

***Andalucía flamenca: Music, Regionalism and
Identity in Southern Spain***

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Ethnomusicology

by

Matthew Machin-Autenrieth

© Matthew Machin-Autenrieth 2013

Tables of Contents

Table of Contents	i
List of Plates	iv
List of Examples	iv
List of Figures	v
Conventions	vi
Acknowledgments	viii
Abstract	x
Introduction	1
PART ONE	
Chapter One: An Overview of Flamenco	6
The Identities of Flamenco	9
The Materials of Flamenco	12
The Geographies of Flamenco	19
The Scholars of Flamenco	25
Chapter Two: Music, Regionalism and Political Geography	36
Political Geography and Music	37
Region, Regionalisation and Regionalism	43
Regionalism and Music	51
The Theoretical Framework	61
Conclusions	68
Chapter Three: Methodology	70
Virtual Ethnography: In Theory	70
Virtual Ethnography: In Practice	79
Field Research in Granada	86
Conclusions	97
Chapter Four: Regionalism, Nationalism and Ethnicity in the History of Flamenco	98
Flamenco and the Emergence of <i>Andalucismo</i> (1800s–1900s)	99
Flamenco and the Nation: Commercialisation, Salvation and <i>Antiflamenquismo</i>	113
Flamenco and Political <i>Andalucismo</i> (1900–1936)	117
Flamenco during the Franco Regime (1939–75)	122
Flamenco since the Transition to Democracy (1975 onwards)	127
Conclusions	131

Chapter Five: Flamenco for Andalusia, Flamenco for Humanity	133
Flamenco for Andalusia: The Statute of Autonomy	134
Flamenco for Humanity: Intangible Cultural Heritage	141
The Regionalisation of Flamenco in Andalusia	152
Conclusions	169
PART TWO	
Chapter Six: ¿Flamenco algo nuestro? The Platform for East Andalusia	172
Ideology, History and Culture	173
Flamenco ‘no es algo nuestro’	185
Flamenco ‘¡es algo nuestro!’	198
Conclusions	209
Chapter Seven: Local Responses to Institutional Measures	212
Institutional Support for Flamenco in Granada	213
The Reception of Institutional Intervention in Granada	219
Responses to the UNESCO Declaration and the Statute of Autonomy	228
Marginalisation in Granada	236
Conclusions	242
Chapter Eight: <i>Granaína flamenca</i>: Localism in the Flamenco Scene of Granada	244
The Platería	246
The <i>Zambra</i>	263
Conclusions	277
Chapter Nine: The Local and the Regional in Flamenco Guitar Style	280
Local Guitar Style: Melchor Córdoba Santiago	281
Regional Guitar Style: Rafael Hoces Ortega	297
Institutional Ideology and the Unification of Style	312
Conclusions	317
Conclusions	320
Regionalism and Political Geography	321
Contesting Regionalism	323
Localism	324
Future Research	326

Appendix A: Glossary of Spanish Terms	328
Appendix B: Abbreviations	341
Appendix C: List of Informants	342
Appendix D: Online Questionnaire	344
Appendix E: Introductory Email to the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental	346
Appendix F: Historical Timeline	349
Bibliography	351
Principal Bibliography	351
Supplementary Bibliography	369

List of Plates

Plate 4.1:	A plaque devoted to Demófilo in Seville	110
Plate 5.1:	Promotional material for Flamenco Soy	144
Plate 5.2:	UNESCO exhibition sign at the IAF	151
Plate 8.1:	The front of the Platería	246
Plate 8.2:	<i>Salón del cante</i>	247
Plate 8.3:	View of the Alhambra from the Platería	248
Plate 8.4:	The Platería's logo	252
Plate 8.5:	Ceramic plates at the Platería	254
Plate 8.6:	Original poster for the Concurso del Cante Jondo	255
Plate 8.7:	People in the museum at the Platería	255
Plate 8.8:	Caves in Sacromonte	263
Plate 8.9:	The Zambra de María 'la Canastera' (and museum)	263
Plate 8.10:	Inside the cave	264
Plate 8.11:	Dancers in the cave	269
Plate 8.12:	Curro Albaicín outside his cave	275
Plate 9.1:	Melchor performing	292
Plate 9.2:	Rafa in his teaching studio	298
Plate 9.3:	Right-hand position	300
Plate 9.4:	Students in the conservatoire	309

List of Examples

Example 1.1:	The Andalusian mode	13
Example 1.2:	The Andalusian cadence	13
Example 1.3:	The <i>compás</i> for <i>soleá</i>	14
Example 1.4:	The <i>compás</i> for <i>soleá</i> as performed on the guitar	14
Example 1.5:	The <i>compás</i> for <i>seguiriya</i>	14
Example 1.6:	A <i>llamada</i> for <i>soleá</i>	15
Example 1.7:	A <i>falseta</i> for <i>soleá</i>	16
Example 1.8:	The <i>rasgueado</i> in a <i>seguiriya</i>	19
Example 9.1:	The rhythm of the <i>cachucha</i>	283
Example 9.2:	The rhythm of the <i>mosca</i>	284
Example 9.3:	The entrance melody for the <i>mosca</i>	284
Example 9.4:	<i>Abanico</i> strum	287
Example 9.5:	<i>Alzapúa</i> technique	288
Example 9.6:	Introduction to <i>tangos</i>	290
Example 9.7:	Opening segment to a <i>taranta</i>	291
Example 9.8:	<i>Picado</i> exercise	300
Example 9.9:	Arpeggio <i>falseta</i> for <i>tangos</i> or <i>bulerías</i>	300
Example 9.10:	The rhythm/chordal structure for <i>tangos de Granada</i>	304

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Map of Spain	7
Figure 1.2: The Eight Provinces of Andalusia	8
Figure 1.3: The flamenco ‘triangles’	21
Figure 1.4: Map showing the geographical distribution of <i>palos</i>	22
Figure 3.1: Generic interview questions	94
Figure 5.1: The five criteria for inclusion on UNESCO’s Representative list	146
Figure 5.2: Andalusia Moving Forward with Europe logo	168
Figure 6.1: A logo on the PAO’s forums	174
Figure 6.2: The coat of arms of the Kingdom of Granada	179
Figure 6.3: The Spanish coat of arms with the <i>granada</i> visible at the bottom	179
Figure 6.4: A map from 1776 depicting Granada and Andalusia	180
Figure 6.5: The 1847 decree depicting Andalusia and Granada	182
Figure 6.6: The 1873 decree depicting Baja Andalucía and Alta Andalucía	182
Figure 6.7: An example of a metaphorical tree for flamenco classification	200
Figure 7.1: <i>Memoria andaluza</i> logo	234
Figure 8.1: Map of Granada	245

Conventions

My representation of the Spanish language requires clarification. Spanish utilises masculine and feminine endings of certain words. All Spanish words will be referred to using this gender system where necessary. For example, when referring to the term *gitano* (Eng: gypsy) more generally, the masculine ending ‘o’ is used. However, when specifically referring to a female gypsy I will use the feminine ending *gitan-a*. In the case of plural forms, Spanish uses similar suffixes to that of English (such as *palo-s*). Some terms used in this thesis appear to be in a plural form when they are in fact singular (such as *tangos* or *alegrías*). My representation of Spanish terms also requires some description. I adopt two systems. First, all abstract nouns, flamenco terms, styles, genres and so on will be italicized. Second, all institutions, place names, people, documents and so on will not be italicized. In both systems, an English translation will be given in parenthesis as follows (Eng: translation) on the first appearance of each term (see Appendix A for a glossary of all terms used).

The representation of Spanish names is slightly problematic. Spanish surnames take on both the mother’s surname and the father’s surname (such as Melchor Córdoba Santiago). When referring to authors, I will use the full name in the first instance. On each following citation, I will only use both surnames. When referring to my informants, the full name of each person will be given on the first appearance in each chapter (see Appendix C for a list of all the informants referred to in this thesis). If there are two or more informants sharing the same first name, second and/or third names will be given to differentiate between the informants. It is also important to mention that the use of nicknames (Sp: *apodos*) is very common in the flamenco world. Overall, I refer to an artist’s most well-known name whether this is his/her real name or his/her *apodo*. In certain cases, an artist’s real name is given and the *apodo* is appended in inverted commas (such as María ‘la Canastera’).

Some clarification is required on certain musical and cultural terms used. Flamenco is a complex and a broad tradition. For the sake of clarity, when referring to flamenco as a whole I will call it a 'tradition'. When referring to smaller components or 'sub-traditions' of flamenco, I will use the term 'genre'. Individual forms within flamenco will be referred to by the Spanish term *palo* (see Chapter One). The word 'style' will be used to describe the way in which the flamenco tradition or one of its constitutive genres/*palos* is performed. My use of the term Andalusia is also problematic and its representation needs to be treated carefully. Normally, I will refer to the region as 'Andalusia'. However, I acknowledge the contested nature of the Andalusian region and Andalusian identity. Therefore, on occasions I refer to East Andalusia (comprising the provinces of Almería, Granada and Jaen). East Andalusia will be referred to as a 'sub-region' where necessary. When used as an adjective 'east' will be in lower case (such as east-Andalusian regionalism).

Referencing in this thesis also requires a few comments. I adopt the referencing conventions of the Modern Humanities Research Association (MHRA). However, due to the number and the variety of sources used, I append two bibliographies to this thesis. The first includes all 'standard' scholarly sources. The second supplementary bibliography includes newspapers, periodicals, governmental publications and websites. For these supplementary references, when an author's/institution's name is available I will use normal in-text references (such as UNESCO 2003). For newspapers and periodicals, the day, the month and the year will also be included following the author as in (Barrado Timón 28 October, 2007). In these instances, a reference will appear in the supplementary bibliography. For anonymous articles, the publication will be referred to in the text. The date and page numbers (where necessary) will appear in parenthesis as in (4 May, 2012: 54–57). These anonymous references will not appear in the bibliography. However, a URL will be provided in a footnote where available.

Acknowledgments

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of a number of people and institutions. I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Cardiff University. I was awarded a doctoral scholarship without which this thesis would not have been completed. I am also grateful to the Graduate College at the university for its generous support towards a language course in Granada (2010) through its Languages for Researchers Scheme. My sincere gratitude goes to John Morgan O'Connell who has served as my supervisor both during my Masters degree and during my PhD. His tireless support and encouragement have been pivotal to the completion of this research. Moreover, without his scholarly expertise and critical scrutiny this thesis may not have been possible. At Cardiff University, I would also like to thank the librarians for their support in accessing materials. I also acknowledge the support of librarians at the British Library during my research there.

In Spain, there are a number of people who deserve special thanks. In particular, I wish to thank Francisco (Paco) Palomares Cabrero who introduced me to a number of key figures in the flamenco community of Granada. Special thanks need to go to the President of the Platería, Jesús Plaza Rodríguez, for allowing me to attend members' concerts without membership. My gratitude also goes to my flamenco guitar teachers Rafael (Rafa) Hoces Ortega and Melchor Córdoba Santiago. I would also like to acknowledge the support of Leonardo Villena Villena and José Antonio Delgado Molina (members of the Platform for East Andalusia) both during my online research and during my research in Granada. I am indebted to all the flamenco artists, aficionados, journalists and producers who made this research possible.

I must also acknowledge the support of certain institutions in Spain. In particular, I thank Matilde Bautista Morenta of the Diputación de Granada (Eng: Provincial Council of Granada) for her time and resources. I also thank David Peral the spokesperson for the

Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco (Eng: Andalusian Institute of Flamenco) in Seville. I offer my gratitude to the Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios (Eng: Professional Conservatoire of Music Ángel Barrios) in Granada and to the students I met there for allowing me to attend and to observe classes. Mention must also be made of the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental (Eng: Platform for East Andalusia). I thank members of this group for allowing me to conduct research on their forums and for allowing me to attend their meetings in Granada. I would also like to thank the flamenco scholar Cristina Cruces Roldán for our insightful interview in Seville.

There are a number of other people who deserve thanks who have yet to be mentioned. I would like to acknowledge Cuffy Cuthbertson, my flamenco guitar teacher in Bristol. In terms of my linguistic development, I wish to thank Victoria (Mavi) Palomar, Nazira Ruiz López and Sebastian Aplin for their fantastic Spanish classes. I would also like to thank Carmen Casado García for assisting me with my final translations. I express sincere gratitude to my friends and family who have supported me throughout the completion of this thesis. Finally, I am indebted to my wife Susanne Machin-Autenrieth for her love, support and encouragement. Without her, this thesis may never have come to fruition.

Abstract: *Andalucía flamenca: Music, Regionalism and Identity in Southern Spain*

In recent years, flamenco has been consolidated as a prominent symbol of regional identity in Andalusia, the southernmost region of Spain. In the late 1970s, Spain began to decentralise into seventeen autonomous regions. As a result, each region has been encouraged to foreground its own culture vis-à-vis national culture. Although associated with Spain in general, flamenco has fulfilled the role of regional identity building in Andalusia.

Increasingly, the Andalusian Government has focused attention on the development of flamenco within and outside of the region. In this thesis, I explore this relationship between flamenco and regional identity in Andalusia. In doing so, I draw upon the theoretical tenets of political geography. Through scholarly exchange, I argue that political geographers and ethnomusicologists can learn much about the relationship between music and regional identity. I use flamenco as a pertinent case study of this relationship in the European context. In particular, I discuss the role that governmental institutions play in the ‘regionalisation’ (Schrijver 2006) of flamenco (that is, the institutional development of flamenco as an ‘official’ symbol of regional identity). However, I argue that at times the regionalisation process can be disputed and subverted. Accordingly, I contend that regionalism (that is, the bottom-up identification with a region) in Andalusia is a fragmented concept. By examining the contexts, the discourses and the styles associated with flamenco, I present alternative readings of regionalism in Andalusia. Drawing upon virtual ethnography and traditional ethnography in Granada, I examine the reception and the production of flamenco at a local level as well as at a regional level. Arguably, some flamenco scholars present a somewhat rigid understanding of the relationship between flamenco and regional identity. By offering different readings of regionalism through flamenco, I reveal the complex and contested relationship between flamenco and identity in southern Spain.

Introduction

In recent years, flamenco has become the most prominent marker of Andalusian regional identity. While undeniably a product of Spanish society and culture in general, this internationally-renowned music and dance tradition plays a prominent role in the understanding of regionalism in Andalusia. Flamenco is utilised by public institutions in Andalusia to invoke a sense of regional identity both within and beyond the borders of the region. Here, the term *Andalucía flamenca* refers to the ways in which the region has, symbolically, ‘become’ flamenco.¹ However, the relationship between flamenco and the region is not straightforward. Since Andalusia is a politically-charged region, the development of flamenco by the regional government has received criticism. In this matter, scholars have not considered how the development of flamenco has been received by Andalusians, especially by flamenco communities in distinctive localities. By drawing upon ethnographic research, I examine certain issues with and inequalities in the institutional support for flamenco. Moreover, I challenge the fixed correlation of flamenco with regionalism in Andalusia. Instead, I offer a fragmented reading of regionalism that is characterised by geographical loyalties and musical localisms.

My interest in this topic has both a personal and an academic origin. I was attracted to flamenco both as a musician and as a scholar. Having played classical guitar for many years, I was naturally drawn to guitar performance in flamenco, both for its technical attributes and for its romantic aspects. Several years ago, I began ‘toying’ with the flamenco guitar, playing flamenco ‘pieces’ that had been specifically designed for classical guitarists. However, my flame for flamenco was ignited after a trip to Granada. Already indoctrinated by the common narratives of ‘authenticity’ regarding gypsies and passion, I went in search of a so-called ‘true’ flamenco. I wanted to understand the flamenco world from the inside out; to experience

¹ *Flamenca* here operates as an adjective to refer to the idea of Andalusia ‘being’ flamenco. This fits with a common discourse that situates flamenco as a way of life or a way of being rather than just a music and dance tradition.

flamenco in its 'homeland'. After my first trip to Granada, my real initiation into flamenco began when I commenced guitar lessons with Cuffy Cuthbertson in Bristol. These lessons informed my master's research into notions of tradition and innovation in flamenco guitar performance. During this time, I developed a love for and a keen academic interest in flamenco. As part of this research, I discovered a deep and a complex musical culture that defied the naïve and the exotic perceptions I had previously held.

In particular, I noticed that Andalusian identity was often treated as a fixed category. Indeed, flamenco is usually understood as the cultural representation of Andalusia. Put simply, a 'single' flamenco appears to represent a 'single' Andalusia. I was dissatisfied with this simplistic dualism. My training as an ethnomusicologist has taught me that music is a polyvalent cultural phenomenon. As such, music often reveals a number of interrelated readings of identity. Similarly, identity is not fixed. Therefore, it seemed necessary to invoke the notion of polyvalency in an analysis of flamenco and regionalism. Early on in my doctoral research I discovered the forum, *El flamenco ¿algo nuestro?* (Eng: Flamenco, something of ours?).² This forum belonged to a sub-regionalist group called the *Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental* (Eng: Platform for East Andalusia, henceforth referred to as the PAO).³ This group contested the very notion of a single Andalusia. Instead it envisaged an autonomous region in East Andalusia. As an active participant in this forum, I noticed that members of the PAO problematised the elevation of flamenco as the cultural symbol of Andalusia, viewing flamenco as a form of cultural homogenisation.

My research into the *Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental* revealed an important yet simple truth: the correlation between flamenco and Andalusian identity is not fixed. It is plural, it is fragmented and it is contested. In this thesis, I aim to expand upon this truism. In doing so, I argue that this research makes a necessary contribution to the existing literature in

² See Appendix A for a glossary of all terms, institutions, declarations and so on referred to in this thesis.

³ The first appearance of a long name/term in each chapter will be written out in full. Subsequent appearances will be abbreviated. For a list of all abbreviations used, refer to Appendix B.

flamenco scholarship. Much of this scholarship is predicated upon a static reading of the relationship between flamenco and regionalism in Andalusia. I offer instead an alternative reading of this relationship, bringing my ethnographic work on musical production at a local level into analytical focus. However, I am not alone. In his recent monograph *Flamenco Music and National Identity in Spain*, the cultural anthropologist William Washabaugh (2012) has dealt with this very relationship, alluding to issues related to the institutional development of flamenco. Yet, Washabaugh's work does not consider ethnographic responses. By examining the discourses that 'represent' flamenco, the contexts that 'present' flamenco and the practices that 'create' flamenco, I problematise the institutionalisation of the tradition. In doing so, I offer different readings of Andalusian regionalism 'through' flamenco.

Here, I also draw upon the theoretical tenets of political geography. As a discipline concerning the control and the contestation of territory, I have found political geography particularly useful when considering the relationship between music and regionalism. Among other scholars, this thesis draws upon Frans Schrijver's (2006) monograph *Regionalism after Regionalisation*. In particular, Schrijver considers the extent to which the citizenry of a region identifies with the region (that is, regionalism), especially following the creation of regional autonomies and the consolidation of regional identities at an institutional level (that is, regionalisation). Accordingly, I seek to understand the top-down (that is, institutional) and the bottom-up (that is, felt experience) relationship between flamenco and regionalism in Andalusia. Moreover, I uncover a local reading of regionalism by discussing the heterogeneity of the flamenco tradition. I argue that flamenco, as a geographically diverse tradition, is intimately linked to altering conceptions of identity in Andalusia.

I believe that my approach contributes to the field of ethnomusicology. While some ethnomusicologists consider the relationship between regionalism and music, they usually

focus on non-European musical traditions. Further, they rarely invoke the relevant literature from a theoretical branch of geography, namely political geography. Accordingly, this thesis makes two important contributions to ethnomusicology. First, it offers a critical analysis of the relationship between music and regionalism in a European context, by examining this relationship in a decentralised nation state (that is, Spain). Second, my theoretical framework is informed by political geography, as scholars in this field have considered in depth the phenomenon of regionalism in its various forms. In this respect, I contend that political geography offers ethnomusicologists an important theoretical ‘tool kit’ when examining regionalism through music.

The thesis is split into two parts. In Part One, I outline the theoretical, the contextual and the historical domains that inform my research. In Part Two, I draw upon virtual ethnography and traditional ethnography to examine how the processes associated with regionalism and regionalisation operate through flamenco in Andalusia. In this context, I also explore the interplay between regionalism and localism in terms of musical context, musical discourse and musical style. In each Part, I offer different readings of the relationship between flamenco and regionalism in Andalusia.

In Chapter One, I provide a generic overview of flamenco in terms of its musical materials, its stylistic geographies and its performance contexts. Here, I also include a literature overview. In Chapter Two, I offer a theoretical approach to music and regionalism. In this context, I discuss the relevance of political geography for ethnomusicological enquiry. In Chapter Three, I outline the methodologies that inform my thesis, showing the significance of virtual ethnography and traditional ethnography for my research. In Chapter Four, I present a historical reading of the relationship between flamenco and regionalism. In it, I show that flamenco has always reflected tensions between regional, national and ethnic identities. In Chapter Five, I explore the regionalisation of flamenco in recent years. In

particular, I explore two mechanisms for safeguarding flamenco, namely its inclusion in the Andalusian Statute of Autonomy (2007) and its recognition as an Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO (2010).

In Chapter Six, I problematise the correlation between a fixed conception of flamenco and a singular concept of Andalusian identity. Exploring some of the tensions that have emerged following the regionalisation of flamenco, I draw upon my virtual ethnography with the PAO to examine issues related to the development of flamenco at an institutional level. In Chapter Seven, I look at regionalism and regionalisation at a local level. With reference to the flamenco community in Granada, I explore the reactions of musicians, aficionados and journalists amongst others to the regionalisation of flamenco.⁴

In the final two chapters, I develop a local understanding of flamenco vis-à-vis a regional reading of flamenco. In Chapter Eight, I examine the interplay between musical localism and musical regionalism with reference to two particular contexts in Granada: the Peña la Platería and the *zambra*. I also look at a distinctly local flamenco genre often referred to as the *zambra gitana*. This discussion allows me to interrogate a local understanding and a regional reading of flamenco in distinctive ethnographic contexts. In Chapter Nine, I focus on the flamenco guitar. Studying with two musical representatives of two musical styles, I chart the polarised relationship between a local interpretation and a regional understanding of guitar style. In this way, I offer a distinctly musical reading of regionalism and regionalisation through a critical analysis of musical performance on the flamenco guitar.

⁴ I refer to all my contacts in the field (both online and offline) as informants. See Appendix C for a list of all the informants mentioned in this thesis.

Chapter One: An Overview of Flamenco

Flamenco is a complex and a multi-faceted tradition comprising a range of genres, styles, practices, aesthetics, discourses and contexts. Similarly, the body of literature concerning flamenco is vast. This literature often centres on debates regarding the origins of flamenco and its historical development. Moreover, much research addresses the tension between Andalusian-based and *gitano*-based (Eng: gypsy) readings of flamenco. I view flamenco simultaneously as an Andalusian and as a *gitano* tradition, a tradition which has its roots in the rich cultural history of southern Spain. However, my main concern is the association of flamenco with Andalusian identity. In this chapter, I provide an overview of the flamenco tradition and its literature. With regards to the tradition, I discuss the materials, the terminologies, the styles and the contexts related to flamenco. With regards to the literature, I examine common trends in flamenco scholarship (both in Spain and abroad) and recent studies that inform my own research. In particular, I contextualise regionalism and geography as two theoretical perspectives that inform this thesis. My understanding of flamenco is closely related to the issues of Andalusian autonomy and regional identity. I argue that flamenco has become a symbol of Andalusia. It is harnessed by the regional government to foreground regional identity in Spain. Accordingly, it is important to provide an overview of the identities associated with and the materials underpinning the flamenco tradition before looking at the scholars who have examined flamenco performance both in the past and in the present.



Figure 1.1: Map of Spain.¹

¹ Available online: <<http://www.wall-maps.com/Classroom/Foreign-Language-Maps/EDI412Pol-over.jpg>> [accessed 4 March, 2013].



Figure 1.2: The Eight Provinces of Andalusia.²

² Available online: <<http://tercerciclosantajuliana.blogspot.co.uk/2010/11/el-gobierno-de-andalucia.html>> [accessed 16 August, 2012].

The Identities of Flamenco

Flamenco is typically associated with Andalusia, a region in the south of Spain that borders the Mediterranean. Andalusia by location is the main gateway between Europe and Africa (see Figure 1.1). Geographically, Andalusia can be split into two main physical territories. The East is characterised by mostly mountainous terrain (such as the Sierra Nevada), forming part of the Baetic System of mountains stretching into the neighbouring regions of Murcia and Valencia. The West is characterised by a physical depression through which the Guadalquivir River runs. Andalusia comprises eight provinces (namely Almería, Cádiz, Córdoba, Granada, Huelva, Jaén, Málaga and Seville, see Figure 1.2). Due to these physical differences, some people recognise two Andalusias. Indeed, the cultural and historical differences between different parts of Andalusia do seem to signify the presence of territorial divisions.³ These divisions inform the notion of an autonomous East Andalusia, comprising the provinces of Almería, Granada and Jaén. Nonetheless, Andalusia is a politically and, to a certain extent, culturally unified region. It is the second largest of the autonomous regions in Spain with a population of 8,371,270 in 2011.⁴ As a decentralised state, Spain comprises seventeen *comunidades autónomas* (Eng: autonomous communities) that all have varying levels of power.⁵ While there is a central government in Spain, each region has its own elected government and parliament. The regions are governed by the laws outlined in their own Statutes of Autonomy, which are recognised in the Spanish Constitution.

³ The cultural and historical differences between the two Andalusias will be explored in depth in Chapter Six.

⁴ This figure is according to the 2011 census from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística. Available online: <<http://www.ine.es/>> [accessed 27 February, 2013].

⁵ In 'Spanish Regions in the European Community', the political scientist Francesc Morata states that each region took on the following powers: regional administration, urban planning, housing, public works, environmental issues, social services, culture, tourism, small business, agriculture, fisheries, communications and regional development. Regions with full autonomy (such as Andalusia and Catalonia) also have control over their health service and education. However, she argues that there is a degree of inequality between regional autonomies, an issue that exacerbates centre-periphery tensions.

The decentralisation of Spain is a product of its tumultuous history, a history beset by the struggle between national and regional identities.⁶ Spain was unified as a Christian kingdom under the crowns of Castile and Aragon in 1479. At this time, Muslims still occupied the south-eastern part of Andalusia. However, the Catholic monarchs Isabella (1451–1504) and Ferdinand (1452–1516) conquered Granada in 1492, the last bastion of Islamic power in the Iberian Peninsula.⁷ This ended nearly eight centuries (711–1492) of Islamic rule in Spain. For traditionalists, the joining of Castile and Aragon marked the birth of the Spanish nation state (Barton 2009: 89). Following unification, the Spanish language began to become standardised and a national culture started to emerge. However, territorial, administrative and political centralisation did not occur until the eighteenth century, culminating in the Spanish Constitution in 1812. Prior to the Constitution, other territories possessed their own administrations, languages and cultures (such as the Basque Country and Catalonia). During the nineteenth century, the quest for regional autonomy and the display of regional identity became more prominent. However, the decentralisation of Spain was only realised in the 1970s, following Francisco Franco's (1892– 1975) nationalist dictatorship (1939–75).

Andalusia gained its autonomy in 1981 following widespread public support. The justification for autonomy was based largely upon the historical identity of the region. Andalusia is often depicted as the cultural melting pot of Spain, a factor that often informs representations of regional identity. Since ancient times, the south of Spain has played host to a plethora of cultures (including Greeks, Jews, Muslims, Phoenicians and Visigoths). While this cultural history is apparent across Spain, its legacy is most keenly felt in Andalusia. However, it is the Islamic legacy in Spain that most strongly influences representations of

⁶ For a more comprehensive overview of Spanish history see Álvarez Junco, 'The Nation-Building Process'; Barton, *A History of Spain*; Herr, *An Historical Essay on Modern Spain*; Mar-Molinero and Smith, 'The Myths and Realities of Nation-Building'; and Morata, 'Spanish Regions in the European Community'.

⁷ The Iberian Peninsula refers to Spain and Portugal.

Andalusian history.⁸ The name given to the Iberian Peninsula under Islamic rule was Al-Andalus.⁹ Given that much of this Islamic rule was concentrated in what is now Andalusia, the term Al-Andalus is often conflated with the name Andalusia. As such, this period in Spanish history is usually constructed as the ‘golden age’ of Andalusian history.¹⁰ After the fall of Granada in 1492, Andalusia became one of the poorest and most marginalised regions in Spain. Throughout its history, there has been little in the way of infrastructural development or industry. Even today, agriculture and tourism remain the primary forms of income in the region. However, there is also a rich culture, which is often capitalised upon for tourism and the consolidation of regional identity. Flamenco is perhaps the most powerful form of cultural expression in Andalusia. It is used by regional institutions to strengthen identity within Andalusia and to represent Andalusia internationally.

Flamenco is a product of the complex history of Andalusia. It is often viewed as the musical result of years of marginalisation, poverty and syncretism. Flamenco is believed to have emerged from the social interactions of numerous subaltern groups including *moriscos*,¹¹ workers, bandits and *gitanos* all of whom interacted in urban contexts. However, the *gitanos* are the group perhaps most associated with flamenco. *Gitanos* are believed to have arrived in Spain during the fifteenth century, arguably having originated in northern India (Samtani 2006: 31–33). Like groups such as the *moriscos*, the *gitanos* were socially vilified and socially marginalised. They were eventually forced to settle, many finding a home in the cities of Andalusia (particularly the west of the region). Flamenco may have emerged from the cultural exchanges that occurred between the *gitanos* and other subaltern

⁸ In Chapter Four, I give a more concise overview of Andalusian history and autonomy.

⁹ It is important to recognise, however, that Al-Andalus in fact refers to one period of the Islamic occupancy under the Umayyad Caliphate, which collapsed in 1031.

¹⁰ It is often argued that the word Andalusia has its roots in the word Al-Andalus. For more information on the importance of Al-Andalus in representations of Andalusian history see Rogozen-Soltar, ‘Al-Andalus in Andalusia’; and Suárez Navaz, *Rebordering the Mediterranean*.

¹¹ *Morisco* is the name given to Muslims who remained in southern Spain following the fall of Granada in 1492. They were allowed to stay on the condition that they practised Catholicism and adopted Christian ways of life.

groups in Andalusia. Yet, the powerful role of *gitano* ethnicity in representations of Andalusian-ness has meant that flamenco is sometimes viewed as synonymous with the *gitanos*. This has created a powerful orthodoxy in flamenco discourse that situates *gitanos* as the originators and purveyors of the tradition.¹² Nonetheless, flamenco remains closely tied to a regional identity in Andalusia.

The Materials of Flamenco

To some extent, the complex constructions of regional and cultural identity are reflected in the musical materials of flamenco. To ground the reader, I provide a brief synopsis of the main elements that characterise flamenco, introducing the tonality, the structure, the rhythm and the style of the tradition.¹³ Flamenco is split into three main performative mediums: *cante* (Eng: song), *baile* (Eng: dance) and *toque* (Eng: guitar). The *cante* occupies the highest status in flamenco. Singers interpret a number of song forms (referred to as *palos*, discussed below), which consist of different *coplas* (Eng: verses). These *coplas* invoke a range of emotions from the light and joyous to the tragic and profound. While unaccompanied styles do exist, singers are normally accompanied by a single guitarist, and this duo is conventionally the most traditional set-up in performances. From the late-nineteenth century, the flamenco guitar was emancipated from the role of accompaniment. Nowadays, the guitar can be found in solo performances or in group contexts where the guitarist is at the forefront. *Baile* is perhaps the most internationally-recognised element of flamenco and features prominently in group performances. Aside from solo or duo (guitar and vocal) arrangements, group flamenco

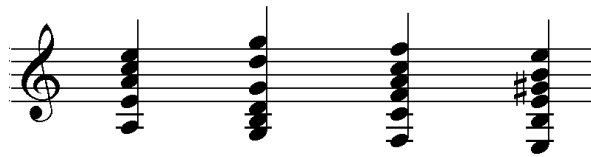
¹² The historical development of this orthodoxy will be explored in Chapter Four.

¹³ For a closer analysis of flamenco's musical materials see Manuel, 'Flamenco in Focus'; and Samtani, 'Structure and Strategy'.

performances (Sp: *cuadro flamenco*) normally consist of dancers, guitarists, singers, percussionists (most notably the *cajón*¹⁴), *palmas* (Eng: clapping), amongst others.



Example 1.1: The Andalusian mode.



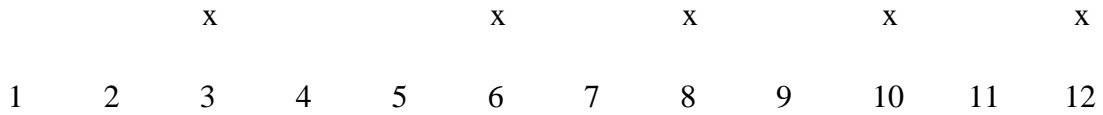
Example 1.2: The Andalusian cadence.

In terms of tonality, flamenco is influenced by a classical tonality and a non-classical modality. Some flamenco forms utilise conventional major and minor scales where harmonic progressions are largely based around the chords I, IV and V. However, many flamenco forms are based on a major Phrygian scale or the ‘Andalusian mode’ (see Example 1.1) where the interval between the second and third degrees of the Phrygian mode is augmented. This is believed to have derived from Arabic modes (*maqāmāt*) and particularly *hijāz*; the musical legacy of an Islamic presence in the Iberian Peninsula. In the *cante*, the Andalusian mode predominates and singers often embellish the core structure with melisma, microtones and ornamentation. In guitar performance, the mode has engendered the frequent use of the ‘Andalusian cadence’ (see Example 1.2), where E major (instead of E minor in the conventional Phrygian mode) operates as the ‘tonic’.¹⁵ However, since the 1970s guitarists

¹⁴ The *cajón* is a box-shaped percussion instrument that is played by slapping the front face of the instrument whilst the player sits on top.

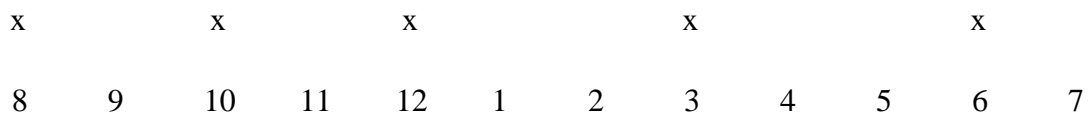
¹⁵ For a more detailed analysis of the tonal language in flamenco guitar performance see Manuel, ‘Flamenco in Focus’ and ‘Evolution and Structure in Flamenco Harmony’.

such as Paco de Lucía (b. 1947) have developed the harmonic language of the flamenco guitar.



Example 1.3: The *compás* for *soleá*.

Example 1.4: The *compás* for *soleá* as performed on the guitar.¹⁶



Example 1.5: The *compás* for *seguiriya*.

Compás (Eng: rhythm/beat) is another integral element in flamenco performance. It is often referred to in terms of time cycles. It may be related to similar metric cycles found in the music of North Africa, particularly traditions that are believed to have originated in Al-Andalus. In flamenco, there are numerous rhythmic patterns some of which adopt a cyclical

¹⁶ This is a typical rhythmic passage for the *soleá*. It is my own transcription, and is derived from numerous flamenco guitar lessons. The numbers above the transcription refer to the main beats of the *compás*.

nature. The educator/singer and one of my informants in the field Fernando Barros Lirola, compartmentalises flamenco rhythms into five main categories (Barros Lirola 2011: 42–45). The first category refers to flamenco song styles that use the same rhythmic structure as the *soleá* (a fundamental form in flamenco). This rhythmic structure is often described as a hemiola (alternation between 6/8 and 3/4) or a 12-beat cycle with accents on beats 3, 6, 8, 10 and 12 (see Example 1.3). Example 1.4 shows how a guitarist would perform this *compás* and depicts the typical harmonic progression used. The second category refers to forms that use an inversion of this 12-beat cycle (that is, 3/4 followed by 6/8) most notably characterised by the *seguriya* (see Example 1.5), a tragic and deep form in the flamenco repertoire. The third category refers to a group of flamenco forms influenced by folk music (such as *fandangos* and *sevillanas*) that utilise triple time. The fourth category refers to forms that are in duple or quadruple time. These include many *tangos* that can be found in the flamenco repertoire. Finally, Barros Lirola refers to a group of forms which are unmetred, many of which come from East Andalusia. They may also derive from the folkloric *fandangos* found across Andalusia and other regions of Spain.



Example 1.6: A *llamada* for *soleá*.

In my research, I have focused on the flamenco guitar when addressing notions of style. Therefore, a short overview of flamenco guitar performance is necessary to contextualise the work presented in later chapters, especially Chapter Nine where I compare the musical practices and styles of two guitarists in Granada. Typically, the flamenco guitarist

is expected to be an interpreter, composer, improviser, soloist and accompanist. However, the traditional role for the guitarist was and still is to accompany the singer. In this instance, the guitarist opens with a small section that introduces the main elements of a form. These include *compás*, mode and harmonic sequence. Normally, this opening finishes with a *llamada* (Eng: call) to the singer, indicating that the *cante* can begin (Example 1.6 is my own transcription of a typical *llamada* for the *soleá*). At this point, the singer enters with his or her first *copla* and the guitarist performs a simple chordal sequence guided by the vocal melody. While these chordal sequences often follow pre-determined patterns, the guitarist adapts to suit the style, range and rhythm of the singer. He/she omits chords or includes others where necessary, altering the voicing of chords if desired. In between *coplas*, the guitarist typically performs a short *falseta*. *Falsetas* are pre-composed melodic sequences that fit the framework of the *compás* and the harmonic sequence (see Example 1.7).

Example 1.7: A *falseta* for *soleá*.¹⁷

¹⁷ In the transcription, ‘p’ refers to the thumb of the right hand and ‘i’ refers to the index finger of the right hand. In Chapter Nine, I explore the ways in which two guitarists in Granada use *falsetas* in their teaching and performances. Taken from ‘Santuario’ in *Toques Flamencos*. Music by Paco Peña. © Copyright 1976 Chester Music Limited. All Rights Reserved. International Copyright Secured. Used by permission.

When accompanying a dancer, the guitarist focuses more on the rhythmic elements of the performance. Normally, different forms contain sections where a dancer performs typical steps/movements such as the *escobilla* (a section with rapid footwork) or the *silencio* (a slower section with greater emphasis on arm movements). Here, the guitarist follows a particular rhythmic pattern and harmonic sequence suited to these distinct sections. Again, the guitarist may introduce *falsetas* at certain moments. During these *falsetas*, dancers may reduce the intensity of their movements, clap or stop performing altogether. In solo performance, the guitarist tries to evoke both song and dance by using strummed sections, rhythmic work and *falsetas* to create his or her own interpretation of a particular form. Normally, guitarists ‘borrow’ *falsetas* and other sections from a range of different guitarists. In doing so, they mould them together to create their own distinctive interpretations. At times, interpretations by guitarists become fixed compositions in their own right, taking on names and being performed in their entirety by other guitarists.

The guitarist has an armoury of techniques at his or her disposal. These techniques relate to the aesthetics that underline flamenco in general. Traditionally, flamenco musicians aim to achieve *duende* in their performance – a ‘quasi-spiritual’ ideal in which the musician has reached the ultimate level of passion, creating an artistic connection with the audience.¹⁸ While some musicians feel that the term *duende* is overused and ‘mythical’, they still seek a particular aesthetic when performing. How is this aesthetic realised in flamenco guitar performance? The guitarist seeks a rough and a ‘dirty’ sound, reflecting the austere and impassioned aesthetic of vocal performance.¹⁹ As a classical guitarist, I found the development of the flamenco sound particularly difficult. I needed to adapt my technique, as this sound ideal is fundamental to flamenco guitar. In particular, this sound is achieved by a

¹⁸ *Duende* literally means imp or goblin. As a concept associated with flamenco, it emerged from writings by Federico García Lorca (1898–1936), particularly ‘Juego y teoría del duende’. See Maurer, *In Search of Duende*, pp. 48–62.

¹⁹ The ‘correct’ flamenco sound will be explored in Chapter Nine.

specific technique called *apoyando* (Eng: resting), often through use of the thumb.²⁰ The right-hand thumb strikes the guitar string in a strong downward motion, so that it comes to rest on the next string. In addition, a ‘rough’ tone is emphasised by playing close to the bridge of the guitar.²¹ As a classical guitarist, this was difficult as I am accustomed to using my thumb with a *tirando* (Eng: pulling) stroke, a technique where the thumb pulls away from the string. In addition, I am used to resting my right hand over the sound hole rather than near the bridge.

The *apoyando* stroke can also be used in conjunction with other flamenco guitar techniques. The *falsesta* transcribed above (see Example 1.7) demonstrates the use of *apoyando* in a technique called *ayudado* (Eng: helping). This is where the thumb (referred to as ‘p’ in the transcription) plays the melodic line using an *apoyando* stroke and the index finger (referred to as ‘i’ in the transcription) plays supporting notes using a *tirando* stroke. The pivotal role of the thumb in this technique is often described as a ‘hammer’, emphasising the strong action that is required in its execution. In addition, this *falsesta* requires the use of slurs in the left hand. This technique is another crucial element informing traditional guitar performance. This slur action represents a fundamental aesthetic in flamenco because it seeks to replicate the melismatic character of the *cante*. In doing so, it highlights the central importance of song in guitar performance. Finally, the *rasgueado* is another important technique. The *rasgueado* refers to right-hand strumming patterns that use different permutations of the fingers (see Example 1.8 below).²² These can be used to mark out the *compás* of a particular form. They are also important when accompanying a dancer, since strumming provides a rhythmic drive. As I show later, the ways in which flamenco guitar

²⁰ This technique is also used with other right-hand fingers. However, when used with the thumb, it creates an idiomatic flamenco sound.

²¹ Generally, flamenco guitarists never move their right hand from this position. In this way, a ‘rough’ sound is achieved even when playing musical materials that are inspired by classical guitar technique.

²² In Chapter Nine, I show how a particular *rasgueado* technique can be indicative of local guitar style in Granada.

techniques (such as the *rasgueado*) are employed can inform a local (rather than a regional) interpretation of performance style. Arguably, then, flamenco guitar technique may change depending on the locality. However, the issue of geographical variation is of especial interest particularly when considering the geographical distribution of *palos* in flamenco.

Example 1.8: The *rasgueado* in a *seguiriya*.

The Geographies of Flamenco

The Geography of Flamenco Palos

Flamenco forms (or *palos*) most suitably demonstrate the geographical diversity of the tradition.²³ Flamenco consists of numerous *palos*, a term used to identify a song form within the tradition. For each performative element (*cante*, *toque* and *baile*), every *palo* has a different set of musical/lyrical/movement-based features (discussed above). Given that *cante* is usually regarded as the most important element of flamenco, these *palos* normally derive from song and may simply be referred to as *cantes* (Eng: songs). According to the ethnomusicologist Peter Manuel, there are around a dozen key *palos*, which make up the common repertoire (Manuel 2006, 2010: 107). However, the division of *palos* is more

²³ It is important to recognise that there are numerous classification systems for flamenco and there is endless debate regarding the categorisation of different *palos*. For another discussion of flamenco's classification see Peter Manuel's article 'Composition, Authorship and Ownership in Flamenco', pp. 107–18. Also see Manuel, 'Flamenco in Focus', pp. 92–119.

complicated given the addition of supra-categorisations and sub-categorisations. In terms of supra-categorisations, *palos* that encompass similar lyrical themes and/or musical features are often grouped into one category. For example, *cante jondo* (Eng: deep song²⁴) refers to a number of *palos* that deal with themes of sorrow, death and loss of love. Musically, they are characterised by modality. Stylistically, they share similar vocal attributes and aesthetics. In terms of sub-categorisations, a single *palo* may be divided into numerous sub-*palos* or *estilos* (Eng: styles) (Manuel 2010: 107). These sub-categories may refer to the geographical location of a particular melody. For example, one can find a *soleá* de Triana, a derivation of the *soleá* that originated in the Triana *barrio* (Eng: neighbourhood) of Seville.²⁵

Most *palos* are associated with a particular geographical location either within or outside of Andalusia. In general, Andalusia is seen as the ‘homeland’ of flamenco in which most *palos* can be found. While it is certainly true that Andalusia is home to the majority of the localities associated with flamenco, some other Spanish regions have also developed their own indigenous *palos*. In particular, the regions of Extremadura and Murcia that border Andalusia on the West and East respectively (see Plate 1.1), have played an important role. Extremadura is well known for its wide range of *tangos*. Murcia is home to unmetred *palos* that belong to the generic category referred to as *cantes de las minas* (Eng: songs of the mines). However, the dominance of Andalusia in the geography of flamenco is undeniable. The appropriation of flamenco by the Andalusian Government has engendered debates regarding musical ownership in Spain.²⁶ It is also important to recognise that geographical diversity is apparent in Andalusia itself. Across the eight provinces of Andalusia, there are a

²⁴ The translation of *cante jondo* is problematic. Within the literature in English, it is often translated as ‘deep song’. Here, it is viewed as a corruption of the word ‘hondo’ meaning ‘deep’, due to the peculiarities of the Andalusian dialect. However, for some Andalusians with whom I was in contact, the word ‘jondo’ was not the same as ‘hondo’. Instead, *cante jondo* was simply used to refer to a genre of flamenco in and of itself, having no direct translation.

²⁵ These sub-categories may also be associated with individual singers. The melody of a particular singer may become a sub-*palo* in its own right. For example, Manuel refers to ‘la *soleá* de cierre de El Mellizo’, a closing passage named after the singer Enrique Mellizo (1848–1906). See Manuel, ‘Composition, Authorship and Ownership in Flamenco’, p. 108.

²⁶ This issue is explored in Chapter Five.

number of different *palos*. Sometimes *palos* unique to a particular province become vehicles for the inscription of a local or a provincial identity. The distribution of *palos* in Andalusia also informs common narratives regarding the origins of flamenco.

As a discipline, flamenco studies has developed many theories to explain the geographical distribution of flamenco *palos*. The flamencologist and geographer Juan Manuel Suárez Japón (2005), argues that there are two fundamental groups of *palos* that have influenced the origins of flamenco: *cantes básicos* (Eng: basic styles) and *palos* that are derived from *fandangos*. The first group refers to a number of key *palos* which are most commonly performed.²⁷ Like many flamenco scholars, Suárez Japón argues that these *palos* emerged from the *gitano-andaluz* (Eng: Gypsy-Andalusian) population in a defined area of Andalusia.²⁸ This area is located in the west of the region and includes the cities Cádiz, Ronda and Seville. These cities together form a triangle around Jerez de la Frontera. This geographical configuration is commonly known as the *triángulo de oro* (Eng: golden triangle).

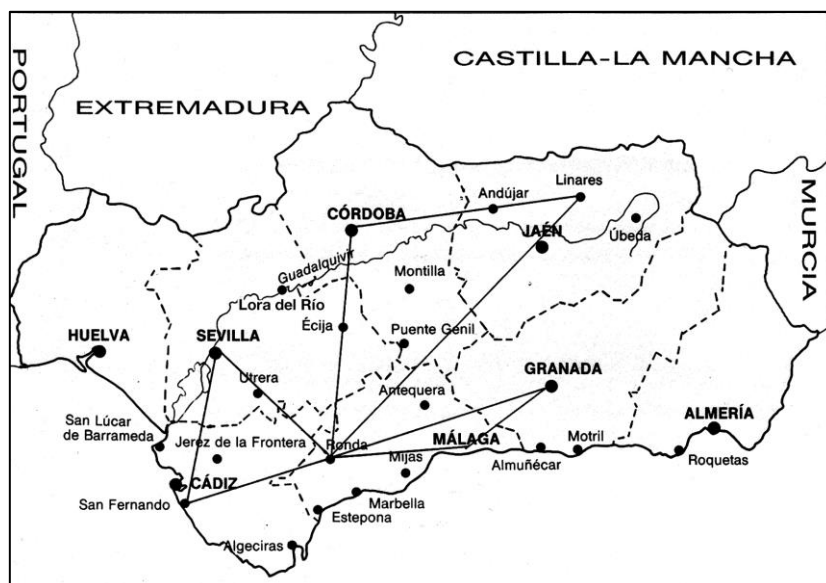


Figure 1.3: The flamenco ‘triangles’.²⁹

²⁷ These include *palos* from the *cante jondo* genre and other more ‘festive’ *palos* such as *bulerías* and *alegrías*.

²⁸ *Gitano-andaluz* refers to the cultural mixing between *gitanos* and Andalusians.

²⁹ Taken from Castillo Guerrero, ‘Flamenco y geografía’, p. 13. Used by permission.

Many flamenco scholars have adopted this notion of triangulation. While the locations of each point in a triangle may differ, flamenco triangles tend to converge around the same small area in West Andalusia. However, the flamencologist Miguel Castillo Guerrero (2011) identifies two other flamenco triangles (see Figure 1.3): one that stretches to Córdoba and Jaén, and another that encompasses Granada. Nonetheless, he still foregrounds the dominance of the *triángulo de oro* in narratives regarding the origins of flamenco. Moreover, he fails to include the province of Almería that is also home to numerous *palos*. This perpetuates a commonly-held belief that all flamenco originated in West Andalusia and from there spread to other areas. In one generic guide to flamenco, it is stated: ‘The origins of flamenco are to be found in the triangle formed between the cities of Seville, Cadiz and Jerez’ (Calado Olvivo 2006: 23).

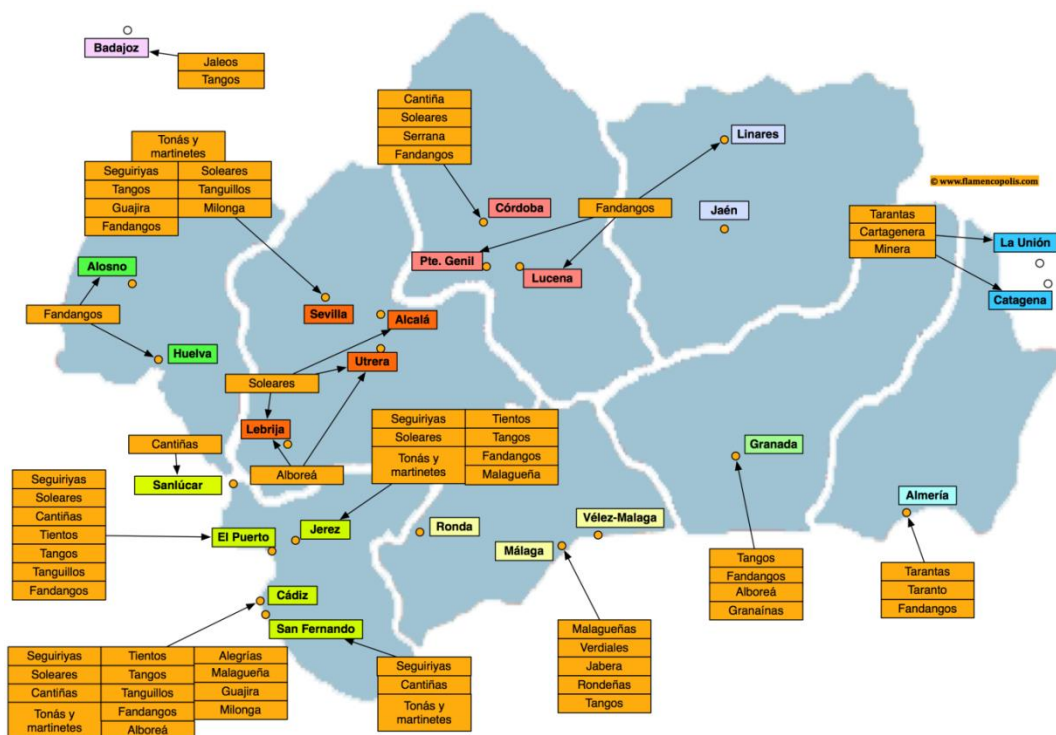


Figure 1.4: Map showing the geographical distribution of *palos*.³⁰

³⁰ Available online: <<http://www.flamencoentusmanos.es/es/los-palos-flamencos/flamencologia-geografia-del-flamenco.html>> [accessed 4 March, 2013].

Despite this dominant narrative, there are many *palos* that may have originated in other parts of Andalusia (see Figure 1.4). In relation to the two groups of *palos* described by Suárez Japón (2005), the second group of *palos* has a more diverse geographical foundation. It refers to a selection of *palos*, derived from folkloric *fandangos*, which are ubiquitous across the Andalusian region (and indeed much of Spain). Some of these *fandangos* have given rise to distinctive *palos*, including unmetred *palos* unique to East Andalusia (such as *granaína* and the *cantes de las minas* genre). These *palos* are now markedly different from folkloric forms. However, other *palos* have retained folkloric elements drawn from *fandangos*. These include the *palo* called *verdiales* (popular in Málaga) and *palos* associated with the *zambra gitana* genre.³¹ These are sometimes referred to as *palos aflamencados* (Eng: flamencoised *palos*).³² Overall, the debate regarding the geographical distribution of *palos* in flamenco is complex and contested. I argue that narratives regarding the geography of flamenco are often asymmetrical and unequal. They do not account for the diversity of the geographical origins of the tradition. They also deny the importance of peripheral provinces such as Almería and Granada. During my field research in Granada, these narratives sometimes engendered a sense of marginalisation. However, they have also instigated and entrenched a musical localism among certain groups of the flamenco community.

The Geography of Flamenco Spaces

The distribution of *palos* in flamenco demonstrates the geographical diversity of the tradition. However, a thorough understanding of flamenco geography must also take into account the spaces where flamenco is performed. In this thesis, I frequently refer to many spaces, some of which possess their own distinct practices and aesthetics, shaping the style of flamenco being

³¹ As a local genre of flamenco unique to Granada, the *zambra gitana* will be explored in greater depth in Chapters Eight and Nine.

³² This term derives from the verb *aflamencar* which literally means to ‘flamencoise’ something or to perform in a flamenco style.

performed there. Suárez Japón focuses on the *barrio* as a central space in which flamenco has emerged and is performed. These *barrios* are spread across Andalusian cities (such as Sacromonte in Granada or Triana in Seville). According to many scholars, they have had and/or continue to have a large *gitano* presence, from which flamenco communities have emerged.³³ While I find that Suárez Japón overstates the role of *gitano* communities, I acknowledge the importance of such communities in the development of flamenco. However, flamenco *barrios* can also be understood as contexts for musical localism in which there is an attachment to place rather than just to ethnicity.

Flamenco *barrios* contain many performance contexts. The anthropologist Timothy Dwight de Waal Malefyt (1997, 1998) argues that flamenco contexts can be understood according to insider/outsider or private/public distinctions. Insider/private contexts refer to intimate spaces in which musicians and aficionados regularly gather for flamenco performances that are normally closed off to ‘outsiders’ or the public. Outsider/public contexts refer to spaces that are open to the public and may be associated with commercialised spectacles of flamenco. While these categories are sometimes accurate, such neat polarities are difficult to maintain. However, they are a useful starting point for examining a diverse range of performance spaces. In the insider/private sphere, *peñas flamencas* (Eng: flamenco clubs) are often the most prominent performance context for flamenco.³⁴ These venues are much like folk clubs where traditional flamenco is performed to an audience of knowledgeable aficionados. Membership is normally required, ensuring that *peñas* are intimately tied to the local community. From their inception in the 1950s, *peñas* have adapted to modern circumstances, today many allowing non-members to attend. Nonetheless, they still retain an image of ‘authenticity’.

³³ In Chapter Eight, I explore the role that Sacromonte, a distinct neighbourhood in Granada, has played in the development of flamenco in the city.

³⁴ For a detailed examination of *peñas* see Malefyt, ‘Gendered Authenticity’.

In the outsider/public domain, flamenco has many performance contexts ranging from the more ‘serious’ to the more ‘touristy’. Since the mid-nineteenth century, flamenco found a home on the theatre stage.³⁵ Since the 1970s, however, flamenco has become a force on the World Music scene. The popularity of the guitar has also helped to ‘classicise’ the global image of flamenco, with guitar performances being featured in concert halls around the world. In Andalusia (and indeed across Spain), flamenco appears in many theatres with a variety of performances including solo guitar, *cuadro flamenco* (group performances) and even large-scale flamenco ‘ballets’. Flamenco has also found a home in various bars or similar venues across Andalusia and beyond. Finally, flamenco is inextricably linked with tourism. As such, venues have sprung up (both in Andalusia and across Spain) that cater specifically for tourists such as the *tablao* and the *zambra* in Granada. While these venues are often criticised for the quality or ‘kitsch-ness’ of their performances, they are integral spaces for many flamenco artists as they provide a regular source of work. During my time in Granada, I attended performances in all of the above contexts. As a matter of contextualisation, I will refer to these spaces when examining music and regionalism in Andalusia.

The Scholars of Flamenco

Flamenco Literature in General

Having examined the geographical distribution of *palos* and the musical spaces where flamenco is performed, I will now present an overview of the scholars who have represented flamenco throughout its history. Many scholars have addressed the history and development of flamenco. The ethnomusicologist Roshan Samtani usefully compartmentalises the literature about flamenco into three categories: eyewitness accounts, song collections and

³⁵ The history of the development and the commercialisation of flamenco will be discussed in Chapter Four.

scholarly research (Samtani 2006: 23–31). The presence of flamenco in literary sources can be traced back to the early-nineteenth century with the accounts of travel writers, many of whom were foreign.³⁶ In search of the romantic and the exotic, Spain (and particularly southern Spain) provided a ‘playground’ for these writers, echoing the orientalist interests of the age. These accounts have provided much of the historical record available regarding the origins and the development of flamenco (ibid. 2006: 23). They also assisted the emergence of the collecting of flamenco song for regionalist and/or nationalist purposes towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Flamenco scholarship itself appeared later, first in Spanish and then in English. In Spain, the term *flamencología* (Eng: flamenco studies) emerged in 1955 with Anselmo González Climent’s pivotal text, *Flamencología*. This was arguably the first example of formal scholarship in flamenco. Since this text, many Spanish scholars have contributed to an ever-expanding body of literature. Much of this research has been historical in nature with numerous works examining the origins and the development of flamenco.³⁷ However, some of this literature was (and at times, still is) involved in the wider debate concerning the ethnic (that is, *gitano*) or the regional (that is, Andalusian) origins of the tradition. As such, some scholars in Spain have been accused of mystifying flamenco, perpetuating romantic narratives that often ground the tradition in notions of blood and race. Scholars (usually in the social sciences) have recently emerged who attempt to demystify the romanticism that permeates scholarship in flamenco.³⁸

Nonetheless, English-speaking scholars have also perpetuated romantic conceptions of flamenco. Due to growing international interest in flamenco during the 1960s, some

³⁶ These include Richard Ford (1796–1858), Washington Irving (1783–1859) and Prosper Mérimée (1803–70).

³⁷ A few key examples include Caba Landa, *Andalucía*; Mairena and Molina, *Mundo y formas del cante flamenco*; Manuel Gamboa, *Una historia del flamenco*; Steingress and Baltanás (eds), *Flamenco y nacionalismo*; and Steingress, *Sobre flamenco y flamencología*.

³⁸ A few key examples include Cruces Roldán (ed.), *El flamenco*; Cruces Roldán, *Antropología y flamenco* (both volumes); García Gómez, *Cante flamenco, cante minero*; Steingress and Baltanás (eds), *Flamenco y nacionalismo*; and Steingress, *Sobre flamenco y flamencología* and ‘El flamenco como patrimonio cultural’.

American and British writers have contributed fictional, biographic and/or ‘populist’ accounts of flamenco (see for example George 1969; Pohren 1962; Webster 2002; Woodall 1992). To discount this literature as unscholarly or ‘romantic’ would be a mistake. These accounts occupy a particular position in both the scholarship and the history of flamenco, depicting the reception and the assimilation of the tradition by English-speaking audiences. However, in recent decades there is a growing body of scholarly literature in English concerning flamenco. There are also some key works in cultural anthropology and cultural history. In particular, I refer to the anthropologist William Washabaugh who has conducted extensive research concerning the historical narratives of flamenco and the constructions of ethnicity associated with flamenco (Washabaugh 1996, 1997, 1998, 2012).³⁹ The cultural historian Timothy Mitchell’s (1994) socio-historical monograph *Flamenco Deep Song* is another important work that attempts to demystify romantic discourses in flamenco. This is a valuable albeit highly critical source for understanding the emergence of flamenco. The study of flamenco has also reached other disciplines such as dance studies (Heffner Hayes 2009), film studies (D’Lugo 1991) and even economic geography (Aoyama 2007, 2009).

In ethnomusicology, there is a limited body of literature both in Spanish and in English. In the Spanish literature, there is a particular paucity in the realm of ethnomusicological research. In his article ‘Folk Music Studies and Ethnomusicology in Spain’, Josep Martí (1997) argues that the discipline is relatively recent in Spain. While the country has a long heritage of folk music research stretching back to the end of the eighteenth century, ethnomusicology is much less developed. Even when Martí’s article was published, much ethnomusicological research in Spain was predicated on the ‘study of rural musical production’ (Martí 1997: 117). Moreover, Martí notes that musicology is more prominent, with ethnomusicology often being side-lined in music departments (ibid. 1997: 120–21). In

³⁹ In a similar vein, also see the work of Malefyt, ‘Gendered Authenticity’ and “‘Inside” and “Outside” Spanish Flamenco’.

terms of flamenco, the scarcity of ethnomusicological research on the topic is also apparent. The online open-access journal for the Sociedad de Etnomusicología (Eng: Society for Ethnomusicology) *TRANS-Transcultural Music Review* features a handful of articles concerning flamenco (see Ángel Berlanga 1997; Labajo 1997; Lorenzo Arribas 2011; Steingress 2004).⁴⁰ However, none of these articles is written by an ethnomusicologist and none incorporates ethnomusicological methods. Even specific journals devoted to flamenco tend to be full of articles informed by a historical and/or a musicological approach.⁴¹

Flamenco is also relatively rare in ethnomusicological scholarship in English. However, there are a handful of notable flamenco scholars in the discipline. In particular, Manuel has published on issues relating to identity (Manuel 1989) and on issues related to copyright (Manuel 2010).⁴² He has also written a couple of articles concerning the flamenco guitar, some of which border on the musicological rather than the ethnomusicological (Manuel 1986, 2003). Similarly, Samtani (2006) has produced an in-depth ethnographic study of guitar technique and performance, drawing upon extensive fieldwork in Spain.⁴³ Further, Francisco Javier Bethencourt Llobet (2011) has examined how flamenco guitarists have negotiated the intersection between tradition and innovation. Also worthy of mention is Loren Chuses's (2003) study of gender and identity amongst female flamenco singers. Crucially, however, none of these studies deals with the issues surrounding music and regionalism developed in this thesis.⁴⁴ Therefore, I will now turn to some of the wider

⁴⁰ These articles are available online: <<http://www.sibetrans.com/trans/publicaciones>> [accessed 27 April, 2013].

⁴¹ For example see *Demófilo: La Revista de Cultura Tradicional de Andalucía* <<http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/revista?codigo=10189>> [accessed 27 April, 2013]; *Revista de Flamencología* <<http://flun.cica.es/index.php/revista-de-flamencologia/162-revista-de-flamencologia>> [accessed 27 April, 2013]; and *La Madrugá: Revista de Investigación sobre Flamenco* <<http://revistas.um.es/flamenco/issue/archive>> [accessed 27 April, 2013].

⁴² In the article 'Andalusian, Gypsy and Class Identity', Manuel provides a succinct and important overview of the flamenco 'complex'. It is a good introductory article for anyone interested in flamenco studies.

⁴³ The ethnomusicologist Kevin Dawe has also written about the discourses of authenticity and identity surrounding flamenco guitar construction in Spain in 'Handmade in Spain'.

⁴⁴ Manuel's article 'Andalusian, Gypsy, and Class Identity' does address the relationship of flamenco with Andalusian identity. However, he adopts more of a historical perspective.

literature in anthropology and sociology (some of which has been mentioned above) that is relevant to my research.

Flamenco, Regionalism and Geography

Flamenco has had a long and, at times, overt relationship with regional identity. At various points throughout its history, it has been harnessed to invoke Andalusian identity and to underline Andalusian regionalism. In recent years, questions regarding the correlation of flamenco with Andalusian identity have been raised by scholars. The alignment between flamenco and regionalism has instigated intense scholarly debate. In particular, this debate has created two distinct positions. On the one hand, the globalisation and the commercialisation of flamenco are regarded as negative processes that de-emphasise the regional distinctiveness of the tradition. Furthermore, the representation of flamenco as something ‘Spanish’, for some, is believed to negate its supposed Andalusian roots. Some scholars have sought to align flamenco with Andalusian identity and to instigate greater institutional support. On the other hand, the use of flamenco as a symbol of a distinctive identity in Andalusia is viewed by some as a ‘quasi-nationalist’ appropriation of culture designed to differentiate Andalusia from Spain. At the heart of this debate lie four prominent scholars: Cristina Cruces Roldán, Isidoro Moreno Navarro, Gerhard Steingress and William Washabaugh.

Cristina Cruces Roldán currently works as counsellor for the Audiovisual Council of Andalusia, having previously held the position of Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Seville. She has been involved in flamenco research for the majority of her career and maintains close ties with Andalusian institutions, often developing ‘succinct position statements for the Andalusian Government on the role of patrimonial flamenco in the development of regional identity and autonomy’ (Washabaugh 2012: 28). The majority of her

work marks out flamenco as a distinct element in Andalusian social and cultural life (Cruces Roldán 1996, 2002, 2003a). In collaboration with the regional government, she has supported the recognition of flamenco as cultural heritage at an institutional level.

Cruces Roldán argues that flamenco is capable of channelling Andalusian sociability. In other words, she recognises its capacity to engender a sense of regional identity. For her, it is crucial ‘to know and to value flamenco as a fundamental marker of our cultural identity and, therefore, as the common heritage of all Andalusians’ (Cruces Roldán 2002: 193).⁴⁵ As an emblem of Andalusian heritage she argues that flamenco is rooted in Andalusia’s ‘culture of cultures’ referring to the supposed multicultural nature of Andalusian ethnicity (ibid. 2003a: 24).⁴⁶ The anthropologist Isidoro Moreno Navarro (1996) echoes the work of Cruces Roldán by readdressing the *gitano* debate. He rejects the normal distinction made between *gitanos* and Andalusians. For Moreno Navarro, *gitanos* are Andalusians. Flamenco is a product of this group as well as the product of other subaltern groups throughout the history of Andalusia (Moreno Navarro 1996). He attempts to destabilise the narratives that weaken the connection between flamenco and Andalusian identity. These narratives include the relationship between flamenco and *gitano* identity, the relationship between flamenco and Spanish identity, the globalisation of flamenco and individualism in flamenco.⁴⁷

Since the 1990s, these scholars (amongst others) have helped to develop greater institutional recognition for flamenco. Cruces Roldán argues that flamenco has not received sufficient support from the Andalusian Government. While acknowledging its importance in wider commercial contexts, she states that flamenco should be supported by regional

⁴⁵ ‘Conocer y valorar el flamenco como un marcador identitario fundamental de nuestra cultura y, por tanto, como patrimonio común de los andaluces’.

⁴⁶ In the book *El flamenco y la música andalusí*, Cruces Roldán examines the actual links between flamenco and the music of Al-Andalus, arguably a continuation of the regionalist desire to invoke the Islamic occupancy as an integral element in the history of Andalusia.

⁴⁷ Individualism is sometimes viewed as a crucial part of flamenco. For Moreno Navarro, the concentration on individual artists detracts from the art form’s association with communality, negating its ability to channel regional identity as collective experience.

institutions, being officially recognised as Andalusian heritage. In her chapter ‘El flamenco y la política de patrimonio en Andalucía’ (Eng: ‘Flamenco and the Politics of Heritage in Andalusia’), Cruces Roldán argues that flamenco should be recognised as heritage according to the Ley de Patrimonio Histórico de Andalucía (Eng: Law of Andalusian Historical Heritage) (Cruces Roldán 2003; García Plata 1996).⁴⁸ She demonstrates how the practices, the contexts and the objects associated with flamenco can be viewed as heritage, proposing how flamenco meets the necessary criteria for recognition as heritage.⁴⁹ In an interview with her, Cruces Roldán told me that the presence of flamenco in the public sector has increased over recent years (interview 30 April, 2012). She was generally positive about this development. Here, she has played a key role in the recognition of different aspects of flamenco as heritage, helping to develop its presence in the institutional framework of the Andalusian Government.

The sociologist Gerhard Steingress adopts a very different view.⁵⁰ He argues that flamenco should be aligned with social issues and not with ‘nationalist ones’. He believes that flamenco has been appropriated for political purposes. As Washabaugh states: ‘Steingress has strenuously objected to cultural essentialist views that have been embraced by the regional government in order to develop a semi-autonomous Andalusian nationalism. According to Steingress, not only is the Andalusian community a cultural invention, but so too is the musical heritage that grounds it’ (Washabaugh 2012: 37). The majority of Steingress’s work adopts a socio-historical view of flamenco. That is, he examines the construction of flamenco as a symbol of both an Andalusian and a Spanish identity

⁴⁸ This law and Andalusian heritage policy in general will be discussed in Chapters Two and Five.

⁴⁹ Flamenco needs to fit into various categories such as buildings/monuments, objects, ethnographic products/practices, literary representation/research and documentation.

⁵⁰ Steingress was born in Austria. Although he has spent many years living and working as a sociologist in Andalusia (at the University of Seville), his non-Andalusian background may influence his seemingly ‘objective’ view of the relationship between flamenco and regional identity.

(Steingress and Baltanás 1998; Steingress 1998a, 1998b, 1998c, 2002a).⁵¹ Steingress shows how flamenco evolved as a popular tradition through modernisation and nationalism during the nineteenth century in Andalusia.

Particular attention should be paid to the article, ‘El flamenco como patrimonio cultural o una construcción artificial más de la identidad andaluza’ (Eng: ‘Flamenco as Cultural Heritage or Another Artificial Construction of Andalusian Identity’). In this article, Steingress contests Cruces Roldán’s research, problematising the construction of flamenco as regional heritage. He believes that Cruces Roldán propagates a nationalist and an ethnocentric perspective. He refutes her so-called ‘homogenised’ conception of Andalusian culture and flamenco. Here, he makes an important distinction between flamenco in the Andalusian cultural ‘system’ (that is, its institutional use) and the relevance of flamenco for regional identity. He argues that many Andalusians may not identify with flamenco, even if they recognise it as Andalusian per se. He states: ‘While it seems evident that the majority of the population considers it [flamenco] to be a consistent element of the Andalusian cultural system, this does not necessarily mean that they identify with it or consider it as a “marker” of their identity as Andalusians’ (Steingress 2002a: 57).⁵² Steingress believes that flamenco essentialism leads to ‘artistic vanguardism’, or put another way, the institutionalisation of flamenco style. As a result, aesthetic restrictions are placed on flamenco, which negate its development and its hybridisation.

In his recent monograph *Flamenco Music and National Identity in Spain*, Washabaugh offers an overview of the work of Cruces Roldán and Steingress (Washabaugh 2012: 27–52). While Cruces Roldán and Steingress argue that flamenco emerged through a

⁵¹ Steingress’s work is supported by other scholars such as Enrique Baltanás who also contests attempts by the Andalusian Government to develop flamenco as a symbol of regional identity. See Baltanás, ‘The Fatigue of the Nation’.

⁵² ‘Si bien parece evidente que la mayoría de la población lo considera como un elemento consistente del sistema cultural andaluz, esto no significa necesariamente que se identifique con él ni que lo consideren como “marcador” de su identidad como andaluces’.

process of hybridisation, Washabaugh believes that the role of commercialisation is viewed differently by both scholars. For Cruces Roldán, flamenco emerged from the Andalusian lower classes and was linked to poverty, class struggle and ostracised groups. Only later did the art form become commodified in theatres, amongst other contexts. For Steingress, the role of the marketplace is integral to the development of flamenco as an art form. He also develops the idea that flamenco has a universal appeal and a transgressive character, something that Washabaugh is keen to build upon (ibid. 2012: 45). Washabaugh discusses ‘the processes through which flamenco is being cultivated as a marker of Andalusian identity and a patrimonial symbol of Andalusian autonomy’ (ibid. 2012: 7). In particular, he examines the role institutions (such as education and the media) and philosophical approaches (such as Krausism and Modernism) have played in the ‘patrimonialisation’ of flamenco both in its past and in its present.⁵³ He argues that contemporary regional institutions, following scholars like Cruces Roldán, adopt a conceptualisation of flamenco that is ‘heritage-transmitted-from-the-past’ and ‘backward-leaning’ (ibid. 2012: 10). In an attempt to unite the Andalusian people, flamenco is linked to a shared sense of history and ethnicity. He problematises this conceptualisation of flamenco, advocating instead a ‘forward-leaning’ or ‘telenomic’ reading of flamenco style – one that embraces the future (rather than the past) of flamenco and by extension of Andalusia.

Washabaugh’s chapter ‘Autonomous Flamenco’ (ibid. 2012: 81–104) is most relevant for my research. Here, he explores the institutional support that today encourages the development of flamenco. He gives a brief overview of the political situation in which the institutionalisation of flamenco as regional heritage has occurred. He then goes on to discuss some of the key developments in its institutionalisation including the realms of education, tourism and culture. He draws upon the Plan Estratégico para la Cultura en Andalucía (Eng:

⁵³ Some of Washabaugh’s ideas will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

Strategic Plan for Culture in Andalusia), a 10-year plan where governmental initiatives for the development of culture within the region (including flamenco) are outlined. I build upon Washabaugh's work by offering the most recent advancements in the development of flamenco with a closer reading of its link to political autonomy in Andalusia. I also contribute to the debate regarding flamenco and Andalusian identity (or regionalism as I refer to it here) by offering an ethnographic analysis, thus far missing in the relevant scholarship discussed above. By drawing upon field research and the tenets of political geography, I offer a fragmented reading of regionalism through an analysis of the contexts, the discourses and the styles associated with flamenco in a local context.

My study is not the first to offer a geographical analysis of flamenco. A couple of scholars have examined flamenco from a geographical perspective (briefly discussed above). First, is Suárez Japón's (2005) article, 'Geografía del flamenco, flamenco y geografía' (Eng: 'Geography of Flamenco, Flamenco and Geography'). Here, Suárez Japón examines the geography of flamenco (that is, the geographical distribution of its *palos*) and flamenco's geographies (that is, its social contexts and spaces). However, the article appears to be underlined by an overemphasis on the Andalusian territory. He states: 'Flamenco was and is a product developed in our [region], a cultural fact inexplicable outside of the limits of Andalusia, of its social, economic and cultural reality over the past two centuries' (Suárez Japón 2005).⁵⁴ While I find Suárez Japón's geographical distinctions useful, I argue that he perpetuates a homogenised understanding of the relationship between flamenco and identity in Andalusia.

Miguel Castillo Guerrero (2011) adopts a more 'localist' approach with respect to his geographical interpretation of flamenco. While acknowledging Andalusia's centralisation as the geographical point of origins in flamenco, he explores the contribution of one locality in

⁵⁴ 'El Flamenco era y es un producto gestado en nuestra [región], un hecho cultural inexplicable fuera de los límites de Andalucía, de su realidad social, económica y cultural de los últimos dos siglos'.

flamenco song. Here, he examines the lyrics of Francisco Montoya Egea (known as El Niño de la Huerta) demonstrating how the town of Lora del Rio (Egea's hometown) is invoked in the lyrics. The work of Castillo Guerrero is not dissimilar to my own. Invoking geography as a theoretical discipline, he explores local readings of the flamenco complex. I also examine notions of localism in the flamenco scene of Granada as a counterpoint to the correlation between flamenco and Andalusian regionalism. However, I argue that flamenco is closely tied to Andalusian autonomy and an institutional (or 'official') reading of regional identity. Moreover, I contend that this reading is, at times, subverted. On the one hand, flamenco is capable of reflecting and engendering Andalusian regionalism. On the other hand, flamenco can reflect alternate readings of regionalism. In this respect, I find political geography useful when trying to understand the complex relationship between flamenco and regionalism. In the next chapter, I provide a theoretical framework for exploring music and regionalism in Andalusia, using political geography as a guiding principle.

Chapter Two: Music, Regionalism and Political Geography

The central focus of this thesis is to understand the ways in which music articulates and constructs multiple readings of Andalusian regionalism in the context of flamenco. On the one hand, regional institutions use flamenco to construct and to consolidate a unified regional identity. On the other hand, flamenco may function at the level of felt experience to invoke a sense of Andalusian-ness. However, a single reading of place and thus a single reading of regionalism is problematic and often contested. In understanding the identity politics at play in a territory such as Andalusia, I argue that the theoretical tenets of political geography are particularly useful. In this chapter, I offer a theoretical reading of regionalism. This reading is centred upon a scholarly exchange between political geography and ethnomusicology in order to contextualise the relationship between flamenco and regional identity in Andalusia.

The relationship between music and geography has received some attention. I consider the ways in which geographers have studied music and conversely how music researchers have drawn upon geography. In either case, political geography is rarely invoked as a discipline. In this chapter, I advocate the use of political geography in ethnomusicological enquiry. I draw upon the work of the political geographers Frans Schrijver (2006), Anssi Paasi (2009) and Kees Terlouw (2012). In particular, I invoke Schrijver's (2006: 21–65) model where he considers regionalism (as a bottom-up ideology) after regionalisation (as a top-down process). I also examine the relationship between regionalism and music. Here, I invoke identity theory in ethnomusicology, particularly in the context of nationalism. This analysis is used as a starting point to explore the current literature regarding music and regionalism. Finally, I argue that regionalism and regionalisation are influenced by external forces. Here, the recognition of flamenco as Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO will have important repercussions for the development of flamenco within Andalusia.

Political Geography and Music

An Introduction to Political Geography

Before examining region and regionalism, it is necessary to understand political geography as a discipline. Political geography belongs to the broader umbrella discipline of human geography, which is concerned with the relationship between humans and their physical and spatial environments.¹ Generally speaking, human geography is a humanistic discipline drawing upon research methods in the social sciences, rather than the empirical, quantitative and scientific methods associated with physical geography. Human geography is divided into a number of sub-fields making disciplinary definitions problematic, especially given the fluidity with which geographers move across these sub-fields. In this study, my work is informed by both cultural and political geography. Flamenco as a cultural expression is influenced by the control and the contestation of Andalusia as a territory, which are largely political issues. However, it is political geography that most closely relates to my theoretical framework and so will be the point of focus here.²

Political geography is principally concerned with the control of space and place advancing the view that ‘politics is intrinsically geographical’ (Painter and Jeffrey 2009: 15).³ Broadly speaking, political geography deals with two overarching categories, namely formal politics and informal politics (Cloke et al. 2005; Painter and Jeffrey 2009). The former is concerned with traditional political formations such as governments, political parties and international relations. The latter refers to the day-to-day politics that operate in social life, outside of the institutional sphere. Here, issues of power and social relations are brought back into the theoretical fold, reflecting the wider influence of cultural geography and cultural

¹ A spatial environment may not only refer to territories, but also to social spaces such as class and gender. For an overview of human geography as a discipline see Cloke (et al.), *Introducing Human Geographies*.

² Cultural geography is chiefly concerned with how humans function spatially in terms of their cultural practices and beliefs. It also considers how culture varies according to different spaces and places. For more information see Jackson, *Maps of Meaning*; Mitchell, *Cultural Geography*; and Nash, ‘Cultural Geography’.

³ The political geographers Joe Painter and Alex Jeffrey’s book *Political Geography* provides a useful and a succinct grounding in political geography. It would benefit any ethnomusicologist seeking to gain an understanding of the discipline.

studies in political geography. Nowadays, some researchers analyse how formal politics impact on social relations and issues of power in everyday life. For example, some of the research I address below examines formal politics in the context of state decentralisation and the informal politics that emerge from state decentralisation, such as regionalism.

Another aspect of political geography is the formal, political relations between states, most commonly referred to as geopolitics. This sub-discipline of political geography, concerns how political power is used over a given territory.⁴ Normally, geopolitics is separated into two approaches: an active approach where geographical representations are used for political purposes and a critical approach that critiques the use of geography for political ends. Due to the negative connotations associated with active geopolitics,⁵ the discipline fell from grace and was often taboo amongst geographers. Since the 1970s, however, a critical approach to geopolitics has emerged that deconstructs the way in which states, cultural elites, political elites and the media maintain geographical politics through discourse and representation.⁶ Put simply, it explores how both negative and positive representations of geographical places are engendered and are naturalised in society. By extension, the ways in which these dominant representations are contested also becomes an important dimension of critical geopolitics. While usually employed at an international level, geopolitics is also useful for understanding the control and the contestation of territory at a regional level. Institutions are implicated in the exertion of power over regional territories, an act that may exacerbate underlying tensions regarding regional identity. I argue that flamenco

⁴ For a useful overview of geopolitics see Dodds and Atkinson (eds), *Geopolitical Traditions*.

⁵ Geopolitics was used as a way of legitimising imperialism and state expansionism from the nineteenth century culminating in the appropriation of *Geopolitik* by Nazi policy in the Second World War.

⁶ A little embellishment on different geopolitical discourses is needed here. The critical approach to geopolitics is often cited as having its origins in the UK during the 1980s. However, it is important to draw attention to the contribution of the French school of *géopolitique*. Pioneered by Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845–1918), the French school was perhaps the first to adopt a critical perspective by analysing the ideological foundations of geopolitics. In particular, Yves Lacoste (b. 1929) and the journal *Hérodote* foreshadowed the Anglophone trend towards critical geopolitics in the 1980s. Lacoste moved away from the regional emphasis of previous French work and instead focused on the nation state and its survival in modern times. See Hepple, ‘*Géopolitiques de gauche*’.

is a useful vehicle for understanding these processes, which are grounded in political geography, in the Andalusian context.

Music in Geographical Research

To what extent do geographers consider music in their research? Similarly, to what extent do ethnomusicologists (and other related scholars) draw upon geographical paradigms when considering music and place? In geography, a number of important studies can be found that address music, almost entirely within the field of cultural geography. Traditionally, music was of little interest to geographers due to its perceivably transient, place-less nature; most studies that focused on artistic expression looked to the visual arts. During the 1970s, however, there was an increase in music-related research, an era the geographer George Carney describes as ‘the golden age of music geography’ (Carney 1990: 37).⁷ The vast majority of these studies were limited to the American context and concerned either folk music or popular music. Scholars were primarily interested in mapping the diffusion of musical styles and analysing the textual content of lyrics for geographical imagery.⁸

Almost all geographical research on music was published in America. In the 1990s, however, cultural geographers in Britain began to examine music as well. Particular reference must be made to the 1993 conference organised by the Institute of British Geographers, ‘The Place of Music’ (Leyshon et al. 1995, 1998). In particular, the conference inspired a volume of the same name, which examines how ‘different spatialities are [...] formative of the sounding and resounding of music’ (Leyshon et al. 1998: 4). In this way, the geographer Susan Smith (1997) argues that cultural geographers sought to examine how music is a

⁷ Also see Carney, ‘Music Geography’. Carney believes that a rise in the interest regarding the geographical aspects of music was a result of the highly charged cultural, social and political environment of the time, of which music was a crucial component. In addition, the centralisation of music in geography was seen as a departure from the ‘conservatism’ of previous scholars. By focusing on music, geographers embraced the anthropological turn in geographical enquiry.

⁸ For a closer discussion of research directions in music geography see Carney, ‘Geography of Music’ and ‘Music Geography’; and Leyshon (et al.), ‘The Place of Music’.

product of different cultural and physical spaces. At this time, scholars from the so-called school of ‘new’ cultural geography were beginning to draw upon British cultural studies and principles derived from the social sciences.⁹ Therefore, themes such as nationalism, class, identity politics, minority studies and ethnicity began to appear in geographical analyses of music. This theoretical direction has continued into the twenty-first century with a number of geographical contributions (especially from British geographers) that discuss music at different spatial levels.¹⁰

There are a number of limitations with the current geographical literature on music. Even in recent studies, many scholars focus on American popular music and folk music, British music or western classical music (from a historical perspective). Despite a handful of examples (Kong 2006; Waterman 2006b), this body of research does not address non-western musical traditions. There has also been little interaction with ethnomusicology and rarely are ethnomusicological works cited in geographical publications. (As I show below, this is a problem replicated in ethnomusicology as well.) A further limitation appears to be the under-representation of political geography when it comes to musical research.¹¹ Given the fact that interdisciplinary fluidity between the geographical sub-disciplines is relatively recent, the absence of research concerning politics and music is perhaps not surprising. Yet this is a fertile ground for research, which I hope to demonstrate with this study. I argue that a fruitful exchange between political geography and ethnomusicology will strengthen research regarding music and political spatialisation.

⁹ For more on ‘new geography’ see Mitchell, *Cultural Geography*.

¹⁰ Pertinent examples of this scholarship include Bell and Johansson (eds), *Sound, Society and the Geography of Popular Music*; Connell and Gibson, *Sounds Tracks*; and Hudson, ‘Regions and Place’. The journal *GeoJournal* also published a special edition on music containing a number of articles that explored themes such as nationalism, cultural politics and minority studies. See Waterman, ‘Geography and Music’. Also see the special issue of *Social and Cultural Geography*, Volume 6/5 (2005). In particular see Anderson (et al.), ‘Practices of Music and Sound’.

¹¹ Again, there are exceptions. See Connell and Gibson, *Soundtracks*; Kong, ‘Music and Moral Geographies’; and Waterman, ‘Variations on a Hebrew Theme’.

Geography in Music Research

In ethnomusicology, there is also limited theoretical exchange with human geography. While place-based identities are often integral to ethnomusicological research, geographical theory is normally implicit rather than explicit. While there are a number of ethnomusicological studies that invoke geographical themes, they do not directly reference geography as a discipline. Bruno Nettl argues that constructing musical ‘cartographies’ of the world has been one of the long-term ambitions of ethnomusicologists (Nettl 2005: 320–38). He acknowledges the influence of ‘culture areas’ on American anthropology and the influence of *Kulturkreis* in German scholarship on ethnomusicologists in the early-twentieth century. He contends that ethnomusicologists were primarily interested in mapping musical style, structure and instrumentation.¹² This tradition of comparative musicology and musical mapping was continued after the Second World War, most notably with Alan Lomax’s (1968) *cantometrics* project. In this study, Lomax employed a ‘quasi-scientific’ approach to map the folk musics of the world into six broad style regions subdivided into various culture areas. The overall impetus here was to construct a musical map that reflected the impact of social structure and history on folk song style and its distribution.¹³

After Lomax’s attempts at musical mapping, other studies invoked geographical methods (however implicitly) to understand the distribution of instruments. In particular, the scientist and musicologist Laurence Picken is renowned for his geographical (and broadly zoological) approach to the diffusion of folk instruments from Central Asia. In his seminal work *Folk Musical Instruments of Turkey*, Picken (1975) invokes environmental determinism by relating the construction, the diffusion and the meaning of instruments to environmental

¹² The earliest comparative musicologists in the field (such as Béla Bartók, Curt Sachs, Eric van Hornbostel and George Herzog) were interested in mapping folk song. At times, scholars collected folk music in the service of a nationalist interest. As such, it could be argued that early comparative musicology had an underlying geopolitical interest.

¹³ Lomax’s work echoes that of the American anthropologist George Murdock who created an ethnographic atlas of the cultures of the world.

factors.¹⁴ In particular, he proposes the term ‘organogeography’ where he compares the geographical distribution of instruments with the distribution of flora in Turkey, arguing that the latter influenced the formation of the former. Continuing with this theme, Steven Feld’s (1994) work on the Kaluli of Papua New Guinea is an excellent example of how a culture’s immediate physical environment (that is, the rainforest in the Kaluli context) can influence musical style and aesthetics in such a profound way.¹⁵

More recently, ethnomusicologists and other music scholars have explicitly drawn upon geographical theory to inform their research. A case in point is Adam Krims’s 2007 monograph, *Music and Urban Geography*. Krims draws upon the sub-discipline of urban geography to examine how music can represent a city. Moreover, he considers the different ways in which music is produced and consumed in various city-based contexts. Conferences have also emerged where geography appears as a common theoretical perspective,¹⁶ or where geography has emerged as a theme in interdisciplinary conferences.¹⁷ Some scholars have even invoked political geography in the context of regionalism. The Irish scholar Daithí Kearney (2007) considers the application of geography to Irish traditional music. Like me, Kearney seeks greater interdisciplinarity between music and geography. He considers the role institutions have played in creating a ‘unique [Irish] identity separate from British-ness’ and in engendering different conceptions of national identity amidst the commercialisation and the globalisation of Irish-ness (Kearney 2007: 135). Similarly, the ethnomusicologist Stefan Fiol (2012) draws upon scholars in political geography when examining regionalism in Indian popular music (discussed below). However, on the whole there is a paucity of research

¹⁴ For more on environmental determinism, a key element of early cultural geography, see Mitchell, *Cultural Geography*.

¹⁵ More recently, Tina Ramnarine has examined how the environment shapes musical concepts and creative processes. See Ramnarine, ‘Acoustemology, Indigeneity and Joik in Valkeapää’s Symphonic Activism’.

¹⁶ For example, the ‘Musical Geographies of Central Asia’ at the Institute for Musical Research, London (16–18 May, 2012).

¹⁷ For example, ‘Hearing Landscape Critically: Sense, Text, Ideology’ at the University of Oxford (18–19 May, 2012).

drawing upon geographical paradigms, particularly from political geography. I argue that political geography is important when considering the relationship between music and regionalism. Further, I contend that an exchange between ethnomusicologists and political geographers can assist a deeper understanding of this relationship.

Region, Regionalisation and Regionalism

Defining the Region

So far, I have used the terms region, regionalism and territory seemingly interchangeably and without theoretical explanation. It is now necessary to define exactly what I mean by region, drawing upon political geography and other related disciplines.¹⁸ Region has multiple meanings depending on the context and the spatial scale. In physical geography, a region can be understood simply as a geographical space defined by physical boundaries (such as mountains or rivers).¹⁹ One can speak of a natural region or geographical region without the need to refer to notions of culture, politics or power. However, regions may also refer to cultural areas or socio-political territories at various spatial scales. A territory is often understood as a place invested with meaning and is composed of an array of interrelated human ‘spaces’, such as the social, the political and the cultural (Knight 1982: 517). Similarly, the political geographer Anssi Paasi states: ‘Territory is social because people inhabit it collectively, it is political because groups fight to preserve or enlarge their space, [and] it is cultural because it contains collective memories’ (Paasi 2009: 124). I am concerned with the idea of regions as territories or ‘felt’ places.

¹⁸ The body of literature regarding region and regionalism is large. Therefore, I will draw upon a few key works which are most relevant to this study. See Keating, ‘Europeanism and Regionalism’; Knight, ‘Identity and Territory’; Paasi, ‘The Resurgence of the “Region” and “Regional Identity”’; Painter and Jeffrey, *Political Geography*; Rokkan and Urwin (eds), *The Politics of Territorial Identity*; Schrijver, *Regionalism after Regionalisation*; and Terlouw, ‘From Thick to Thin Regional Identities?’.

¹⁹ The word region in fact derives from the Latin word ‘regio’ which means border or borderline. For more information see Schrijver, *Regionalism after Regionalisation*, pp. 21–24.

The region as a territory normally refers to two spatial scales, namely supra-national and sub-national. The former refers to territories that are larger than states, often comprising multiple states within a single, overarching region (for example the European Union, henceforth referred to as the EU). The latter refers to smaller territories within states that may or may not possess political autonomy. In the middle is always the state and as Paasi argues: ‘In many cases states have combined forces by establishing regional alliances while simultaneously decentralising or devolving some of their power and traditional responsibilities for regional development to regional and local institutions’ (ibid. 2009: 125). This is contrary to the argument (common during the 1980s and 1990s) that the nation state would lose its power as a political structure. Even early French *géopolitique* scholars were debating the future existence of the nation state. Yves Lacoste argued that the nation is ‘sandwiched between external, supranational and global forces and internal, regionalist/localist forces of fragmentation’ (Hepple 2000: 287). However, it appears that the nation state has retained its prominence even amidst supra-national pressures, sub-national forces and the globalisation of economic markets. The political scientist Michael Keating (1995) argues that by devolving powers to regional territories, nation states can free up economic resources. Moreover, by suppressing any underlying separatism, nation states may in fact maintain hegemony and national unity (Keating 1995; Terlouw 2012: 707–708). At the supra-national level, creating more regions adds to the competitiveness of a state, particularly within the so-called ‘Europe of the Regions’ (Paasi 2009).

Regionalisation and Regionalism

The increase in both supra-national and sub-national regions since the 1990s shows that globalisation has not resulted in a reduced number of regions. I am concerned primarily with sub-national regions. In recent years, notions of regional identity have become more

important, something that is particularly evident in the EU. As Paasi (2009) shows, European policy is increasingly concerned with regional identity and regional cohesion. Here, regional actors have more agency in the European domain. However, regions are not fixed but are ‘institutional structures and processes that are perpetually “becoming” instead of just “being”’ (Paasi 2009: 133). I have yet to address exactly how and why sub-national regions come into ‘being’. In order to understand the position of flamenco within Andalusian society, it is important to understand how regions such as Andalusia gained autonomy.

Accordingly, I find it useful to draw upon the work of three geographers in particular to understand how regions are formed (Paasi 2009; Schrijver 2006; Terlouw 2012). Schrijver defines two interrelated concepts: regionalisation and regionalism. Before addressing regionalism, it is necessary to examine the process of regionalisation. In this process, national governments decentralise a nation state into regional territories that possess their own autonomies. However, regionalisation does not only refer to this process of decentralisation. It also refers to the creation of regional institutions and the construction and/or consolidation of regional identities. Therefore, the process is carried out by both state institutions and regional institutions. In other words, the regional institutions created by the centre, are invested with the power to continue the regionalisation process. As Schrijver states: ‘The creation of regional administrations also means the creation of institutions that create, adapt and spread symbols of the region’ (Schrijver 2006: 62). In the ideal federal state (where all regions possess similar autonomous powers), the centre will maintain a level of control and a sense of a unified national identity while its constitutive regions will have their own autonomy.

Paasi describes the regionalisation process in another way. He refers to this as the ‘institutionalisation’ of regions (Paasi 2009: 134–36), a process which occurs over four interrelated and continuous stages. First is the ‘territorial shaping’ of a region where

boundaries are defined and the region is distinguished from other spatial units. Normally, such territorial distinctions are historical. However, in the process of decentralisation regional territories and their borders are defined at an institutional level. Second is 'symbolic shaping' which refers to the process where 'official' regional symbols are used to consolidate a regional identity. Here, I argue that culture (and by extension, music) is a crucial way in which this process is achieved. Third is 'institutional shaping' which refers to 'the development of informal and formal institutions that are needed to produce and reproduce other shapes' (ibid. 2009: 135). These regional institutions are also involved in maintaining and in spreading the image and the identity of a region (Schrijver 2006: 61). Finally is the 'establishment' of regions where regional identity is portrayed through various mediums (such as the media). This is to consolidate the region as a 'social fact' and to instil regional identity as a part of social consciousness. Moreover, the establishment of a region is when it is accepted as an autonomous territory at other spatial scales (such as at the supra-national level). In a commentary on Paasi's work, the geographer Kees Terlouw argues: 'When these four shapes interlock they reinforce each other and generate institutionalised regions with a strong regional identity' (Terlouw 2012: 709).

Terlouw goes further by examining the 'types' of official regional identities that are created by administrations as part of this institutionalisation process. In particular, he uses the analytical concepts of 'thick' and 'thin' regional identities to explore the ways in which regional governments mobilise regionalism (that is, identification with a region) and increase regional competitiveness. 'Thick' regional identities are associated with regions that possess long histories and strong identities. They are often harnessed by institutions in constructing an 'official' regional identity based upon a shared culture, a shared history and a fixed territory. 'Thin' identities, however, have more to do with functionality, economic development and regional competition. In Europe, 'thin' identities are associated with an

aspiration for greater European integration and the consolidation of foreign relations (Terlouw 2012: 709–12). However, Terlouw argues that these analytical categories should not be seen as a dichotomy but as the end points of a continuum (ibid. 2012: 717). Regional institutions often mix ‘thick’ and ‘thin’ regional identities. He states: ‘For stimulating economic development they [regional governments] focus more on thin elements, while thick aspects of regional identity are used to mobilise support among the inhabitants’ (ibid. 2012: 717). I contend that these categories are useful when considering the type of ‘official’ identity marketed by the Andalusian Government and the role that flamenco plays in this process.

What instigates the need for decentralisation in the first place? National governments may create autonomous regions for various reasons.²⁰ On the one hand, the creation of a region and the strengthening of regional identity are important for economic development as regions compete for resources and private investment (Terlouw 2012: 708). On the other hand, the presence of regionalism amongst a citizenry plays an important role in the regionalisation/institutionalisation of regions. Schrijver (2006) sees regionalism as distinct from regionalisation in that it refers to a group of people who view themselves in relation to a particular territorial concept – the region. In this way, a process of ‘othering’ occurs where citizens of the regional territory create distinctions between ‘we’ (that is, the region) and the ‘other’ (that is, the nation state). Schrijver develops his argument by drawing upon Benedict Anderson’s (1983) notion of ‘imagined community’. For Anderson: ‘The members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion’ (Anderson 1983: 6). For Schrijver, regionalism ‘conceptually overlaps’ with nationalism (Schrijver 2006: 49). Like in nations, the citizens of regions formulate this ‘imagined community’ by sharing

²⁰ These include uneven development, political persuasions and ideological reasons (such as democracy following dictatorships). See Jones and Keating (eds), *The European Union and the Regions*; Paasi, ‘The Resurgence of the “Region” and “Regional Identity”’; Schrijver, *Regionalism after Regionalisation*; and Terlouw, ‘From Thick to Thin Regional Identities?’.

symbols, histories, traditions (invented or otherwise²¹) and languages that help to construct a shared regional identity. However, unlike in nations these shared elements are not necessarily deemed as 'official' symbols of national identity.

As such, regionalism may emerge when the citizens of a region believe that there are socio-cultural, as well as political and economic, disparities between the centre (that is, the state) and the periphery (that is, the region). In unitary states where national unity and identity are strong, 'the centre will seek to ensure its political and economic dominance through an efficacious system of administrative control, and to create unity out of diversity through a constant and conscious policy of cultural standardization' (Rokkan and Urwin 1982b: 8). However, some regionalisms may take on regionalist or even nationalist forms. In the former, citizens of a region may seek autonomous powers and the recognition of a distinct regional identity within the nation state. In the latter, citizens of a region may seek to separate from the nation state forming an independent nation. The process of regionalisation, then, may serve to validate regional identity and to prevent separatist movements from gaining social momentum. For many decentralised nation states, the ultimate aim is that regional identities are allowed space while not undermining national identity as a whole. As such, citizens may identify both with their region and their nation.

Because of the increase in regionalisms, regional identity has become an important element of national and supra-national politics. National governments are increasingly concerned with the notion of regional identity vis-à-vis national identity. The EU, too, has taken regional identity as an important part of its social cohesion (or regional) policy (Paasi

²¹ For information regarding the invention of traditions see Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions'. According to the historian Eric Hobsbawm, many of the national traditions with which we are familiar were in fact invented during the nineteenth century. Even though these traditions may invoke the distant past of a nation, they are in fact modern traditions that were intimately linked to nationalism.

2009).²² As Paasi states: ‘Identity is [...] understood as a “soft” tool, one used by authorities worldwide, in the promotion of social cohesion, regional marketing and economic development’ (ibid. 2009: 138). Schrijver (2006), however, argues that while much attention has been paid to regionalism and regionalisation, there is little research regarding regionalism ‘after’ regionalisation. Generally speaking, Schrijver believes that regionalism after regionalisation has been largely successful in his three cases studies, namely France, Spain and the United Kingdom. In Spain, he argues that even though some regions still exhibit strong regionalist (or nationalist) tendencies, regionalisation has generally been successful. Accordingly, most citizens identify with both their region and their nation. While I agree with Schrijver’s conclusion, I wish to bring the discussion to a different spatial scale. If viewed within the region itself, the regionalisation process can engender issues regarding identity and marginalisation between the smaller spatial units that make up the region. In other words, I argue that regionalism may be fragmented by sub-regional and localist trends. Here, the centre-periphery model is useful for understanding fragmented readings of regionalism in a context such as Andalusia.

Resituating the Centre-Periphery Model

The work of political geographers such as Paasi, Schrijver and Terlouw is often predicated on the centre-periphery model, even if they do not invoke it directly. This model is common in political geography and political science. It is used as a theoretical tool to understand the distribution of power and of resources at different spatial levels. The centre does not necessarily refer to any physical reality but a centre of power (normally the state). This centre often homogenises and normalises dominant values. It also controls economic, socio-cultural and political resources (Strassoldo 1980). The periphery, then, is a marginalised territory

²² Also see <<http://www.euractiv.com/regional-policy/eu-cohesion-policy-2014-2020-linksdossier-501653>> [accessed 2 November, 2012]. This policy aims to remove regional disparities across the EU’s regions. This will be explored in more detail in Chapter Five.

(such as a region) that is subordinate to the centre. The historian Hamilton Stapell (2007) argues that the centre-periphery model, and its counterpart ‘internal colonisation’,²³ emerged in the 1970s to ‘describe the apparently oppositional character of regionalism and nationalism’ (Stapell 2007: 172). He believes that because of tensions between the centre (through nationalism) and the periphery (through regionalism), ‘the “periphery” of a nation or empire, creates a unique new identity in response to economic exploitation by the centre’ (ibid. 2007: 172). In addition to the centre-periphery model, internal colonisation refers to the way in which a ‘centre’ perpetuates cultural, political and economic disparities between its peripheries. For many scholars, regionalism is best understood as a result of these two models (that is, centre-periphery and internal colonisation).

In the Spanish context, Stapell (2007) argues that the centre-periphery model is inadequate. Citing the work of the political scientists Stein Rokkan and Derek Urwin (1982a), Stapell believes that scholars have invoked the model to try to understand the emergence of sub-‘nationalisms’ in Spain since the 1970s. Since the transition to democracy in 1978 (and indeed since the appearance of regionalism in the late-nineteenth century), Madrid has been cast as the guilty ‘other’ in many regionalist projects. Stapell states: ‘As a result [...] the centre-periphery model of regional development has become, by default, the standard analytical model used to explain the creation of new regional identities after the end of the dictatorship’ (Stapell 2007: 171). He argues that Madrid itself (as an autonomous region) went through the same process of region-building following the transition with little in the way of national sentiment. According to the traditional model, the capital (as a representation of the centre) retains a sense of national unity and national identity. For Stapell, this was not necessarily the case in Madrid between 1979 and 1986.

²³ The term internal colonisation was first proposed by the sociologist Michael Hechter. See Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*.

I argue that the centre-periphery model is also problematic in the Andalusian context. However, unlike Stapell, I do not propose to reject the model altogether. Rather, I wish to re-situate it in the context of Schrijver's work, in order to develop my own theoretical framework that can be applied to the flamenco context. Following the regionalisation process, a new dominant centre can emerge within the periphery. Here, regionalisation may take on a 'quasi-nationalist' character where the objective of a regional government is to foster a unified regional identity. However, citizens may contest the regionalisation process particularly where regional identity is weak. Accordingly, regionalisation may be viewed as another form of internal colonisation where 'official' regional identity supersedes all other forms of identity. In the Andalusian context, the regionalisation process has in fact engendered sub-regionalism in the form of the movement Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental (henceforth referred to as the PAO). This movement seeks autonomy for East Andalusia while retaining Spanish nationality. This reveals a contested reading of regionalism. Even beyond the calls for sub-regional autonomy, the existence of localism also needs to be taken into account.²⁴ The regional and the local are often conflated, as region vis-à-vis nation is still the most predominant syllogism. However, I argue that the local complicates regionalism and regionalisation, particularly when institutions attempt to inculcate a unified regional identity. I argue that music can help to unravel the polyvalent and the fragmented nature of regionalism.

Regionalism and Music

Music, Identity and Nationalism

The literature on music and regionalism is limited in ethnomusicology and in its cognate disciplines. This may be because the nation state has traditionally been the key focus in

²⁴ In the context of flamenco, localism will be explored in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine.

ethnomusicological research concerning place-based identities. Some scholars have sought to resituate the nation state as an important spatial unit when considering the relationship between music and place-based identity (such as Biddle and Knights 2007). This research provides a counterpoint to the syllogism between the local and the global in which the nation is not the primary focus (such as Corona and Madrid-González 2008). It is possible, then, that the region has received less attention due to a preoccupation with national identity and/or local identity in music scholarship in recent years. Nonetheless, scholars who have examined the relationship between regionalism and music (discussed below) often draw upon a wealth of research concerning music and nationalism. Therefore, before addressing music and regionalism, I will explore the role of music in place-based identity through the frame of nationalism.

Music and place-based identity has received much attention in ethnomusicology and related disciplines. The important interdisciplinary volume *Music, Space and Place* addresses the many ways in which music ‘both as a creative practice and as a form of consumption, [...] plays an important role in the narrativization of place, that is, in the way in which people define their relationship to local, everyday surroundings’ (Bennett et al. 2004: 2).²⁵ By acknowledging the ability of music to invoke place, scholars have addressed various related themes. These include: the use of music in the dominant constructions of place through nationalism (such as Biddle and Knights 2007; Bohlman 2004; Folkestad 2002); the way music is used in the contestation and the negotiation of place (such as Emoff 2008; McLaughlin and McLoone 2000); and the transcendence of place through deterritorialization, globalization and global musical culture (such as Biddle and Knights 2007; Corona and Madrid-González 2008; Frith 2000). However, how does music symbolise or construct perceptions of place? In what ways does music invest a territory with meaning? Here, it is

²⁵ Other pertinent sources include Connell and Gibson, *Sound Tracks*; Leyshon (et al.), ‘The Place of Music’ and ‘Introduction’; and Stokes (ed.), *Ethnicity, Identity and Music*.

necessary to examine literature concerning identity and identification in order to contextualise the power of music to invoke place.²⁶

The term identity is perhaps one of the widest used in ethnomusicology. Even so, Timothy Rice has argued that ethnomusicologists ‘seem to take for granted identity as a category of social life and of social analysis’ (Rice 2007: 20).²⁷ He argues that identity is under-theorized within our field. By grounding the term in the wider non-musical literature, Rice believes that ethnomusicologists can add ‘theoretical moisture’ to their ‘intellectual garden’ (Rice 2010: 321). In particular, the work of the cultural theorists Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (and especially their 1996 edited volume, *Questions of Cultural Identity*) is pertinent for ethnomusicology and the discussion here. Hall (1996) uses the term ‘identification’ to situate identity as a process or a becoming. For him, identity is constructive and fluid. People may possess multiple identities that emerge in any given moment or context. Hall contends: ‘Identities are never unified, and in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions’ (Hall 1996: 4). In the context of my study, this fluid model of identity is relevant. In Andalusia, regional identity is often constructed as a fixed concept, particularly at an institutional level. I argue, however, that regionalism in Andalusia is plural and fragmented. I contend that flamenco is a useful vehicle for examining top-down identity building and the negotiation and the contestation of ‘felt’ identity in Andalusia.

The way in which music can create identification with place has received much attention in musical scholarship.²⁸ Here, I return to Rice’s (2007) examination of the role of music in identity building. He proposes that music can reflect or symbolise some

²⁶ The literature concerning identity is vast and hotly debated. The wider theoretical concern of this study is regionalism and the application of political geography to ethnomusicological enquiry. Therefore, I will provide a brief overview of the elements of identity theory that are most relevant to this study.

²⁷ Also see Rice, ‘Call and Response’.

²⁸ In particular, two scholars have proposed a fluid concept of identity and music, similar to that of Hall and du Gay. See Frith, ‘Music and Identity’; and Stokes, ‘Introduction’.

fixed/essentialised notion of identity. In this way, music is often used by institutions to externalise a communal sense of identity. He also refers to a more fluid and plural understanding of identity; a conception of identity that is neither static nor essentialised. In this sense, subjects may possess various identities. Music can be a vehicle through which these identities are constructed as lived experience. Rice concludes by examining what music contributes to identity. Here, he outlines four key elements (Rice 2007: 34–36). First, music can give symbolic shape to an existing or perhaps essentialised concept of identity, best exemplified in the context of nationalism (see below). Second, music gives people the opportunity to share identity, to see each other in action. Third, music gives identity its ‘*feel* or affective quality’ (ibid. 2007: 35). Finally, music may also give power to subaltern or minority identities (such as *gitanos* in flamenco). These four perspectives are useful when considering the relationship between music and place identification. Music can be used to bring a place into being in the minds of its citizens, a process suitably demonstrated in the national context.

In ethnomusicology, perhaps the most exemplary work on music and nationalism is Philip Bohlman’s study of European musical nationalism. In *The Music of European Nationalism*, Bohlman (2004) identifies two types of musical nationalism: ‘national’ music and ‘nationalist’ music. ‘National’ music can be understood as music that creates a sense of belonging to the nation. For those people that identify with the nation, ‘national’ music is a way of directly experiencing national identity. In Bohlman’s own words: ‘Music, through its power of unisonality, will render meaningful the representation of national identity that forms when the nation’s past is recast as its present’ (Bohlman 2004: 78). Here, Bohlman invokes Anderson’s (1983) term ‘unisonality’, referring to the ways in which people experience a sense of ‘togetherness’ (and thus a shared national consciousness), through national cultural practices and traditions such as national anthems. For Bohlman, folk music in particular

invokes a pure, unchanging national past that is reconstructed in the present. During the nineteenth century, folk music was used to engender the ‘imagined community’; a sonic representation of national identity.

Music can also become ‘nationalist’, where it is appropriated for overtly political purposes. In this way, music can be used to ‘mobilise’ a citizenry, aligning the political concept of the state with the cultural concept of the nation. The state may control musical production through various means such as conservatories, universities and the media in order to demarcate musically a nation’s boundaries. During the nineteenth century, folk music was used in an almost geopolitical sense to represent the purity of the nation and to validate a state’s territorial boundaries. Furthermore, during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, folk music was appropriated by mostly middle-class art music composers. They situated it as ‘pure’ and ‘natural’ national folk song in the art music domain. By combining the folk with the art, such composers represented the musical prowess and national character of a nation state in European culture. These nationalist composers became recognised as national musical heroes (whether they had intended to or not).²⁹ Beyond the realm of folk and art music, the nation can also be realised musically in a number of other overtly ‘nationalist’ ways. The national anthem is the most obvious example and provides a suitable way of mobilising the nation especially within specific contexts (such as warfare and international sports competitions). In addition, Bohlman (2004) argues that military music is another way of mobilising the nation and of inculcating national identity.

Bohlman’s differentiation between ‘national’ and ‘nationalist’ music echoes the constructivist and essentialist conceptions of identity discussed above. ‘National’ music demonstrates how music is used to construct and to experience national identity from the bottom up. In this respect, the musicologist Göran Folkestad argues that music is a way of

²⁹ For example see Zdzisław, ‘National Anthems’.

internalising national identity, a process of ‘inside looking in’ (Folkestad 2002: 156). ‘Nationalist’ music on the other hand, is a form of nation building from the top down, externalising national identity through musical appropriation. Folkestad calls this ‘outside looking in’ (ibid. 2002: 156). However, two questions arise that need to be highlighted. First, to what extent does the citizenry of a nation state identify with national musics? Second, what type of music is used to represent the nation state?

The first question has received limited attention, most studies focusing on the top-down use of music in a nationalist context. However, the way in which musical nationalism is received by citizens is important to consider. The Spanish national anthem is a pertinent example. The anthem remains without lyrics due to the association of its original lyrics with fascism during the Franco regime. Recent attempts to rewrite lyrics for the anthem were received negatively, particularly in regions such as Catalonia which is officially recognised as a ‘nationality’ and where there is a strong sense of regional nationalism. However, where regionalism is strong in Spain, regional anthems have their own lyrics. The second question is important for the context of this study. Very often, the ‘official’ musical nationalism of a nation state will draw upon elements from the peripheries such as ethnic styles or regional styles (see Dawe 2007). This is particularly evident in the Spanish context, where flamenco was used during the Franco regime as an icon of a centralised Spanish culture. Where centre-periphery relations are problematic or where peripheries have more autonomy, the appropriation of music can create tensions. Regions may seek to ‘re-territorialise’ their musical traditions (Levin 1993).³⁰ In Andalusia, the regional government has sought to re-territorialise flamenco as a symbol of regional identity. The music scholars Ian Biddle and Vanessa Knights touch upon this issue. They argue: ‘This process of Andalusianization is modelled on those *very same* nationalist discourses which founded national ideologies in the

³⁰ In his article, Theodore Levin explores the ways in which institutions in Uzbekistan have re-territorialized musical culture after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Although this is in a national context, the same model can be applied to a regional context.

first place' (Biddle and Knights 2007: 12). Here, it is necessary to examine music in a regional context, to explore how music can be used for regional identification and how it can take on nationalist proportions within a region.

Regionalism in Music

As discussed above, the region has multiple meanings and can refer to a wide array of spatial contexts. This overview, however, focuses on sub-national regions that may or may not have autonomy within a nation state. The majority of the literature concerning regionalism and music examines regions outside of Europe, most notably in South America and India. While these areas possess quite different regional systems to those found in Europe, it is useful to survey this literature to draw out the key features of the relationship between music and regionalism. Studies tend to be influenced by theoretical models concerning nationalism. Nonetheless, a number of themes have emerged that correspond with my theoretical discussion regarding geography, identity and regionalisation/regionalism. I will examine critically these themes, before moving on to develop my own theoretical framework.

One theme is the institutional use of music in regional contexts. In an article by the cultural geographer Ray Hudson (2006), music is viewed as a tool in the cultural and economic regeneration of regions. By exploring various geographical contexts (including Cape Breton and the United Kingdom), he examines how music is used to invoke a sense of place and identity.³¹ In regions where there has been significant deindustrialisation, Hudson argues that music may be used to instigate economic development through tourism and through the development of culture industries. However, the process of musical institutionalisation may take on nationalist characteristics in a regional context. Accordingly,

³¹ In the Greek context, Dawe also examines the ways in which national institutions have drawn upon regional and peripheral genres (that is, in Greek regions that border the Balkans) in the consolidation of a national musical heritage. In a nod towards the centre-periphery model, Dawe argues: 'The musical periphery is kept at the centre of the musical life of many Greeks'. This shares many similarities with the Spanish context and flamenco. See Dawe, 'Regional Voices in a National Soundscape', p. 176.

music may be associated with fixed or essentialised conceptions of identity. This may be particularly apparent in regions that have gained autonomy and even independence.³²

Other scholars have focused on the use of music in reinforcing regional identity at the level of felt experience. Put simply, music becomes an important tool in creating the regional ‘imagined community’. However, some research has shown that regional musics may come to represent the national (both within and outside of the nation). As discussed above, this is most certainly true of flamenco where it has been used to construct an ‘official’ reading of Spanish national identity. In other research, the ethnomusicologist Maria Elizabeth Lucas (2000) shows how *Guacho* regionalism in the southern region of Brazil functions on two levels. On the one hand, music is used to carve out a distinct regional identity amongst the rural peoples of Brazil’s pastoral southern region. On the other hand, a ‘nationalisation of the regional’ has occurred (Lucas 2000: 44). Here, *Gaúcho* music has become emblematic of an idealised, folk ‘hero’ pertinent to Brazilian national identity on a larger scale.

Scholars have also explored the role music plays in challenging dominant nationalist discourses, particularly in nation states where national identity is strong and/or institutionalised. In the Cuban context, Rebecca Bodenheimer (2009) shows how musical regionalism goes against the nationalist discourses of unity and socialist egalitarianism. She argues: ‘Expressions of regionalist sentiment further contest the notion of a unified nation proclaimed by all Cuban governments during the twentieth century, but particularly the Castro regime’ (Bodenheimer 2009: 233). She explores how music (through a textual analysis of song lyrics) reflects regional/provincial loyalties, thus informing deeper tensions regarding what it means to be Cuban. In a similar vein, the ethnomusicologist Ron Emoff (2008) examines how music is used to connect to and to disconnect from France in Marie-Galante, an island that belongs to Guadeloupe (an administrative division of France). For Emoff,

³² For example, the role of music in demarcating Irish national identity following independence has received much attention. See Kearney, ‘Crossing the River’; McLaughlin and McLoone, ‘Hybridity and National Musics’; and O’Connell, ‘Major Minorities’.

music plays an integral role in constructing notions of place in a ‘non-nation’ such as Marie-Galante.

In some contexts, regionalism can be seen as a regressive force. Here, musicians may frame their practices in national terms, even if regional variations in style do exist. In his doctoral thesis, Jeffrey Michael Grimes (2008) explores this very issue in the context of North Indian classical music. He argues that in Hindustani music research, scholars often bypass region and regionalism, instead focusing (in his view) on Marxist approaches to such issues as patronage. He states that for many musicians and fans, there is a widely-held belief that Hindustani music is ‘primarily a national tradition with consistency, continuity, and coherence that cuts across regional or state boundaries’ (Grimes 2008: 37). Grimes believes that many musicians are informed by a central stylistic region (which he locates in the Ganges) and that they often reject regional styles. This is due to the nationalisation (and globalisation) of the tradition, which has standardised performance practices. Moreover, this nationalisation has engendered a negative image of regionalism in Indian society. He argues, however, that regional variations in style do exist even if musicians themselves conceptualise their musical practice according to individual or national terms. Grimes argues that ethnomusicological research is particularly useful for uncovering subtle variations in style (through musical practice) that reveal deeper social meanings. I found this approach particularly useful when trying to unravel the distinction between a local and a regional reading of guitar style in my research.

Some scholars have invoked political geography when considering music and regionalism. Also in the Indian context, Fiol (2012) explores the role of popular music in articulating regionalist sentiment in Uttarakhand, a regional state in the Indian Himalayas.³³ Contrary to Grimes, he believes that regionalism has become a politically and an

³³ Autonomous regions (that is, those territories that have their own governments) in the Federal State of India are referred to as ‘regional states’ in Fiol’s article.

economically advantageous policy across much of Asia, including India. He argues that federalism in India has been used to balance regionalist and nationalist interests. Like me, Fiol refers to the wider body of literature (including political geography) regarding region and regionalism in order to frame his analysis. His work primarily addresses regionalism rather than regionalisation. He states: ‘Although one aspect of regionalism has to do with the organization of the political machinery of the state to ensure administrative expediency, it is more fundamentally a process of delineating and maintaining social boundaries between in-groups and out-groups through a repertoire of shared practices and sentiments’ (Fiol 2012: 450). While Fiol does briefly address the institutional development of music, his primary concern is the affective role of music in constructing regional identity. In particular, he explores how popular music played a part in forging regionalist sentiment during a period of regional state elections.

I aim to provide a more balanced understanding of the relationship between regionalism and regionalisation, particularly by invoking Schrijver’s argument. Indeed, I contend that one of the shortcomings of the research concerning music and regionalism (apart perhaps from Fiol’s work) is the lack of theorisation concerning the terms region and regionalism. I feel that political geography is a useful point of departure for my research, as the discipline has played an integral role in formulating a range of theoretical tools regarding the region. Often music researchers treat regionalism as a fixed concept or conflate the local/provincial with the regional. Moreover, researchers sometimes fall back upon models of nationalism. While sharing many similarities, these models may not necessarily apply to the regional context. Finally, much research that examines music and regionalism has focused on non-European contexts. When considering place-based identities in Europe, the nation state has arguably retained its dominance as the primary spatial unit of analysis. I contend that the

region and regionalism deserve more attention when considering musical traditions in Europe.

The Theoretical Framework

Regionalism after Regionalisation and Music

Throughout this chapter, I have argued for the application of political geography when considering the relationship between music and regionalism. While I have sketched some of the theoretical models relevant to this relationship, I have yet to state exactly how I intend to invoke them in my own research. I argue that the work of Schrijver, Paasi and Terlouw can be applied to the institutional development of music in sub-national regions. In the regionalisation process, music may feature at the political and/or legal level to foster regionalism. In a sense, then, one can speak of the regionalisation of music itself. Music may be used to represent a ‘thick’ regional identity (that is, an identity that creates a sense of belonging) and a ‘thin’ regional identity (that is, an identity that contributes to economic development and international relations). In Andalusia, I argue that the regionalisation of flamenco is visible at an institutional level. As I show in Chapter Five,³⁴ the inclusion of flamenco in the revised Statute of Autonomy (2007) is part of a wider effort to consolidate regional identity in the twenty-first century in Andalusia. Moreover, legal instruments (such as heritage policies) may be used in some contexts to safeguard musical traditions belonging to a region, as is the case in Andalusia.

As part of the on-going process of regionalisation, institutions can also be created to develop musical traditions that belong to the region. In 2005, the Andalusian Government used its autonomous powers to create the Agencia Andaluza para el Desarrollo del Flamenco (Eng: Andalusian Agency for the Development of Flamenco, henceforth referred to as the

³⁴ Chapter Five develops this theoretical framework in much more depth, specifically in relation to the regionalisation of flamenco.

AADF),³⁵ an agency designed specifically for the development of flamenco within and outside of Andalusia. This element of the regionalisation process appears to fit with Paasi's notion of institutional shaping. Music may also play a bigger role in existing regional institutions such as cultural departments, educational departments and tourism departments. Certain musical traditions may also be upheld by institutions to consolidate, to validate and to 'establish' (according to Paasi) regions and regional identities. Often, however, institutions develop a specific and a sometimes homogenised reading of a musical tradition. Institutions may also determine the boundaries of a musical tradition, reflecting Paasi's notion of 'territorial' shaping in the musical domain. In the Andalusian context, the standardisation or 'regionalisation' of flamenco style may engender negative responses, particularly where flamenco reflects alternative place-based identities.

In my framework, regionalism is used in much the same way as the research examined above. In the context of music, I view it as the process through which the citizens of a region use music in their own self-identification. Put simply, music underlines the creation of an 'imagined community' at a regional level. In accordance with the literature concerning identity formation, music can be used to construct a place as lived experience. In other words, for some, experiencing flamenco is experiencing Andalusian-ness. Place and identity are invoked at the level of felt experience through an engagement with the flamenco tradition (either as producers or as consumers). However, I am more interested in problematising the often-fixed correlation of flamenco with regional identity. In Schrijver's terms, regionalism after regionalisation may not always be successful or unified (at least in a musical context). I argue that ethnographic research through music helps to reveal alternative readings of regionalism.

³⁵ This later became the Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco (Eng: Andalusian Institute of Flamenco, henceforth referred to as the IAF).

While I acknowledge that flamenco plays an important role in Andalusian regionalism and the affirmation of regional identity at the level of felt experience, this is not central to my research. Rather, in problematising the regionalisation of flamenco, I reveal a contested and a fragmented reading of regionalism in a number of ways. First, I show that regionalism may not always align with the regionalisation process. I consider the PAO as a good example of a sub-regionalist movement that directly contests Andalusian autonomy and identity. Here, flamenco is constructed as both the Andalusian ‘other’ and conversely as a symbol of an ‘east-Andalusian’ regionalism (see Chapter Six). Second, even when flamenco and Andalusian regionalism are aligned, institutional efforts may be viewed as ‘too’ regionalist or institutions may be accused of marginalising the contributions of artists from certain localities in Andalusia. Accordingly, I argue that the centre-periphery model is useful in understanding supposed marginalisation in the development of flamenco at a regional level (see Chapters Six and Seven). Finally, musical localism has emerged as an integral element of regionalism. While some conflate the local and the regional, I argue that they are different phenomena. I show that musical localism in Granada (through musical context, musical discourse and musical style) may serve both to consolidate and to oppose the concept of a unified regional identity (see Chapters Eight and Nine).

However, there are greater forces at work here. Regionalism and regionalisation are also influenced by supra-national policies. As discussed above, the EU views sub-national regional development as a key component of supra-national politics. In turn, regional governments may seek to consolidate a ‘thin’ regional identity by strengthening the presence of a region at the European level and by developing the commercial competitiveness of a region. Beyond the level of the EU, regions may also be affected by international declarations and policies. In the context of music, the recent increase in the importance of international heritage policy (such as the safeguarding policies of UNESCO) may have an impact on the

regional development of musical traditions. In the flamenco context, this is pertinent. In 2010, flamenco was recognised as an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (henceforth referred to as ICH) by UNESCO. Although the declaration formally recognises flamenco as a Spanish tradition, it will still have a significant effect on the development of flamenco at the regional level. Indeed, the impacts of the UNESCO declaration will serve to justify and to advance the regionalisation of flamenco. As an example of musical regionalisation, then, I will now provide an overview of ICH and music.

Intangible Cultural Heritage and Music

In recent years, the topics of heritage and safeguarding have become more prominent in ethnomusicology. In part, this is related to a resurgence in calls to ‘protect and promote’ endangered musical cultures that characterised earlier ethnomusicology (Grant 2012: 31). Applied ethnomusicology has emerged as a sub-discipline where scholars seek to counteract the large ‘socio-economic, political and technological shifts of recent decades’ that may threaten musical diversity (ibid. 2012: 32). As such, many advocates of applied ethnomusicology ‘argue that the goal of ethnomusicological research not only can but *must* be to make a difference in the lives of its subjects’ (ibid. 2012: 41). This imperative has also been influenced by the consolidation of UNESCO’s international heritage policies. In 2003, UNESCO approved the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (henceforth referred to as the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention or ICHC). The Convention was first put into force in 2006 and consisted of two lists, namely the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding. The ICHC and the earlier Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (1997, henceforth referred to

as the Masterpieces Proclamation) have now recognised a plethora of ICHs worldwide, many of which are music and/or dance traditions.³⁶

Numerous debates surround the ICHC, some of which are directly applicable to the flamenco context. The cultural anthropologist Richard Kurin (2004) gives a succinct overview of these debates. A central issue in the discourse concerning ICH is its definition and its recognition. According to Article 2 of the ICHC, ICH is defined as: ‘The practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage’ (UNESCO 2003: 4). As Kurin argues, however, this definition is ambiguous and can encompass many practices. He states: ‘Recognizing intangible cultural heritage in terms of the Convention is not that obvious and is sometimes befuddling’ (Kurin 2004: 69). In the flamenco context, definitions are particularly problematic given that any one flamenco genre (or even a single *palo*) could be recognised as an ICH. I suggest that flamenco is too large a tradition for a single declaration. Many genres within flamenco are struggling to find their voice and, as appears to be the case with the *zambra gitana* in Granada, they may disappear altogether.

In ethnomusicology, there is a growing body of literature concerning the impact of the UNESCO Convention and other national heritage policies on threatened musical traditions (Grant 2012; Howard 2012a; Seeger 2009). Keith Howard’s (2012a) edited volume *Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage* is a pertinent example of the literature regarding heritage policy from both a national and an international perspective.³⁷ The book examines the ways in which heritage policies have functioned in four East Asian states (China, Japan, Korea and

³⁶ For a concise overview of UNESCO’s history and the development of the ICHC see Aikawa, ‘An Historical Overview’; Kurin, ‘Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage’; and Smith and Akagawa (eds), *Intangible Heritage*. In terms of music see Grant, ‘Rethinking Safeguarding’; Howard (ed.), *Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage*; and Seeger, ‘Lessons Learned from the ICTM’.

³⁷ The volume emerged from a symposium in Sydney in 2010, as well as from Howard’s own involvement in heritage policy through his service on the Korean National Committee for UNESCO and ICTM.

Taiwan) considering safeguarding efforts in a region that has a long history of heritage policy. Howard argues that heritage policy (at least in East Asia) is often dominated by top-down intervention (Howard 2012b). However, the ICHC stipulates that community involvement in safeguarding efforts is part of the criteria for nomination as an ICH (UNESCO 2003: 7).³⁸ As Anthony Seeger (2009) shows, states must demonstrate (with provable evidence) that communities both support and are involved in action plans for safeguarding.

Seeger's chapter is particularly important for understanding how UNESCO heritage policy functions and the roles and the requirements of states. It is also useful for understanding issues arising from the nominations of ICHs. Seeger examines the role of the International Council for Traditional Music (henceforth referred to as the ICTM) in the anonymous evaluation of nominations for UNESCO's former Masterpieces Proclamation.³⁹ While the ICHC is an updated convention that supersedes the Masterpieces Proclamation, many of Seeger's conclusions still apply. In his chapter, Seeger discloses eleven lessons learned from an analysis of the ICTM's evaluations of nominations (Seeger 2009: 121–24). One important lesson is that many nominations were guided by nationalist ideologies. He argues: 'Dominant groups within a nation often nominated their own traditions, not those of minority groups within their nations' (ibid. 2009: 121). In the face of westernisation, modernisation and the decline in cultural diversity, Howard (2012b) also argues that many states use heritage preservation as a way of advancing identity politics. He states: 'Efforts to preserve can be considered [...] as a nostalgic appeal to hang on to the way things were, or as a regionalist or nationalist effort to retain a local, regional or state identity against outside infiltration' (Howard 2012b: 7–8). I contend that regionalisation is also an integral factor in the implementation of heritage policies. While the nomination of flamenco as an ICH was put

³⁸ In particular see Article 15 of the Convention.

³⁹ Seeger served as Secretary-General of the ICTM during the nomination years 2001–2005 and supervised the evaluation of around 90 nominations for the Masterpieces Proclamation.

forward by Spain as a nation state, the impact of the declaration will be felt most keenly at a regional level.

In Howard's volume, the ethnomusicologist Matt Gillan (2012) addresses a similar issue in the Japanese context. He considers how the Japanese Protection of Cultural Properties Law (created in 1950 and a key influence on UNESCO's own policies) has played out in a regional context – the island of Okinawa. As such, he considers 'a region-led approach to cultural heritage within the framework of national law' (Gillan 2012: 213). Here, analogies can be drawn with Spain's own heritage law, Patrimonio Histórico Español (Eng: Spanish Historical Heritage). According to law, each autonomous region in Spain can identify ICHs for recognition as Bien de Interés Cultural (Eng: Heritage of Cultural Interest, henceforth referred to as BIC).⁴⁰ Gillan argues that this top-down heritage law has served both to consolidate Okinawa's 'belonging' to the Japanese nation state and to demarcate regional identity vis-à-vis national identity. According to Gillan, Japanese heritage policy was used to maintain cultural links between Japan and Okinawa during Okinawa's political separation from Japan due to American occupancy following the Second World War (1945–72). However, the heritage law was also used to demarcate regional identity particularly through the recognition of the *sanshin* (a regional instrument), following Okinawa's 'return' to Japan.

While Gillan's research shares similarities with my own, he is only concerned with national policy. To the best of my knowledge, there has been no scholarship to date addressing the influence of the Masterpieces Proclamation or the ICHC on regional cultural policy and music (at least not in the European context). Literature regarding the impacts of these policies on local musical communities in Europe is also scant. While the impact of flamenco's recognition as an ICH by UNESCO is not my primary concern, it has had a

⁴⁰ Bien actually translates as property. However, in the context of this study it makes more sense to use the term heritage. This is especially so given that BICs can be both tangible and intangible heritages. The issue of heritage policy in the Spanish (and by extension Andalusian) context will be discussed in Chapter Five.

profound effect upon the regionalisation of flamenco. I argue that the declaration strengthens the development of flamenco by the Andalusian Government. Therefore, by examining the UNESCO declaration through the prism of regionalisation and regionalism, I contribute to the current ethnomusicological literature concerning ICH.⁴¹

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have outlined the theoretical perspectives that underline this thesis. Some ethnomusicologists are beginning to draw upon geographical paradigms to inform their examination of the relationship between music and place. Similarly, geographers have been examining music for many years. However, in the majority of this research a political geography of music is missing. I argue that political geography is useful when considering the relationship between music and regionalism. In particular, I have invoked Schrijver's paradigm of regionalism after regionalisation (along with work by Paasi and Terlouw), demonstrating its relevance to music and most specifically to flamenco. On the one hand, music may be intimately linked to the regionalisation process where music becomes symbolic of a particular vision of regional identity. On the other hand, different readings of regionalism may emerge through music that may or may not align with the regionalisation process. Here, I have raised certain limitations with Schrijver's paradigm when it is applied to music. I argue that ethnographic research through music reveals the ways in which the regionalisation process is received at the level of felt experience.

At times, the regionalisation process may be received negatively. Here, political geography has also proved useful when exploring the ways in which 'official' representations of regional identity are negotiated and disputed. In particular, I have invoked the centre-periphery model when examining notions of marginalisation and identity in a region such as

⁴¹ In part, my research responds to Seeger's call for more follow-up studies concerning how UNESCO nominations for ICH have been fulfilled by national and/or regional institutions. See Seeger, 'Lessons Learned from the ICTM', p.125.

Andalusia. Finally, I have argued that regionalisation and regionalism are not insular processes; they may be influenced by exterior forces. Here, I argue that international declarations can affect the development of musical heritage within a region. In particular, I have focused on the UNESCO declaration as a pertinent case study, arguing that the declaration of flamenco as an ICH will dramatically influence its regionalisation in Andalusia. I contend that ethnographic research in Spain has enabled me to reveal certain inequalities in and issues with the regionalisation of flamenco. Through this research, I have been able to uncover fragmented readings of regionalism through flamenco. In the next chapter, I describe the methodological approach that has informed this ethnographic research both online and in fieldwork.

Chapter Three: Methodology

In this chapter, I present an overview of the methodological framework that informs this thesis. Ethnomusicology is normally characterised by an extended period of field research in a particular location. While I did conduct fieldwork in Granada, I also expanded my methodology to include a lengthy period of virtual ethnography that informs some of my findings. The notion of what constitutes field research and the field itself has changed in ethnomusicology. In their introduction to *Shadows in the Field*, Timothy Cooley and Gregory Barz comment upon the ways in which researchers now ‘reinvent’ the field to suit their needs (Cooley and Barz 2008: 12). As such, a new type of fieldwork has emerged where the field is no longer a fixed site. As Timothy Rice argues: ‘The field is the metaphorical creation of the researcher’ (Rice 2008: 48). The Internet, then, is a viable context for ethnographic research. Accordingly, my ethnographic data is derived from both ‘traditional’ field research and virtual ethnography. In the words of Christine Hine (a sociologist who specialises in virtual ethnography), I have conducted a ‘multi-sited’ ethnography (Hine 2008). In this chapter, I discuss my research methodology in terms of my virtual ethnography and my ethnographic fieldwork in Granada. Drawing upon pertinent scholarship in the social sciences, I examine current debates regarding traditional versus virtual ethnographic methods, amongst other issues. This theoretical discussion provides a backdrop for an overview of my research with the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental (henceforth referred to as the PAO) and my research conducted in Granada (during 2010 and 2012).

Virtual Ethnography: In Theory

In traditional ethnographic research, the researcher aims ‘to make explicit the taken-for-granted and often tacit ways in which people make sense of their lives’ (Hine 2000: 5). As a departure from traditional ethnography, many ethnographers and social scientists have

viewed the Internet as the ‘new frontier of our times’ (Costigan 1999: xxiii). They have considered whether online settings are viable sites for immersive, ethnographic research. Can virtual ethnography allow the same level of socio-cultural immersion that characterises traditional ethnography? This question has intrigued researchers since the 1990s. Scholars have argued that the Internet is a viable setting in which rich and immersive ethnographic research can take place. Many social scientists and ethnographers have translated traditional ethnographic methodologies to online contexts (Fielding et al. 2008: 13). In particular, Hine’s work has been pivotal both for the development of an online methodology and for the acceptance of virtual ethnography in the scholarly domain (Hine 2000, 2008). Hine argues that online communities are important contexts for social interactions. In terms of online research, she believes that Internet-based ethnography can be understood as ‘ethnography *in, of and through* the virtual’ (Hine 2000: 65). The Internet can be a field site in its own right (in), an ethnographic object of study itself (of) and a vehicle through which wider socio-cultural issues are addressed (through). In this thesis, virtual ethnography ‘in’ the Internet becomes a way ‘through’ which I examine responses to the regionalisation of flamenco by members of the PAO.

The Geography of Ethnography: Online Communities

For the Internet to be a suitable site for ethnographic research, a case needs to be made for its ability to create and to sustain social communities. A common criticism of virtual ethnography is that the Internet cannot provide contexts that are similar to ‘real-life’ communities. The question remains: how can the Internet, as such a global medium, be a site for the traditionally ‘bounded physical locations’ suitable for ethnographic research? (Hine 2000: 58). The Internet is characterised by endless global flows of information and dislocated geographies. However, it does have the ability to create ‘social ties’ where users interact and

form relationships in ways similar to their offline social lives (Sade-Beck 2004: 46). As René Lysloff (2003) shows in his study of online musical communities, even if online social networks are spread across geographical and social spaces, they may still constitute communities. His work demonstrates that these communities share similar social structures to ‘real-life’ communities, even if their location is dislocated. In his own words: ‘It is the *context* of online communities that might be virtual (or electronic, or cyber, or whatever), not the sets of social relationships such collectivities engender’ (Lysloff 2003: 257). Lysloff argues that online communities possess insider/outsider distinctions, social hierarchies, tacit conventions and rules of play; all characteristics of ‘real-life’ communities (ibid. 2003: 256–57). In some online contexts, the Internet may actually be a site in which local geographies and identities are articulated. The forums on the PAO’s website provide a context through which members can articulate their identity as East Andalusians, thus contesting cultural homogenisation in Andalusia.

Lysloff believes that Internet communities can articulate ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson 1983) just as readily as ‘real’ communities (Lysloff 2003: 244). In fact, the distinction between online and offline social interactions may be unfounded. Hine believes that a distinction between ‘real’ and ‘virtual’ ethnographies may not even be necessary. She contends that online communities may be closely intertwined with everyday contexts and identities (Hine 2008). In fact, some ethnographers combine online and offline methodologies (sometimes even with the same informants) in order to add depth to their ethnographic analysis.¹ Nonetheless, even if the Internet is to be accepted as a site for social interaction akin to ‘real-life’ communities, there are still a number of issues that need to be addressed when utilising online methodologies vis-à-vis traditional methodologies.

¹ For a discussion of this methodological process see Sade-Beck, ‘Internet Ethnography’.

Traditional Ethnography versus Virtual Ethnography

One of the key issues regarding virtual ethnography is the ‘authenticity’ of a researcher’s ethnographic experience. Traditional ethnography is normally associated with travel to a particular location and a lengthy period of immersion within a particular socio-cultural environment. In this way, the ethnographer is able to engage with his/her research informants through methods such as face-to-face interaction, participation-observation and linguistic development. Critics of virtual ethnography question how online contexts can provide ethnographers with such rich research material. Pro-virtual ethnographers argue, however, that online settings do provide a suitable site for immersive ethnographic research (Hine 2000, 2008; Lysloff 2003; Sade-Beck 2004). Hine argues: ‘Visiting the Internet focuses on experiential rather than physical displacement’ (Hine 2000: 45). This argument is developed further by Lysloff (2003). He shows that virtual ethnography can involve lengthy periods of time immersed in a research context. Here, researchers may utilise typical ethnographic methods such as observation (that is, of forum/chat room discussions), conversations, interviewing, questionnaires and ‘field notes’ (Lysloff 2003: 234).² They may also be required to learn technical processes (pertaining to the Internet context) and to develop linguistic skills. Despite the similarities between traditional and virtual ethnography, there are two fundamental differences that need to be taken into consideration: time-lapse and the textual nature of virtual ethnography.

With regards to time-lapse, virtual ethnography takes place according to different temporal conditions than traditional ethnography. An ethnographer is normally accustomed to ‘real-time’ events taking place within the research context. However, this is not always the case in virtual ethnography. Instead, ethnographers participate in both asynchronous research

² In terms of online field notes, it is important to recognise that virtual ethnographers will produce field notes in much the same way as ‘real’ ethnographers. In some instances, these field notes may even become public through blogs and thus accessible to the research subjects, adding to the reflexivity of the research. See Gasier, ‘Online Focus Groups’.

and synchronous research. In asynchronous research, the researcher may be involved in forums or message-boards where ethnographic material occurs and is gathered over a long period of time. Ethnographers can even engage with these events after they have happened. As Hine states: '[The] ethnographer and participants no longer need to share the same time frame' (Hine 2000: 23). Ethnographers can immerse themselves in past material (such as forum 'threads' or messages) as a part of the ethnographic process, which informs the questions they ask. In terms of synchronous research (that is, instant research 'events'), interviews and participatory research similar to traditional ethnography do also occur on the Internet. This includes instant-messaging, social networking sites such as Facebook, chat rooms and even face-to-face interactions through video conferencing programmes such as Skype.

The second fundamental difference between virtual ethnography and traditional ethnography is the textual basis of Internet research. Rather than engaging in face-to-face interactions with research informants, the ethnographer must interact with texts (as the voice of the informants). The virtual ethnographer's reliance on text is often seen as one of the downfalls of online methodologies, because the subtleties of face-to-face social interaction (such as facial expression and gesture) are lost. There are a couple of key counter-arguments here. First, with current technological advancements visual interactions are possible through tools such as Skype. Moreover, in an ethnomusicological context the ease with which media such as video and audio can be shared via the Internet, means textual forms of communication are supplemented with other materials. Second, even if text still forms the basis of much virtual ethnography, Internet users worldwide have formulated a vast vocabulary of textual 'gestures' that are intended to replace visual gestures. As such, Internet-based textual interactions can take on some of the visual gestures that make 'real' ethnographies so rich. I do not argue that Internet-based interactions can replace the richness

of face-to-face interactions. Rather, I contend that the text-based nature of virtual ethnography should not be seen as a downfall, but a difference. Deeper levels of meaning can be ascribed to textual interactions. In fact, it is possible that informants express themselves more 'openly' through text than they might in a face-to-face situation.

Like in traditional ethnography, virtual research also involves participant-observation. Indeed, the distinction between participation and observation in an online setting may be more apparent than in traditional ethnography. In an Internet context, the researcher can 'lurk' in the background and observe the interactions of informants without them ever knowing (Cavanagh 1999). However, this does raise certain methodological issues such as how and when the researcher should announce his/her presence. 'Lurking' is similar to observation in the 'real' ethnographic setting, only that the researcher is far more concealed online. As such, this form of 'covert' ethnography carries with it certain ethical implications (discussed below). The virtual ethnographer also needs to participate in the online interactions that make up the virtual social life of his/her informants. In a similar way to 'real' ethnography, researchers must become aware of the virtual environment and how to operate within that environment (both technically, in terms of the use of interactive tools, and socially, in terms of online etiquette and social conventions). This necessitates a certain level of reflexivity as researchers get to grips with Internet participation. Ethnographers need to examine critically their own practice and their role as researchers in the online setting.

A criticism of virtual ethnography is that the 'authenticity' of research informants cannot be validated in online settings, both in terms of their identity and the trustworthiness of their information. People who use online social media may engage in 'identity-play' where they alter their online identity according to the context and the members present. Therefore, the researcher can never be entirely sure of the identity of his/her informants. The fluidity of the Internet-'self' may impede research findings (Cavanagh 1999). Furthermore, online

information may be less accurate as people are able to spend more time formulating their answers as a way of deceiving the researcher. (This of course works the other way and may actually provide an opportunity for informants to present more accurate information.)

Nonetheless, as Hine (2008) argues issues of trust and identity are just as problematic in the 'real' ethnographic environment; informants are just as likely to deceive the researcher. The issue of trust also applies to the researcher because, just like in traditional ethnography, informants need to feel comfortable with the researcher and his/her objectives.

The role of the Internet in identity formation also brings with it certain benefits for the researcher. Internet communities can be sites through which the self and self-identification are constructed and affirmed, as is the case with the PAO. The ethnographer Liav Sade-Beck argues that the Internet can be a site that 'enables users to freely express emotions and reach a high level of self-disclosure' (Sade-Beck 2004: 46). The ethnographer Robert Jones underscores this argument by stating: 'Much of the sense of liberation experienced by subjects in electronic communities is derived from the experience of revealing both less and more of themselves, and being able to control – to an extent that is itself frequently illusory – what and how much is revealed and/or held back' (Jones 1994: 33). Therefore, while Internet users may engage in 'identity-play' as a way of concealing the self or deceiving the researcher, they may also use the Internet as a medium through which they can affirm self-identity and thus give a 'truer' representation of the self.

The Ethics of Virtual Ethnography

Another issue in virtual ethnography is the application of traditional research ethics to online settings. The Internet ethnographers Rebecca Eynon et al. (2008) argue that there has been a general convergence of opinion that online research ethics are compatible with traditional research ethics. Ultimately, like with any research context, Internet researchers must adapt

their ethical framework according to the specifics of their virtual 'field-site' (Ess 2002). That being said, there are a couple of issues that arise when conducting virtual ethnography, which may present the researcher with ethical considerations.

Unlike in traditional field research, the virtual ethnographer has an immediate difficulty in discerning whether a virtual field-site is public or private. In a 'real' setting, this distinction is normally apparent. The researcher will follow conventional ethical assumptions that information can be recorded (in whatever medium that may be) in a public setting as long as anyone present is not identifiable (ibid. 2002). The researcher can clearly distinguish between observational research in public settings and face-to-face interaction in private contexts where informed consent is required. The distinction online is not so apparent. As the sociologist Alison Cavanagh argues: 'Can we justifiably regard online interactions on bulletin boards, mailing lists and in chat rooms as "public status" or do they constitute, as others may argue, a form of private conversation which is embedded within a public space?' (Cavanagh 1999: online). The researcher needs to acknowledge that even though forums or chat rooms are technically public spaces, for members such online spaces may 'feel' like private communities. As such, the researcher must be sensitive to this issue and adapt to the particulars of each research context (ibid. 1999).

By extension, another important ethical issue is when (or even if) researchers should announce their presence. If researchers do announce their presence, how should they negotiate informed consent? If Internet communities regard their spaces as private and if online contexts are 'real' enough for ethnography, then they are 'real' enough for people to feel that their privacy is infringed if a researcher's presence remains unknown (Hine 2000: 23). If researchers are just involved in discourse analysis through observation, then arguably they do not need to announce their presence, as is the case in traditional ethnography. I argue, however, that even here researchers should make their informants aware of their presence. If,

like in my methodology, researchers participate in online interactions (such as through forums, email and chat rooms) then they must announce their presence and obtain some sort of informed consent. For researchers to engage with online communities without announcing their role or without advising informants of the nature of the research would pose ethical issues (Hine 2008).

Virtual Ethnography in Ethnomusicology

Having outlined some of the theoretical, methodological and ethical considerations associated with virtual ethnography, I will examine how this methodology has been adopted in ethnomusicology. The literature regarding both the relevance of the Internet to ethnomusicological research and virtual ethnography as a method is limited despite a couple of recent exceptions.³ Suzel Ana Reily, for example, argues that as ethnomusicologists ‘we must reflect seriously and critically on how it [the Internet] might be used as a research tool, as a sphere for the dissemination of research findings and as an aid in the teaching and learning of ethnomusicology’ (Reily 2003: 187). Reily’s article examines the ways in which the Internet can be used to disseminate research information to informants, thus closing the gap between the researcher and the researched. This allows for the ‘democratisation’ of research findings. However, Reily does not examine virtual ethnography nor does she consider the ways in which the Internet can be used to gain important ethnographic information.

Lysloff’s article (discussed above) does examine what he calls ‘virtual ethnomusicology’ (Lysloff 2003: 234). He explores how online musical communities are established on the Internet, discussing the ways in which he conducted ethnographic research regarding these communities. His informants were electronic music composers and fans who

³ Mention must be made of the British Forum for Ethnomusicology’s recent annual conference (in conjunction with ICTM Ireland), ‘Ethnomusicology in the Digital Age’ at Queen’s University Belfast (4–7 April, 2013).

created entirely computer-based compositions called ‘Mods’. Lysloff argues that virtual ethnography in ethnomusicology is just as viable a method as traditional ethnography. In discussing his online research process vis-à-vis his traditional research in Java he states: ‘In fact, in many respects, my research tools were not all that different from those used in classical field research: participant-observation, interviews, documentation, and so forth. Moreover, this fieldwork was as time consuming and intellectually demanding as any other ethnographic project I have done’ (ibid. 2003: 234). Lysloff went through a process of ‘enculturation’, learning the musical ‘language’ and adopting linguistic capabilities peculiar to the Internet in general and his community in particular. More recent is Cooley’s et al. (2008) chapter concerning virtual fieldwork in ethnomusicology. Here, three ethnomusicologists discuss their online methodologies in three distinct cases studies. While the chapter addresses virtual ethnography in practice, it does not contextualise virtual ethnography in theory (discussed above). Despite these contributions, the place of virtual ethnography in ethnomusicology is understudied. I hope that this thesis, and the research methodologies informing my research, will add to a greater recognition of the Internet as an important ethnographic (not purely archival) research tool.

Virtual Ethnography: In Practice

Discovering the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental

In this section, I discuss my virtual ethnography with the PAO, exploring how I negotiated some of the issues associated with online methodologies. My discovery of the PAO was by way of a lucky accident. Early on in my research, I conducted a generic online search with the ‘catch-all’ phrase ‘el flamenco y la identidad regional’ (Eng: ‘flamenco and regional identity’). Near the top of the search results appeared a link to a forum called El flamenco

¿algo nuestro? (Eng: Flamenco, something of ours?).⁴ Intrigued, I followed the link to one of the PAO's many forums. This forum had been running for nearly five years, with members discussing the correlation of flamenco with identity in East Andalusia and notions of cultural homogenisation. I decided that I could contribute to the wider methodological literature by conducting a virtual ethnography of this forum. However, this small contribution to the methodological literature in ethnomusicology is not an 'end' in itself. Rather, research with the PAO has helped me to examine disputed notions of Andalusian identity through flamenco.

Once I had decided to conduct online research, a more practical reason for my choice became apparent. On the PAO's website, I had discovered what is essentially a geographically-bounded community consolidating its identity through the Internet. The PAO's website exists on a geographically-'dislocated' space (that is, the Internet). However, it helps to invoke the 'imagined community' of a geographically-'located' place (that is, East Andalusia) by providing a site in which individuals can share a collective sense of identity. The website also offers a format for the political mobilisation of a group of people who contest Andalusian autonomy. Given the small size of this movement, where else was I to uncover such a wealth of information? I realised that to find these members in the 'real' world would be difficult. By conducting research online with this group, not only could I locate my informants all in one place, but I also gained important contacts for my ethnographic research in Granada. Issues of 'identity-play' and the 'authenticity' of responses from informants were also limited given that this community had existed for some time. Moreover, some of my research questions were already addressed in the forums.

To contextualise my virtual ethnography, I will give a brief outline of the structure of the PAO's website and its forums. The main website itself is a hub of information for

⁴Available online: <<http://www.andaluciaoriental.es/foro/>> [accessed 7 January, 2013]. This is the link for the PAO's forum homepage.

members, sympathisers and those generally interested in the platform. Various opinion pieces and news items are regularly posted on the homepage. In addition, there is a wealth of permanent information available including the history of East Andalusia and east-Andalusian regionalism. There are also detailed accounts of the ideological position of the platform and the reasons for seeking autonomy for East Andalusia. The website also hosts a large selection of public forums containing ‘threads’ (that is, topics of discussion) for a number of different themes pertinent to the platform.⁵ In order to contribute to these forum discussions, one must first register as a member. Once registered, membership enables a user to post messages in any of the forums and to email privately other members.

Entering the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental

Prior to participating in the forums, distributing questionnaires and conducting online interviews, there were a number of processes I went through to prepare for the research. I created my own bi-lingual (English and Spanish) website as a hub for my online research.⁶ This was devised to provide members with more information regarding my aims and my background. The site includes biographical information, academic information, an overview of my research, links to flamenco websites, relevant videos, a contact page and a comments page. In addition, I embedded a generic questionnaire (see Appendix D) into the website that could be easily accessed and completed by respondents. All completed questionnaires came directly to my email inbox as well as being stored on a separate online account.⁷ There were limitations with the website, however. Aside from people completing the questionnaire, there was little activity on the website. I had hoped that it would provide a context for debates to

⁵ These are organised into eight categories: current regionalism, history, logical administration, economy, infrastructure, Sevillian centralisation, the aberration of *andalucismo* (Eng: Andalusian regionalism, see Chapter Four) and culture.

⁶ Available online: <www.matthewmachin.moonfruit.com> [accessed 5 May, 2013]. Moonfruit is an enterprise offering free, easy-to-use templates for websites.

⁷ For the questionnaire I used the website, <www.jotform.com> [accessed 5 May, 2013]. This website provides questionnaire templates, storage space and an instant email system for when questionnaires have been completed.

continue beyond the PAO's website. However, despite including a comments section (with the intention being to create my own forum) there was no activity. Nonetheless, it still provided information for any informant who wanted to understand my research and/or assess my validity as a researcher.

Once the website was in place and once the questionnaire was functioning, I was ready to commence my virtual ethnography. Prior to my own participation in the forums, I conducted a period of observational research where I analysed some of the forums on the website, particularly *El flamenco ¿algo nuestro?*. With reference to the methodological literature discussed above, I was, in a sense, 'lurking' in the background in order to glean information – an act that necessitates ethical reflection. I argue that my observational research was not an ethical concern as I intended to participate in the forum at a later date. Moreover, the forums on the website are entirely public. This observational period actually proved vital for a number of reasons. First, it enabled me to gain a greater understanding of the discourses surrounding flamenco in the forums and a greater background knowledge of the ideological views of members of the PAO. Second, it enabled me to identify possible informants for later interviews – namely, members that frequently posted in the forums. Third, I began to learn the 'rules of play' so to speak, including the etiquette necessary for participation in the forums.

Once I had gathered my observational data, my next stage was to contact the forum administrator to seek permission for conducting participatory research. After registering as a member, I compiled an introductory email (see Appendix E) that stipulated my research interests and the methods that I intended to use. It also included information regarding the possible use of material in publication. After a short time, I received a confirmation that I was able to conduct my research. In fact, the administrator was actually grateful for my work. I then proceeded to post a similar introductory statement in the *Flamenco ¿algo nuestro?*

forum, which seemed the most suitable place to begin the ethnography. This statement outlined my research aims and gave a link to my website with information regarding the questionnaire. There was also a statement regarding the use of research material (for this thesis and future publications) and the anonymity of the names of members.

Unravelling the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental

My research on the PAO's website was conducted in a number of ways. The large majority of my data was gained from participation in the forums. As discussed, I began my research in the Flamenco ¿algo nuestro? forum and this was where I 'spent' most of my time. However, as I began to unravel discourses in this forum I was directed by members to other forums. In particular, I had brief involvement in the forums Música popular de nuestra región (Eng: Popular Music of our Region) and El trovo se mantiene vivo (Eng: The *Trovo* is Still Alive).⁸ After my initial post in the forum, there was a flurry of activity with various people responding to my introduction. From here, I followed the debates and discussions that unfolded, interjecting with a post where necessary. The flexibility of these forums also enabled me (and other members) to post links to websites, videos or audio recordings. This, I argue, added to the richness of the data I received as it allowed me to interrogate notions of style and genre by posting relevant audiovisual material. In a sense, a type of 'playback' interview occurred over a prolonged period of time.

My participation in the forums was supplemented by email interactions and questionnaire data. In terms of the former, I had some extended email 'conversations' with certain members through my own personal email or through the email system on the PAO's website. In terms of the latter, my collection of completed questionnaires proved to be a vital source of data. I emailed every member I could find who was (or had been) active on the

⁸ The *trovo* is a form of folk music that originated in East Andalusia, specifically in Granada and Almería (see Chapter Six).

forums. In total, I contacted 163 members inviting them to complete the questionnaire. I received 35 completed questionnaires in total, a handful of which came from non-members who accidentally ‘discovered’ the forum or from friends of members of the PAO. As well as asking for demographic information (such as sex, age, ethnicity and profession),⁹ I asked a number of open-ended, qualitative-style questions to glean responses regarding the institutionalisation of flamenco and its relationship with Andalusian identity.¹⁰

In terms of my synchronous research (discussed above), I had wanted to conduct a number of online interviews through an instant messaging website. Here, one can design one’s own virtual ‘interview room’ and invite people to populate it. In this way, an online interview can take place with no possibility of other people entering and thus a completely private space is created. While I asked numerous members whether they wanted to carry out an online interview, in the end, I only managed to conduct two. I think this was partly due to issues of time as many members found it difficult to arrange a suitable moment to conduct an interview. It is also possible, given the age of many of the members, that some felt uncomfortable conducting interviews over the Internet. Nonetheless, the two interviews I was able to complete were successful and added richness to the ethnographic data gleaned from participation in the forums and the completed questionnaires.

Throughout my period of virtual ethnography on the PAO’s website, I was exposed to some of the benefits and the difficulties in conducting this type of research. In many respects, I found that my virtual ethnography was similar to traditional field research. I was involved in a similar process of introduction, observation and participation, stages that generated a wealth of data similar to traditional ethnography. In order to record my experiences, observations

⁹ I did not ask for names, so all respondents remained anonymous unless I was requested otherwise.

¹⁰ Out of the 35 responses, 31 were male and 27 were aged between 20 and 50. The majority of respondents occupied middle-class professions (such as teachers or civil servants) and there were six students who completed the questionnaire. Nearly all of the respondents came from East Andalusia with all three provinces (Almería, Granada and Jaén) being represented. A handful lived in other Andalusian or Spanish locations such as Córdoba, Madrid or Málaga even though they were still born in East Andalusia.

and thoughts, I maintained a log of forum responses as well as ‘field notes’ in much the same way as one would in a traditional field setting. The largely asynchronous nature of the research also allowed me to reflect more closely on the data I was gathering, a benefit when compared with traditional field research. For example, in the forums I was able to think more carefully about my responses, effectively interpreting the forum posts as I conducted the research. Therefore, through my own posts and field notes, my research experiences and my interpretation of these experiences often occurred at the same time (see Barz 2008). Another similarity with traditional field research was linguistic development. I was required to develop my linguistic capability quickly in order to meet the demands of the research context. On the PAO I was able to develop my level of literary Spanish. Furthermore, involvement in the forums was particularly beneficial for my field research in Granada, as it enabled me to develop the vocabulary necessary for my interviews in the field.

There were certain difficulties when conducting research on the PAO’s forums. While overall the amount of activity on the forums was high, there were occasions when I struggled to receive any responses or occasions when the participation of members in discussions was very low. This is unfortunately one of the hindrances of virtual ethnography. Despite a researcher’s best efforts, there can be a lot of ‘waiting around’ for activity to occur. Another difficulty in the research was how I constructed my forum posts. When responding to the posts of other members, I would sometimes create large posts with a number of interrelated questions rather than many individual posts with single questions. This meant that in some of the responses I received there were questions that remained unanswered. Moreover, as other posts emerged, my previous posts (and the questions they contained) were not immediately visible when viewing the forum page. This is, unfortunately, one of the vagaries of ethnography on forums and needs to be taken into consideration when conducting this kind of

research. Nonetheless, my virtual ethnography on the PAO's website was productive and generated a wealth of data, some of which informed my field research in Granada.

Field Research in Granada

Preparing for the Field

My virtual ethnography enabled me to analyse critically the relationship between flamenco and regionalism, informing my fieldwork in Granada. My interactions with members of the PAO allowed me to examine the reception of flamenco by non-musicians. The findings from this research helped me to formulate questions regarding the regionalisation of flamenco. On the forums, a number of narratives emerged such as musical centralisation in Seville, cultural hegemony and negative reactions towards the institutionalisation of flamenco. In part, these narratives influenced my research objectives in Granada. I wanted to examine how such narratives played out in a specific flamenco community. Moreover, I sought to use these narratives to interrogate the relationship between flamenco and Andalusian regionalism in a local context. My main period of field research in Granada was between the end of January and mid-May 2012. This research was preceded by a period of preparation in three areas, namely linguistic skills, contact with informants and flamenco guitar lessons.

In terms of my language skills, there were a number of measures I took to develop my competence in Spanish. I had one-to-one lessons throughout the duration of my PhD to advance my grammatical knowledge of the language and my reading/writing skills. Moreover, I supplemented these lessons with a group course in Cardiff to strengthen my conversation and comprehension skills. However, I felt that I needed to increase further my linguistic competency and confidence. Accordingly, I attended a month-long intensive language course in Granada (July 2010). Here, I lived with a Spanish 'mother' and took daily classes at a local language school. This intensive immersion in the language meant that my

linguistic ability increased rapidly to a level that I felt was sufficient for ethnographic research. In particular, I also grew more accustomed to the Andalusian dialect.¹¹ Andalusia is renowned for its very distinctive form of Castilian Spanish, which is heavily accented and often faster than the forms of speech found in other regions. This period in Granada also enabled me to experience cultural life in the city and to conduct preliminary field research. As such, I took flamenco guitar lessons and began to map the flamenco scene by attending concerts in different contexts.

My preliminary field research also took place at home. Prior to my main period of fieldwork in Granada (2012), I developed a list of contacts; people who would ultimately turn out to be my informants. Initially, this process began with members of the PAO through my online research. In Granada, I aimed to learn more about the platform's ideologies and to elicit more views regarding the relationship between flamenco and Andalusian identity. Accordingly, I gathered contact information and arranged meetings with members before travelling to Spain. This meant that I could begin my research straight away upon arrival. In doing so, I expanded my contact base within a shorter period of time. Beyond the context of the PAO, I also arranged guitar lessons with Rafael (Rafa) Hoces Ortega prior to my arrival in Granada.¹² Here, I had an immediate contact through whom I could take lessons and be introduced to more people.

In terms of my musical competence, I took regular guitar lessons with Cuffy Cuthbertson in Bristol. I felt that a sound knowledge of flamenco guitar performance would prove vital for my research in Granada. These lessons enabled me to develop a good knowledge of the musical materials of flamenco. As such, I felt I would be able to converse more easily with my informants (many of whom were knowledgeable performers,

¹¹ It is important to note that I use the notion of an Andalusian dialect as a gloss. There are, in fact, numerous differences in speech throughout the region. While one can deduce certain distinguishing linguistic features across Andalusia, each locality (even in Granada itself) often possesses different variations of the regional dialect.

¹² Rafael preferred to be called Rafa by friends, so I will refer to him by this name.

aficionados and/or educators) about intricate issues of guitar technique and style. Put simply, I hoped that a knowledge of the guitar would help me to ‘fit in’ more easily. My lessons in flamenco guitar also meant that I was able to develop the technical faculties necessary to perform at a competent level before arriving in Spain. This was particularly important as I wanted to uncover notions of a local guitar style in the flamenco community of Granada. By having a prior knowledge of guitar performance before arriving in Granada, I felt that I was ready to attempt the more difficult elements of local style without having to start from the ‘beginning’.

Flamenco Guitar Lessons in Granada

For comparative purposes, I wanted to find two guitar teachers when I arrived in Granada. This choice was guided by two criteria. First, I hoped that by choosing two well-positioned guitarists I could increase my ‘pool’ of contacts, thus opening up more ethnographic opportunities. Second, I wanted to discover concepts of local style in guitar performance. It turns out that the guitarists I chose offered two completely distinct interpretations of flamenco guitar style. My lessons with Rafa had already been organised in advance (discussed above) and commenced soon after my arrival in Granada. However, I did not select my second teacher prior to my fieldwork. This was because I wanted to find a teacher closely connected to the local community. I met my second teacher (Melchor Córdoba Santiago) at a flamenco club called the Peña la Platería (discussed below, henceforth referred to as the Platería) after seeing him perform live. Following Melchor’s astounding performance, I talked to some aficionados at the club about his style of playing. Some members of the Platería viewed Melchor as a locally-valued performer who would lead me in the direction of a local guitar style (an assumption that, in part, turned out to be true). I also

had a single lesson with Antonio Heredia, a guitarist who is still involved in the performance of the rare *zambra gitana*.¹³

Rafa and Melchor offered distinct contributions to my ethnographic research and my lessons with each artist were very different.¹⁴ Rafa has many years of teaching experience and an academic background, having completed his doctorate in flamenco studies in Seville. He is also a guitar teacher at the Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios (Eng: Professional Conservatoire of Music Ángel Barrios).¹⁵ Arguably, Rafa represents a regional understanding of the flamenco guitar. He is well connected to the wider Andalusian scene both in terms of performance and in terms of education. In our lessons, Rafa was a flexible teacher who allowed me to dictate the course of my own learning. I decided what *palos* I wanted to learn, while he focused on developing my technique and my overall knowledge. He also possessed a sound understanding of music theory and notation which helped me to appreciate what I was learning from a theoretical perspective. Moreover, our lessons often consisted of lengthy conversations concerning style and technique. These lessons were useful for broadening my general knowledge of flamenco and they helped me to understand his approach to flamenco education. However, his academic background meant that at times it was difficult to ascertain his ‘subjective’ views on certain matters. In particular, he treated flamenco as an art form suitable for rigorous and ‘scientific’ musicological study. This view sometimes conflicted with my research concerns regarding regionalism, identity and the notion of a local style.

By contrast, my lessons with Melchor revealed a range of narratives regarding local style, particularly as he learnt his trade in the Sacromonte neighbourhood of Granada. This neighbourhood is renowned for its flamenco and has produced a number of prominent

¹³ I would have liked to have had more lessons with Antonio. Unfortunately, however, I met him towards the end of my time in Granada.

¹⁴ These lessons will be explored in detail in Chapter Nine.

¹⁵ The conservatoire is named after the classical composer Ángel Barrios (1882–1964) who was born in Granada.

performers, including many guitarists. Melchor is well known in Granada for being an exponent of a particular guitar style that supposedly originated in Sacromonte. My lessons with Melchor were markedly different to those with Rafa. Because Melchor is a local guitarist with little in the way of theoretical knowledge, we focused on playing ‘his’ style of guitar rather than a generic (that is, a ‘regional’) style of playing. We rarely covered technique and instead focused on *falsetas* composed by Melchor and other local guitarists. In contrast to my lessons with Rafa, my lessons with Melchor were relatively ‘quiet’ with little in the way of conversation. This meant it was difficult to ascertain his personal views regarding certain matters. Gradually, our relationship developed and I felt more comfortable in asking him questions. I began to uncover his own thoughts regarding his style of guitar playing and how it fitted into the local flamenco scene.

My lessons with these two guitarists allowed me to examine the concept of a regional guitar style vis-à-vis the concept of a local guitar style. Rather than a dichotomy, however, Rafa and Melchor arguably represent two ends of a continuum. These lessons served as a way of understanding musically the fragmented nature of Andalusian regionalism. In order to get the most from my lessons (both musically and in terms of conversation), I recorded every lesson and adopted two forms of transcription. First, I transcribed all my lessons into tablature. I chose tablature over traditional notation because it is a quicker and a more efficient form of notation. Moreover, flamenco guitar performance is difficult to represent in standard western notation given its oral nature (in terms of transmission) and its technical vocabulary. After each lesson, I made sure to practise the materials I had learnt so that I was ready for the next lesson. Second, I transcribed any relevant conversations that took place during the lessons in a similar way to my interviews (see below). These transcriptions added to my data and enabled me to interrogate the complicated notion of style in more detail.

Research Contexts in the Field

In addition to my guitar lessons, I frequented a range of performance and didactic contexts. An important context for ethnographic research was the Platería, one of the most famous *peñas* in Andalusia. The club has a rich heritage and is deeply embedded in the flamenco community of Granada. Before arriving in the city, I contacted the President of the club via email and by letter. Unfortunately, I received no response. However, I had managed to contact an aficionado and a member of the Platería, Francisco (Paco) Cabrero Palomares,¹⁶ prior to my arrival in Andalusia. I was introduced to Paco through a mutual friend in the United Kingdom. Accordingly, Paco became an informant and he was able to introduce me to the President and other members of the club. As a result, I was permitted to attend Saturday evening concerts normally reserved for members, in addition to numerous other weekly events held at the club.

My entry into the Platería strengthened my ethnographic research in a number of ways. First, I was able to expand my contact base, finding more informants who were willing to partake in interviews. Second, I was able to view a number of concerts featuring local artists. This helped me to expand my knowledge of the local scene and to understand in more detail the presence of flamenco in Granada. Finally, I was able to engage in informal discussions that enhanced my ethnographic research. In particular, these discussions enabled me to expand my knowledge of the *cante*. Although the guitar was a key focus, I felt that I needed to possess an understanding of *cante* as it is so integral to the flamenco tradition. Moreover, by developing an appreciation for the *cante*, I felt that I would be able to ‘fit in’ more easily. This was important as, at certain times, I felt quite isolated when visiting the *peña*. The club is an environment in which many people know each other and a context in which ‘outsiders’ can be viewed with suspicion. As such, it was sometimes difficult to

¹⁶ Francisco preferred to be called Paco, so I will refer to him by this name.

engage in conversation with members and to fit into the culture of the *peña*. Nonetheless, I developed a small circle of informants with whom I regularly interacted when visiting the club.

Another important context for my fieldwork in Granada was the Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios. Before coming to Granada, I wanted to find some kind of educational context in which I could examine the efforts of the Andalusian Government in developing flamenco education. The conservatoire provided a pertinent context. I attended various lessons given by Rafa to students of differing abilities. While my involvement there was relatively limited, I was still able to gain an insight into the role of flamenco in the Andalusian educational system (at least at level of the conservatoire). Moreover, my experience at the conservatoire helped me to understand the regionalisation of flamenco guitar style more generally. I argue that conservatoires in Andalusia play an important role in canonising flamenco in the regional context.¹⁷ During my time there, I recorded and transcribed the lessons I attended in order to examine the didactic process. I was also able to attend other didactic events and concerts arranged by the conservatoire. This allowed me to get to know some of the students and other teachers more intimately. Furthermore, it enabled me to widen my contact base in the city and to gain a greater understanding of the flamenco scene in Granada.

My involvement in the flamenco scene in Granada stretched beyond the Platería and the conservatoire. When one scratches beneath the surface, the city hosts a range of flamenco ‘surprises’. It is replete with bars, theatres, tourist venues, clubs and private parties that host flamenco performances. A flamenco critic told me that it is one of the only places in Andalusia where flamenco is performed every night of the week. I attended numerous concerts (public and private, ‘local’ and ‘touristic’) and events in and outside of the city to

¹⁷ The regionalisation of flamenco guitar style and the role of conservatoires will be explored in more detail in Chapter Nine.

broaden my understanding of the myriad contexts in which flamenco is found. I chose to conduct research during the winter-to-spring season partly because the festival *Flamenco viene del Sur* (Eng: Flamenco Comes from the South) coincided with the period of my research. This festival is organised and delivered annually by the Andalusian Government. Accordingly, I wanted to analyse first-hand the types of performances staged during the festival. Moreover, I was keen to ask members of the community in Granada about their views on such events, especially as the festival was sponsored by the regional government. In doing so, I hoped to reveal on-the-ground responses to the institutional development of flamenco. In addition to *Flamenco viene del Sur*, I conducted research during a period of festivals and public holidays, many of which contained flamenco in some form or another.¹⁸

I also continued my ethnographic research with members of the PAO. I attended a handful of regular meetings held by the PAO in which they discussed issues pertinent to the platform. I also attended one meeting of the *Partido Regionalista por Andalucía Oriental* (Eng: Regionalist Party for East Andalusia, henceforth referred to as the PRAO). This is a political party, which while distinct from the PAO, still shares the group's quest for autonomy in East Andalusia. I feel that my fieldwork with members of the PAO and the PRAO did raise certain issues. In particular, my research with these members and my research with the flamenco community in Granada were incompatible. On the one hand, members of the PAO and the PRAO often held negative views regarding the regionalisation of flamenco. These views sometimes transformed into a disliking for the tradition. At times, my research was even questioned, being seen as irrelevant by some members. On the other hand, my research in Granada involved interactions with people who performed or 'consumed' flamenco as a distinct reflection of personal, local and/or regional identities.

¹⁸ These festivals included San Cecilio at Sacromonte's abbey, *Día de Andalucía* (Eng: Day of Andalusia, a public holiday that celebrates Andalusian autonomy), *Semana Santa* (Eng: Holy Week) and *Día de la Cruz* (Eng: Day of the Cross).

These two distinct positions presented me with somewhat of an ethnographic crisis. How could I bring together these completely different perspectives? I decided not to ask flamenco musicians, professionals or aficionados any questions regarding the PAO/PRAO unless they came up naturally in conversation. This was for two reasons. First, I did not want to lead my informants but rather wanted them to give their views ‘naturally’. Second, I did not want to run the risk of offending people who genuinely loved flamenco by discussing a group that largely rejects the tradition on ideological grounds. Nonetheless, during a couple of interviews the issue of east-Andalusian regionalism did emerge. Here, the informants largely dismissed the regionalist motives of the PAO. However, some still respected certain views held by its members (such as marginalisation in Granada and centralisation in Seville). The disparate yet in some way connected nature of these two positions just illustrates the complex socio-political environment in which flamenco is to be found.

Interviews and Research Materials

How did you enter into the world of flamenco?

What do you think about the Junta de Andalucía’s (Eng: The Andalusian Government) efforts towards the development of flamenco as a symbol of regional identity?

How do you view the inclusion of flamenco in the Andalusian Statute of Autonomy?

What do you think about flamenco’s recognition as Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO?

How do you view the flamenco scene in Granada?

Figure 3.1: Generic interview questions.

Ethnographic interviews also formed an integral part of the data collected in Granada. I chose to adopt a more conversational approach by creating a loose series of questions that were used to guide an otherwise generic conversation (see Figure 3.1). Following the folklorist Bruce Jackson, I agree that ‘the best interviewers somehow make the difference between

conversation and interview as unobtrusive as possible' (Jackson 1987: 80).¹⁹ This approach carried with it certain advantages and certain disadvantages. On the one hand, it enabled me to 'dig deep' into the life stories of my informants and their position in the flamenco community of Granada. Here, I aimed to 'see what the world looks like through their eyes' (ibid. 1987: 82). While I wanted to elicit responses and opinions to specific questions regarding the regionalisation of flamenco, I still wanted to enable the interviewee to give his/her own story. On the other hand, this open approach meant that at times I had to listen to extended monologues. Some of these narratives were not directly relevant to my research aims. Nonetheless, this sort of ethnographic information can only add richness to the data gathered.

My informants comprised a mixture of flamenco musicians (singers and guitarists), aficionados, scholars/researchers, producers and critics. In this way, I was able to elicit a broad range of opinions from a diverse range of people. I identified certain interviewees prior to arriving in Granada because of their position and/or their views.²⁰ The interviewing process had a knock-on benefit where my list of contacts 'snowballed'. In total, I conducted close to 30 interviews or 'formal' conversations, with 19 of these being recorded. However, there were a number of difficulties that arose when conducting interviews. First, it was often difficult to track down an interviewee and to arrange a specific time. This meant that a lot of time in the field was spent chasing informants to arrange meetings. Second, I planned to have an informal conversation with my interviewees on the first meeting. I originally decided not to record this meeting. However, the most relevant information was often disclosed during initial conversations. Accordingly, I recorded every first meeting and each subsequent meeting with all of my informants where possible. Sometimes I met an interviewee in a

¹⁹ Also see Myers, *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*, pp. 21–49. In her examination of ethnomusicological fieldwork, Myers also advocates a natural approach to interviewing that should blur the distinction between an interview and a conversation.

²⁰ For example, I arranged interviews with David Peral the spokesperson for the Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco and Juan Pinilla a flamenco singer who openly criticises governmental intervention in the flamenco world.

context where it did not feel 'right' to record. As Jackson argues, in these situations it is best to follow one's instincts (Jackson 1987: 86). On these occasions, I would quickly note down everything I could remember from the conversation after it took place and put the information in my field notes.

The quality of the recorded interviews was not always excellent. The major problem was the context of the interviews, which often took place in noisy bars or cafes. This is one of the vagaries of city-based field research. Each interview followed a similar format where I began with a statement about my research and, in accordance with ethical considerations, asked whether I could refer to the interviewee by name in my work and whether I could include any information in publications. Then I tried to elicit a little background information regarding the interviewee's life and his/her involvement with flamenco, before moving onto more specific questions. All interviews were transcribed into Spanish, which carried with it certain challenges. Given the strength of the Andalusian dialect, I decided to edit my transcriptions. Here, I omitted certain characteristics of the dialect (such as terminated word endings or the omission of 's' in words) and transcribed the texts into a 'clean' form of Spanish. I also omitted any expressions such as 'um' or 'so' (such as 'pues' in Spanish), unless they were significant. Any words or sections that were unknown or difficult to translate on the recordings, I consulted with my Spanish teachers. In addition to my transcriptions, there were various other materials acquired in the field. These included ethnographic materials (such as photographs and field notes), didactic materials (such as handouts or course content from the conservatoire), promotional/institutional materials (such as leaflets and concert programmes) and newspaper articles.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have discussed the methodological approaches adopted during my research. In order to examine the relationship between flamenco and Andalusian regionalism, I have conducted both a virtual ethnography and a traditional ethnography. In terms of virtual ethnography, I spent a year conducting online research through the PAO's website. I carried out participation-observation through the website's forums, conducted online interviews and distributed online questionnaires. Drawing upon relevant literature in the social sciences, I have shown the relevance of virtual ethnography to ethnomusicological research. I have argued that such research is suited to small, ideologically-motivated movements such as the PAO. In the terms of traditional ethnography, I conducted five months of ethnographic field research in Granada. Here, my research has been informed by private guitar lessons and lessons in the conservatoire. It has also been informed by the observation of concert performances and ethnographic interviews. These methods have enabled to explore in detail the flamenco scene in the city. In particular, this research has allowed me to examine the ways in which the regionalisation of flamenco is received at an ethnographic level. By combining virtual and traditional ethnographic research with primary and secondary literature, I have been able to uncover different readings of regionalism through flamenco. Here, I feel that my broad ethnographic approach has revealed the disputed relationship between flamenco and Andalusian identity. In the next chapter, I explore a historical reading of flamenco and regionalism. I trace the development of flamenco throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, closely relating its development to fluctuations in Andalusian regionalism during the period.

Chapter Four: Regionalism, Nationalism and Ethnicity in the History of Flamenco

Throughout its history, flamenco has had a complex relationship with territorial and ethnic identities in Spain. At various times it has been associated with Andalusian, Spanish and/or *gitano* identity, often with these three identities converging in single moments of historical importance. To give a complete and accurate historical account of the origins and the development of flamenco would be a formidable task that is unnecessary here. Even to speak of one historical account is problematic given the number of narratives that permeate the literature about flamenco.¹ In this chapter, I examine the history of flamenco with reference to the emergence and the consolidation of Andalusian regionalism (Sp: *andalucismo*) within the context of the tumultuous political history of Spain. As a musical tradition commonly associated with Andalusia, flamenco has come to represent Andalusian identity. In recent years, the relationship between flamenco and Andalusian identity has become particularly apparent as the regional government harnesses flamenco for cultural and political purposes. Accordingly, I provide a historical introduction to the regionalisation of flamenco in Andalusia.

The chapter will consist of four key periods (see Appendix F for a historical timeline). First, I explore the emergence of both flamenco and *andalucismo* during the early-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. I propose that flamenco is a product of urban popular culture in Andalusia and of Romanticism in Europe during the nineteenth century. I also explore the relevance of flamenco to the emergence of *andalucismo* (both culturally and politically) towards the end of the nineteenth century. Second, I examine the political ascendancy of *andalucismo* during the early-twentieth century up until the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936. Here, I consider the salvation of flamenco as an art form. I also discuss the role

¹ These narratives are often informed by different ideological positions. In *Flamenco: Passion, Politics and Popular Culture*, Washabaugh explores in detail some of flamenco's different histories, pp. 31–53.

flamenco played in demarcating Andalusian identity, thus upholding the ideals of regional autonomy. Third, I study the position of flamenco in the Franco regime (1936–75). During this time, flamenco was both suppressed (as a potential site of political resistance) and fostered (as a powerful tool for tourism and economic revival). Moreover, flamenco's association with regional identity was erased as flamenco came to represent the Spanish nation state during a period of totalitarian nationalism. Finally, I investigate how flamenco gained a political 'voice' (towards the end of the regime) both in terms of regionalism and in terms of class struggle. Following the transition to democracy in Spain (1975) and the declaration of autonomy in Andalusia (1981), I examine the position of flamenco both as a national product (indicative of Spain) and as a marker of regional identity (indicative of Andalusia).

Flamenco and the Emergence of *Andalucismo* (1800s–1900s)

Historical Precedents of Andalucismo

Like *andalucismo*, flamenco is a product of the nineteenth century. As interrelated phenomena, both need to be understood within the context of complex demographic and social changes that took place in Spain from the end of the eighteenth century. This was a time in which modernisation, rural depopulation and the emergence of a middle class began to transform popular culture both in Andalusia and across Spain. This was also a time when Spanish nationalism began to emerge, particularly following the creation of the Spanish Constitution (1812) and the end of the Peninsula War (1814), events that engendered a rise in national unity (Barton 2009). However, the Spanish nationalist project was not as peaceful and as effective as in other European countries, especially in unitary states such as France. On the one hand, the formation of the legal and the administrative framework of the Spanish nation state during the middle of the nineteenth century engendered a slight rise in

nationalism.² On the other hand, however, there were many forces that prevented a unified national identity from taking a firm root. There existed contrasting ideological and political positions including national liberalists, agrarian anarchists, conservative monarchists and regionalists (Álvarez Junco 1996; Barton 2009; Herr 1971; Payne 1991). In particular, it was the rise of regionalism that really threatened the unity of Spain.

In Andalusia, the regional sentiment prominent in other regions (such as the Basque Country and Catalonia) was slow to develop. In fact, much research shows that we cannot really speak of an Andalusian identity until at least the 1860s with the growth of both political regionalism and the anthropological movement (discussed below). There are numerous geographical, cultural and political reasons for the late appearance of Andalusian regionalism. First, Andalusia is a huge region. During the nineteenth century, it lacked the communications network necessary for the development of an ‘imagined community’ at a regional level. Second, the anthropologist David Gilmore argues that the region did not possess a ‘centrifugal city’ (Gilmore 1981: 59), an urban centre which provided a hegemonic locus of culture (such as Barcelona in Catalonia). Third, there was no distinct regional language (such as Basque or Catalan). Finally, the region was, and to a certain extent still is, characterised by an array of localisms that subverted any aspirations towards a regional sentiment. As the historian Antonio Miguel Bernal succinctly argues: ‘Historically the Andalusians have not shared a unified regional sentiment. Localisms and provincialisms have superseded any regionalist sentiment’ (cited in Cortés Peña 1994: 216).³

Antonio Cortés Peña is one of a handful of historians who attempt to clarify and to demystify the so-called Andalusian ‘myth’. That is, they critique the notion of a shared and a continuous Andalusian history (Cortés Peña 1994, 2001; González de Molina and Sevilla

² In the cultural domain it is worth mentioning the scholar Don Preciso (Juan Antonio de Iza Zamácola, 1756–1826) who produced the first collection of Spanish folk songs in 1799 as a way of invoking Spanish nationalism in the musical domain. See Don Preciso, *Colección de las mejores coplas*.

³ ‘Los andaluces no han compartido históricamente un sentimiento regional unitario. Los localismos y provincianismos se han superpuesto a cualquier sentir regionalista’.

Guzmán 1987). In his article ‘El último nacionalismo: Andalucía y su historia’ (Eng: ‘The Last Nationalism: Andalusia and its History’), Cortés Peña (1994) refers to the large agrarian population that characterised the demographics of Andalusia. He argues that agrarian politics and the feudal structure of Andalusia undermined the development of regionalism. Andalusia remained predominantly agricultural with an extensive range of privately owned land (*latifundia*).⁴ Despite increases in urban immigration, hierarchical systems of rural labour were common where landowners (Sp: *señoritos*) propped up an asymmetrical social structure. The powerful agrarian elite had no need to question centralisation and so displayed little in the way of a regional consciousness. As Moreno Navarro notes: ‘In Andalusia [...] contradictory interests have not existed between the region’s agrarian bourgeoisie and the centralist oligarchy for the simple reason that historically both have generally co-existed’ (Moreno Navarro 1977: 45).⁵ The relevance of this highly stratified society is important for two reasons. First, it shows that *andalucismo* was slow to develop as the dominant oligarchy was usually centralist and the working classes were usually localist. Therefore, both groups remained disconnected from a wider sense of regional consciousness. Regionalism was, then, largely the domain of urban middle-class intellectuals. Second, the prominence of a ‘quasi-feudal’ social structure provides a backdrop for an understanding of the origins and the development of flamenco. Arguably, social interaction between social elites and Andalusian working classes was pivotal to the emergence of flamenco.

Flamenco, Social Catharsis and the Andalusian Bourgeoisie

Given the lack of regionalism in Andalusian during the early to late-nineteenth century, it is likely that flamenco (as a supposedly Andalusian tradition) did not emerge from a sense of

⁴ *Latifundia* have been common in the development of numerous areas in the Mediterranean. For more information on its influence in the Sicilian context see Jane Schneider and Peter Schneider, *Culture and Political Economy in Western Sicily*.

⁵ ‘En Andalucía [...] no han existido intereses contradictorios entre la gran burguesía agraria de la región y la oligarquía centralista por la sencilla razón de que una y otra han coincidido históricamente en un gran parte’.

regional consciousness. Rather, it is the musical product of the social interactions between *gitanos*, other subaltern groups and the emerging middle class in Andalusian urban contexts during the nineteenth century. Historical accounts of flamenco often pursue regionalist or ethnic (*gitano*) perspectives (see below). However, a number of scholars have attempted to demystify the history of flamenco. Here, they offer ‘scientific’ interpretations of its emergence and its development. In particular, I draw upon the socio-historical analyses of two prominent flamenco theorists, namely Mitchell (1994) and Steingress (1998a, 1998b, 1998c, 2001, 2002a).⁶

Mitchell argues that flamenco was born during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, emerging as the cultural product of a number of subaltern groups. Given the dominance of *gitano* ethnicity in many historical narratives, Mitchell attempts to highlight the contributions of other subaltern/proletarian groups (including beggars, *moriscos*,⁷ bandits and miners) to the development of flamenco. He argues: ‘Each one of these classes and subclasses within them reworked its common corpus of Spanish/Andalusian folk songs in ways consistent with the constraints of their unenviable lifestyles; deep song was the collective result’ (Mitchell 1994: 67).⁸ For Mitchell, flamenco was born of necessity. Through a process of emotional catharsis, subcultural groups used musical performance for the expression (and confrontation) of sentiments such as fatalism and sorrow, indicative of their dire social positions.⁹ Mitchell argues that *juergas* (private flamenco sessions¹⁰), which were often fuelled by alcohol, debauchery, ritual and prostitution, provided a space in which

⁶ Also see Washabaugh’s important historical analyses in *Flamenco: Passion, Politics and Popular Culture* and *Flamenco Music and National Identity*.

⁷ Despite the final expulsion of all people of Muslim blood in 1609, Mitchell believes that some *moriscos* (along with other persecuted groups) disguised themselves as *gitanos* to evade expulsion. In particular, Mitchell notes the influence *moriscos* may have had on early ballads. He argues that these ballads may have influenced the early song styles that formed the basis for the development of flamenco during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. He calls these pre-flamenco styles ‘proto-flamenco’.

⁸ Mitchell refers to deep song (that is, *cante jondo*) in general as the basis for much of what we now know as flamenco.

⁹ It is important to note that Mitchell is not referring to the performance of flamenco itself but ‘proto-flamenco’.

¹⁰ In Spanish, the word *juerga* literally means ‘spree’ or ‘binge’. For example, one might say ‘irse de juerga’ (Eng: ‘to go out on the town’). In Chapter Eight, I discuss the relevance of the *juerga* in the Platería.

this process of social catharsis could take place.

While such gatherings were a space for subaltern expression, they also provided a context for upper-class patronage and ‘guilt catharsis’.¹¹ Mitchell refers to *señoritos* (as gentry who spent their winters in the city) and the growing bourgeois elite who became attracted to ‘proto-flamenco’ due to their fascination with subaltern lifestyles (particularly that of the mystical and the ‘primitive’ *gitano*). This fascination was fuelled by the prominence of Romanticism in Europe at the time. In this way, Mitchell argues that *señoritos* provided patronage for flamenco performances in small gatherings, which in turn created a context for the musical and the cultural unification of a highly polarised society. In a summary of Mitchell’s work, Washabaugh states: ‘Flamenco song [...] served as a double-edged sword to free both the rich and the poor from their emotional burdens’ (Washabaugh 1996: 12).¹² For the rich, these events provided a way of alleviating social guilt whilst maintaining social supremacy. For the poor, these events provided a context in which to confront the hardships of daily life and to transcend social inequality. Through these events, flamenco became the cultural capital of the urban elite. This transformation enabled the eventual canonisation, standardisation and commercialisation of flamenco, whilst maintaining its link to subaltern life, values and aesthetics.

Like Mitchell, Steingress argues that flamenco was appropriated by higher-class groups but within more ‘public’ settings. In particular, he discusses the role flamenco played in fostering Spanish nationalism among the bourgeoisie during the nineteenth century (Steingress 1998c, 2001).¹³ At this time, some Spaniards rejected foreign influences (such as French or Italian) in cultural expression and instead sought out cultural trends from within

¹¹ Mitchell links upper-class guilt catharsis to the presence of Catholicism and the important role of charity in Spain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Serving the needy and the poor was believed to ensure that the wealthy spent less time in purgatory. In particular see Chapter Seven, ‘Wealth, Ideology, and the Magic Other’.

¹² For a commentary on Mitchell’s work see pp. 125–29.

¹³ Also see Washabaugh, *Flamenco Music and National Identity*, pp. 37–52.

Spain itself (Steingress, 1998a). According to Steingress, flamenco is the result of an emerging middle class in Andalusia that was influenced by the rise of European nationalism during the nineteenth century. He argues that flamenco was a hybrid popular tradition that grew out of the dynamic, urban melting pot of Andalusia (and particularly Seville) during the early-nineteenth century. According to him, flamenco was influenced by traditional Andalusian folk song/dance and popular national dance (such as the *bolero*). In addition, he notes the prominence of the *gitano* aesthetic, an aesthetic that informed a Spanish bohemian lifestyle. The term flamenco itself, Steingress contends, emerged during the 1830s. However, it was not used to describe a musical tradition. Rather, it emerged as a socio-artistic term that referred to a defiant attitude. This attitude was intimately linked to concepts of a bohemian lifestyle and the *gitanos* (Steingress 2001: 250–88). As Steingress states: ‘What in Paris was understood as *bohémien* in Seville was *flamenco*: a type of social and cultural intruder, related to the artistic environment, an “artistic vagabond”, a person that lives outside of the norms of social rules’ (Steingress 2001: 277).¹⁴ He believes that the use of flamenco as a term to describe a performance tradition appeared only in the 1850s. Before it became known as a performance tradition, flamenco represented a stereotypical way of life. Thus, the musical tradition was the fashionable cultural product of urban elites who were fascinated with *gitanos* and subaltern lifestyles.

Romanticism and Andalusian Cultural Hegemony

From the 1850s onwards, flamenco became increasingly commercialised. It was transformed into a popular tradition patronised by the expanding Andalusian (and by extension Spanish) bourgeoisie. Why then did a tradition so closely linked to subaltern society and *gitano* culture

¹⁴ ‘Lo que en París se comprendió por *bohémien* en Sevilla fue el *flamenco*: un tipo de intruso social y cultural, relacionado con el ambiente artístico, un “vagabundo artístico”, una persona que vive fuera de los cánones de las reglas sociales’. The emergence of a defiant, bohemian attitude rooted in a *gitano* lifestyle can also be traced back to *majismo* youth culture during the eighteenth century. See Mitchell, *Flamenco Deep Song*; and Steingress, ‘El flamenco’.

become the product of bourgeois cultural fashion? How did a largely Andalusian tradition come to represent ‘Spanish-ness’ in general? To answer these questions we must look to the dramatic impact that Romanticism (and Orientalism) had on Andalusian (and consequently Spanish) cultural life. With ‘folk-art’ and the exotic ‘other’ as guiding principles, numerous American, English, French and Russian travel writers visited Spain (and in particular southern Spain) during the early-nineteenth century. They constructed notions of ‘Spanish-ness’ that were to influence a host of intellectuals, artists, writers and composers both within and outside of Spain. For many writers, the ‘true’ Spain existed in the south; the north of Spain was too similar to modern Europe and thus failed to quench the romantic thirst for the exotic (Fernández Cifuentes 2007).

In Andalusia, travel writers found the perfect environment on which to base their romantic and exotic ideals. The region had experienced eight centuries of Islamic presence, a legacy that could clearly be observed in its architecture and, seemingly, in its cultural practices such as music and dance. The exoticness of this Islamic heritage in Andalusia and the supposed primitivism of the region were enhanced by literary depictions of folk ‘heroes’ and ‘heroines’ (such as bandits, bohemians and exotic female *gitana* dancers). The *gitana* dancer arguably remains the most enduring legacy of this romantic stereotype – the passionate female is still prominent in multiple representations of Spanish and Andalusian culture, a representation that is often linked to flamenco.¹⁵ One need only think of Carmen, Prosper Mérimée’s (and subsequently Georges Bizet’s) exotic *gitana* who consolidated the role of the Andalusian female in representations of ‘Spanish-ness’ (Locke 2009; McClary 1992). Despite being based on the story of an Andalusian cigarette-factory worker in Seville during the early-nineteenth century, the historian Nirmala Singh-Brinkman argues: ‘The figure of Carmen was not born of Andalusian autonomy or self-representation: Carmen was

¹⁵ For an analysis of the representation of the female body in flamenco see Heffner Hayes, *Flamenco*.

born abroad, in France, and widely circulated throughout Spain in the nineteenth century before being claimed by Andalusian regionalists in the early-twentieth century' (Singh-Brinkman 2005: 83). However, before Andalusian regionalists had a chance to 'reclaim' Carmen for themselves, the Andalusian 'myth' coupled with its exotic symbol (the *gitana*) collapsed into stereotypical representations of Spanish identity.

By extension, this 'Andalusianisation' of Spanish identity began to influence Spanish self-representation itself. As the historians Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith argue: 'Andalusians had been depicted by Spanish nationalists as central to the Spanish national character, and it seems likely that these stereotypes were assimilated as the dominant self-image of elites and the urban middle classes' (Mar-Molinero and Smith 1996: 15). Flamenco emerged from the cultural hegemony that Andalusia had attained in Spain, this despite the region lacking its own political self-determination during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Flamenco continued to represent exotic, seductive and passionate 'Spanish-ness'. Intellectuals and urban elites looked to the cultural traditions of the 'people' to create a Spanish national music. Flamenco became this national music. As a complex hybridisation of various traditions and aesthetic trends found in Spain, flamenco was useful in the rejection of foreign musical influences. From the outset, flamenco was intricately linked to fashionable tastes among the Spanish (and Andalusian) middle classes. Arguably, then, it became a national music before it was (re)claimed as a regional one.

Regional Flamenco

Romanticism was also pivotal in the emergence of a regional consciousness in Andalusia, despite playing a fundamental role in the construction of Andalusian-ness as the common denominator of a Spanish national identity. In fact for some historians, *andalucismo* and the concept of a distinct Andalusian character are 'inventions', inventions that emerged from

Romanticism during the early-nineteenth century. Cortés Peña (1994) contends that Andalusians would not have recognised themselves as a ‘people’ (Sp: *un pueblo*) unless foreign romantics and travel writers had highlighted the distinctive characteristics upon which to build a regional identity. He states: ‘[...] the group of European romantic travellers [...] from their foreign perspectives initiated the “popularisation” of the Andalusian image, which until then was scarcely known, an image that was going to serve as a mirror in that many Andalusians began to regard themselves as a people with unique defining characteristics’ (Cortés Peña 1994: 216).¹⁶

While Cortés Peña’s view is critical, it is correct to suggest that Romanticism not only influenced how Spaniards saw their own identity, but how Andalusians viewed themselves as *un pueblo*. As a result, a regional consciousness began to develop in two categories during the mid-nineteenth century: a political regionalism and an intellectual regionalism (influenced by anthropology, folklore studies and history). In terms of a political regionalism, the influence of Romanticism and the importance of race engendered a small increase in regionalism among the middle classes which transformed into a political form of *andalucismo*. Following a social revolution in 1868, the Spanish monarchy collapsed engendering a liberal nationalist project and the construction of the First Spanish Republic in 1873. Here, political regionalism was closely linked to the federalist cause (Cortés Peña 2001; Newton 1982). In 1873, the Constitución Federal de España (Eng: Federal Constitution of Spain) outlined the decentralisation of the Spanish nation state in which two Andalusian regions were identified, namely Baja Andalucía (Eng: Lower Andalusia, that is the western

¹⁶ ‘[...] el grupo de viajeros románticos europeos [...] desde sus perspectivas foráneas, iniciaron la “popularización” de una imagen de Andalucía hasta entonces escasamente resaltada, imagen que iba a servir de espejo en el que muchos andaluces comenzaron a contemplarse como un pueblo con rasgos definitorios originales’.

provinces) and Alta Andalucía (Eng: Upper Andalusia, that is the eastern provinces).¹⁷ The draft constitution strengthened the presence of regionalism in Catalonia and the Basque Country. In turn, it sparked a rise in *andalucismo* among mostly middle-class intellectuals.

After the collapse of the First Republic in 1874 and the accession to power of the monarch Alfonso XII (between 1857 and 1885), republicanism and federalism were discredited. Nonetheless, the regionalist/federalist cause continued in the Andalusian political domain finding expression in the Proyecto de Constitución Federalista de Andalucía (Eng: Draft Federalist Constitution of Andalusia) in 1883.¹⁸ It is important to remember, however, that the federalist project had more to do with the regeneration of Spain than with a strong sense of regional ‘nationalism’ or independence. Regionalist feeling in Andalusia was encapsulated within a nationalist project of regeneration (Cortés Peña 2001; González de Molina and Sevilla Guzmán 1987).

Despite these proposals for the federalisation of the nation state, political *andalucismo* failed to take hold during this time and the majority of the population did not support the cause. However, in terms of an intellectual regionalism (the second category discussed above) there was an increase in intellectual activity directed towards regionalism from the late 1860s onwards. Here, anthropologists, folklorists and historians validated regional identity by constructing an image of the Andalusian people. Theoretical concepts regarding nation and race (particularly through the writings of Herder and Rousseau) that had dominated European intellectual discourse during the nineteenth century influenced a regionalist intellectual movement in Andalusia. This movement sought to engender *andalucismo* through studies of Andalusian cultural traditions, customs and history. As Moreno Navarro (1993) points out, it was during this time that anthropologists and folklorists

¹⁷ Here, it is necessary to note that it is this constitution which members of the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental often referred to as historical evidence for their rejection of a single Andalusian region. See Chapter Six.

¹⁸ Interestingly, this constitution only identified a single Andalusia.

‘discovered’ Andalusian ethnicity. History also had an important role in the construction of the Andalusian ‘race’. In 1869, Joaquín Guichot (1820–1906) wrote the first comprehensive historical account of the region, *Historia general de Andalucía* (Eng: General History of Andalusia). The most prominent narrative permeating these constructions of Andalusian ethnicity and history was (and still is) the plurality of the region’s cultural history.

Anthropologists and historians noted the numerous cultures and races that had contributed to the ethnic make-up of Andalusia (such as *gitanos*, Arabs and Jews). In particular, historians such as Guichot played up the Islamic contributions to Andalusian society by exalting the Al-Andalus period. This discourse characterised much of Andalusian regionalism during the early-twentieth century.

For folklorists, the cultural plurality of Andalusia’s ethnic history was most explicitly demonstrated in folk music and dance. In particular, flamenco was seen by some intellectuals as a musical manifestation of the many races that had contributed to Andalusian ethnicity (Steingress 1998b). During the 1880s, two prominent folklorists emerged who would form the basis of what is now known as *flamencología*: Hugo Schuchardt (1842–1927) and Antonio Machado y Álvarez (1848–93) otherwise known as Demófilo. Schuchardt is perhaps the least known of all flamenco scholars, yet he is believed to be the first person to begin the academic study of the tradition (Steingress 1998c, 2001). He was not a musicologist but a linguist and had a particular fascination for Romance languages and dialects. He arrived in Andalusia in 1878 and began to undertake research regarding the Andalusian dialect. In particular, he studied the *gitano-andaluz* style of speech, with which flamenco was closely associated. The fact that Schuchardt is seldom referenced in flamenco literature perhaps reflects his Austrian origins; his research in Andalusia was not undergirded by a regionalist sentiment. Instead, his interest was for academic (or scientific) purposes.



Plate 4.1: A plaque devoted to Demófilo in Seville.¹⁹

Demófilo's work is of direct relevance to the emergence of Andalusian regionalism during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. He is perhaps regarded as the most famous of all flamenco scholars and despite Schuchardt's work he is often regarded as the father of flamenco/Andalusian folk studies (see Plate 4.1). Like Schuchardt, Demófilo came from a literary background and is most notably recognised for his collection of flamenco *coplas*, *Colección de cantes flamencos* (Eng: Collection of Flamenco Songs) (Machado y Álvarez 1881). Reflecting the regionalist currents that influenced the intelligentsia at this time, the historian José Álvarez Junco (1996) argues that Demófilo understood Andalusia as its own 'nation' due to the supposed mixture of Arabic and Christian blood in the citizens of the region. For Demófilo, flamenco epitomised the heterogeneity of the Andalusian 'race'. Accordingly, he was the first to 'construct' musically the Andalusian people by proposing the hybridity (Sp: *mestizaje*) of flamenco (Baltanás 2002; Steingress 2002b). And, like the travel writers before him, Demófilo situated the *gitano* as the central, archetypal figure in the

¹⁹ This picture depicts a plaque in memory of Demófilo. It is located in the *gitano barrio* of Triana in Seville. The inscription says: 'In memory of Antonio Machado Álvarez "Demófilo" father of Andalusian folklore, in the first centenary of his death, which occurred in this house on 4 December, 1893'. Photograph taken by the author August, 2009.

development of flamenco and its aesthetic. He argued that ‘authentic’ flamenco belonged to Andalusian *gitanos*. For Demófilo, this ‘pure’ form of folk expression had become diluted in commercialised theatres and cafes across Spain during the mid-nineteenth century. Put simply, the mixture of *cante gitano* (Eng: gypsy song) and *cante andaluz* (Eng: Andalusian song) had created an ‘impure’ form of *cante flamenco* (Eng: flamenco song).²⁰ Although Demófilo’s pro-*gitano* perspective was related to Andalusian regionalism (where the *gitano* was an important figure), his work has often been criticised for its ethnocentrism. Mitchell, for example, is highly critical of Demófilo. He argues that Demófilo’s work is undergirded by racialist aesthetics and notions of racial purity (Mitchell 1994: 8).

However, Mitchell’s negative critique does not account for the wider context in which Demófilo’s research should be placed. The exaltation by Demófilo of Andalusian music (and in particular, flamenco through the *gitanos*) needs to be understood within the national context. In 1881, Demófilo founded the society El Folk-Lore Español (Eng: Spanish Folklore) which was based on the London Folklore Society.²¹ Within the Spanish Folklore Society, Demófilo created the sub-society El Folk-Lore Andaluz (Eng: Andalusian Folklore). In the introduction to the proceedings of the Andalusian Folklore Society (published in 1882–83), Demófilo argued that folk expression is a way of understanding and of reconstructing the national history of Spain. Moreover, he believed that the people who created folklore were protagonists in the development of this history (Machado y Álvarez 1882–83: 1–8).²² In addition to the Andalusian Folklore Society, Demófilo also founded other sub-societies such as El Folk-lore Gallego (Eng: Galician Folklore) in Galicia. The plurality of the Spanish

²⁰ As Steingress notes (see ‘El flamenco’), the *lo jondo* (Eng: deepness) in flamenco had become synonymous with *lo gitano* (Eng: gypsy-ness). Therefore, ‘pure’ flamenco songs were aligned with ethnicity (and for some, still are). For Schuchardt, flamenco was not an ‘andalusianisation’ of *gitano* song but rather a ‘gitanoisation’ of Andalusian song. Also see Baltanás and Piñero, ‘El flamenco y los gitanos’; and Steingress, *Sobre flamenco y flamencología*, pp. 19–30.

²¹ The London Folklore Society was founded three years earlier.

²² For a thorough examination of Demófilo’s work see Baltanás and Rodríguez Becerra, ‘La herencia rechazada’; García Plata, ‘Antonio Machado y Álvarez’; and Pineda Novo, *Antonio Machado y Álvarez ‘Demófilo’*.

Folklore Society reflected Demófilo's desire to research folk song across the Spanish regions (Martí 1997). For Demófilo, this academic endeavour was a way of regenerating Spain. By recognising the cultural diversity of its constitutive regions, he envisaged a musically (as well as a politically) federalised Spain.²³

Demófilo's work must also be situated within the wider context of European folklore studies. During the second half of the nineteenth century, folklore research in Europe had moved away from the nationalist trends of the early-nineteenth century, instead modelling itself as a humanistic science (García Plata 1997). Demófilo tried to replicate this scientific approach. In the front matter of the proceedings of the Andalusian Folklore Society (Machado y Álvarez 1882–83), there is a list of the society's honorary European members (from Austria, England, France, Germany, Italy and Portugal). This list reflects the wider European readership of the publication. Moreover, the publication resonates with a pan-European interest at the time in discovering the nature of the human character through expressions of folk culture. Demófilo also took inspiration from English folklore studies and Darwinist theory (Machado y Álvarez 1882–83: 1–8). In addition, he was influenced by Krausism, a philosophical doctrine from Germany that propagated ideas of universalism and rationalism. For Demófilo, folk music and folklore were not simply markers of regional and/or national identity. They were also vestiges of the human condition and remnants of early human expression.²⁴

²³ Interestingly, Demófilo believed that flamenco was the least 'national' of the popular traditions he studied. See García Plata, 'Antonio Machado y Álvarez'.

²⁴ For a closer examination of the wider concerns of Demófilo's work see Baltanás and Rodríguez, 'La herencia rechazada'; García Plata, 'Antonio Machado y Álvarez'; and Steingress, 'Ideología y mentalidad'. Also see Washabaugh's analysis of Krausism and Demófilo in *Flamenco Music and National Identity in Spain*, pp. 55–62.

Flamenco and the Nation: Commercialisation, Salvation and *Antiflamenquismo*

Despite Demófilo's humanistic outlook, one of his key concerns was the regeneration of Spanish culture, a concern influenced by his federalist ideology (Baltanás and Rodríguez Becerra 1998). As discussed above, he intended to document and to revive regional folk traditions (in particular those of Andalusia, his home region) in order to illustrate the plurality of the Spanish nation state whilst not sacrificing its unity. His work demonstrates the multifaceted nature of the relationship between flamenco and identity at this time. Within Spain, flamenco was a vehicle for Andalusian regionalism, an emblem of national popular culture and a tool for the expression of *gitano* ethnicity. Moreover, flamenco was an object of Romanticism and a topic for 'scientific' study. Nonetheless, Demófilo's political aspirations and his advocacy of flamenco in the revival of a national and a regional culture were not shared by many middle-class intellectuals. As the nineteenth century came to a close, the production and the reception of flamenco became more controversial as the political and the socio-economic situation in Spain began to deteriorate. While the popularity of flamenco increased, its relevance to the regeneration of Spain often polarised opinion. For some, flamenco made sense as a commercial tradition. It was also a tool for the revitalisation of a national art music. For others, flamenco was a symbol of the decadence of Spain.

During the late-nineteenth century, the Spanish empire was in turmoil having lost its last colony, Cuba, in 1898. This followed the Spanish-American war where the nation state suffered a large loss of life, at great economic cost. The defeat was seen as a national humiliation. As the historian Simon Barton states, this defeat came at the 'very time when the great European powers were busily engaged in empire building overseas [and therefore] the loss of Spain's last colonies was taken by many as a sign of racial and national inferiority' (Barton 2009: 196). In Andalusia, the socio-economic situation of the working classes was deteriorating, which exacerbated anarchism in the region. Regionalists attempted to direct the

anti-centralist dissent of local, largely agrarian workers towards *andalucismo*. However, despite the political advancements regionalists had made (such as the draft constitution in 1883), cultural regionalism espoused by intellectuals such as Demófilo was insufficient. Regionalists failed to win the support of the majority of the Andalusian bourgeoisie, a conservative group aligned with the Spanish monarchy and a group that blamed federalism for the near collapse of Spain into anarchy.²⁵

This political environment had numerous consequences for flamenco. Once the tradition became more popular during the 1850s, it appeared in larger venues such as the *cafés cantantes* (Eng: singing cafes). These were professional venues in which flamenco was performed for a largely middle-class audience. From the 1870s onwards, these venues multiplied in number across the country and, as a result, the hegemonic centre of flamenco moved from Seville to Madrid. For flamenco performers to succeed in the tradition, they had to seek out their career in the Spanish capital. This proliferation in flamenco venues had two interrelated implications. First, this ‘golden age’ of flamenco performance meant that the tradition became standardised and codified. As Steingress states: ‘The growing institutionalisation of the genre and the professionalization of its artists demanded the individualisation of the song, the creation of new styles, and facilitated the creation of schools that would form what today is considered as “authenticity” in classic song’ (Steingress 2001: 284).²⁶

The second implication was that flamenco became commercialised as a national music where, as Steingress (1998a) argues, it became a ‘kitsch’ tradition. As part of

²⁵ For a closer examination of the near ‘failure’ of Andalusian regionalism towards the end of the nineteenth century see Cortés Peña, ‘El último nacionalismo’; Moreno Navarro, *Andalucía: identidad y cultura* and *Andalucía: subdesarrollo, clases sociales y regionalismo*; and Newton, ‘Andalusia: The Long Road to Autonomy’.

²⁶ ‘La creciente institucionalización del género y la profesionalización de los artistas exigió la individualización del canto, la creación de nuevos estilos, y facilitó la creación de escuelas que preformarían lo que hoy día se considera como “autenticidad” en el canto clásico’. In particular, this period saw the creation of the common *palos*, the standardisation of keys and the emancipation of the guitarist from the singer.

Demófilo's attempts to salvage flamenco as an authentic *gitano-andaluz* tradition, he contested this process of commercialisation. Even so, flamenco became more commercialised especially as it extended into the domain of tourism. The role of flamenco in tourism was caught up in the overall conflation of Andalusian culture with Spanish culture. As the hispanist Lou Charnon-Deutsch argues, the consolidation of Andalusians, *gitanos* and flamenco as objects of romantic desire 'participated in a broader nationalist endeavour to enhance and capitalise on Spain's self-image as a nation with a highly exportable exotic underside' (Charnon-Deutsch 2004: 184). As such, flamenco made economic sense both as a popular tradition for Spaniards and as an exotic product for tourists. The rapid commercialisation and 'touristification' of flamenco influenced how intellectuals viewed the tradition: either as an 'authentic' tradition that needed salvation or as an undesirable product of a country descending into disarray.

Those that tried to salvage flamenco as an 'authentic' tradition were most prominent in the twentieth century (discussed below). However, in addition to the scientific studies of flamenco made by Demófilo, there were some composers who sought to reinvigorate Spanish art music through folk traditions such as flamenco at the end of the nineteenth century. Composers drew upon the plethora of regional folk traditions in Spain to inform a national music. This national music was used to enhance the international reputation of Spanish art music in general. The most well known of these composers was Felipe Pedrell (1841–1922), whose contributions to musical research during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries afforded him the accolade of Spain's 'father of musicology' (Martí 1997: 110). Pedrell proposed a division between *música natural* (Eng: folk music) and *música artificial* (Eng: art music). He believed that composers needed to look to the folk to reinvigorate

national art music (ibid. 1997: 110).²⁷ In this way, the musical plurality of Spain's regions began to influence the creation of a heterogeneous, yet homogeneous national musical identity. While Pedrell did not focus on flamenco in isolation, Steingress argues that in his compositions and his writings he drew upon the 'oriental' aspects of Andalusian traditional music. Here, he employed flamenco as a representative example to understand and to compose Spanish art music (Steingress 1998b). In fact, many Spanish composers looked to flamenco to construct a national musical identity during this period.²⁸ As such, the cultural hegemony and the romantic ethos of Andalusian flamenco continued to influence the national musical language in Spain.

For many intellectuals, however, flamenco was neither a folk tradition that reflected the spirit of the people (Demófilo's position) nor a tool for the revitalisation of Spanish art music (Pedrell's position). Rather, flamenco was a decadent tradition that represented Spain's 'backwardness', its socio-economic failure and its isolation from Europe. As a result, an intellectual movement commonly known as *antiflamenquismo* emerged towards the end of the nineteenth century. This movement was particularly influenced by writers of the Generación de 98 (Eng: Generation of 98).²⁹ This group of intellectuals regarded the moral, the political and the social downfall of Spain as an immediate result of the Spanish-American war and the collapse of the Spanish colonial empire. They were largely anti-liberal and wished to return to a golden age of Spanish culture centred upon the old kingdom of Castile. They also sought greater European integration (Baltanás and Rodríguez Becerra 1998). In this context, flamenco was not consistent with their vision of Spanish regeneration. Rather, it epitomised the country's decadence and its representation as a reactionary and uncivilized

²⁷ Pedrell himself was a Catalan composer who used regional folk songs from Catalonia as a basis for some of his compositions.

²⁸ These composers include the Catalan composers Manuel Granados (1867–1916) and Isaac Albéniz (1860–1909). Most importantly for flamenco was the composer Manuel de Falla (1876–1946) who is discussed below.

²⁹ The Generation of 98 included figures such as Pío Baroja (1872–1956), Miguel de Unamuno (1846–1936) and José Martínez Ruiz (1873–1967). See García Gómez, 'Volkgeist y género español'. For more on *antiflamenquismo* see Caba Landa, *Andalucía*.

nation state at the peripheries of European culture (García Gómez 1998). For the *antiflamenquistas*, flamenco was antithetical to Spanish regeneration. This is because they viewed flamenco as a commercial, a touristic, an exotic and an erotic cultural object. They believed that flamenco did not represent the national ‘soul’ (ibid. 1998). Rather, it was a primitive tradition that could not fit with their image of a modern and an Europeanised Spain (Caba Landa 1988; Christoforidis 2007).

Flamenco and Political *Andalucismo* (1900–1936)

The *antiflamenquismo* movement continued to gain momentum during the early-twentieth century as writers expanded upon the work of the Generación de 98. In particular, the writers Eugenio Noel (1885–1936) and José Ortega y Gasset (1885–1955) were strong sources of anti-flamenco feeling. For Noel, flamenco was the opium of the Spanish people and in 1913 he initiated a nationwide anti-flamenco campaign (Baltanás and Rodríguez Becerra 1998: 224). For Ortega, flamenco was a symbol of southern-Spanish decadence and he sought out new symbols of Spanish national identity that were not ‘vulgar’. In his pivotal essay ‘Teoría de Andalucía’ (Eng: ‘Theory of Andalusia’), Ortega addresses the overpowering influence and hegemony that Andalusia had (and to a certain extent, still has) over Spanish culture (Ortega y Gasset 1942). Despite strong views against flamenco and Andalusian cultural hegemony, early twentieth-century writers such as Ortega and Noel were counteracted by two other distinct positions: the salvation of flamenco as art music and the alignment of flamenco with *andalucismo*.

Flamenco’s ‘White Knights’

A number of prominent intellectuals attempted to rescue flamenco from degradation and interrogation, especially by the *antiflamenquistas*. The two most prominent figures

(flamenco's 'white knights' so to speak) were Manuel de Falla (1876–1946) and Federico García Lorca (1898–1936). The former is perhaps regarded as Spain's most famous composer. The latter is possibly Spain's most famous poet. Both were Andalusians and both were powerfully influenced by flamenco. As a composer, de Falla attempted to ascribe flamenco with credibility by elevating it to the level of a transcendental art music. As Michael Christoforidis notes, de Falla tried to construct a national identity through music and foregrounded his Andalusian heritage to achieve this goal (Christoforidis 2007: 230). Many of de Falla's later works (particularly from 1910 onwards) were based on the forms and the materials of flamenco. Many of his works also invoked a *gitano* aesthetic, this being most notably demonstrated in the composition, *El amor brujo* (Eng: Love the Magician) (1914–15). Significantly, this composition also featured the famous gypsy dancer Pastora Imperio (1889–1979) (ibid. 2007).

In addition, de Falla had a more direct involvement with flamenco and attempted to salvage the tradition itself. Along with García Lorca, de Falla organised the Concurso del Cante Jondo (Eng: Competition of Deep Song) in Granada in 1922. For de Falla and García Lorca, the competition was designed to salvage flamenco both as an authentic expression of the Andalusian (and by extension, Spanish) people and as a universal form of art. García Lorca and de Falla contested not only the intense opposition against flamenco, but also the growing commercialisation of flamenco. Due to its popularity in the *cafés cantantes* across Spain, flamenco had transformed into an almost 'operatic' tradition. They believed that it had become detached from its roots.³⁰ As a way of salvaging flamenco, de Falla and García Lorca wanted to recuse it from: '*Operismo* in the musical domain and from *flamenquismo* in the

³⁰ The *cafés cantantes* eventually gave way to *opera flamenca* (Eng: flamenco opera) a genre of flamenco characterised by the abandonment of a traditional aesthetic and the integration of an operatic, melismatic and orchestrated style that bordered on 'kitsch'. See Steingress, 'El flamenco'.

social domain' (García Gómez 1998: 202).³¹ They attempted to preserve its artistic and its aesthetic integrity as a musical tradition by saving it from degradation and misrepresentation in society. It is especially significant that they chose the term *cante jondo* rather than flamenco. The word flamenco had become associated with decadence and vulgarity, negative qualities that the *antiflamenquistas* were not shy in expressing. To extract *cante jondo* from flamenco meant that de Falla and García Lorca could salvage what they saw as the most 'authentic' expression of Andalusian identity (and by extension Spanish and *gitano* identity). As Christoforidis argues: 'Falla conceived of *cante jondo* as a folk manifestation of Andalusia and one of its principal markers of identity, although he believed in its relevance for all Spaniards' (Christoforidis 2007: 235). Therefore, in one competition de Falla and García Lorca endeavoured to construct flamenco as a transcendental, universal, Andalusian/Spanish folk-art that embodied the deepest expressions of the human condition,³² particularly through the primitive exoticism of the *gitano* (Llano 2012: 18–20).

Political Flamenco

Flamenco was also adopted as a symbol of cultural identity by Andalusian regionalists in their struggle for autonomy. First, it is necessary to provide a brief contextualisation of Andalusian politics during the early-twentieth century, a period in which republicans and regionalists were gaining more power. There are two prominent periods that are most relevant to *andalucismo*. The first period is from the early 1910s to 1919 where, arguably, *andalucismo* as a regionalist doctrine took on a 'nationalist' character. Two regionalist assemblies, in particular, reflect this nationalist trend. In Ronda (1918), politicians and

³¹ 'Operismo en lo musical y del *flamenquismo* en lo social'. García, 'Volksgeist y género español'. For more on the competition also see Llano, 'Between Self and Other', pp. 18–20.

³² It is important to note that the alignment of *cante jondo* with the human condition was most suitably demonstrated with García Lorca's 'quasi-spiritual' concept of *duende*, discussed in Chapter One. The use of *duende* as an aesthetic term continues to this day and is ingrained in the discourse about flamenco. For more on the influence of de Falla and García Lorca on flamenco in the 1920s and 1930s see Washabaugh, *Flamenco Music and National Identity*, pp. 62–68.

intellectuals, including the famous ‘father of *andalucismo*’ Blas Infante (1885–1936), created the Andalusian ‘national’ anthem, flag and coat of arms. In Córdoba (1919), Andalusia was recognised as a ‘national reality’. The second period spans the Second Republic (1931–36). During this period, there was an increase in support for Andalusian autonomy especially after the Statute of Autonomy in Catalonia was approved in 1932. In 1933, a draft Statute of Autonomy (based on the constitution of 1883, discussed above) was created for Andalusia. However, due to the fall of the Second Republic and the beginning of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, autonomy was never realised.

Blas Infante was the leading figure of *andalucismo* at this time. While there has been much debate surrounding his true intentions (for some he was an Andalusian nationalist and separatist, see González de Molina and Sevilla Guzmán 1987), his political ideology was largely based on the creation of an autonomous region (namely Andalusia) within a federalised nation state (namely Spain). Beyond the political domain, however, Infante was a prolific writer and contributed to the construction of Andalusian identity. In his pivotal monograph *Ideal andaluz* (first published in 1915), Infante ascribed to Andalusia its own distinct history and a unique identity. He outlined the objectives that were essential for the regeneration of the region. These included land reform, education, identity and patriotism (Infante 2010[1915]).³³ For Infante, the many social and economic problems that Andalusia faced were a direct result of regional degradation and regional isolation at the hands of Madrid after the Catholic Reconquest in 1492 (Singh-Brinkman 2005). He viewed the Islamic era of Al-Andalus as the ‘golden age’ of Andalusian history and as a distinctive

³³ Also see Singh-Brinkman, ‘Autonomy and the Other’. In this article, Singh-Brinkman outlines the importance of the journal *Bética* (1913–17) in which many Andalusian regionalists, including Infante, found a voice. The journal used the Sevillian female cigar factory worker (a dark skinned/haired, exotic, female figure most commonly associated with flamenco and *gitanas*) as a key symbol. This is ironic given that the female factory worker was a symbolic relic of nineteenth-century Romanticism, a symbol ‘given’ to Andalusians by foreigners. Moreover, it was a symbol that was perpetuated by the same centralist powers that regionalists were trying to disassociate from.

marker of regional identity (Cortés Peña 2001).³⁴

Infante's correlation of flamenco with Andalusia is suitably exemplified in his monograph, *Orígenes de lo flamenco y secreto del cante jondo* (Eng: The Origins of Flamenco and Secret of *Cante Jondo*) (Infante 2010[1929–33]). In this text, Infante examines the origins of flamenco (both musically and etymologically) placing emphasis on its inextricable link to Andalusia, or what he calls 'nuestro país' (Eng: 'our country'). For Infante, flamenco was a poignant relic of Andalusian history. It not only marked out the distinctive, multicultural basis of a supposed Andalusian ethnicity, but it also provided a marker of historical continuity. He dispelled theories that located the origins of flamenco outside of Andalusia or theories that emphasised its *gitano* origins. Instead, he argued that flamenco was an indigenous music, fostered and developed within Andalusia's borders. At the end of the text, Infante proposed that the word flamenco was a corruption of the Arabic term *felah mengu* (Eng: escaped peasant) (Infante 2010[1929–33]: 166). In addition, he was the first to suggest that the musical origins of flamenco (rather than simply the etymological origins) were to be found in the cultural intermixing of *moriscos*, *gitanos* and subaltern groups in Andalusia. Again, the exaltation of Andalusia's Islamic heritage by Infante (through Al-Andalus) comes to the fore in his analysis of the origins of flamenco.

Despite Infante's attempts, the autonomy of Andalusia and the 'purification' of flamenco were unsuccessful. His failure to convert the middle classes to the regionalist cause and his failure to gain the support of the working classes meant that *andalucismo* was unable to take root. Moreover, the bifurcation of Spanish politics into opposing republican-left and nationalist-right camps resulted in the Spanish Civil War (1936–39), a war which quashed

³⁴ For a more detailed analysis of Andalusian politics during the early-twentieth century and the work of Blas Infante see Barton, *A History of Spain*; Cuenca Toribio, *Andalucía: historia de un pueblo*; Cortés Peña, 'El último nacionalismo'; Gilmore, 'Andalusian Regionalism'; González de Molina and Sevilla Guzmán, 'En los orígenes del nacionalismo andaluz'; Moreno Navarro, *Andalucía: subdesarrollo, clases sociales y regionalismo* and *Andalucía: identidad y cultura*; Newton, 'Andalusia: The Long Road to Autonomy'; and Singh-Brinkman, 'Autonomy and the Other'.

regionalism and engendered a deterioration in flamenco. As I have shown thus far, from the emergence of flamenco in the nineteenth century and its development up until the Civil War, flamenco had been constructed simultaneously as an Andalusian and as a Spanish cultural product. Indeed, its national popularity was predicated upon its association with Andalusia, the region possessing a certain cultural dominance in Spain. Following the Civil War, however, a new nationalist ideology in Spain ensured that a different identity was ascribed to flamenco. In this process, the Andalusian roots of flamenco were concealed.

Flamenco during the Franco Regime (1939–75)

Flamenco Censorship, Flamenco Tourism

In 1939, the nationalist dictator Francisco Franco came to power heading a regime that was characterised by strong political suppression. In the years immediately following the Civil War, the regime quashed support for regionalism, republicans now being viewed as the ‘enemy within’ (Barton 2009: 232). Similarly, the regime eradicated any expression of regionalism, with regional culture being suppressed and regional languages being banned. Spanish unity and the prominence of the Castilian language were central to the regime. However, simply suppressing anti-nationalist or anti-regime ideologies was not enough. Instead, ‘society had to be rebuilt in such a way as to eliminate the possibility of their resurgence’ (Grugel and Rees 1997: 128). Alongside political centralisation and political suppression, cultural activity was rigorously censored particularly during the early years of the regime. Nothing was left untouched – art, music, festivals, concerts, press, media – anything that did not adhere to a centralist, a traditionalist and a religious reading of Spanish identity.³⁵ Flamenco, too, was an object of censorship. Since it had been associated with political subversion and revolutionary protest (such as the Concurso del Cante Jondo and the

³⁵ For more on this period and the regime’s tough censorship see Barton, *A History of Spain*; Grugel and Rees, *Franco’s Spain*; Herr, *An Historical Essay on Spain*; and Ortiz, ‘The Uses of Folklore by the Franco Regime’.

work of Blas Infante), the traditional contexts for flamenco were hit hard. Singing was forbidden in some bars and other bars were shut early to discourage late-night flamenco gatherings.

However, as the historians Jean Grugel and Tim Rees point out: ‘The dictatorship failed to produce a distinctive culture of its own, [thus] relying on the manipulation of existing forms and the suppression of alternatives’ (Grugel and Rees 1997: 140).³⁶ Here, flamenco had a pivotal role in the construction of ‘Spanish-ness’ during the regime. The historical popularity of flamenco both as a commercial product for Spaniards and as an exotic product for tourists could not be ignored. While suppressing traditional and ‘politically-active’ manifestations of flamenco, the regime ‘carefully cultivated, cosmetically retouched, and strategically orchestrated [it] in such a way as to present an image of flamenco as a component of Spanish national identity’ (Washabaugh 1996: 162). The ‘nationalisation’ of flamenco, now known as *nacionalflamenquismo*, was particularly prominent during the late 1950s and 1960s. This was a time of great economic expansion in Spain in part due to massive payments from the US.³⁷ This period of expansion also saw an increase in tourism and a general relaxation in censorship controls. In the flamenco world, this spurt in economic growth and the expansion of tourism was welcomed with the opening of *tablaos* – venues intended for the performance of flamboyant displays and commercialised manifestations of flamenco that were popular with tourists. As the dance scholar Michelle Heffner Hayes points out, tourism served to obscure the problem of regionalism. She states: “‘Official’ versions of flamenco de-emphasized regional tensions and captured all of the accessible tourist images of Spain in light-hearted, entertainment-orientated stage shows for the *tablaos*’ (Heffner Hayes

³⁶ For a closer consideration of the appropriation of folk and the position of folkloric research during this period see Ortiz, ‘The Uses of Folklore by the Franco Regime’.

³⁷ Between the years of 1953 and 1957, the US gave \$625 million to Spain in return for the construction of army bases (see Barton, *A History of Spain*). This is not surprising given the usefulness of Spain to the US as a strategic ‘tool’. During the early years of the Cold War, it made sense for America to ally itself with a nation state that had defeated communism within its own borders.

2009: 125).

Flamenco and Gitano Ethnicity

There were reactions to the commercialisation of flamenco and its use in tourist displays. The rejection of commercialised flamenco engendered a second revival often referred to as the neoclassical period (Sp: *neoclasicismo*). In response to the sharp decline of traditional contexts and the perceived degradation in performance practices, artists and intellectuals attempted to salvage traditional flamenco in ways that not only eluded censorship controls, but that ironically assisted *nacionalflamenquismo*. There are three prominent examples. First, artists began to revive traditional *palos* that were either popular during the early-nineteenth century or that had been lost. Second, there was the emergence of new contexts in which traditional flamenco could be performed. In particular, the creation of *peñas* contributed significantly to the revival of traditional flamenco. Interestingly, these venues were supported by the regime because they posed no threat. It is important to recognise that *peñas* were constructed as depolitized and male-centred venues that existed purely for the aesthetic enjoyment of flamenco (Chuse 2003). As an extension of these new performance contexts, a number of local festivals were organised during the 1950s and flourished during the 1960s.

The *peñas* were also closely linked to a third example of the revival of flamenco: the emergence of *flamencología*. The formal study of flamenco arguably began with the work of Demófilo and Schuchardt (as discussed above). However, this scholarship focused on flamenco lyrics, bypassing any kind of musicological or historical analyses. González Climent's 1995 monograph *Flamencología* is widely regarded as the first example of modern flamenco studies (discussed earlier). The *flamencología* movement ascribed a certain degree of credibility to flamenco even though the movement remained relatively peripheral. Such scholarship gained more popularity during the 1960s, most famously with the book, *Mundo y*

formas del cante flamenco (Eng: World and Forms of Flamenco Song) (Mairena and Molina 1967). While long-regarded as the ‘bible’ for flamenco studies (a view that is still held by many), this text also marks the emergence of a *gitano* orthodoxy in the discourse about flamenco.

In the book, Antonio Mairena (1909–83) and Ricardo Molina (1917–68) propose that flamenco originated privately in *gitano* families between 1800 and 1860. As flamenco became more widely known, they argue that it was commercialised, publicised and ‘andalucianised’ in the *cafés cantantes* during the late-nineteenth century. While some scholars have criticised Mairena and Molina’s ethnocentric account of the origins of flamenco (Mitchell 1994; Steingress and Baltanás 1998; Steingress 2001), it is important to discuss why this narrative occurred and how it was received by the Franco regime. Mairena and Molina linked flamenco’s ‘authenticity’ to *gitano* ethnicity in such a powerful way that it has become an orthodoxy. This orthodoxy is still engrained in flamenco discourse today. *Mairenismo*,³⁸ as this discourse has become known, needs to be contextualised within the social life of *gitanos* during the 1950s and 1960s. Due to increasing modernisation, *gitano* lifestyle and ethnic ‘purity’ had come under pressure – traditional *gitano* jobs (for example as horse traders or blacksmiths, amongst others) were no longer applicable and intermarriage between *gitanos* and non-*gitanos* (Sp: *payos*) had increased dramatically (Washabaugh 1998). As such, *mairenismo* functioned as a way of salvaging *gitano* identity. By linking the origins of flamenco with *gitano* ethnicity and ‘blood’ (Papapavlou 2003), racial purity was assured. Importantly, this narrative was permitted by and even supported by the Franco regime. It chimed with many of the regime’s ideologies – family values, a patriarchal society and male honour. Moreover, it disassociated flamenco from regional sentiment. In short, flamenco became wholly *gitano* and not Andalusian.

³⁸ Named after Antonio Mairena, who was the leading figure of this orthodoxy. It is also important to note that Mairena was a prolific flamenco singer, being responsible for the revival and performance of many older *cantes*.

Revolutionary Flamenco

Nonetheless, the ‘revolutionary’ side of flamenco began to re-emerge during the final years of the Franco regime. During the early 1970s, the regime’s vice-like grip on censorship and self-determination began to falter, making room for a new democratic state. As such, revolutionary voices that had previously been silenced began to surface in the public domain. Flamenco provided a musical backdrop for some of these voices. There were a number of political protests against the regime that espoused equality and regionalism, protests that were echoed in the musical domain with the emergence of politically-motivated flamenco artists such as Manuel Gerena (b. 1945).

The presence of flamenco in overt forms of protest reflected the ideologies of class struggle and social inequality. Andalusian regionalism, although arguably present in Gerena’s work, was not seemingly at the forefront. Instead, *andalucismo* found a more ‘covert’ form of expression. Here, I refer to Washabaugh’s detailed examination of the television series *Rito y geografía del cante flamenco* (Eng: *Ritual and Geography of Flamenco Song*, henceforth referred to as *Rito*), a collection of 100 half-hour documentaries (produced between 1971 and 1973) featuring various flamenco styles and artists (Washabaugh 1996: 139–79, 1997, 1998, 2012: 68–80).³⁹ Washabaugh persuasively argues that while the documentaries underlined *nacionalflamenquismo* in order to pass censorship, they advanced both an anti-regime and a regionalist agenda. In complying with the regime, the documentary series undergirded the touristic emphasis of flamenco through its ‘travel-log’ style of cinematography. It also emphasised key ideologies of the regime such as rurality and the family. Moreover, as Washabaugh states: ‘It placed stress on the transcendental aesthetics of flamenco so as to detach it from politics’ (Washabaugh 1997: 56).

However, Washabaugh also shows that the *Rito* series evoked more subtle narratives

³⁹ The series aired on Channel Two. This was an ‘alternative’ to Channel One that had been the only channel available and which was rigorously censored. See Washabaugh, ‘Flamenco Music and Documentary’.

of political opposition. He argues that flamenco was not represented as a homogenised commercial product. Instead, in the series flamenco is represented as a rich musical tradition with a diverse number of styles and artists. At its heart, Andalusia remained the ‘home’ of flamenco. Here, the *tablaos* commonly associated with Madrid and tourism (although still present in Andalusia) were constructed in the documentaries as the ‘inauthentic’ and ‘public face’ of flamenco. ‘Authenticity’ on the other hand was to be found in the Andalusian homeland, amongst the people who lived and who breathed flamenco. Washabaugh also draws attention to the use of Arabic in one particular performance of a *tangos* – a deliberate attempt to invoke Al-Andalus and its perceived importance to regional culture and history. Finally, Washabaugh proposes that *mairénismo* in the *Rito* series functioned both as a way of complying to and as a way of contesting the Franco regime. The *gitano*, as a distinct ethnicity, became a symbolic form of ideological differentiation between Andalusia and Madrid. Washabaugh states: ‘In uniting *andalucismo* with a politically-immune *mairénismo*, the “Rito” series was able to achieve the unthinkable: to divulge a subversive political message on the television network during the Franco regime’ (Washabaugh 1998: 67).⁴⁰ Washabaugh’s analysis of the *Rito* series shows how an ‘imagined community’ was invoked through flamenco to ‘document’, to ‘legitimise’ and to ‘empower’ Andalusia (Washabaugh 2012: 78).

Flamenco since the Transition to Democracy (1975 onwards)

Following Franco’s death in 1975 and the creation of the new Spanish Constitution in 1978, Andalusian autonomy finally became a reality. Decentralisation (a process that had begun in the Second Republic) went hand-in-hand with democracy. In Andalusia, the call for regional autonomy had increased throughout the 1970s, particularly with the creation of the Partido

⁴⁰ ‘Al unir el *andalucismo* con un *mairénismo* políticamente inmune, la serie “Rito” fue capaz de lograr algo impensable: divulgar un mensaje políticamente subversivo en la televisión de Franco’.

Socialista Andaluza (Eng: Andalusian Socialist Party) in 1976. This was followed by a huge show of collective regionalism through protests in 1977 – a collective regionalism that for the first time in Andalusian history swept across the entire class spectrum.⁴¹ This culminated in a regional referendum on 28 February 1980 (now recognised as the Día de Andalucía, Eng: Day of Andalusia) and the final recognition of Andalusia as an autonomous region in 1981 (with the first elections held in May 1982).⁴² By 1983, all seventeen Spanish regions had gained autonomy in a swift process of devolution. The devolution of powers has engendered a significant increase in regional feeling, sometimes in regions that did not previously possess any form of regionalism. According to Schrijver (2006), this regionalisation process has been largely successful (apart from separatist movements in regions such as the Basque Country). He argues that Spaniards possess a dual identification with their region and with their nation. However, the regionalisation process in Andalusia has itself engendered contestation where the very concept of a single Andalusia is in question. For the time being, it remains to be said that this process of regionalisation engendered a strong cultural movement. As the cultural anthropologist Mikaela Rogozen-Soltar argues: ‘In an effort to democratize, each region of Spain has essentially now been asked to foreground and authenticate what has supposedly been the hidden, silenced version of its culture’ (Rogozen-Soltar 2007: 868). This process has been keenly felt in Andalusia where flamenco has come to represent regional identity.

Flamenco was involved in the rise of Andalusian regionalism during the 1970s and into the 1980s. As such, it has become a symbol of Andalusian autonomy. As the Franco

⁴¹ As Moreno Navarro shows in *Andalucía: identidad y cultura*, class struggle began to align with Andalusian regionalism. During the late 1970s, workers were not only fighting for more social rights. They were also protesting collectively as politically-conscious Andalusians (pp. 28–29). It is important to note that Moreno Navarro himself was involved in the resurgence of *andalucismo* and the struggle for a distinctive Andalusian identity. His book *Andalucía: subdesarrollo, clases sociales y regionalismo* in particular, marks out the need for social change and political autonomy. It is a regionalist text that illustrates the increased political, social and intellectual momentum that *andalucismo* gained during this time.

⁴² For a closer examination of Andalusian autonomy and regional identity during this period see Cortés Peña, ‘El último nacionalismo’ and ‘Nacionalismo/regionalismo andaluz’; Gilmore, ‘Andalusian Regionalism’; Morata, ‘Spanish Regions in the European Community’; Moreno Navarro, *Andalucía: identidad y cultura* and *Andalucía: subdesarrollo, clases sociales y regionalismo*; and Newton, ‘Andalusia: The Long Road to Autonomy’.

regime began to lose power in the early 1970s, a small group of political singers such as José Menese (b.1942) and Manuel Gerena (mentioned above) used flamenco as a vehicle for explicit commentary. Flamenco gave these singers a voice against social inequality and, at times, a way of espousing regional identity. As Washabaugh notes: ‘A renewal of appreciation for the regional importance of flamenco [...] billowed out in a mass movement for Andalusian independence in the late 1970s’ (Washabaugh 1996: 53). Beyond the domain of performance, regional sentiment also informed flamenco research during the 1970s and 1980s. Eschewing the staunch correlation between flamenco and *gitano* ethnicity (that characterised the literature of earlier flamencologists such as Antonio Mairena), this research placed emphasis on Andalusian contributions to the development of flamenco. For example, Felix Grande’s 1979 monograph *Memoria del cante flamenco* (Eng: Memory of Flamenco Song) returned to the regionalist discourse of earlier intellectuals such as Blas Infante. Grande depicts flamenco as the musical product of the cultural melting pot in Andalusian history. In his own words, he states: ‘The decisive factor was the mixture; and that mixture only occurred in Andalusia’ (ibid. 1979: 129).⁴³ Here, Grande alludes to the influence numerous cultures (such as Arabs, Jews and *gitanos*) have had on the development of flamenco throughout the history of Andalusia. Accordingly, he contributed to a wider narrative concerning the consolidation of Andalusian identity after the transition to democracy.

As Andalusian autonomy finally became a reality, the significance of flamenco for regional identity became more apparent. Indeed, at times the correlation of flamenco with Andalusian identity was made explicit. For example, in 1989 a flamenco performance led by the renowned *gitano* singer Camarón de la Isla (1950–92) was used to inaugurate Canal Sur (Eng: Southern Channel), the first regional television channel. After years of centralised and

⁴³ ‘Lo decisivo fue la mezcla; y esa mezcla sólo ocurrió en Andalucía’. Also see Backer, ‘*Lo decisivo fue la mezcla*’.

highly-censored television during the regime, this was a particularly poignant moment for regional pride and autonomy; a moment that was strengthened by the presence of flamenco. However, the shadow of the Franco regime still lingered in the new democratic Spain. Washabaugh argues that there was little institutional focus on flamenco as a regional cultural marker during the 1980s, 'because of the widespread suspicion that regional history, having been part of the problem, could not figure into the solution' (Washabaugh 2012: 83).

Returning to the opening of Canal Sur, Camarón de la Isla was also representative of so-called *flamenco nuevo* (Eng: new flamenco), a genre influenced by the fusion of musical styles through modernisation and globalisation. This new flamenco genre reflected the increased presence of Spain on the international stage during the 1980s, the country now being viewed as a modern and a democratic nation state (especially after Spain was admitted to the European Community in 1986). Musicians were now able to play without fear of censorship. Moreover, flamenco became more prominent on the international platform. This meant that flamenco was discovered by a wider audience. In turn, flamenco became a part of the World Music industry. From the 1980s onwards, the presence of flamenco on the international stage meant that it was linked to a sense of national pride and national development after the Franco regime. At the hands of guitarists such as Paco de Lucía and singers such as Camarón de la Isla, flamenco was re-cast both as a World Music and as an art music.⁴⁴ It came to represent the new, modernised nation state whilst maintaining strong links to the Andalusian region.

The globalisation of flamenco has also affected its presence at the regional level. The economic geographer Yuko Aoyama (2007, 2009) argues that flamenco is a regionally-embedded culture industry, demonstrating the delicate relationship between local and global forces in musical culture. The increased presence of flamenco in global cultural markets and

⁴⁴ The flamenco guitar in particular began to grace international concert halls such as Carnegie Hall.

its historical connection with the tourist industry have resulted in a boost for the tradition both at home and abroad. By analysing the distribution of venues and outlets for flamenco (such as *tablaos*, schools and shops), Aoyama demonstrates the pivotal role flamenco plays in the development of regional tourism.⁴⁵ She argues that flamenco contributes to the overall economic development of the Andalusian region (Aoyama 2009). However, in recent years flamenco has been (re)constructed as an integral emblem of regional identity for Andalusians themselves, transcending its presence in the global domain. Here, Washabaugh argues that flamenco has been ‘cultivated as a marker of Andalusian identity and a patrimonial symbol of Andalusian autonomy’ (Washabaugh 2012: 7). Moving beyond its former association with Spanish nationalism during the Franco regime, flamenco has become a governmentally-approved and a governmentally-supported ‘heritage style’ at the centre of Andalusian cultural policies (ibid. 2012: 81–104).

Conclusions

The history of flamenco is multifaceted and complex. The historical narratives associated with flamenco have frequently been moulded to suit divergent ideological positions. In this chapter, I have provided an overview of this history, discussing key milestones in the development of flamenco. However, I have placed this analysis within the frame of Andalusian regionalism (*andalucismo*). Accordingly, I argue that flamenco has been inextricably linked to the waxing and waning of *andalucismo* from the late-nineteenth century onwards. Here, I have compartmentalised the history of flamenco and *andalucismo* into four distinct periods, relating them to important socio-political events in Spanish history. First, I explored the emergence of flamenco during the nineteenth century and its relation to Spanish national identity and *andalucismo*. Here, Romanticism and the centralisation of the

⁴⁵ Aoyama shows that the majority of people attending large-scale festivals and schools are foreign tourists. See Aoyama, ‘Artists, Tourists and the State’.

gitano through flamenco served to construct both a national identity and a regional identity. Second, I examined the development of *andalucismo* during the early-twentieth century. At this time, flamenco was both exalted as a transcendental/universal art form and situated as an emblematic Andalusian cultural product, tied to claims for political autonomy. Third, I discussed the appropriation of flamenco during the Franco regime and its construction as a distinctive emblem of Spanish national identity. Finally, I explored the role of flamenco in the democratisation of Spain following the regime. After the transition, flamenco became a globalised musical form indicative of a modern and a plural nation state. More recently and given the relative historical distance from the Franco regime, flamenco has re-emerged as a definitive symbol of Andalusian culture. This historical reading has provided a backdrop for understanding the regionalisation of flamenco in recent years. In the next chapter, I explore this regionalisation process since the early 2000s, examining the consolidation of flamenco both as a symbol of Andalusian identity and as a universal art form.

Chapter Five: Flamenco for Andalusia, Flamenco for Humanity

In this chapter, I examine how flamenco is constructed as an emblem of Andalusian identity both internally (that is, within the region) and externally (that is, beyond the region). By drawing upon Schrijver (2006), Paasi (2009) and Terlouw (2012), I discuss the regionalisation of flamenco since the middle of the 2000s. I take the regionalisation of flamenco to mean the ‘official’ consolidation of flamenco as a distinctly Andalusian tradition and its use in the validation of a regional identity. Here, I invoke Paasi’s (2009) four stages in the institutionalisation of regions, applying them to the development of flamenco at an institutional level. These four stages are: territorial shaping, symbolic shaping, institutional shaping and establishment. Moreover, I draw upon Terlouw’s distinction between ‘thick’ and ‘thin’ forms of ‘official’ regional identity. I argue that flamenco informs ‘thick’ and ‘thin’ representations of Andalusian identity. Ultimately, flamenco has become a tool for the internalisation of Andalusian culture for Andalusians themselves and for the externalisation of Andalusian culture for humanity.

The chapter is structured around two institutional declarations that have shaped and will continue to shape the regionalisation of flamenco, namely the Estatuto de Autonomía para Andalucía (Eng: Statute of Autonomy for Andalusia) and the recognition of flamenco as an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (henceforth referred to as ICH) by UNESCO. In the former, I refer to the inclusion of flamenco in the revised Statute of Autonomy. This ascribes to the Andalusian Government competencies regarding the development of flamenco within and beyond the region. In the latter, I examine the circumstances surrounding the UNESCO declaration and some of its immediate effects. Drawing upon institutional publications, newspaper articles and ethnographic interviews, I explore the impact that these declarations have had on the regionalisation of flamenco. In particular, I focus on heritage policy, education and the development of flamenco as a culture industry. Overall, I show that

regional institutions have played a prominent role in consolidating flamenco as a form of regional heritage. Here, flamenco is used to construct a ‘thick’ regional identity, being viewed as a way of unifying culturally the eight provinces of Andalusia. Flamenco is also involved in the construction of a ‘thin’ Andalusian identity. Here, flamenco is used in the economic development of the region (particularly through tourism) and is a vehicle for representing Andalusia abroad. In particular, flamenco helps to establish the image of Andalusia as a modern region that is fully integrated into the ‘Europe of the Regions’ (Paasi 2009).

Flamenco for Andalusia: The Statute of Autonomy

Statute Reform and Flamenco

Throughout the past decade, flamenco has arguably become the most prominent symbol of Andalusian identity. At the institutional level there has been a leap in support for the protection of flamenco both within and outside of the region. A powerful reminder of this support is the recognition of flamenco at the highest political level – its inclusion in the revised Statute of Autonomy (henceforth referred to as the Statute) in 2007. In Article 68 of the Statute, it states that the Andalusian Government (Sp: Junta de Andalucía) has ‘exclusive competency [responsibility] regarding the knowledge, research, development, promotion and diffusion of flamenco as a unique element of Andalusian cultural heritage’ (Junta de Andalucía 2007).¹ This Statute grants the Andalusian Government exclusive ‘competency’ or responsibility (Sp: *competencia*) for the protection of flamenco. In turn, the Statute consolidates flamenco as an integral part of regional heritage both politically and symbolically. The inclusion resonates with Paasi’s notions of institutional and symbolic shaping. On the one hand, the Statute institutionalises flamenco at the highest level, the

¹ ‘La competencia exclusiva en materia de conocimiento, conservación, investigación, formación, promoción y difusión del flamenco como elemento singular del patrimonio cultural andaluz’.

inclusion being a direct result of the autonomous powers granted to Andalusia. On the other hand, the Statute officially affirms flamenco as a regional symbol through which Andalusian identity can be foregrounded. However, before addressing the implications and the impacts of the Statute in more detail, I will examine the context of statute reform across Spain since the beginning of the twenty-first century.

From the middle of the 2000s, numerous regional governments across Spain sought to revise their Statutes of Autonomy. This was a response to the centralising policies of the national Partido Popular (Eng: Popular Party) and a call to modernise statutes in accordance with current European trends (Keating and Wilson 2009).² The political scientists Michael Keating and Alex Wilson describe this as the ‘second wave of decentralisation’ (ibid. 2009: 537). This process was a result of lingering issues regarding identity and the constitutional definitions of nation and region in Spain left over from the ‘first wave of regional devolution’ in the 1980s (ibid. 2009: 537). Andalusia was the first region to request a reform to its Statute, which was formally recognised in 2003 with the publication of the governmental document, ‘Bases para la Reforma del Estatuto de Autonomía para Andalucía’ (Eng: ‘Foundation for a Reform to the Statute of Autonomy for Andalusia’) (Delledonne and Martinico 2011). The Andalusian Statute had not been revised since 1982. Accordingly, the 2003 document was a call to adapt the original Statute to modern social, economic, political and cultural conditions. After a referendum in January 2007 and ratification by both the regional parliament and the national parliament, the new Statute was finally approved.³ Like with other autonomous communities at the time, the new Andalusian Statute brought with it

² Keating and Wilson also argue that calls for a semi-independent Basque state around this time increased the demand for statute reform in other regions, pp. 540–41. See Paasi for the importance of regional development in European policy. The EU’s European Regional Development Fund or cohesion policy favours the poorer regions, of which Andalusia is a prime example.

³ Keating and Wilson do note the high abstention rate in Andalusia, with 63.7% of the electorate not voting. However, of those who did vote, a massive 87.5% approved the reform. The high level of abstention did cause problems, with some anti-reform parties claiming that it indicated a lack of support among citizens for statute reform, pp. 546–49.

more competencies, particularly concerning European integration and the regionalisation of health care and education (Keating and Wilson 2009: 549; Delledonne and Martinico 2011: 895–97).

One of the most controversial elements in this round of reforms was how regions were identified. This reflected ambiguities in the Spanish Constitution regarding the definitions of nation and region. In the 2003 reform document, Andalusia is described as a ‘national reality’. However, this description had to be changed to ‘historical nationality’ in the final preamble of the Statute. The term ‘national reality’ carried with it a ‘nationalist’ sentiment, jeopardising Spanish national unity as a whole. Keating and Wilson argue: ‘Although largely symbolic, the conflict was sharpened by competing visions of Spain as a plurinational or mononational state’ (Keating and Wilson 2009: 549). For the pro-reform Andalusian parties, the region had historical claims to autonomy, its own historical identity and a unique culture of its own.⁴ Accordingly, the new Andalusian Statute (like many others at this time) was characterised by the notion of *hecho diferencial* (Eng: distinctiveness or distinguishing fact). Across Spain, new statutes foregrounded cultural elements such as folklore, language and music that were fundamental in the representation of regional identity. Moreover, these elements distinguished regions from Spanish culture in general (Delledonne and Martinico 2011). While flamenco had strong associations with Spanish nationalism during the Franco regime, in Andalusia it still epitomised a regional identity. Therefore, the inclusion of flamenco in the reformed Statute fulfilled the role of an *hecho diferencial*. I contend that flamenco is seen as an important symbol through which a ‘thick’ Andalusian identity can be affirmed; an identity rooted in regional culture and regional history.

Since 2007, the principle institution for putting Article 68 into action has been the Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco (Eng: Andalusian Institute of Flamenco, henceforth referred

⁴ Andalusia’s own historical identity is particularly based upon the notion of co-existence between Christians, Muslims and Jews. See Keating and Wilson, ‘Renegotiating the State of Autonomies’, p. 550.

to as the IAF). Created in 2005 as part of the Consejería de Cultura (Eng: Department of Culture),⁵ this institution (previously known as the Andalusian Agency for the Development of Flamenco, henceforth referred to as the AADF) is responsible for the conservation, the promotion and the diffusion of flamenco within and outside of Andalusia. Moreover, it is directly accountable for meeting the competencies outlined in Article 68. In an interview with the previous Director of the AADF, Francisco Perujo Serrano, Washabaugh notes that the institution 'is the only official governmental institution in the world charged with responsibilities for articulating music and politics, by advancing an understanding of flamenco through investigation, study, teaching, and promotion' (Washabaugh 2012: 94). In my interview with Cristina Cruces Roldán, she advised me that flamenco had little centralised support prior to the creation of the institution (interview 30 April, 2012). Instead, there was a fragmented system in which town councils and provincial councils provided their own support. Following the creation of the institution, a centralised system has emerged. Now many policies concerning the development of flamenco are managed by the IAF. In a sense, then, the very creation of a distinct governmental body for the development of flamenco coincides with Paasi's notion of institutional shaping. The Andalusian Government has utilised its autonomous powers to create a public institution solely devoted to the development of flamenco at a regional and at an international level.

Contesting the Statute of Autonomy

The inclusion of flamenco in the Andalusian Statute instigated fierce debates regarding musical ownership and the appropriation of flamenco for political purposes. These debates were most prominent in Andalusia's two neighbouring autonomous regions, namely Extremadura and Murcia. Towards the end of 2006 when the Statute was being finalised, the

⁵ This department is now referred to as the Consejería de Cultura y Deporte (Eng: Department of Culture and Sport).

debate received much coverage in newspapers from Extremadura and Murcia. In particular, there are numerous articles citing responses from Extremadura's Councillor for Culture Francisco Muñoz Ramírez and the President of the region Juan Carlos Rodríguez Ibarra.⁶ The altercation stemmed from issues surrounding the geographical diversity of flamenco. As already discussed, Murcia and Extremadura are known for their own distinct *palos*. These *palos* are symbolic of the place of Murcia and Extremadura in the wider flamenco scene. Here, I contend that the regionalisation of flamenco is intertwined with issues of territory and ownership. In a sense, these issues coincide with Paasi's notion of 'territorial shaping'. In the musical domain, the inclusion of flamenco in the Statute has effectively (albeit symbolically) 'mapped' the geography of flamenco according to the borders of Andalusia. This act has been seen by some as a 'quasi-nationalist' appropriation of musical culture.

Key political figures in Murcia and Extremadura declared the inclusion of flamenco in the Andalusian Statute as unconstitutional. While acknowledging the importance of Andalusia in the historical development of flamenco, Muñoz Ramírez and the President argued that Extremadura also has a crucial place in the geography of flamenco. They referred to Extremadura's numerous *palos*, its own distinct modes of performance practice and its own place in the historical development of flamenco. In the article 'Extremadura critica que Andalucía quiera la exclusividad del flamenco' (Eng: 'Extremadura Critiques that Andalusia Wants Exclusivity for Flamenco') from the newspaper *Hoy* (Eng: Today), Muñoz Ramírez stated: 'Extremadura, like other regions, is not an "appendix" in this field but has a tradition that has consolidated itself in several *palos* and versions of *palos*' (8 June, 2006).⁷ The inclusion was controversial because it exacerbated the peripheral position of Extremadura in the flamenco world. One flamencologist stated in a newspaper article that flamenco in the

⁶ Both were in office until 2007.

⁷ 'Extremadura, al igual que otras regiones, no es un "apéndice" en este campo sino que tiene una tradición que se ha consolidado en algunos palos y vertientes'. Available online: <<http://www.hoy.es/pg060608/actualidad/regional/200606/08/estatuto-andalucia-flamenco.html>> [accessed 6 February, 2013].

region is marginalised arguing that there needs to be an increase in its study and its preservation (Barrado Timón 28 October, 2007). In Murcia too, references were made to the region's numerous *palos* and the importance of its annual festival in La Unión, Festival Internacional del Cante de las Minas (Eng: International Festival of the Song from the Mines).⁸

The debate was also present in the Andalusian media itself, with numerous opinion articles and blogs contesting the inclusion. For example, in one article in the newspaper *Diario de Sevilla* (Eng: Newspaper of Seville), the inclusion was deemed unconstitutional and declared as an overt display of regionalism (González Alcantud 29 May, 2011). One blog on the *Hoy* website contained comments of disapproval regarding the reform of the Statute.⁹ Here, people contested the politicisation and the 'nationalisation' of flamenco at a regional level. This polemical debate reveals problems with the use of culture for the consolidation of regional identity. For the Andalusian Government, flamenco plays a crucial role in 'establishing' (returning to Paasi's terminology) the region and a shared regional consciousness as institutions attempt to (re)construct Andalusia as an 'historical nationality'. Yet for some, Andalusia's monopoly over the development of flamenco negates the contributions of other regions and localities. Washabaugh argues that the regional government is guided by a 'flamenco-as-national-symbol' ideology (Washabaugh 2012: 92). However, I find his conflation of the Andalusian with the national problematic. What is, or rather 'where' is, the nation in this context? In reality, there is only one nation – Spain. Nonetheless, some view the appropriation of flamenco as a form of regional 'nationalism'. For the Andalusian Government, a huge amount is at stake. On the one hand, foregrounding Andalusian identity through flamenco underlines the recognition (in the Spanish Constitution) of a plurality of regional 'nations' within Spain. On the other hand, such

⁸ This festival celebrates the *cantes de las minas* genre unique to Murcia and East Andalusia.

⁹ Available online: <<http://blogs.hoy.es/encuestasemanal/2006/06/19/le-parece-bien-andalucia-quiera-tener-competencia/>> [accessed 11 July, 2012].

institutional force may undermine Spanish cultural plurality when multiple regions have claims to flamenco.

In response to these debates, Andalusian politicians were ready to defend their position. As the Statute was being finalised, there was much dialogue between politicians from Extremadura and Murcia, and politicians from Andalusia. In particular, Rosario Torres Ruiz (the Andalusian Counsellor for Culture until 2010) claimed in the newspaper *La Verdad* (Eng: The Truth) that the inclusion of flamenco in the Statute would only be applied within the region and would not affect how flamenco is developed in other regions (28 September, 2006).¹⁰ Torres Ruiz made it clear that the Andalusian Government recognises the contributions of other regions and the universality of the flamenco tradition. Confronting the controversy head on, the first issue of the IAF's publication *La Nueva Alboreá* (Eng: The New Dawn) contained an article entitled 'El flamenco, una polémica exclusiva' (Eng: 'Flamenco, an Exclusive Controversy') (José Téllez January–March, 2007: 44–47).¹¹ The journalist Juan José Téllez addresses both sides of the debate. In the article, Bibiana Aído (the previous President of the IAF) responded to attacks from the President of Extremadura stating: 'I have exclusive competencies over flamenco in Andalusia, but no exclusive competencies over flamenco in Extremadura. I think it is an absurd controversy' (ibid. January–March, 2007: 47).¹²

In the article, José Téllez concludes by arguing that the inclusion is only applicable within Andalusia and is ultimately just a symbolic act. However, for many detractors this is exactly the point – it is symbolic. It is symbolic of Andalusia's monopoly over the

¹⁰ Available online: <http://www.laverdad.es/murcia/prensa/20060928/cultura_murcia/consejera-cultura-andalucia-reitera_20060928.html> [accessed 6 February, 2013].

¹¹ *La Nueva Alboreá* is a quarterly publication belonging to the IAF that details the activities of the institution in relation to the development of flamenco. It consists of various articles and opinion pieces written by politicians, members of the IAF and academics. It is edited by the Andalusian Department of Culture and Sport. The publication is integral to an understanding of the regionalisation of flamenco. All issues of the magazine can be found on the IAF's website. See <http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/iaf/opencms/portal/la_nueva_alborea.htm> [accessed 18 April, 2013].

¹² 'Yo tengo competencias exclusivas del flamenco en Andalucía, pero no competencias exclusivas del flamenco en Extremadura. Yo creo que es una polémica absurda'.

development of flamenco. It is symbolic of the close alignment of flamenco with regional identity. It is symbolic of the Andalusian Government's supposed move towards regional 'nationalism'. The recent inscription of flamenco on UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity has complicated this debate. On the one hand, the declaration has given opposers of the regionalisation of flamenco more ammunition. They question how the Andalusian Government can claim exclusivity over the development of a 'de-territorialised' tradition that is now officially recognised as global heritage. On the other hand, the declaration has managed to divert attention away from the controversy while at the same time actually reinforcing the regionalisation of flamenco. The declaration is on behalf of the Spanish nation state and the nomination involved both Murcia and Extremadura. Therefore, at the political level at least, the declaration may subdue tensions that surrounded (and continue to surround) the Andalusian Statute. Nonetheless, the nomination still plays an important role in the Andalusian Government's efforts towards the regionalisation of flamenco.

Flamenco for Humanity: Intangible Cultural Heritage

Flamenco's First Nomination

Outside of Andalusia, flamenco is one of the most famous cultural exports of Spain, occupying a prominent position in the World Music scene. Yet, the recognition of flamenco as an ICH will have a profound effect both on its international presence and its development in Andalusia. Here, the IAF continues to emphasise that 'flamenco reaches out to the world with its universal style while still serving as an Andalusian cultural marker' (Washabaugh 2012: 94). However, the road to ICH was complex and problematic. The declaration in 2010 was not the regional government's first attempt to attain ICH status for flamenco. In 2005, a nomination to UNESCO was put forward under the previous Masterpieces Proclamation. In

an interview with Cruces Roldán (interview 30 April, 2012), who was involved in both UNESCO nominations, we discussed the circumstances surrounding the initial attempt. There were two versions of the 2005 nomination. The first was a nomination for flamenco as a single, unique Andalusian tradition. The second emphasised the connection between flamenco and the musics of North Africa. This consisted of a joint nomination between flamenco and Andalusian classical music – musical traditions believed to have developed in Al-Andalus that now exist in North Africa. However, both of these versions of the nomination failed.

Washabaugh speculates at the reasons for the failed nomination in 2005. He states: ‘Specifically, UNESCO, back then, required evidence that flamenco music is a homogenous cultural phenomenon conserved from the past but threatened with extinction in the present, and potentially beneficial for all humankind in the future’ (Washabaugh 2012: 94). He argues that flamenco failed to meet the criteria because it is often viewed as a hybrid tradition and was not at risk of extinction (ibid. 2012). In my conversation with Cruces Roldán, she said that UNESCO’s criteria required that an ICH be linked to minority groups. While flamenco has always been associated with *gitanos* as a sometimes marginalised group, Cruces Roldán argued that *gitanos* are now integrated into Andalusian life and thus are Andalusian. In the context of the failed nomination, she stated: ‘On the one hand, these conditions of exclusion or ethnic marginalisation did not exist. And on the other hand, flamenco was absolutely alive’ (interview 30 April, 2012).¹³ This meant that it was difficult to fulfil UNESCO’s stringent criteria for acceptance onto the Masterpieces list. However, with the emergence of the new Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention (henceforth referred to as the ICHC) the Andalusian Government (through the Spanish Government) was in a position to put forward the nomination for a second time.

¹³ ‘Por un lado, no existían estas condiciones de exclusión o de minoración étnica. Y por otro lado, el flamenco en absoluto estaba vivo’.

The 2010 Nomination

The second nomination to UNESCO was submitted in August 2009, approved in October 2009 and accepted in November 2010. The nomination had strong institutional support. As well as being accepted by the Andalusian Parliament, the regional governments of Murcia and Extremadura supported the nomination. Moreover, there was backing from the Spanish Government including the Ministerio de Cultura (Eng: Ministry of Culture) and the Consejo Nacional de Patrimonio (Eng: National Heritage Council), as well as other non-governmental institutions such as the Instituto Cervantes (Eng: Cervantes Institute).¹⁴ However, the campaign was led primarily by the Andalusian Government, with the IAF playing a central role. In this way, the recognition of flamenco as an ICH was seen as a progression of the inclusion of flamenco in the Andalusian Statute as highlighted in *La Nueva Alboreá* (Agraso January–March, 2010: 29). In fact, much of the rhetoric surrounding the nomination pointed to the origins of flamenco in Andalusia, from where it radiated out to the rest of the world. In the issues of *La Nueva Alboreá* circulating at the time, there were constant references to the significance of flamenco as a marker of Andalusian identity. However, flamenco was also represented as a universal art form – one that was given to humanity by Andalusia.

¹⁴ At one point, the Andalusian Department of Culture tried to solicit support from the European Parliament, albeit unsuccessfully. See ‘La Junta busca la adhesión del Parlamento Europeo’, *La Nueva Alboreá* 15 (July–September), 2010, p. 9.



Plate 5.1: Promotional material for Flamenco Soy.¹⁵

In order to gain support for the nomination, a promotional campaign called Flamenco Soy (Eng: I Am Flamenco) was instigated by the IAF, highlighting the cultural relevance of flamenco for Andalusians and for humanity. In *La Nueva Alboréa* it is stated that the campaign aimed to create ‘emotional, subjective and committed support for our most genuine cultural manifestation’ (issue 14 April–June, 2010: 9).¹⁶ The campaign took two forms: direct marketing and online support. In terms of the former, the campaign was presented at numerous events across Andalusia, Spain and abroad. In Andalusia, promotional stands with eye-catching artwork (see Plate 5.1) were set up in commercial shopping centres across all eight provinces. At these stands, people were able to sign their support for the campaign. They were also able to purchase items such as fans and t-shirts with the Flamenco Soy slogan. Finally, the campaign was presented at flamenco festivals in Andalusia and

¹⁵ Available online: <<http://blogs.grupojoly.com/con-la-venia/tag/musica/page/2/>> [accessed 13 July, 2012]. The text reads: ‘Candidature for inscription in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity’.

¹⁶ ‘Un respaldo emocional, subjetivo y comprometido con nuestra manifestación cultural más genuina’.

internationally.¹⁷ According to an article in *La Nueva Alboreá* (issue 17 January–June, 2011: 30), over 80 events were held in Andalusia, Spain and abroad to support the Flamenco Soy campaign. In terms of the latter (that is, online support), a website was set up that gave information about the campaign, providing a place for people to sign their support for the UNESCO nomination.¹⁸ In order to increase its accessibility across the world, the website was available in English, French, Japanese and Spanish.

The Flamenco Soy campaign demonstrated the aspiration of the Andalusian Government both to consolidate flamenco as a symbol of regional identity and to strengthen its position as a World Music. The flamenco nomination for UNESCO itself marked out the proposed role of Andalusian institutions in the development of flamenco. Here, it is necessary to examine the nomination in more detail to understand the impact of the declaration upon the regionalisation of flamenco. Overall, a nation state must meet five key criteria when nominating an ‘element’ (that is, a cultural tradition/practice) for inclusion on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.¹⁹ These five criteria are as follows (see Figure 5.1 below): to meet UNESCO’s definition of ICH as defined in Article 2 of the Convention (UNESCO 2003); to contribute to the continued visibility of ICH as a marker of cultural dialogue, diversity and human creativity; to safeguard the element; to demonstrate that the nomination has been supported by the community(ies) involved; and to ensure that the element will be included in the state’s own inventories of ICH. I will now

¹⁷ These international festivals included Paris and New York, as well as promotional events in locations as diverse as Brussels and Shanghai.

¹⁸ Significantly, the website was launched on 28 February, the Día de Andalucía. Overall, the campaign appeared to be highly successful with some impressive figures being released. According to *La Nueva Alboreá* (issue 15 July–September, 2010) around two million Andalusians supported the nomination presented to them by their town councils. According to the Andalusian president, José Antonio Griñán in *La Nueva Alboreá* over 50,000 people voted online from over 60 countries (issue 14 April–June, 2010: 28).

¹⁹ See the UNESCO website: <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00173>> [accessed 16 July, 2012].

consider, in brief, how each of these criteria is met in the nomination for flamenco (UNESCO 2010).²⁰

- 1) To meet UNESCO's definition of ICH, including one or more of the five domains of ICH;
- 2) To contribute to the visibility of ICH as a marker of cultural dialogue, diversity and human creativity;
- 3) To safeguard the element;
- 4) To show support from communities for the element;
- 5) To inscribe the element in the state's own ICH inventories.

Figure 5.1: The five criteria for inclusion on UNESCO's Representative list.

According to the Convention, a nomination must meet some or all of the five domains of ICH as outlined in the Convention, thus fulfilling the general definition of ICH. The nomination file shows that flamenco encompasses four of the five domains of ICH (UNESCO 2010):²¹ it is regarded as an *oral tradition*, which contains numerous *social, ritual and festive practices*, transmits *knowledge connected with nature* and also involves *traditional craft techniques*. The nomination file meets the general definition of ICH by depicting flamenco as a diverse tradition that affords identity to numerous communities and individuals (such as *gitanos*, families, performers and public/private institutions). As discussed elsewhere, the definition and the recognition of ICH are often difficult to determine. In this nomination, flamenco is presented in such a way that it can meet with any definition of ICH afforded by UNESCO. In terms of the second criterion, the nomination states that flamenco will contribute to a continued visibility of ICH through the presence of flamenco at different levels (for example at the local, the regional, the national and the international level). The flamenco nomination received extensive press coverage thus raising

²⁰ The nomination file included: a written document detailing how the tradition meets the criteria for nomination as an ICH; a demonstrational video; representative photographs; and 300 letters of support from various private institutions and performers. All of this information and documentation is available on the UNESCO website. See <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00363>> [accessed 16 July, 2012]. See Seeger, 'Lessons Learned from the ICTM' for a closer examination of the nomination process as it related to the Masterpieces Proclamation. The new ICHC retains much the same nomination process.

²¹ See Article 2 of the Convention. In the text above, I have italicised all the domains detailed in the Convention.

awareness of ICH in general. The nomination file also outlines the contributions of flamenco to cultural diversity, multiculturalism and human creativity, particularly through its supposedly multicultural origins.

In terms of the third criterion, the nomination file contains a detailed breakdown of the safeguarding measures proposed by relevant institutions (UNESCO 2010). Here, current, recent and proposed safeguarding measures are summarised (including the institutions involved and the funds necessary). In an interview with David Peral the spokesperson for the IAF, we discussed the measures put forward by the agency for the declaration. He stated:

In this candidature, a series of agreements were included [...] a series of agreements that in many cases we have been doing for a long time [...] agreements such as maintaining a stable schedule [of performances], maintaining aid for the sector to continue conserving and promoting the digitalization of documental resources [...] therefore some agreements have increased and others continue to maintain what this institution [the IAF] has been doing for a long time (interview 30 April, 2012).²²

As Peral made clear, the Andalusian Government had already made significant advancements in the development of flamenco. Nonetheless, in order to meet the criteria for the UNESCO declaration, numerous measures needed to be identified. Here, the nomination file isolates six key areas (UNESCO 2010): evaluation (a safeguarding plan is presented with all the relevant governmental institutions); protection (such as the digitalization of archives); research (through universities); education (such as the inclusion of flamenco in the Andalusian educational system); promotion (such as festivals and performances); and coordination (maintaining a safeguarding committee). Promotion was by far the most

²² '[...] en esa candidatura se incluyen una serie de compromisos [...] una serie de compromisos que en muchos casos nosotros vinimos haciendo desde hace mucho tiempo [...] compromisos como mantener una programación estable, mantener ayudas al sector, seguir conversando y fomentando la digitalización de fondos documentales [...] entonces, se aumentan unos compromisos y otros siguen manteniendo lo que esta institución hace, hace mucho tiempo'.

prominent of the safeguarding measures. The nomination file proposes that over 15 million euros be spent on promoting flamenco and supporting events and festivals, with funding coming from various bodies (including the European Regional Development Fund).²³ Much of this development is located in Andalusia. However, a significant amount of funding will also go towards international festivals.

The fourth and fifth criteria for recognition require that the nomination be supported by the communities involved and that state parties ensure the element is included in relevant governmental heritage lists. With regards to the former, the flamenco nomination file gives the details of numerous flamenco *peñas* and performers who gave their informed consent (UNESCO 2010). Moreover, the nomination file also includes signed letters of support from across the key territories mentioned in the file (namely Andalusia, Extremadura and Murcia). In terms of inventories, the nomination file acknowledges the political decentralisation of Spain. The ICH nomination, therefore, is seen as an extension of the inclusion of flamenco in the Andalusian Statute. Moreover, each autonomous region in Spain is in charge of its own heritage policies. In Andalusia, the nomination file states that flamenco will begin to be recognised by the Ley de Patrimonio Histórico de Andalucía revised in 2007. This law concerns the protection of tangible and intangible heritages, through their inscription on the Catálogo General del Patrimonio Histórico Andaluz (Eng: General Catalogue of Andalusian Historical Heritage). Here, the UNESCO nomination file stipulates that the Andalusian Government intends to inscribe certain flamenco genres onto the catalogue as Bien de Interés Cultural (henceforth referred to as BIC).²⁴

²³ This fund is part of the EU's regional/cohesion policy and is available to those regions that fall under the convergence objective (that is, those regions that are in need of economic development).

²⁴ The BIC is a category of the Spanish Heritage Register, referred to in Chapter Two. Given political decentralisation in Spain, each autonomous region in the country has its own list of BICs. This will be discussed in more detail below.

Following the Declaration

On November 16 2010, flamenco was accepted on the Representative List as ICH, a date that has now become officially known as Día del Flamenco (Eng: Flamenco Day) in Andalusia.²⁵ Its success is not surprising. The Flamenco Soy campaign had a far-reaching impact and substantial institutional support. Moreover, a strong nomination by Spain for flamenco met with all of UNESCO's criteria. The arrival of the ICHC in 2003 also meant that flamenco had a greater chance of being recognised as an ICH. In contrast to the Masterpieces Proclamation, flamenco no longer needed to be presented as an endangered tradition linked to a particular community. Instead, flamenco needed to be an expansive tradition that emphasised cultural dialogue and diversity, attesting to human creativity across borders. Here, flamenco appeared to fit the bill. In the nomination file it was succinctly described as: 'A socially responsible art form committed to the values of democracy, in praise of freedom and in pursuit of justice, with a belief in dialogue and a role as a cultural bridge between Andalusia and Spain and lands farther afield' (UNESCO 2010: 7).

Despite the fact that the UNESCO declaration was a state-led initiative and despite the cooperation of Murcia and Extremadura, the impact of the declaration will be most keenly felt in Andalusia. I argue that the declaration will have a powerful effect upon the regionalisation of flamenco as a continuation of its inclusion in the Andalusian Statute. The regional significance of the declaration is apparent in the content of the UNESCO nomination file itself. However, it is important to recognise that the text of the nomination file is constructed in such a way that it carefully bypasses direct associations with regional identity in Andalusia. While it states that 'Andalusia is the heartland of flamenco' (ibid. 2010: 2), flamenco is still represented as a national tradition. To this end, Extremadura and Murcia are

²⁵ This was announced by Paulino Plata in 2011. See 'La Junta declara el 16 de noviembre como Día del Flamenco en Andalucía', *Europapress*, 15 November, 2011 <<http://www.europapress.es/andalucia/sevilla-00357/noticia-junta-declara-16-noviembre-dia-flamenco-andalucia-20111115160351.html>> [accessed 6 February, 2013].

frequently integrated into the text. It is carefully noted that flamenco ‘belongs to the conceptual self-image of southern Spain’ rather than specifically to the self-image of Andalusia (ibid. 2010: 3). Yet, the monopoly the Andalusian Government has over the development of flamenco is impossible to ignore, being clearly visible in the nomination file. In terms of the safeguarding measures proposed in the file, the vast majority of these measures apply to Andalusia with many of the institutions responsible being Andalusian. While the nomination file remains relatively neutral on issues regarding identity, the document still subtly underscores the importance of flamenco for Andalusian self-representation.

The significance of the declaration within the region was immediately obvious. The nomination was seen as a huge success in Andalusia. For the regional government, it was viewed as an affirmation of its efforts towards the development of flamenco at the regional level. The declaration received wide coverage in the media, both during the Flamenco Soy campaign and following the declaration. In issue sixteen of *La Nueva Alboreá*, there is a detailed account of the UNESCO nomination. The publication celebrates the relevance of flamenco for cultural identity in Andalusia and details the impact the declaration will have on the future development of flamenco. Moreover, the publication contains significant responses from the Andalusian President José Antonio Griñán. He describes flamenco as an ‘ambassador’ that internationalises Andalusian culture. Moreover, he argues that the declaration will destabilise negative stereotypes attached to flamenco (such as drinking, prostitution and marginalised lifestyles). In this way, the declaration will legitimise the continued development of flamenco. Here, Antonio Griñán relates the declaration to the inclusion of flamenco in the Statute. He argues that now the regional government is required

by UNESCO to safeguard flamenco, ‘the recognition [...] renews and intensifies our commitment to flamenco’ (issue 16 October–December, 2010: 11).²⁶



Plate 5.2: UNESCO exhibition sign at the IAF.²⁷

The IAF itself sought to commemorate the nomination by opening the exhibition, *El Flamenco. Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial de la Humanidad* (Eng: *Flamenco. Intangible Cultural Heritage for Humanity*, see Plate 5.2).²⁸ Finally, in November 2011 a major international conference on flamenco (*Congreso Internacional de Arte Flamenco*) was held in Seville. The conference was an extension of the institutional ‘momentum’ associated with the UNESCO declaration. It was organised by the IAF and attracted the support of Andalusian universities and media organisations. Moreover, the conference was supported economically by the European Regional Development Fund (henceforth referred to as the ERDF). The themes of the conference directly resonated with the safeguarding measures proposed in the UNESCO nomination file (such as flamenco as cultural heritage, flamenco in the culture

²⁶ ‘El reconocimiento [...] renueva e intensifica nuestro compromiso con el flamenco’.

²⁷ Photograph taken by the author, May 2012.

²⁸ The exhibition included: the nomination file documents sent to UNESCO; the photographs included in the nomination; video and audio presentations; brochures; and issues of *La Nueva Alborá*. There were also three computers set up to the *puntos de información* (Eng: information points). This is a network that provides access to some of the digitalized resources contained at the Centro Andaluz de Flamenco (Eng: Andalusian Centre of Flamenco).

industry and flamenco in the educational system). Accordingly, the event provided a forum in which experts could discuss the future development of flamenco following the declaration. A key aim here was to unify the different sectors of the flamenco world, covering the public, the private, the educational and the artistic realms. Conclusions from the conference were included in the governmental publication, *Libro blanco del flamenco* (Eng: White Book of Flamenco, henceforth referred to as the LBF) (Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco 2012a).²⁹ Following the conference, this publication details the key lines of development needed to fulfil the regional government's commitment to flamenco. Put simply, the publication of the LBF is a result of the inclusion of flamenco in the Statute and of the ICH declaration.³⁰ I will now explore in more detail the effect these two institutional declarations have had on the regionalisation of flamenco in Andalusia.

The Regionalisation of Flamenco in Andalusia

The inclusion of flamenco in the 2007 Andalusian Statute and the recognition of flamenco as an ICH will serve to consolidate its place as Andalusia's most powerful cultural symbol. In this respect, the IAF's website states: 'With the inclusion, in Article 68 of the new Statute of Autonomy for Andalusia, of flamenco as a unique element of Andalusian cultural heritage and the declaration of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO on 16 November 2010, Andalusian public institutions reinforced their commitment to work to keep

²⁹ The entire document can be accessed online via the IAF's website. See <<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/iaf/opencms/portal/LibroBlanco/>> [accessed 9 January, 2013]. The document also includes: audio recordings and transcripts of all sessions from the conference; information regarding the inclusion of flamenco in the educational system; a territorial map of flamenco; economic studies; UNESCO documents; and documents pertaining to Andalusia's own heritage policies.

³⁰ The LBF is also a continuation of the Plan Estratégico de la Cultura en Andalucía (Eng: Strategic Plan for Culture in Andalusia). This document, which outlines the government's policies towards the development of flamenco from 2008–11, was itself a result of the revised Statute. This is a more recent version than the one published in Washabaugh, *Flamenco Music and National Identity*. The plan was promulgated on 13 November, 2007. Available online: <<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/web/destacados/destacados/7ea56357-ba33-11de-8ed3-31450f5b9dd5>> [accessed 12 July, 2012].

alive this distinct cultural symbol and to spread it abroad'.³¹ The development of flamenco is now the objective of a number of different departments in the Andalusian Government (including culture, education, innovation and science, tourism, and equality and social wellbeing). However, it is the IAF (through the Department of Culture and Sport) that plays a central role in the regionalisation of flamenco often coordinating the activities of other departments. There are three particular areas of development that interest me. First is the consolidation of flamenco as a form of heritage. Second is the construction of flamenco as a 'social fact' through education. Third is the development of flamenco as a 'cultural fact' through infrastructure and performances. A thorough examination of these areas would deserve a whole book in its own right. However, I wish to highlight the regionalisation of flamenco as a stepping stone to an ethnographic investigation into the relationship between regionalism and flamenco.

Flamenco as Heritage

Following the UNESCO declaration, the recognition of flamenco as heritage according to Andalusian policy has intensified. This process needs to be understood within the wider context of Spanish heritage policy. In 1985, the Patrimonio Histórico Español register was created where both tangible and intangible cultural elements were identified as BICs (see above).³² Following decentralisation in Spain, each autonomous region was given control over its own heritage register. In 1991, the Ley de Patrimonio Histórico de Andalucía was promulgated and cultural elements began to be included in the Catálogo General del Patrimonio Histórico Andaluz (henceforth referred to as the Catalogue). Numerous cultural

³¹ 'Con la inclusión en el Artículo 68 del nuevo Estatuto de Autonomía de Andalucía del flamenco como elemento singular del patrimonio cultural andaluz; y la declaración de Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial de la Humanidad por parte de la Unesco el 16 de noviembre de 2010, las instituciones públicas andaluzas reforzaron su compromiso de trabajar por mantener vivo este signo distintivo cultural y de difundirlo en el exterior'. Available online: <<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/iaf/opencms/portal/SobreNosotros/>> [accessed 24 July, 2012].

³² This was briefly discussed in Chapter Two.

elements from across the eight provinces of Andalusia have since been included in this Catalogue.³³

The recognition of flamenco as heritage according to Spanish/Andalusian law is relatively recent. Between the 1990s and the early 2000s, a handful of flamenco scholars addressed this issue. They argued that flamenco should be supported by governmental institutions and recognised as regional heritage (Cruces Roldán 2002; García Plata 1996). Following the creation of the Ley de Patrimonio Histórico de Andalucía, flamenco was still not represented on the Catalogue. Cruces Roldán (2002) argues that this was partly due to the law's focus on tangible heritage (such as monuments). Here, Cruces Roldán contends that the plural and the intangible nature of the flamenco tradition made it difficult for the Andalusian Government to recognise it as heritage. However, in the 1990s she formulated an application for the sound recordings of the singer Niña de los Peines (1890–1969) to be included as heritage in the Catalogue. In 1999, the recordings were declared as a BIC and included in Andalusia's Catalogue. The recordings mark the first instance in which flamenco was recognised (by law) as heritage in Andalusia.

In the early 2000s, international rhetoric concerning ICH (particularly in relation to the Masterpieces Proclamation and the subsequent ICHC in 2003) meant that intangible elements began to feature more heavily on Spanish heritage lists. Following the UNESCO declaration for flamenco in 2010, Cruces Roldán's wish for the recognition of flamenco as Andalusian heritage was finally realised. According to UNESCO's own criteria, nation states must include elements of ICH in their own heritage inventories (discussed above). Here, the Andalusian Government saw the opportunity to utilise existing legal instruments to incorporate flamenco into the Andalusian Catalogue. The aim was to target smaller components (or 'elements') of the flamenco tradition. Accordingly, individual *palos* and/or

³³ This national/regional heritage system functions in a similar way to that described by Matt Gillan in the Japanese context (discussed in Chapter Two). See Gillan, 'Whose Heritage?'

genres were identified as BICs. In December 2010, the *fiesta de verdiales* (the *verdiales* is a folk-influenced *palo* from Málaga) was included in the Andalusian heritage catalogue. Subsequently, the *escuela sevillana de baile* (Eng: sevillana dance school) and the *escuela bolera de baile* (Eng: bolero dance school) were included in December 2011 and January 2012 respectively.³⁴ All belong to the category: ‘Activity of Ethnological Interest’.

What exactly do these declarations mean for flamenco? While it is too soon to assess fully the impact of these declarations, there are a number of measures proposed for the protection of these particular elements of the flamenco tradition. On the LBF website, there is a section containing all the documentation that pertains to the BIC declarations.³⁵ In particular, the original applications for the nomination of these elements as BICs are of most interest. In each application, there is a description of the element including its origins, its history and its performance contexts. There is also a detailed outline of how the particular element meets the criteria for inclusion in the Catalogue. Finally, there is an overview of the proposed safeguarding measures for each element. These safeguarding measures include the creation/consolidation of performance events specifically for the element and its integration into larger flamenco festivals. They also include academic research and the development of education for the element. Finally, they include the preservation of performance contexts unique to the element. Ultimately, these regional policies are a result of the UNESCO declaration. Here, the regional government has utilised its legal powers to declare flamenco as an ‘official’ form of heritage in Andalusia. In doing so, the government has met UNESCO’s criteria (that is, the integration of flamenco into heritage inventories). Moreover,

³⁴ The international flamenco conference (November 2011) discussed above, featured a panel on flamenco as heritage where BIC declarations were discussed. The LBF website contains recordings and transcriptions of all the panels featured at the conference. Available online: <<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/comunidadprofesional/content/i-congreso-internacional-de-flamenco>> [accessed 27 November, 2012]. In the future, other flamenco elements have been identified for inclusion in the Catalogue including the *fandango* and the *zambra*.

³⁵ Available online: <<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/comunidadprofesional/content/expedientes-bic>> [accessed 27 November, 2012].

the government has embedded further flamenco as a regional symbol at an institutional level. Time will tell as to exactly how these declarations will influence musical production and musical conservation in the region.

Flamenco and Education

The development of flamenco in the educational system in Andalusia is also a key area for the Andalusian Government. It aims to instil a knowledge of and a respect for flamenco amongst Andalusian citizens across all educational levels. In doing so, flamenco will be used in the educational context to espouse certain cultural values that apply to Andalusian identity in particular and humanity in general. Regional institutions want Andalusians to be introduced to flamenco from an early age so that they can, in a sense, understand themselves as Andalusians through flamenco. In conjunction with the Consejería de Educación (Eng: Education Department) and the IAF, the Department of Culture and Sport intends to integrate flamenco across all educational levels (that is, primary, secondary and tertiary levels). This initiative has become particularly prominent since the recognition of flamenco as an ICH (discussed below).

Proposals for the inclusion of flamenco in the educational system in Andalusia are not new. Since Andalusia gained autonomy in the 1980s, there have been calls for greater recognition of flamenco in the educational domain, particularly in schools. During the 1980s and into the 1990s, there were publications by teachers in conjunction with the then-called Consejería de Educación y Ciencia (Eng: Department of Education and Science), in an attempt to include flamenco into the Andalusian school system, particularly amongst young children (Gutiérrez Mate 2010: 2). While some schools developed their own forms of teaching flamenco, there was no region-wide model that could be used. Despite best efforts, teachers either had little knowledge of flamenco or had little interest in flamenco. Some

schools also resisted including it in educational programmes. In an interview with Cruces Roldán, she said that a negative image of flamenco has hindered its educational development. She stated: ‘If you ask anybody there is still this spirit, this model of flamenco associated with indecency, with a nocturnal lifestyle, with a Bohemian lifestyle, with irregularity, with drink, with prostitution’ (interview 20 April, 2012).³⁶ However, as Washabaugh (2012) notes, in 1992 there was a policy shift in Andalusia. Here, flamenco transformed from being the goal in education (that is, subject specific) to being a vehicle in education. Accordingly, teachers were encouraged to use flamenco when teaching a diverse range of topics associated with Andalusia. For example, flamenco *letras* were used to teach literature and the distribution of *palos* was used to teach Andalusian geography. To quote Washabaugh: ‘In this way, flamenco, became what was called a “transverse axle” [Sp: “eje transversal”] in the Andalusian curriculum, a hub that connects all the spokes that support the wheel as a whole’ (Washabaugh 2012: 86).

During the early 2000s, flamenco scholars and regional institutions began to focus on the development of a standardised method for teaching flamenco across the different levels of the Andalusian educational system.³⁷ Following the Statute, the Ley de Educación de Andalucía (Eng: Education Law of Andalusia) stated in Article 40: ‘The curriculum should include elements and activities related to the natural environment, the history, the culture and other distinguishing facts of Andalusia, like flamenco, so that they are known about, valued and respected as heritage themselves and in the context of Spanish and universal culture’

³⁶ ‘Si tú preguntas a cualquiera todavía [hay] este espíritu, este modelo del flamenco asociada a la procacidad, a la nocturnidad, a la bohemia, la irregularidad, a la bebida, la prostitución’. The flamencologist Miguel López Castro (2004) also talks about this in his chapter, ‘El flamenco y los valores’ (Eng: ‘Flamenco and Values’). He identifies two groups that reject the inclusion of flamenco in the educational system. First is a group of people who have negative opinions of flamenco and its supposed association with prostitution, alcoholism and so on. The second group refers to some flamenco aficionados who reject the inclusion of flamenco in the educational system as it may in some way alter its ‘pure’ foundations. The aficionados I was in contact with, however, were very supportive of the development of flamenco in educational contexts.

³⁷ Again, some publications emerged where scholars discussed ways in which flamenco could be more formally implemented in the Andalusian educational system. In particular, see Castro López (ed.), *Introducción al flamenco en el currículum escolar*.

(Junta de Andalucía 2008).³⁸ However, it was not until the UNESCO nomination that the inclusion of flamenco in the educational system was formally recognised by the Andalusian Government. This recognition was embodied in the document, ‘Proyecto de Orden por la que se establecen Medidas para la Inclusión del Flamenco en el Sistema Educativo Andaluz’ (Eng: ‘Draft Agenda for Establishing Measures for the Inclusion of Flamenco in the Andalusian Education System’, henceforth referred to as the Proyecto de Orden) published in December 2011 (Junta de Andalucía 2011). Moreover, the President of Andalusia José Antonio Griñán stated in the newspaper *Granada Hoy* (Eng: Granada Today) that the regional government would ‘renew and intensify’ its pledge to include flamenco in the educational system ‘to demonstrate that UNESCO was right’ (17 November, 2011).³⁹

Exactly how does the regional government intend to develop flamenco in the education system? Once flamenco had been declared as an ICH, the Andalusian Government moved ahead with its educational priority by creating a group specifically designed to develop flamenco in the educational context. This group consists of various professionals from different fields of expertise. I interviewed Alicia González Sánchez, a member of the group who is in charge of the development of flamenco in the conservatoires. She confirmed that the group was formed to ‘create a series of measures that will help to integrate flamenco in the school system’ (interview 13 April, 2012).⁴⁰ Behind this group and its work is the Proyecto de Orden. The document outlines a number of areas that are to be developed. One significant proposal is the creation of a portal where educational resources for flamenco can be pooled. The portal will be hosted on the website for the Department of Education thus

³⁸ ‘El currículo deberá contemplar la presencia de contenidos y de actividades relacionadas con el medio natural, la historia, la cultura y otros hechos diferenciadores de Andalucía, como el flamenco, para que sean conocidos, valorados y respetados como patrimonio propio y en el marco de la cultura española y universal’. Also see Gutiérrez Mate, ‘¿Se aprende flamenco en el sistema educativo andaluz?’.

³⁹ Available online:

<<http://www.granadahoy.com/article/ocio/838128/grinan/propondra/llevar/flamenco/las/escuelas.html>> [accessed 7 February, 2013].

⁴⁰ ‘Elaborar una serie de medidas que ayudarán a integrar el flamenco en el sistema escolar’.

centralising educational materials for flamenco. The draft document also sets out criteria for the creation of more materials for both students and teachers, as well as detailing other measures such as awards for proficient educational resources and extracurricular activities.

One example of these measures is the didactic guide *Entre dos barrios* (Eng: Between Two Neighbourhoods), which is available on the IAF's website (Pulpón Jiménez et al. 2011). The guide was created by a group of teachers and staff from the Centro Andaluz de Flamenco (Eng: Andalusian Centre of Flamenco, henceforth referred to as the CAF), a research institute located in Jerez. It is intended as an interactive workbook for primary and secondary school students in conjunction with a visit to the CAF. The main aim of the document is to raise awareness of the CAF and its activities amongst school children. Moreover, the document is intended to increase the knowledge of flamenco amongst students. Here, it includes educational activities that can be completed before, during and after a visit to the CAF. I argue that *Entre dos barrios* equates flamenco with Andalusian identity and with 'universal' human values.

In terms of the former, Andalusia is highlighted as the cradle of flamenco. Here, flamenco is constructed as a crucial symbol of regional identity. In terms of the latter, flamenco is represented as an emblem of tolerance and respect for minorities. Here, the title *Entre dos barrios* refers to the location of the CAF between two flamenco hotspots in the city of Jerez de la Frontera – the *barrios* of Santiago and San Miguel.⁴¹ Unlike other traditional flamenco *barrios* where *gitanos* have been relocated, these *barrios* still have a healthy *gitano* population that, according to the authors of *Entre dos barrios*, co-exists with non-*gitanos*. This cultural exchange has given rise to *flamenco jerezano* (that is, flamenco from Jerez). The document states: '[...] these neighbourhoods and Jerez together contain a didactic potential and an educational value especially useful for the development of diversity, the development

⁴¹ The title also references Paco de Lucía's pivotal rumba, 'Entre dos aguas' (Eng: 'Between Two Waters').

of tolerance, mutual respect and co-existence' (Pulpón Jiménez et al. 2011: 11).⁴² As such, the guide corresponds with José Antonio Griñán's vision for flamenco following the UNESCO declaration. In an issue of *La Nueva Alboréa* he stated: 'It is necessary to emphasise that flamenco radiates grand values: multiculturalism, tolerance, transmission between generations, the recognition of tradition and respect for minorities' (issue 20 January–March, 2012: 45–46).⁴³

The development of flamenco within the educational domain also consolidates the position of flamenco as an 'art' music, on a par with western classical music. In particular, flamenco is developed in the contexts of the university and the conservatoire. As Washabaugh has shown (2012: 88), flamenco has obtained a small presence in Andalusian universities. Some undergraduate and/or postgraduate degrees across the region offer modules/courses in flamenco. Moreover, in 2004 Cruces Roldán inaugurated the first doctoral programme in flamenco at the University of Seville.⁴⁴ The international conference discussed above, was also a pivotal moment for the recognition of flamenco in Andalusian universities.⁴⁵ Beyond the university, however, flamenco has gradually carved an important place in conservatoires across the region and beyond.

In Spain, conservatoires are a popular way of accessing music education up to a degree level. In these institutions, music courses are split into a three-tiered system, namely elementary grade, medium/professional grade and superior grade. Andalusia is the only region to offer the elementary grade at a public conservatoire. Until recently, flamenco had

⁴² '[...] estos barrios y Jerez en su conjunto encierran un potencial didáctico y un valor educativo especialmente útiles para el tratamiento de la diversidad, el desarrollo de la tolerancia, el respeto mutuo y la convivencia'.

⁴³ 'Es preciso destacar que del flamenco emanan grandes valores: la multiculturalidad, la tolerancia, la transmisión entre generaciones, el reconocimiento a la tradición y el respeto a las minorías'.

⁴⁴ My flamenco guitar teacher Rafa Hoces Ortega was the first student to complete this programme (see Chapter Nine). To the best of my knowledge, this programme was recently closed.

⁴⁵ Also worthy of mention is the online educational project called *Flamenco en Red*, organised by the Universidad de Cádiz with the support of the IAF and other Andalusian universities. Here, various conferences, performances and interviews are organised and recorded, which are then accessible online. Using these resources, online users may undertake one of the project's flamenco courses designed to develop a greater understanding of the tradition amongst the public. Available online: <<http://www.flamencoenred.tv/>> [accessed 28 December, 2012].

barely any presence in Spanish or Andalusian conservatoires.⁴⁶ Nowadays, it is gradually being developed within this educational setting with courses being offered in *cante*, *baile*, *toque* and *flamencología*. At the elementary grade, guitar courses are held at conservatoires in Jerez and in Córdoba. At the medium/professional grade, the flamenco guitar has been included in eight conservatoires across the region (one in each province). According to Rafa Hoces Ortega, key conservatoires in each of the eight provinces were required to include flamenco guitar at the medium/professional grade. This was stipulated by the Andalusian Government in 2008 and conservatoires were obliged to include flamenco even if they objected. I suspect that this was a direct result of the inclusion of flamenco in the Statute. The Conservatorio Superior de Música de Córdoba (Eng: Superior Conservatoire of Music of Córdoba) is the only conservatoire in Andalusia to offer a flamenco guitar course at the superior grade.⁴⁷ Outside of the region, there are conservatoires that offer the superior grade for guitar in Barcelona, Murcia and The World Music Academy in Rotterdam.

The lack of conservatoires offering the superior grade illustrates that progress is slow. There is still a long way to go before flamenco is fully integrated into professional music education in Andalusia. For Rafa the process is like ‘watching a baby grow’ (interview 6 April, 2012). In our interview he stated: ‘Well, if I look back my opinion is very good because twenty years ago it was impossible to study flamenco in the conservatoires. So in twenty years, great. If I look forward phew, nowadays one can only study flamenco in eight conservatoires in the whole of Andalusia in which there are seventy conservatoires, well it seems very sad’ (interview 6 April, 2012).⁴⁸ Nonetheless, the gradual development of

⁴⁶ For more information on the state of flamenco in Andalusian conservatoires see González Sánchez, ‘El graduado o graduada en flamenco y su formación investigadora’.

⁴⁷ The situation is similar for song and dance courses. There are limited numbers of courses at a medium/professional grade and only one dance course at a superior grade (there are no song courses at a superior grade in Andalusia).

⁴⁸ ‘Vale, si yo miro hacia atrás mi opinión es muy buena porque hace veinte años era imposible estudiar el flamenco en los conservatorios. Entonces en 20 años ¡qué bien! Si miro adelante fuf, ahora mismo sólo se puede estudiar el flamenco en ocho conservatorios de toda Andalucía, que hay setenta conservatorios, pues me parece muy triste’.

flamenco in the conservatory system does demonstrate the impact that regional policy has had on flamenco education. Returning to Paasi's (2009) terminology and my own theoretical framework,⁴⁹ I argue that the development of flamenco in the educational context is a suitable example of 'institutional shaping' in the musical sphere. The Andalusian Government has used its own regional institutions (which have emerged as a result of decentralisation) to consolidate flamenco in the educational domain. Despite resistance, flamenco is becoming a part of public educational institutions in which it is 'established' as a prominent cultural symbol of the region. Equally, the development of flamenco in conservatoires helps to consolidate its image as a universal art tradition that is on a par with western classical music.

Flamenco as Culture

The development of flamenco as a culture industry is perhaps the most prominent example of the regionalisation of flamenco. This includes the creation of more festivals and an increase in the promotion of flamenco at a regional, a national and an international level. The motive behind this development is clear. The website for the Department of Culture and Sport states: 'Flamenco is our most genuine cultural identity: it is the art of our homeland, a symbol with which we identify ourselves as Andalusians within and outside of our borders'.⁵⁰ On the one hand, the development of flamenco as a culture industry is important for the 'symbolic shaping' of the Andalusian region (Paasi 2009). By increasing the exposure of flamenco across the region, the Andalusian Government can unify culturally the eight provinces of Andalusia. Returning to Terlouw (2012), flamenco informs a 'thick' Andalusian identity. On the other hand, flamenco has become an integral vehicle for the representation of Andalusian culture beyond the region's borders. In this way, flamenco helps develop a 'thin' Andalusian

⁴⁹ See Chapter Two.

⁵⁰ 'El flamenco es nuestra identidad cultural más genuina: es el arte de nuestra tierra, un símbolo que nos identifica como andaluces y andaluzas dentro y fuera de nuestras fronteras'. Available online: <<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/web/areas/flamenco>> [accessed 24 July, 2012].

identity (Terlouw 2012). It plays an important role in the economic development of the region and in establishing Andalusian identity on an international level (most notably on a European level).⁵¹

In Andalusia, *peñas flamencas* have begun to receive more institutional support. In the UNESCO nomination file (2010) and the Plan Estratégico (see footnote 30), *peñas* are identified as a key ‘target’ for governmental intervention. This is due to the important role of *peñas* in the historical development of flamenco. The main aim is to strengthen the relationship between public institutions and *peñas*. Accordingly, the IAF has cooperated with the Confederación de Peñas Flamencas de Andalucía (Eng: Confederation of Andalusian Flamenco Clubs), developing various performance programmes. These include a concert circuit and a competition. The former is called Circuito de Ocho Provincias (Eng: Circuit of Eight Provinces), and involves 120 recitals a year where artists under the age of 35 perform in *peñas* across the region.⁵² Performers visit *peñas* outside of their own province thus engendering a sense of regional unity through flamenco and through the institution of the *peña*. The latter refers to a flamenco competition specifically for young performers held in Andalusian *peñas*.⁵³ Artists who were born between 1 January 1987 and 31 December 1996 are eligible to enter the competition, which encompasses the three performance traditions (that is, *cante*, *baile* and *toque*).⁵⁴ Significantly, contestants must have been born in

⁵¹ In Washabaugh’s book *Flamenco Music and National Identity*, he outlines some of the initiatives of the Department of Culture and the Department of Tourism, pp. 89–104. However, since his monograph was published there have been a number of important developments that I address here.

⁵² This performance cycle is also intended to promote the values of flamenco to and through young people, an issue that will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

⁵³ The IAF designed this competition in 2010 in cooperation with the Confederación de Peñas Flamencas de Andalucía and the Instituto Andaluz de la Juventud de la Consejería de Igualdad y Bienestar Social (Eng: Institute of Young People of the Department of Equality and Social Wellbeing).

⁵⁴ Winners receive a cash prize, a recording and performances at Ocho Provincias and the flamenco festival Flamenco viene del Sur (discussed below).

Andalusia, be residents in Andalusia or belong to an ‘officially-recognised’ Andalusian community outside of the region.⁵⁵

In supporting the network of Andalusian *peñas*, public institutions seek to develop the role of flamenco in the ‘socialisation’ of Andalusian identity through one of the most established flamenco contexts. As is stated in *La Nueva Alboreá*: ‘The Andalusian Institute of Flamenco establishes as an objective to support what traditionally has been the cradle of *flamencos/as* and *aficionados/as*: the *peñas* and flamenco associations of our homeland. These entities comprise an associative framework of vital importance for the Andalusian Government’ (issue 20 January–March, 2012: 5).⁵⁶ In my interview with David Peral, he also echoed this sentiment (interview 20 April, 2012). He said that the *peñas* are important contexts for flamenco and a key focus of institutional intervention. He acknowledged the autonomous structure of *peñas*, but noted that institutional funds are available to them. However, many *flamencos* believe that *peñas* across the region are in a bad state of health.⁵⁷ Accordingly, a feeling of dissent towards the institutional support of flamenco within Andalusia has developed.⁵⁸

Even though the *peñas* are important performance contexts in Andalusia, they are relatively insular and ‘specialised’. They do not attract large audience numbers and are normally the context of choice for devoted *aficionados*. Recent institutional intervention, however, has sought to promote flamenco in the public domain on a grander and a more accessible scale. In particular, this is being achieved through institutional recordings, radio programmes and television shows. In terms of recordings, Washabaugh (2012) discusses the

⁵⁵ See ‘Convocado el III Certamen Andaluz de Jóvenes Flamencos’, *La Nueva Alboreá* (issue 20 January–March), 2012, p. 61. In relation to Andalusian communities outside of the region, it is also important to note that monetary support is available to such communities in order to put on flamenco events.

⁵⁶ ‘El Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco se fijó como objetivo apoyar lo que tradicionalmente ha sido la cuna de *flamencos/as* y *aficionados/as*: las *peñas* y asociaciones flamencas de nuestra tierra. Estas entidades componen un tejido asociativo de vital importancia para la Junta de Andalucía’.

⁵⁷ The term *flamencos* refers to flamenco musicians and *aficionados*.

⁵⁸ Recently, I learnt that the Andalusian Government has withdrawn its financial support for private flamenco institutions such as *peñas* due to the difficult economic situation in Spain. I am certain that this will have a profound impact on the survival of many smaller *peñas* across the region.

recent governmentally-funded recording, *Flamenco por Andalucía, España y la Humanidad* (Eng: Flamenco for Andalusia, Spain and Humanity). On the recording, the regional anthem is interpreted by numerous artists from across the eight provinces of Andalusia. Every track is devoted to a particular *palo* from each province which provides a ‘sonic map [...] to get people to think unity by hearing unity’ (Washabaugh 2012: 103). In terms of radio exposure, Washabaugh also refers to the new flamenco radio programme, *Canal flamenco radio* (Eng: Flamenco Radio Channel).⁵⁹ This is a 24-hour online channel that began broadcasting in September 2008 as part of Andalusia’s public broadcasting service Radio y Televisión de Andalucía (Eng: Radio and Television of Andalusia). The programme was another measure intended to fulfil the inclusion of flamenco in the Statute by bringing the tradition to the Andalusian public in an easily accessible form.

Andalusian public television has also had an important role in consolidating flamenco as a distinct symbol of regional identity. In particular, I refer to the recent television series, *El sol, la sal, el son* (Eng: The Sun, the Salt, the Sound, henceforth referred to as *El sol*).⁶⁰ This is a flamenco show presented by the Andalusian TV personality José Quintero, featuring performances by famous artists, interviews and clips from older flamenco television shows. The series is supported by the regional government and is filmed in Seville. It first aired on 15 November 2010 a significant date considering that flamenco was declared as an ICH on the following day. Indeed, *El sol* was intended to present an image of flamenco as both a universal art form and as a symbol of Andalusian identity. The series is full of ‘regionalist’ rhetoric that alludes to its relevance for Andalusia. Yet, it is also represented as a tradition that has broken its territorial boundaries. In turn, flamenco has become a universal phenomenon that all Andalusians can be proud of. While the show was popular, it has

⁵⁹ The radio station is available online:

<http://www.canalsur.es/portal_rtva/web/pagina/seccion/1106/radio/flamencoradio.com> [accessed 2 January, 2013].

⁶⁰ The word ‘son’ also refers to a Cuban song and dance form. In the Andalusian context, it is related to the idea of a flamenco sound.

received criticism. For some, *El sol* presents a homogenised and a regionalised image of flamenco that denies the heterogeneity of the tradition. Moreover, the show has also been criticised for perpetuating Andalusian stereotypes in the media – a legacy of the Franco regime but this time with a regionalist rather than a nationalist undercurrent.

Here, the journalism scholar Juan Francisco Gutiérrez Lozano (2010) problematises the Andalusian media in general. He states: ‘Canal Sur Television is criticized for broadcasting a traditional and backward image of Andalusian society that does not correspond with the economic, social and political accomplishments of a region with 8,000,000 inhabitants in 2007’ (Gutiérrez Lozano 2010: 118). While he does not address *El sol* specifically, the show perpetuates some of the stereotypes that he discusses such as flamenco and bullfighting. Despite this criticism, the *El sol* series demonstrates the institutional drive to increase the presence of flamenco in the public domain. As such, the show is an attempt to instil an ‘imagined community’ (Anderson 1983) through the medium of flamenco.

The consolidation of an ‘imagined community’ in Andalusia is also evident in the development of flamenco festivals and performances. While festivals and performances featuring flamenco are nothing new in the region, some have grown in size and repute in recent years. Moreover, governmental institutions have begun to play a far more prominent role in the design and the management of these festivals since the inclusion of flamenco in the Statute. This is best illustrated with two examples, namely Flamenco viene del Sur and the Ballet Flamenco de Andalucía company (Eng: Andalusian Flamenco Ballet, henceforth referred to as the Ballet). The former is an annual festival that has been running for fifteen years, but which has grown considerably in recent years. Organised and managed by the IAF, Flamenco viene del Sur consists of a series of major performances in large theatres in the

capital of every Andalusian province.⁶¹ The latter refers to a flamenco company that stages an annual production across Andalusia, Spain and abroad. Each year, the company produces a grand flamenco spectacle with a large troupe of dancers and musicians. It is normally choreographed by major artists such as the dancer Cristina Hoyos (b. 1946). The Ballet was founded in 1994. However, in 2011 its management was taken over by the IAF. The spectacle has become the ‘flagship’ annual event of the IAF. As such, it epitomises intervention at the institutional level since the 2007 Statute and the UNESCO declaration. As the IAF’s website states: ‘The Andalusian Flamenco Ballet is the maximum institutional representative of the deep art’.⁶² Indeed, the institutional significance of the Ballet is evident in the UNESCO nomination file for flamenco where it is stated that 4,500,000 euros will go towards the development of the company. Like *Flamenco viene del Sur*, the Ballet has been criticised for encouraging favouritism and for promoting interventionism.

Despite these criticisms, these productions are integral to the development of flamenco in the region. However, it is also important to recognise that the productions put on by the Ballet attract a number of tourists. Indeed, flamenco generally has played an integral role in the tourism industry. In this way, flamenco significantly contributes to the economic development of the region. This role has received some attention in the literature on flamenco (Ayoama 2007, 2009; Washabaugh 2012: 89–92). From the 1990s, Washabaugh believes that tourism in Andalusia became closely tied to cultural heritage of which flamenco was and still is an intrinsic part. In particular, Washabaugh identifies two types of flamenco tourism: leisure tourism (where people attend flamenco spectacles for enjoyment, normally in *tablaos*) and existential tourism (where people seek the ‘real thing’ by coming to Andalusia to learn

⁶¹ In Chapter Seven, I examine *Flamenco viene del Sur* in more detail.

⁶² ‘El Ballet Flamenco de Andalucía es el máximo representante institucional del arte jondo’. Available online: <<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/iaf/opencms/portal/BFA/Historia/>> [accessed 2 January, 2012].

flamenco and to become involved in the flamenco culture).⁶³ In Washabaugh's interview with the previous President of the AADF Francisco Perujo Serrano, he notes that the Andalusian economy depends on culture and flamenco tourism. Accordingly, governmental intervention is crucial (Washabaugh 2012: 96). The Andalusian Government has intensified in recent years its development of flamenco tourism in tandem with the economic advancement of the Andalusian region. Flamenco here functions as a form of economic development, echoing Terlouw's (2012) concept of a 'thin' identity. However, the economic crisis has impacted heavily on the Spanish economy and, consequently, funds destined for flamenco are being scaled back.



Figure 5.2: Andalusia Moving Forward with Europe logo.⁶⁴

Despite the economic crisis, flamenco is also being developed outside of the region. Here, it is used as a tool to represent culturally Andalusia on the international stage. This serves to establish Andalusian identity abroad and to attract cultural tourism. In particular, the Andalusian Government, through institutions such as the IAF, provides funding for flamenco

⁶³ I feel that Washabaugh focuses too heavily on dance and misses the abundance of flamenco guitar tourism in Andalusia.

⁶⁴ Available online:

<<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/economiainnovacionyciencia/fondoseuropeosenandalucia/manual03.php>> [accessed 3 January, 2012].

festivals outside of Andalusia and particularly in Europe.⁶⁵ Significantly, much of the money destined for the consolidation of international flamenco festivals comes from the ERDF. As mentioned earlier, this fund is available to regions that fall under the convergence objective of the EU's regional policy. Here, the ERDF is intended to develop Europe's poorer and more peripheral regions in order to reduce economic disparities across the EU. As such, funds destined for flamenco festivals abroad are, arguably, a way of making Andalusia a more competitive region through one of its most renowned cultural exports. This process echoes with my theoretical framework. Regionalisation, in the European context at least, is not only concerned with the 'internal' construction of regional identity (that is, within a region). It is also concerned with the construction of a region's image internationally, especially in Europe. In Andalusia, certain flamenco productions both outside and within the region are parts of the governmental initiative, *Andalucía se mueve con Europa* (Eng: Andalusia Moving Forward with Europe, see Figure 5.2). This campaign intends to elevate the position of the region within the EU. It also aims to improve the knowledge of Europe amongst Andalusians. Here, flamenco is also used as a way of representing Andalusia culturally within a European sphere. In doing so, I contend that it is used in the consolidation of a 'thin' identity, fulfilling the wider aspiration for a greater European integration of Andalusia.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have focused upon two key institutional declarations (the Statue of Autonomy and the UNESCO declaration) that have shaped and will continue to shape the regionalisation of flamenco in Andalusia. I argue that this regionalisation serves to consolidate a 'thick' Andalusian identity (that is, flamenco is constructed as a strong cultural and historical symbol) and a 'thin' Andalusian identity (that is, flamenco is involved in the

⁶⁵ See 'Flamenco en Europa', *La Nueva Alboreá* (issue 22 July–September), 2012, pp. 38–41. This short article describes a number of festivals, productions and courses that have emerged across Europe in recent years.

economic development of Andalusia and the representation of the region abroad). For Andalusians, flamenco is being used to validate regional identity and to invoke regionalism from the bottom up. For ‘humanity’, flamenco is being constructed as a universal art form that is available to all. I contend that the regionalisation of flamenco can also be understood according to Paasi’s (2009) four stages in the institutionalisation of regions. First, the inclusion of flamenco in the Statute can be viewed as a form of territorial shaping. Here, the geography of flamenco is effectively mapped onto the borders of Andalusia, albeit at a symbolic level. Second, the Statute also serves to shape symbolically flamenco as one of the region’s most powerful cultural symbols through which Andalusian identity can be foregrounded. The development of flamenco within the institutional domain demonstrates the symbolic importance of the tradition for the Andalusian Government. Third, the development of flamenco in the governmental domain is also indicative of institutional shaping. Here, the Andalusian Government has used its autonomous powers to integrate flamenco into a number of institutional policies including heritage, education and culture. Finally, flamenco is also involved in the ‘establishment’ of Andalusian identity for Andalusians themselves. Moreover, it is harnessed as a representative cultural symbol of the region internationally (especially in Europe).

In this analysis, it has been impossible to pick apart governmental initiatives that are specifically designed to meet UNESCO’s criteria and initiatives that have emerged as a result of the Statute. They are mutually reinforcing phenomena that are having important repercussions for the regionalisation of flamenco. However, I have alluded to numerous issues concerning the regionalisation of flamenco. In addition to controversies surrounding the inclusion of flamenco in the Statute, the regionalisation of flamenco has revealed other problems. These include monopoly, favouritism, marginalisation and the homogenisation of musical style. As Washabaugh has noted, there has been ‘[...] criticism of the ways that the

government is cultivating flamenco, promoting certain forms and elsewhere closing off creative possibilities. In other words, the activities of the departments of the Junta are suspected of actively determining the future of flamenco and of the Andalusian identity that it symbolizes' (Washabaugh 2012: 85). However, Washabaugh does not discuss these issues in any detail nor does he provide any ethnographic evidence to support his argument. In the second part of this thesis, I examine how the regionalisation process has been received at the ethnographic level. In doing so, I reveal supposed inequalities in and possible issues with the institutional development of flamenco. Moreover, I problematise the notion of a fixed Andalusian identity; an identity that informs both the institutional intervention into and much of the research on flamenco. I argue that flamenco is often at the whim of other levels of identification. Here, regionalism as a unified concept can become fragmented and disputed.

Chapter Six: Flamenco ¿algo nuestro?: The Platform for East Andalusia

In the previous chapter, I explored the regionalisation of flamenco and its role in the consolidation of a regional identity and the unification of the eight provinces in Andalusia. This chapter offers a contested reading of the relationship between flamenco and Andalusian regionalism. The correlation between flamenco and a unified Andalusian region is problematic when the very notion of a ‘single’ Andalusia is in doubt. Accordingly, I explore how flamenco is received by members of the sub-regionalist group Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental (henceforth referred to as the PAO), a group that challenges the existence of a single autonomous region. Instead, its members envisage two autonomous communities, namely East Andalusia (Almería, Granada and Jaén) and West Andalusia (Cádiz, Córdoba, Huelva, Málaga and Seville). Here, I problematise Schrijver’s (2006) model in the Andalusian context. The PAO shows that regionalism does not always align with the regionalisation process. In fact, regionalisation may engender oppositional regionalisms. I argue that flamenco is implicated in the formation of an ‘east-Andalusian’ regionalism.¹ For members of the PAO, flamenco is, paradoxically, both a source of differentiation from West Andalusia and a distinct form of cultural heritage for East Andalusians. In answer to the question flamenco, ¿algo nuestro? (Eng: flamenco, something of ours?), flamenco is both a cultural ‘other’ against which an east-Andalusian identity is consolidated and a tradition through which an east-Andalusian identity is reinforced.²

The chapter is configured according to the question: does flamenco belong to East Andalusia? First, I examine the idea that flamenco ‘no es algo nuestro’ (Eng: ‘is not something of ours’). Here, I explore the role of flamenco in a perceived Andalusian ‘nationalism’. Members of the PAO argued that flamenco is not a uniquely Andalusian

¹ It is important to note that east-Andalusian regionalism refers to regionalist sentiment directed towards East Andalusia as a region and not Andalusia as a region. Accordingly, I do not say ‘regionalism in East Andalusia’ as this could be confused with *andalucismo* (that is, Andalusian regionalism according to one unified region).

² The chapter is drawn largely from an extended period of virtual ethnography (see Chapter Three) conducted on the PAO’s website. This research has been backed up with ethnographic fieldwork in Granada.

tradition and that it does not belong to East Andalusia. They contested the homogenisation of Andalusian culture through the ‘imposition’ of what they regard as a largely Sevillian tradition. This cultural homogenisation extends to the level of local traditions that are not flamenco. Members believed that these traditions are threatened by the centralisation of flamenco in regional culture. Second, I examine the idea that flamenco ‘es algo nuestro’ (Eng: ‘is something of ours’). Here, I explore how members of the PAO constructed flamenco as a tradition that does belong to East Andalusia. In particular, I discuss how notions of classification, history and style informed the construction of a so-called *flamenco oriental* (Eng: eastern flamenco). Finally, I reveal moments in my ethnographic research where people refuted the ideological claims of the PAO and their rejection and/or negotiation of flamenco.

Ideology, History and Culture

Ideology

The movement for east-Andalusian regionalism is characterised by two distinct groups, namely the PAO and the Partido Regionalista por Andalucía Oriental (henceforth referred to as the PRAO).³ The two groups are intimately linked, sharing the same ideological foundations (such as the creation of an autonomous region in East Andalusia). However, they adopt different mechanisms. The PAO, created in 2008, is the ideological arm of the movement, essentially being a regionalist project that attempts to engender a regional consciousness in East Andalusia. The PAO also raises an awareness of the supposed inequalities between the two Andalusias. The PRAO evolved from the PAO in 2010. It is a political party that seeks representation for East Andalusia at all levels of governance (that is, the local, the provincial, the regional and the national). While its popularity appears to be

³ While much of my work has been with the PAO, I have been in contact with members of the PRAO. I will generally refer to the PAO throughout this chapter, but where any clarification is necessary I will distinguish between the two groups.

growing, the movement is still relatively small.⁴ In the proposed Statute for the PRAO, the objectives and the ideologies of the movement are explicitly stated (PRAO 2010).⁵ The principal aim of the movement is to seek further decentralisation in Andalusia, with the ultimate goal being autonomy for the east-Andalusian provinces of Almería, Granada and Jaén (see Figure 6.1). The movement does not, however, denounce Spanish national identity, with the Statute clearly outlining the unity of the nation. Nonetheless, the PRAO's Statute does refer to the supposed limitations, in the Spanish Constitution, of the decentralisation process in Andalusia. It states: 'The Spanish Constitution of 1978 grants the right to the auto-government of the regions, based on the principles of decentralisation, efficiency and historical rights that are not fulfilled in the Andalusia of eight provinces' (ibid. 2010).⁶



Figure 6.1: A logo on the PAO's forums.⁷

Some members of the platform even questioned the feasibility of the current Estado de las Autonomías, arguing that decentralisation creates a large amount of economic 'waste'. In the Andalusian context, this has supposedly resulted in an unequal distribution of power. Members argued that the regional government (located in Seville) has possessed a high level of centralisation since the creation of Andalusian autonomy, with provincial departments

⁴ The PAO has around 120 members with 600 users of the website's forums (although many of these use the forums on an infrequent basis).

⁵ The motives outlined on the PAO's website are the same as in the PRAO's Statute.

⁶ 'La Constitución Española de 1978 otorga el derecho al autogobierno de las regiones, basado en los principios de descentralización, eficiencia y derechos históricos, que no se cumplen en la Andalucía de ocho provincias'.

⁷ Available online: <<http://www.andaluciaoriental.es/foro/index.php?topic=2091.15>> [accessed 16 August, 2012]. It reads 'We are a region!'.

retaining little power. To this end, some members argued that more powers need to be granted to provincial councils. In doing so, a handful believed that Spain should adopt a more ‘centralised’ model whilst retaining autonomous communities. The decentralisation model outlined in the PRAO’s Statute is deemed more efficient and more cost effective, as the regional parliament would be integrated into the existing provincial councils. Some members contended that this would alleviate the costs involved in maintaining two councils, thus resulting in a more equal distribution of power across the provinces.

Centralisation in Andalusia is one of the key issues informing the movement. While members did not recognise Andalusia as a single region or Andalusian-ness as a unique identity, they did not tend to have issues with Andalusia per se. Rather, they contested the ways in which autonomous powers have been implemented by institutions based in Seville. They argued that decentralisation has benefited some provinces more than others, with the eastern provinces of Andalusia being economically, infrastructurally and culturally marginalised. In an article that appeared in the Granada-based newspaper *Ideal*, the President of the PAO, José Guerrero López, stated: ‘In the Andalusian case, autonomous “decentralisation” in reality has been a recentralisation, exchanging Madrid for Seville’ (31 December, 2012).⁸ Guerrero López argued that peripheralisation has occurred due to a large geographical and thus cultural distance between the administrative centre (Seville) and the eastern provinces of Andalusia. Returning to Schrijver’s model, Andalusian regionalisation has not been successful in this context. In fact, it has created a counter-regionalism that denies and contests the validity of the territorial shaping of Andalusia (Paasi 2009).

For members of the movement, centralisation in Seville has created numerous inequalities in East Andalusia. In a book published by one of the members of the PAO (and one of my informants), Leonardo Villena Villena describes the three provinces as the ‘last

⁸ ‘En el caso andaluz, la “descentralización” autonómica en realidad ha sido una recentralización, cambiando Madrid por Sevilla’. Available online: <<http://www.ideal.es/granada/20081231/opinion>> [accessed 7 February, 2013].

colony in Europe' (Villena Villena 2008: 11).⁹ He argues that infrastructure in East Andalusia is particularly limited when compared to the rest of region. One common point of contestation is the transport network. In my research, members frequently complained that connections between the three provinces in East Andalusia are poor both in terms of road transport and in terms of rail services.¹⁰ Another issue is that key policies in East Andalusia are controlled by the Andalusian Government. A pertinent example is the management of the Alhambra palace. The Alhambra is one of the most prominent monuments in Andalusia (if not Spain) and generates significant financial returns from the tourist industry. However, according to members, all the benefits go to the Andalusian Government in Seville. They contended that the town/provincial councils should be in charge of the management of the monument. Transport and the management of the Alhambra are just two examples of the supposed centralisation of Seville and the marginalisation of East Andalusia. However, the PAO/PRAO's calls for autonomy are not simply a reaction to centralisation since the creation of the Spanish state of autonomies. There are numerous geographical, cultural and historical factors that underline east-Andalusian regionalism.

Geography, History and Culture

Claims for east-Andalusian autonomy are, in part, linked to an existing geographical distinction between two territories in Andalusia: Baja Andalucía (that is, West Andalusia) and Alta Andalucía (that is, East Andalusia). As a unified region, Andalusia is a massive

⁹ 'La última colonia en Europa'. I was given a copy of this publication by Leonardo in Granada. In the book, he details the ideology, the motives and the history of the PAO with a list of key demands presented as a conclusion. Leonardo told me, on numerous occasions, that he has been unable to publish officially any of his work due to institutional restraints in Andalusia.

¹⁰ For example, there is still no rail connection between Granada and Motril, the latter being the second largest town in the province. The issue of travel infrastructure often draws the support of East Andalusian citizens. When talking to non-members who were aware of the PAO, they usually disagreed with the group's claims for autonomy. However, they recognised some of the deeper infrastructural and/or cultural inequalities that permeate the region. In the newspaper *Ideal*, there is an article dealing with the PAO's movement which mentions that the platform received 20,000 signatures in a petition for the construction of a new train line connecting Granada and Jaén. See A. Cárdenas, 'Creada una plataforma'.

territory being the second largest region in Spain (after Castile and León). The division between East and West is marked by unique geographical features. The East is characterised by mountainous terrain and a generally higher altitude. The West is characterised by a physical depression through which runs the Guadalquivir River. Geographically speaking, East Andalusia should include the province of Málaga. However, Málaga is not integrated into the PAO's claims for autonomy. This is partly due to historical rivalries and economic advancement in Málaga when compared to the other provinces of East Andalusia.¹¹ On the forums, some members agreed with this territorial division, dismissing the place of Málaga in East Andalusia. On the other hand, other members welcomed the inclusion of the province into their vision of an autonomous east-Andalusian region. Despite these debates, however, the PAO's claims for autonomy have a long history; a history that transcends simple geographical distinctions.

This history can be traced back to the power struggle between Muslims and Christians in southern Spain during the middle ages. Following the collapse of Al-Andalus as a unified territory (with the fall of the Caliphate in Córdoba in 1031), the Islamic occupation of the Iberian Peninsula was fractured into smaller *taifas* (or autonomous territories), many of which were located in southern Spain. After two unifications of Al-Andalus under the Almoravids and Almohads,¹² the fragmentation of Islamic territories meant that it was easier for Christians from the north to reconquer southern Spain. After the Islamic kingdoms of Córdoba, Jaén and Seville had fallen into Christian hands during the thirteenth century all that remained of an Islamic presence in Spain was the Kingdom of Granada.¹³ The three Kingdoms of Córdoba, Jaén and Seville were unified under Christian rule. They became

¹¹ In an opinion piece in *Granada Hoy* about the PRAO, the journalist José Antonio states that the exclusion of Málaga from the 'club' could be because 'it is not sufficiently "forgotten" or that is it too developed' (Sp: 'No está lo suficientemente "olvidada" o que está demasiado desarrollada'). See Antonio, 'Partido de Andalucía Oriental'.

¹² These two distinct Islamic groups vied for power over the peninsula. See Barton, *A History of Spain*, p. 44.

¹³ This kingdom was created in 1238 and was known as the Nasrid Kingdom.

known as the Kingdom of Andalusia, their borders roughly coinciding with the borders of Cádiz, Córdoba, Huelva, Jaén and Seville today (Sánchez Badiola 2010).¹⁴

As discussed earlier, the name Andalusia is believed to have emerged from the name Al-Andalus (see Chapter One). Members of the PAO argued that this linguistic corruption is manipulated in Andalusian historical narratives. Often Al-Andalus and Andalusia are regarded as synonymous. For some, the Islamic state is viewed as one stage in the history of Andalusia. However, as the historian Juan José Sánchez Badiola argues: ‘The concept and reality of Al-Andalus have little to do with Andalusia as a region’ (ibid. 2010: 329).¹⁵

Members of the PAO contended that Al-Andalus is used to differentiate Andalusian history from Spanish history.¹⁶ While Al-Andalus may be associated linguistically with Andalusia, many members argued that as an Islamic state Al-Andalus comprised many territories across Spain. Another issue for members is that the period is used to ground Andalusian identity in ‘historical fact’, even though some historians agree that the ‘castilianisation’ of southern Spain after the Reconquest influenced Andalusian culture (Córtes Peña 1994). Cortes Peña argues that the construction of the Islamic period as the ‘golden age’ of Andalusian history is a prominent narrative in the ‘invention’ of Andalusian ‘nationalism’ (ibid. 1994: 143–46, 2001). However, the debate is complex, with this historical narrative often contributing to the self-representation of Andalusia as a multicultural region.

¹⁴ Sánchez Badiola argues that Andalusia was not a unified kingdom at this point. However, as there was little administrative autonomy in its three constitutive kingdoms, the overarching regional term was often used.

¹⁵ ‘El concepto y realidad de Al-Andalus tienen poco que ver con el hecho regional andaluz’.

¹⁶ Also see Cortes Peña, ‘El último nacionalismo’.



Figure 6.2: The coat of arms of the Kingdom of Granada.¹⁷



Figure 6.3: The Spanish coat of arms with the *granada* visible at the bottom.¹⁸

Regardless of these disputes, during the thirteenth century Andalusia did not map onto the modern-day borders of the region. Up until 1492 when the Catholic King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella took over the Alhambra palace, Granada was an Islamic kingdom detached from Andalusia. In fact, even after the Reconquest and the creation of a ‘new’ Kingdom of Granada under the crown of Castile, the territory remained independent (that is, in terms of economy and in terms of administration) until 1833. In this year, Javier de Burgos (the secretary of state development) put forward a decree in which fifteen Spanish ‘historical’

¹⁷ Available online: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Granada_Arms.svg> [accessed 31 July, 2012]. The word *granada* means pomegranate in Spanish. Due to the abundance of the fruit in the area (brought to the Iberian Peninsula by Muslims) the city was named after it. The fruit was inscribed onto the coat of arms after the Reconquest. The symbol of the pomegranate can frequently be found in the city and, as I will show later (Chapter Eight), was present in some flamenco contexts during my field research.

¹⁸ Available online: <<http://www.spain-flag.eu/coat-of-arms.htm>> [accessed 31 July, 2012].

regions were identified.¹⁹ Until 1833, the Kingdom of Granada was not considered a part of Andalusia. Here, members of the PAO illustrated the contributions of Granada to Spanish history in general; a history that they believed has been marginalised by Andalusian institutions. The Kingdom of Granada became one of the five key kingdoms of Spain along with Aragon, Castile, Leon and Navarre. As an example, members pointed out that the Granada's coat of arms (a pomegranate, see Figure 6.2) is visible on the Spanish coat of arms (see Figure 6.3).



Figure 6.4: A map from 1776 depicting Granada and Andalusia.²⁰

¹⁹ This territorial division more or less coincides with the map of autonomous communities in Spain today. The nation also consisted of 49 provinces, which had relative degrees of power. The regions were merely honorary, there being no level of autonomy between the central government and the provinces.

²⁰ Taken from the PAO's website. Available online: <http://www.andaluciaoriental.es/foro/index.php?topic=1125.msg17536#msg17536> [accessed 1 August, 2012].

Members of the PAO referred to numerous maps from the eighteenth century depicting territorial divisions at the time. These maps illustrate the fact that much of East Andalusia was never part of a unified region until the nineteenth century (see Figure 6.4). It is important to recognise, however, that an association between the Kingdom of Granada and modern-day East Andalusia is problematic. Until the decree in 1833, the Kingdom of Granada encompassed what are now the provinces of Almería, Granada and Málaga, but not Jaén. As discussed above, Málaga is not included in the PAO's claims for autonomy. However, Jaén is. The inclusion of Jaén may be due to a shared sense of marginalisation in the province and to a greater cultural identification with East Andalusia in general. It is perhaps for this reason that members do not associate East Andalusia with the Kingdom of Granada per se. However, the historical importance of the Kingdom of Granada is a vehicle for east-Andalusian pride.²¹ This historical and territorial ambiguity has led some critics to accuse advocates of east-Andalusian regionalism of having a 'provincial' (that is, a *granadino*²²) rather than a sub-regional bias. In an article in the newspaper *Granada Hoy*, the journalist José Antonio, while seemingly sympathetic to the emergence of the PRAO, argues: 'This initiative has a typically *granadino* flavour [...] [and] they could have called the Regionalist Party of East Andalusia the Localist Party of *Graná*' (Antonio 10 November, 2010).²³

²¹ There are still debates in the forums regarding the definition of the east-Andalusian autonomous region. Broadly speaking, people use Andalucía Oriental (or at times its synonym, Alta Andalucía). However, some people do replace East Andalusia with the Kingdom of Granada.

²² The term *granadino(a)* is used as an adjective of belonging to refer to something associated with Granada or a local identity in Granada. For example, 'un *palo granadino*' (Eng: 'a *palo* from Granada'). It is also used as a noun to refer to a person from Granada.

²³ 'Esta iniciativa tiene un sabor típicamente granadino [...] [y] a este Partido Regionalista de Andalucía Oriental lo podían haber llamado Partido Localista de *Graná*'. *Graná* is a common way of saying Granada in the city.



Figure 6.5: The 1847 decree depicting Andalusia and Granada.²⁴



Figure 6.6: The 1873 decree depicting Baja Andalucía and Alta Andalucía.²⁵

Following the 1833 territorial division of Spain, the issue of east-Andalusian regionalism developed in tandem with the development of *andalucismo* in general. According to some members of the PAO, after the 1833 decree there were protests in the streets of Granada concerning the creation of a single Andalusian region (Villena Villena 2008).

²⁴ Available online: <<http://www.andaluciaoriental.es/hemeroteca/historia-del-autonomismo-de-andalucia-oriental/>> [accessed 1 August, 2012].

²⁵ Available online: <<http://www.andaluciaoriental.es/hemeroteca/historia-del-autonomismo-de-andalucia-oriental/>> [accessed 1 August, 2012].

Throughout the nineteenth century, there were other decrees that proposed different territorial visions of Andalusia. In 1847 and 1873, two Andalusias were identified as opposed to the one Andalusia in 1833. In 1847 (see Figure 6.5), it was proposed that the territory be divided into Andalusia and Granada invoking the historical division between the Kingdom of Andalusia and the Kingdom of Granada (albeit with the inclusion of Jaén). In 1873 (see Figure 6.6), the terms *Baja Andalucía* and *Alta Andalucía* were used (Sánchez Badiola 2010: 348).

Regardless of the denomination, the territories were the same: the West comprised Cádiz, Córdoba, Huelva and Seville; the East comprised Almería, Granada, Jaén and Málaga.

During the late-nineteenth century when *andalucismo* became more prominent, there were reactions to the idea of a single Andalusia even amongst those writers and intellectuals who were considered to be part of the *andalucismo* movement. The writer and diplomat Ángel Ganivet (1865–98) in a letter to Miguel de Unamuno (1864–1936), another Spanish intellectual, stated: ‘I, and I am Andalusian, declare that politically Andalusia is nothing, and that in forming the regions one would have to recognise two Andalusias: upper and lower’ (de Unamuno and Ganivet 8 January, 1898).²⁶ Calls for the autonomy of East Andalusia gained more prominence during the early-twentieth century as the notion of *andalucismo* itself increased in popularity. In an attempt to construct a cohesive history of their movement, members of the forum have posted numerous newspaper articles that expressed political feeling in East Andalusia (most notably in Granada) during this time. These articles demonstrate the demand for two regions around the time of the assembly in Ronda (1918) where the Andalusian anthem, flag and coat of arms were designed; and the Córdoba assembly in 1933 in which a draft Andalusian Statute of Autonomy was formalised.²⁷ The

²⁶ ‘Yo, que soy andaluz, declaro que Andalucía políticamente no es nada, y que al formarse las regiones habría que reconocer dos Andalucías: la alta y la baja’.

²⁷ In particular, see ‘Andalucía Oriental, región autónoma’, *Noticiero Granadino*, 30 April, 1932 <<http://www.andaluciaoriental.es/foro/index.php?topic=1581.0>> [accessed 7 February, 2013]; and ‘La Asamblea de Córdoba’, *Noticiero Granadino*, 18 January, 1933 <<http://www.andaluciaoriental.es/foro/index.php?topic=1581.15>> [accessed 7 February, 2013].

historian M. Newton recognises the tensions surrounding Andalusian autonomy at this time. He states: ‘An additional complication, related to the sheer size and variety of the region, was the *provincialismo* [Eng: provincialism] which manifested itself repeatedly at the Córdoba Assembly; the fear (as today) that with autonomy Andalusia might trade the dominance of Madrid for the dominance of Seville’ (Newton 1982: 28).²⁸

The transition to democracy in 1978 (and the subsequent declaration of Andalusian autonomy) meant that, for east-Andalusian regionalists, the fear of centralisation in Seville was finally realised (Martinez Miranda 20 April, 1979).²⁹ The Statute of Autonomy (henceforth referred to as the Statute) in Andalusia was finalised with large public support in the region. The Statute effectively buried political claims for two autonomies. Yet, east-Andalusian regionalism survives and the PAO appears to be gaining supporters particularly since the creation of the PRAO. It is also important to recognise that undergirding the movement is a lingering sense of provincialism, particularly in Granada. As such, many people may well identify as *granadino* and are dissatisfied with so-called Sevillian centralism, even if they do not necessarily agree with the demands for another autonomous region. Here, members of the movement played upon cultural diversity in East Andalusia, arguing that many people do not ‘feel’ Andalusian. Members on the forums often discussed the supposedly distinctive culture of East Andalusia, using it to construct an alternative reading of regionalism. In particular, members discussed the distinctive character, the accents, the customs and the traditions of East Andalusia.³⁰ As mentioned above, local and provincial identities sometimes inform these cultural dimensions. It is difficult to determine

²⁸ Also see ‘A ver si sabemos defender nuestros derechos’, *Noticiero Granadino*, 21 June, 1936 <<http://www.andaluciaoriental.es/foro/index.php?topic=1581.15>> [accessed 7 February, 2013]. Towards the end of the Second Republic (1931–36), this article mentions the Sevillian centralism noted in Newton’s analysis. For a discussion of east-Andalusian regionalism in general, also see Sánchez Badiola, *Símbolos de España*, pp. 347–54.

²⁹ In Martinez Miranda’s article, the case for two regions is stated. This was during the growth in ‘centralismo sevillano’ (Eng: ‘Sevillian centralism’) following the transition to democracy and at the height of calls for Andalusian autonomy.

³⁰ The PAO’s website contains a wealth of different forums in which members discuss different traditions, accents, culinary dishes, writers and so on.

the distinctions between what is Andalusian, what is east Andalusian, what is provincial and what is local. However, the members of the movement appeared to be self-reflexive in this matter. Members recognised the localisms and the provincialisms that make up the east-Andalusian ‘imagined community’. Cultural identity in East Andalusia becomes an overarching category that is nothing without its constitutive parts. What unites members of the PAO is the rejection of Andalusian identity (or at least a homogenised version of Andalusian identity). These issues become apparent when examining the responses of members to the regionalisation of flamenco.

Flamenco ‘no es algo nuestro’

Flamenco and Andalusian ‘Nationalism’

My research shows that flamenco is often viewed as a symbol of cultural homogenisation that obscures musical diversity in Andalusia. Members contested the manner in which flamenco is utilised by institutions, rejecting its cultural relevance to East Andalusia. For many members, flamenco ‘no es algo nuestro’. One of the central themes that emerged during my research was resentment towards the regionalisation of flamenco. However, members did not necessarily dismiss the role of flamenco in Andalusian regionalism. The distinction is crucial. Members did not contest identification with flamenco as a symbol of regional culture (even if many rejected flamenco). Rather, they contested the ways in which governmental institutions use flamenco as a tool in the consolidation of a regional identity. Many believed that flamenco is an *andalucista* symbol that is used to construct the notion of an Andalusian ‘nation’ and to consolidate a unified cultural identity that they believe does not exist. One respondent to my questionnaire stated: ‘[Flamenco is] an instrument [...] to “unify” Andalusian identity. This is what happens now in Spain, similar to the indoctrination of

Franco's Spanish nationalism. But now with a regional "nationalism" (questionnaire response).³¹

This quotation illustrates that many members viewed the regionalisation of flamenco as a form of regional nationalism rather than as a form of regional distinctiveness. As I showed in the previous chapter, flamenco has become an integral tool for the Andalusian Government's project of regional identity building, particularly after the revised Statute. Governmental rhetoric defends this process by situating regionalisation within a wider Spanish project of national unity through the display of regional diversity. Nonetheless, for many members who identified themselves as Spanish, regionalisation (both in terms of flamenco and more generally) is seen as a way of differentiating Andalusia from Spain. It is designed to construct an artificial Andalusian 'nation'. In the flamenco context, some members described this as another form of *nacionalflamenquismo*. As discussed earlier, this term is often used to refer to the appropriation of flamenco during the Franco dictatorship. For many members, the process has not changed. Rather, the institutions that support *nacionalflamenquismo* have changed. Reactions from members of the PAO show, ethnographically, the ways in which this process can be received negatively.

Another prominent theme that emerged in my research was that of ownership. Many members argued that flamenco is not a purely Andalusian tradition. They contended that it is appropriated by the regional government for political purposes. Echoing controversies surrounding the 2007 Statute, members often referred to the stylistic contributions of other regions in Spain (such as Extremadura and Murcia). For many members, flamenco was not a purely Andalusian phenomenon but a Spanish one. Issues of ownership also extended to the ethnic level, many members arguing that flamenco is simply a *gitano* tradition and thus of

³¹ '[Flamenco es] un instrumento [...] para "unificar" la identidad andaluza. Es lo que se lleva ahora en España, similar al adoctrinamiento del nacionalismo español de Franco. Pero ahora con el "nacionalismo" regional'.

little cultural relevance to Andalusians in general.³² Since the UNESCO declaration, many members also viewed flamenco as universal. In one online interview, one member repeatedly said: ‘Flamenco belongs to its aficionados’ (online interview 12 November, 2011).³³ Indeed, drawing upon my questionnaire responses, it seems that the majority of respondents had positive attitudes towards the UNESCO declaration. However, there were concerns about how the Andalusian Government will utilise the declaration. One member believed that it will only reinforce Andalusian ‘nationalism’, stating: ‘It is the perfect excuse [...] to use it as the national music of Andalusia’ (El flamenco ¿algo nuestro? forum).³⁴

These strong attitudes towards the development of flamenco are to do largely with the perception of cultural differences discussed above. Some members believed that flamenco simply does not belong to East Andalusia. Despite its presence in a few localities (such as the city of Granada), they did not consider it to be ‘theirs’. On numerous occasions (both online and offline), members told me that flamenco is a minority tradition in East Andalusia. They believed that it has little or no cultural relevance for them, their friends or their family. They argued that the origins of flamenco are to be found in West Andalusia and most notably in the *triángulo de oro*, invoking the dominant discourse that permeates flamenco narratives. It is in this geographical location that flamenco is believed to have most cultural relevance. To this end, many members simply dismissed flamenco, feeling no attraction to it and no identification with it. The cultural relevance of flamenco also emerged during my fieldwork in Granada. A couple of members completely dismissed the relevance of flamenco and by extension the relevance of my research. They argued that no one really likes flamenco in Granada and that its presence in the city is just for tourism.

³² It is important to note that many *gitanos* identify as Andalusians. However, for some members of the PAO the correlation of flamenco with *gitano* identity serves to problematise the appropriation of flamenco by the Andalusian Government.

³³ ‘El flamenco le pertenece a sus aficionados’.

³⁴ ‘Es la excusa perfecta [...] para usarlo como la música nacional andaluza’.

Cultural Homogenisation

While some members dismissed or disliked flamenco, others also believed that it reveals deeper issues of cultural homogenisation in Andalusia. One response to my questionnaire illustrates this issue succinctly:

What happens [is] that flamenco isn't a 'reality' that has the same strength in all of the Andalusian territory. For this reason, it annoys me that they try to implement an aesthetic supposedly associated with flamenco, when in truth it isn't anything but a westernisation or better said 'sevillianisation' of the rest of Andalusia [...] [the] Junta de Andalucía [...] utilises flamenco as a homogenising tool from an Andalusia that is diverse (questionnaire response).³⁵

This response is important for two reasons. First, it reinforces the belief that flamenco has less cultural relevance to East Andalusians, its strength as a symbol of regional identity being more prominent in West Andalusia. Second, it expresses the idea that flamenco is in fact a perfect example of the 'sevillianisation' of Andalusian culture in general. Given that many members believed flamenco to be a west-Andalusian (and specifically a Sevillian) tradition, its development across the region is viewed as an attempt at using Sevillian culture to homogenise cultural diversity in Andalusia. In a short but illuminating statement, one respondent said: 'I'm going to propose that they exchange the name Andalusia for "Seville"' (questionnaire response).³⁶

The popular flamenco dance called *sevillanas*, is a typical example of this process of homogenisation. This light and accessible *palo*, itself a sevillianisation of the Castilian folk

³⁵ 'Lo que pasa [es] que el flamenco no es una realidad que tenga la misma fuerza en todo el territorio andaluz. [...] Por ello, me molesta que se intente implantar una estética supuestamente asociada al flamenco, cuando en realidad no es otra cosa que una occidentalización o mejor dicho "sevillanización" del resto de Andalucía [...] [la] Junta de Andalucía [...] utiliza el flamenco como herramienta homogeneizadora de una Andalucía que es diversa'.

³⁶ 'Voy a proponer que cambien el nombre de Andalucía por "Sevilla".'

dance *seguidillas*, has become arguably one of the most well-known examples of flamenco across Andalusia. One member believed that the *sevillanas* has been consolidated as a prominent symbol of ‘official’ regional identity since the transition to democracy. The prominence of the *sevillanas* in the middle-class life of Andalusia is perhaps illustrative of this process. In an interview with my Spanish teacher in Granada, Nazira Ruiz López, a typical *granadina* who has lived in the city all her life, she told me how she learnt *sevillanas* in school ‘like all girls in Andalusia’ (interview 1 March, 2012).³⁷ It is very common for parents to send their children (normally girls) to take lessons in flamenco dancing and particularly lessons in the *sevillanas*. The *sevillanas*, therefore, is a good example of the supposed sevillianisation of Andalusian culture through flamenco that members of the PAO contested.

On the Flamenco ¿algo nuestro? forum, members discussed numerous other ways in which this sevillianisation or homogenisation of Andalusian culture occurs through flamenco. At the highest level, members criticised the inclusion of flamenco in the new Andalusian Statute. The inclusion is seen as another example of regional nationalism, resulting in the dominant position of flamenco across the region. In particular, the Agencia Andaluza para el Desarrollo del Flamenco (henceforth referred to as the AADF) before it was known as the Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco (henceforth referred to as the IAF) received much criticism on the forum. One user said: ‘I didn’t have any idea that the Andalusian Agency for the Development of Flamenco existed, might as well call it the Andalusian Agency for the Imposition of Flamenco’ (El flamenco ¿algo nuestro? forum).³⁸ Economic issues are especially problematic. Many members are aware that the regional government spends a large

³⁷ ‘Como todas las niñas en Andalucía’. Nazira is not a member of the PAO but herself had issues with the ways in which flamenco is developed by the regional government. She contested the stereotypical correlation of flamenco with Andalusian identity. She also disagreed with the over emphasis on the presence of flamenco in the public domain.

³⁸ ‘No tenía ni idea de la existencia de la Agencia Andaluza para el Desarrollo del Flamenco, bien podría llamarse Agencia Andaluza para la Imposición del Flamenco’.

amount of money on the development of flamenco, often at the expense of other regional traditions (discussed below). El flamenco ¿algo nuestro? is replete with governmental documents, newspaper articles and website links that show the expenditure of the Andalusian Government on the development of flamenco. At a time of economic difficulty, some members were angry that huge sums of public money are ‘wasted’ on developing a tradition with which they do not identify.

This issue of cultural homogenisation extends to the role of the media in the region. The Andalusian media commonly depicts stereotypical regional customs.³⁹ Given that most channels are public enterprises, it is not surprising that flamenco is featured heavily. Television and radio are believed to play an integral role in ‘force-feeding’ (as one member put it) flamenco to Andalusian citizens. Members of the PAO made particular reference to the television network Canal Sur, television programmes such as *El sol, la sal, el son* and the radio programme *Canal flamenco radio*. One member believes there are two ‘levels’ or ‘faces’ to the representation of flamenco in the media. The first is traditional flamenco (particularly the genre *cante jondo*). The second is what many call *flamenquito* (a fusion genre influenced by popular music).⁴⁰ In the first, regional institutions and the media are trying to raise the minority status of traditional flamenco in the public domain. In the second, regional institutions and the media are supporting a genre of the flamenco tradition that already has considerable commercial success.

Members of the forums also contested the ways in which flamenco is being pushed into the *pueblos* of East Andalusia where they argue it is not popular. This drive to unify disparate communities in Andalusia through music is evident in the numerous examples of festivals and concerts across the region. Many of these events are also organised in towns and

³⁹ For a discussion of the Andalusian media and its representation of regional stereotypes see Gutiérrez Lozano, ‘Regional Television in Spain’.

⁴⁰ *Flamenquito* also has a slightly negative connotation. When used to refer to pop-flamenco, it often carries with it notions of ‘kitsch-ness’ and ‘tacky-ness’. The word is often written as *flamenkito* on the forum. This is a linguistic variation in written Castilian where words with *qu* are replaced with *k*.

pueblos in East Andalusia. In this respect, the Flamenco ¿algo nuestro? forum contains numerous articles that detail the Andalusian Government's efforts towards the development of flamenco in the smaller localities of East Andalusia. The final issue for members of the PAO is the increased presence of flamenco in the educational domain. Members particularly contested the attempts of the regional government to include flamenco in the educational system. This was often seen as a way of 'indoctrinating' children into an Andalusian ideology;⁴¹ namely a single region with a single culture. On some occasions, however, members were more objective about the possible inclusion of flamenco in the educational system. They argued that the proposed inclusion itself is not the problem. Rather, they believed that other folkloric traditions unique to East Andalusia are marginalised in educational contexts. Indeed, the safeguarding of distinctive traditions that are not flamenco was also a prominent theme throughout my research with the PAO.

Local Traditions

Many members are attempting to salvage their own folk traditions, particularly as flamenco has become the primary object of cultural development for the Andalusian Government. The supposed decline of local traditions in East Andalusia (and perhaps across the region) became clear to me early on in my online research. When participating in El flamenco ¿algo nuestro?, members encouraged me to look through another forum called Música popular de nuestra región. This forum provides a context for the compilation of various styles of traditional folk music unique to East Andalusia. It contains videos of a diverse range of folkloric traditions, which members can discuss. The forum is particularly interesting in terms of virtual ethnography and in terms of online social interactions. Through the forum, members seek to create a communal archive of relevant material. Arguably, therefore, this forum has become a

⁴¹ One member refers to this as 'brainwashing'.

‘bounded’ community in which members can strengthen place-based identities through folkloric traditions.

The forum’s compilation of musical material contains an immense variety of different traditions that are unnecessary to categorise in any detail here. My interest is not so much in the traditions themselves, but how they are conceptualised vis-à-vis flamenco. However, I will provide a brief contextualisation in order to orientate the reader. The traditions that were mentioned frequently on the forum included *fandango*, *jota*, *bolero*, *seguidilla*, *malagueña* and *tanguillo*. Generally speaking, these traditions share many similarities with the folk musics of Central Europe. They are mostly diatonic, metric, syllabic and symmetrical. They also utilise common meters such as 3/4 or 4/4 (Miles and Chuse 2000: 589). It is believed that these forms developed in Andalusia after the Reconquest through the ‘castilianisation’ of existing Arabic musical forms. Certain forms retain Arabic features such as melisma, asymmetry and modality (ibid. 2000). The ubiquity of the Andalusian cadence (also common in flamenco) is perhaps an example of the harmonic transformation of older Arabic melodic systems. The instrumentation tends to consist of guitars, violins and *bandurrias*.⁴² It also includes percussion instruments such as castanets and tambourines. Many of these forms are dance-based and include vocal performance as well. While Andalusia (and particularly East Andalusia) is known for certain traditions such as the *fandango* or *trovo* (see below), many of these traditions are commonplace across Spain. In particular, the *jota*, the *seguidilla* and the *fandango* (all of which are prominent in East Andalusia) are ‘all [...] couple dances in quick triple time, encapsulating essential traits of Spanish music: dialoguing or solo-chorus vocal performance, small-group instrumental accompaniment, and evocative, poetic texts’ (ibid. 2000: 594).

⁴² The *bandurria* is a chordophone that is similar to the mandolin and is played with a plectrum. In the forums, it is often depicted as one of the most characteristic instruments in east-Andalusian folk music. One member uses it as the symbol for his profile.

It is perhaps the geographical diversity of these traditions (and their link to a wider music repertoire throughout Spain), which reinforces interweaving levels of identity for members of the forum. At a local level, many of the traditions are unique to particular *pueblos* or areas of East Andalusia. As such, they were often referred to by members of the PAO as symbols of local identity. At a regional level, the Música popular de nuestra region forum epitomises east-Andalusian musical diversity, creating a shared sense of identity for members. The similarities that these traditions share are important points of differentiation from more popular and well-supported musical forms (particularly flamenco) from West Andalusia (particularly Seville). However, at a national level the connection these traditions have with folk musics across Spain arguably informs a Spanish identity for members of the forum. Here, members tap into a musical heritage that serves to de-emphasise regional autonomy and to re-emphasise Spanish unity.

To illustrate the role of music in the construction of an east-Andalusian identity more specifically, I will draw upon two examples from my research on the PAO's website: the creation of an east-Andalusian anthem and a folk tradition called the *trovo*. The first example involves a stand-alone forum where members have tried to compose their own regional anthem for East Andalusia. Anthems are particularly problematic in Spain. The Spanish anthem itself has remained without lyrics since the end of the Franco regime. Any attempts to create new lyrics have often been met with negative responses, particularly in autonomous communities with a strong sense of regionalism/nationalism (such as the Basque Country or Catalonia). Regional anthems,⁴³ on the other hand, appear to have more prominence. However, the Andalusian anthem was frequently rejected by members of the PAO. They often disputed the ways in which it is used in schools and during public events to consolidate

⁴³ All but three of the Spanish autonomous communities have their own anthems. The three without are Murcia, the Balearic Islands and Castile-la Mancha. It is also important to note that, in Andalusia at least, different cities and towns may have their own anthems. The issue of Spanish anthems was also discussed in Chapter Two.

the idea of a unified region. As a result, members have tried to create their own anthem as a symbol of identity in East Andalusia.

In a specially designated anthem forum, numerous members proposed lyrics and their own compositions, often taking inspiration from the folk traditions of East Andalusia. Some forum members put up their own proposals and these were commented upon by other users. However, the forum faded out perhaps due to a lack of interest. Its decline may also be due to difficulties in finding a professional composer to carry the project forward. Nonetheless, the forum is relevant for my research. The creation of an anthem is an important indicator of regional identity. As such, it plays a pivotal role in the construction of an alternative reading of regionalism in East Andalusia. The forum itself is also significant when considering virtual ethnography. It reinforces the idea that the Internet can provide a context in which disparate communities can come together. In turn, the forum is a context for the consolidation of an east-Andalusian ‘imagined community’ where music is the catalyst.

The *trovo* is the second example associated with cultural identity in East Andalusia. The *trovo* is a folk tradition that is mostly associated with agricultural life in parts of East Andalusia and Murcia. In particular, it is most commonly found in the provinces of Almería and Granada, particularly being located in the Alpujarras (a mountain range that stretches across the two provinces). It also has roots in the south-eastern part of Córdoba near to Granada and in the region of Murcia.⁴⁴ The tradition is characterised by improvised poetry (sometimes spoken but often sung) traditionally consisting of a poetic duel between two people, with or without instrumental accompaniment. Performances are often accompanied by two dance forms, the *mundanza* and the *robao* (Criado 1996). The music itself draws largely from the musical features of the *fandango*. It is performed with the typical instrumentation discussed above such as *bandurrias*, guitars, violins and castanets, amongst

⁴⁴ It is commonly believed that the *trovo* reached Murcia through the immigration of mine workers from East Andalusia. See Criado, ‘Origen del trovo alpujarreño’.

others. The tradition is believed to have some link to an Islamic poetic tradition that proliferated in southern Spain during the Arabic occupation. It also shows Castilian influences adopted after the Reconquest.

For many members of the PAO, the *trovo* was an example of a tradition unique to East Andalusia. The PAO's website also contains a forum called *El trovo se mantiene vivo* (Eng: *The Trovo, is Still Alive*). In a similar way to *Música popular de nuestra región*, the *trovo* forum provides a context in which members can post information about this particular tradition. They can also add videos and articles. A common theme in the forum was its relevance to a unique regional identity in East Andalusia, with one member describing it as 'the authentic eastern song' (*El trovo se mantiene vivo* forum).⁴⁵ The long-term survival of the *trovo* was another prominent theme that characterised conversations in the forum. Here, there were contrasting views. On the one hand, some said that it has survived well in certain areas (particularly in the Alpujarras). On the other hand, some argued that the tradition is disappearing as a result of rural depopulation. They contended that the *trovo* has suffered the encroachment of flamenco and other popular traditions from West Andalusia.

Given the supposed decline of the *trovo*, members called for the tradition to be recognised as an ICH by UNESCO (Vílchez 4 May, 2011). The plea originated in a sparsely populated *pueblo* (Eng: small town/village) in the province of Granada called Murtas, a key site for the historical and the musical development of the *trovo*. In an article on the PAO's website, there was a statement supporting the recognition of the *trovo* as an ICH.⁴⁶ Here, it is stated that the proposed declaration is in line with the platform's ideology: 'In order to identify and to enrich ourselves with the customs of our *pueblos* and cities of East

⁴⁵ 'El auténtico cante oriental'.

⁴⁶ See 'Por la declaración del trovo como Patrimonio de la Humanidad', available online: <<http://www.andaluciaoriental.es/05/2011/por-la-declaracion-del-trovo-como-patrimonio-de-la-humanidad/>> [accessed 17 August, 2012].

Andalusia'.⁴⁷ The article continues to state that the *trovo* meets all the necessary criteria for recognition by UNESCO. To the best of my knowledge, this declaration has yet to be considered by the regional government or the national government. Without institutional support, a proposal will not be able to go forward for the *trovo*'s recognition as an ICH. It is no coincidence that the plea came soon after the recognition of flamenco as an ICH. In part, I think that it was a reaction to this declaration, an attempt at drawing attention to the cultural traditions of East Andalusia.⁴⁸ However, the plea also fits into a wider discourse of cultural marginalisation that permeates the PAO. Many argued that traditions in East Andalusia are threatened due to the prominent position of flamenco in official strategies for cultural development. One member stated this very position:

It isn't that flamenco is the reason that the rest of our folklore is forgotten by a large part of the population, but that flamenco is, for the parties directed regionally from Seville, the only folkloric category that there is to promote (Música popular de nuestra region forum).⁴⁹

It appears that there is little institutional support for the musical traditions of East Andalusia. One can only suppose the reasons why. Perhaps it is due to the popularity of flamenco as a commercial music that has reached international heights. Perhaps it is because flamenco is distinctly Andalusian 'enough' to stand in as a cultural symbol of identity in the age of regional autonomies. Other folk traditions are, perhaps, simply too 'Spanish'.

Whatever the reasons, it is evident that institutional support is missing for many of the

⁴⁷ 'Con el fin de identificarnos y enriquecernos con las costumbres propias de nuestros pueblos y ciudades de Andalucía Oriental'. Available online: <<http://www.andaluciaoriental.es/05/2011/por-la-declaracion-del-trovo-como-patrimonio-de-la-humanidad/>> [accessed 28 April, 2013].

⁴⁸ It is important to note that I have not conducted research with musicians who performed the *trovo*. Therefore, I cannot say with any degree of certainty whether members of this musical community, and those that put forward the calls for ICH, share the PAO's position.

⁴⁹ 'No es que el flamenco sea la causa de que el resto de nuestro folclore sufra el olvido de la mayor parte de la población, sino que el flamenco es, para los partidos dirigidos regionalmente desde Sevilla, la única modalidad folclórica que hay que fomentar'.

traditions that featured in the PAO's forums. The only support such traditions receive is from *ayuntamientos* (Eng: town councils) or *diputaciones* (Eng: provincial councils). They also receive support from private associations such as the Asociación de Coros y Danzas de Granada (Eng: Association of Choirs and Dances of Granada).⁵⁰ This association formed in 1978 with the intention of protecting, researching and disseminating traditional dances of the province. Like with flamenco, members of the PAO argued that such traditions should have more media coverage and should be included in educational initiatives. Ultimately, members are trying to salvage local traditions in response to the supposed homogenisation of traditional music in Andalusia. In this way, such traditions reflect the cultural capital of an east-Andalusian identity.

The relationship between these traditions and flamenco is more complex. Often the line between folklore and flamenco is ambiguous. Many flamenco *palos* are said to have originated as folkloric styles. Members recognised that these *palos* often copy, steal or 'vampirise' (as one member put it) existing folk traditions. Sometimes flamenco *palos* share the same name as folk traditions, as is evident with the *fandango* or *malagueña*. Very often, however, these styles have little in common: a flamenco *fandango* from Huelva sounds very different from a folkloric *fandango* from Almería. Even so, folkloric traditions are often subsumed into the flamenco canon. Here, they are viewed as folk *palos* that are not as 'authentic' or as valued as other flamenco genres, including the *cante jondo*. An example of the integration of folk forms into the flamenco canon can be found on the Andalusian anthem CD.⁵¹ On the CD, numerous *palos* from each of the eight provinces in Andalusia are set to the regional anthem. One of these is a *verdiales*, a folkloric *palo* from Málaga. The presence of this *palo*, which was recently recognised as Bien de Interés Cultural (BIC), immediately situates the *verdiales* as part of the flamenco tradition. While performances of the *verdiales*

⁵⁰ See <<http://www.corosydanzasgranada.es/quienessomos.html>> [accessed 12 August, 2012].

⁵¹ Discussed in Chapter Five.

may be *aflamencada* (that is, performed in a flamenco style), its classification as a flamenco *palo* is dubious. Indeed, it is difficult to determine where the flamenco tradition ends and where the folkloric tradition begins. For some members, flamenco has effectively ‘eaten-up’ distinctive traditions, further compounding the issue of musical and, by extension, cultural homogenisation in Andalusia.

Flamenco ‘¡es algo nuestro!’

During my research, I found that some forum members did regard flamenco as ‘algo nuestro’. Members often disputed the idea of a ‘single’ flamenco for a ‘single’ Andalusia. They contended that Sevillian centralisation has in effect created an ‘official’ model of flamenco that denies the contributions of east-Andalusian flamenco artists and flamenco forms. Before progressing, it is necessary to discuss briefly the relationship between flamenco style and taste. I intend not to generalise about what types of flamenco members of the PAO may or may not choose to identify with. Rather, I wish to isolate themes in my research that attest to a different way of conceptualising flamenco geographically. This conceptualisation differs from the common association between a single flamenco tradition and its Andalusian ‘whole’. Instead, members suggested that more than one flamenco exists, multiple flamencos reflecting a fragmented region geographically. This alternative conceptualisation was portrayed in three ways: classification, history and style. Further, this conceptualisation is intrinsically linked to a sense of the marginalisation of East Andalusia from the regional flamenco ‘complex’ (Manuel 1989).

Flamenco Oriental and Classification

On a couple of occasions, I discovered a supposed ‘eastern’ genre of flamenco that was distinct from a ‘western’ genre. One member referred to this as *flamenco oriental*. The genres

and *palos* that characterise this eastern genre of flamenco were frequently mentioned in the forums. It is important to recognise, however, that such classifications are more important in terms of their discursive value than their theoretical value. At a theoretical level, any classification system that is used to account for the many *palos* and genres found in flamenco will be flawed. This is particularly so given the geographical and the stylistic diversity of the tradition. However, the ways in which members classified flamenco on El flamenco ¿algo nuestro? are indicative of attempts by members to salvage a supposedly unique east-Andalusian flamenco tradition. In doing so, they wanted to disassociate flamenco from Andalusian ‘nationalism’ more generally.

One member, called Elchirimoyo, responded to my initial post in El flamenco ¿algo nuestro? describing his view of flamenco classification. He classified flamenco into three distinct categories: a genre called *cantes levánticos*, a *fandango* genre and a west-Andalusian genre. The first refers to *palos* that evolved from the mining culture in East Andalusia and Murcia (and which even stretch to regions such as Valencia). The second refers to a large group of *fandangos* that are present across the entire Andalusian region, deriving from folkloric *fandangos*. The third refers to the *cantes básicos*, a group of commonly-performed *palos* normally associated with the flamenco of West Andalusia. Generally speaking, Elchirimoyo believed that people in West Andalusia identify with flamenco more than in East Andalusia. However, he recognised the important contributions that flamenco artists from East Andalusia have made to flamenco. Other members offered similar classificatory systems, where they also classified flamenco according to territorial divisions. An element that tied these different classifications together was the rejection of narratives that privilege the west-Andalusian flamenco tradition.

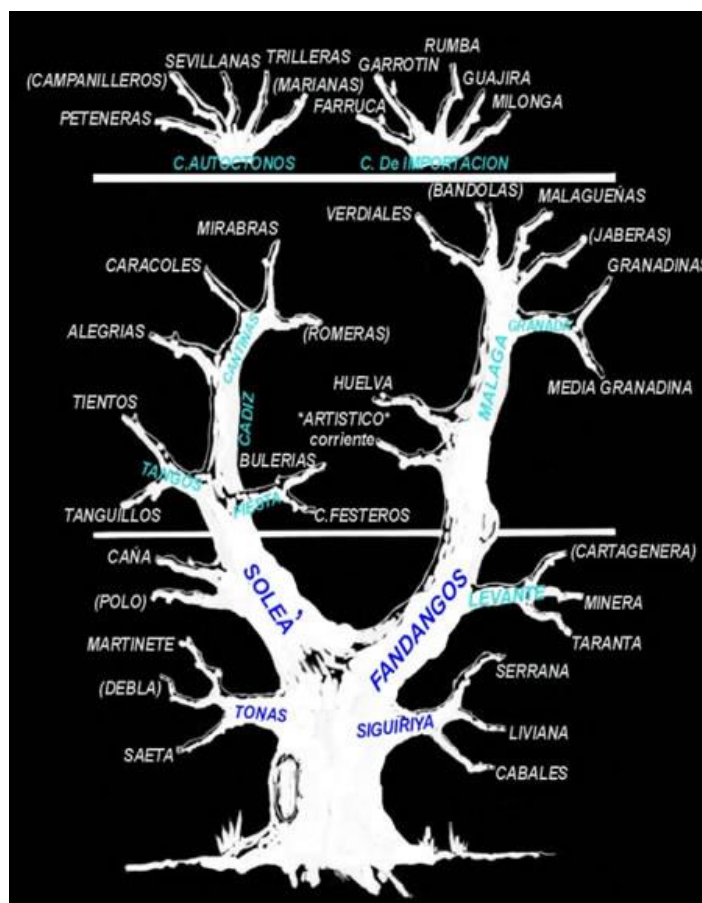


Figure 6.7: An example of a metaphorical tree for flamenco classification.⁵²

In his recent research, Washabaugh (2012) discusses dominant models in the classification of flamenco. He argues that common classificatory systems are related to a ‘backward-leaning’ conceptualisation of style in which flamenco is understood as ‘an internally-defined musical cultural object generated in the past and recovered by adepts who revere the past’ (Washabaugh 2012: 15). In particular, Washabaugh refers to the metaphorical tree that permeates *flamencología*, appearing in common narratives about the history of flamenco style (ibid. 2012: 15–18).⁵³ Flamenco is often represented as a tree (see Figure 6.7); a musical trunk that has emerged from the Andalusian soil and evolved into the stylistic ‘branches’ that characterise the tradition today. This metaphor emphasises the notion of a

⁵² Available online: <http://www.nylonguitarist.com/flamenco_family_tree.html> [accessed 13 August, 2012].

⁵³ Also see <<https://pantherfile.uwm.edu/wash/www/flamtree.htm>> [accessed 17 August, 2012].

single flamenco for a single Andalusia. While many of the trees featured in the literature about flamenco differ, Washabaugh argues that they usually present a unilinear account of the history of flamenco. Echoing Antonio Mairena's discourse, flamenco allegedly emerged amongst *gitano* families in a hermitically-sealed environment where the early *palos* such as *tonás* and *seguriya* were forged and from which everything else has emerged. As can be seen in Figure 6.7, the trunk may be understood as the authentic source, while the branches represent the stylistic derivations (that is, *palos*).

Washabaugh problematises the way in which these trees construct a single version of the history of flamenco. However, he does not problematise the way in which these trees construct a single version of the 'geography' of flamenco. Often, these trees embody the idea that flamenco emerged in West Andalusia and most specifically in the *triángulo de oro*.⁵⁴ This emphasises Mairena's argument that flamenco emerged amongst families originating from the triangle. According to this model, all other *palos* are derived from a stylistic core located in the *triángulo de oro*. In the previous section, I discussed the way in which members of the PAO used this dominant narrative against Andalusian 'nationalism' to 'declaim' flamenco. Other members, however, contested the very validity of this narrative. They believed that it is another example of the homogenisation of flamenco according to a Sevillian precedence. By putting forward alternative classifications in the forums, members rejected 'west-Andalusian-centric' arguments, instead invoking the idea of a unique east-Andalusian flamenco tradition. In particular, a couple of members referred to the idea of the 'other' flamenco triangle centred on Almería, Granada and Jaén, or on Almería, Jaén and Murcia. In sum, classification helps to mould flamenco to the ideological motives that underpin east-Andalusian regionalism in general. Here, flamenco is not one Andalusian tradition, but many unique traditions reflecting a heterogeneous geography.

⁵⁴ This issue was discussed in Chapter One.

History and Origins

For some members, flamenco is not west Andalusian at all. Rather, it originated in East Andalusia and was ‘introduced’ to West Andalusia. Leonardo frequently spoke to me about his version of the history of flamenco. For him, flamenco originated in Granada. He stated: ‘Flamenco is *granadino* and Spanish’ (El flamenco ¿algo nuestro? forum).⁵⁵ It is not Andalusian. Leonardo argued that the origins of flamenco in Granada began during the sixteenth century after the Catholic Reconquest when many *moriscos* still lived in the Kingdom of Granada. He mentioned the role of the leader of the *morisco* community at the time Francisco Núñez Muley (c. 1490–c. 1568, a prominent figure in the Islamic community in Granada during the sixteenth century who had converted to Christianity following the reconquest of the city). Núñez Muley fought for the defence and the preservation of *morisco* customs in the face of the ‘christianization’ of *morisco* culture. While some *moriscos* managed to retain their customs after the fall of Granada (Barton 2009), it was increasingly difficult to display publically an Islamic identity. Leonardo referred me to a letter by Núñez Muley sent to King Phillip the Second (1527–98) urging him to reconsider the proposed prohibition of certain customs in 1567.⁵⁶ Leonardo stated that Núñez Muley objected to the prohibition against the *zambra*, a genre of flamenco that is recognised as a *gitano* genre unique to the Sacromonte neighbourhood of Granada. The word *zambra* refers to a festival of music and dance originally for *moriscos* (often referred to as the *zambra morisca*). It later became associated with *gitano* weddings and even later became a performance tradition still to be found in the caves of Sacromonte today.⁵⁷

Leonardo told me that the *zambra morisca* formed the basis for the flamenco tradition as we now know it. In accordance with other historical accounts, he believed that *gitanos*

⁵⁵ ‘Flamenco es granadino y español’.

⁵⁶ Leonardo refers to this letter in his own novel. See Villena Villena, *La sombra de Aben Humeya*. The original letter is mentioned in Luis de Mármol Carvajal, *Rebelion y castigo de los moriscos*.

⁵⁷ This genre of flamenco is referred to as the *zambra gitana* and is discussed in depth in Chapters Eight and Nine.

(who arrived in Granada towards the end of the sixteenth century) occupied a similar social position to *moriscos*. As such, there was a certain degree of cultural exchange between the two groups resulting in the *gitano* adaptation of the *zambra morisca*. Furthermore, Leonardo argued that *moriscos* spread across Andalusia bringing with them pre-flamenco forms (such as the *zambra*) that later influenced the development of flamenco in places such as Seville and Jerez. For Leonardo, *zambras* ‘are the mothers of flamenco’ and as a result, ‘flamenco was born in Granada and conserved in Granada FOR CENTURIES’ (email communication).⁵⁸ He hastened to add: ‘This doesn’t mean that flamenco is an exclusive *granadino* art, but an art of *granadino* origins’ (email communication).⁵⁹

His argument appears to be historically accurate. Following marginalisation during the sixteenth century, *moriscos* rebelled against the Kingdom of Granada between 1568 and 1571. Once the uprising was quashed, more than 80,000 *moriscos* were forced from Granada and sent as slaves to other parts of Andalusia, especially West Andalusia. *Moriscos* were finally expelled from the Iberian Peninsula in 1609. However, this did not have the intended effect of eradicating a *morisco* presence entirely. The historian José Gelardo Navarro has examined the relationship between *moriscos* and the origins of flamenco. In the article ‘Moriscos y flamenco en Andalucía Oriental’ (Eng: ‘*Moriscos* and Flamenco in East Andalusia’), Gelardo Navarro (1996) discusses the continued presence of *moriscos* in East Andalusia following the ‘expulsion’ in 1609. Further, he examines the role of *moriscos* in the genesis of flamenco. He argues that *moriscos* entered into banditry after the rebellion (1568–71) and lived in hiding in the mountains of East Andalusia (Gelardo Navarro 1996). He also argues that there was intermixing between *moriscos* and *gitanos*; an intercultural exchange that ended up with *morisco* groups becoming subsumed into the *gitano* community. By drawing upon sources from the end of the seventeenth century, Gelardo Navarro contends

⁵⁸ ‘Son las madres del flamenco’ and ‘el flamenco nació en Granada y se conserva en Granada DURANTE SIGLOS’. Capitalisation in the original.

⁵⁹ ‘Esto no quiere decir que el flamenco sea un arte granadino en exclusiva, sino un arte de orígenes granadinos’.

that *morisco-gitano* communities continued *morisco* musical traditions. This cultural exchange paved the way for the consolidation of flamenco during the nineteenth century. Unlike Leonardo, Gelardo Navarro appears to place the rural context above the urban in the origins of flamenco. Nonetheless, the historical accounts share similarities. Like Leonardo, Gelardo Navarro claims: ‘This research leads us to question the topical idea that flamenco arose almost exclusively in the famous triangle formed by Cádiz, Jerez and Triana, an idea that attributes East Andalusia with the role of a mere extra in this birth’ (Gelardo Navarro 1996: 41).⁶⁰

Leonardo’s narrative regarding the origins of flamenco is both problematic and revealing. Arguably, his narrative adopts a similar essentialist model to that of the *triángulo de oro*. To situate Granada as the epicentre of the origins of flamenco is just as dubious as placing emphasis on Cádiz, Jerez and Seville. It is also a rather ‘provincial’ interpretation of the origins of flamenco. Through flamenco, Leonardo appeared to demonstrate less of an affinity with east-Andalusian regionalism and more of an affinity with *granadino* provincialism. This echoes common localist narratives about flamenco where artists and aficionados believe that their particular locality is the ‘true’ origin of flamenco. Nonetheless, what Leonardo’s narrative does suggest is a deep-seated resentment towards the dominance of the *triángulo de oro* in historical accounts. It also suggests that East Andalusia, and particularly Granada, is marginalised in terms of the origins of flamenco. Leonardo argued that flamenco has been ‘robbed’ from Granada by Seville for the consolidation of Andalusian ‘nationalism’. This resentment was manifested in an impassioned rhetoric that perhaps placed too much emphasis on Granada. Arguably, what can be learnt from Leonardo’s narrative is that Granada is one of the key points of origin rather than The point of origin of flamenco.

Put another way, it is possible to suggest that Granada provided the soil for one flamenco tree

⁶⁰ ‘Estos datos nos llevarán [...] a poner en cuarentena la tónica idea de que el flamenco surgió casi exclusivamente en el famoso triángulo formado por Cádiz, Jerez y Triana, idea que atribuye a la Andalucía Oriental un papel de mera comparsa en ese nacimiento’.

to emerge in a complex forest of stylistic derivations.

Flamenco Oriental and Style

The issue of style also frequently emerged on the PAO forums. I discussed the characteristics of a so-called *flamenco oriental* (briefly mentioned above) with a couple of members. El flamenco ¿algo nuestro? is full of videos and recordings that, for some members, exemplified a distinctive east-Andalusian flamenco tradition. I also added to the collection of videos in an attempt to instigate a virtual type of ‘playback’ where I encouraged people to comment upon the videos. In particular, two flamenco genres were represented on the forum: *cantes de las minas* and folk-influenced genres such as the *zambra* discussed above. The *cantes de las minas* (and other unmetered forms such as the *granaína*⁶¹) are highly characteristic of East Andalusia. Moreover, such forms are rarely found in the west of the region.⁶² Typically, they are performed just by a guitarist and a singer (although increasingly dancers are interpreting these *palos*). They are characterised by a highly ornamented style, both in vocal performance and in guitar performance. In fact, these *palos* are often seen as examples of the lingering Arabic influence in flamenco music. It is important to recognise that these *palos* are, undeniably, just a part of the wider flamenco tradition in Andalusia. However, in the context of the forum, they functioned almost as a point of differentiation – a way of claiming ownership over a portion of the flamenco tradition that supposedly belongs to East Andalusia, thus reinforcing territorial divisions through music.

In the forum, I posted a video of the well-known *granadina* singer Estrella Morente (b. 1980) performing a *media granaína* (a derivative style of the *granaína*), accompanied by the legendary *granadino* guitarist Juan Habichuela (b. 1933). Upon listening to the recording, one member stated: ‘Marvellous. The *medias granaínas* are as extraordinary as Estrella

⁶¹ The *granaína* is a well-known and frequently-performed *palo* from Granada that belongs to a range of unmetered *palos* associated with East Andalusia and Murcia.

⁶² However, there are numerous types of unmetered *fandango* found in West Andalusia.

Morente herself' (El flamenco ¿algo nuestro? forum).⁶³ I also posted a video of a *taranta* performed by the renowned Almerian guitarist Tomatito (b. 1958) and his daughter, an unmetred *palo* that is believed to have originated in Almería. However, this performance utilised the lyrics of Andalusia's regional anthem. Unsurprisingly, this post was not met with much enthusiasm with one member saying that it 'repulsed' him. Clearly, then, style is not always the issue. Rather, the issue is the way in which a flamenco *palo* is used. While the *taranta* is associated with East Andalusia (and most notably Almería), it was used here as a display of a unified Andalusian identity. For members of the PAO, it was seen as an attempt to unify the eight provinces of Andalusia through flamenco. Accordingly, it was viewed as a profound statement that clashed with the ideological beliefs of the PAO.

Flamenco forms that have clear folk influences have also received much attention on El flamenco ¿algo nuestro?. There were videos of Estrella Morente performing sections of the *zambra gitana* on the forum, which were sometimes met with positive responses. In fact, Estrella Morente and her late father Enrique Morente (1942–2010) are often exalted in the forum due to their contributions to east-Andalusian flamenco and their fusions with folk musics. One member of the forum who was called PPDA frequently discussed the notion of 'our' flamenco and its sonic characteristics. In particular, PPDA referred to the *zambra*, posting recordings from the 1950s and 1960s of the *gitana* singer María 'la Canastera' (Eng: 'basket-maker') (1913–66). These recordings represent the tradition in its more 'authentic' form. In reference to a video of María 'la Canastera', PPDA stated:

It is clear that flamenco is ours but in our Mediterranean and eastern style, without having to imitate the *flamenkito bajoandaluz* (lower-Andalusian *flamenkito*); I claim the value of our *bandurria* how it sounds, so pretty,

⁶³ 'Maravillosas. Las medias granaínas son tan extraordinarias como la misma Estrella Morente'.

disgracefully rejected by west-Andalusian influences. This flamenco I identify with, I love, not the other (El flamenco ¿algo nuestro? forum).⁶⁴

An analysis of this quotation is highly revealing when considering issues of style and ideology. PPDA argued that flamenco is ‘ours’ but only when performed in ‘our Mediterranean and eastern manner’, a manner that differentiates flamenco from that performed in West Andalusia. For PPDA, an integral element of this ‘Mediterranean’ or ‘eastern’ sound was the *bandurria*. This instrument was frequently used in the *zambra* and other flamenco genres before it lost popularity. According to PPDA, the *bandurria* was ‘outcast’ due to influences from West Andalusia. PPDA expressed a distinct love for this east-Andalusian flamenco tradition but did not express a love for the ‘other’ flamenco. This quotation alone is a powerful example of how distinctions in flamenco style articulate the ideological claims of members of the PAO. Finally, the exaltation of a unique east-Andalusian flamenco also serves to counteract the supposed marginalisation of flamenco in East Andalusia more generally. According to certain members, the flamenco forms and artists of East Andalusia are under-represented. This under-representation reflects the notion of musical centralisation in Seville.

Contesting the PAO

During my online research, there were also a handful of people who disputed the discourses concerning flamenco put forward by members of the PAO. Some of the questionnaires that I received (which came via the PAO’s website) were actually positive in all senses, conveying strong links between flamenco and identity in Andalusia. On a number of occasions, I noticed that there were forum users who did not support east-Andalusian regionalism. These users

⁶⁴ ‘Claro que el flamenco es nuestro pero a nuestra manera mediterránea y oriental, sin tener que imitar el flamenkito bajoandaluz; reivindico la preciosidad de nuestra bandurria cómo suena, tan linda, desgraciadamente desterrada por influjos bajoandaluces. Éste flamenco sí que lo siento, me encanta, no el otro’.

debated with supporters some of the issues that arose on the forums. As such, it is likely that some of these people answered my questionnaire perhaps to present a more balanced picture of the role of flamenco in fostering an Andalusian identity.

In particular, there was one member who directly contested the ideologies of the PAO. He contacted me frequently regarding my research. My email correspondence with him deserves a little analysis as it reveals the highly contested political context in which flamenco is located. It also demonstrates some of the issues that can arise when conducting virtual ethnography. Shortly after posting my introductory message on the Flamenco ¿algo nuestro? forum, he emailed to ‘warn’ me about the PAO. He said that its members are trying to tear apart Andalusia. He compared the PAO with nationalist movements in others parts of Spain (such as those found in the Basque Country and Catalonia).⁶⁵ He warned me that members will simply ‘twist’ my questionnaire. For the sake of objectivity, I replied advising that I wanted to examine both the positive and the negative aspects of the regionalisation of flamenco. Nonetheless, this response did nothing to calm his concerns. He continued to speak negatively about the PAO, advising me that the forums have nothing to do with my research. In one email he stated: ‘You should join in forums in which one actually loves flamenco, lives flamenco without these absurd politics’ (email communication).⁶⁶

It is clear that he linked flamenco with identity at a regional level, believing that it is uniquely Andalusian; to say otherwise, he argued, is a falsity. In this respect, he did not agree with the idea of territorial divisions in the flamenco tradition (that is, east-Andalusian flamenco and west-Andalusian flamenco). On numerous occasions, he said that he is not an Andalusian nationalist only that he ‘feels deeply Andalusian’. Accordingly, he disagreed with any attempts to break apart the Andalusian region. It appears, then, that flamenco was an

⁶⁵ This is ironic given the fact that members of the PAO also compare regionalisation in Andalusia to the nationalisms found in the Basque Country and Catalonia.

⁶⁶ ‘Deberías entrar en foros en los que realmente se ame el flamenco, se viva el flamenco sin esos politiqueos absurdos’.

important symbol of his sense of Andalusian-ness. My interaction with this member highlights the close relationship between flamenco and altering conceptions of Andalusian identity. The passion with which he validated both flamenco and Andalusian unity vis-à-vis the PAO is indicative of a deeply contentious political context.

In addition, my communication with this person also demonstrates some of the issues associated with virtual ethnography. In particular, one problematic situation arose early on in our correspondence. On my website, I had put a link to the PAO's website, stating that it is an important movement that seeks autonomy for the eastern provinces of Andalusia. I did not consider the possible implications of this link. This particular person read the link and was quite offended by it. He asked me: 'Why put a link to a nationalist page on a website about flamenco???' (email communication).⁶⁷ He asked why I wanted to emphasise their hates and that I should remove the link. This negative comment required a degree of reflexivity on my part as it led me to consider more closely the possible readership of my website. I realised that by putting a link to the PAO's website I may win favour with some members. However, in doing so I may highly offend other people. Therefore, I obliged and removed the link, for which he was grateful. This situation reveals the problems associated with virtual ethnography as a wide range of people can read the material posted on the Internet.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have used flamenco as a conduit to explore east-Andalusian regionalism, a movement that has gradually increased since Andalusia's autonomy. By drawing upon an extended period of online ethnographic research (backed up by fieldwork in Granada), I have shown the different ways in which flamenco is contested and negotiated by members of the PAO. Here, I have addressed the question: es flamenco '¿algo nuestro?'. I have shown how

⁶⁷ '¿¿¿Qué hace el enlace hacia una página nacionalista en una web sobre el flamenco???'.

flamenco is simultaneously rejected and constructed as a symbol of east-Andalusian culture. I argue that this research provides a small case study to explore some of the ways in which the regionalisation process is received by Andalusians. In doing so, I have presented a disputed reading of regionalism through flamenco. Further, I contend that music (and flamenco in this context) is an important vehicle for understanding theoretical perspectives found in political geography (such as Schrijver).

The ways in which members of the PAO receive flamenco shows how citizens of an autonomous region do not always identify with an ‘official’ reading of regional identity. The members rejected the idea of a single Andalusia. Instead, they identified themselves as East Andalusians, contesting the validity of Andalusian autonomy and identity. For many, the regionalisation of flamenco was an example of regional ‘nationalism’. They viewed flamenco as a minority tradition in East Andalusia, one that belongs to the west of the region (particularly the *triángulo de oro*). Many members complained that flamenco is a prime example of the ‘sevillianisation’ of Andalusian culture – a Sevillian tradition imposed upon the east of the region in an attempt to construct a unified culture. The reception of flamenco by members of the PAO provides ethnographic evidence to show that regionalism does not always align with regionalisation. Moreover, it illustrates how the centre-periphery model can be translated to the regional level. For many members of the PAO, Seville has become the new ‘centre’ and the eastern provinces of Andalusia have become the new ‘periphery’. Here, flamenco was understood as a symbol of Sevillian centralisation that reflects Andalusian regionalisation more generally. For many members of the PAO, flamenco is the ‘other’ – a significant point of cultural difference against which their self-identification as East Andalusians can be constructed.

In this chapter, I have also shown that for some members of the PAO, flamenco ‘es algo nuestro’. A handful of members invoked the idea of *flamenco oriental*, a unique tradition

characterised by *palos* from East Andalusia, different instrumentation and links to folk music. In this way, an alternative conceptualisation of flamenco becomes a conduit through which a different reading of Andalusian identity may be realised. Arguably, flamenco cannot be understood as a single Andalusian tradition. Rather, it should be understood as a plural tradition that transcends geographical boundaries. Members argued that regionalisation homogenises flamenco according to the tenets of a single vision of Andalusian-ness. Put simply, regionalisation develops an essentialised reading of flamenco that denies its heterogeneity. This process supposedly favours the *triángulo de oro*, marginalising East Andalusia in the flamenco scene.

Some of the discourses revealed during my online research (with non-musicians) echoed the discourses found during my fieldwork in Granada (with musicians and aficionados). This is not to say that the musicians and/or aficionados with whom I was in contact shared the ideological beliefs of the PAO. To the best of my knowledge, no one did. What emerged, however, were similar narratives of musical marginalisation, negative responses to institutional support and the consolidation of a local and/or provincial identity through music. In the following chapter, I explore some of the narratives that emerged during my time in Granada, drawing upon interviews/conversations with my informants. I examine the ways in which institutional support has affected the city's flamenco community. Further, I explore how certain inequalities in and issues with the regionalisation of flamenco inform notions of marginalisation and localism in Granada.

Chapter Seven: Local Responses to Institutional Measures

In this chapter, I position my discussion of regionalisation in a local context, drawing upon my ethnographic research in Granada. Unlike the previous chapter, I examine responses to the development of flamenco from informants for many of whom flamenco is a part of everyday life. Here, I build upon Washabaugh's (2012) recent work. In his examination of 'autonomous flamenco' (that is, its institutional support), he alludes to certain tensions that have arisen as a result of the institutional development of flamenco. He states: 'Nowadays artists find that they must compete for a share of public funds, and, as a result, their art has become a commercial spectacle that is increasingly distant from local roots and familiar circumstances' (Washabaugh 2012: 90). However, his work falls short, not providing an ethnographic analysis of these issues.

I pick up where Washabaugh left off by discussing the discourses that emerged during my time in Granada. I examine the ways in which different institutions impact upon the flamenco scene in the city, namely the Junta de Andalucía, the Diputación de Granada (Eng: Provincial Council of Granada) and the Ayuntamiento de Granada (Eng: Town Council of Granada). In particular, I focus on the types of performances that are staged throughout the city, exploring how different institutions influence the artists chosen and the type of flamenco performed. I also analyse the opinions of flamenco artists, aficionados, producers and journalists/critics regarding the development of flamenco at an institutional level. My research has revealed a seemingly disjointed and contested institutional framework, underscored by infrastructural inequalities in the flamenco community. Here, a number of narratives emerged from my interviews, my conversations and my personal observations. These narratives include the monopoly of the public sector, politicisation, favouritism and aesthetic restraints. Similarly, responses to the inclusion of flamenco in the Statute of Autonomy (henceforth referred to as the Statute) and the recognition of flamenco as an

Intangible Cultural Heritage (henceforth referred to as ICH) were sometimes negative. In particular, members of the protest movement *Flamenco es un Derecho* (Eng: Flamenco is a Right, henceforth referred to as FED) lament the decline of small flamenco festivals and the supposed ‘bad health’ of *peñas*. Accordingly, the FED calls into question the relevance of institutional development for smaller flamenco contexts. Finally, I offer a local reading of regionalism. Some of my informants believed that regional issues in the flamenco industry are also felt at a local level. Here, I explore issues related to the marginalisation experienced by the flamenco community in Granada. I contend that localism is a possible cause for this sense of marginalisation, whether marginalisation exists or not.

Institutional Support for Flamenco in Granada

The Junta de Andalucía

While I have already discussed the interventions of the Andalusian Government (Sp: Junta de Andalucía), it is necessary to provide an overview of their impact on the flamenco scene in Granada. The regional government has a prominent role in the development of flamenco within Granada, commanding some of the largest productions in the city. These events attract thousands of people every year, generating wealth for the artists, the institutions that stage the events and the city itself. A prominent example is the *Flamenco viene del Sur* festival. This festival is held every year between February and May at the Teatro Alhambra (Eng: Alhambra Theatre), a performance space owned by the Andalusian Government. I was able to attend six of the nine *Flamenco viene del Sur* productions held in Granada in 2012. All these performances reflected the central aim of the Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco (henceforth referred to as the IAF): that flamenco is consolidated as an art form capable of gracing the most prestigious theatres around the world. The shows were all of a high quality consisting of intricate choreography that made full use of costume, lighting and props.

Performances oscillated between those that were more traditional and those that were more innovative. Stylistically speaking, it could be said that the productions had a distinctly ‘regional’ flavour. Distinguishing features from particular localities (such as local *palos* or local performance styles) were rarely foregrounded. In fact, the *palos* performed were often unfixed with different *palos* being blended together. At times, it was difficult to determine exactly what *palo* was being performed. The emphasis was on composition and choreography. *Palos* were employed to render a single flamenco style.

The shows in the 2012 festival were predominantly dance based, although three featured well-established Andalusian guitarists, namely Gerardo Núñez (b. 1961), Niño de Pura (b. 1966) and Josemi Carmona (b. 1971). Rarely are singers at the forefront of a Flamenco viene del Sur production and this year was no exception. This is largely due to the popularity of dance and guitar in the flamenco world. It is not surprising, therefore, that the IAF chooses to capitalise upon these two performance mediums often at the expense of singing. From my experience of the festival, it appears that the efforts of the IAF have paid off with many local *granadinos* attending these concerts.¹ In terms of my own field research contacts, I ran into a handful of institutional officials, journalists, aficionados and students that I knew, each time I attended an event. However, the majority of musicians and aficionados with whom I was in contact never went to or rarely went to these performances. I suspect that this was partly due to the contemporary style of flamenco performed. It may also reflect deeper issues of *amiguismo* (Eng: favouritism) associated with this festival (discussed below).

In addition to the Flamenco viene del Sur festival, the regional government is also involved in two other prominent flamenco festivals in Granada. One is called Los Veranos

¹ I can with no certainty claim that the majority of the audience were locals, but I can speculate. On the odd occasion, I encountered tourists at these events. However, given the out-of-the-way location of the theatre, the difficulty in attaining tickets (unless one is a Spanish speaker) and the lack of advertisement for the festival in tourist locations, it is unlikely that many tourists attend these events.

del Corral (Eng: The Summers of Corral),² a festival that runs every summer between the months of July and August. The festival is fourteen years old and is often considered as the most emblematic of Granada's flamenco festivals. Originally, it was funded by the banking network Caja Granada that is involved in various social-cultural projects across the city. However, the regional government began to support financially the festival in 2008. This is perhaps not surprising given the importance ascribed to the development of flamenco following its inclusion in the Statute in 2007. Finally is the programme, Lorca y Granada (Eng: Lorca and Granada). This festival is hosted each summer in a massive open-air stage in the gardens of the Generalife (part of the Alhambra palace). The annual production hosts 'flamencoised' interpretations of the written works of García Lorca, emphasising the important connection that flamenco has to Andalusian (and specifically *granadino*) literature.³ Each production is designed and performed by the Ballet Flamenco de Andalucía. It is normally financially lucrative for the dance company, the IAF and the city of Granada. Each year's production attracts thousands of visitors including locals, other Andalusians, Spaniards and tourists alike.

The Diputación de Granada

Below the level of the regional government, Granada's provincial council has an important role in developing flamenco both within the city and across the province. The Diputación de Granada has been supporting flamenco for the past 30 years. However, following pressure from numerous *municipios* (Eng: 'local' or 'county' councils) in 2008, a specialised department was created. This has allowed a more stable programme to emerge supporting flamenco across the province. On the *Diputación's* website, it states that flamenco is a

² The performances for this festival are held in the Corral del Carbón, an old Arabic granary dating from the Al-Andalus period.

³ For example, when I attended the show in 2010 the performance was based on García Lorca's *Poema del cante jondo* (Eng: Poem of Deep Song).

‘cultural product that [...] generates wealth and development in the province’.⁴ The creation of this specialised department seems to have emerged following the inclusion of flamenco in the Statute. The UNESCO declaration, too, has influenced local institutional measures, with the *Diputación*’s website citing the declaration as a major impetus for the development of flamenco within the province. However, rather than foregrounding its regional relevance, flamenco is represented as a symbol of provincial identity. The idea of provincialism in fact permeates many of the projects instigated by the *Diputación*.

The *Diputación* organises its flamenco-related activities into two overarching projects, namely Flamenco por la Provincia (Eng: Flamenco through the Province) and Granada Universo Flamenco (Eng: Granada Flamenco Universe). The former provides ‘a flamenco programme through local council agreements’.⁵ This includes events such as competitions and festivals that take place in *pueblos* throughout the province. It also encompasses an educational project called Contando el Flamenco (Eng: Counting Flamenco), which aims to introduce school children to flamenco (and particularly, *granadino flamenco*). In an interview with the Director of the department Matilde Bautista Morente, she advised me that *municipios* or other private entities make requests to put on flamenco events (interview 10 April, 2012). The *Diputación* funds these events, working closely with the entities involved. The regional government cannot generate and coordinate support for all the distinct *municipios* and therefore the *Diputación* steps in. She proudly proclaimed that there were 350 requests for support in 2012; triple the number of the previous year. However, economic resources have been reduced and so many of these proposals will not be carried out.

The latter project called Granada Universo Flamenco consists of the *Diputación*’s own events. It also involves promotional work assisting the development of flamenco across

⁴ Available online: <<http://www.dipgra.es/inicio/contenidos/index.php?area=406>> [accessed 28 April, 2013].

⁵ Ibid.

the province. In our interview, Matilde outlined the four key strategies that underline the project:

[...] it is based on four strategies: the first, to nourish *granadino* flamenco heritage; the second, to promote young *flamencos*; the third, to work on the culture industries; and the fourth, to improve the communication between the local councils and the Diputación de Granada so that its flamenco programmes are of a better quality (interview 10 April, 2012).⁶

An integral vehicle in meeting these objectives is the Granada Portal Flamenco (Eng: Granada Flamenco Portal) programme, which involves free flamenco performances in the *Diputación*'s own theatre. Many events staged in the theatre aim to bring attention to the younger generation of flamenco artists in Granada. Here, the annual competition Concurso de Jóvenes Flamencos (Eng: Competition for Young *Flamencos*) is an important date on Granada's flamenco calendar.⁷ The aim of the competition is to showcase the best of the young talent in the province; artists who may join the ranks of Granada's flamenco elite in the future. The project also aims to connect the flamenco community in Granada with the media in Andalusia, promoting both the community and the artists who constitute the community. In keeping with the provincial feel of the *Diputación*'s projects, many of its recordings, performances and educational projects promote local styles and local *palos*. In this vein, the Granada Universo Flamenco project is also involved in the festival, Sacromonte Cuna de Flamencos (Eng: 'Sacromonte, Cradle of *Flamencos*'). This is an annual summer

⁶ '[...] esta basado en cuatro estrategias: la primea, trabajar patrimonio flamenco granadino; la segunda, promocionar a los jóvenes flamencos; la tercera, trabajar sobre las industrias culturales; y la cuarta, mejorar la comunicación entre los municipios y la Diputación de Granada para que sus programaciones flamencas sean de carácter, digamos de más calidad'.

⁷ The finalists from each year appear on a CD produced by the *Diputación*.

festival that showcases *granadino* artists and styles in its most emblematic flamenco neighbourhood.⁸

The Ayuntamiento de Granada

The Town Council of Granada is also involved in the organisation of events in Sacromonte. In particular, the *Ayuntamiento* takes charge of the annual flamenco production Patrimonio Flamenco (Eng: Flamenco Heritage), which runs from November to June. This production fills the winter/spring void in the flamenco calendar, preparing the city for the explosion of performances and festivals that occurs during the summer. The *Ayuntamiento* used to be involved in more flamenco festivals. However, it appears that there has been a decline in festivals/events funded by the *Ayuntamiento* across the board, which some put down to the conservative leanings of the *Ayuntamiento* itself (see below).⁹ However, the *Ayuntamiento* does play a role in the support of annual religious festivals such as San Cecilio (a festival celebrating the patron saint of Granada) and Semana Santa (Eng: Holy Week), many of which feature flamenco performances.

From my experience, it seems that the main role of the *Ayuntamiento* is to support theatre-based events, particularly performances at the Teatro Isabel de la Católica (Eng: Theatre Isabel the Catholic) and charity concerts. During my time in Granada, I attended a few events at the Teatro Isabel de la Católica all of which were supported by the *Ayuntamiento* and two of which were charity concerts. My impression of these events was of a local flamenco scene trying to establish its presence. The concerts nearly always consisted of local artists and some events were also supported and/or organised by local flamenco

⁸ The tourism potential of Sacromonte is not overlooked. Along with the Junta de Andalucía and the Ayuntamiento de Granada, the Diputación de Granada is involved in the promotion of flamenco in Sacromonte as part of the neighbourhood's development. However, it appears that institutional support in the area is limited. Many of the projects that occur are organised privately through the Sacromonteando initiative, a project designed to further the sustainable development of Sacromonte. See <<http://sacromonteando.blogspot.co.uk/>> [accessed 14 September, 2012].

⁹ Despite attempting to make contact, I was unable to discuss any of these issues with the cultural representative in the *Ayuntamiento*.

institutions such as the Peña la Platería. Many artists performed local styles and often exalted the flamenco heritage in Granada. It seems that these events are a way of localising the flamenco scene in Granada and of drawing attention to the artists that make up the city's flamenco community.

The Reception of Institutional Intervention in Granada

On the surface, institutional support for the flamenco scene in Granada appears to function in a positive and a productive manner. And, in many respects, it does. While there is limited interaction between the different institutional levels, there is still a rich and varied flamenco scene in Granada with high-quality performances available every day, all year round. Moreover, this plethora of flamenco events has obvious economic benefits for the city, particularly when it comes to tourism and to the production of large-scale events such as Lorca y Granada. Even beyond the domain of tourism, the flamenco scene in Granada appears, at least on the surface, to be popular amongst locals themselves. Many events I attended in theatres across the city were full to capacity, particularly when local artists were performing. Institutional intervention from the *Diputación* and the *Ayuntamiento* also appears to support local artists themselves. Often concerts and festivals are organised in cooperation with other private institutions, further involving the local flamenco community in institutional events. However, under the surface there appear to be a number of lingering issues regarding public intervention in the flamenco scene of Granada and indeed in the flamenco scene of Andalusia. From my interactions with informants, I revealed a number of supposed inequalities in and issues with institutional support both within Andalusia generally and within Granada specifically. In particular, these issues related to the prominent role of the Andalusian Government in the development of flamenco.

Politicisation and Amiguismo

There is often a lack of cooperation between these different institutional levels, a consequence associated with the institutional division of support for flamenco. Matilde herself recognised this lack of cooperation as a problem:

Let's say that better coordination would be necessary so that the cultural politics for flamenco that are managed in the entire province of Granada coincide with the politics that the Junta manages, that the *Diputación* manages and at least with what is in the city of Granada, in Granada's town council. The reality isn't this, the reality is that the Junta programmes in its own way, the town councils in their own way, and us in our own way (interview 10 April, 2012).¹⁰

Matilde believed that this lack of cooperation may be due to the 'political colour' of each institution. Here, she touched upon a criticism regarding the regionalisation of flamenco that emerged frequently during my research: politicisation. Many of my informants argued that the lack of cooperation between different institutions is because each one attends to its own political ideology. This in turn affects the staging of flamenco events. In Granada, for example, the *Diputación* and the *Ayuntamiento* are both Partido Popular and the regional government is Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Eng: Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, henceforth referred to as the PSOE).¹¹ As a result, competition arises between the different institutions. In an interview with the flamenco critic and journalist José Manuel Rojas he shared this common narrative, recognising that 'flamenco is also ideology' (interview 4

¹⁰ 'Digamos que sería necesario una mayor coordinación para que las políticas culturales del flamenco se ejecutaran en toda la provincia de Granada, estuvieran más consensuadas con la política que ejecuta la Junta, la que ejecuta la diputación y al menos lo que es en la ciudad de Granada en el ayuntamiento de Granada. La realidad no es esa, la realidad es que la Junta programa por sus sitios, los ayuntamientos por suyos, y nosotros por nuestros'.

¹¹ However, the *Diputación* was PSOE until 2011.

March, 2012).¹² He did, however, acknowledge the benefits of this supposed politicisation. He stated: ‘However, because there is so much ideology and so many points of view, there are many very diverse programmes and therefore there are more possibilities’ (interview 4 March, 2012).¹³

However, there are negative repercussions that arise from the so-called politicisation of flamenco. Frequently during field research, my informants referred to *amiguismo* as an unwelcome result of the politicisation of flamenco. Many believed that favouritism has emerged where different institutions contract artists that, in effect, support the political leanings of the institutions. I acknowledge the difficulty in validating such a claim, particularly on a large spatial scale such as in the Andalusian region. However, what I am concerned with is not whether such politicisation and *amiguismo* exists. Rather, I am interested in the discourse itself and why it has emerged in the first place. As I show below, such narratives reveal discontent towards the monopoly of the public sector in the development of flamenco, both in Granada specifically and across Andalusia generally.

While *amiguismo* appears to occur at all institutional levels (even *ayuntamientos* and *diputaciones* are implicated in such activity), the Junta de Andalucía received the brunt of the complaints in Granada. This is perhaps due to concerns regarding the supposed unequal distribution of money and resources amongst institutions. The Andalusian Government commands much of the regional budget for the development of flamenco, with town and provincial councils receiving less money. During interviews and conversations in the field, impassioned accounts emerged linking favouritism to large-scale productions in Granada organised by the IAF.¹⁴ Allegedly, the IAF contracts a limited number of artists because, as one aficionado said to me, ‘they [the artists] are in the circle of power’ (interview 22

¹² ‘El flamenco también es ideología’.

¹³ ‘Sin embargo, por gracia que hay tanta ideología y tantos puntos de vista, pues, hay muchas programaciones muy diversas y por eso hay un abanico mucho más amplio’.

¹⁴ These productions included performances by the Ballet Flamenco de Andalucía and Flamenco viene del Sur.

February, 2012).¹⁵ This ‘circle of power’ refers either to artists who politically support PSOE or artists who are related in some way to politicians. The Ballet Flamenco de Andalucía was particularly controversial with some of my informants. In an interview with one flamenco producer (who preferred to remain anonymous) he stated: ‘[The] Andalusian ballet has a budget of several million euros every year. And it has only served so that Christina Hoyos or José Antonio or María Pagés take advantage of it and enjoy it, they are the three. Why? Well, because they were the party’s artists’ (interview 2 April, 2012).¹⁶ The Ballet attracts a large portion of the IAF’s budget for the development of flamenco. Moreover, as another informant said to me, it seems that the same artists are contracted for each performance thus supporting ‘those that are above, those that don’t need subsidies’ (interview 19 April, 2012).¹⁷

It appears that these complaints are not unique to Granada. Indeed, similar complaints have emerged across the region, including in Seville. The supposed presence of *amiguismo* in the employment of flamenco artists for major government-funded events received press coverage during the summer of 2011. In particular, there was a protest movement that arrived at the doors of the IAF. A group of well-known artists, including the singer Calixto Sánchez Marín (b. 1947) and the dancer Manuela Carrasco (b. 1954), protested to the IAF with a manifesto signed by 1,500 artists against so-called *amiguismo* in the flamenco world (Godino 17 August, 2011a, 18 August, 2011b; Molina 17 August, 2011). They argued for an equal distribution of work amongst artists in the major festivals and performances funded by the government such as *Flamenco viene del Sur*.¹⁸ In the press, artists likened the situation to the *señoritos* of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries who only supported small groups of artists, but in this day and age with public money (Godino 17 August, 2011a).

¹⁵ ‘Están en el círculo del poder’.

¹⁶ ‘[El] Ballet Andaluz tiene un presupuesto de varios millones de euros todos los años. Y sólo ha servido para que aproveche y disfrute Cristina Hoyos o José Antonio o María Pagés, son los tres. ¿Por qué? Pues porque eran los artistas del partido’.

¹⁷ ‘Los que están arriba, [...] los que no necesitan subvenciones’.

¹⁸ Interestingly, the following year in Granada Manuela Carrasco featured on the *Flamenco viene del Sur* programme.

These complaints may stem from a growing resentment towards the dominance of the public sector in the regionalisation of flamenco. In an article provocatively entitled ‘La mano que da de comer al flamenco’ (Eng: ‘The Hand that Feeds Flamenco’), the journalist Ángeles Castellano criticises the monopoly the public sector has over the flamenco industry (Castellano 28 August, 2011). While Castellano recognises that this is a problem with the arts across Spain in general, he views it as an issue particularly endemic to the support for flamenco by the Andalusian Government. He argues that the Andalusian Government has gradually monopolised the flamenco industry since autonomy in the 1980s. In effect, he argues, the public sector has replaced the private market. He claims that around 90% of the industry is supported by public institutions. While such a figure is difficult to validate, some of my informants reported the same problem. This issue appears to be present in Granada with the decline of private venues (such as bars) that stage more informal or ‘amateur’ flamenco performances. In particular, one producer claimed that the regional government controls all the resources for the development of flamenco. He stated: ‘They have created a dependency in that the Junta has everything, theatres, it has the television, it has the resources to produce, it has the resources to programme, it has the resources to promote’ (interview 2 April, 2012).¹⁹

Aesthetic Restraints

Stylistic restraint on artists also emerged as another issue related to the monopoly of the public sector. Some of my informants claimed that artists who are contracted by regional institutions, particularly for large-scale festivals such as Flamenco viene del Sur, must conform to a particular vision of flamenco. Carlos Jiménez Linares, an aficionado from the Platería, called this ‘official flamenco’ *Andalucía flamenca*. Here, he referred to the styles of

¹⁹ ‘Han creado una dependencia en la que la Junta tiene todos, teatros, tiene la televisión, tiene los recursos por producir, tiene los recursos por programar, tiene los recursos por promocionar’.

flamenco performed at major productions, the types of projects that are accepted and the flamenco that appears on government-supported television channels such as Canal Sur. In 2002, Steingress also commented upon the aesthetic restrictions that have emerged over the last few decades due to the consolidation of flamenco as a form of Andalusian heritage (Steingress 2002: 47). He argued that flamenco should not be straightjacketed to fit a particular concept of identity (ibid. 2002: 60–62). He did not, however, comment upon the particulars of these aesthetic restrictions. I question: what style of flamenco is being favoured? Washabugh's recent work goes some way towards answering this question. He argues that many policy statements and cultural/educational projects situate flamenco as 'heritage-transmitted-from-the-past' and thus perpetuate a 'backward-leaning' style that potentially curtails creative possibilities (Washabaugh 2012: 10).

For Washabaugh, the overemphasis of the government on song and on flamenco rooted in the past is a continuation of a flamenco orthodoxy that began in the late-nineteenth century with scholars such as Demófilo (ibid. 2012). However, Washabaugh does not discuss *Flamenco viene del Sur* in his analysis. I argue that this festival is particularly representative of the regional government's 'official' vision for flamenco. Moreover, I contend that, at times, this vision is in fact 'forward-leaning' and breaks with the Andalusian past. Instead, it epitomises the future of flamenco. The characteristics of this 'official' flamenco style are difficult to determine. Any direct correlation between institutional support and musical style is problematic. Such a correlation can deny the very agency of the musicians themselves. While I was unable to talk with musicians who have put themselves forward for the festival, my experience of *Flamenco viene del Sur* performances, my analysis of articles in the press and my interviews in the field provide an interesting point of departure for considering the aesthetic restraints institutionalisation may have upon flamenco.

First, it is necessary to examine briefly the ‘official’ criteria (as outlined by the IAF) for an artist to be included in the Flamenco viene del Sur festival. In an interview with David Peral, he handed me a copy of the requirements and the criteria for flamenco companies wishing to put productions forward for consideration (Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco 2012b).²⁰ Artists are required to submit relevant media (such as recordings and a DVD of the proposed production). These materials are then judged by a panel of ‘experts’ according to the following criteria: artistic quality; cultural impact (for Andalusians); creativity/originality; use of stage space; concept of the production (that is, the coherence between music, costumes and set design); and cost of the production (ibid. 2012). During my own attendance of Flamenco viene del Sur productions and my own review of previous recordings of the festival, I have teased out common stylistic themes. At times, Washabaugh’s notion of a ‘backward-leaning’ style is manifested in these performances. This is particularly evident in the traditional *cuadro flamenco* (group performance) styles where normally female (and sometimes *gitana*) dancers lead the show with a passionate display of emotion. However, these traditional performances do reveal a point of weakness in Washabaugh’s analysis. He argues that an institutionally-supported ‘backward-leaning’ style is centred on *cante*. However, *cante* took a back seat in all the Flamenco viene del Sur productions I attended. Moreover, many performances focus on a ‘clean’, a virtuosic and a dramatic aesthetic that is more accessible for a generic audience.

At times, these performances cleanly broke with a traditional or a ‘backward-leaning’ style, making leaps forward into the future of flamenco. In concerts where the guitarist took the centre stage (normally at the head of a troupe of dancers and singers), performances were often characterised by innovation and virtuosity. In particular, guitarists sought to extend the boundaries of flamenco guitar technique and harmony, incorporating elements from classical

²⁰ Also see ‘Comienza la preparación de Flamenco viene del Sur 2013’, *La Nueva Alboréa* (issue 22 July–September), 2012, p. 29.

guitar performance, jazz and even rock techniques.²¹ It is in certain dance performances, however, that a ‘forward-leaning’ style in Flamenco viene del Sur was most visible. Some productions centred on a contemporary or ‘avant-garde’ dance style that fused flamenco with ballet and contemporary dance, a genre that was influenced by contemporary theatre. These types of performances normally consisted of highly choreographed dance routines. They were often narrative driven and made extensive use of stage and props. Here, flamenco teetered on the edge of becoming a new genre of flamenco ‘dance-theatre’.

My informants sometimes complained about this style of flamenco. Some artists I was in contact with resented the fact that one needs to conform to these artistic constraints in order to receive financial and promotional support from the regional government. In the press, one performer argued that the ‘artists-that-aren’t-in-fashion’ are not normally accepted for the performances featured in festivals like Flamenco viene del Sur (Godino 17 August, 2011a). For some artists, the flamenco industry denies artistic creativity, being controlled by politicians who supposedly know little about the tradition. In an interview with a flamenco producer in Granada who has years of experience in the industry, he informed me about the ‘type’ of flamenco that the regional government supports. He argued that artists need to adapt their projects to suit the ideology of the regional government, to receive support and to be accepted for festivals such as Flamenco viene del Sur. In particular, he believed performances must adhere to a ‘feminist’ ideology by focusing on female dancers. Moreover, he contended that artists must adopt European models of dance. With reference to these models of dance, he stated: ‘The avant garde [is] understood as a formula for being able to access help [...]. It is an attempt to copy the style of contemporary dance in central Europe’ (interview 2 April, 2012).²²

²¹ Rock techniques (or those borrowed from electric guitar playing) included palm muting, where the right hand dampens the strings to create a pizzicato effect.

²² ‘La vanguardia [es] entendida como fórmula para poder tener acceso a ayuda [...]. Es un intento de copiar los contenidos de la forma [estilo] de la danza contemporánea central europea’.

It is important to recognise that in denouncing institutionally-supported flamenco performances and in claiming the existence of aesthetic restraints, these interviewees may well be replicating a dominant narrative that permeates much of the flamenco scene. That is, a general discontent with the monopoly of the public sector. As an ethnographer, I was forced to think more critically about the narratives that I was hearing in the field. As discussed above, it is problematic to reduce the stylistic diversity of flamenco to an institutional ‘base-style’. Moreover, Flamenco viene del Sur is just an isolated case. The regional government does support flamenco in contexts that require different stylistic parameters (such as performances in *peñas* that still promote a traditional aesthetic). In large-scale performances and festivals, it is also important to bear in mind that the regional government is, in essence, at the whims of popular taste. Such an aesthetic imperative informs the style of flamenco staged at these events. Moreover, the Andalusian Government is trying to represent flamenco as a modern European art music that can grace any concert stage. Accordingly, the fusion between flamenco and contemporary dance is perhaps predictable given the credibility of the latter as an artistic genre.

The regional government has, to its credit, been relatively transparent about the issues discussed in this chapter thus far. In the *Libro blanco del flamenco*,²³ there is a study entitled ‘Importancia del flamenco en las industrias culturales de Andalucía’ (Eng: ‘Importance of Flamenco in the Cultural Industries of Andalusia’). The study was conducted by the University of Cádiz and commissioned by the IAF (Ruiz Navarro and Pérez González 2012). Following the Statute and the UNESCO declaration, this study was commissioned to examine the flamenco industry and its economic impact in Andalusia. The study presents a wealth of data collected through documentation, interviews and questionnaires. These data have then been subjected to a DAFO (Eng: SWOT) review ascertaining the *debilidades* (Eng:

²³ Discussed in Chapter Five.

weaknesses), *amenazas* (Eng: threats), *fortalezas* (Eng: strengths) and *oportunidades* (Eng: opportunities) in the flamenco industry. The conclusions of the study echo with many of the issues that I raise here. These include *amiguismo* and the unequal distribution of funding. They also include the monopoly of the public sector and the instability of the private sector. The data do present a fairly bleak picture of the industry. Amidst mounting criticism in the press, this is perhaps a step towards addressing some of the issues in the public sponsorship of flamenco. Yet, the study bypasses a couple of key themes that emerged during my ethnographic research in Granada: responses to the UNESCO declaration (and the Statute prior to it) and issues surrounding marginalisation and localism.²⁴

Responses to the UNESCO Declaration and the Statute of Autonomy

The issues discussed above have been exacerbated by the inclusion of flamenco in the Statute and the UNESCO declaration. Following these declarations, a number of articles in the press emerged critiquing the institutionalisation of flamenco. This suggests that the declarations have brought into focus many issues and inequalities that were bubbling under the surface. However, I have not yet considered responses to the declarations themselves. From my research in Granada, I have revealed a number of, often negative, responses to the two declarations. In the next chapter, I examine how these responses relate to a specific flamenco context in Granada, the *zambra*. For now, however, more general comments are necessary to illustrate the narratives that emerged in my ethnographic research.

The inclusion of flamenco in the Statute was, surprisingly, not well received by many of my informants. During interviews, they often responded negatively to the inclusion, arguing that it has only served to consolidate the monopoly of the public sector in the development of flamenco across Andalusia. For many, they saw no benefit to the inclusion.

²⁴ This is perhaps due to the research design itself and the sorts of questions asked. None of the recorded qualitative responses presented in the study raised issues related to UNESCO or localism.

They feared that it would simply exacerbate the use of flamenco for political purposes and would only favour those ‘at the top’. Interestingly, however, these concerns about the Statute did not necessarily translate into the rejection of an Andalusian identity. Indeed, many of my informants identified themselves as Andalusian and/or recognised the significance of flamenco for Andalusian culture. Yet, they viewed the Andalusian Government’s claims for exclusivity as detailed in Article 68 of the Statute as problematic. This is because they recognised the importance of other Spanish territories on the development of flamenco. They also recognised its status as an international cultural phenomenon. This narrative corresponds with the responses I received from members of the PAO. As such, it appears that many Andalusians (both *flamencos* and non-*flamencos*) problematise their government’s appropriation of musical culture. José Manuel Rojas summarised this succinctly: ‘I think it [the inclusion] is okay as a symbol of identity but not as exclusivity’ (interview 4 March, 2012).²⁵

The UNESCO declaration also instigated some surprisingly negative responses. While none of my informants saw the declaration as a negative thing (quite the contrary), they had issues with its relevance and its implementation. For some, flamenco did not need recognition as an ICH given that it had already achieved international status and that it had never been in danger.²⁶ One producer stated: ‘Flamenco is very alive, flamenco didn’t need this thing [...]. The *flamencos* have never had any idea of the existence of this declaration, nor were they asking for it’ (interview 2 April, 2012).²⁷ Some informants argued that the declaration will only serve political purposes. Moreover, it will legitimise the regional government’s expenditure on flamenco, benefiting those ‘in power’ or those ‘at the top’. Unlike members of

²⁵ ‘Yo creo que como una seña de identidad me parece bien pero no como exclusividad’.

²⁶ The fact that people discussed the irrelevance of the declaration due to the healthy status of flamenco perhaps illustrates that some of my informants were unaware of the structure and the criteria of the UNESCO’s Representative list. Some believed that the declaration served an immediate safeguarding issue and that, in this sense, flamenco did not fit the criteria for recognition.

²⁷ ‘El flamenco esta muy vivo, flamenco no necesitaba esa historia [...]. Los flamencos no tenían la idea de que existía la declaración, ni la estaban pidiendo’.

the PAO, the issue here is not necessarily that the declaration will serve to strengthen the regionalisation of flamenco. Rather, there is a concern that the effects of the declaration will not be felt where they are most needed. While many informants viewed positively certain measures (such as the development of flamenco in regional education), generally they were negative about the wider impact of the declaration.

Although they rejoiced at the international status of flamenco, they believed that the declaration will only serve to develop flamenco externally (that is, abroad) rather than internally (that is, in Andalusia). The influence of the declaration for artists ‘on the ground’ was made clear to me in two particular interviews. Carlos stated: ‘One singer from Granada said it well, the night they declared flamenco as an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and he said to me “but exactly how will it be relevant for me? Am I going to have a wage? Are they going to give me money every month so that I can spread this art that I have?”’ (interview 22 February, 2012).²⁸ Similarly, José Manuel Rojas deplored the economic situation that many artists are presented with. Here, he rhetorically questioned the relevance of the declaration for such artists. He stated: ‘It is a worldwide recognition and that is always good, but for the *flamenco* that performs every night for forty euros [...], to the one that isn’t in contact with the institutions it doesn’t mean anything. If one is working without social security in the *tablaos*, all well and good heritage of humanity, but how are you going to survive?’ (interview 4 March, 2012).²⁹

²⁸ ‘Un cantaor de Granada me decía bueno, la noche que declaran el flamenco como patrimonio inmaterial de la humanidad y me decía “pero esto exactamente ¿en que se va a traducir para mi? ¿Voy a tener un sueldo? ¿Me van a dar dinero todo los meses para que yo pueda difundir este arte que yo tengo?”’.

²⁹ ‘Es un reconocimiento mundial que viene muy bien siempre, pero al flamenco que actúa toda la noche por cuarenta euros [...], al que no esta en contacto con las instituciones no le supone nada. Si está trabajando sin seguridad social en los tablaos y muy bien, patrimonio de la humanidad pero ¿y de qué come?’.

Flamenco es un Derecho (FED)

These concerns with the UNESCO declaration and the Statute extended beyond the economic situation of artists. They also crept into the private infrastructure for flamenco in Andalusia. Indeed, it is possible that the recent UNESCO declaration (and by extension the Statute) obscures the supposedly precarious state of certain flamenco contexts. In particular, this issue is put forward by the protest group, Flamenco es un Derecho (FED). This independent movement, founded in 2010 by various flamenco artists, provides a platform (through its blog sites and actual protests) for challenging institutional measures towards the development of flamenco.³⁰ The statement at the top of one blog site reflects the influence the UNESCO declaration has had on the movement. It states: ‘Flamenco: a present for humanity and a right for the Andalusian people’.³¹ On the principal page of this blog site, the main aims of the movement are outlined:

This manifesto was born to denounce cultural politics that have resulted, amongst other things, in the disappearance of the framework of Andalusian flamenco festivals and in the instability of the system of flamenco *peñas* of Andalusia. Politics that also mean the exclusion of 85% of the group of flamenco artists, to benefit a limited circle of privileged people through public support, as has recently been declared by the Association of Flamenco Artists.³²

³⁰ See the blog sites <<http://flamencoparalospueblos.blogspot.co.uk/p/el-manifiesto.html>> [accessed 4 September, 2012]; and <<http://www.flamencoesunderecho.blogspot.co.uk/>> [accessed 4 September, 2012].

³¹ ‘El flamenco: un regalo para la humanidad y un derecho del pueblo andaluz’. Available online: <<http://flamencoparalospueblos.blogspot.co.uk/p/el-manifiesto.html>> [accessed 4 September, 2012].

³² ‘Este manifiesto nace para denunciar una política cultural que ha derivado, entre otras, en la desaparición del tejido de festivales flamencos andaluces y en la precariedad de la Red de Peñas Flamencas de Andalucía. Política que significa también la exclusión del 85% del colectivo de artistas flamencos en beneficio de un limitado círculo de privilegiados por las ayudas públicas, tal como ha declarado recientemente la Asociación de Artistas Flamencos’. Available online: <<http://flamencoparalospueblos.blogspot.co.uk/p/el-manifiesto.html>> [accessed 4 September, 2012].

The movement claims that nearly 80% of the festivals that once proliferated in the *pueblos* of Andalusia have disappeared. Moreover, it contends that *peñas* are also in a precarious economic situation and social circumstance. With the support of the Asociación de Artistas Flamencos (Eng: Association of Flamenco Artists), the FED movement also challenges much of the politicisation and *amiguismo* discussed above. However, the survival of smaller flamenco festivals is a key aim for the movement. While millions of euros are invested in large-scale productions both within and beyond Andalusia, members of the movement argue that traditional flamenco festivals in more rural contexts have nearly disappeared. These smaller festivals emerged in the 1950s but flourished after the Franco dictatorship in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s. They were an integral context for the development of flamenco artists and a favourable performance setting for aficionados. In recent years, the public sector has effectively supplanted these performance contexts. Since the 1950s, *peñas* have also been an integral context for the performance and the development of flamenco. The FED proposes that *peñas*, like the festivals, are also in decline. Here, they receive little of the funds that are destined for the development of flamenco.³³ I discussed the health of the *peñas* with Carlos. He stated:

They [the *peñas*] could disappear and in truth it would be sad because this Article 68 of the Statute that grants the capacity to develop, to research and to spread flamenco [...] one shouldn't forget that before the Statute those [who] were in charge of all this diffusion and of maintaining this heritage were the *peñas*, the biggest and the smallest, they are the ones that have kept the flamenco flame alive (interview 22 February, 2012).³⁴

³³ The blog site also contains a breakdown of the monetary investment from the former AADF towards the development of flamenco, highlighting the lack of funds destined for festivals in *pueblos* and the *peñas*.

³⁴ 'Podrían [las peñas] desaparecer y la verdad que sería triste porque ese Artículo 68 del Estatuto que se otorga la capacidad de desarrollar, investigar y difundir el flamenco [...] no se debe olvidar que antes de ese Estatuto los que han estado encargados de toda esa difusión y de mantener todo ese patrimonio han sido las peñas, las más grandes y las más pequeñas, son los que han mantenido la llama viva de ese flamenco'.

The FED has outlined various demands including more economic investment in festivals and *peñas*.³⁵ The group has also recommended the use of ‘experts’ to help decide on the development of flamenco (not just a small group of civil servants). The group has also argued that institutions should refrain from supporting just a handful of artists. Also present on the FED’s blogsite are numerous articles and comments from musicians and aficionados. What is striking in these responses is the regionalist rhetoric employed. In one post, it is stated: ‘The festivals are the richest part of our Andalusian art, but the festivals have found a powerful enemy: the Junta de Andalucía’.³⁶ Indeed, at times, the FED movement is linked to *andalucista* groups, left-wing movements that espouse a more pronounced form of Andalusian regionalism. The regionalist rhetoric that permeates the FED perhaps reflects the discrepancy between regionalism and regionalisation. While the movement may be underpinned by a strong correlation of flamenco with Andalusian identity, it directly contests institutional involvement in the development of flamenco. In Schrijver’s terms, even if regionalism upholds the idea of a unified region (as espoused by institutions), regionalism may not favour the regionalisation process.

The incongruity between regionalism and regionalisation, as it relates to the FED, also became apparent during my field research in Granada. This was particularly evident during my interview with the spokesperson for and one of the founders of the FED, Juan Pinilla. He

³⁵ Unfortunately, it appears that the FED’s demands for greater economic support for the *peñas* are far from becoming a reality. As discussed in Chapter Five, the Junta de Andalucía has withdrawn all economic support from the private network of institutions in the flamenco world. This is due to dire economic circumstances in Spain (and thus Andalusia). However, large sums of money will still be invested in the public sector. The *peñas* constitute one of the biggest parts of the private industry and the effect this measure will have on them is worrying. See ‘La Junta de Andalucía elimina las ayudas a las *peñas* flamencas’, *aireflamenco.com* <<http://www.aireflamenco.com/noticias/1463-la-junta-de-andalucia-retira-las-ayudas-a-penas-flamencas>> [accessed 24 April, 2013]. This website contains a number of comments from members of the general public denouncing this decision. In particular, people see the removal of funds for *peñas* as antithetical to the aims of the UNESCO declaration.

³⁶ ‘Los festivales son el alimento más nutritivo de nuestro arte andaluz, pero a los festivales les ha salido un enemigo muy fuerte: la Junta de Andalucía’. Available online: <<http://www.flamencoesunderecho.blogspot.co.uk/>> [accessed 4 September, 2012].

is a successful *cantaor* and has also worked as a journalist.³⁷ He is a prominent performer on the *granadino* flamenco scene, but also performs regularly across Spain, having won the prestigious Miner's Lamp at the Festival Internacional de Cantes de las Minas in 2007, in Murcia. In addition to his connection with the FED, Juan openly aligns himself with a left-wing ideology and is frequently involved in social and political activism. He believes in the political power of flamenco both in the past and in the present. At the beginning of our interview, he gave me a copy of his second CD, *Las voces que no callaron* (Eng: The Voices that Won't Keep Quiet). This annotated publication represents Juan's attempt to reclaim the political power of flamenco. The CD contains a collection of *cantes* some of which are composed by the political singers of flamenco's past. It is accompanied by a short book that traces the role of flamenco in political protest during key eras of Andalusia's history (such as the Second Republic, the late-Franco years and the transition to democracy).



Figure 7.1: *Memoria andaluza* logo.³⁸

The CD was produced and released by the left-wing editorial company Atrapasueños (Eng: Dreamcatcher). Juan told me that he was contacted directly by the company due to his political incentives. As well as being associated with activism, Atrapasueños is also informed by an Andalusian regionalism. This is particularly noticeable in the logo used for the collection of works, *Colección Memoria Andaluza* (Eng: Andalusian Memory Collection, see

³⁷ *Cantaor(a)* is the word used to refer to a flamenco singer.

³⁸ Available online: <<http://www.atrapasuenos.org/>> [accessed 6 September, 2012].

Figure 7.1). The logo is an adaptation of the Andalusian ‘nationalist’ flag that is commonly associated with *andalucismo* and, at times, has even been used by minority separatist groups in the region.³⁹ Juan’s CD is part of the collection which seeks to promote the culture and the history of Andalusia. It is safe to assume that Juan’s artistic output, his close association with Atrapasueños and his involvement with the FED demonstrate his view that flamenco is a vehicle for the articulation of Andalusian identity.⁴⁰ Throughout our interview, his commitment to the ‘salvation’ of flamenco from politicisation and from the seemingly inadequate development strategies of the regional government were clearly grounded in a sense of Andalusian identity. Juan is a good example of an artist who believes that the government’s regionalisation of flamenco may in fact undermine the association between flamenco and regional identity.

However, interpreting Juan’s artistic and political motives within the frame of Andalusian regionalism as a single, overarching identity is perhaps too simplistic. In our interview, he was critical of the regional government’s inclusion of flamenco in the Statute, recognising the relevance of flamenco for other Spanish regions. He stated: ‘It can’t be an exclusive heritage, despite how Andalusian I feel’ (interview 19 March, 2012).⁴¹ However, Juan also appeared to epitomise a distinctly local reading of Andalusian regionalism. He is a prominent artist in the *granadino* flamenco scene. Moreover, he is dedicated to promoting the local styles, artists and contexts of Granada (both in the city and in the province). For Juan (and many others) the significance of politicisation, *amiguismo* and inequality cannot be understood purely at a regional level. Juan alluded to the fact that many of these issues are experienced as local, geographical inequalities rather than simply regional, political

³⁹ Although incredibly small, there are some separatist movements in Andalusia that seek Andalusian independence from Spain.

⁴⁰ It is also worth mentioning here that Juan’s CD has appeared at times on *andalucista* websites. For example see <<http://universoandalucista.blogspot.co.uk/2011/09/las-vozes-que-no-callaron-de-juan.html>> [accessed 6 September, 2012].

⁴¹ ‘No pueda ser patrimonio exclusivo, por muy andaluz que me sienta’.

inequalities. Indeed, during my ethnographic research in Granada, the notion of marginalisation (in terms of territory rather than class) frequently emerged as an issue.

Marginalisation in Granada

Prior to conducting ethnographic research, I encountered a range of narratives concerning marginalisation in the flamenco communities of the city and the province of Granada.

Following the UNESCO declaration, there were a handful of newspaper articles claiming the existence of geographical inequalities and *amiguismo*. Here, regional issues transformed into local issues. In particular, the article ‘Los flamencos piden más proyección’ (Eng: ‘*Flamencos Ask for More Projection*’) featured in *Granada Hoy* is indicative of this transformation (de la Corte 19 August, 2011). After the complaints from flamenco artists had reached the gates of the IAF in Seville (discussed above), this article highlighted the issue of marginalisation in the *granadino* context. It speaks of a vibrant flamenco community that is sidelined. It talks about artists who are forgotten. Further, the article states that there is the presence of a geographical *amiguismo* where artists for festivals such as Flamenco viene del Sur are always contracted from the *triángulo de oro* (and particularly from Seville). In the article, the dancer Lucía Guarnido states: ‘Many artists from East Andalusia complain they receive no support from Seville because it appears that if you don’t live there you aren’t Andalusian. The Andalusian agency should represent all Andalusian *flamencos* wherever they reside’ (ibid. 2011).⁴² On the website *deflamenco.com*, the journalist and scholar Estela Zatanía proclaims the flamenco heritage of Granada and laments the marginalisation of the city:

⁴² ‘Muchos artistas de Andalucía Oriental se quejan de no recibir de Sevilla ningún apoyo porque parece que si no vives allí no eres andaluz. La Agencia Andaluza debería representar a todos los flamencos andaluces residan donde residan’.

In the nineteen-sixties a famous publicity campaign proclaimed, ‘Spain is different’ in all the major languages of the world. Now, fifty years later, within the context of flamenco, it could be said, ‘Granada is different’. In Western Andalucía, the almighty geographical triangle formed by Seville, Jerez and Cádiz represents a kind of flamenco, which for many fans, is the only real and true kind. But in the East, there is a world of mining *cante* and *abandolao*, a vast variety of tangos, energetic intense dancing and a school of guitar-playing that never turns its back on the rich heritage of the Habichuelas⁴³ and the Marotes.⁴⁴ Granada is the neuralgic center of this ‘exotic’ alternative flamenco that continues to unjustly suffer bad press and the indifference of the public sector that depends on the Alhambra to guarantee the abundance and permanence of tourism (Zatania 2009).

This quotation epitomises many of the issues that emerged during my field research in Granada. It is a suitable starting point for exploring notions of marginalisation and localism as they materialised in my ethnographic research. Indeed, the dominant narrative that appears in the *granadino* press was replicated in conversations with my informants. For some of my informants, the flamenco community in Granada (and East Andalusia in general) is marginalised in Andalusia. Moreover, they believed that institutional efforts are not equally spread throughout the region. Carlos argued that the city of Granada is effectively ‘abandoned in this regard’ (interview 22 February, 2012). Therefore, the issue of *amiguismo* is blamed on both political motivations and geographical motivations. In an industry in which flamenco is used to espouse a unified regional identity, this alleged marginalisation is a serious point of contention. Again, Flamenco viene del Sur was frequently implicated in this discourse. It is commonly believed that such government sponsored events favour artists from the *triángulo de oro* and particularly from Seville. For example, there was only one

⁴³ The Habichuela family has produced many flamenco musicians in Granada. Three of the family formed the *flamenco nuevo* group, Ketama. See Chapter Nine.

⁴⁴ Juan Maya Marote (1936–2002) was a well-known guitarist from Granada. His legacy will be explored in Chapter Nine.

artist from Granada in the 2012 staging of the festival (see below). However, the majority of the artists were born in and/or formed their careers in Seville and Jerez.⁴⁵

To what extent is this absence of *granadino* artists due to issues related to quality? All the *flamencos* with whom I was in contact in Granada certainly refuted this claim. They believed that the city has a rich and a prominent flamenco heritage. As such, the absence of *granadino* artists in large-scale regional productions is particularly problematic. Frequently, they referred me to famous guitarists and dancers from Granada. While Granada has not traditionally been known for its singers, it was home to the great Enrique Morente, who was perhaps one of the most prominent innovators in the *flamenco nuevo* genre. Nonetheless, it is important to recognise that *granadino* artists do perform in prominent ‘regional’ events. For example, the respected guitarist David Carmona was in charge of the music for the 2012 production by the Ballet Flamenco de Andalucía. However, there are two issues here. First, *granadino* artists are contracted for these large-scale productions far too infrequently. Second, the artists who are contracted often developed their careers outside Granada. The guitarist Josemi Carmona is a good example.⁴⁶ He belongs to the Habichuela family, a renowned guitar family from Granada. However, he developed his career in Madrid. In my interview with the journalist Jose Manuel Rojas, he stated:

The artists from Granada that they are promoting in Flamenco viene del Sur are chosen for the whole of Andalusia [...] [but] a *granadina* Belén Maya born in New York isn't *granadina*, José Carmona born here but is in Madrid has nothing to do with Granada [...]. However, those in Jerez are well represented,

⁴⁵ This issue appears to have been repeated across the different stagings of the festival. The programmes for the previous few stagings invariably featured musicians from Seville and Jerez. Also see Cappa, ‘Flamenco viene del sur’. In this article, it is claimed that 80% of the artists were from Seville.

⁴⁶ Josemi Carmona was the final performer at the 2012 staging of Flamenco viene del Sur in Granada.

those in Seville are well represented, those in Cádiz are well represented and little else (interview 4 March, 2012).⁴⁷

It appears to be a common complaint that promising artists need to leave Granada for places such as Seville or Madrid in order to develop their careers. The feeling is that Granada has lost many great artists due to the marginalisation of the city. However, it is important to recognise that this is common across Andalusia, artists needing to leave for bigger cities (such as Madrid or Seville) with a more prominent flamenco scene in order to build a successful career. In an interview with Jesús Miralles a student from the conservatoire, he raised this very issue. While he agreed with issues of politicisation and *amiguismo*, he did not believe that these issues stemmed from a geographical inequality. Instead, he believed that artists from Seville are contracted more frequently simply because Seville is a bigger city and is the capital of Andalusia. Moreover, some informants believed that the supposed marginalisation of *granadino* artists is due to the character of the artists themselves. Here, I was referred to the ‘stereotypical’ flamenco artist in Granada. While none of my informants were able to explain to me exactly what this stereotype was, various characteristics did emerge from interviews and conversations. First, *granadino* artists were described as reclusive and reserved. They were also considered to have an in-built sense of inferiority and victimisation. Second, *granadino* artists were believed to lack a ‘business mind’; they are not built for the twenty-first century. Some informants argued that a strong work ethic and business skills are now essential for success in the flamenco industry.

However, for some informants these personality traits were unfounded. Instead, geographical marginalisation rather than social marginalisation is still the main issue. Here, I was told that institutions in Seville control the resources and the media that enable artists to

⁴⁷ ‘Los artistas de Granada que están promocionado en Flamenco viene del Sur elegido para todo Andalucía [...] [pero] una granadina Belén Maya nació en Nueva York no es granadina, José Carmona que nació aquí pero está en Madrid no tiene nada que ver con Granada [...]. Sin embargo están muy representados en Jerez, están muy representados en Sevilla, están representados en Cádiz y poco más’.

further their careers. For example, some artists are not aware of the audition process for festivals such as *Flamenco viene del Sur*. Some of my informants argued that this ‘alienation’ was due to the dominance of institutions from the *triángulo de oro* in the staging of events. Here, some informants argued that there is an overemphasis on flamenco from this part of West Andalusia. Many *flamencos* in Granada contested the ‘normalised’ idea that flamenco from the *triángulo de oro* is more ‘authentic’ and prestigious. Moreover, they believed that this perception is replicated by public institutions. In an industry that is effectively controlled by the public sector, cities such as Granada have fallen by the wayside.

Thus far, I have discussed the issue of marginalisation largely in relation to the employment of artists. However, for some of my informants the issue appears to extend to the musical domain itself, particularly in the discourse surrounding history and style. In terms of history, my informants frequently exalted the importance of Granada in the historical development of flamenco. Like members of the PAO, a few argued that the origins of flamenco are to be found in the city and in the province. In particular, the critic and educator Miguel Ángel González argued that folkloric *fandangos* formed the basis for the genesis of flamenco and that these *fandangos* derived from *morisco* musical forms that existed in the Kingdom of Granada. In West Andalusia, *fandangos* formed many of the *palos* associated with *cante jondo* and its derivatives. In East Andalusia, *fandangos* gave way to the wealth of unmetred *palos* often known as *cantes de las minas*.

The issue of style has already appeared in this chapter. However, Carlos’s notion of *Andalucía flamenca* (discussed above) did not only relate to an institutionally-mediated concept of style. It also related to a geographically-mediated concept of style. Arguably, the importance placed on flamenco from the *triángulo de oro* has engendered a homogenisation of style in which musical forms from this geographical area have become more dominant. While it was not reported to me in these terms, some claimed that more emphasis is placed on

the *palos* and the musical practices from the *triángulo de oro* (particularly from Seville). This sentiment was echoed during an interview with the flamenco researcher Miguel Ángel Berlanga Fernández (University of Granada). He argued that *palos* from the *triángulo de oro* have more prominence than *palos* from Granada. He stated: ‘The flamenco “standard” has more to do with *sevillano* than *granadino*’ (interview 12 April, 2012).⁴⁸ By ‘standard’, Miguel Ángel Berlanga Fernández referred to the more public manifestations of flamenco exhibited during major festivals and common in the media. For him, the power of so-called *sevillanismo* permeates throughout popular culture in Andalusia. Moreover, this *sevillanismo* often engenders the rejection of Sevillian culture outside of Seville in places like Granada. He continued: ‘In flamenco, Seville and Cádiz have had and continue to have an historic weight in the, shall we say, flamenco aesthetic that has become more universalised; the codes of expression’ (interview 12 April, 2012).⁴⁹ Miguel Ángel Berlanga Fernández believed that *sevillanismo* in flamenco is not only prevalent in the *palos* that are performed. It is also prevalent in the aesthetics and the performance practices (or ‘codes of expression’) associated with flamenco.

Unfortunately, I was unable to test this hypothesis regarding the influence of *sevillanismo* on the aesthetics and the practices of flamenco. While I have noticed the dominance of western *palos* in large productions, I am undecided how this dominance relates to deeper levels of musical practice. Indeed, during conversations with flamenco artists, rarely did they note any stylistic dominance in West Andalusia. Rather, they commented upon the structural issues already discussed, such as the politicisation and the marginalisation of Granada. Nonetheless, many artists in Granada often performed and/or specialised in local *palos*. Moreover, some artists such as Juan Pinilla dedicated themselves to safeguarding local forms, particularly those that are in danger of disappearing altogether. These *palos* belong to

⁴⁸ ‘El flamenco “standard” tiene más que ver con sevillano que granadino’.

⁴⁹ ‘En el flamenco, Sevilla y Cádiz ha tenido un peso histórico y siguen teniendo en la, digamos, la estética flamenca que más se ha universalizado; los códigos de expresión’.

a rich *granadino* flamenco heritage that for many is as prestigious as, if not more prestigious than, the flamenco heritage associated with the *triángulo de oro*.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have examined the ways in which the regionalisation of flamenco is manifested in a local context. Drawing upon fieldwork in Granada, I have presented two paths of enquiry. First, I have explored the ways in which the regionalisation of flamenco materialises in the city by examining three levels of institutional support, namely the Junta de Andalucía, the Diputación de Granada and the Ayuntamiento de Granada. Here, I have shown how different institutional levels support different flamenco productions, creating a rich yet often disconnected scene. Second, I have discussed responses from musicians, aficionados, producers and journalists/critics to the institutional support offered to flamenco both at a regional and at a local level. This research has revealed certain issues and inequalities. At a regional level, many lament the dependency of flamenco on the public sector, arguing that this dependency threatens the survival of the private sector (particularly *peñas* and small festivals). This reliance on the public sector has supposedly promoted occurrences of *amiguismo* and politicisation. It has also placed aesthetic restraints on flamenco artists. At a local level, these issues are felt as geographical marginalisation where the flamenco industry favours artists from the *triángulo de oro*. Granada's contributions to the flamenco world are viewed as peripheral to the contributions of West Andalusia. In effect, the dominance of the *triángulo de oro* denies the stylistic contributions of artists in Granada to the flamenco 'complex' (Manuel 1989).

This chapter is consistent with the theoretical framework informing this thesis. My research in Granada has, at times, revealed similarities with my research regarding the PAO. Many of my informants gave voice to similar claims as members of the PAO, even if they did

not share the movement's rejection of Andalusian identity. That is, they voiced concerns regarding marginalisation and favouritism. Accordingly, I suggest that the centre-periphery model applies at the regional level. Arguably, the regionalisation process is asymmetrical benefiting certain territories that possess more institutional power. I have also revealed that supposed inequalities in the development of flamenco echo deeper issues in Andalusia as a whole. Flamenco becomes a window onto the presence of centralism in Seville that for many dictates the institutional support for flamenco. If political geography concerns the geographical distribution of power, politics and resources, then this is exactly what is at stake here. Allegedly, the *triángulo de oro* (and particularly Seville) is a key hegemonic centre in the flamenco world. A handful of institutions control the resources necessary for artists to develop their careers. These institutions also determine the aesthetic criteria required for success as a flamenco artist.

I have argued that such assumptions are never easy. One might reasonably ask whether there is any truth to these notions of inequality and marginalisation. Yet, what interests me is why these narratives emerge in the flamenco scene of Granada. The existence of these claims to marginalisation and inequality is not my main concern. I am interested in how such narratives reveal the prominence of localism in Granada. Localism is another level of identification that is often at odds with a unified conception of Andalusian identity. If localism stems from, and is strengthened by, the idea of marginalisation, in what ways does it factor into an alternative reading of regionalism? How is flamenco involved in constructing a local identity? Although mentioned by some flamenco scholars, localism has not been subjected to serious critical scrutiny. In the final two chapters, I examine the ways in which Granada is finding and exalting its flamenco 'voice'. By examining the contexts, the discourses and the styles unique to the city, I argue that flamenco can be a vehicle for a local reading of regionalism that both consolidates and contests the idea of a unitary region.

Chapter Eight: *Granáina flamenca*: Localism in the Flamenco Scene of Granada

In the previous chapter, I examined some of the discourses that emerged during my research of the flamenco scene in Granada. As a conclusion, I argued that narratives of marginalisation and favouritism might be rooted in the presence of localism in Granada. In this chapter, I explore how this localism is manifested, through flamenco, in the *granadino* context. I show how the city is finding and expressing its own ‘voice’ within the wider Andalusian flamenco community. In particular, I examine two prominent case studies of flamenco in the city, namely the Peña la Platería (henceforth referred to as the Platería) and the *zambra*. The former is a performance context connected with a wider network of Andalusian *peñas*. By examining history, symbolism, heritage, audiences and performances in the *peña*, I situate the Platería at the juncture between a local and a regional reading of flamenco. The latter is a performance context and a genre unique to Granada and specifically the Sacromonte neighbourhood (see Figure 8.1 below for a map of the city). The *zambra* is a cave performance context (mainly for tourism), a context in which many local artists have developed their skills. The *zambra* is also known for a unique genre of flamenco referred to as the *zambra gitana*. However, social change and musical change in Sacromonte means the survival of the *zambra gitana* as a distinctive genre is in jeopardy. Its survival calls into question the relevance of safeguarding measures instigated by the Statute of Autonomy (henceforth referred to as the Statute) and the UNESCO declaration. I contend that regionalisation efforts may bypass the local musical communities that make up the flamenco ‘whole’ in Andalusia.



Figure 8.1: Map of Granada.¹

¹ Available online: <<http://www.casadelasgranadas.com/images/map-2-big.png>> [accessed 4 April, 2013].

The Platería



Plate 8.1: The front of the Platería.²

*Ethnographic Vignette*³

As I ascend one of the many steep, cobbled streets leading into the heart of the Albaicín, one of Granada's most emblematic neighbourhoods, the Platería emerges in front of me perched at the top of the hill. It is a large building with clear, white stone adorned with blue ornamentation (see Plate 8.1). Around the corner is an entrance barricaded by a large, black metal door that hides an expansive terrace with perhaps one of the best views of the

² Photograph taken by the author, April 2012.

³ This is not the first time an ethnographic vignette of a *peña* has been written. See Malefyt, 'Gendered Authenticity', particularly pp. 109–14.

Alhambra in the city. The building is split into three main sections: the bar, the museum/administration area and the *Salón del cante* (Eng: Hall of the Song). In the bar area, the heritage and the history of the *peña* are evident. It consists of three rooms all covered with photographs of local and regional artists, plates bearing the names of flamenco's most famous artists and posters of competitions held in the Platería spanning its half-century history. The performance I am waiting for on this Saturday evening is Manuel Gil Núñez 'El Cateto', a singer from Seville. The clock has already hit 11pm, the official starting time, but as is usual here the concert is late. Gradually, more and more *socios* (Eng: members) come through the door and begin chatting with each other waiting in anticipation for the event to begin.



Plate 8.2: *Salón del cante*.⁴

Soon the President calls everyone into the performance hall – a large area full of paraphernalia related to local and regional flamenco heritage (see Plate 8.2). As everyone sits down, the lights dim and a silence descends across the room. The *cantaor* and guitarist are seated ready to play. They break into a traditional *malagueña*, the singer's voice rough and

⁴ Photograph taken by the author, May 2012.

impassioned, the guitarist devoting himself to the singer with a measured, yet sparse chordal accompaniment. In between each verse, he inserts a short, flourishing *falseta* to demonstrate his technique. After the concert, I chat with a couple of the aficionados, latching onto a conversation about styles and aesthetics. Our conversation is then broken off as calls for a *juerga* are announced – a spontaneous session that is becoming more of a rarity in these contexts. A group of aficionados and musicians congregates in one of the back rooms of the bar, a fire flickering away in the corner of the room. A guitarist strikes up the *llamada* (the opening section or ‘call’) of a *soleá* and then I hear the coarse, guttural voice of the well-known *granadino* singer Jaime Heredia ‘el Parrón’ rip through the silence. More local artists and the odd aficionado enter into the *juerga*, each taking it in turns to perform. At the edge of room tonight’s singer stands – the ‘guest’ to the *peña* takes a back seat as localism is inscribed in spontaneous performance.



Plate 8.3: View of the Alhambra from the Platería.⁵

⁵ Photograph taken by the author, April 2012.

Contextualising the Platería

The above ethnographic vignette depicts a typical Saturday-night concert at the Platería, reflecting the position of the club as a meeting point between the local and the regional. The venue is perhaps considered as one of the most important flamenco *peñas* in the world, not only by its *socios* but also by the wider flamenco community. The Platería was the first *peña* to open, having been founded in 1949 by the aficionado Manuel Salamanca Jiménez (1904–87). Salamanca Jiménez was disillusioned with the type of flamenco that was prominent in theatres during the 1940s. Therefore, with a group of friends he established the Platería as a context for traditional flamenco. The *peña* was then moved to its current location in the Albaicín in 1970. The physical setting of the building itself embeds a sense of locality and identity. As alluded to in the ethnographic vignette, the position of the *peña* in the Albaicín is perhaps indicative of its importance for and of its centrality to the flamenco scene in Granada. The Platería is, for many, one of the most important contexts in the city both for the enjoyment of flamenco and for the development of Granada's artists. It is not surprising then that it occupies a central position in one of Granada's most emblematic and historically important areas. The view of the Alhambra, too, cements this notion of place (see Plate 8.3 above). While witnessing a flamenco performance in one of Granada's most prominent contexts, audience and performer are able to take in the architectural heritage of the city as well. Therefore, local identity is referenced both visually and sonically.

Like all *peñas* across Andalusia, the Platería is an autonomous entity that relies on the membership of its *socios* for financial survival. In addition to regular concerts and members' evenings, the Platería holds other events such as competitions, documentary/film showings and CD launches for local artists. In many *peñas*, additional support is sought from regional institutions, as membership fees are often not enough to cover costs, particularly in smaller *peñas* with a limited and sometimes declining number of *socios*. As such, some *peñas* go to

public institutions such as *diputaciones*, *ayuntamientos* or to the Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco (henceforth referred to as the IAF) to receive economic assistance for events or for other matters such as publicity. Invariably, however, the funds requested are not met and many *peñas* are in a precarious state due to a decline in funding.⁶ When in conversation with members of the Platería, I learnt that the *peña* is in a relatively positive state of financial health. They were proud that the *peña* does not take institutional support from the public bodies mentioned above.⁷ The *peña* has a capacity for around 300 *socios* and currently has 280 registered *socios*, each paying twelve euros a month for his/her membership.

However, the fears of members of Flamenco es un Derecho (henceforth referred to as FED) regarding the decline of *peñas* may still apply to the Platería. While positive about the Platería's health in general, Carlos Jiménez Linares (a member of the *peña*) was more pessimistic about the survival of *peñas* in the long term. He stated: 'The *peñas* are going to pass from history, like *opera flamenca* (Eng: flamenco opera) passed, like the flamenco tavern passed. Because every time there are less people and less young people, every time it is more difficult to get an artist with a budget that is for a *peña* and not for a theatre' (interview 22 February, 2012).⁸ As Carlos noted, the number of young people who attend events is another issue that still threatens the Platería. Many *peñas* have an older membership. As such, some members cited a lack of modernisation as another possible reason for the decline of *peñas*. As *peñas* often propagate an 'authentic' image of flamenco grounded in the *mairenismo* of the 1950s/60s (see Chapter 4), they are believed to alienate young people. As the *cantaor* Juan Pinilla said, this is more to do with the conservative and traditional musical

⁶ I would like to thank Juan Carlos Tienda, the President of the Peña Flamenca Francisco Moreno Galván (located in La Puebla de Cazalla, Seville) for providing his thoughts on institutional support for *peñas* across Andalusia.

⁷ However, the *peña* does stage events in cooperation with public institutions such as competitions that are supported by the IAF. It also collaborates with the Diputación de Granada and the Ayuntamiento de Granada on some projects.

⁸ 'Las peñas van a pasar de la historia como pasaron la opera flamenca, como pasó la taberna flamenca. Porque cada vez hay menos gente y menos gente joven, cada vez es más difícil a conseguir un artista con un presupuesto que sea de una peña y no de un teatro'.

outlook shared by members of *peñas*, rather than a reaction to the modernisation of *peñas*. He stated:

[...] they [the members] are tired, they want young people, they want to support young people because they are tired of always going to the *peña*, the membership. So, they are close-minded in their conception of music but not in their conception of management. In terms of management, I haven't met a single president who doesn't want to bring in young people. All want them, all in Jerez, in Seville, in Huelva, in Cádiz, everywhere. They need, we need to teach young people what it is all about (interview 19 March, 2012).⁹

During my time in Granada, however, I saw that some young people do attend concerts at the Platería. The venue is trying to draw them in both as audience and as performers. As an audience, the President of the *peña* is trying to attract young people by adapting some of the events at the club. In one concert that I attended, the event featured a modern guitarist, Niño de Pura, who commands a phenomenal technique. This calibre of guitarist attracts many young aficionados and musicians. Here, the instrumentalist was foregrounded. This broke with the conventional dominance of *cante* in traditional performances. Moreover, Niño de Pura's virtuosic and modern style was unique when compared to other guitarists I saw at the *peña*. As performers, the President believes that the status and the heritage of the Platería in and of itself is enough to attract young artists. He told me that many aspire to play there because of its important place in the flamenco world. The Platería is a symbol of flamenco prestige in Granada more specifically and Andalusia more generally.

⁹ '[...] están cansados, quieren gente joven, quieren que ayuden la gente joven porque están cansados de ir siempre a la peña, la cuota. Entonces, ellos son cerrados en el concepto musical pero no en el concepto de la gestión. En el concepto de la gestión, yo no conozco a ningún presidente que no quiera que lleve jóvenes con él. Todos quieren, todos en Jerez, en Sevilla, en Huelva, en Cádiz, en todos los sitios. Necesitan, necesitamos enseñar a los jóvenes lo que es'.

Symbolism in the Platería



Plate 8.4: The Platería's logo.¹⁰

Symbolism is an important element in the Platería. It represents the *peña* both as a beacon of the flamenco scene in Granada and as an important link with the wider flamenco community in Andalusia. When one enters the *peña*, symbolism immediately references place and identity, both locally and regionally. Most striking, however, is the presence of local symbolism such as the pomegranate. As discussed in Chapter Six, the pomegranate is an important symbol of Granada (dating back to the Islamic occupancy) and can be found in various manifestations across the city. This is also true in the Platería. I only really started to notice the pomegranates towards the end of my stay in Granada. However, once I had, I began to see them everywhere in the *peña*. There were dried pomegranates hanging over the bar and inscriptions of the pomegranate on gates and on signs. It was also present on numerous plates and banners bearing the names of different artists. One particular manifestation of the pomegranate caught my eye. This was the logo of the *peña* (see Plate

¹⁰ Photograph taken by the author, May 2012.

8.4) which I argue demonstrates the close association of the Platería with both localism and regionalism through flamenco.

Upon first glance, the logo appeared to be insignificant. However, buried beneath the surface is symbolism that reflects different levels of identity in the *peña*. In conversation with one *socio*, he explained the relevance of the key. It is referred to as the *llave de oro del cante* (Eng: golden key to the song) and is given to prominent flamenco singers for recognition of their ‘service’ to the flamenco world. Only five *cantaores* have been given the key in the history of flamenco, namely Tomás ‘el Nitri’ (c. 1830–90), Manuel Vallejo (1891–1960), Antonio Mairena, Camarón de la Isla and more recently Antonio Fernández Díaz ‘Fosforito’ (b. 1932). Aside from the recognition of these artists, the key also symbolises the transmission and the preservation of ‘pure’ *cante* across Andalusia. It is therefore a particularly important symbol for *peñas*. However, the key in the Platería’s logo has been adapted in such a way that it also inscribes local identity. A small depiction of the *peña* sits at the end of the key as if to say that the Platería itself is a ‘key’ to the world of *cante*. Within the handle of the key, lies the pomegranate, a nod towards the prominent role Granada has played in the development of flamenco.¹¹ Given the positioning of this local symbol at the base of the key, one could even posit that the fruit alludes to the place of Granada as one of the roots of all flamenco (a narrative that has frequently occurred throughout my research).

¹¹ I was unable to find out the significance of the flower that appears on the logo.



Plate 8.5: Ceramic plates at the Platería.¹²

The Platería's relationship with local and regional identity stretches beyond the interpretation of symbols. The *peña* is like a museum. It is a repository of local and of regional flamenco heritage. There are many references to the position of the *peña* within the Andalusian flamenco community. This includes the names and photographs of important artists from across Andalusia who have played at the Platería. However, most prominent is local flamenco heritage. Everywhere one goes in the *peña* there are references to the local flamenco community, the history of the community and the history of the *peña*. Even one of the leaflets for the weekly event *Jueves Flamencos* (Eng: Flamenco Thursdays, see below) depicted the flamenco heritage of the city. On the back of the leaflet is a quotation taken from the *granadino* singer Paco 'el del Gas' (b. 1873): 'Far, very far from Spain, I took a nightingale with me and in its song it said: I want to live in Graná, Graná, which is my homeland' (Peña la Platería).¹³ In the bar and the *Salón del cante*, there are many photographs of local artists who have performed in the *peña* alongside artists who have come

¹² Photograph taken by the author, May 2012.

¹³ 'Lejos, muy lejos de España, yo me llevé un ruiseñor, y en sus cantares decía: quiero vivir en Graná. Graná, que es la tierra mía'.

from other places in Andalusia and beyond. Adorning the walls are also numerous ceramic plates bearing the names of famous artists (see Plate 8.5). Some of these plates are embellished with both the pomegranate and the Platería’s logo. These photographs and plates show some of the most important historical figures in the flamenco world, many of whom performed at the Platería at some point during its history.



Plate 8.6: Original poster for the Concurso del Cante Jondo.¹⁴



Plate 8.7: People in the museum at the Platería.¹⁵

¹⁴ Photograph taken by the author, May 2012. Beneath the word *cante jondo* the poster says *canto primitivo andaluz* (Eng: Andalusian Primitive Song). This term is often used to refer to the *cante jondo* genre, situating the genre as a seemingly ‘ancient’ form of Andalusian song that is deeply rooted in regional history.

¹⁵ Photograph taken by the author, May 2012.

The role of the *peña* in inscribing the heritage of flamenco both at a local and a regional level is most explicit in another section of the building. On one particular occasion, I attended an event that marked the twinning of two *peñas* (the Platería and a local bullfighting *peña*) illustrating the close connection that traditional flamenco still has with the bullfighting world. During this event, the President of the Platería opened the upstairs of the building for everyone to view. I scurried over to ask him if I was welcome to go upstairs as well. He said ‘of course’ and ushered me in. As I entered the second floor of the building, I was taken aback – the whole place resembled a flamenco museum. Above the bar area there were two main floors and a balcony at the top overlooking the Alhambra. Each floor had an impressive collection of posters,¹⁶ recordings, books, medals and trophies. There were also guitars made by local *guitarreros* (Eng: guitar makers) or having belonged to local guitarists. The museum also contained letters between artists and various other types of paraphernalia (see Plates 8.6 and 8.7). On another floor were an old gramophone, old radios and other memorabilia. As I slowly walked around the *peña* taking in its heritage, I noticed the President chatting to his guests showing them different objects, the pride clearly visible on his face.

This event shows that *peñas*, and specifically the Platería, are not only contexts for watching and performing flamenco. They are also contexts for monumentalizing (or what I call ‘museumizing’) flamenco. In other words they make the intangible, tangible. The plethora of artefacts and exhibits displayed at the Platería were indicative of both the heritage of the *peña* and of the heritage of flamenco in Granada. The museum is a way of depicting the local flamenco scene in tangible heritage, the Platería being a crucial guardian of this heritage. While the museum is a display of local pride, it is also a display of the *peña*’s connection to ‘regional’ flamenco. The names of various performers are present (appearing on letters, trophies and other artefacts) demonstrating the relations between the Platería and

¹⁶ These posters depicted the various competitions and performances that have been held in the Platería.

other *peñas* across Andalusia. The museum, then, both references local flamenco heritage and exhibits the *peña*'s connection to a wider Andalusian flamenco community.

The Members of the Platería

The members (Sp: *socios*) of the Platería are also implicated in this interplay between regional and local musical identities. When I first attended a concert at the Platería and when I was introduced to the President, I was told I could attend without the need to become a member. At the time, I thought that this was a kind gesture and that I was lucky to be able to attend certain events as an 'outsider' of the *peña*. Upon reflection, however, my status as a 'guest' was perhaps a way of distancing my relationship with the *peña*. In not being a member, I still remained an 'outsider' despite attending 'insider' events. This dawned on me when I tried to attend the event Día de Socios (Eng: Members' Day) where all members met and celebrated their status as *plateros* (members of the Platería). They also recognised long-standing members who have given 25 years of 'service' to the *peña*. When I arrived, neither the President nor any of my informants were there. As such, I was unable to enter. This issue of belonging highlights a crucial point regarding membership at the Platería. To be a *socio* of this *peña* carries with it social distinction. Due to the heritage of the *peña*, being one of its members ascribes great social status. Moreover, membership to the Platería is a symbol of local identity and of local prestige. By not being encouraged to become a paying member, I was effectively kept on the outside. However, towards the end of my stay I was honoured to be referred to as a *platero* by some *socios* at the *peña*.

Although the membership base is relatively large for a *peña*, I was struck at the lack of members attending many events. In an interview with Paco Cabrero Palomares (a *socio* and close informant in the field), he stated that some people only become a member of the Platería because of its social status. Therefore, they rarely attended any events. To belong to

the Platería appeared to be more important than actually attending its flamenco performances. There was, however, a devoted group of *socios* who attended nearly every single event while I was there. This group is perhaps best exemplified by the term *aficionado*. They play an important role in the social structure of the *peña*. In the flamenco context, an *aficionado* is someone who has a deep love for the art, particularly the more ‘orthodox’ or supposedly ‘authentic’ renditions of flamenco style.¹⁷ In an interview with Carlos, he told me that ‘we work in a totally altruistic way and for the love of the art’ (interview 22 February, 2012).¹⁸ Coupled with this intimate love for flamenco, *aficionados* normally have an impressive knowledge of flamenco, particularly when it comes to the *cante*. I was drawn into detailed discussions regarding what constitutes ‘good’ performance style, especially with reference to the aesthetic qualities of an accomplished singer. In conversation with Carlos, for example, he listed the attributes that a ‘good’ singer needs to possess. These included vocal strength, a wide vocal range, the limited use of falsetto, a rough timbre, passion and faithfulness to the vocal melody. Many people told me that an *aficionado* needs to have good hearing and must learn how to listen ‘properly’ in order to catch the subtleties of the *cante*’s aesthetics. Moreover, *aficionados* at the *peña* appeared to have an encyclopaedic knowledge of *palos* and melodies, often exalting local *palos* and melodies above others.

While Malefyt does discuss notions of knowledge and ‘authenticity’ in the *peña*, he does so largely within an Andalusian frame. According to him, *aficionados* in *peñas* use flamenco (through a love for and a deep knowledge of the tradition) to channel Andalusian identity. He states: ‘Flamenco *aficionados* maintain concepts and practices of flamenco among themselves as an exclusive local tradition, particular to an Andalusian heritage’ (Malefyt 1997: 3). However, Malefyt appears to conflate the local with the Andalusian.

While I do not contest the significance of the *peña* for Andalusian heritage, I argue that the

¹⁷ For a detailed discussion concerning the construction of ‘authenticity’ in *peñas* see Malefyt, ‘Gendered Authenticity’.

¹⁸ ‘Trabajamos de una manera totalmente altruista y por amor al arte’.

frames of reference need to be adjusted in order to understand different levels of social identification. To his credit, Malefyt's analysis does not deal directly with notions of place and regionalism. Rather, he examines 'insider'/'outsider' categories and the idea of 'authenticity' in the *peña*. Nonetheless, his analysis is guided by a fixed notion of Andalusian identity. I argue that the *peña* is an important context for observing the inter-relationship between localism and regionalism, reflected in the social practices and the discourses of its aficionados. Each *peña*, therefore, is a local reading of a regional phenomenon.

While aficionados in the Platería situated flamenco as an Andalusian tradition, some were proud of the contributions by local artists and the significance of local forms. Carlos frequently exhibited pride for the local heritage of flamenco. On one of my early visits to the *peña*, he showed me around the bar area proudly pointing out the numerous posters depicting the various competitions that have been held in the club. He also explained to me the history and the importance of the *peña* in Granada. He said that *peñas* are important social institutions as they link flamenco with the local community and local identity. While Carlos still views flamenco as a distinctly Andalusian tradition, his understanding of it is also influenced by his love for and his experience of Granada (through his association with the Platería). One of my informants labelled this local pride: *granadanismo* (interview 2 May, 2012). Other aficionados uphold flamenco localism (or *granadanismo*) by writing books about local styles and local histories. One pertinent example is Paco, who as well as being an aficionado and *socio* at the Platería, is also a flamencologist. Paco recently published a detailed historical account of flamenco in Granada called *Granada enclave de flamenco* (Cabrero Palomares 2009). In addition to the history of *granadino* flamenco, he also provides a detailed discussion of the *palos* and performers associated with the flamenco community in the city. Amongst the people I met in the Platería, Paco was often upheld as a true aficionado who had an indispensable knowledge of the flamenco scene in Granada. As such, he appeared

to be recognised as a guardian of local knowledge. However, there were some members of the *peña* who placed more importance on the regional significance of flamenco rather than the local significance of flamenco. Another devoted aficionado and *socio* at the Platería, recognised that localism is prevalent in Granada. However, he saw flamenco as an integral component of *andalucismo*, himself being a self-confessed *andalucista*.

Performances in the Platería

Localism in the Platería was also apparent in many performances. In addition to documentary showings, competitions and other events, the performance schedule at the Platería is normally split into two weekly concerts: one for the ‘public’ and one for *socios*. On Thursday evenings, the *peña* opens its doors to the public with the Jueves Flamencos event designed to attract tourists and ‘non-flamenco’ *granadinos*. The *peña* opens as normal with people paying eight euros to see a typical *cuadro flamenco* performance, a version of flamenco that is particularly suited to the tastes of tourists. The event started two years ago, perhaps being a result of the UNESCO declaration. Further, the event is an attempt to bring more attention (and ultimately more money) to the *peña*. Given that *peñas* are often associated with a closed atmosphere, an event such as Jueves Flamencos can also be interpreted as an attempt to dispel the conservative image attached to *peñas*. On Saturdays, the Platería opens exclusively to its *socios*. Here, the *peña* normally stages traditional performances of guitar and song, with little in the way of innovation and, in my experience, little in the way of dance.

The producers and the consumers of flamenco at the *peña* are important when considering localism and regionalism. Jueves Flamencos provides a context for local artists to perform and to earn a living.¹⁹ In fact, I met my teacher Melchor Córdoba Santiago at one of these events, an artist who is an exponent of the so-called *escuela granadina* (Eng: the

¹⁹ The President informed me that all the proceeds from each event go to the artists.

Granada school) of guitar playing. Usually, local and provincial artists are contracted. However, on some occasions artists from outside of the province of Granada perform, especially on Saturdays. Often *peñas* share artists across Andalusia, creating a network that instils a sense of togetherness and, ultimately, Andalusian-ness through the flamenco scene and the context of the *peña*.

The interaction between audience and performer is particularly illuminating when local artists are performing. Amidst the usual ‘olés’ and ‘toca bien’ (Eng: ‘he/she plays well’) typical of flamenco in general, there were various exclamations of *granadanismo*. On numerous occasions I heard, ‘¡viva Graná!’ (Eng: ‘long live Granada!’) and ‘¡los guitarristas granadinos son los mejores del mundo!’ (Eng: ‘*granadino* guitarists are the best in the world!’). Often audience members appeared to know artists personally. Accordingly, shouts of encouragement and respect (along with the first names of performers) were common. At times, it felt that I was part of a large extended flamenco ‘family’, particularly when well-known local artists such as Paco Cortés (b. 1957) or Melchor were performing. Sometimes, these statements of encouragement were more prominent when an artist was performing a rendition of a local *palo* such as a *granaína* or a *tangos de Granada*. While local *palos* are by no means mandatory during a performance in the Platería, there was rarely a performance that did not include a local *palo*. Indeed, it would be interesting to discover whether local *palos* predominate in the *peñas* of other localities and provinces.

The *juerga* was another event that appeared to cement the idea of localism in the *peña*. The *juerga* is a spontaneous session that sometimes occurs after a formal concert. In the Platería, local artists and aficionados gathered in one of the back rooms of the bar, taking it in turns to perform in an informal and communal setting. Here, the barriers between performer and audience were dissolved. The *juerga* for many aficionados (Spanish and non-Spanish alike) is the ‘holy grail’ of flamenco performance – a passionate and spontaneous

moment in which ‘authentic’ flamenco is forged. Given that performers and audiences interact in the same space during these occasions, *juergas* are a good way of inscribing local identity in a communal setting. In a conversation with the President, he said that they are one of the most sought-after occasions for *socios* of the *peña*. He lamented that *juergas* rarely happen anymore, as artists are less generous with their time. Beyond *juergas* and performances, the Platería also has an important role in supporting other events in the local flamenco community. In the city, the *peña* often sponsors charity events or stages concerts associated to Semana Santa or other festivals. At times, it collaborates with the Ayuntamiento de Granada or the Diputación de Granada to stage various events.

In sum, the Platería plays an integral role in the flamenco community of Granada. It is a context for high-quality flamenco to be experienced all year round. It is an institution that supports local artists by providing regular performance opportunities. The *peña* is also a museum of local heritage, symbolically referencing the contributions of the city to the wider Andalusia flamenco community. During my research, I got the impression that the *socios* were proud of the history and the status of the Platería, as one of the most important if not The most important *peña* in the world. I contend that membership to the *peña* is a symbol of social status and a marker of local identity. To be a *platero* is to be intimately connected with the flamenco scene in Granada. Yet, the Platería is also part of the wider flamenco ‘complex’ in Andalusia. It belongs to an institutional heritage prominent in the region; a heritage that is devoted to continuing and to safeguarding ‘pure’ or ‘authentic’ flamenco. Accordingly, the Platería is a context that references both regionalism and localism in flamenco. It is an institution integral to the flamenco scenes of Andalusia more generally and Granada more specifically. However, many local artists did not form their careers in the Platería. Many developed their musical abilities in the *zambra*, a uniquely *granadino* context for flamenco that exists nowhere else in the world.

The Zambra



Plate 8.8: Caves in Sacromonte.²⁰



Plate 8.9: The Zambra de María 'la Canastera' (and museum).²¹

²⁰ Photograph taken by the author, May 2012.

²¹ Photograph taken by the author, May 2012.

Ethnographic Vignette

As I leave the shadow of the Alhambra and proceed up the steep *cuesta del Chapiz*, I reach the *camino del Sacromonte*, the road that stretches through the Sacromonte neighbourhood of Granada. As I walk up the road, I see white-washed cave dwellings clinging to the walls, the rough, rocky hills adorned with cacti (see Plate 8.8). To my right, the Alhambra stands proud, lit up against the night sky. Along the road, I pass some caves that are set up just for flamenco performances. I also pass caves that have been shut down, remaining as relics that reference the vibrant flamenco history of the neighbourhood. A bus passes me by. It stops outside one of the caves and a large group of tourists gets out and enters the cave, ready for tonight's performance. I then arrive at my destination, the *Zambra de María 'la Canastera'* (see Plate 8.9), allegedly the only context in Sacromonte (and indeed Granada) that still offers the 'authentic' *zambra gitana*.



Plate 8.10: Inside the cave.²²

²² Photograph taken by the author, May 2012.

As I enter the cave (see Plate 8.10), I see lines of chairs along the wall and copper pots hanging from the ceiling. There are also various photographs (depicting artists who have performed here) and newspaper cuttings (showing famous people who have visited). I pay my 20 euros. I take a seat against the wall as audience members gradually trickle in. Once the cave is full to capacity, I survey the audience seated around me. I see a mixture of different nationalities and, going by the variety of languages, I note that the audience consists of people from America, Britain, France, Japan, South America and Spain. Then the performance begins. The group consists of one guitarist, two singers and four dancers (three female and one male). The number of dancers is unusual for flamenco. However, this cave is renowned for delivering a very different type of flamenco. In addition to common *palos* such as *bulerías*, *alegrías* and *soleá por bulerías*, I noted a couple of styles belonging to the *zambra gitana*. These included the *mosca*, the *cachucha* and the *alboreá*. The performance lasted about an hour, with a drink passed around in the interval. At the end, audience members were invited to dance. This was an event designed for tourism – there is no doubt about it. However, the *zambra gitana* also constitutes a distinctive and a local version of flamenco, one that has all but disappeared from the flamenco scene in Granada.

The Zambra as a Context

The above vignette depicts a typical performance in a flamenco *zambra* in the Sacromonte neighbourhood. Sacromonte and its *zambras* are perhaps the most prominent symbols of the flamenco community in Granada. The *zambra* is both a context and a genre that are unique to the city – they exist nowhere else in Andalusia and therefore offer a distinctly local reading of flamenco. My research in Sacromonte was limited. This is because few of my other informants went to, participated in or watched performances in the neighbourhood. As such, I was unable to integrate fully into the flamenco scene in Sacromonte. However, what I present

in this section is an overview of my ethnographic experiences in relevant contexts and an analysis of the information gained from interviews. In the context of localism (the theme of this chapter), the *zambra* represents an important element of the flamenco ‘voice’ in Granada. Accordingly, it needs to be taken into consideration.

The *zambra* has received limited attention in *flamencología*. What research there is has been conducted primarily by local flamencologists, being historical or encyclopaedic in nature (see Albaicín 2011; Cabrero Palomares 2009; Molina Fajardo 1974; Navarro García 1993). The flamencologists Cabrero Palomares (2009) and Albaicín (2011) have provided a detailed analysis of the history of the *zambra*. Therefore, I shall only offer an overview here to guide the reader. Many agree that the term *zambra* is of Arabic origin, referring to a festival of music and dance enacted for weddings and other rituals during the Islamic occupancy of the Iberian Peninsula, particularly in Granada (Albaicín 2011; Cabrero Palomares 2009; Martos Sánchez 2008; Navarro García 1993). Following the reconquest of Granada in 1492, *moriscos* continued the *zambra* even though it became increasingly difficult to do so. As discussed in Chapter Six, there were calls to prohibit the *zambra*, which were contested by Francisco Núñez Muley (a prominent figure in the Islamic community of Granada). The dominant historical narrative states that during the sixteenth century, *moriscos* and *gitanos* came together in the outskirts of Granada, particularly in Sacromonte. As the singer and historian Curro Albaicín states: ‘The gypsies and *moriscos* mixed their bloodlines uniting themselves in marriage due to having the same brown skin and being very similar in their customs, in their music, their dances and songs’ (Albaicín 2011: 18).²³

In the literature of the 1600s, the flamencologist Cabrero Palomares argues that it was no longer *morisco* dances that were documented, but *gitano* dances. The belief is that *gitanos* took elements of the *zambra morisca* and integrated them into their own wedding rituals. The

²³ ‘Los gitanos y moriscos mezclaron su sangre uniéndose en matrimonio por tener la piel morena y ser muy parecidos en sus costumbres, en sus músicas, sus bailes y cantes’.

term *zambra* reappeared during the early-nineteenth century, but this time as the *zambra gitana*. It is during this period that foreign travellers (influenced by Romanticism) frequented southern Spain (particularly Granada) in search of the exotic and the primitive. In Sacromonte, they found *gitanos* living seemingly traditional lives and performing exotic, flamboyant and passionate music and dance. As such, the *gitanos* of the neighbourhood began to capitalise upon this ready-made audience, the *zambra* now being rendered as a context for performance. The *gitano* Antonio Torcuato Martín ‘el Cujón’ is often considered to have ‘founded’ the *zambra*. Here, he developed caves for performances along with other local performers. He is also recognised for formalising the *zambra gitana* (the genre) as a reconstruction of a *gitano* wedding (discussed below).

As a context, the *zambra* is a space intended purely for the performance of flamenco (and traditionally the *zambra gitana*). The Zambra de María ‘la Canastera’ discussed in the ethnographic vignette above, is perhaps a representative example. The cave was founded over 60 years ago by the dancer María ‘la Canastera’, with ownership having passed to her son Enrique ‘el Canastero’. Aside from being a performance venue, the cave is also a museum depicting how *gitanos* lived in the caves prior to the floods of 1963.²⁴ Nowadays, few *gitano* families actually live in Sacromonte, the neighbourhood mainly attracting tourists. Unlike the other caves in Sacromonte and unlike flamenco contexts in general, the Zambra de María ‘la Canastera’ does not have a *tablaó* (wooden floor for flamenco dancing). The dancers perform in a traditional way on the cave floor creating an almost deafening sound. This style of dance has influenced performance practices in the *zambra*.²⁵ In my experience, the cave opens for business most evenings. Audiences witness an hour of *palos* from the *zambra gitana* and other *palos* more commonly associated with the flamenco tradition. The audiences are mostly tourists from abroad. The owner lamented that *granadinos* or even Spaniards rarely come to

²⁴ In this year, there were floods in Granada that ravaged much of Sacromonte, an event that irrevocably changed the neighbourhood and thus the make-up of the *zambra*.

²⁵ The influence of the *tablaó* on guitar performance will be explored in the next chapter.

view performances. Nonetheless, he was proud of the cave's heritage, its artists having performed for a range of celebrities that include royalty, politicians and film stars.

The Zambra as a Genre

When in conversation with Enrique, he made sure to advise me that his cave was the only one to perform the 'authentic' *zambra gitana*. What constitutes the 'authentic' *zambra gitana*? How does it fit into a wider understanding of the flamenco tradition? The *zambra gitana* is a distinct genre of flamenco that is unique to Granada, traditionally being performed in the caves of Sacromonte. As discussed above, it is argued that this *zambra* is a ritualised re-enactment of a *gitano* wedding. It is believed that the *zambra* was performed for foreign travellers during the nineteenth century. This highly choreographed performance consists of up to six female dancers and one or two guitarists. It also includes songs and *palmas*. Traditionally, the *zambra* included other instruments such as the *bandurria* and tambourine. According to writers in Granada, the *zambra* has four obligatory dances that are meant to depict particular stages in a *gitano* wedding, namely the *alboreá*, the *cachucha*, the *tana* and the *mosca*. There are also various other styles that were commonly performed in the *zambra*, some of which still appear in the Zambra de María 'la Canastera' such as *tangos de la flor* and *fandangos del Albaicín*.²⁶

²⁶ An analysis of these forms is beyond the scope of this thesis. For more information see Albaicín, *Zambras de Granada*; Cabrero Palomares, *Granada enclave del flamenco*; and Navarro García, *Cantes y bailes de Granada*.



Plate 8.11: Dancers in the cave.²⁷

When I attended the concert at the Zambra de María ‘la Canastera’, I witnessed a couple of these local styles. I also purchased a recording by María ‘la Canastera’ who was the founder of this *zambra*. The recording features many of these local *palos* in their original style.²⁸ Due to the context of the *zambra* itself and its association with the *gitano* wedding, dance is the most characteristic element of the tradition. On the bare floor of the cave, dancers stamp their heels on the concrete creating a cacophony of sound and rhythm in dance. During the performance I attended, there were four dancers (three female and one male, see Plate 8.11), an arrangement that is not ‘authentic’ in the traditional *zambra gitana*.²⁹ The influence of folk music and dance on this performance was also apparent. The choreography involved many moments of group movement, including circle dancing – a far cry from the soloistic tradition of conventional flamenco dancing. The guitarist Antonio Heredia who performed at this event (featured in the next chapter) had a percussive, a dynamic and a

²⁷ Photograph taken by the author, May 2012.

²⁸ *Ritual de la zambra calé*, performed by María ‘la Canastera’ and the *gitanos* of her cave in Sacromonte, Granada (BMG, 1966).

²⁹ Traditionally speaking, all dancers should be female.

rudimentary style; a style that appeared to take more influence from southern-Spanish folk traditions (such as *verdiales* or *fandangos*) than from flamenco.

As a result, some people do not consider the *zambra gitana* necessarily to be part of the flamenco tradition. In conversation with a flamenco producer, he regarded the *zambra* as ‘pre-flamenco’. He believed that the *zambra* has more in common with folk music and less in common with flamenco. Others define the *zambra* as a mix of flamenco and folk elements, a ‘hybrid’ that can only be found in this very small location in Granada. In an interview with Miguel Ángel González, he said that some people do not consider the *zambra gitana* to be part of the flamenco tradition because ‘it is something unique to a place, which one can only find in this place’ (interview 2 May, 2012).³⁰ This was a significant statement. Miguel Ángel González appeared to view flamenco as an overarching, perhaps more regional tradition that is not necessarily fixed to any locality. Folk traditions in Andalusia, on the other hand, are peculiar to a particular location. For him, the *zambra gitana* was both flamenco and folk music. While belonging to the wider flamenco tradition, the *zambra gitana* is a genre that cannot be encountered anywhere else in Andalusia. For Curro, the genre represents an utterly unique form of flamenco. In our interview, he stated: ‘The flamenco here was unique because it was different, because it was a different flamenco, different dances, they sang differently, the women dressed up differently, it was all different’ (interview 9 May, 2012).³¹

Beyond debates regarding classification, some of my informants argued that the *zambra gitana* (in its traditional form) does not exist anymore. The floods of 1963 were a turning point for the *zambra*. According to Miguel Ángel González, this was the end of the *zambra gitana* (or *zambra granadina* as he called it). He stated: ‘Let’s remain clear, the *zambra granadina*, this died, sadly it died...it died in some floods that there were in Granada

³⁰ ‘Es algo endémico de un lugar, de que sólo se encuentre en este lugar’.

³¹ ‘El flamenco de aquí era el único porque era diferente, porque era un flamenco diferente, unos bailes diferente, se cantaba diferente, las mujeres se arreglaban diferente, era todo diferente’.

in the sixties' (interview 2 May, 2012).³² So if the *zambra gitana* has died out, what was being performed in the Zambra de María 'la Canastera'? Moreover, what else is being performed in the other caves? According to some, performances in the Zambra de María 'la Canastera' are merely an 'adaptation' of the genuine *zambra gitana*. They only feature a couple of the traditional dances, which are performed with a different structure and which lack traditional instrumentation (such as the *bandurria*). In an interview with Curro, he informed me that the only place one could see the 'true' *zambra* is in contracted performances (see below). However, for Miguel Ángel González, even these performances are not enough. He stated: 'But Matthew, I have been to some performances that they called the genuine *zambra* from Granada rescued and so on, and they didn't know how to dance the *cachucha*' (interview 2 May, 2012).³³ Even in Granada, the *zambra* is a contested issue.

What, then, is being performed in the other caves of Sacromonte? The journalist José Manuel Rojas stated this clearly:

[...] often they [performers] homogenise what they do, they do *alegrías*, they do *rumbas*, they do *tangos* and *soleá*. And in all the *zambras* they might do more or less the same *palos*, they put on a show the same as you can see in Seville, the same as you can see in Cádiz and the same as you can see in Córdoba. When here there are idiosyncrasies, they have to increase the value of them again, to promote these flamenco *palos* of the camino, unique to the history of the *zambra* of Sacromonte. Nowadays, however, they do the *palos* that they can do in whatever place (interview 4 March, 2012).³⁴

³² 'Dejamos clara, la zambra granadina genuina eso murió, tristemente murió...murió en unas inundaciones que hubo en Granada en los años sesenta'.

³³ 'Pero Matthew, yo he asistido a algunas actuaciones que se llamaban la zambra genuina de Granada rescatada y tal, y no sabían bailar la cachucha'.

³⁴ '[...] muchas veces se homogeniza lo que hacen, hacen alegrías, hacen rumbas, hacen tangos y soleá. Y en todas las zambras a lo mejor se hacen más o menos los mismos palos, están haciendo un espectáculo que igual puedes ver en Sevilla, que igual puedes ver en Cádiz e igual puedes ver en Córdoba. Cuando aquí hay una idiosincrasia propia que se tiene que volver a revalorizar, a fomentar estos palos de flamenco propios del camino, propio de la histórica zambra de Sacromonte. Ahora sin embargo, pues, se atiende a hacer los palos que se puede hacer en cualquier sitio'.

Nowadays, what is performed in the other *zambras* of Sacromonte is what one could find in any *tablaos* across Andalusia and indeed the world. Since the 1970s, these performance contexts have followed the same path as any other ‘tourist’ venue for flamenco in Spain. While the context is still unique, the performances normally are not. Nowadays, caves often have wooden *tablaos* and amplification. They also feature conventional and ultimately more ‘regional’ *palos* such as *soleá*, *bulerías* and *alegrías*. They no longer perform the indigenous dances of the *zambra gitana*. This issue is exacerbated by the fact that tourists usually do not know the difference between ‘normal’ flamenco *palos* and the *zambra gitana*. Ultimately, it is all ‘flamenco’. Moreover, some flamenco aficionados do not hold the *zambra* (as a context or as a genre) in high esteem. During my research, a number of my informants spoke negatively of the *zambra* regarding it as nothing more than a tourist spectacle that in some way detracts from traditional flamenco. However, the reasons for the decline of the *zambra gitana* tradition and for the transformation of the *zambra* context are far more complicated.

Above I mentioned that there were floods in Sacromonte, an event that might be largely responsible for changes in the musical landscape of the neighbourhood. After the floods, local authorities moved many families to other areas of the city. Other families moved to different places in Andalusia such as Málaga or Almería. Therefore, the demographic of Sacromonte was altered, the line of transmission for the *zambra gitana* being effectively broken. As flamenco gained more recognition during the 1970s, the impact of its expansion on local flamenco scenes became more apparent. On the one hand, musical taste and ‘fashion’ changed, with dancers and guitarists becoming more interested in *flamenco nuevo*.³⁵ On the other hand, the manner of music transmission altered. Some people began to learn from cassettes and CDs. Some also took more formal lessons in academies, from professional tutors or, more recently, in conservatoires. Oral transmission within families in a small

³⁵ For example, many flamenco guitarists were influenced by the virtuosic displays of Paco de Lucía.

locality such as Sacromonte became less the norm. As one journalist advised me, the *zambra gitana* also lost its significance as an ‘ethnic’ tradition associated with marriage rites due to the modernisation and the ‘westernisation’ of *gitano* culture. Finally, the ‘authentic’ *zambra gitana* is simply too difficult to reproduce in many performance contexts as it requires more performers. Accordingly, for many *zambras* (that is, the caves) traditional flamenco is more economically viable, particularly in the context of the tourism industry in Granada.

The Zambra as Heritage

The decline (or extinction?) of the *zambra gitana* as a genre and the transformation of the *zambra* as a context, have not altered the significance of both as symbols of local heritage. Indeed, during my research the *zambra* (as a genre and as a context) often referenced a local and a *gitano* identity. When talking to older informants who knew Sacromonte before it began to change, they often spoke in a nostalgic manner lamenting the loss of the neighbourhood’s glory. For example, when speaking to Miguel Ángel González and my guitar teacher Melchor, they both spoke of an era when many people lived in Sacromonte. They reminisced about the *zambras* where original *palos* were performed. They also talked about how people learnt from each other and how there was dancing in the street. These narratives build a utopian picture of Sacromonte prior to its gradual decline. This sense of loss is clear in the following statement by Curro:

It was a neighbourhood where people lived, where 6,000 people lived and we all learned flamenco [...]. It was very beautiful because it was a place where the children slept in the streets at night, lots of people and all the tourists that came up stayed to see how life was, it was very beautiful. [Matthew: How has it changed now?] Well, in 1963 there was a flood and they threw us out. Therefore, the way of life has been lost, the way of learning, it has all been lost.

Now, of our families only something like ten families remain, very few remain (interview 9 May, 2012).³⁶

Nostalgia for Sacromonte and for the *zambra* factors into conceptions of a local and a *gitano* identity. Sacromonte is seen as a crucible of the flamenco tradition, the neighbourhood being a significant locus for nurturing the musical heritage of Granada. By extension, the *zambra* has become a distinguishing feature of the flamenco scene in the city. It is found nowhere else in Andalusia and as such inscribes a sense of localism in the flamenco community. Moreover, the impact of the *zambra* on flamenco musicians in Granada is legendary. Sacromonte, and specifically the *zambra* as a context, have produced some of the city's best-known flamenco families such as the Habichuelas.³⁷ Despite receiving criticism from some of my informants, the neighbourhood was still seen as a crucible of talent that has produced (and continues to produce) local artists who have made a name for themselves in the flamenco industry. Many artists developed themselves as performers in the *zambras*. In turn, the *zambras* have informed the performance practices of both guitarists and dancers in Granada.³⁸ Beyond its relevance for a local identity, it is important to recognise that the *zambra* is also considered as a form of *gitano* heritage. Indeed, some of my informants often referred to it in these terms. As such, it can be used to reference a *gitano* identity as a tradition related to and preserved within the *gitano* families of Sacromonte.

³⁶ 'Era un barrio donde vivía la gente, donde vivían 6,000 personas que aprendíamos todo el flamenco [...]. Era muy bonito porque era un sitio donde los niños dormían en las calles por la noche, mucha gente y todos los turistas que subían se quedaban a ver como se vivía, era muy bonito. [Matthew: ¿Cómo ha cambiado ahora?] Oh total, en el año 63 hay un inundación y nos echan. Entonces, se ha perdido la manera de vivir, la manera de aprender, se pierde todo. Ya quedan de nuestra familias como diez familias, quedan muy pocos'.

³⁷ Mentioned in Chapter Seven.

³⁸ The influence of the *zambras* on guitar practice will be explored in the next chapter.



Plate 8.12: Curro Albaicín outside his cave.³⁹

The sense of nostalgia and identity attached to the *zambra* informs preservation efforts in Sacromonte. Some older members of the community (such as Curro) are trying to safeguard local heritage and particularly the *zambra* as a genre (that is, the *zambra gitana*). The *zambra* as a context will remain strong as long as tourism is strong. However, as discussed above, the *zambra gitana* is on the verge of extinction. Curro is attempting both to monumentalize (or ‘museumize’) the tradition and to re-enact the tradition in performance. In

³⁹ The plaque reads ‘In this cave the *Zambra de los Chavalillos* was founded in 1950; Curro’s tavern in 1973; the *Peña de los Cuatro Juanes* in 1986; the first association of the neighbours of Valparaíso in 1988 and Las Lucías, María la Cabrera, La Chumina, Pata Perro, Miguelito, La Mona and Curro Albaycín lived here’. Photograph taken by the author, May 2012.

the former, he is currently in the process of turning his cave (itself a former *zambra* that now only holds the occasional performance, see Plate 8.12) into a centre for historical documentation. In the latter, Curro still stages a small number of performances of the *zambra gitana*. He is occasionally sponsored by private bodies (such as private parties) and public bodies (such as the Ayuntamiento de Granada) to put on renditions of the genre. However, he informed me that only a few older *gitanos(as)* still know how to dance the *palos* associated with the *zambra gitana*. As a result, he argued that the *zambra gitana* is in terminal decline.

The survival of the *zambra gitana* is problematic when understood within my wider theoretical framework concerning regionalisation and heritage policy. Curro complained that his efforts towards safeguarding the *zambra* rarely receive institutional support. Further, he argued that institutional measures towards the development of flamenco discussed in earlier chapters (such as the Statute and the UNESCO declaration) have no impact upon the survival of the *zambra*. He said: ‘Here the politicians don’t understand flamenco. They don’t know what flamenco is, they don’t have any idea. So they say the *zambra*, I know that they are still saying *zambra*, but they don’t know what a true *zambra* is, they don’t know anything’ (interview 9 May, 2012).⁴⁰ When considering institutional support from the perspective of Curro, his discontent is perhaps not surprising. Declarations have, in a sense, bypassed a genre of flamenco that *is* in need of safeguarding. It is perhaps ironic, then, that the IAF seeks to inscribe the *zambra* on the Catálogo General del Patrimonio Histórico Andaluz as Bien de Interés Cultural (BIC). I believe that the *zambra* as a context and not the *zambra* as a genre will be supported if this declaration comes to fruition.

In terms of UNESCO, those in charge of meeting the requirements of the declaration are primarily Andalusian institutions, especially with respect to the development of flamenco in Andalusia. In turn, these institutions are intent on constructing flamenco as a symbol of

⁴⁰ ‘Aquí los políticos no entienden del flamenco. No saben lo que es el flamenco, no tienen ni idea. Entonces dicen la *zambra*, yo sé que todavía están diciendo *zambra*, pero no saben lo que es una *zambra* verdadera, no conocen nada, nada’.

regional identity, supporting wider regionalisation efforts in Andalusia. Local traditions that are actually in need of safeguarding appear to fall by the wayside. The vision of the Andalusian Government for flamenco is one of a homogeneous, regional tradition; one that is diverse yet unified. Therefore, local readings of flamenco may struggle to find a presence in the wider flamenco scene. It is naïve, however, to argue that institutions alone are implicated in this problem. The flamenco industry is entirely globalised. It is at the whims of a commercial market that, in part, determines where institutional intervention goes and what form it takes. Nonetheless, I argue that the UNESCO declaration in particular is too far-reaching. Flamenco is a massive tradition that incorporates many different elements and many sub-genres, any of which could be recognised as an ICH in its own right. The *zambra* (both as a context and as a genre) is one such element – a component of flamenco that could quite easily be recognised as an ICH by UNESCO. Flamenco as a whole tradition, however, has been declared an ICH. Therefore, the peripheral position of the *zambra* (particularly the genre) within the flamenco tradition means it is likely to be denied the support that it desperately needs.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have examined two contexts unique to the flamenco scene in Granada, demonstrating how the city is trying to find its flamenco ‘voice’ amidst institutional measures that uphold the idea of a unified Andalusian region. The Platería is a flamenco club where *socios* and *aficionados* meet to watch, for the most part, traditional performances of flamenco. *Peñas* are widespread across Andalusia (and indeed across Spain) and the Platería occupies a prestigious position within the wider network of *peñas*. The Platería remains well connected to this institutional network. This is evidenced by the tangible heritage (such as photographs and posters) found throughout the *peña* and the ‘sharing’ of artists during

performances. Echoing the work of Malefyt (1997), I argue that the Platería is a context for channelling Andalusian identity through flamenco. However, the Platería is also an important context for inscribing a local identity. The Platería is full of symbolism and heritage that reference its important place in the local flamenco community. Moreover, its performers and aficionados ascribe to it great social prestige and value, viewing the club as an enduring symbol of the *granadino* flamenco community as a whole. I argue, therefore, that the Platería represents a local reading of regionalism.

Unlike the Platería, the *zambra* is a performance context and a performance genre unique to the city of Granada, particularly the *gitano* neighbourhood of Sacromonte. This neighbourhood has long been associated with flamenco spectacles, especially for the tourism trade. The traditional *zambra gitana* as a genre is based on a *gitano* wedding. When its function for ceremonial purposes ended, the *zambra gitana* continued as an integral element of the flamenco scene in Granada. However, due to various circumstances, the *zambra gitana* is on the verge of extinction, with the Zambra de María ‘la Canastera’ being one of the few venues to offer a version of the genre. While the Zambra de María ‘la Canastera’ remains unique to Granada, other caves in Sacromonte stage performances similar to those found in *tablaos* across Andalusia and Spain. The decline of the *zambra gitana* is problematic when viewed in the context of recent institutional support. I argue that this decline may be emblematic of a regional bias behind the development of flamenco.

This bias may be true of flamenco in general. Flamenco is often viewed purely in regional terms with local readings taking a back seat. In this chapter, I have shown that Granada has a vibrant, local flamenco community that contributes to the wider Andalusian ‘whole’. However, at times this local scene is under-represented. As a concept, I argue, regionalism becomes fragmented when examining flamenco. Local readings of flamenco are crucial for an understanding of the entire tradition. My research has also shown that these

musical localisms often coincide with deeper-seated tensions regarding identity in Andalusia. In an interview with one guitarist in Granada, he believed that localism sometimes trumps regionalism. He stated: ‘There is localism in flamenco but because unlike other autonomous communities where there exists an autonomous nationalism, in Andalusia there isn’t autonomous nationalism; what there is, is local independence. *Lo granaino* looks to itself, *lo sevillano* looks to itself. Therefore, there is a local independence’ (interview 19 April, 2012).⁴¹ In fact, several people said that they did not ‘feel’ Andalusian; rather they felt *granadino*. In a musical sense, musicians and aficionados may hold onto and exalt the flamenco that is found in their locality as a way of referencing a local identity. What I have not yet examined, however, is whether localism transfers to the level of musical style. In what way can one speak about a ‘local’ guitar style in Granada? And, if such a local style exists, how does it interact with or stand up against a ‘regional’ style of flamenco? These questions form the basis of the next and final chapter, where I examine guitar style through the prism of two guitarists in Granada.

⁴¹ ‘Hay localismo en el flamenco pero porque al contrario a otras comunidades autónomas donde existe un nacionalismo autonómico, en Andalucía no hay nacionalismo autonómico; lo que hay es una independencia local. Lo granaino se mira a si mismo, lo sevillano se mira a si mismo. Entonces hay una independencia local’. Here, *lo granaino* and *lo sevillano* refer to the respective flamenco communities of these two cities.

Chapter Nine: The Local and the Regional in Flamenco Guitar Style

In the previous chapter, I explored the notion of localism in the flamenco scene of Granada through an examination of two musical contexts, namely the *Platería* and the *zambra*. By analysing these two contexts, I showed that regionalism is a fragmented concept, the flamenco community being, at times, permeated by localism. In this chapter, I translate distinctive readings of locality (at a local and at a regional level) to flamenco guitar style. Is it possible to speak of a distinct, local guitar style in Granada? Alternatively, has flamenco guitar style become ‘regionalised’ in some way? In order to answer these questions, I provide an analysis of my experiences with two flamenco guitar teachers in Granada, namely Melchor Córdoba Santiago and Rafael (Rafa) Hoces Ortega. The former is representative of a ‘local’ conception of guitar style. The latter can perhaps be considered more representative of a ‘regional’ conception of guitar style. While dichotomies are problematic, it is interesting to compare these two guitarists to ascertain certain geographical differences in musical style.¹ In the first section, I examine my lessons with Melchor and his relevance to the idea of a local guitar style. In the second section, I examine my lessons with Rafa, his teaching methods and his musical ‘worldview’. I also recount my experiences of his classes in the Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios in Granada. In sum, I show that these guitarists may be separated by different conceptions of geographical style.²

¹ In Chapter One, I provided an overview of some of the musical materials pertinent to flamenco guitar performance. In the present chapter, I show how these materials are manifested in the teaching methods and performing styles of two very different guitarists.

² This chapter is, in part, indebted to John Morgan O’Connell’s article, ‘*Alabanda*: Brass Bands and Musical Methods in Turkey’. In this publication, O’Connell examines one Turkish music educator during the nineteenth century and shows how, in his teaching methods, he both broke with tradition and maintained tradition during a period of musical change.

Local Guitar Style: Melchor Córdoba Santiago

The Guitar Schools of Granada

The city of Granada is widely renowned for the production of flamenco guitarists.

Throughout the history of flamenco, many well-respected guitarists were born in the city and they often regard Granada as a crucial influence on their musical formation. Some may also associate themselves with a particular guitar school in Granada (or be associated with a guitar school by others). Before discussing Melchor's relevance as a supposed exponent of *granadino* flamenco, it is necessary to contextualise the guitar schools of Granada. During my research, people often said that there are two guitar schools in Granada: one that is more 'classical'/'academic' and another that emerges from the *zambras* of Sacromonte. In our interview, the journalist José Manuel Rojas stated:

There is a more academic school, which is associated with the conservatoire, more of the concert guitar, of what I call *concertismo*. And there is another, *sacromontana* in the caves, that which accompanies dance. But now, fortunately the two schools are converging and there is a movement of people who have this strength from Sacromonte but who also have the technique of the conservatoire (interview 4 March, 2012).³

The difficulty lies in determining the elements and the exponents of these two schools. I often received conflicting accounts regarding exactly what and who constitutes the guitar schools. For the guitarist and researcher Juan Miguel Giménez Miranda,⁴ the 'true' school of guitar playing is the more refined and 'classical' style that belongs to a lineage of guitarists beginning with Francisco Rodríguez 'el Murciano' (1795–1848). According to Juan

³ 'Hay una escuela más academicista, más que llega al conservatorio, más de la guitarra del concierto, del concertismo como digo yo. Y hay otra, sacromontana en las cuevas, la que acompaña al baile. Pero ahora, afortunadamente las dos escuelas están convergiendo y hay un movimiento de gente que tiene esa fuerza de Sacromonte pero que también tiene esta técnica del conservatorio'.

⁴ When I was doing field research, Juan Miguel Giménez Miranda was completing doctoral work regarding the flamenco guitar in Granada.

Miguel, 'el Murciano' was the first 'concert' guitarist,⁵ adopting an early flamenco guitar style that took influence from the classical guitar and allegedly the *bandurria*. His legacy passed onto other guitarists such as Juan 'el Ovejilla' (dates unknown, b. nineteenth century) whom for Juan Miguel 'was like the father of the old *granadina* guitar, he was the culmination of the old epoch much influenced by the classical guitar and was the initiator of the modern *granadina* guitar school' (interview 4 May, 2012).⁶ Juan Miguel argued that 'el Ovejilla' mixed classical guitar style with 'popular' guitar style to create a more refined and 'polished' flamenco guitar style that came to influence later generations of guitarists in Granada.

As Ovejilla was also one of the first guitarists to perform in the *zambra*, Juan Miguel argued that Ovejilla's students instigated a divide between the two different guitar schools in Granada. On the one hand, Juan Carmona Carmona commonly known as Juan Habichuela (b. 1933) continued the so-called classical school. On the other hand, Juan Amaya Marote (1936–2002) epitomised the *sacromontana* school. Of course in reality, there is and always has been a lot of cross over between these two schools. However, my informants often used these divisions when talking about style. The classical school has allegedly been transmitted by guitarists such as Manuel Cano Tamayo (1925–90) and Miguel Ochando (b. 1965), whose performances are characterised by extended *falsetas*, flourishing arpeggios and interpretations that at times resemble classical guitar performance. My teacher Melchor, however, is usually viewed as an exponent of the *sacromontana* school of guitar playing. Prior to a discussion of my lessons with Melchor and an analysis of his style, I will provide a brief exposition of the *sacromontana* guitar school.

This school is believed to be intimately linked to Sacromonte and specifically the *zambra*. As discussed earlier, the *zambra* is both a performance context and a genre of

⁵ This is also backed up by Cabrero Palomares in his book *Granada enclave de flamenco*.

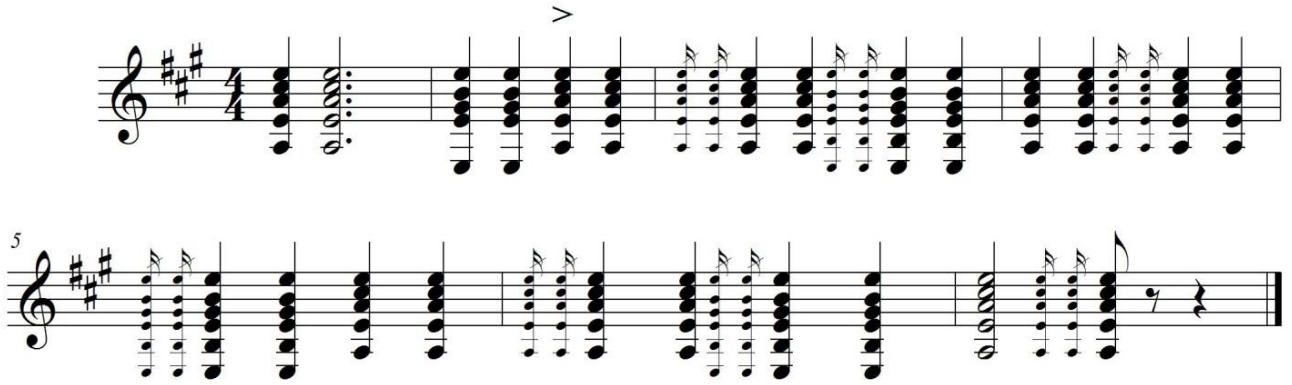
⁶ 'Fue como el padre de la posterior guitarra granadina, fue el culmen de la época antigua muy influenciada por la guitarra clásica y fue el iniciador de la escuela moderna granadina'.

flamenco characterised by its own *palos*. The *sacromontana* style of guitar playing possibly stemmed from the distinct corpus of *palos* that belong to the *zambra* as a genre. Before examining how these *palos* may have informed the development of a local guitar style, I will analyse some of the *palos* as they are performed by guitarists today. Since Melchor no longer appeared to perform these *palos*, I arranged a lesson with the guitarist Antonio Heredia who performs regularly at the *Zambra de María* ‘la Canastera’. As this was towards the end of my stay, I only had a single lesson with him. With Antonio, however, I was able to learn some of the *palos* unique to the *zambra gitana*. Interestingly, he was not aware of the exact order or the precise format of the traditional *zambra gitana*, even though he was accustomed to performing some of these *palos* with great regularity. This is perhaps indicative of a decline in the popularity and the significance of these *palos*.



Example 9.1: The rhythm of the *cachucha*.⁷

⁷ In this passage, typical *rasgueado* techniques (as discussed in Chapter One) are used to realise the rhythmic and harmonic structure of the *cachucha*.



Example 9.2: The rhythm of the *mosca*.



Example 9.3: The entrance melody for the *mosca*.

In the lesson, he taught me three *palos* which are traditionally associated with the *zambra gitana* and which are still performed in the *Zambra de María ‘la Canastera’*: the *cachucha*,⁸ the *mosca* and the *fandango del Albaicín*. Examples 9.1 and 9.2 show the rhythmic structure of the *cachucha* and the *mosca* to give the reader an idea of their structure and the similarities they share with folkloric styles.⁹ The rhythmic pattern is similar to patterns found in folkloric *fandangos* from East Andalusia. The rudimentary chordal accompaniment is also indicative of a folkloric style. In guitar performance, these styles rarely have *falsetas*. However, on some occasions the guitar (or traditionally the *bandurria*) might perform a melody. In Example 9.3, I have provided a transcription of a typical entrance melody for the *mosca*.

⁸ It is important to mention that the *cachucha* is a triple-measured folkloric dance that can be found in different forms across Spain and particularly in Andalusia.

⁹ These two examples represent the first few bars and important chord changes of each *palo*.

The lack of *falsetas*, the importance of rhythm and the powerful strumming patterns underscore the importance of dance in the *zambra gitana*. As discussed, the *zambra gitana* was traditionally related to a *gitano* wedding. Therefore, the majority of the *palos* are of a festive nature, being full of energy and full of frivolity. As such, a simple, chordal accompaniment is sufficient for this style of performance. The guitarist adds to a denser and more ‘communal’ musical fabric. Here, many people are involved in the song, the dance, the percussion, the *jaleo* (shouts of encouragement) and the *palmas* that make up the *zambra gitana*. The central place of dance in this genre ensures that the guitar occupies a ‘background’ position. Displays of technical virtuosity and the performance of intricate *falsetas* are simply not warranted. The context of the *zambra* may have also influenced the performance practices of guitarists. Dances performed on the cave floor create a huge amount of sound. Therefore, guitarists needed to develop strumming patterns that were furious and dynamic in order to be heard. As Curro stated: ‘[...] they played differently, because they played for many years in the *zambras*, they picked up a lot of strength’ (interview 9 May, 2012).¹⁰

Nowadays, the majority of the caves in Sacromonte feature ‘conventional’ flamenco *palos* that would be found in any *tablaó* around the world. With the introduction of amplification, the guitar began to assume the same position as it would in other flamenco contexts. Today, guitarists in *zambras* perform the same renditions of *palos* (and their related *falsetas*) that they would normally perform in any other context. Nonetheless, some informants argued that for older guitarists, who were not used to playing with amplification, the *zambra* has had a lingering impact on their guitar style. Therefore, the context of the *zambra* (perhaps more than the *zambra gitana* as a genre), appears to have influenced the development of the so-called *sacromontana* guitar school. The fact that many guitarists from

¹⁰ ‘[...] tocaban diferente, porque llevaban muchos años tocando en las *zambras*, cogieron mucha fuerza’.

Granada received their musical training in the *zambras* automatically means that they are associated with this guitar school. However, many guitarists have left Granada and formed their careers elsewhere, in cities such as Madrid or Seville. Accordingly, there may only be remnants of the *granadino* guitar style in their playing. Melchor, however, is a guitarist who has remained in Granada all of his life. Therefore, he is often viewed as a prime exponent of the *sacromontana* guitar school.

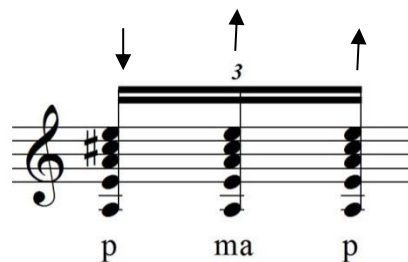
Melchor's Background and Influences

Melchor is a local guitarist, having lived in the city all his life and having received the majority of his musical training in Granada. Melchor was born in Málaga in 1954, but his family moved to Sacromonte when he was an infant. He was born into a *gitano* family and was surrounded by flamenco from an early age. His mother and siblings danced and sung, and his father worked to promote the caves of Sacromonte. Melchor began his flamenco career as a dancer. When Melchor was ten, his father encouraged him to take up dancing professionally. For four years, he performed as a dancer in the *zambras* and *tablaos* of Granada. Due to his shy personality, however, he moved to guitar performance. When he was 16, he began to play guitar professionally. Throughout his career, Melchor has remained in Granada. Yet, he has performed across Andalusia, throughout Spain and abroad on numerous occasions by way of the Instituto Cervantes.

Melchor learnt his trade from various *granadino* guitarists and *bandurria* players, who themselves were intimately tied to the local flamenco community and the *zambras*. However, Juan Maya Marote (1936–2002) was one guitarist who has had a lasting impact on Melchor's style. Like Melchor, Marote began to dance at an early age in the *zambras* later moving to guitar performance. Melchor stated: 'It was Marote, nearly the same age Marote and Juan Habichuela, they both began in Sacromonte in the *zambras* also playing indigenous

dances’ (interview 28 April, 2012).¹¹ While Marote and Habichuela both developed their skills in the *zambra*, they later formed unique styles that informed the classical/*sacromontana* distinction discussed above. Marote developed an extremely powerful playing technique that became characteristic of his style; a style that was suited to the accompaniment of dance in the *zambra*. Habichuela developed a more ‘refined’ and ‘subtle’ technique that was suited to the accompaniment of song. Melchor gave me an account of Marote’s style, his ‘inventions’ and the differences with the style of Juan Habichuela:

Marote was the creator of *rasgueado* [plays *abanico*, see Example 9.4 below], he was the creator of the thumb [plays *alzapúa*, see Example 9.5 below]. And his strength was in playing for dance, he played very well for dance, with such a strength, he was a great guitarist. He went to Madrid and in Madrid he became famous. Juan Carmona Habichuela as well, but he was like another class of guitarist, sweeter, for the accompaniment of song, but Marote he was more for dance. But the two were great guitarists and they went to Madrid.¹²



Example 9.4: *Abanico* strum.¹³

¹¹ ‘Estaba Marote, casi de la misma edad Marote y Juan Habichuela, empezaron los dos en Sacromonte en las zambras también tocando todos los bailes autóctonos’.

¹² ‘Marote fue creador del rasgueado [plays *abanico*], fue creador del pulgar [plays *alzapúa*]. Y su fuerza tocando para bailar, tocaba muy bien para bailar con una fuerza, era un gran guitarrista. Se fue para Madrid y en Madrid se hizo figura. Juan Carmona Habichuela también, pero era como otra clase de guitarrista, más dulce, para acompañar al cante, pero Marote era más para baile. Pero los dos eran grandes guitarristas y se fueron a Madrid’.

¹³ ‘P’ refers to the thumb of the right hand. ‘M’ refers to the middle finger of the right hand. ‘A’ refers to the ring finger of the right hand.



Example 9.5: *Alzapúa* technique.¹⁴

According to Melchor, Marote was the creator of two techniques: the *abanico* (Eng: fan) *rasgueado* technique and the *alzapúa* technique.¹⁵ The former involves a triplet strum played by rapidly alternating the thumb (upward stroke), fingers (downward stroke) and thumb (downward stroke) (see Example 9.4). The latter involves the thumbnail which is used like a plectrum to create a rapid alternation between bass notes and treble notes (see Example 9.5). Whether Marote actually invented these techniques is difficult to determine. Some people I spoke to believed it, others did not. Some believed he invented the *abanico* and not the *alzapúa*, and so on. In an interview with the flamenco journalist Estela Zatania (2001), Marote told her that the *abanico* technique was a result of a defect in his fingers. He did not mention the *alzapúa* technique. The techniques may well have become more prominent because of his experience in the *zambras* where they were needed for a loud, percussive sound. Whatever the reasons, these techniques (and particularly the *abanico*) came to

¹⁴ I learnt this particular *alzapúa* passage during a lesson with Melchor.

¹⁵ In Chapter One, I discussed the importance of *rasgueado* techniques for the guitarist when performing the rhythmic structure of any given *palo*. In this chapter, I show how a particular form of *rasgueado* (the *abanico*) may reference a local interpretation of guitar style.

epitomise Marote's playing style. Even so, they have now become an integral part of every flamenco guitarist's technical repertoire.

As Melchor stated, Marote left Granada to develop his career in Madrid. Prior to Paco de Lucía's ascension to fame, Marote was one of the most well-known and well-respected guitarists of his generation. While his career took him to Madrid and abroad, Marote still returned to Granada on occasion. It was during these visits that Melchor received most of his tuition from Marote. During our interview, Melchor reminisced about the various lessons that he took from Marote when he was in the city. In addition to lessons, Melchor learned from some recordings made by Marote, in this way adding to his repertoire of *falsetas* and techniques. As Melchor progressed as a guitarist, his style became more similar to that of Marote. While other guitarists have been influenced by Marote, it appears that Melchor has most closely continued his legacy. In the next section, I draw upon my lessons with Melchor to examine his style in relation to the notion of musical localism in Granada.

Lessons with Melchor

I met Melchor on one of my first visits to the Platería where he was performing. The President, Jesús Plaza Rodríguez, introduced him as a 'tan granadino' (Eng: 'such a *granadino*') guitarist. At this point, I was ignorant as to exactly what constituted a *granadino* guitarist. What I observed was an accomplished and an individual musician who commanded a phenomenal technique. The moment Melchor launched into his first *palo*, I was taken aback by the ferocity of his technique, the strength of his *rasgueados*, his short but powerful *falsetas* and his faultless *compás* in accompaniment. Given that he appeared to know many people in the *peña* and that he seemed to represent the archetypal 'local' guitarist, I introduced myself and asked if he gave lessons. He agreed to teach me and from that day onwards, I began to uncover the mechanics behind his unique style, a style that for some

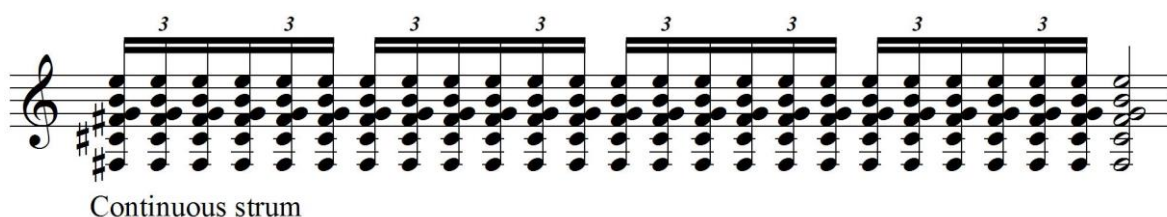
performers and aficionados is the epitome of a local guitar school and that for others represents an outdated style of playing.

My lessons with Melchor were a stark contrast to those with Rafa (explored below). They revealed the different ways in which these two guitarists conceptualised and taught the guitar. Melchor's teaching style was entirely oral as he has no knowledge of musical notation and he rarely gave me technical exercises. During the lessons, we focused almost exclusively on learning *falsetas* for various *palos*.¹⁶ We also focused on the relevant strumming/chordal sequences, particularly those that employed the *abanico*. The *falsetas* and the techniques that I learnt from Melchor were transmitted in their entirety. He did not break them down into smaller chunks so that I could understand and assimilate them. He had learnt these materials from his local context, in a holistic and 'organic' way through imitation and repetition. As a classical guitarist, I had trouble keeping up with the learning process by rote. Thankfully, hard work paid off and I was able to keep up with future lessons.

Example 9.6: Introduction to *tangos*.

¹⁶ See Chapter One for an overview of the importance of *falsetas* in flamenco guitar performance.

While Melchor talked very little during our lessons, I was able to glean some information from him concerning the things we were learning. I found out that the majority of the *falsestas* we learnt, were transmitted by Marote (either in person or through recordings) or from other guitarists in Sacromonte. Several of these *falsestas* utilised the *abanico* technique within them, an element that for Melchor signifies their belonging to Marote's (and thus Granada's) flamenco heritage. For example, the introduction to the *tangos* by Melchor (see Example 9.6) was learnt from Marote. It has an *abanico* strum accentuating each chord change. Here, it is important to note that many guitarists use this technique within their *falsestas* and so it is not unique to Melchor or to Granada. However, the frequency and the ferocity with which Melchor uses the technique is, according to some, the trademark of a typical *granadino* style of playing. This technique allegedly has its origins in the *zambra*, having been developed by Marote. Melchor appeared to want me to play these *falsestas* as complete units without adding my own embellishments and without supplanting elements from other *falsestas*. While I was unable to find out why this was the case, I suspect it was an act of preservation. As I explore below, Melchor believes he is one of the only people to continue this lineage. Therefore, retaining *falsestas* in their 'complete' form may be a way for Melchor to cling to the musical past and to preserve a local tradition.



Example 9.7: Opening segment to a *taranta*.



Plate 9.1: Melchor performing.¹⁷

I also had the opportunity to observe Melchor in performance (see Plate 9.1). He performs regularly across the city and usually with a singer and a dancer. From my experience, his technique is particularly prominent when accompanying. He frequently made use of various types of *rasgueado* (particularly the *abanico*) and interjected short but often powerful *falsetas* in between the singer's verses or dance sections. His traditional cedar wood guitar with old tuning pegs (rather than machine heads) assisted the dynamics and the ferocity of his technique. The guitar had an incredible volume and a harsh, percussive tone that really

¹⁷ Photograph taken by the author, April 2012.

added to the flamenco sound. During his shows, Melchor performed two or three solos that showed off his technique and style. I was particularly taken aback by his *taranta*; a *palo* from East Andalusia that normally has no pulse and is often used to exhibit a more ‘relaxed’ and ‘refined’ performance style. In Example 9.7 above, one can see the use of the *abanico* in Melchor’s opening line to the *taranta*. Again, while guitarists do use the technique in this *palo*, I have yet to come across an interpretation such as this.

Melchor’s seemingly local style raises an intriguing question that can be applied to flamenco guitar playing across Andalusia. Do guitarists from different localities play *palos* differently? Is one *palo* performed in Granada different to one that is performed in Seville? For some people, *palos* are played in the same style no matter where a guitarist is from. For other people, local guitarists are often characterised by the way in which they interpret specific *palos*. Frequently, my informants said to me that Granada is particularly famous for its *tangos*. They argued that guitarists play the *tangos* differently in Granada when compared to other guitarists in Andalusia. Moreover, Granada is well known for a number of unique *tangos* that only exist in and around the city. When I asked Melchor about this, he said the only thing that is different in these local *tangos* is the *cante*. He stated that a guitarist simply needs to alter the chords to suit the melody. The rhythm, the *compás* and the style are otherwise the same. Yet, some pointed to discrete differences in rhythm and style. The educator Miguel Ángel González believed that *granadino* guitarists leave more space and that the *tangos* in Granada are generally slower. He stated:

The way of playing *tangos* in Granada is as characteristic as it is to play *bulerías* in Jerez [...]. The *tangos granadinos* [...] are characterised by their verses that all end in an open way, they are interchangeable. You can connect one with another and this means the guitar is obliged to play in a much more relaxed way, much more balanced [...]. They leave a lot of open space for the

singer if he/she wants to start with another *tangos* and he/she can connect (interview 2 May, 2012).¹⁸

The question remains whether these *tangos*, unique to Granada, differ to other *tangos* in terms of their musical materials. In terms of the ‘way’ in which any *tangos* is performed, Miguel Ángel González viewed Melchor as a prime example of a *granadino* style in the interpretation of this *palo*. There is a difference, then, between how Melchor talks about his own style of playing and how others talk about him in relation to the flamenco scene in Granada. Ultimately, Melchor plays the same *palos* as any other guitarist from Andalusia or beyond. Moreover, he no longer performs the indigenous *palos* associated with the *zambra gitana*. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent Melchor belongs to a so-called *granadina* guitar school. While technique and style may give clues as to his locality, local differences in musical materials are extremely difficult to determine. I found it challenging to identify the distinctive features of the two *granadina* guitar schools. Does this then leave the notion of a local guitar school redundant? I argue that the discourse about Melchor is perhaps more significant than the music by Melchor in constructing the idea of a local guitar style. By examining how Melchor and others talk about his style, one can begin to unravel an important discursive layer at the root of local guitar style in Granada.

The Discourse about Melchor

During my conversations and lessons with Melchor, I was able to gain an insight into how he views the notion of local guitar schools in relation to his own style of playing. When I asked him whether such school exist he said: ‘We have a different way of playing to Jerez or

¹⁸ ‘La manera de tocar por tangos en Granada es tan peculiar como es de tocar por bulerías en Jerez [...]. Los tangos granadinos [...] se caracterizan por sus estrofas que terminan todas en una manera abierta, son intercambiables. Puedes lazar unas con otras y eso obligará la guitarra que toque en una manera mucho más relejada, mucho más balanceada [...]. Dejan mucho más espacio abierto a que el cantaor si le apetece a empezar con otros tangos, y puede lazar’.

different to other places. And one notices because, I don't know, we take the guitar and we do [plays a powerful *bulerías*], one notices the *aire* [literally means air], one notices the way of playing, because I was in Madrid playing in a theatre and they said to me "there is a guitarist from Granada playing", one notices, one notices' (interview 28 April, 2012).¹⁹ Exactly what this *aire* is, he did not explain. However, he did discuss the need for guitarists to have a flamenco sound. For him, this sound is more important than technical virtuosity. Melchor suggested that the 'true' guitar sound appears to be related to individual guitar schools that belong to a particular locality.²⁰ It appears that for Melchor, 'authentic' flamenco guitar performance is transmitted by individual exponents within small flamenco communities. Therefore, for him the importance of the individual may supersede the importance of the locality. It is also necessary to recognise that Melchor's notion of local and 'authentic' flamenco was also linked to the *gitano* community. Therefore, Melchor alluded to the persistence of *gitano* identity in constructions of flamenco 'authenticity'.

In terms of his own style, Melchor's responses were particularly enlightening. He appeared to view his style in relation to Marote's style. He said to me that his 'touch' and his technique were similar to that of Marote's and that 'always when I play the guitar here they say Marote' (interview 28 April, 2012).²¹ In fact, Melchor saw himself as the last exponent of this style of guitar playing in Granada. He continued: 'No longer is there anyone who continues this style because as I already said to you, in Sacromonte the lineage of these people has finished, no? The last in the lineage is, is me in Sacromonte. There is no one else [...]. Therefore, the only one that remains here who plays things from maestros like Marote and these people, and of this flamenco sound and of this way of playing, is me. There isn't

¹⁹ 'Tenemos una forma de tocar diferente a Jerez o diferente a otros sitios. Y se nota porque, no sé, cogemos la guitarra y hacemos [plays a powerful *bulerías*] se nota el aire, la forma de tocar se nota, porque yo estuve en Madrid tocando en un teatro y me dijeron "hay una guitarra de Granada tocando", se nota, se nota'.

²⁰ He mentioned Marote and Habichuela, but also Diego del Gator from the guitar school of Morón in the province of Seville.

²¹ 'Siempre cuando yo toco la guitarra aquí se dice Marote'.

anyone else here in Granada' (interview 28 April, 2012).²² While Melchor had students in the past, to the best of my knowledge he had none while I was in Granada. However, he said that even his former students have not continued this style of playing and neither has his son Luis.

The ways in which other people talk about Melchor is what really cements his place as an exponent of a local guitar style. It seems that the discourse surrounding the guitarist is more important than the style of the guitarist itself. When I mentioned to people that I was taking lessons from Melchor I received responses such as '¡que granadino!' (Eng: 'how *granadino*!'). In concerts, Melchor was often introduced as a representative of a *granadino* guitar style and more specifically the guitar school in Sacromonte. What exactly constitutes this school many found difficult to explain; instead, some simply said Melchor 'is' the *granadino* guitar school. While some acknowledged his link to the city's heritage, they argued that he possesses an individual or even a *gitano* style. In an interview with Cristina Cruces Roldán (interview 30 April, 2012), she argued that flamenco musicians such as Melchor learnt orally, from maestros in a particular community. Therefore, they continue a personal style rather than a geographical style. In a sense, Cruces Roldán was correct. Melchor owes a lot of his style to Marote. However, geography still plays an important role for two reasons. First, the *zambra* (as a context unique to Granada) may well have contributed to the development of this personal style (as discussed above). Second, the very notion of a local guitar school validates a local musical identity and the musical community to which guitarists belong.

For some, Melchor is not representative of the so-called *granadina* guitar school at all. As discussed earlier, some people simply disregarded the idea of a local guitar school altogether. Instead, the flamenco guitar was conceptualised on a regional scale where

²² 'Ya no hay quien que continúe este estilo porque ya te he dicho que en Sacromonte ha terminado el ciclo de esta gente, ¿no? El último del ciclo es, soy yo en Sacromonte. Ya no hay otro [...]. Entonces el único que queda aquí que toca cosas de maestros como Marote y esta gente, y de este sonido flamenco y de esta manera de toca, soy yo. No hay otro aquí en Granada'.

guitarists take influences from many different sources and distinctive locations. For others, Melchor represents an older conception of the flamenco tradition, a conception that no longer has a place in the flamenco world. While some of my informants recognised the important role that the *zambra* has played in developing guitarists, they regarded the more virtuosic or ‘classical’ guitarists as the most exemplary representatives of Granada’s guitar school. Juan Miguel stated: ‘The *toque* of Melchor is a different *toque*, it isn’t a *toque granadino*. The *toque granadino* for me is the *toque* of Juan and Pepe Habichuela’ (interview 4 May, 2012).²³ Even so, Juan Miguel felt that the notion of the *granadino* guitar school is all but redundant, functioning more as a symbol of nostalgia. For him, while the city still produces phenomenal guitarists, these guitarists are not marked by a distinct local style. Instead, such guitarists belong to a wider Andalusian tradition and represent Granada’s contribution to that tradition.

Regional Guitar Style: Rafael Hoces Ortega

Lessons with Rafa

Rafa (see Plate 9.2 below) is perhaps a good example of the type of flamenco guitarist and teacher commonly to be found in Andalusia today. While situated in a particular locality (that is, the flamenco community in Granada), he is well connected to the flamenco scene in Andalusia in general. Rafa was born in Fijera, a small *pueblo* near Girona in Cataluña. He moved to Jaén aged three and then to Granada when he was 11 years old. In an interview, Rafa said that he was not born into a flamenco family, instead learning the guitar at a later age through formal lessons and by listening to recordings. He quickly fell in love with the flamenco tradition and began to develop his career around the guitar. After completing a degree in music education at the University of Granada (where flamenco was an elective module), he needed to leave the city in order to continue his education in flamenco. He went

²³ ‘El toque de Melchor es un toque aparte, no es toque granadino. El toque granadino para mi es el toque de Juan y Pepe Habichuela’.

to Córdoba to complete his superior grade in flamenco guitar in the conservatoire under the tutelage of Manolo Sanlúcar (b. 1943). He then went to Seville to complete his doctorate. Since completing his doctorate,²⁴ Rafa has returned to Granada and now makes his living as a performer and teacher of the flamenco guitar, both privately and at the Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios.



Plate 9.2: Rafa in his teaching studio.²⁵

During my field research in Granada, I had eleven lessons with Rafa. I also attended his classes at the conservatoire as well as numerous concerts and didactic events. As a result, I became familiar with Rafa's teaching and performance style. I also became familiar with his musical 'worldview' regarding flamenco as a tradition in general and the development of the

²⁴ Rafa's doctoral thesis concerned methods of transcription in flamenco guitar performance. See Hoces Ortega, 'La transcripción musical para guitarra flamenca'.

²⁵ Photograph taken by the author, May 2012.

flamenco guitar specifically. Rafa is perhaps a good example of a ‘modern-day’ flamenco performer, he being representative of a more universalised and a more ‘modernised’ understanding of the guitar tradition. Given his experience and education, Rafa’s teaching method for the guitar is academic and ‘scientific’, a method that came across clearly in our lessons. In my first lesson with Rafa, I became keenly aware of this methodical approach. Reflecting back over the materials gathered during lessons,²⁶ I gained a wealth of valuable information intended to develop my technical ability as a flamenco guitarist and my theoretical knowledge of the flamenco tradition. Even so, Rafa’s lessons were usually very open; he would encourage me to decide the course and the structure of each lesson. Generally, we focused on four key areas: technique, sound, accompaniment and knowledge of repertoire (that is, *palos* and *falsetas*).

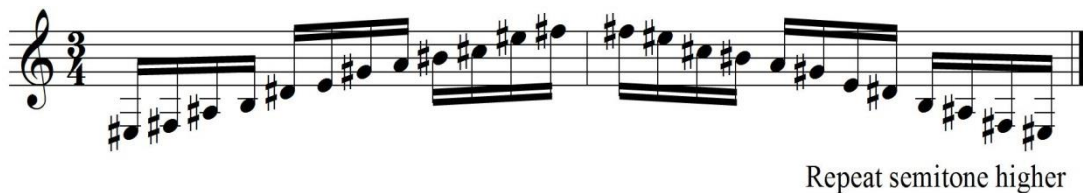
We spent most of the time developing technique. As a classical guitarist, I have always found the technique of flamenco guitar challenging; a difficulty that Rafa was keenly aware of, having taught many classical guitarists. When I arrived for our first lesson, he naturally wanted to judge my level and so asked me to perform something short. I broke into a rather feeble rendition of a *soleá* and he knew the issue straight away: ‘We have to work on your right hand’ (lesson with Rafa 6 February, 2012).²⁷ The right hand is often considered as the ‘secret’ to competent flamenco guitar performance. As I have played the classical guitar for years, Rafa was aware that I had no difficulty in navigating the fretboard with my left hand. What I had not yet developed, was a solid foundation in the right hand. As mentioned previously, flamenco guitarists are armed with a number of right-hand techniques that are essential for competent playing. Throughout our lessons, we focused on practically every technique available to the guitarist. This included *picado* (single note runs or scales), *alzapúa*, arpeggios and *rasgueado*.

²⁶ These materials included tablatures, photocopies of notation, conversation transcriptions and lesson recordings.

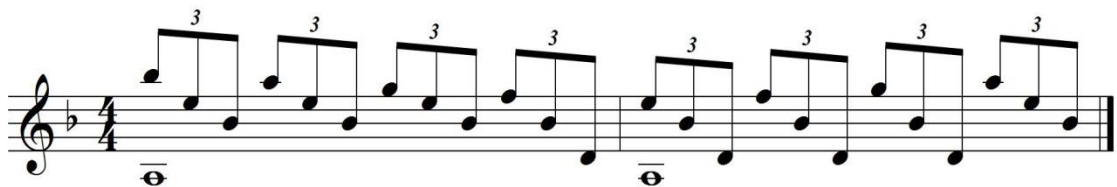
²⁷ ‘Tenemos que trabajar en tu mano derecho’.



Plate 9.3: Right-hand position.²⁸



Example 9.8: *Picado* exercise.



Example 9.9: Arpeggio *falsesta* for *tangos* or *bulerías*.

For Rafa, the key to these techniques is the placement of the right hand, each technique utilising a particular type of hand position. Plate 9.3 depicts one hand position, usually adopted for arpeggios or for the beginning of a *picado* run. It is not necessary to discuss these positions and techniques in full. Rather, they serve as illustrative examples of Rafa's teaching style. During our lessons, he was extremely 'scientific' in his approach. He

²⁸ Photograph taken by the author, February 2012.

would always break down techniques into tiny, manageable chunks often talking about the exact angles of hand positions and focusing on the small, seemingly insignificant movements that contribute to polished techniques. In order to develop these skills, he gave me exercises unique to each technique (see Example 9.8). Aware of my training, he also talked about flamenco guitar performance in formal terms, giving me notated examples where necessary. Along with exercises, Rafa also provided me with *falsetas* that were tailored to a particular technique. Example 9.9 is a *falseta* that develops the arpeggio technique. However, it can also be used for performances of *tangos* and *bulerías*. In this way, Rafa encouraged me to develop my technique and to develop material for performance.

All of the techniques that we covered in our lessons were linked to a crucial aesthetic – the ‘correct’ flamenco sound.²⁹ In flamenco guitar playing, a specific sound concept is crucial in distinguishing a flamenco guitarist from any other type of guitarist. To the uninitiated, one might be forgiven for confusing the performance of a *palo* with a classical guitar piece, especially as they share similarities. However, sound production is crucial to flamenco guitar performance. In fact, the guitarist should endeavour to emulate the aural aesthetic of *cante*, which Manuel describes as having a ‘raspy vocal timbre, sobbing-like falsetto breaks, and a generally strenuous, impassioned and histrionic vocal style’ (Manuel 2003: 55). Rafa frequently commented upon my sound urging that I needed ‘¡un sonido más sucio!’ (Eng: ‘a dirtier sound!’). My experiences in Granada (both in lessons and in concerts) contributed to the development of this key element of flamenco guitar playing. As my lessons progressed, Rafa commented that I was gradually becoming a flamenco guitarist as my sound developed in intensity, power and ‘dirtiness’.

For Rafa, there is far more to the flamenco guitar than simply technique and sound. He also tried to train me as an all-round flamenco guitarist. A crucial aspect of this training

²⁹ In Chapter One, I showed that the ‘correct’ flamenco sound is integral to the aesthetic soundworld of the flamenco guitar.

was my ability to accompany. In particular, I wanted to learn how to accompany singers and this is something that Rafa spent some time teaching me. In a similar fashion to other aspects of guitar performance, Rafa broke down the different elements so that I could understand accompaniment from the ‘inside out’. He also made me aware of chordal sequences that would apply to several different *palos*. We focused on two particular *palos* (*granáina* and *soleá*) at my request. During these lessons, Rafa sang common melodies for each *palo* while I followed. Once the foundations had been set, Rafa allowed me to invite the singer and flamenco educator Fernando Barros Lirola (with whom I was in contact) for me to practise my accompaniment.

Rafa also tried to develop my knowledge of the flamenco repertoire, as well as perfecting technique and learning song accompaniment. He introduced me to new *palos* and equipped me with numerous *falsestas*, some of which were designed for technical practice and others which were designed for performance. In terms of the latter, Rafa was flexible in his approach to teaching me *falsestas*. As mentioned above, we normally focused on technique, as he believed I could pick up *falsestas* from anywhere. However, for *palos* that I was less familiar with he taught me a couple of *falsestas* to introduce me to the relevant *palos*. As a classical guitarist, I naturally wanted to play these *falsestas* note for note. However, Rafa encouraged me to be freer in my approach:

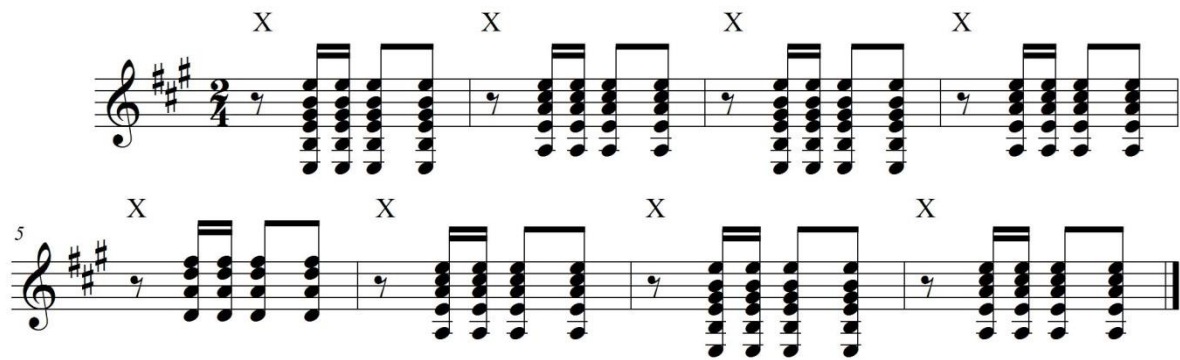
Do your own variation, Matt’s version. That’s what I always tell my students, that in flamenco one can change something or lose it, or if the piece isn’t going well then shorten something and put in another thing. Why? Because what is important is the [overall] result, not every one of the notes (lesson with Rafa 6 April, 2012).³⁰

³⁰ ‘Tú haces tu propia variación, la versión de Matt. Por eso siempre digo a mis alumnos en flamenco que se puede cambiar algo o perderse, o si la obra no sale bien pues se corta algo y se pone otra cosa y ¿Por qué? Porque que es importante es el resultado global no cada una de las notas’.

This approach also appears to reflect Rafa's own experience as a guitarist. He has learnt from many different performers and in many different places. Like the majority of modern Andalusian guitarists, he picks up *falsetas* and musical materials from all over the region and beyond (both from artists and recordings), exposing himself to many different styles and distinctive approaches. This reflects a certain 'democracy' in flamenco guitar playing; guitarists share musical materials freely, taking a *falseta* or sections of compositions from different guitarists to create their own renditions of *palos* (also see Manuel 2010). Given Rafa's wide knowledge of *palos* and his flexibility in teaching, I used our lessons as a way of gaining more information (and his views) about local *palos*. In particular, I wanted to learn more about the *granaína*, as a particularly popular *palo* in the city. Rafa was well equipped in this *palo* and so we covered numerous techniques and *falsetas* associated with it. We also focused on how to accompany a sung *granaína*.

However, the *granaína* is a *palo* performed all over Andalusia. Many guitarists include it in their repertoire as it showcases their technical skill and interpretive flair. What I wanted to discover were local forms that were relatively (if not completely) unknown outside of Granada. When I asked Rafa to teach me a typical example of a *tangos de Granada*, he appeared less comfortable as these were *palos* he rarely ever performed. We began with the basic rhythmic structure (see Example 9.10 below). When I asked for *falsetas*, he gave me a notated copy of a *tanguillos de Cádiz*, saying that the *palos* share many similarities in terms of chords, rhythm and *falsetas*. In discussion, it became clear why he is less familiar with these local *palos*. He said that these *palos* have decreased in popularity. He stated that very few people play them as they are out of fashion and too folkloric. In his own words: 'The *tanguillos*, many *tangos* from Granada that are very similar to folklore, the *palos* that appear nowadays are more like folklore than flamenco. They are easier, easier to sing, the guitar just plays two chords and all the rhythms are the same' (lesson with Rafa 20

March, 2012).³¹ As Example 9.10 shows, the *tangos de Granada* (and the associated *tanguillos*) are relatively ‘simple’ *palos*. For many guitarists, these forms are not conducive to displays of technical ability.



Example 9.10: The rhythm/chordal structure for *tangos de Granada*.³²

Rafa's Musical 'Worldview'

These types of discussions with Rafa were common in our lessons. Often the lessons became mini interviews in their own right where we discussed style, aesthetics, history and other issues. In addition to our exchanges, the lessons enabled me to gain a greater insight into the musical ‘worldview’ of Rafa. He is perhaps representative of many guitarists associated with flamenco in Andalusia today. Rafa adopted an academic approach to flamenco,³³ which was immediately apparent in his teaching methods. He viewed flamenco as a musical art on a par with classical music that can (and should) be developed like any other form of art music. He believed it should be subjected to the same ‘scientific’ rigour that is common in musicology. His doctoral research was an attempt to universalise the flamenco guitar utilising the global medium of written notation. In an interview for the newspaper *Ideal*, Rafa stated that his

³¹ ‘Los tanguillos, muchos tangos de Granada que como son muy parecidos al folklore, los palos que parecen hoy en día más al folklore que al flamenco son más sencillos, más fácil a cantar, la guitarra pues son dos acordes y todo el ritmo es igual’.

³² The cross above each quaver rest indicates a *golpe*, which is a percussive tap on the guitar with the ring finger of the right hand. This is my own transcription of a passage learnt during a lesson with Rafa.

³³ Along with Rafa’s doctoral thesis ‘La transcripción musical para guitarra flamenca’, he has published on the issue of transcription in flamenco guitar. See Hoces Ortega, ‘La transcripción musical para guitarra flamenca’.

thesis was an attempt to make a '[...]' method for writing the music that a flamenco guitarist creates so that it can be interpreted by a musician from any country or culture' (Arenas 27 October, 2011).³⁴

Rafa's musical worldview was also evident in his opinions regarding localism in Granada. He argued that flamenco is characterised by romantic narratives regarding its origins and its style. These narratives have more to do with orality and mythology than with 'serious' study. He believed that localism is common in flamenco (particularly in West Andalusia and the *triángulo de oro*), often being associated with passionate stories and inaccurate representations. He also acknowledged that, in Granada, some people viewed the flamenco scene as inferior when compared with the flamenco scene in the *triángulo de oro*. For Rafa, however, one positive factor associated with localism is the musical diversity that it engenders. Rafa recognised the rich diversity of the flamenco repertoire in Granada, arguing that people are often unaware of the number of *palos* to be found in the city. Generally, however, he believed that local styles are diminishing as other, more popular *palos* become an integral part of the repertoire practised by guitarists.

When speaking of a local guitar school, Rafa was generally sceptical about the idea that such a school existed. He said that he would need to conduct a rigorous study, comparing many guitarists to ascertain whether there is truth to the claim. When I asked him why he thinks such a discourse about a school exists he said: 'Matt, I see it from the point of view of passion, of what I would actually want there to be, and I'm speaking to you about *toque* as I speak to you about *cante* or anything else. That there would be a sign of identity in my homeland to be able to say this is mine and one needs to strengthen it' (interview 6 April,

³⁴ '[...] el método para escribir la música que crea un guitarrista flamenco para que pueda ser interpretada por un músico de cualquier país y cultura'.

2012).³⁵ Interestingly, Rafa actually wished that a *granadina* guitar school existed. He saw it as a symbol of identity, one that perhaps references the flamenco community of Granada in the wider Andalusian scene. Even though Rafa was sceptical about the existence of a local guitar school, he was and still is proud of Granada's flamenco heritage.

It could be argued that Rafa is more 'regional' (or dare I say, 'global') in his approach to flamenco in general and to the guitar in particular. For Rafa, flamenco is flamenco wherever it is performed and whoever performs it. He shied away from creating value judgments about the type or the quality of flamenco from a particular locality. As discussed above, this position was also reflected in his teaching style. Arguably, Rafa is indicative of a more regionalised perception of flamenco due to his flexible approach to *falsetas*, his experience across Andalusia, his position as an academic and his role as a teacher in the Andalusian educational system. He appeared to conceptualise flamenco as a whole, not being influenced by localist readings of the guitar. In the conservatoire setting, it appeared that students were being developed in a similar way. In the next section, I examine the teaching methods employed by Rafa in the conservatoire, exploring the classicisation of the flamenco guitar in this context.

The Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios

I was able to attend several lessons at the Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios where Rafa is currently a flamenco guitar teacher.³⁶ This enabled me to examine how flamenco guitarists are trained within the conservatoire context. The conservatory system in Spain and its relation to the transmission of flamenco in Andalusia were discussed in Chapter

³⁵ 'Matt, lo veo desde el punto de vista de pasión, de lo que me gustaría realmente que hubiera, y te hablo del toque como te hablo del cante o de cualquier otra cosa. Que hubiera una seña de identidad claramente en mi tierra para poder decir esto es mio y hay que potenciarlo'.

³⁶ In ethnomusicology, some scholars have dealt with musical transmission in institutions. For example see Cohen, 'Music Institutions and the Transmission of Tradition'; Hill, 'From Ancient to Avant-Garde to Global' and 'The Influence of Conservatory Folk Music Programmes'; and O'Connell, 'Alaturka Revisited'.

Five. The Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios offers a flamenco guitar course to a professional grade (comprising of six levels), with the option for students to undertake the entrance exam to a superior grade. When I conducted research in Granada, there were 30 students enrolled on the course across the different levels (although at that time there were no students at level six). The course is designed to attract guitarists from different backgrounds. As the course description shows, two particular student profiles are encouraged:

It is important to emphasise in this section that teaching of the flamenco guitar principally covers two profiles of student in ‘professional grade’: [1] Students that come from ‘street’ flamenco, who have a high instrumental level and knowledge of this art, and who are also professional guitarists, but have a very low level of musical language. [2] Students who come from the speciality of the classical guitar, who have normally already finished their classical studies and are interested in flamenco. This profile of student has a high level of musical reading and knowledge in general but no grasp of the techniques or the feeling of flamenco (Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios 2011: 18).³⁷

This desire to attract both ‘oral’ (guitarists from the ‘street’) and ‘literate’ (classical guitarists) is perhaps representative of the wider structure and objectives of the course. Indeed, I argue that this desire in fact underlines much of the Andalusian Government’s vision for flamenco. The course is designed to provide students with training in a number of areas and skills such as interpretation, analysis, literacy, accompaniment, theory and improvisation.³⁸ Broadly speaking, the course is split into various ‘modules’ that are spread

³⁷ ‘Es importante destacar en esta sección que la enseñanza de la guitarra flamenca cubre principalmente dos perfiles de alumnos en grado profesional: [1] Alumnos que provienen del flamenco de la calle, que tienen un alto nivel instrumental y de conocimiento de este arte, incluso son profesionales de la guitarra, pero tienen muy bajo nivel de lenguaje musical. [2] Alumnos que proceden de la especialidad de guitarra clásica, que normalmente han terminado ya sus estudios de clásico y se interesan por el flamenco. Este perfil de alumnos tiene un gran nivel de lectura musical y conocimiento en general pero no controla las técnicas ni el sentido del flamenco’.

³⁸ See pp. 7–9 of the course document for a full outline of the objectives of the course.

across the six different levels. Students take, amongst others, courses in solo and group performance, song and dance accompaniment, analysis, music theory and flamenco history (at level six only). Of particular interest, is the approach to learning solo and group performances. Students are expected to learn different *palos* in a traditional oral manner where they compile a repertoire of chordal/rhythmic sections and *falsetas* relevant to each *palo*. In addition, they are expected to analyse these *palos* using conventional and flamenco-related musical terminology (such as harmony, *compás* and mode). However, students are also required to learn set works by famous composers from three different flamenco periods (first period, classical period and modern period).³⁹ Here, notation is provided and students need to learn the works in their entirety and from memory. Traditionally, this is not how flamenco guitarists learn. Musical transmission is normally oral, guitarists learning from teachers, friends and more recently recordings, without the aid of musical notation.⁴⁰ However, notation has become a more prominent way of learning and one that is now embedded into official and institutionally-backed flamenco education.

³⁹ I found no mention in the documentation of the exact dates for these periods. However, going by the artists that are representative of these periods they can roughly be dated: first period (1900s–1950s), classical period (1950s–80s) and modern period (1980s onwards). These dates are estimates.

⁴⁰ I do recognise, however, that guitar notation has existed since the early-twentieth century. Nonetheless, it is not the most common form of musical transmission in flamenco.



Plate 9.4: Students in the conservatoire.⁴¹

The use of musical notation and lessons in music theory are both indicative of the increasing ‘classicisation’ of the flamenco guitar tradition. The representation of the flamenco guitar as an art instrument capable of gracing any concert stage is nothing new. The flamenco guitar has occupied a prominent position on the international stage for many years, often being regarded as (and taught as) a ‘quasi-classical’ instrument. It is only recently, however, that regional institutions in Andalusia have begun to support its transmission and its classicisation in the educational context. When attending classes at the conservatoire, I was taken aback by the manner in which the flamenco guitar was being taught – it was like observing a course for any other classical instrument. In particular, I attended group classes in which soloist and ensemble skills were being developed. Here, students had the opportunity to work on set works (in the syllabus) with Rafa and fellow peers. In these classes, students sat around music stands, pouring over notation (see Plate 9.4). Here, they discussed technique, notation and interpretation. Rafa walked around showing the students how to read

⁴¹ Photograph taken by the author, April 2012.

the notation effectively. He also advised the students on issues concerning the subtleties of technique and aesthetics (especially the correct flamenco sound).

While the ‘fixity’ of music in notation has become central in the didactic process, students were still expected to retain orality as an integral element of flamenco guitar transmission.⁴² Normally, students are required to learn pieces in their entirety from notation and perform them from memory.⁴³ However, in conversation with Rafa he told me that, in reality, more flexibility is allowed. Given the orality of the flamenco guitar tradition, he said that students were able to deviate from the score. While remaining faithful to the score overall, they were allowed to replace *falsetas* or slightly alter existing *falsetas* to suit the characteristics of the students’ style. There are also certain parts of the course where orality is a prerequisite. For example, in accompaniment classes students did not work from notation. Instead, they were required to integrate flexibility and spontaneity into their performances. Here, the stock materials (such as *falsetas*, chordal sequences, rhythmic patterns and *llamadas*) for each *palo* were drawn upon during the moment of performance.⁴⁴ Notation then feeds into oral practice and is not an end in itself.⁴⁵ In sum, the type of guitarist being ‘produced’ at the conservatoire is that of a well-rounded musician. Graduates are expected to read notation, to interpret, to compose, to improvise and to accompany. They are also expected to work orally.

As a part of the course, students were also expected to perform in public. Teachers like Rafa often organised performances for the students, the students being encouraged to enter the local flamenco scene. I attended every performance I could where the students were present. These events consisted of a mixture of formal concerts and informal performances in

⁴² For a similar case study in the Turkish context see O’Connell, ‘*Alabanda: Brass Bands and Musical Methods in Turkey*’.

⁴³ Memorisation as an integral element of the course is also outlined in the course documentation, p. 5.

⁴⁴ In this sense, flamenco guitarists traditionally operate in a way analogous with the Parry-Lord formula of oral composition. See Lord, *The Singer of Tales*.

⁴⁵ For a similar example in the Turkish context see O’Connell, ‘*Alabanda: Brass Bands and Musical Methods in Turkey*’.

flamenco contexts such as bars or *peñas*. With regards to formal contexts, the most representative concert I attended was a guitar performance (both classical and flamenco) arranged specifically by the conservatoire and supported/staged by Caja Rural.⁴⁶ Students of different ages and levels performed one or two pieces in front of an audience. Both the classical guitar and the flamenco guitar were represented. The students of the flamenco guitar performed some of the set pieces on the course list. In this context, the flamenco guitar was treated like a classical instrument, where students performed fixed works by canonized composers (the ‘Bachs’ and ‘Beethovens’ of the flamenco world). People less familiar with the world of flamenco, may well have had difficulty in telling the classical and the flamenco performances apart.

With reference to informal contexts, students were also introduced to ‘local’ flamenco venues such as bars and *peñas*. On one occasion, I was invited to a performance by some of the students at a small *peña* outside of Granada in the *pueblo*, Huétor Vega. The *peña* had a similar museum-like appearance to the Platería. As the students had not been there before, they spent time before the concert looking at the numerous photographs and posters on display. In conversation with one of the students, he advised me that it is uncommon for young people and students at the conservatoire to go to *peñas*. The event was clearly intended to bring ‘young blood’ into the establishment. The students were invited to attend the evenings for *socios* whenever they liked. The presenter introduced the students as the future of flamenco (and ultimately, the future of the *peñas*). The concert itself consisted of the usual solo and group pieces which they had learnt in class. It also featured some *cante* accompaniment. However, the main reason that Rafa encouraged his students to attend these events was because of the *juergas* that often take place after the main concert. After this particular performance, the students interacted with the *socios* taking it in turns to accompany

⁴⁶ Caja Rural is an Andalusian banking group.

singers. It was a great educational experience, where the *socios* helped the students by pointing out mistakes or by suggesting ways in which the students could improve their accompanying skills.

Institutional Ideology and the Unification of Style

I argue that Rafa's teaching and the transmission of flamenco in the conservatoire, appear to reflect the ideologies underlining the institutional development of flamenco in general. While I do not wish to renounce any agency on the part of the musicians,⁴⁷ it is apparent that institutional ideology does, to a certain extent, determine how flamenco is transmitted in everyday life. Here, I invoke the ethnomusicologist Max Katz (2012) who has examined musical transmission in educational institutions in India. Drawing upon the Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser, Katz argues that music education institutions perpetuate wider social ideological divisions between Hindus and Muslims. Here, 'ideological apparatuses' (such as educational institutions and the media) inculcate in individuals particular ideological positions that exist in society. In a similar fashion, I argue that conservatoires in Andalusia (and the teachings of educators associated with them) perpetuate institutional representations of flamenco in the region. Put simply, flamenco is portrayed as an art music for Andalusia and for humanity. Flamenco serves to unify culturally the Andalusian region and to represent Andalusia internationally. How then did musical transmission in the conservatoire and Rafa's teaching perpetuate such an ideology?

In the handbook for the flamenco guitar course at the conservatoire, the Andalusian Government's vision for flamenco is explicit. The document emphasises the representation of flamenco as a universal yet uniquely Andalusian art form. It states:

⁴⁷ It is important to note that at times Rafa and his students at the conservatoire were critical of institutional support.

We have the good news that in the year 2010 [flamenco] has been named INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF HUMANITY. It has its origins in Andalusia due to very particular, distinct historical and cultural factors. It is a musical shoot, which appears in a very specific area thanks to the legacy of different cultures, which with the passing of the centuries have been influencing and contributing to the precise ingredients for its formation. It is a popular art, closely linked to the tradition of Andalusia and very much in harmony with the nature and character of Andalusians. It is a music that in recent times is reaching grand levels of diffusion and is respected and admired at an international level (Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios 2011: 3).⁴⁸

The flamenco guitar itself appears to be a good vehicle for propagating such an ideology. It is the musical ‘spokesperson’ for Andalusia and the region’s most renowned musical product. Moreover, the guitar is at the forefront of musical innovation within the flamenco tradition. It is often considered on a par with other classical instruments, particularly the classical guitar. The scientific teaching method adopted by Rafa is perhaps indicative of an increase in the prestige of the flamenco guitar. Rafa spent considerable time perfecting technique, interpretation, sound quality and musical knowledge. He wanted to prepare flamenco guitarists to be well-rounded musicians. He wanted them to be versed in music theory, to acquire virtuosic technique and to have a comprehensive knowledge of flamenco *palos*. This vision of a well-rounded flamenco guitarist is at odds with the stereotypical image that situates the flamenco guitarist as musically illiterate, localist and from the ‘street’. Rafa hoped to reconfigure the flamenco guitar as an art instrument suitable

⁴⁸ ‘Tenemos la buena noticia de que en el año 2010 [el flamenco] haya sido nombrado PATRIMONIO CULTURAL INMATERIAL DE LA HUMANIDAD. Tiene su origen en Andalucía debido a distintos factores históricos y culturales muy particulares. Es un brote musical que surge en una zona muy determinada gracias a la herencia de diferentes culturas que con el paso de los siglos van influyendo y aportando los ingredientes precisos para su formación. Es un arte popular, muy ligado a la tradición de Andalucía y muy en consonancia con la naturaleza y carácter propios del andaluz. Es una música que en los últimos tiempos está alcanzando grandes niveles de difusión y está siendo respetada y admirada a un nivel internacional’. Capitalisation in the original.

for the concert stage. This fits with the Andalusian Government's ideology of breaking negative stereotypes associated with flamenco.⁴⁹

The emphasis on music theory and written notation in the conservatoire is also indicative of the establishment of a more positive image for the flamenco guitar. As discussed above, notation in flamenco is not new but its role in the conservatoire is significant. On the one hand, it strengthens the development of the flamenco guitar as an art instrument while maintaining oral practice. In the conservatoire, students were required to become well versed in reading notation. It is now an integral element of both the transmission of and the performance of the flamenco guitar. Yet, students were also expected to continue the oral practices most commonly associated with flamenco guitar (through *falsetas* and accompaniment). On the other hand, the use of notation serves a more direct cultural purpose. Arguably, it assists in the canonisation of mostly Andalusian flamenco artists,⁵⁰ their works being immortalised in a fixed form that is transmitted in practice. Again, these notations are not new. Flamenco guitarists have been learning the set works of renowned artists for some time. However, within the conservatoire they gain greater prestige as representations of Andalusian culture preserved and transmitted in an institutional environment. The students themselves then transmit these musical representations of Andalusian culture beyond the academy. In this sense, the main objective of the conservatoire's course is outlined in the syllabus: 'The total formation of the student in a way that he/she is a worthy representative and at the same time a qualified transmitter of this art' (Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios 2011: 3).⁵¹ In sum, education is a way through which the notion of flamenco as a unified Andalusian tradition is consolidated and naturalised.

⁴⁹ Discussed in Chapter Five.

⁵⁰ One composer on the syllabus is Sabicas who is actually from Pamplona in northern Spain.

⁵¹ 'La formación total del alumno de forma que éste sea un digno representante a la vez que calificado transmisor de este arte'.

What does this all mean for the broader discussion of flamenco guitar style? I argue that the wider unification of guitar style is visible in the conservatoire context. In an interview with Juan Miguel, I asked him about his views on local vis-à-vis regional guitar styles. He believed that there is somewhat of a unified style in flamenco guitar performance. In his words:

Nowadays the flamenco guitar is more unified. Nowadays with the media, the Internet, television, with recordings...nowadays, for me there isn't a flamenco guitar from Jerez. There was one, there was a flamenco guitar from Jerez, there was a flamenco guitar from Morón, there was a *granaína* guitar. Nowadays, if there is, it is disappearing, because it is unifying...it has unified, they have taken the best of each one [...]. It isn't so much about regions [provinces/localities], it is personalities, it is the personality more than the region because you can pick up influence from anywhere with the media, with recordings (interview 4 May, 2012).⁵²

By using the term 'unified', Juan Miguel referred to the overall homogenisation of the flamenco guitar tradition. It is no longer made up of discrete, local genres and styles. Rather, it is made up of an all-encompassing, Andalusian tradition within which guitarists carve out their own 'individual' musical styles. As Juan Miguel stated, this unification may be due to an increase in communication and the ability to share musical materials via electronic media such as the Internet. He believed that the personality of the individual guitarist has also become more prominent. Here, musicians use the wealth of materials at their disposal to forge unique musical identities. The unification of style is also influenced by other factors. As discussed above, fashion and popularity have important roles to play in the wider flamenco

⁵² 'Hoy en día la guitarra flamenca para mí es muy unificada. Hoy en día con los medios, el internet, la televisión, con las grabaciones...hoy en día no hay una guitarra flamenca de Jerez para mí. La ha habido, habido una guitarra flamenca de Jerez, había una guitarra flamenca de Morón, había una guitarra granaína. Hoy en día, si lo hay está desapareciendo, porque está unificando...se ha unificado, han cogido lo mejor de cada uno [...]. No es tan las regiones, es la personalidades, es la personalidad más que la región porque la influencia puedes coger en cualquier sitio con los medios, con los discos'.

repertoire. People rarely perform local *palos*, particularly when these *palos* have associations with folklore. This has meant that fewer *palos* are more frequently performed. It is also important to bear in mind that the flamenco guitar tradition itself is more unified in the distribution of its *palos*. Rafa reminded me that guitarists only have around thirty *palos* to learn. Singers on the other hand, have hundreds of melodies that characterise each *palo*. Once a guitarist has mastered a stock number of *palos* (along with their *falsetas*/chordal sequences), he/she can use them to accompany any melody related to a specific *palo*. In the *cante*, however, song melodies are normally associated with particular localities. Arguably, then, notions of localism are more likely to be found in song performance, whereas the guitar is characterised by a certain unification of repertoire and of style.

My experiences in Granada also seemed to echo this idea of a unified guitar style. As mentioned above, Rafa himself discounted the idea of a local guitar style even though he may have wished for one. He also believed that each guitarist forms his or her style according to a personal vision rather than according to a local affiliation. Similarly, Juan Miguel argued that guitarists adopt a style that is more rhythmic, more ‘classical’ or more modern, rather than one that is more local (interview 4 May, 2012). The transmission of the flamenco guitar in conservatoires also reproduces this idea. Each student is treated as an autonomous individual, given space to develop his or her own style and allowed to draw upon the materials, the techniques, the *falsetas* and the *palos* of a unified flamenco tradition. Here, the tradition is almost ‘democratic’ in the way in which people share musical knowledge. Any one student may draw upon the *falsetas* and the interpretations of *palos* of several guitarists to create his or her own rendition of a particular *palo*.⁵³ The use of notation, too, contributes to the idea of a unified guitar style. Through it, the peculiarities of so-called local schools are absent.

Instead, guitarists use notation to perform the works of famous guitarists using a common

⁵³ It is important to mention the personal style of one student in the conservatoire. His style is guided by the Habichuela school of guitar playing associated with Granada. In this sense, he is very much influenced by ‘local’ guitar playing, even though he does not perceive it in this way.

body of technique. At the root of this individuality and at the root of this unified guitar style, is Andalusia. I am forced to present the following question: is it possible to call the unification of guitar style, the ‘regionalisation’ of guitar style? While I acknowledge the national and international reach of flamenco, the musical materials are ultimately derived from Andalusia. Moreover, the majority of artists are Andalusian. As a supposedly unified tradition then, the flamenco guitar upholds notions of Andalusian-ness and the unification of Andalusian culture. Arguably, the flamenco guitar tradition is homogenised in the image of a homogenised Andalusian culture.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have explored my lessons and interactions with two very different guitarists in Granada. Here, I have been able to gain an insight into two distinct approaches to teaching, performing and conceptualising the flamenco guitar tradition. On the surface, it may appear that these two guitarists represent a common polarity between tradition and innovation. However, I argue that geographical factors are also at play in their distinct styles and musical worldviews. By comparing these two guitarists, I have revealed the interplay between regionalism and localism at the level of musical style. On the one hand, Melchor represents the localisation of style in the flamenco community of Granada. He belongs to a lineage of flamenco performers in the city, most notably Marote. Our lessons focused almost exclusively on so-called local *falsetas* and techniques, transmitted in an oral manner. On the other hand, I contend that Rafa and the conservatoire represent the regionalisation of flamenco style. My lessons with Rafa focused on technique, sound, accompaniment and repertoire. I noted Rafa’s ‘scientific’ approach to teaching the flamenco guitar. He was intent on developing well-rounded guitarists who have a command of all the necessary techniques, *palos* and practices of the flamenco tradition. He also wanted his students to be proficient

musicians with a sound knowledge of notation, theory, improvisation and transmission. My lessons with Rafa and my experience in the conservatoire revealed the ‘classicism’ of the flamenco guitar.

At first glance, these two guitarists share many similarities. They both play the same *palos*; they both use similar techniques; they both accompany; and they both play solo. In truth, they are both Andalusian flamenco guitarists who belong to a regional tradition. However, when considering the interplay between a regional and a local reading of the flamenco guitar, the differences between these two guitarists begin to emerge. Their experiences and trainings are geographically disjunct. Melchor learnt the guitar almost exclusively in Granada from local musicians. Rafa, on the other hand trained in various contexts across Andalusia. The *falseta* is also an interesting point of difference between these two guitarists. Melchor tended to draw upon *falsetas* from his local community. Moreover, the *falsetas* employed by Melchor were characterised by the frequent use of the *abanico*, the technique itself being a symbol of a local musical identity. Rafa on the other hand, encouraged his students to draw upon a range of *falsetas* from many guitarists across Andalusia and beyond, combining and altering them to create an individual style that is part of a wider regional tradition.

The discourses about performance practices also distinguished these guitarists. Where the musical practices tended to be similar, musical discourses tended to be different. Whether a local guitar style exists is, in a sense, not important. What is important is that people say it exists – it thus becomes a conduit for expressing musical identity at a local level. Local styles such as those transmitted by Melchor are representative of a particular locality. They hark back to a golden age of flamenco. In doing so, they reference local history, local heritage and local lineages. They also reference the contributions of Granada’s artists to the flamenco world as a whole. In part, I argue that this musical localism is a result of the supposed

marginalisation of Granada. Here, my informants sought to validate the flamenco heritage of Granada and to reference unique elements that can only be found in the city. As such, the regionalisation of flamenco may in fact exacerbate the presence of localisms that are manifested in musical style and musical discourse. However, musical localism may be at odds with the wider unification of flamenco style. As I have shown in this chapter, the unification of style can perhaps be understood as the ‘regionalisation’ of style. I have argued that the classicisation of the guitar, individual autonomy and musical ‘democracy’ reinforce an institutional ideology. Even in the domain of style, flamenco is constructed as an Andalusian tradition, for a single and a unified region. Local readings of style, then, struggle to find space within this tradition as the regionalisation of flamenco is consolidated and intensified in the public domain.

Conclusions

This thesis has concerned the ways in which flamenco is used to strengthen regionalism in Andalusia both at an institutional level and at a personal level. However, it has also provided an opportunity to problematise fixed notions of regional identity. As such, flamenco is a useful tool for offering alternative readings of regionalism in Andalusia. I have drawn upon political geography when examining the relationship between flamenco and Andalusian identity, arguing for the relevance of political geography for ethnomusicological enquiry in general. By extension, my virtual ethnography and my field research in Granada have enabled me to interrogate regionalism in Andalusia by examining responses to the development of flamenco at an institutional level. In the first part of the thesis, I presented a theoretical, a historical and an institutional reading of the relationship between flamenco and regionalism. In the second part of the thesis, I examined how the regionalisation of flamenco is being received by Andalusians, especially within the context of a local flamenco community.

With this study, I argue that I have contributed both to ethnomusicological research and to flamenco scholarship in four key ways. First, this thesis adds to the limited ethnomusicological literature regarding regionalism and music, particularly within the context of Europe. Second, it explores the relevance of political geography for ethnomusicological research within the context of regionalism. Third, it reveals the fragmented nature of regionalism and identity politics in Andalusia as they relate to flamenco. Finally, it offers a local reading of flamenco, expanding upon the limited body of flamenco literature that adopts an ethnomusicological approach.

Regionalism and Political Geography

When considering the relationship between music and place-based identities, ethnomusicologists have often looked to the nation state as the primary focus of analysis. While some scholars have considered regionalism and music, much of this research has been conducted outside of Europe. As such, I have contributed to an understanding of the relationship between music and regionalism within Europe. As more regions vie for power and autonomy, the question of regional identity has become more prominent. Indeed, the European Union (henceforth referred to as the EU) itself has moved towards a greater integration of autonomous regions into its framework. Here, marginalised and/or economically deprived regions such as Andalusia feature prominently in the development strategies of the EU. As a result, sub-national regions look both inwards to consolidate regional identity and outwards to gain greater recognition in the European (and international) scene. In Andalusia, I argue that flamenco is implicated in the consolidation of regional identity, both inwards and outwards. In the twenty-first century, the question of regional identity in Spain has become especially significant. In this country, numerous regions have sought greater autonomy and/or symbolic recognition. While flamenco has, in the past, been constructed as a Spanish musical tradition (and to a certain extent still is), its relevance for Andalusian identity has moved to the foreground.

Political geography has been useful in understanding the ways in which identity politics operate in autonomous regions. Accordingly, I have invoked this theoretical discipline when examining the relationship between flamenco and regional identity. In political geography, the creation and the contestation of autonomous territories within nation states (that is, regions) are key concerns. In this thesis, I have drawn upon three political geographers in particular, namely Frans Schrijver, Anssi Paasi and Kees Terlouw. All these scholars have considered the ways in which regional institutions ‘construct’ regions as

territories (that is, the regionalisation/institutionalisation of regions) in an attempt to inculcate a sense of identity (that is, regionalism) amongst the citizens of a region. I have argued that the theoretical tools of political geography are useful for ethnomusicologists when considering the role that music plays in regionalism. These tools help ethnomusicologists to move beyond models associated with nationalism. In doing so, they refine an understanding of regional identity both at an institutional level and at the level of day-to-day experience. This understanding has helped me to examine the role of flamenco as a vehicle for the institutional validation of regional identity (that is, regionalisation) and as an actual form of identification for Andalusians (that is, regionalism).

In terms of institutional support, flamenco is involved in the process of regionalisation in Andalusia. In recent years, the Andalusian Government has embarked on an ambitious programme dedicated to developing flamenco both within and outside of Andalusia. In Chapter Five, I considered in detail the governmental support for the consolidation of flamenco as a symbol of Andalusian identity today. In building upon Washabaugh's (2012) recent work, I drew upon two recent declarations that have influenced the regionalisation of flamenco: its inclusion in the Statute of Autonomy (2007) and its recognition as an Intangible Cultural Heritage (henceforth referred to as ICH) by UNESCO (2010). Through the interventions of numerous governmental departments (such as culture, education and tourism), these declarations have strengthened and will continue to strength the role of flamenco in 'symbolically shaping' Andalusian identity (Paasi 2009). Importantly, however, the regionalisation of flamenco cannot be understood purely at a regional level. As the ICH declaration has shown, flamenco is also constructed as a universal phenomenon. Its development, then, also reflects the desire of the Andalusian Government for greater recognition on the world stage. In particular, flamenco is involved in a regional quest for

greater integration in the EU. While flamenco is constructed as a marker of regional identity, it is also packaged as a universal art form, 'given' to humanity by Andalusians.

Contested Regionalism

Seen from the ethnographic perspective, I have shown that the relationship between regionalism and music is problematic. In the literature concerning music and identity, scholars frequently demonstrate how fixed or 'official' musical identities are contested, particularly in the national context. Here, I have shown that this issue is no different when considering regionalism. In flamenco scholarship, Andalusian identity is often treated as a fixed concept, with flamenco being employed as a marker of the region. While I do not deny the use of flamenco for the self-identification of Andalusians, I do problematise a fixed correlation between flamenco and regional identity. Despite governmental efforts in the development of flamenco, I have shown that regionalism (at least when considering music) does not always align with regionalisation.

This idea was most explicitly demonstrated in my examination of the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental (henceforth referred to as the PAO) in Chapter Six. Drawing upon an extensive period of virtual ethnography, I examined how members of the movement received the development of flamenco at an institutional level. Members of the PAO dispute the notion of a single Andalusia, arguing that there should be two autonomous Andalusian regions (East and West). Here, flamenco is viewed both as a subject of differentiation from the 'official' Andalusia and a form of identification with an east-Andalusian 'imagined community'. In the former, members argue that flamenco is a symbol of cultural homogenisation. They believe that the development of flamenco is an example of the 'quasi-nationalist' attempt by the regional government to unify Andalusian culture according to an 'official' model of identity. In the latter, some members identify with an alternative conception of flamenco, one that is

more ‘east Andalusian’. Here, they argue that flamenco is homogenised following a west-Andalusian and specifically a Sevillian precedence.

At the heart of both of these discourses is the marginalisation of East Andalusia. Here, I have applied the centre-periphery model to understand these discourses in the context of flamenco. This model (sometimes used in political geography) usually applies to the nation state. In this context, sub-national regions occupy a peripheral position in terms of power and resources, thus engendering the sorts of regionalist responses that may instigate regionalisation in the first place. I argue that the model can also be understood at a regional level, the ‘centre’ now being transformed into a regional centre of power. With respect to flamenco, I argue that Seville can be viewed as the centre of power in terms of the resources for flamenco and the development of flamenco. As such, I have revealed inequalities in and issues with the regionalisation of flamenco. Supposedly, this process of regionalisation favours west-Andalusian and most notably Sevillian artists and communities, marginalising East Andalusia (and flamenco ‘hotspots’ such as Granada). As part of this process, I explored narratives concerning marginalisation and favouritism (see Chapter Seven), as musicians compete for resources in an industry monopolised by the public sector.

Localism

These narratives of marginalisation are problematic. It is almost impossible to verify whether such marginalisation exists, and impossible to assess its impact on the production and the consumption of flamenco. Nonetheless, I have argued that localism often lies at the root of these narratives. While localised studies of music in specific communities are nothing new in ethnomusicology, they are underdeveloped in flamenco scholarship. While this thesis makes contributions to ethnomusicology on a ‘macro’ scale (that is, in terms of regionalism and political geography), it also contributes to the flamenco literature on a ‘micro’ scale by

offering an ethnography of a flamenco community. My research has revealed that localisms are still common in Andalusian socio-cultural life, sometimes being present in flamenco communities. Many of the discourses regarding marginalisation from and centralisation on Seville may stem from the persistence of localism in the flamenco community of Granada. Accordingly, I have viewed localism as an important factor when considering music and regionalism.

Further, I explored localism vis-à-vis regionalism in an analysis of the contexts, the discourses and the styles of flamenco in Chapters Eight and Nine. I examined two case studies in Granada (the Platería and the *zambra*), exploring the ways in which localism and regionalism are invoked in these local contexts. In addition, I showed how the flamenco community in Granada is trying to establish its own ‘voice’ amidst a highly centralised (and arguably ‘marginalising’) culture industry. Musical localism is particularly prominent in the *zambra*. Through a discussion of this context and genre, I suggested that the regionalisation process and safeguarding measures (such as UNESCO) may not serve the interests of local communities. Indeed, the development of flamenco by the Andalusian Government arguably homogenises the tradition, thus bypassing the local diversity of flamenco. In part, localism is a reaction to this process and stems from fears of a flamenco ‘grey out’ in Andalusia. However, flamenco localism is also a result of oral systems of local transmission, historical local identities and the relative weakness of Andalusian identity (or *andalucismo*) in the region.

Finally, I believe that flamenco guitar style also reflects the dichotomy between localism and regionalism. While dualisms in musical style are problematic, I have explored the possibility that different spatialities may result in different guitar styles. By drawing upon my lessons with Rafael Hoces Ortega and Melchor Córdoba Santiago, I have argued that flamenco guitar style has in a sense become ‘regionalised’. Here, numerous factors are

involved in the unification of flamenco guitar style including: education, institutionalisation, fashion and globalisation. Moreover, this unification of the guitar tradition arguably fits in with the Andalusian Government's vision for a universal flamenco that references a unified regional culture. However, narratives regarding a local guitar style in Granada are still evident even if the local styles are hard to find. Certain musicians (such as Melchor) are representative of local guitar schools, often being upheld by musicians and aficionados as guardians of local flamenco heritage. Moreover, such individuals reference the contributions of the flamenco community in Granada to the wider flamenco scene in Andalusia. In a city such as Granada, where discourses about marginalisation are common, this exaltation of the local is particularly prominent and powerful.

Future Research

This thesis has opened up a number of important avenues for further research. Generally speaking, the study of flamenco is underdeveloped in ethnomusicology. However, there are certain areas that would follow on neatly from this research. In terms of the institutional development (or the regionalisation) of flamenco, there is still much work to be done. In particular, it would be interesting to examine more closely supra-national influences upon the development of flamenco. A closer examination of the role of EU policy in shaping the development of flamenco both within Andalusia and Europe would be most welcome. Furthermore, a follow-up study examining the impact and the reception of the ICH declaration by UNESCO is pertinent. Such a study would add to the ethnomusicological literature concerning heritage and music. At an ethnographic level, there are a number of areas that could be investigated. In particular, a study of flamenco 'at the borders' would be interesting. For example, an examination of the role of flamenco in identity politics across the borders of Andalusia and Murcia would be beneficial. In Granada itself, I foresee two

important studies. First, a more detailed study of the flamenco guitar tradition in Granada is needed in English, building upon my work concerning local guitar style. Second, an historical ethnography of the Sacromonte community examining notions of heritage and nostalgia would be most welcome.

In sum, I argue that this thesis represents a step forward in flamenco scholarship. Existing research is frequently informed by a fixed understanding of flamenco. I contend that there is a need to understand how flamenco operates at a local level. Flamenco should not be conceptualised according to fixed identity categories (that is, as a symbol of Andalusian, *gitano* or Spanish identity). Buried beneath the surface are a range of discourses regarding disputed identity, political dominance, centre-periphery tensions and localisms. Ultimately, identity is a fragile concept. Music as a polyvalent phenomenon is excellent for unravelling the sorts of contested identities that exist in a region like Andalusia. However, I do recognise that the institutional efforts towards the development of flamenco have resulted in positive changes, raising the regional and the international profile of the tradition. Nonetheless, the Andalusian Government should take care. Consolidating flamenco as a symbol of cultural identity is problematic. On the one hand, it exacerbates tensions in Spain as other regions make their claim to flamenco. In a sense, then, the Andalusian Government denies the cultural plurality of Spain by claiming regional exclusivity. On the other hand, by unifying the region through flamenco, governmental intervention may stifle the local musical diversity that makes up the flamenco tradition. Accordingly, I think that flamenco is an important ethnomusicological case study when considering the complex relationship between music, regionalism and identity in Europe.

Appendix A: Glossary of Spanish Terms

Abanico (Eng: fan): a *rasgueado* technique allegedly created by the *granadino* guitarist Juan Maya Marote.

Aflamencar: to ‘flamencoise’ something (that is, to perform in a flamenco style).

Agencia Andaluza para el Desarrollo del Flamenco (Eng: The Andalusian Agency for the Development of Flamenco): this agency opened in 2005 as part of the Andalusian Culture Department and later became known as the Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco (Eng: Andalusian Institute of Flamenco).

Al-Andalus: the Arabic term used to refer to the Islamic occupancy of the Iberian Peninsula beginning in 711AD.

Albaicín: an old *barrio* in Granada in which the Peña la Platería is located.

Alboreá: a dance belonging to the *zambra gitana*. It is also performed for *gitano* weddings across Andalusia.

Alegrías: a festive and energetic *palo* that is based on a twelve-beat cycle and is in a major tonality.

Alhambra: an iconic building in Granada built during the Islamic occupancy of Granada.

Alpujarras: a mountain range that spans the provinces of Almería and Granada.

Alta Andalucía (Eng: Upper Andalusia): this term refers to the eastern provinces of Andalusia.

Alzapúa: a flamenco guitar technique in which the right-hand thumb is used like a plectrum to create rapid up and down strokes. This technique characterises the playing style of Melchor Córdoba Santiago and Juan Maya Marote before him.

Amiguismo: this term is used to refer to favouritism, particularly in reference to the employment of artists in the public flamenco industry.

Andalucía Oriental (Eng: East Andalusia): normally refers to the three provinces of Almería, Granada and Jaén.

Andalucía se mueve con Europa (Eng: Andalusia Moving Forward with Europe): a promotional campaign designed to elevate the position of Andalusia within the European Union.

Andalucismo: a term used to refer to Andalusian regionalism.

Andalucista: a term used to refer to people (or things) that promote Andalusian regionalism (Sp: *andalucismo*) at times in an overt way.

Antiflamenquismo: a movement from the late-nineteenth century that was against flamenco and other popular Spanish stereotypes.

Antiflamenquista: a person who was part of the *antiflamenquismo* movement.

Apoyando (Eng: resting): a right-hand guitar technique, where the finger striking the string comes to rest on the string above it (with regards to the index, middle and ring fingers) or below it (with regards to the thumb). In English, it is often referred to as the ‘rest stroke’.

Asociación de Artistas Flamencos (Eng: Association of Flamenco Artists): an association protecting the rights of flamenco artists.

Asociación de Coros y Danzas de Granada (Eng: Association of Choirs and Dances of Granada): a group concerned with safeguarding the folk music traditions of Granada (both within the city and the province).

Ayudado (Eng: helping): a right-hand guitar technique in which the thumb is used to play a melodic sequence in the bass, followed by the index finger playing an up stroke on a treble string.

Ayuntamiento (Eng: town council)

Ayuntamiento de Granada (Eng: Town Council of Granada)

Baile (Eng: dance)

Baja Andalucía (Eng: Lower Andalusia): this term refers to the western provinces of Andalusia.

Ballet Flamenco de Andalucía (Eng: Andalusian Flamenco Ballet): a performance company funded and managed by the Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco that stages large-scale productions across Andalusia and internationally.

Bandurria: a mandolin-type instrument that was commonly used in the *zambra*. It is still used in various folk music traditions across Andalusia, but has lost popularity in flamenco.

Barrio (Eng: neighbourhood)

Bien de Interés Cultural (Eng: Cultural Heritage of Interest): this is a category of the Spanish heritage register. Each autonomous region is able to declare its own cultural elements as Bien de Interés Cultural.

Bolero: a folk song/dance style that was popular across Spain during the nineteenth century.

Bulerías: this is a festive and lively *palo* that originates in Jerez. It is one of the most popular and widely-performed *palos* in flamenco.

Cachucha: a dance belonging to the *zambra gitana* and which can also be found across Andalusia.

Cafés cantantes (Eng: singing cafes): venues for flamenco performance that became popular from the middle of the nineteenth century.

Cajón: a box-shaped percussion instrument frequently used in modern flamenco.

Canal flamenco radio (Eng: Flamenco Radio Channel): a 24-hour online radio programme devoted to flamenco. It first aired in September 2008 and belongs to Andalusia's public broadcasting network.

Canal Sur: Andalusia's most well-known public television and radio network.

Cantaor(a): the word used for a flamenco singer.

Cante (Eng: song): the word used for flamenco singing or a singing style. It is also sometimes used in place of *palo*.

Cante andaluz (Eng: Andalusian song)

Cantes básicos (Eng: basic songs): this term is used to refer to a large group of popular *palos* that are frequently performed in flamenco, many of which originated in West Andalusia (particularly the *triángulo de oro*).

Cantes de las minas (Eng: songs of the mines): a term used to refer to a group of *palos* that originated amongst miners in East Andalusia and Murcia. This group of *palos* is sometimes referred to as *cantes levánticos*.

Cante flamenco (Eng: flamenco song)

Cante gitano (Eng: gypsy song)

Cante jondo (Eng: deep song): this term is used to refer to a group of *palos* that are usually tragic and profound in musical style and lyrical content. The translation ‘deep song’ is often given in English. However, for many Andalusians the word ‘jondo’ does not correlate to ‘deep’. As such, the term *cante jondo* could be viewed purely as a genre of flamenco with no direct translation.

Catálogo General del Patrimonio Histórico Andaluz (Eng: General Catalogue of Andalusian Historical Heritage): this is Andalusia’s own heritage catalogue in which both tangible and intangible elements are included.

Centro Andaluz de Flamenco (Eng: Andalusian Centre of Flamenco): created in 1993, this is the main research centre for flamenco located in Jerez de la Frontera.

Cierre (Eng: closing): this is a melodic motif performed by the guitarist at the end of a *compás* cycle.

Circuito de Ocho Provincias (Eng: Circuit of Eight Provinces): a performance cycle organised by the Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco involving recitals in many *peñas* across Andalusia.

Compás (Eng: rhythm/beat): this is a rhythmic cycle which provides the backbone for all flamenco *palos*. It consists of various accents and rhythmic sequences. The melodic and harmonic structure of a *palo* is also closely tied to its *compás*.

Comunidades autónomas (Eng: autonomous communities): this is the term used to refer to the seventeen autonomous regions in Spain.

Concurso del Cante Jondo (Eng: Competition of Deep Song): a famous flamenco competition held in Granada in 1922 organised by prominent intellectuals of the time such as Manuel de Falla and Federico García Lorca.

Confederación de Peñas Flamencas de Andalucía (Eng: Confederation of Andalusian Flamenco Clubs): this is a non-governmental organisation that represents *peñas* across Andalusia.

Consejería de Cultura (Eng: Culture Department): this department of the Junta de Andalucía is now known as the Consejería de Cultura y Deporte (Eng: Department of Culture and Sport).

Consejo Nacional de Patrimonio (Eng: National Heritage Council)

Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios (Eng: Professional Conservatoire of Music Ángel Barrios): a music conservatoire located in Granada where the flamenco guitar is included as a specialism up to a professional level.

Conservatorio Superior de Música de Córdoba (Eng: Superior Conservatoire of Music of Córdoba): a music conservatoire located in Córdoba where the flamenco guitar is included as a specialism up to a superior level.

Constitución Federal de España (Eng: Federal Constitution of Spain): this constitution was written in 1873 and outlined the decentralisation of the nation state.

Copla: the verse or strophes of a flamenco song.

Cuadro flamenco: a performance style of flamenco that consists of song, dance and guitar. It is often associated with tourism and larger performances.

Día de Andalucía (Eng: Day of Andalusia): this regional holiday held annually on 28 February commemorates the referendum for Andalusian autonomy held in 1980.

Día del Flamenco (Eng: Flamenco Day): the name now given to 16 November, the date marking the recognition of flamenco as an ICH by UNESCO.

Diario de Sevilla (Eng: Newspaper of Seville): a popular Sevillian newspaper.

Diputación (Eng: provincial council)

Diputación de Granada (Eng: Provincial Council of Granada)

Duende: literally translates as ‘imp’ or ‘goblin’. In flamenco it refers to a traditional aesthetic ideal in which there is an intense communication of emotion between performers and audience.

Entre dos barrios (Eng: Between Two Neighbourhoods): this is a flamenco educational guide for children that accompanies an educational visit to the Centro Andaluz de Flamenco.

Escobilla: a dance section that involves rapid footwork and is employed in various *palos*.

Estatuto de Autonomía para Andalucía (Eng: The Statute of Autonomy for Andalusia)

Estilo (Eng: style)

Falseta: a melodic sequence or interlude (in the case of accompanying a singer) performed by the guitarist. It is structured around the *compás* of the *palo* being performed.

Fandango: the name used for both a type of flamenco *palo* and a folk song/dance popular across Andalusia, particularly East Andalusia.

Festival Internacional del Cante de las Minas (Eng: International Festival of the Song of the Mines): perhaps one of the most renowned flamenco festivals in the world, held in La Unión in Murcia.

Flamencología: this is the Spanish term used to refer to flamenco studies.

Flamenquito/flamenkito: a term used to refer to a fusion genre that mixes flamenco with popular music genres. The term has negative connotations such as ‘tacky-ness’.

El flamenco ¿algo nuestro? (Eng: Flamenco, something of ours?): a forum on the website for the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental.

Flamenco es un Derecho (Eng: Flamenco is a Right): a movement that attempts to bring more attention to inequalities in the development of flamenco, particularly the decline of festivals and *peñas*.

Flamenco nuevo (Eng: new flamenco): refers to modern flamenco (since the 1970s). In this genre, flamenco is normally fused with other musical traditions such as jazz and popular music.

Flamenco oriental (Eng: eastern flamenco): a term used by a couple of my informants to refer to a unique type of east-Andalusian flamenco.

Flamenco Soy (Eng: I am Flamenco): a publicity campaign that raised awareness and support for the nomination of flamenco as an ICH.

Flamenco viene del Sur (Eng: Flamenco Comes from the South): an annual festival funded by the regional government that brings high-quality flamenco to large theatres in each of the eight provinces of Andalusia.

Generación de 98 (Eng: Generation of 98): a group of intellectuals and writers at the end of the nineteenth century.

Gitano(a) (Eng: gypsy): this is the Spanish term for gypsy, an ethnic group that has been crucial to the evolution of flamenco.

Gitano-andaluz (Eng: gypsy-Andalusian)

Golpe: this is a guitar technique involving a strike to the body of the guitar using the right-hand ring finger.

Graná: a shorthand way of saying Granada.

Granadanismo: a term sometimes used to refer to localism in Granada.

Granadino(a): an adjective of belonging to Granada (such as the *granadino* community). A person can also be a *granadino(a)* (that is, a person from Granada).

Granaína/media granaína: two unmetered flamenco *palos* unique to Granada.

Granada Hoy (Eng: Granada Today): a popular newspaper in the province of Granada.

Guadalquivir: this refers to the river that begins in Jaén and flows into the gulf of Cádiz.

Guitarrero (Eng: guitar maker/luthier)

Hecho diferencial (Eng: distinctiveness or distinguishing fact): a term used in Spanish statutes of autonomy to refer to cultural elements that distinguish a particular region from the rest of Spain.

Hoy (Eng: Today): a regional newspaper in Extremadura.

Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco (Eng: Andalusian Institute of Flamenco): a department of the Andalusian Department of Culture and Sport specifically designed for the development of flamenco within Andalusia and beyond. Previously known as the Agencia Andaluza para el Desarrollo del Flamenco.

Instituto Cervantes (Eng: Cervantes Institute): a Spanish non-governmental organisation that deals with the promotion of Spanish culture and language internationally.

Jaleo: literally translates as ‘cheering’. This refers to the shouts of encouragement (such as *olé*) created by the audience to enhance the ambience of a flamenco concert.

Jota: a folk song/dance form that most likely evolved in Aragon but is now widespread across Spain.

Juerga: this is a private flamenco gathering, associated with song and traditional performance practice.

Jueves flamencos (Eng: Flamenco Thursdays): a weekly performance event at the Platería.

Junta de Andalucía: the Andalusian Government.

La Nueva Alboréa (Eng: The New Dawn): a flamenco magazine published by the Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco detailing all of its activities regarding the development of flamenco.

Ley de Educación de Andalucía (Eng: Education Law of Andalusia)

Ley de Patrimonio Histórico de Andalucía (Eng: Law of Andalusian Historical Heritage): this law concerns cultural heritage in Andalusia. It was created in 1991 and revised in 2007.

Libro blanco del flamenco (Eng: White Book of Flamenco): this publication by the regional government appeared soon after the declaration of flamenco as an Intangible Cultural Heritage. It outlines developmental strategies for the future and provides an assessment of the current state of the flamenco industry.

Llamada (Eng: call): this is where the guitarist explicitly states the *compás* so that the singer can enter.

Mairenismo: a discourse that arose during the 1950s and 60s particularly from the work of the *gitano* singer and writer Antonio Mairena. In his writings, Mairena linked flamenco ‘authenticity’ to *gitano* identity.

Malagueña: a flamenco *palo* that is unmetered. This also refers to a folk song/dance style.

Ministerio de Cultura (Eng: Ministry of Culture)

Morisco: a term used to refer to Muslims who were converted to Christianity following the fall of Granada in 1492.

Mosca: a dance belonging to the *zambra gitana*.

Música popular de nuestra región (Eng: Popular Music of Our Region): a forum on the website for the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental.

Nacionalflamenquismo: this term is normally used to refer to the Franco regime's use of flamenco for tourism and for the portrayal of a unified Spanish national identity.

Opera flamenca (Eng: flamenco opera): this was a branch of the flamenco tradition that emerged in 1920s, consisting of extravagant flamenco spectacles that often included instrumental ensembles and operatic vocals.

Palmas: the term used for clapping the *compás* in flamenco.

Palo: this term is used to refer to a musical form in flamenco. For example, the *bulerías* is a *palo* that has a particular *compás*, harmonic and melodic vocabulary.

Partido Popular (Eng: Popular Party): a Spanish centre-right conservative party.

Partido Regionalista por Andalucía Oriental (Eng: Regionalist Party for East Andalusia): a political party that seeks autonomy for the eastern provinces of Almería, Granada and Jaén.

Partido Socialista Andaluza (Eng: Andalusian Socialist Party)

Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Eng: Spanish Socialist Workers' Party)

Patrimonio Histórico Español (Eng: Spanish Historical Heritage): this is the name given to Spain's national heritage register.

Payo: the word used to describe a non-*gitano*.

Peña flamenca (Eng: flamenco club): this is a private flamenco bar or club, which normally is a context for the performance of traditional flamenco.

Peña la Platería: a *peña* situated in the Albaicín in Granada. It is the oldest *peña flamenca* in the world, having opened in 1949.

Picado: this is a right-hand technique, which involves playing single note passages with alternating index and middle finger *apoyando* strokes. In contemporary flamenco, this technique has been developed to astonishing speeds.

Plan Estratégico para la Cultura en Andalucía (Eng: Strategic Plan for Culture in Andalusia): this is a document published by the Andalusian Government detailing strategies for cultural development within the region (including for flamenco) between 2007 and 2011.

Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental (Eng: Platform for East Andalusia): a regionalist group that seeks autonomy for the eastern provinces of Almería, Granada and Jaén.

Platero: the term used to refer to a member of the Platería.

Proyecto de Constitución Federalista de Andalucía (Eng: Draft Federalist Constitution of Andalusia): this was written in 1883 and was the first proposed constitution if Andalusia were to be autonomous.

Proyecto de orden por la que se establecen medidas para la inclusión del flamenco en el sistema educativo andaluz (Eng: Draft Agenda for Establishing Measures for the Inclusion of Flamenco in the Andalusian Education System): a document produced by the Andalusian Government detailing proposed strategies for the official inclusion of flamenco in the educational system in Andalusia.

Pueblo (Eng: small town/village): the word can also refer to a people (for example, ‘el pueblo andaluz’ – the Andalusian people).

Radio y Televisión de Andalucía (Eng: Radio and Television of Andalusia): this is Andalusia’s public broadcasting network.

Rasgueado: this is a right-hand strumming technique, which follows pre-determined and practised patterns. The sound is often very percussive. The word comes from the Spanish verb *rasguear* which means ‘to strum’.

Rito y geografía del cante flamenco (Eng: Ritual and Geography of Flamenco Song): this is a series of documentaries filmed during the early 1970s that depicted flamenco in its various forms.

Sacromontana: something done in a Sacromonte style or something belonging to Sacromonte. In this thesis the word refers to a style of guitar playing associated with the *barrio*.

Sacromonte: a neighbourhood in Granada normally associated with *gitanos* and flamenco. It is one of the ‘hot spots’ of the flamenco community in Granada, being home to numerous performance caves and venues (particularly for the tourism industry).

Señorito: a term used to refer to a landowner and/or member of the higher class. This term is used in the flamenco context to refer to the higher-class flamenco aficionados of the past who often provided patronage for flamenco performances up until the mid-twentieth century.

Seguidillas: a folk dance associated with Castile but also popular across Andalusia.

Seguiriya: this is possibly the most respected twelve-beat *palo* in the *cante jondo* genre and is capable of transmitting very tragic emotion.

Sevillanas: a popular flamenco dance inspired by folk dance. Some people would not include this *palo* in the flamenco canon even though it has become one of the most well-known *palos* associated with flamenco.

Sevillanismo: refers to a dominant Sevillian aesthetic that allegedly permeates a lot of Andalusian popular culture.

Silencio: a dance section that is normally slower, placing emphasis on the dancer’s arm and hand movements. It is often accompanied by a shift to a minor tonality in *palos* such as *alegrías* where a major tonality dominates.

Socio (Eng: member): in this thesis the term *socio* refers to a member of a *peña*.

El sol, la sal, el son (Eng: The Sun, the Salt, the Sound): a flamenco television programme that first aired on 15 November 2010 prior to the declaration of flamenco as an Intangible Cultural Heritage on 16 November.

Soleá: a flamenco *palo* based on a twelve-beat cycle and with a modal harmony. This is often referred to as the ‘mother’ of flamenco and is part of the *cante jondo* genre.

Tablao: this refers to a flamenco performance venue normally associated with tourism. It also refers to a wooden board used for flamenco dancing.

Taifas: this term refers to small, autonomous kingdoms that existed during the Islamic occupancy of the Iberian Peninsula, following the collapse of Al-Andalus as a unified territory.

Tangos: a flamenco *palo* in 4/4 time, usually modal.

Tangos de Granada: *tangos* that are associated with or come from Granada.

Tanguillo(s): a folk song/dance style and a flamenco *palo*.

Taranta: an unmetered *palo* that belongs to the *cantes de las minas* genre.

Tirando (Eng: pulling): this is a right-hand technique, where the finger plucks the string but does not rest on the next string. It is often referred to as the ‘free stroke’.

Toque: a term used to indicate the flamenco guitar tradition. In addition, different *palos* are often referred to as *toques* when performed on the guitar.

Tonás: a *palo* that is usually unaccompanied. It is believed to be one of the first to have appeared, providing the basis for much of the *cante jondo* genre.

Triana: a flamenco *barrio* located in Seville.

Triángulo de oro (Eng: golden triangle): this term refers to the three major hotspots of Andalusian flamenco, namely Cádiz, Jerez de la Frontera and Seville.

Trovo: a folk song/dance tradition that is unique to East Andalusia and Murcia, but particularly the Alpujarras mountains.

El trovo se mantiene vivo (Eng: The *Trovo* is Still Alive): a forum on the website for the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental devoted to the *trovo*.

Verdiales: a folk song/dance from Málaga that is sometimes included into the flamenco canon.

Zambra: a cave performance context found in Sacromonte.

Zambra gitana: a genre of flamenco that was (and to a certain extent still is) performed in the caves of Sacromonte. It is an adaptation of a *gitano* wedding ritual.

Zambra de María ‘la Canastera’: a performance context in Sacromonte in which variations of the *zambra gitana* are still performed.

Zambra morisca: a term used to refer to a music/dance tradition performed by *moriscos* in Granada following the fall of the Alhambra palace in 1492. It is believed that this formed the basis for the *zambra gitana*.

Appendix B: Abbreviations

AA DF: Agencia Andaluza para el Desarrollo del Flamenco (Eng: Andalusian Agency for the Development of Flamenco)

BIC: Bien de Interés Cultural (Eng: Heritage of Cultural Interest)

CAF: Centro Andaluz de Flamenco (Eng: Andalusian Centre of Flamenco)

ERDF: European Regional Development Fund

FED: Flamenco es un Derecho (Eng: Flamenco is a Right)

IAF: Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco (Eng: Andalusian Institute of Flamenco)

ICH: Intangible Cultural Heritage

ICHC: Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (or the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention)

ICTM: International Council for Traditional Music

LBF: *Libro blanco del flamenco* (Eng: White Book of Flamenco)

Masterpieces Proclamation: Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity

PAO: Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental (Eng: Platform for East Andalusia)

PRAO: Partido Regionalista por Andalucía Oriental (Eng: Regionalist Party for East Andalusia)

PSOE: Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Eng: Spanish Socialist Workers' Party)

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

Appendix C: List of Informants

Alicia González Sánchez: a teacher of *flamencología* at the Conservatorio Superior de Música de Córdoba. She is also a member of the Junta de Andalucía's group for developing flamenco in the Andalusian educational system.

Antonio Heredia: a guitarist at the Zambra de María 'la Canastera'.

Carlos Jiménez Linares: an aficionado at the Platería.

Cristina Cruces Roldán: a flamenco scholar based in Seville.

Curro Albaicín: a *gitano* singer, poet and researcher from Sacromonte.

David Peral: a spokesperson for the Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco.

Elchirimoyo: a member of the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental and a user of its forums.

Enrique 'el Canastero': the owner of the Zambra de María 'la Canastera'.

Fernando Barros Lirola: a singer and flamenco educator.

Francisco (Paco) Cabrero Palomares: a flamenco researcher, writer and aficionado.

Jesús Miralles: a student at the Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios in Granada.

Jesús Plaza Rodríguez: the President of the Platería.

José Antonio Delgado Molina: a member of the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental and a user of its forums.

José Manuel Rojas: a flamenco journalist and critic based in Granada.

Juan Miguel Giménez Miranda: a flamenco scholar and guitarist based in Granada.

Juan Pinilla: a singer, researcher and spokesperson for Flamenco es un Derecho.

Juan Tienda: the President of the Peña Flamenca Francisco Moreno Galván in La Puebla de Cazalla, Seville.

Leonardo Villena Villena: a member of the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental, a user of its forums and a writer.

Matilde Bautista Morente: the flamenco delegate at the Diputación de Granada.

Melchor Córdoba Santiago: a *gitano* guitarist from Sacromonte.

Miguel Ángel Berlanga Fernández: a flamenco scholar based at the University of Granada.

Miguel Ángel González: a flamenco researcher, teacher and former critic based in Granada.

Nazira Ruiz López: a Spanish teacher in Granada.

PPDA: a member of the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental and a user of its forums.

Rafael (Rafa) Hoces Ortega: a guitar teacher and professor of flamenco guitar at the Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios in Granada.

Appendix D: Online Questionnaire

Datos personales (Personal details)

¿Cómo te enteraste de este cuestionario? (How did you find out about this questionnaire?)

Sexo (Sex)

Edad (Age)

Etnia (Ethnicity)

Lugar de nacimiento (Place of birth)

Profesión (Profession)

Localidad de residencia actual (Current place of residence)

Preguntas generales sobre el flamenco (General questions about flamenco)

¿Te gusta el flamenco? ¿Por qué? (Do you like flamenco? Why?)

Por favor pon algunos grupos, artistas o estilos que te gustan en particular (Please mention some groups, artists or styles that you like in particular)

¿Eres un artista flamenco? ¿De qué tipo? (Are you a flamenco artist? What type?)

Define: ¿Que es el flamenco para ti? (Describe: What is flamenco for you?)

¿A quién pertenece el flamenco? (Who does flamenco belong to?)

Flamenco y la Junta de Andalucía (Flamenco and the Junta de Andalucía)

¿Qué te parece la declaración de la Unesco que dice que el flamenco es un patrimonio cultural inmaterial para la humanidad? (What do you think about the UNESCO declaration that says that flamenco is an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity?)

¿En qué manera, piensas, va a influir esta declaración del flamenco dentro y fuera de Andalucía? (In what way do you think this declaration is going to influence flamenco within and outside of Andalusia?)

¿Qué te parece la inclusión del flamenco en el Estatuto de Autonomía (2007) como un ‘elemento singular del patrimonio cultural andaluz’? (What do you think about the inclusion of flamenco in the Statute of Autonomy (2007) as a ‘unique element of Andalusian cultural heritage’?)

La Junta de Andalucía quiere incluir el flamenco en el sistema educativo andaluz. ¿Cuáles son tus pensamientos sobre esto? (The Junta de Andalucía wants to include flamenco in the Andalusian educational system. What are your thoughts about this?)

¿Qué te parece el deseo de la Junta de Andalucía para desarrollar el flamenco dentro y fuera de Andalucía? (What do think about the Junta de Andalucía's wish to develop flamenco within and outside of Andalusia?)

¿Crees que el flamenco está politizado? ¿Por qué? (Do you think that flamenco is politicised? Why?)

Appendix E: Introductory Email to the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental

Me pongo en contacto con usted para preguntar si yo podría hacer investigación dentro sus foros públicos. En este momento yo estudio un doctorado en etnomusicología (el estudio de música en su contexto cultural) en la universidad de Cardiff, Gran Bretaña. Mi investigación se concentra en la relación entre flamenco y la identidad regional. Me interesa en cómo la Junta de Andalucía usa el flamenco como un símbolo de identidad andaluza y cómo los Andaluces lo reciben (ambos positivamente o negativamente), especialmente en el este de Andalucía. Espero que yo pueda demostrar el vínculo fuerte entre música, territorio y políticas, y las cuestiones que rodean tanto la descentralización y el uso de la música en los esfuerzos políticos. En esta manera, me interesa mucho el foro ‘¿flamenco algo nuestro?’. (Si quiere más información, por favor visita mi pagina web www.matthewmachin.moonfruit.com.)

Mi investigación consistirá analizar los hilos que ya existen, poniendo mis propios comentarios y preguntas, y distribuyendo un cuestionario entre los miembros de los foros. Además, necesito pedirle permiso (y a los miembros también) para usar el material en mi tesis y para publicaciones futuras. Así como, presentar mis hallazgos en conferencias académicas. Si usted requiere la confirmación de mi situación y la aprobación ética de mi Universidad, por favor no dude en pedírmela.

Gracias y espero tener noticias tuyas pronto

Sinceramente

Matthew

Translation

I am writing to enquire whether it is possible to carry out research on your public forums. I am currently studying for a PhD in Ethnomusicology (the study of music in its cultural context) at Cardiff University in Great Britain. My research focuses on the relationship between flamenco and regional identity. I am interested in how the Junta de Andalucía uses flamenco as a symbol of Andalusian identity and how this is received (both positively and negatively), particularly in the east of Andalusia. I hope to demonstrate the strong link between music, territory and politics, and the issues surrounding both decentralisation and

music's use in political endeavours. In this matter, the forum '¿flamenco algo nuestro?' is particularly interesting for me. (If you want more information, please see my website www.matthewmachin.moonfruit.com.)

My research will involve analysing the existing forum threads, posting my own comments and questions, and distributing a questionnaire amongst the members of the forum. Also, I need to ask for permission from you (and of course the members) so that I can use some of the material in my thesis and for future publications, as well as present my findings at academic conferences. If you require confirmation of my status and ethical approval from my university, then please do not hesitate to ask.

Thank you for your time and I look forward to hearing from you

Yours Sincerely

Matthew Machin

Response from the Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental

RE: Mensaje desde el formulario general de contacto

Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental
De: <plataforma@andaluciaoriental.es>

Para: matthew_machin@yahoo.es

Estimado Matthew

Por nuestra parte no hay inconveniente en que haga uso de nuestro foro para su investigación. Al contrario, le estamos muy agradecidos por su labor.

Un cordial saludo.

Javier Ramírez
Plataforma por Andalucía Oriental

Apdo. de Correos 4004 18080 Granada
Tlf. 660 505 931
www.andaluciaoriental.es

Translation

Dear Matthew,

For our part there is no problem that you make use of our forum for your research. The opposite, we are grateful to you for your work.

Yours Sincerely

Javier Ramírez

Appendix F: Historical Timeline

1812	Creation of the first Spanish Constitution
1850s onwards	The <i>cafés cantantes</i> period, where flamenco was standardised as a tradition
1868	Spanish revolution which brought about the collapse of the monarchy
1870	Joaquín Guichot's General History of Andalusia was published. The publication coincided with the rise in <i>andalucismo</i>
1873–74	First Spanish Republic/creation of the Federal Constitution of Spain
1880s	The emergence of early <i>flamencología</i> – Hugo Schuchardt and Antonio Machado y Álvarez (Demófilo)
1881	Demófilo's <i>Colección de cantes flamencos</i> was published. This was also the year in which he created the Spanish Folklore Society and the Andalusian Folklore Society
1883	Draft Federalist Constitution of Andalusia was created
1898	Spain lost Cuba after the Spanish-American war
1898 onwards	The prominence of the Generación de 98 and a rise in <i>antiflamenquismo</i>
1913	Eugenio Noel launched a nationwide anti-flamenco campaign
1915	Blas Infante's <i>Ideal andaluz</i> was published
1918	Andalusian anthem, flag and coat of arms were created in Ronda
1919	Andalusia was recognised as a 'national reality' in Córdoba
1922	Competition for Deep Song was held in Granada with the support of Federico García Lorca and Manuel de Falla
1929–33	Blas Infante writes his <i>Orígenes de lo flamenco y secreto del cante jondo</i> (not published until 1980)
1931–36	Second Spanish Republic
1932	Regional autonomy declared in Catalonia
1933	Draft Statute of Autonomy for Andalusia was created
1936	Beginning of the Spanish Civil War
1939	End of the Spanish Civil War. Francisco Franco came to power

1949	Opening of the first flamenco <i>peña</i> , the Platería in Granada
1950s–60s	<i>Nacionalflamenquismo</i> was particularly prominent during this period. Also a period in which flamenco ‘orthodoxy’ flourished, including <i>mairenismo</i>
1963	Antonio Mairena and Ricardo Molina published their book <i>Mundo y formas del cante flamenco</i>
1971–73	<i>Rito y geografía del cante flamenco</i> documentaries were aired on public television
1975	Death of Francisco Franco, which engenders Spain’s transition to democracy
1978	The new Spanish Constitution was created
1980	Referendum in Andalusia on regional autonomy. The date of the referendum (28 February) is now recognised as the Day of Andalusia
1980s onwards	Flamenco gained more prominence on the international stage
1981	Andalusia recognised as a regional autonomy
1982	First regional elections held in Andalusia
1993	Creation of the Andalusian Centre of Flamenco
2005	Creation of the Andalusian Agency for the Development of Flamenco
2007	Revised Statute of Autonomy in Andalusia
2010	Flamenco declared as an Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO

Bibliography

Principal Bibliography

- Aikawa, Noriko. 2004. 'An Historical Overview of the Preparation of the UNESCO International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage', *Museum International*, 56/1-2: 137–49
- Albaicín, Curro. 2011. *Zambras de Granada y flamencos de Sacromonte: una historia flamenca en Granada* (Córdoba: Almuzara)
- Álvarez Junco, José. 1996. 'The Nation-Building Process in Nineteenth-Century Spain', in *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and Conflicting Identities*, ed. by Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith (Oxford: Berg), pp. 89–106
- Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso)
- Anderson, Ben, Frances Morton and George Revill. 2005. 'Practices of Music and Sound', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 6/5: 639–44
- Ángel Berlanga, Miguel. 1997. 'Tradición y renovación: reflexiones en torno al antiguo y nuevo flamenco', *TRANS Iberia* <<http://www.sibetrans.com/trans/publicaciones>> [accessed 10 November, 2012]
- Aoyama, Yuko. 2007. 'The Role of Consumption and Globalization in a Cultural Industry: The Case of Flamenco', *Geoforum*, 38/1: 103–13
- . 2009. 'Artists, Tourists and the State: Cultural Tourism and the Flamenco Industry in Andalusia, Spain', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33/1: 80–104
- Backer, Rolf. 2005. 'Lo decisivo fue la mezcla: y esa mezcla sólo ocurrió en Andalucía. Algunas reflexiones acerca de la identidad andaluza en el discurso flamencológico', in *Nassare: Revista Aragonesa de Musicología XXI* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando de Católico), pp. 109–20
- Baltanás, Enrique. 2002. 'The Fatigue of the Nation: Flamenco as the Basis of Heretical Identities', in *Songs of the Minotaur: Hybridity and Popular Music in the Era of Globalization*, ed. by Gerhard Steingress (Hamburg: LIT Verlag), pp. 139–68

- and Pedro M. Piñero. 1998. ‘El flamenco y los gitanos en *The Zinca* de George Borrow’, in *Flamenco y nacionalismo: aportaciones para una sociología política del flamenco*, ed. by Gerhard Steingress and Enrique Baltanás (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Fundación el Monte), pp. 81–91
- and Salvador Rodríguez Becerra. 1998. ‘La herencia rechazada: Antonio Machado y Álvarez y el clima intelectual de 98’, *Revista de Antropología Social*, 7: 215–29
- Barton, Simon. 2009. *A History of Spain*, 2nd edn (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan)
- Barros Lirola, Fernando. 2011. *Flamenco en las aulas* (Sevilla: Signatura Ediciones)
- Barz, Gregory. 2008. ‘Confronting the Field(note) In and Out of the Field: Music, Voices, Texts and Experiences in Dialogue’, in *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, ed. by Gregory Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 206–23
- Bell, Thomas and Ola Johansson (eds). 2009. *Sound, Society and the Geography of Popular Music* (Farnham: Ashgate)
- Bennett, Andy, Stan Hawkins and Sheila Whiteley. 2004. ‘Introduction’, in *Music, Space and Place: Popular Music and Cultural Identity*, ed. by Andy Bennett, Stan Hawkins and Sheila Whiteley (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 1–22
- Bethencourt Llobet, Francisco Javier. 2011. ‘Rethinking Tradition: Towards an Ethnomusicology of Contemporary Flamenco Guitar’ (PhD Thesis unpublished: Newcastle University)
- Biddle, Ian and Vanessa Knights (eds). 2007. *Music, National Identity and the Politics of Location: Between the Global and the Local* (Farnham: Ashgate)
- Bodenheimer, Rebecca. 2009. “‘La Habana no aguanta más’: Regionalism in Contemporary Cuban Society and Dance Music’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 92/3-4: 210–41
- Bohlman, Philip. 2004. *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History* (New York: Routledge)

- Caba Landa, Carlos and Pedro Caba Landa. 1988. *Andalucía: su comunismo y su cante jondo*, 2nd edn (Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de Universidad de Cádiz)
- Cabrero Palomares, Francisco. 2009. *Granada enclave de flamenco* (Granada: Tleo)
- Calado Olvio, Silvia. 2006. *Todo sobre el flamenco/All about Flamenco* (Cádiz: Ediciones Absalon)
- Carney, George O. 1990. 'Geography of Music: Inventory and Prospect', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 10/2: 35–48
- 1998. 'Music Geography', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 18/1: 1–10
- Castillo Guerrero, Miguel. 2011. 'Flamenco y geografía: el Niño de la Huerta', *Espacio y Tiempo: Revista de Ciencias Humanas*, 25: 9–43
- Cavanagh, Allison. 1999. 'Behaviour in Public?: Ethics in Online Ethnography', *Research Methodology Online*, 6
<http://www.cybersociology.com/files/6_2_ethicsinonlineethnog.html> [accessed 12 February, 2013]
- Charnon-Deutsch, Lou. 2004. *The Spanish Gypsy: The History of a European Obsession* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press)
- Christoforidis, Michael. 2007. 'Manuel de Falla, Flamenco and Spanish Identity', in *Western Music and Race*, ed. by Julie Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 230–43
- Chuse, Loren. 2003. *The Cantaoras: Music, Gender and Identity in Flamenco Song* (London: Routledge)
- Cloke, Paul, Philip Crang and Mark Goodwin. 2005. *Introducing Human Geographies*, 2nd edn (Abingdon: Hodder Education)
- Cohen, Judah M. 2009. 'Music Institutions and the Transmission of Tradition', *Ethnomusicology*, 53/2: 308–25
- Connell, John and Chris Gibson. 2003. *Sounds Tracks: Popular Music, Identity and Place* (London: Routledge)

Cooley, Timothy J. and Gregory Barz. 2008. 'Casting Shadows: Fieldwork is Dead! Long Live Fieldwork!', in *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, ed. by Gregory Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 1–24

Cooley, Timothy J., Katherine Meizel and Nasir Syed. 2008. 'Virtual Fieldwork: Three Case Studies', in *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, ed. by Gregory Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 90–107

Corona, Ignacio and Alejandro L. Madrid-González (eds). 2008. *Postnational Musical Identities: Cultural Production, Distribution and Consumption in a Globalized Scenario* (Lanham: Lexington Books)

Cortés Peña, Antonio Luis. 1994. 'El último nacionalismo: Andalucía y su historia', *Manuscrits*, 12: 213–43

——— 2001. 'Nacionalismo/regionalismo andaluz ¿una invención de laboratorio?', *Historia Social*, 40: 137–51

Criado, José. 1996. 'Origen del trovo alpujarreño', *Los cantos y el flamenco de Almería: I congreso provincial 1994* (Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses), pp. 57–72

Cruces Roldán, Cristina (ed.). 1996. *El flamenco: identidades sociales, ritual y patrimonio cultural* (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía)

Cruces Roldán, Cristina. 2002. *Antropología y flamenco: más allá de la música*, Volume 1 (Sevilla: Signatura Ediciones)

——— 2003a. *Antropología y flamenco: más allá de la música*, Volume 2 (Sevilla: Signatura Ediciones)

——— 2003b. *El flamenco y la música andalusí: argumentos para un encuentro* (Sevilla: Sevilla Ediciones)

Cuena Toribio, José Manuel. 1982. *Andalucía: historia de un pueblo* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe)

Dawe, Kevin. 2001. 'Handmade in Spain: The Culture of Guitar Making', in *Guitar Cultures*, ed. by Andy Bennett and Kevin Dawe (Oxford: Berg), pp. 63–87

——— 2007. 'Regional Voices in a National Soundscape: Balkan Music and Dance in Greece', in *Balkan Popular Culture and the Ottoman Ecumene: Music, Image and Regional Political Discourse*, ed. by Donna A. Buchanan (Maryland: Scarecrow Press), pp. 175–90

Delledonne, Giacomo and Giuseppe Martinico. 2011. 'Legal Conflicts and Subnational Constitutionalism', *Rutgers Law Journal*, 42/4: 881–912

D'Lugo, Marvin. 1991. *The Films of Carlos Saura* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)

Dodds, Klaus and David Atkinson (eds). 2000. *Geopolitical Traditions: A Century of Geopolitical Thought* (London: Routledge)

Don Preciso (Juan Antonio de Iza Zamácola). 1799. *Colección de las mejores coplas de seguidillas, tiranas y polos que se han compuesto para cantar a la guitarra* (Madrid: Imprenta de Villalpando)

Emoff, Ron. 2008. 'Truth, Talk and History in the Non-Nation: *Gwo Ka*'s Place on Marie-Galante, French Atilles', *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 17/2: 203–24

Ess, Charles and AoIR ethics working group. 2002. 'Ethical Decision-Making and Internet Research: Recommendations from the AoIR Ethics Working Committee'
<www.aoir.org/reports/ethics.pdf> [accessed 12 January, 2011]

Eynon, Rebecca, Jenny Fry and Ralph Schroeder. 2008. 'The Ethics of Internet Research', in *The Sage Handbook of Online Research Methods*, ed. by Nigel Fielding, Lee Raymond and Grant Blank (London: Sage Publications), pp. 23–41

Feld, Steven. 1994. 'Aesthetics as Iconicity of Style (Uptown Title) or "Lift-up-over sounding": Getting into the Kaluli Groove', in *Music Grooves*, ed. by Steven Feld and Charles Keil (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp. 109–50

Fernández Cifuentes, Luis. 2007. 'Southern Exposure: Early Tourism and Spanish National Identity', *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies*, 13/2: 133–48

- Fielding, Nigel, Raymond M. Lee and Grant Blank. 2008. 'The Internet as a Research Medium: An Editorial Introduction to *The Sage Handbook of Online Research Methods*', in *The Sage Handbook of Online Research Methods*, ed. by Nigel Fielding, Raymond M. Lee and Grant Blank (London: Sage Publications), pp. 3–20
- Fiol, Stefan. 2012. 'Articulating Regionalism through Popular Music: The Case of *Nauchami Narayana* in the Uttarakhand Himalayas', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 71/2: 447–73
- Folkestad, Göran. 2002. 'National Identity and Music', in *Musical Identities*, ed. by David Hargreaves, Dorothy Miell and Raymond MacDonald (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 151–62
- Frith, Simon. 1996. 'Music and Identity', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage Publications), pp. 108–27
- . 2000. 'The Discourse of World Music', in *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation and Appropriation in Music*, ed. by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press), pp. 305–22
- García Gómez, Génesis. 1993. *Cante flamenco, cante minero: una interpretación sociocultural* (Murcia: Editoria Regional de Murcia)
- . 1998. 'Volksgeist y género español', in *Flamenco y nacionalismo: aportaciones para una sociología política del flamenco*, ed. by Gerhard Steingress and Enrique Baltanás (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Fundación el Monte), pp. 193–206
- García Plata, Fuensanta. 1996. 'El flamenco y las políticas de protección, conservación y difusión del patrimonio cultural andaluz', in *El flamenco: identidades sociales, ritual y patrimonio cultural*, ed. by Cristina Cruces Roldan (Sevilla: Consejería de Cultura), pp. 149–64
- García Plata, Mercedes. 1997. 'Antonio Machado y Álvarez: fundador del folklore español y de la crítica flamenca', *Revista de Flamencología*, 5/1: 47–60
- Gasier, Ted. 2008. 'Online Focus Groups', in *The Sage Handbook of Online Research Methods*, ed. by Nigel Fielding, Lee Raymond and Grant Blank (London: Sage Publications), pp. 290–306

Gelardo Navarro, José. 1996. 'Moriscos y flamenco en Andalucía Oriental', in *Los cantes y el flamenco de Almería: I congreso provincial 1994* (Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses), pp. 41–55

George, David. 1969. *The Flamenco Guitar* (Westport: The Bold Strummer)

Gillan, Matt. 2012. 'Whose Heritage? Cultural Properties Legislation and Regional Identity in Okinawa', in *Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage: Policy, Ideology and Practice in the Preservation of East Asian Traditions*, ed. by Keith Howard (London: Ashgate), pp. 213–28

Gilmore, David. 1981. 'Andalusian Regionalism: Anthropological Perspectives', *Iberian Studies*, 10/2: 58–67

González Climent, Anselmo. 1955. *Flamencología: toros, cante y baile* (Madrid: Sociedad Anonima de Artes Gráficas)

González de Molina, Manuel and Eduardo Sevilla Guzmán. 1987. 'En los orígenes del nacionalismo andaluz: reflexiones en torno al proceso fallido de socialización del andalucismo histórico', *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 40: 73–96

Grande, Félix. 1979. *Memoria del cante flamenco*, 2 volumes (Madrid: Alianza Editorial)

Grant, Catherine. 2012. 'Rethinking Safeguarding: Objections and Responses to Protecting and Promoting Endangered Musical Heritage', *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 21/1: 31–51

Grimes, Jeffrey Michael. 2008. *The Geography of Hindustani Music: The Influence of Region and Regionalism on the North Indian Classical Tradition* (PhD dissertation unpublished: The University of Texas)

Grugel, Jean and Tim Rees. 1997. *Franco's Spain* (London: Arnold)

Guichot, Joaquin. 1869. *Historia general de Andalucía: desde los tiempos más remotos hasta 1870* (Sevilla: E. Perié)

Gutiérrez Lozeno, Juan Francisco. 2010. 'Regional Television in Spain: The Andalusian Case', *Media History*, 16/1: 115–21

Gutiérrez Mate, Rubén. 2010. '¿Se aprende flamenco en el sistema educativo andaluz?', *Revista de Investigación sobre Flamenco/La Madrugá*, 3: 1–8

Hall, Stuart. 1996. 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage Publications), pp. 1–17

——— and Paul du Gay (eds). 1996. *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: Sage Publications)

Hechter, Michael. 1975. *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536–1966* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul)

Heffner Hayes, Michelle. 2009. *Flamenco: Conflicting Histories of the Dance* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company)

Hepple, Leslie W. 2000. 'Géopolitiques de Gauche: Yves Lacoste, Hérodote and French Radical Geopolitics', in *Geopolitical Traditions: A Century of Geopolitical Thought*, ed. by Klaus Dodds and David Atkinson (London: Routledge), pp. 268–301

Herr, Richard. 1971. *An Historical Essay on Modern Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press)

Hill, Juniper. 2005. 'From Ancient to Avant-Garde to Global: Creative Processes and Institutionalization in Finnish Contemporary Folk Music' (PhD dissertation unpublished: University of California, Los Angeles)

——— 2009. 'The Influence of Conservatory Folk Music Programmes: The Sibelius Academy in Comparative Context', *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 18/2: 205–39

Hine, Christine. 2000. *Virtual Ethnography* (London: Sage)

——— 2008. 'Virtual Ethnography: Modes, Varieties, Affordances', in *The Sage Handbook of Online Research Methods*, ed. by Nigel Fielding, Raymond M. Lee and Grant Blank (London: Sage Publications), pp. 257–70

Hobsbawm, Eric. 1983. 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 1–14

Hoces Ortega, Rafael. 2011. 'La transcripción musical para guitarra flamenca: análisis e implementación metodológica' (PhD Thesis unpublished: Universidad de Sevilla)

———. 2012. 'La transcripción musical para guitarra flamenca', *Revista de Investigación sobre Flamenco/La Madrugá*, 6: 47–54

Howard, Keith (ed.). 2012a. *Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage: Policy, Ideology and Practice in the Preservation of East Asian Traditions* (Farnham: Ashgate)

———. 2012b. 'Introduction: East Asian Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage', in *Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage: Policy, Ideology and Practice in the Preservation of East Asian Traditions*, ed. by Keith Howard (Farnham: Ashgate), pp. 1–21

Hudson, Ray. 2006. 'Regions and Place: Music, Identity and Place', *Progress in Human Geography*, 30/5: 626–34

Infante, Blas. 2010[1915]. *Ideal andaluz* (Sevilla: Fundación Pública Andaluza Centro de Estudios Andaluces)

———. 2010[1929–33]. *Orígenes de lo flamenco y secreto del cante jondo*, 125th anniversary edition (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía)

Jackson, Bruce. 1987. *Fieldwork* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press)

Jackson, Peter. 1989. *Maps of Meaning: An Introduction to Cultural Geography* (London: Routledge)

Jones, Robert A. 1994. 'The Ethics of Research in Cyberspace', *Internet Research*, 4/3: 30–35

Jones, Barry and Michael Keating (eds). 1995. *The European Union and the Regions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Katz, Max. 2012. 'Institutional Communalism in North Indian Classical Music', in *Ethnomusicology*, 53/2: 279–98

Kearney, Daithí. 2007. 'Crossing the River: Exploring the Geography of Irish Traditional Music', *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland*, 3: 127–39

Keating, Michael. 1995. 'Europeanism and Regionalism', in *The European Union and the Regions*, ed. by Barry Jones and Michael Keating (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 1–22

——— and Alex Wilson. 2009. 'Renegotiating the State of Autonomies: Statute Reform and Multi-level Politics in Spain', *West European Politics*, 32/3: 536–58

Knight, David B. 1982. 'Identity and Territory: Geographical Perspectives on Nationalism and Regionalism', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 72/4: 514–31

Kong, Lily. 2006. 'Music and Moral Geographies: Constructions of "Nation" and Identity in Singapore', *GeoJournal*, 65: 103–11

Krims, Adam. 2007. *Music and Urban Geography* (New York: Routledge)

Kurin, Richard. 2004. 'Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: A Critical Appraisal', *Museum International*, 56/1-2: 66–77

Labajo, Joaquina. 1997. 'How Musicological and Ethnomusicological is Spanish Flamenco?', *TRANS Iberia* <<http://www.sibetrans.com/trans/publicaciones>> [accessed 10 November, 2012]

Leyshon, Andrew, David Matless and George Revill. 1995. 'The Place of Music: [Introduction]', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 20/4: 423–33

——— 1998. 'Introduction: Music, Space and the Production of Place', in *The Place of Music*, ed. by Andrew Leyshon, David Matless and George Revill (New York: The Guilford Press), pp. 1–30

Levin, Theodore. 1993. 'The Reterritorialization of Culture in the New Central Asian States: A Report from Uzbekistan', *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 25: 51–59

Llano, Samuel. 2012. 'Between Self and Other: Spanish Music on the Fringes', Keynote paper at *Spanish Musics and their Western Others Symposium* (University of Melbourne)

Locke, Ralph P. 2009. 'Spanish Local Color in Bizet's *Carmen*: Unexplored Borrowings and Transformations', in *Music, Theater and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830–1914*, ed. by Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), pp. 316–60

Lomax, Alan. 1968. *Folk Song Style and Culture* (Piscataway: Transaction Publishers)

López Castro, Miguel (ed.). 2004. *Introducción al flamenco en el currículum escolar* (Madrid: Universidad Internacional de Andalucía)

——— 2004. 'El flamenco y los valores: pertinencia de llevar el flamenco en la escuela', in *Introducción al flamenco en el currículum escolar*, ed. by Miguel López Castro (Madrid: Universidad Internacional de Andalucía), pp. 21–28

Lord, Albert. 1960. *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press)

Lorenzo Arribas, Josemi. 2011. '¿Dónde están las tocaoras? Las mujeres y la guitarra, una omisión sospecha en los estudios sobre el flamenco', *TRANS*, 15

<<http://www.sibetrans.com/trans/publicaciones>> [accessed 10 November, 2012]

Lucas, Maria Elizabeth. 2000. 'Gaucho Musical Regionalism', *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 9/1: 41–60

Lysloff, René. 2003. 'Musical Community on the Internet: An On-line Ethnography', *Cultural Anthropology*, 18/2: 233–63

Machado y Álvarez, Antonio (Demófilo). 1881. *Colección de cantes flamencos* (Sevilla: El Porvenir)

——— 1882–83. 'Introducción', in *El folk-lore andaluz* (Sevilla: Francisco Álvarez y Co.), pp. 1–8

Mairena, Antonio and Ricardo Molina. 1967. *Mundo y formas del cante flamenco*, 2nd edn (Sevilla: Liberia Al-Andalus)

Malefyt, Timothy Dwight de Waal. 1997. 'Gendered Authenticity: The Invention of Flamenco Tradition in Seville, Spain' (PhD dissertation unpublished: Brown University)

——— 1998. "'Inside" and "Outside" Spanish Flamenco: Gender Constructions in Andalusian Concepts of Flamenco Tradition', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 71/2: 63–73

Manuel, Peter. 1986. 'Evolution and Structure in Flamenco Harmony', *Current Musicology*, 42: 46–57

——— 1989. 'Andalusian, Gypsy and Class Identity in the Contemporary Flamenco Complex', *Ethnomusicology*, 33/1: 47–65

——— 2003. 'Flamenco Guitar: History, Style, Status', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Guitar*, ed. by Victor Anand Coelho (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 12–32

——— 2006. 'Flamenco in Focus: An Analysis of a Performance of Soleares', in *Analytical Studies in World Music*, ed. by Michael Tenzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 92–119

——— 2010. 'Composition, Authorship and Ownership in Flamenco, Past and Present', *Ethnomusicology*, 54/1: 106–35

Manuel Gamboa, José. 2005. *Una historia del flamenco* (Madrid: Espasa)

de Mármol Carvajal, Luis. 1991[1600]. *Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos* (Málaga: Editorial Argaval)

Mar-Molinero, Clare and Angel Smith. 1996. 'The Myths and Realities of Nation-Building in the Iberian Peninsula', in *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and Conflicting Identities*, ed. by Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith (Oxford: Berg), pp. 1–30

Martí, Josep. 1997. 'Folk Music Studies and Ethnomusicology in Spain', *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 29: 107–40

Martos Sánchez, Emilia. 2008. 'La zambra en Al-Andalus y su proyección histórica', *Espiral. Cuadernos del Profesorado*, Vol 1-2
<<http://dialnet.uniroja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=2661202>> [accessed 9 October, 2012]

Maurer, Christopher (ed.). 1998. *In Search of Duende* (New York: Bibelot)

McClary, Susan. 1992. *Georges Bizet Carmen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

McLaughlin, Noel and Martin McLoone. 2000. 'Hybridity and National Musics: The Case of Irish Rock Music', *Popular Music*, 19/2: 181–99

Miles, Elizabeth J. and Loren Chuse. 2000. 'Spain', in *The Garland Encyclopaedia of World Music: Volume 8, Europe*, ed. by Timothy Rice, James Porter and Chris Goertzen (London: Routledge), pp. 588–603

- Mitchell, Donald. 2000. *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers)
- Mitchell, Timothy. 1994. *Flamenco Deep Song* (New Haven: Yale University Press)
- Molina Fajardo, Eduardo. 1974. *El flamenco en Granada: teoría de sus orígenes e historia* (Granada: M. Sánchez)
- Morata, Francesc. 1995. 'Spanish Regions in the European Community', in *The European Union and the Regions*, ed. by Barry Jones and Michael Keating (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 115–33
- Moreno Navarro, Isidoro. 1977. *Andalucía: subdesarrollo, clases sociales y regionalismo* (Madrid: Manifiesto Editorial)
- 1993. *Andalucía: identidad y cultura (estudios de antropología andaluza)* (Málaga: Editorial Liberia Ágora)
- 1996. 'El flamenco en la cultura andaluza', in *El flamenco: identidades sociales, ritual y patrimonio cultural*, ed. by Cristina Cruces Roldán (Sevilla: Consejería de Cultura), pp. 15–36
- Myers, Helen (ed.). 1992. *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction* (London: Macmillan)
- Nash, Catherine. 2002. 'Cultural Geography: Postcolonial Cultural Geographies', *Progress in Human Geography*, 26/2: 219–30
- Navarro García, José Luis. 1993. *Cantes y bailes de Granada* (Málaga: Editorial Arguval)
- Nettl, Bruno. 2005. *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-one Issues and Concepts* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press)
- Newton, M. 1982. 'Andalusia: The Long Road to Autonomy', *Journal of Area Studies*, 6/3: 27–32
- O'Connell, John Morgan. 1996. 'Alaturka Revisited: Style as History in Turkish Vocal Performance' (PhD dissertation unpublished: University of California, Los Angeles)

——— 2002. ‘Major Minorities: Towards an Ethnomusicology of Irish Minority Musics’, in *Music and Minorities*, ed. by Ursula Hemetek and Svanibor Pettan (Ljubljana: University of Slovenia Press), pp. 165–82

——— 2010. ‘*Alabanda*: Brass Bands and Musical Methods in Turkey’, in *Giuseppe Donizetti Pasha: Musical and Historical Trajectories between Italy and Turkey*, ed. by Federico Spinetti (Italy: Fondazione Donizetti), pp. 19–37

Ortega y Gasset, José. 1942. *Teoría de Andalucía y otros ensayos* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente)

Ortiz, Carmen. 1999. ‘The Uses of Folklore by the Franco Regime’, *The Journal of American Folklore*, 112/446: 479–96

Paasi, Anssi. 2009. ‘The Resurgence of the “Region” and “Regional Identity”’: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Observations on Regional Dynamics’, *Review of International Studies*, 35: 121–46

Painter, Joe and Alex Jeffrey. 2009. *Political Geography: An Introduction to Space and Power*, 2nd edn (London: Sage Publications)

Papavavlou, Maria. 2003. ‘The City as a Stage: Flamenco in Andalusian Culture’, *Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Europe*, 3/2: 14–24

Payne, Stanley. 1991. ‘Nationalism, Regionalism and Micronationalism in Spain’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 26/No. 3/4: 479–91

Peña, Paco. 1976. *Toques flamencos* (London: Musical New Series)

Picken, Laurence. 1975. *Folk Musical Instruments of Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Pineda Novo, Daniel. 1991. *Antonio Machado y Álvarez ‘Demófilo’: vida y obra del primer flamencólogo español* (Madrid: Cinterco)

Pohren, Don. 1962. *The Art of Flamenco* (Westport: The Bold Strummer)

- Ramnarine, Tina. 2009. 'Acoustemology, Indigeneity and Joik in Valkeapää's Symphonic Activism: Views from Europe's Arctic Fringes for Environmental Ethnomusicology', *Ethnomusicology*, 53/2: 187–217
- Reily, Suzel Ana. 2003. 'Ethnomusicology and the Internet', *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 35: 187–92
- Rice, Timothy. 2007. 'Reflections on Music and Identity in Ethnomusicology', *Muzikologija* (Journal of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts), 7: 17–38
- 2008. 'Towards a Mediation of Field Methods and Field Experience in Ethnomusicology', in *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, ed. by Gregory Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 42–61
- 2010. 'Call and Response: Disciplining Ethnomusicology: A Call for a New Approach', *Ethnomusicology*, 54/2: 318–25
- Rogozen-Soltar, Mikaela. 2007. 'Al-Andalus in Andalusia: Negotiating Moorish History and Regional Identity in Southern Spain', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 80/3: 863–86
- Rokkan, Stein and Derek Urwin (eds). 1982a. *The Politics of Territorial Identity: Studies in European Regionalism* (London: Sage Publications)
- 1982b. 'Introduction: Centres and Peripheries in Western Europe', in *The Politics of Territorial Identity: Studies in European Regionalism*, ed. by Stein Rokkan and Derek Urwin (London: Sage Publications), pp. 1–17
- Sade-Beck, Liav. 2004. 'Internet Ethnography: Online and Offline', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 3/2: 45–51
- Samtani, Roshan. 2006. 'Structure and Strategy in Flamenco Guitar Performance' (PhD dissertation unpublished: Brown University)
- Sánchez Badiola, Juan José. 2010. *Símbolos de España y de sus regiones y autonomías* (Madrid: Visión Net)

Schneider, Jane and Peter Schneider. 1976. *Culture and Political Economy in Western Sicily* (New York: Academic Press)

Schrijver, Frans. 2006. *Regionalism after Regionalisation: Spain, France and the United Kingdom* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press)

Seeger, Anthony. 2009. 'Lessons Learned from the ICTM (NGO) Evaluation of Nominations for the UNESCO *Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity*, 2001–5', in *Intangible Heritage*, ed. by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London: Routledge), pp. 112–28

Singh-Brinkman, Nirmala. 2005. 'Autonomy and the Other: Andalusian Regionalism and Seville's *Cigarrera*', *Decimonónica*, 2/1: 69–94

Smith, Laurajane and Natsuko Akagawa (eds). 2009. *Intangible Heritage* (London: Routledge)

Smith, Susan. 1997. 'Beyond Geography's Visible Worlds: A Cultural Politics of Music', *Progress in Human Geography*, 21: 502–29

Stapell, Hamilton. 2007. 'Reconsidering Spanish Nationalism, Regionalism and the Centre-Periphery Model in the post-Francoist Period, 1975–1992', *International Journal of Iberian Studies*, 20/3: 171–85

Steingress, Gerhard and Enrique Baltanás (eds). 1998. *Flamenco y nacionalismo: aportaciones para una sociología política del flamenco* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Fundación el Monte)

Steingress, Gerhard. 1998a. 'El cante flamenco como manifestación artística, instrumento ideológico y elemento de la identidad cultural andaluza', in *Flamenco y nacionalismo: aportaciones para una sociología política del flamenco*, ed. by Gerhard Steingress and Enrique Baltanás (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Fundación el Monte), pp. 21–39

——— 1998b. 'Ideología y mentalidad en la construcción de la identidad cultural (casticismo, ideal andaluz y psicología cotidiana en el flamenco)', in *Flamenco y nacionalismo: aportaciones para una sociología política del flamenco*, ed. by Gerhard

Steingress and Enrique Baltanás (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Fundación el Monte), pp. 165–91

——— 1998c. *Sobre flamenco y flamencología (escritos escogidos 1988–1998)* (Sevilla: Signatura Ediciones)

——— 2001. ‘El flamenco’, in *Proyecto Andalucía*, ed. by Francisco Rodríguez Iglesias (Sevilla: Publicaciones Comunitarias), pp. 250–88

——— 2002a. ‘El flamenco como patrimonio cultural o una construcción artificial más de la identidad andaluza’, *Revista Andaluza de Ciencias Sociales*, 1: 43–64

——— 2002b. ‘Flamenco Fusion and New Flamenco as Postmodern Phenomena: An Essay on Creative Ambiguity in Popular Music’, in *Songs of the Minotaur: Hybridity and Popular Music in the Era of Globalization*, ed. by Gerhard Steingress (Hamburg: LIT Verlag), pp. 169–216

——— 2004. ‘La hibridación transcultural como clave de la formación del nuevo flamenco’, *TRANS*, 8 <<http://www.sibetrans.com/trans/publicaciones>> [accessed 10 November, 2012]

Stokes, Martin (ed.). 1994a. *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place* (Oxford: Berg)

——— 1994b. ‘Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music’, in *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, ed. by Martin Stokes (Oxford: Berg), pp. 1–29

Strassoldo, Raimondo. 1980. ‘Centre-Periphery and System-Boundary: Culturological Perspectives’, in *Centre and Periphery: Spatial Variation in Politics*, ed. by Jean Gottmann (California: Sage Publications), pp. 27–61

Suárez Japón, Juan Manuel. 2005. ‘Geografía del flamenco, flamenco y geografía’, *Revista Alboreá*, 12 <<http://flun.cica.es/index.php/numero-12/102-geografia-del-flamenco-flamenco-y-geografia/97-geografia-del-flamenco-flamenco-y-geografia>> [accessed 20 November, 2012]

Suárez Navaz, Liliana. 2004. *Rebordering the Mediterranean: Boundaries and Citizenship in Southern Europe* (Oxford: Berghahn)

- Terlouw, Kees. 2012. 'From Thick to Thin Regional Identities?', *GeoJournal*, 77: 707–21
- Villena, Villena, Leonardo. 2007. *La sombra de Aben Humeya* (Granada: Editorial Dulcinea)
- 2008. *Andalucía termina en la Roda* (Granada)
- Washabaugh, William. 1996. *Flamenco: Passion, Politics and Popular Culture* (Michigan: Berg)
- 1997. 'Flamenco Music and Documentary', *Ethnomusicology*, 41/1: 51–67
- 1998. 'La invención del "cante gitano": la serie "Rito y Geografía del Cante Flamenco"', in *Flamenco y nacionalismo: aportaciones para una sociología política del flamenco*, ed. by Gerhard Steingress and Enrique Baltanás (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Fundación el Monte), pp. 59–70
- 2012. *Flamenco Music and National Identity in Spain* (Farnham: Ashgate)
- Waterman, Stanley. 2006a. 'Geography and Music: Some Introductory Remarks', *GeoJournal*, 65: 1–2
- 2006b. 'Variations on a Hebrew Theme: The Politics of Art Music in Israel', *GeoJournal*, 65: 113–23
- Webster, Jason. 2002. *Duende: A Journey into the Heart of Flamenco* (New York: Broadway Books)
- Woodall, James. 1992. *In Search of the Firedance: Spain through Flamenco* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson)
- Zdzisław, Mach. 1997. 'National Anthems: The Case of Chopin as a National Composer', in *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, ed. by Martin Stokes (Oxford: Berg), pp. 61–70

Supplementary Bibliography

Agraso, Aida R. 2010. 'El flamenco, patrimonio de la humanidad', *La Nueva Albores* 13, January–March, pp. 28–32

Antonio, José. 2010. 'Partido de Andalucía Oriental', *Granada Hoy*, 10 November <<http://www.gradahoy.com/article/opinion/832439/partido/andalucia/oriental.html>> [accessed 7 February, 2013]

Arenas, A. 2011. 'Rafael Hoces, primer doctor de flamenco por la Universidad de Sevilla, imparte clases de guitarra en el Conservatorio de Música Ángel Barrios', *Ideal*, 27 October <<http://en-clase.ideal.es/index.php/noticias/actualidad/764-rafael-hoces-primer-doctorado-de-flamenco-en-la-universidad-de-sevilla-imparte-clases-de-guitarra-en-el-conservatorio-de-musica-angel-barrios.html>> [accessed 7 February, 2013]

Barrado Timón, Mercedes. 2007. 'El flamenco extremeño es un absoluto desconocido', *Hoy*, 28 October <<http://www.hoy.es/20071028/sociedad/flamenco-extremeno-absoluto-desconocido-20071028.html>> [accessed 6 February, 2013]

Cappa, G. 2008. 'Flamenco viene del sur olvida a los artistas granadinos y apuesta por Sevilla', *Granada Hoy*, 9 January <<http://www.gradahoy.com/article/ocio/25616/flamenco/viene/sur/olvida/los/artistas/granadinos/y/apuesta/por/sevilla.html>> [accessed 7 February, 2013]

Cárdenas, A. 2008. 'Creada una plataforma que reivindica la segregación de Andalucía Oriental', *Diario Ideal*, 22 December <<http://www.ideal.es/jaen/20081222/jaen/creada-plataforma-reivindica-segregacion-20081222.html>> [accessed 28 April, 2013]

Castellano, Ángeles. 2011. 'La mano que da de comer al flamenco', *El País*, 28 August <http://elpais.com/diario/2011/08/28/andalucia/1314483723_850215.html> [accessed 7 February, 2013]

Conservatorio Profesional de Música Ángel Barrios. 2011. *Programación didáctica de guitarra flamenca: enseñanza profesional* (Granada: Consejería de Educación)

de la Corte, Manuela. 2011. 'Los flamencos piden más proyección', *Granada Hoy*, 19 August <<http://www.gradahoy.com/article/ocio/1045201/los/flamencos/piden/mas/proyeccion.htm>> [accessed 7 February, 2013]

Godino, Patricia. 2011a. 'Se ha implantado el dedismo', *Granada Hoy*, 17 August
<<http://www.gradahoy.com/article/mapademusicas/1044187/quotse/ha/implantado/dedismoquot.html>> [accessed 7 February, 2013]

——— 2011b. 'Las protestas de los flamencos llegan a Griñán', *Granada Hoy*, 18 August
<<http://www.gradahoy.com/article/mapademusicas/1044345/las/protestas/los/flamencos/llegan/grinan.html>> [accessed 7 February, 2013]

González Alcantud, José. 2011. 'El flamenco, el estatuto y la agencia', *Diario de Cádiz*, 29 May
<<http://www.diariodecadiz.es/article/opinion/987046/flamenco/estatuto/y/la/agencia.html>>
[accessed 6 February, 2013]

González Sánchez, Alicia. 2012. 'El graduado o graduada en flamenco y su formación investigadora', *La Nueva Alboréa* 21, April–June, pp. 64–65

Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco. 2012a. *Libro blanco del flamenco* (Seville: Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco)
<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/culturaydeporte/comunidadprofesional/datos_autor/255>
[accessed 2 May, 2013]

——— 2012b. 'Recepción de ofertas para el programa flamenco viene del sur 2012' (Seville: Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco)

José Téllez, Juan. 2007. 'El flamenco, una polémica exclusiva', *La Nueva Alboréa* 1, January–March, pp. 44–47

Junta de Andalucía. 2007. *Estatuto de Autonomía para Andalucía* (Sevilla: Parlamento de Andalucía) <http://www.parlamentodeandalucia.es/opencms/export/portal-web-parlamento/contenidos/pdf/PublicacionesNOoficiales/TextosLegislativos/ESTATUTO_AUTONOMIA_2007.pdf> [accessed 20 February, 2011]

——— 2008. *Ley de Educación de Andalucía*
<<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/averroes/mochiladigital/normativa/lea.pdf>> [accessed 18 April, 2013]

———. 2011. *Proyecto de orden por la que se establecen medidas para la inclusión del flamenco en el sistema educativo andaluz*

<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/educacion/portal/com/bin/Contenidos/OEE/FLAMENCO/RES131211/1324638594610_proyordflamencosea.pdf> [accessed 28 November, 2012]

Martinez Miranda, Rafael. 1979. 'La Andalucía del P.S.A', *Ideal Granada*, 20 April
<<http://img34.imageshack.us/img34/5051/laandaluciadelpsa.png>> [accessed 7 February, 2013]

Molina, Margot. 2011. 'Artistas flamencos piden en Sevilla un "reparto del trabajo"', *El País*, 17 August <<http://www.elpais.com/articulo/cultura/Artistas/flamencos/piden/Sevilla>> [accessed 7 February, 2013]

Partido Regionalista por Andalucía Oriental (PRAO). 2010. *Estatutos para el Partido Regionalista por Andalucía Oriental* <<http://www.prao.es/quienes-somos/estatutos/>> [accessed 30 July, 2012]

Peña la Platería. *Jueves flamencos en 'La Platería'* (promotional leaflet)

Pulpón Jiménez, C. P., J. de Vega López, J. B. Gallardo Gutiérrez, M. I. Jiménez Herrera and A. M. Tenorio Notario. 2011. *Entre dos barrios* (Jerez: Junta de Andalucía)
<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/culturaydeporte/centroandaluzflamenco/RecursosEducativos/ENTRE_DOS_BARRIOS/paseo/actividad/preguntas_profesorado.pdf> [accessed 2 May, 2013]

Ruiz Navarro, José and Ángel Pérez González. 2012. 'Importancia del flamenco en las industrias culturales de Andalucía', in *Libro blanco del flamenco* (Sevilla: Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco)
<<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/comunidadprofesional/content/estudio-economico-de-la-uca-la-importancia-del-flamenco-en-las-industrias-culturales-de-anda>> [accessed 7 February, 2013]

de Unamuno, Miguel and Angel Ganivet. 1898. 'El porvenir de España', *El Defensor*, 8 January

UNESCO. 2003. *The Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Paris: UNESCO) <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00006>> [accessed 18 April, 2013]

——— 2010. *Nomination File no. 00363 for Inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage: Flamenco*, 5th session in Kenya (UNESCO) <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00363>> [accessed 18 April, 2013]

Vilcehz, Rafael. 2011. ‘Murtas quiere que el trovo sea declarado patrimonio de la humanidad’, *Ideal*, 4 May <<http://www.ideal.es/granada/v/20110504/cultura/murtas-quiere-trovo-declarado-20110504.html>> [accessed 7 February, 2013]

Zatania, Estela. 2001. ‘Entrevista con Juan Maya “Marote”’, *flamenco-world.com*, August <<http://www.flamenco-world.com/artists/juanmaya/emay.htm>> [accessed 7 February, 2013]

——— 2009. ‘10th Festival de Otoño de Granada’, *deflamenco.com*, 13 December <<http://www.deflamenco.com/revista/pagina.jsp?codigo=2577>> [accessed 7 February, 2013]