chromosomes, justifying male superiority in relation to conception and in societal spheres; in relation to “race” they established a hierarchy of status regarding the pelut (hairy), a derogatory term applied to Castilian Calós in general. These racist and sexist legitimizations are the foundation of the prejudice evident in the discourse of ideological polarization in a ideological speech polarized (positive / negative) of an us and them. Therefore racism is a theoretical creation and not just a problem of education or ignorance. This creation is also found in the field of metaphors, not only in scientific language.

In the ethnography done with the Andalusian Calós I noted some discrimination applied by this group as phenotypic perceptions regarding the Payo, building a racialization of differences: the Payo, meaning peasant, is recognizable by his physical appearance. Payo is a South American, not a. Among Catalanon Calós and in reference to gender one of the oncos noted that women have three chromosomes, justifying male superiority in relation to conception and in societal spheres; in relation to “race” they established a hierarchy of status regarding the pelut (hairy), a derogatory term applied to Castilian Calós in general. These racist and sexist legitimizations are the foundation of the prejudice evident in the discourse of ideological polarization in a ideological speech polarized (positive / negative) of an us and them. Therefore racism is a theoretical creation and not just a problem of education or ignorance. This creation is also found in the field of metaphors, not only in scientific language.

Depending on the relationships of mutual hostility established with the societies around them and on the political and socioeconomic position of the various Roma groups, Piasere identifies three models of relationships: Spanish, Western and Balkan. There are really good Marxist dialectical analyses, concrete analyses of concrete situations that arrive at the causes. Obviously the problem is when the gap between statement and reality is ideologically filled.
as the history of the struggles of peoples, groups, communities and classes that radically refuse each other,\textsuperscript{47} to a greater or lesser extent.

Any group of people can be faced with other groups in contradictory terms, both philosophically (epistemological contradiction: if I am right, the other is wrong) and ontologically (if I and my interests succeed, other peoples' interests will disappear completely; everything has been substituted). Hypothetically, the Roma/Gaáz confrontation would occur at the existence (ontology) and rational levels (rational contradictions system (epistemology)). The denial of the humanity of the other is also a historical product involving political sociology. Marx points out that the bourgeois denies humanity to the proletariat despises their dignity and degrades them to a commodity.\textsuperscript{47} Similarly, the West has denied the humanity of the primitive, the barbarian, the pagan,\textsuperscript{48} affirming itself to the extent that it denies their humanity, sees them as lesser, different and detestable.

The old idea of dehumanization and contradictions in the historical class struggle of the European industrial city has become, in today's world, a majority of peoples exploited by a minority of wealthy countries. This is articulated on a worldwide scale, with \(\frac{3}{5}\) of the population considered as humanity for production purposes. When seen with an animal perception: what matters is what that section of humanity produces, not what they think, feel, believe, or how it relates to others. We do not really know who "those others" are because they lack identity (dehumanization). In this sense, the racist ideologies that justified Roma slavery in Romania or cultural assimilation in Spain, or the Nazi extermination, show that it is the enemies or subordinates who are often conceived as being closer to nature. In societies marked by strong social inequalities and/or tension between two cultures and irreconcilable value systems, discrimination becomes a powerful instrument of ideological legitimation.\textsuperscript{49} Although it is commonly thought that naturalization of social relations legitimizes them ideologically, as shown by Marx and Bourdieu, this does not mean that the naturalization of the other always and necessarily justifies and legitimizes the prevailing order, if we think that ideology is inherent to the construction of social relations in terms of power inequalities.\textsuperscript{48}

Ideology is not disconnected from cognition or social interaction situations. The Calós, like the Slovenian-Croatian Rom or Rom Gabori express the articulation between emotion-ethos-and-reason–eidos-(the “configuration of culture” in Bateson), in addition to the existence of basic “thema”-the cognitive opposition and difference between Calós/Payos based on the notion of non-identity between the two social groups as a social whole. On the positive side, this is an issue that requires thinking and that forces anthropologists to think and even fantasize about, while also being empirical. The idea is that typical cultural models\textsuperscript{49} are articulated through historical experience and social contradiction, composed of the sum of individual interests, where the reasoning of one group has nothing to do with that of other human groups. The radicalization of this is the removal of others, whose base is the issue of denial of humanity (alienation). It is therefore obvious that our society does not recognize humanity and equal rights for all groups, denying them and producing alienation, which is likely to generate this animal perception, even though we forget that the first to see this was Marx who applied this postulate to the Germany of his time. The form and content of naturalization is that which can be subject to controversy because, in fact, discrimination is different depending on the goal proposed.\textsuperscript{48}

To view and perceive others as inferior, immoral or like animals is a cultural construct, a worldview that defines the categories of identity (Who am I? Who are we? Who is ours?) and otherness (who am I not? Who are we not? Who is not mine? Who are they?), from two perspectives: 1. essentialism, which naturalizes identities as immutable, and 2. contingent social construction, in which the definition of the other is based on circumstances and the different views that tend to predominate in certain times and places. These identity definitions are elements of social classification, marking relationships as possible/not possible and constructing specific relationship forms with certain categories of different. The worldview reflects a set of integrating principles that provide coherence to the system of knowledge and beliefs, even though as a structure of ideas it is not permanent nor fixed because its imaginings and metaphors are much more changeable than cognitive constructs.\textsuperscript{48} Although people do not necessarily live according to their worldview, their conceptual system, these models are put together with values and feelings, structure consciously and unconsciously as frames.\textsuperscript{48} From this point of view, local communities develop dominant cognitive modes, i.e., a set of relatively stable structures for logical and symbolic order on which cultural data depends to organize cognition coherently, codify them into formal, aesthetic and other languages, and make them communicable in the social sphere, in sharing and supporting a particular cultural ideology.\textsuperscript{92} Thus, the ideal (ideology, values, imagination) sets the tone in a realistic manner, since the worldview and dominant cognitive modes accentuate the cultural conventions.\textsuperscript{51}

However, worldview, unlike cognitive constructions, has to be translated into performances.\textsuperscript{51} In this sense, the relationship between performance and power would not only be the expression of the culture of the Calós, but the reflexive eye, the creative glance of the Calós at possibly more suitable designs of life.\textsuperscript{90} We refer to the commercial transaction as an everyday event that works as conventional act, ritual, in the sense that it is a culturally built symbolic communication system (whose content is related to a particular ideology) through structured and organized sequences of words and acts, and whose content is characterized by formality (conventionality), stereotypical aspects (stiffness), condensation (fusión) and redundancy (repetition)\textsuperscript{50} and 2. execution or capability of being performed, the action is a basic condition of what happens as the ritual not only communicates but is “doing something”.\textsuperscript{50} First, we observe absolute formality in dress: suit and tie for the men, with

\textsuperscript{47}In French and British Marxist anthropology this theory of contradiction is used to talk about group, village and even identity struggles, inspired by the concept of class struggle.

\textsuperscript{48}In any dominant ideology there are introjections whereby dualities such as Roma/Gaze, male/female, relative/non-relative, etc. are diluted. It’s easy to find overlaps of hierarchy and identity, so that one dominant pole is confronted with another pole.

\textsuperscript{49}Cultural models lack normative character because as cognitive constructs they are versatile cognitive resources that can be followed normally—not normatively—in the context of the complexity of social organization, the experiences and interests of individuals and also the plurality of strategies for achieving objectives, and whose relationship with social practices is very complex because, in fact, these forms of knowledge lack structure outside of the action in which they operate.\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{50}An example of the latter among Mexican Calós, Andalusian Calós and Catalanian happens when a respected man becomes authoritarian (and there are no police to control it). The consequence is that his authority is withdrawn and he is not sought after to act as conciliator within the community.

\textsuperscript{51}Conversely, and applied to global society, this explains how in the history of mentalities no rigid cuts occur, as demonstrated by recurrent outbreaks of hate towards certain communities in Europe: Jews, Roma, Muslims.
the ritual shoe shine before going out, while women wear discrete, dark, clothes with a combination of skirt, sweater, bag and elegant shoes. The movements are also stylized, emphasizing discretion and elegance in the walking mode, gaze, gestures, the way of sitting. The appearance and body language, the personal front, is key to successful communication since both refer to the choreography of the performance which provides incentives that speak to the potential customer about the status of the performer. The language used is clear, structured, in a refined style, rhetorical, using higher forms of phrases and pronouns, and a bombastic vocabulary.

It is performed with verve and speed. That is, the rules are specified ahead of time in order to proceed with the implementation, and the sequence of events is pre-ordered, creating an unpredictable outcome. It is, then, a kind of “normal” intentional communicative behavior that Calós manipulate as “ritualized” conventional behavior; the distinction between the two lies in the degree of formalization and stereotyping, which explains the relative distinction in behavior. This step is accomplished by means of a theatrical stage comprising movements and postures, clothing and execution. In ethnographic observation, the Calós invest much effort in theatrical dramatization of a role in order to achieve an effect. But according to Zulaika’s his is a serious drama, it is playing seriously. The paradox is that Calós “have to live the fiction of a representation as though it were pure reality (...) everything that is said or done inside is true, even that which is known to be false despite expressing it with the strictest formality and literalism.” In this context, participants play at believing in the performance and act ritual, taking the metaphor literally, and experiencing theater as ritual (you have to believe in it yourself). In short, we observe the ritual as drama that plays creatively (ritual emphasizing effectiveness) and as theater that we live out seriously. As stated by Schechner ordinary peddling relationships among the Calós would be experienced as a clear and explicit performance, which would abide by an implicit social process, not for the Payos who would experience, not theater, but an explicit social process whose performance condition is implicit.

Theater and social process would be interchangeable, with the sublimation of conflicts related to cumulative history of both polyphonic and radical dialogisms. In this symbolic-aesthetic and ideological construct, the Payos’ cultural representations is present, so that increasing the experiential aspect of the Payo “myth” (as social representation that gives meaning to the construction of the Calós world) is produced through social action. That which has been lived through personally in the trade performance would be identified with what is imagined socially. In other words, ritualization provides stability and legitimacy to social constructions that operate effectively, including the figure of the Payo which is excluded from community morality. The peddling performance is a stylized expression of fluidity with respect to the type of representation and categorization there is toward the Payos, in which ritual, gestures and aesthetics are the same. Among Calós, theater, gesture and rhythm (not the semantics) are the main concepts. In short, it represents the manifestation and exercise of Caló power over the Payo universe. Selling is as much a political resource as it is persuasion in its ritual format. Apparently, Calós connect and do things mechanically, like a labor discipline. The paradox is that this labor discipline entails liturgical discipline: gestures, words or appearance must be in harmony. This practical knowledge is incorporated since the regulatory rules that guide the performance are of paramount importance. And this knowledge culminates with the entry into the adult world. But it is not that the young married Caló/Calí goes from absolute ignorance to having a little knowledge, but that he/she enters into full equality with other adults, with the same resources. Young people are not ignorant, but, even before entering the adult world, they know every last tangle and element of that world. We cannot forget that an important requirement for conducting the peddling more autonomously is that subjects involved be married, that is, that they have already known the responsibilities of adulthood.

The initiated member is a well trained person, and access to that power and solidarity is one of the social ties that is characteristic of participating in activities which are important for cultural reproduction and the benefits that are associated with them. In its dual employment and liturgical dimension, every peddling act connects with another, and it is the weaving of these acts is what forms the nucleus, not the symbolization. This follows the theory on power inherent in the ritual of Geertz’s Negara. This theory was developed by Pandya in his study of the Onges of little Andaman and whose theoretical approach is radical. The remarkable thing in Pandya is to note that the nature/culture dichotomy is less important that ritual, which is ultimately what awards the power; the ritual in itself is conceptualized as an exercise of power, so that ritual action generates the existence of power in a society. From this approach, the power would not only be a fixed aspect of the cultural system to control the group itself, but is a form of exchange with another group. Obviously, to say that Calós “are like” the Onges would be an exercise of primitivization and exoticization. A weak version of this approach would explain, by analogy, how in their daily conduct and through commercial transactions between Calós, not only do they strengthen their moral values as a group, but their control and power over the Payos also materializes, establishing a sense of presence and social exchange. Obtaining power through the ritual of the sale would occur upon the transmission of information (communication), and this is then acted upon. Power is not something imaginary nor an implied thing but an object of real experience. This aspect is present in the forms of domestication used by the Calós on the Payos. Put in another way, this is the metaphorically expression of an anthropological nature related to a function, that of human beings socially tamed, disciplined and subject to a hierarchical system of moral values.

Conclusion

The meaning and the experience, skills and knowledge of the environment, and overall cultural configuration build transactional cultures in relation to lived environments. The anthropological and historical system of Mexican Calós is a permanent reformulation more important than understanding them.

This approach is implicit in Bloch on the supernatural powers ascribed to Thaumaturge kings in the Middle Ages, whose legitimacy is built on faith in the ritual—not the monarchy. It is the ritual that makes the monarchy.

In this study, Pandya starts from the Levi-Straussian nature/culture dichotomy, although the ritual among the Andamanese invalidates this dichotomy; sometimes it seems that humans are on the side of culture to dominate nature and vice-versa. This is part of a theme of reciprocity, a distribution, a give and take between spirits and humans.
process, in which they learn, adapt and influence the surrounding environment, recreating a flexible and adaptive culture. The local community is involved in the movement of resources, people and ideas in relation to the networks established with Spain, and processes of construction and reconstruction of identity can be observed, as well as processes of belonging and understanding the community, accompanied by strategic interactions in terms of the fluid and mobile cultural adscription (Spanish/Caló). We are in a position of confrontation against any interpretation that suggests an inertia not accepted by this group. The Caló are vital, make history, do live things, they do not cling to any aspect of their culture because they are inferior, as if they did not know how to absorb from their surroundings. Formal allegiances are absolutely common in many. The Caló manifest a series of principles with which they play and constantly rework; they play with personal conscience. Throughout the text, we emphasize one aspect of the Caló community in Mexico City, that is, that the simple act of selling is saturated with codes, which symbolically constrain behavior. The face to face with Payos does not question symbolic borders but establishes a functional and utilitarian relationship, and thus does not represent a primary circle for the Caló but a non-emotional and non-camaraderie secondary circle. Peddling condenses a collective and broad sense for the Caló and in this context the verbal art, performance, aesthetics and dramatic effect end up producing an affirmation of unity and social cohesion. It is an exercise of expression and manifestation of the power of appearance and the copy—the mimetic faculty, in the words of the Caló.

We proposed that the source of this power is in the daily ritual actions performed in a way in which they do not appear as a mere endorsement of a person who is assigned responsibility or is an authority figure, the acquisition of power occurs in the ritual action. The sale, a means to get resources, is seen simultaneously as a goal. It is as if the power acquired by performing during ritual activity came from the ritual need to be invested with the power of Caló men and women over the Payos, despite prior possession of nominal power as Caló. This is a perspective that emphasizes the aspects of performance and external components of peddling and contrasts with the phenomenological reading and psychological stress (internal) in Turner and Van Gennep, who emphasize individual experience and rituals of transit/initiation. Consequently, the performance would not be a psychological process but primarily social: the expression of Caló society. At the end of this text I expected to find what I had proposed as a starting point, that is, how little or how much Caló ethnography can contribute to the knowledge of the plurality of histories and cultures of the various Roma communities in the country, to the knowledge of cultural diversity, and of course, anthropological knowledge, whose nature is cumulative. The Caló generate philosopical and epistemological problems, if only for the reason that Caló have had and continue to have more options than us, because we have discarded them. Thus, the study of the Caló, and by extension of the Roma, gives us more possibilities without having to defend a single interpretation which puts us in a position of reflexiveness. This shows that any unidirectional hermeneutic is counterproductive. Stopping at complexity is a possibility: maintain complexity to not obliterate it.109-110

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Conflict of interest
The authors declare no conflict of interest.

References