

Transnational Flamenco:

**Transcultural Exchange and the Role of the Individual in
Mediating English and Andalucían Flamenco Culture**

Tenley Elizabeth Martin

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds

School of Music

February 2016

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement

©2016 The University of Leeds and Tenley Elizabeth Martin

The right of Tenley Elizabeth Martin to be identified as Author of this work has been asserted by her in accordance with Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father, John Randolph Martin, and grandfather, Charles 'Duck' Bradley, who were there when I began my flamenco journey.

It is also dedicated to Trish Anderton, a lovely bailora who exemplified and inspired many of my theories.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the enthusiasm, support, and tolerance of a number of people. From those that provided emotional support to my friends and informants who were willing to share their flamenco experiences with me, I could not have successfully completed this research without them.

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisors, Dr. Stephen Muir and Prof. Kevin Dawe; their support and encouragement were pivotal to the completion of this thesis.

I would like to thank my many informants, both in the UK and Spain, who inspired me with their stories and helped me find my way in their respective flamenco scenes. I would particularly like to thank Noemi Luz who introduced me to the Sevilla ex-pat scene; Carmen de Torres who was kind enough to take me into her home and chat about her projects, classes, and the Sevilla scene; Ana Real who provided valuable information about professional flamenco in Sevilla and the impact of recent political decisions; Yinka Graves for valuable insights into forging a career between Sevilla and the UK; Rosi Reed and Ron Hitchens for their help in discovering the intricacies of UK flamenco; and Christine Stockton and Patricia Skeet for first inspiring the concept of individual influence in flamenco tradition; and numerous other informants such as Ron Hitchens, Mario Basileisco, Ruth Tejado Canelo, Paco Llobet Bethancourt, Merche Esmeralda, Rowena Ritchie, Carole Edrich, Vera King, Ramon Ruiz, and many, many others.

I would like to acknowledge Jillian Johnson who, unknowingly, chucked me into the UK flamenco scene and inspired the beginning of this research.

Most importantly, I would like to thank my friends and family who have provided tireless love and emotional support: my partner, James, for always being ready to discuss ideas, edit, and provide hugs when I was overwhelmed; my sister, Alexis, who has sent numerous cards and messages encouraging me to keep going; John and Maureen Mooney for their warm hospitality during a particularly difficult writing time; my dear friend Dr. Roxy Robinson, who has provided unofficial supervisions, editing, and constant hours of conversation.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge my mother, Muriel. She has never stopped believing in me even when I stopped believing in myself. She has read every word of my thesis and provided feedback. Her continuous emotional support along my PhD journey have been integral to its completion.

Abstract

Flamenco, an art complex with its roots situated in Andalucía, is often assumed by outsiders to be a representative of a coherent national identity. This is a false assumption, both with regards to the realities of the art form and in terms of Spanish identity. My research suggests flamenco is a subculture appreciated by a minority of Andalucía-centric Spanish aficionados. Most outside of the scene reject it for reasons including identifying with another region, preferring popular music, or negatively associating flamenco with Franco and *Gitanos*. Significantly, as early as the nineteenth century, it developed a considerable following outside of Spain's borders amongst non-Spanish aficionados. Utilising information acquired from ethnomusicological fieldwork in Sevilla and the UK, the thesis examines the relationship between local (Spanish) and foreign flamenco culture. The aim is to provide insight into how flamenco travels, manifestations in its new locale, and possible effects on the Sevilla scene. Preliminary UK investigations revealed sub-scenes revolving around the efforts of singular cultural brokers who developed connections with flamenco in Spain and transported the information to the UK forming a glocal cultural model. This foreign interest has resulted in a commercial flamenco industry in Sevilla, as well as a vibrant associated ex-pat community there. These realisations inspired a methodological approach involving the individual experience and its importance in music migration. Further research revealed that flamenco is transmitted outside of Spain primarily by foreign individuals (Cosmopolitan Hubs) who possess transcultural capital from the Andalusian flamenco community, as well as from their home country. This transcultural capital is utilised to create economic capital in the UK. Overall this research suggests a postnational approach and explores the role of Cosmopolitan Hubs in cultural transmission, thus suggesting an alternative approach to music migration and glocalization in a world increasingly less focused on ethnicity or nationality for individual identity formation.

Table of Contents

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY	i
Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	iv
Figures	viii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 A Distinctly British Flamenco Evening	1
1.2 Statement of Purpose	6
1.3 An Introduction to Sevilla	7
1.4 Making sense of the flamenco journey	11
1.4.1 Foreign Human Hubs vs. Spanish Cultural Ownership	13
1.4.2 Varying ‘Roles’ of human hubs	13
1.4.3 Responding to scene expectations.....	14
1.4.4 The individual in cultural creation and maintenance	15
1.4.5 Flamenco in the Global Flow.....	15
1.4.6 Conflicts in Cultural Identity and Cultural Ownership	16
1.5 A Methodological Conundrum	17
1.6 Chapter Summary	18
1.7 Conclusion	20
Chapter 2: An Introduction to Flamenco and Globalisation	21
2.1 What is Flamenco? A Clarification of Components and Materials	21
2.1.1 <i>Palos</i>	30
2.2 Where is flamenco? Geography and performance situations	33
2.2.1 Performance locations and instances	34
2.3 Who does flamenco?	39
2.4 Flamenco and Globalisation	40
2.4.1 Historic flamenco influences	41
2.5 Tourism	42
Chapter 3: Theoretical Implications	47
3.1 Flamencology: Opinions and Assessments on the history of an Oral Tradition	48
3.1.1 Scholarly Flamenco Resources	48
3.1.2 Globalisation of Flamenco	52
3.2 Globalisation	57
3.2.1 Global Cultural Interactions	57
3.2.2 Globalisation and Music	59
3.2.3 Globalisation and Local Identities	62
3.2.4 Glocalization	65
3.3 Cosmopolitanism	66
3.4 Music and Migration	69
3.4.1 Networks and Hubs	75
3.4.2 Concepts of Capital – Migration meets Bourdieu.....	77
3.5 Britishness	79
3.6 Theoretical Conclusions	81
Chapter 4: Methodology	83
4.1 Traditional Ethnography	84
4.1.1 Ethnography, Ethnomusicologists, and Globalisation	85

4.2 Traditional Ethnography vs. Mobile Ethnography	86
4.3 Individual ethnography	88
4.4 Transcultural Subjects: Combining Mobile and Individual Ethnography	90
4.5 Relevance of the Researcher.....	91
4.6 Description of case studies.....	93
4.6.1 Case Study 1: Sevilla	94
4.6.2 Case Study 2: The United Kingdom	95
4.7 Conclusion.....	97
Chapter 5: Sevilla.....	98
5.1 Introduction	98
5.2 Peña del Niño de Alfalfa: a place for transnational exchange	102
5.2.1 <i>Juerga</i> : crossing the boundaries between performer and audience.....	105
5.2.2 Cultural Ownership and the non-flamenco	107
5.2.3 The Sevilla Experience	108
5.3 The Andalucían side of Flamenco.....	109
5.3.1 Local Flamenco Occasions and Norms: an ethnography	110
5.3.2 Flamenco <i>en Fiesta</i>	114
5.3.3 Flamenco Popular	115
5.3.4 Performance Instances	117
5.4 The Difficulties for Sevillano Flamencos.....	120
5.4.1 Flamenco Perception.....	120
5.4.2 Sevillano Mind-set	122
5.4.3 Impacts of Economic Crisis on Access.....	123
5.5 Sevillano Ex-Pat Flamenco Culture: a construction.....	125
5.5.1 The Life of an Ex-Pat Student.....	126
5.5.2 The Life of an Ex-Pat Flamenco Professional	127
5.5.3 Ex-pat cultural In-Roads	140
5.6 External Influences on Sevillano Flamenco	140
5.6.1 Flamenco conflicts with tourism.....	141
5.6.2 Flamenco Politico	144
5.7 Conclusions	155
Chapter 6: Flamenca Britannica	156
6.1 Introduction	156
6.2 What is the UK Flamenco Scene?	159
6.2.1 Flamenco Groups	160
6.2.2 Group Activities.....	161
6.2.3 Local Performances	162
6.2.4 Group Components	163
6.2.5 Individuals in the UK Flamenco Scene.....	167
6.3 Ron Hitchens Ethnography – tales of a Cockney flamenco geezer.....	168
6.3.1 History of Ron.....	169
6.3.2 Flamenco Parties at La Casa de Ron.....	177
6.3.3 The Hobbyist.....	179
6.3.4 Analysis.....	180
6.4 Rosi Reed Ethnography	186
6.4.1 Camino del Flamenco <i>Spanish Evening</i>	187
6.4.2 Camino del Flamenco as a UK Cultural Hub.....	192
6.4.3 Post-Journey Perspectives of a transcultural broker	196
6.4.4 Rosi Analysis – The Completed Journey	198

6.4.5 London versus ‘Outside’	198
6.4.6 Perceptions of Authenticity.....	201
6.4.7 Rosi as a Human Hub	205
6.5 Peña Flamenco de Liverpool	206
6.5.1 Carmen in Liverpool.....	210
6.5.2 Flamenco de Liverpool Analysis	214
6.5.3 The UK Peña.....	216
6.6 Conclusion: The Grand Scheme of <i>Flamenca Britannica</i>	217
6.6.1 Motivations for trying Flamenco	218
6.6.2 Dance-centricity	220
6.6.3 Flamenco Britannica and Human Hubs	222
Chapter 7: Connected by the <i>compás</i> – an Analysis of Cultural Transmission and Links between Sevilla and the UK.....	224
7.1 Frameworks	226
7.2 Postnational Culture	226
7.2.1 Cross-border flamenco.....	228
7.2.2 Foreign Identity.....	229
7.3 A Glocal Cultural Model	232
7.3.1 Rejected Cultural Models	234
7.3.2 Proposing a Glocal Cultural Model	235
7.3.3 Flamenco Glocal	237
7.3.4 Variations	238
7.3.5 Glocality in Sevilla	240
7.4 Hub Theory and the role of the individual	242
7.4.1 Human Hubs: Individuals in Global Cultural Transmission.....	242
7.4.2 Flamenco transmission and cultural creation: the role of individual human hubs	244
7.5 Cosmopolitan Hubs: a New Model	251
7.6 Conclusion: Postnational, Glocal, Network, Hubs, New Theory	255
Chapter 8: Conclusions	256
8.1 Flamenco ‘Authenticity’ and the Individual.....	257
8.2 ‘Authenticity’ and the foreign aficionado	259
8.3 Original contribution and Future Research	262
Appendix A: Glossary of Spanish Terms	266
Appendix B: Cast of Characters.....	269
Bibliography	271

Figures

Figure 1:1 Wirksworth performance programme; Noemi Luz in <i>bata de cola</i>	2
Figure 1:2 Noemi performing in a <i>fin de fiesta</i> with other ex-pats at Sala Garufa (Sevilla)	5
Figure 1:3 Noemi performing at Sala Garufa in Sevilla	9
Figure 1:4 At Peña del Niño de Alfalfa	10
Figure 2:1 Leeds-Based <i>cuadro</i> , Flamenco Diez.....	22
Figure 2:2 <i>Cantaores</i> Capullo de Jerez (Top) and in La Candela (Bottom).....	24
Figure 2:3 <i>Gitana bailora</i> in Sacromonte, Granada.....	26
Figure 2:4 Leeds-based <i>cuadro</i> Flamenco Diez with the author playing cajón.....	27
Figure 2:5 <i>Palmas</i> techniques. <i>Sordas</i> (Eng. ‘Deaf’) and <i>Fuertes</i> (Eng. ‘Strong’).....	28
Figure 2:6 <i>Bulerías compás</i>	29
Figure 2:7 Flamenco fusion with Diego Guerrero and European Jazz Musician of the Year, Jorge Pardo (flute)	29
Figure 2:8 D. E. Pohren’s proposed classification system of flamenco palos.	31
Figure 2:9 Map of Andalucía, <i>trangúlos de oro</i> of flamenco	34
Figure 2:10 <i>Feria de Málaga</i> : Dancing <i>builerías</i> in the street and performance by <i>Peña</i> Juan Brev.	36
Figure 2:11 Spontaneous <i>juergas</i> in Jerez de la Frontera	37
Figure 2:12 Tablao Cardomomo in Madrid	38
Figure 2:13 Foreign flamenco aficionados at T de Triana in Sevilla.....	40
Figure 2:14 Flamenco tourism paraphernalia	45
Figure 5:1 <i>Bailora</i> Maria Pereira practising/busking in front of Sevilla’s famed Torre de Oro.....	98
Figure 5:2 Performance at Peña del Niño de Alfalfa	102
Figure 5:3: Map of Central Sevilla	103
Figure 5:4 <i>Juerga</i> at Peña del Niño de Alfalfa	106
Figure 5:5 Flamenco dancing on the street by Torre del Oro and the <i>Punta de Triana</i>	110
Figure 5:6 Performance and <i>juergas</i> at La Candela.....	112

Figure 5:7 Performance and <i>Fin de Fiesta</i> at T de Triana, Sevilla	133
Figure 6:1 Programme from one of Antonio and Rosario’s performances at The Cambridge Theatre	170
Figure 6:2 <i>Dance and Dancers</i> from 1956 with advertisement for Madame Lalagia’s classes	172
Figure 6:3 Ron Hitchens performing, c.a. 1960s	175
Figure 6:4 1960s-1980s London Flamenco Scene. Top Row: Antonio’s (1971); Middle: Casa Pepe (1969) and Costa Dorada (Unk.); Bottom: Costa Brava (1989). Photos courtesy of Mario Basilisco	176
Figure 6:5: Maribel la Manchega and Mario Basilisco, at one of Ron’s parties. Courtesy of Mario Basilisco	178
Figure 6:6 The author and Ron Hitchens in front of his hand-sculpted terracotta door.....	180
Figure 6:7 Camino del Flamenco Spanish Nights: Top: Ramon Ruiz Trio; Middle: Kikones; <i>cuadro</i> clapping <i>palmas</i> ; Bottom: Magdalena Mannion	190
Figure 6:8: 1950s Iberian Airlines poster and Spanish State Tourism Department Poster	202
Figure 6:9: Recent posters from a Bar Vivant in Portland, OR and Casa Patas in Madrid.....	203
Figure 6:10 Rosi Reed (Left) during her performance career	205
Figure 6:11 Flamenco juggling, audience participation, and Flamenco Azabache with Flamenco de Liverpool.....	208
Figure 6:12 Carmen de Torres workshop at Flamenco de Liverpool	212
Figure 6:13 Trish Anderton performing with Carmen de Torres in Liverpool.....	214
Figure 6:14 Hebden Bridge Flamenco	221
Figure 7:1 The author with Noemi Luz (Top) and Merche Esmeralda (Bottom)	232
Figure 7:2 Performance by Norwegian <i>tocaora/cantaora</i> Bettina Flater and Mexican <i>bailora</i> Karen Lugo at La Candela.....	241
Figure 8:1 The author, performing flamenco with a Baroque quintet	265

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 A Distinctly British Flamenco Evening

Noemi's long *bata de cola*¹ swung in a wide arc, narrowly missing both the audience and the rest of her *cuadro* – a *tocaor*, Adrian Sola and *cantaor*, Edu Hidalgo. She was dancing a spirited *alegrias* choreographed specifically to accentuate the movement of the long train of her *bata* dress.² She captivated the audience with her energetic footwork, which perfectly locked in with the rhythms played and sung by the rest of the troupe. The trio performed with a style that somehow appeared both practiced and improvised. This exemplifies the essence of flamenco – an art complex that relies on a knowledge of the *compás* specific to the *palo* being performed, with the performers improvising around that style.³ Noemi's trio demonstrated this characteristic, seamlessly moving through temporal and stylistic changes without verbal communication.

Noemi, especially, captivated the audience from the moment she walked through the door to the low-ceilinged attic theatre. The performance began with Edu and Adrian performing a haunting *siguriya*⁴. Following the audience's enthusiastic applause, Adrian continued playing a few *falsetas*⁵ on his guitar as Noemi dramatically entered the room and froze in the doorway with an intense stare etched into her face. She held the erect posture as Edu sang a *letra*⁶ of a brooding *solea*⁷ and then began to dance. The small audience, who were seated on metal folding chairs, sat enraptured throughout the performance, only clapping at the end of each 'piece' - with the exception of my friend Nemmy and I who quietly clapped *compás* along with Adrian's guitar accompaniment.

¹ A type of flamenco dress with a long, weighted train used as a rhythmic tool in the dance. **All unfamiliar terms are explained in the glossary in Appendix A.**

² A *cuadro* refers to a flamenco performing group; a *tocaor/a* is a flamenco guitarist; *alegrias* is a style of flamenco.

³ *Compás* refers to a flamenco's rhythmic backbone; *palo* is the name to refer to one of the many styles that form flamenco as a genre.

⁴ A flamenco *palo*.

⁵ A flamenco guitar technique.

⁶ Lyrics.

⁷ A flamenco *palo*.

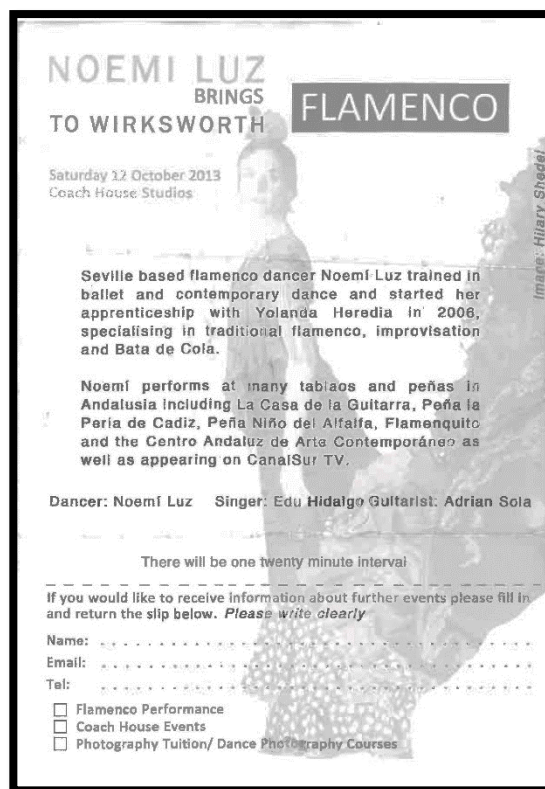


Figure 1:1 Wirksworth performance programme; Noemi Luz in *bata de cola*

Noemi performed several dances throughout the hour-long *espectáculo*⁸, interspersed with solo guitar and cante to allow time for the *bailora*'s⁹ costume changes. Noemi finished the performance to a standing ovation from the tightly-packed audience. Turning to Nemmy (a local

⁸ 'Spectacle', a performance.

⁹ Dancer.

flamenco teacher), Noemi beckoned her onto the stage for the *fin de fiesta*. This began with the *tocaor* playing a few compás of *bulerías*¹⁰ and a short solo followed by an improvised *letra* from Edu. Then it was Nemmy's turn. She danced several improvised *pataitas*¹¹ of *bulerías* while Adrian played and Edu and Noemi clapped palmas. She had not, of course, come prepared with a routine and was wearing trainers instead of proper flamenco shoes, but that is the intrigue of *fin de fiesta* – spontaneity. After Nemmy finished dancing, Noemi moved to centre stage and 'announced' her intent to begin with a series of frenzied but metrical *zapateado*¹². She danced several *pataitas* to the enthusiastic, but unmetred clapping of the audience. Noemi finished with another complex, rhythmical *llamada*¹³ which announced the *cierre*¹⁴ to the rest of the *cuadro*, who continued playing as she danced out of the room. The entire ensemble, including Nemmy, stood up and while continuing to play and clap danced out of the room.

The raucous cheers of the small audience echoed off the walls of the cramped attic room, which was located not in a cosy tavern in flamenco's ancestral homeland of sunny Andalucía, but in the tiny Derbyshire town of Wirksworth on a rainy October night. This was the first time I witnessed a *fin de fiesta* in the UK. The improvised ending to a flamenco show, so archetypal in local Andalusian *espectáculos*, is usually overlooked in UK performances. The erosion of the organised line between structured performance and polite audience into a spontaneous display of unified flamenco is typically outside of the British comfort zone. Nor are even seasoned UK flamenco dancers generally comfortable performing something not based on a practiced routine. Nemmy, having once actually run away to Andalucía to learn flamenco with the Gypsies, was an exception to the UK norms.

As the applause tapered off, I gathered my coat and handbag and exited towards where the makeshift dressing rooms were to locate Nemmy and introduce myself to Noemi. We had been corresponding via email for several months. Noemi Luz invited me to the Coach House Studios that evening while she was on tour in the UK, visiting from Sevilla. She is, however, not Spanish, but

¹⁰ A flamenco *palo*.

¹¹ Short improvised dance segments.

¹² Flamenco footwork.

¹³ 'A call', cues that the dancer gives the *cuadro*.

¹⁴ 'Closing' – the end of a piece.

British, from London. I was referred to her by a colleague who was acquainted with her father – the repetiteur for Opera North. Noemi moved to Sevilla seven years prior at the age of 20, to study flamenco and had never looked back.

I found Noemi and Nemmy by the dressing rooms as the former was hurrying to pack her numerous dresses into a small, Ryanair-friendly tote bag, while admirers from the audience praised her for the excellent performance and asked her various questions about her background. After the crowd subsided, I introduced myself and was greeted with a hug and kiss on both cheeks (the Spanish way.) She said she needed to pack up and get paid but would love to meet at a nearby pub to hear about my research and tell me a bit about life as a foreigner in Sevilla.

Nemmy and I waited for Noemi at the bustling Hope and Anchor Pub and ordered glasses of wine when she arrived. We chatted about the show and the ordeal Noemi had endured finding a replacement singer. Her original singer encountered travel difficulties coming from Spain and there were not any suitable UK-based singers. She found Edu at the last minute through a mutual friend who knew he was on holiday in London. Noemi's parents picked him and his wife up in London and drove them to Derbyshire that afternoon in time for a brief rehearsal with Noemi and Adrian. While many performers would find this stressful, due to their shared knowledge of the flamenco *palos*, Noemi, Edu, and Adrian were able to create a seamless, professional performance.

Noemi has made her home in Sevilla as a student and aspiring flamenco professional. She has remained primarily because of the belief that the most complete way to understand the dance was to immerse herself in all of its aspects: song (*cante*), dance (*baile*), guitar (*toque*), rhythm (*compás*), and the audience participation (*palmas* and *jaleo*). While it is possible to learn these elements outside of Andalucía, Noemi surmises that there is something about being in Sevilla that makes sense of flamenco. Everything you do, wherever you play flamenco, it is totally in context with everything around you; the climate, the smell, the mentality, the people. It is a reflection of what the flamenco culture is about. It is known as the *aire* and does not exist outside of Andalucía – a feeling that is corroborated by other informants for this study. In towns in Andalucía, such as the flamenco hotspot of Sevilla, all four flamenco elements, as well as *aire*, are of equal importance and a necessary part of

the whole. These elements, in the minds of aficionados, are intrinsic to the development and execution of the dance. However, these are factors often overlooked when the music culture is transported abroad and thus when it travels it becomes an interpretation or adaptation of the original. Foreign aficionados, like Noemi, move to Spain for this level of understanding.

Over the years, Noemi has journeyed from the status of student to aspiring professional. The difficulties associated with this process, specifically within Sevilla, will be discussed at length later in this thesis. Noemi now visits the UK several times a year as a performer and workshop technician, often in collaboration with a flamenco *cuadro* formed of two other British-turned-Spanish dancers, a Franco-Anglo *tocaor*, Italian percussionist, and Sevillano *cantaora*¹⁵.



Figure 1:2 Noemi performing in a *fin de fiesta* with other ex-pats at Sala Garufa (Sevilla)

Noemi told me a bit about her experiences on the ex-pat scene in Sevilla. She briefly described a large, loosely associated community of flamenco ex-pats who lived alongside the Sevilla scene having, like her, moved to the city to immerse themselves in the flamenco lifestyle and take classes. They, however, often had issues being taken seriously and gaining acceptance within the broader flamenco scene, especially on a professional level. Noemi reported that gradually, a few

¹⁵ Singer.

foreigners were making a name for themselves, which was helping the overall status of the foreign flamenco community. She offered to tell me their stories and introduce me to the community's sub-culture should I wish to visit her in Sevilla.

My previous experience with the flamenco community in Sevilla, involved witnessing Semana Santa processions and visiting a small dance studio in the suburb of Tomares – all things that are on the surface easy to locate as a foreigner. I had yet to uncover the local scene below the tourist façade, and, indeed, was unsure if it even existed any more. My brief conversation with Noemi that evening not only confirmed that this underground scene still existed, but also inspired thoughts regarding identity conflicts that occur between ex-pat and local performers.

1.2 Statement of Purpose

The experience described above exemplifies how flamenco has travelled and been reinterpreted in the UK, which is one of many international manifestations of this art form. In this thesis, I explore how a global flamenco culture has been formed and what that might tell us about how a music culture propagates in the increasingly-interconnected reality of the twenty-first century. In doing so, I will explore theories surrounding globalisation, transnationalism, cultural migration, and the importance of the individual in cultural transmission. Flamenco makes for a unique example of local-gone-global concept because of its development abroad in emulation of the original scene and its rejection as an identity at home. However, once abroad, it has also had to adapt to the new locality. This is described by the sociologist Roland Robertson as the concept of glocalization. It is a term adapted from the Japanese business notion of *dochakuka* which involves the 'tailoring and advertising of goods and services on a global basis [...] to increasingly differentiated local and particular markets.'¹⁶ In flamenco, this glocalization represents a certain erosion of national and regional boundaries to create an intertwining, global identity, instead of national and regional cohesion. These glocalised scenes are created and maintained primarily through individual cultural brokers. This thesis describes, broadly,

¹⁶ Roland Robertson, 'Glocalization: Time-Space, and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity', in *Global Modernities*, ed. by Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Robertson (London: Sage Publications Ltd 1995), pp. 24-44 (p. 28).

the story about how flamenco impacts the lives of these human hubs and how they influence its development and maintenance both at home and in Spain.

1.3 An Introduction to Sevilla

In January and February 2014 I accepted Noemi's offer to visit Sevilla. Arriving on Día de los Reyes Magos (6 January), I weaved my way through the streets of central Sevilla. They were crowded with processions of *hermandades*¹⁷ dressed like the three wise men, with their faces blacked and hurling sweets at the onlookers. I squeezed through the throngs to the relative quiet of Alameda de Hercules, which was devoid of spectators, except for a man leading a couple camels. I made my way through the two Roman columns, down the long, cement plaza. At the end, I turned right into the narrow, winding maze of streets that make up Barrio Macarena and soon was ringing the buzzer at Noemi's shared flat. She welcomed me into her sitting room with open arms and soon we were sipping tea, sitting on the sofa where I would sleep for the next week. After unloading my heavy pack, we headed out to a cosy bar on La Alameda. That evening, we met several of her ex-pat friend including aspiring Argentinian dancer, Jazmin and Anglo-Franco guitarist, Liam, both of whom I would later interview. They all came to Sevilla with the specific purpose of learning flamenco, having developed an interest in their home countries. The only exception amongst our party was Maria, Liam's girlfriend – a native Sevillana singer who hated flamenco. We spoke in Spanish and the three ex-pats told me a little about some of the difficulties they encountered in the Sevilla flamenco scene. After a glass of wine, we left the bar to turn in for the night – the three ex-pat flamencos all had to get up early to practice for various upcoming classes and performances.

Throughout the week, Noemi introduced me to the ex-pat flamenco scene, which exists as a sub-culture alongside both the tourist and local flamenco in Sevilla. It is connected to the local flamenco culture by a mutual appreciation for the art complex and a reliance upon it for cultural information. The ex-pat scene is, however, divided from the local flamenco community because of perceptions of cultural ownership amongst some locals and foreign punters, as well as difficulties

¹⁷ 'Brotherhoods'.

associated with the ongoing economic crisis in Spain. While I was in Sevilla, Noemi facilitated my introduction to a number of flamenco aficionados from around the world who were making their temporary home in Sevilla to experience the entirety of flamenco culture. She directed me to venues and schools frequented by ex-pat flamencos, which offer a level of flamenco generally not available in their home countries.

Unfortunately, Noemi was rarely able to join me on these adventures as she was occupied rehearsing for her flamenco lessons and an upcoming show. In addition to an intense practice schedule, she had to spend significant time and energy advertising for her performance, which would take place at a local bar on the north side of the city. She was, however, ever-present in my explorations, as seemingly all of the ex-pat flamencos I met knew her or had heard of her, regardless of how long they had been in the city – even though her role in the scene was not ‘celebrated performer’ (as it had been in the UK) but ‘student’ and ‘aspiring *guiiri*¹⁸ performer’. Noemi’s name was even known amongst several of the younger Sevillano flamencos. Noemi spent a significant amount of time attending and performing in the *fin de fiestas* and *juergas* at local *peñas*.¹⁹ She also often hired Sevillano *cantaors* or *tocaors* for her performances, which marks another point of convergence with the local culture. In the coming months, Noemi’s contact with the local scene increased when she began to teach some of her mentor, Yoli’s classes. Yoli is an internationally-travelling *Gitana* flamenco *bailora*, who taught foreign and local students alike, so this was quite an honour.

¹⁸ Andalusian slang for ‘foreigner’.

¹⁹ A *juerga* is a flamenco jam session. A *peña* (in this context) is a club devoted to the cultivation of flamenco, often hosting performances by local performers. While not specifically ‘private’ in most cases, *peñas* are not widely advertised and are intended primarily for ‘insiders’ in the flamenco world.



Figure 1:3 Noemi performing at Sala Garufa in Sevilla

Noemi was making more significant in-roads into the Sevilla flamenco culture than many other ex-pat flamencos due to her connections with Yoli and prolonged presence on the scene. She was quick to point out other *guiri* who were having success. She also told many stories of the difficulties ex-pats had with acceptance into the often-closed local scene. Several other foreign flamencos I met indicated that this was due to a feeling that ‘outsiders’ could not understand the cultural context and therefore diluted the *aire* around the art complex. This meant that while they were welcome as paying students and audience members, often they were not accepted or respected as performers. Due to Andalucía’s long-standing economic crisis, as well as the persistent perceptions of cultural ownership and identity, ex-pats finding professional success seems to be the exception rather than the rule.

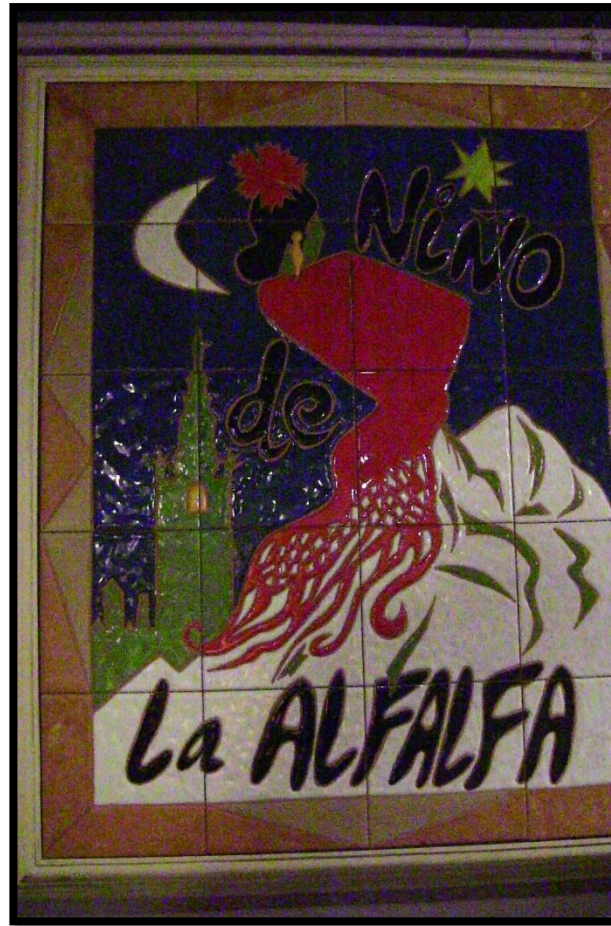


Figure 1:4 At Peña del Niño de Alfalfa

On my final night in Sevilla, Noemi and I attended the weekly Thursday night performance at *Peña Flamenca del 'Niño de Alfalfa'*. (See Figure 1:4). This was a new *peña* which, unlike many of the semi-private flamenco clubs of its kind, periodically would hire foreign performers. The attendees

were a mix of local and ex-pat aficionados who lived in or around the old *Gitano* Barrio de la Macarena. We arrived towards the end of the performance, which was free to attend, and watched the *cuadro* perform their final piece – an *alegrías*. Similar to the performance in Wirksworth, after the *cuadro* took their bows, the *bailora* invited any audience members who wanted to come on stage and participate in the fin de fiesta. Noemi and four others got up on stage and each did an improvised *pataita* interspersed with the solo guitar and cante. After the lead dancer finished her improvisation, the *cuadro* and the invited *bailoras* danced off the stage.

Even as the performing *tocaor* was strumming his final notes, the performance began to seamlessly morph into a *juerga*, as several audience members picked up their instruments. The *juerga* involved improvised cante, toque, and baile executed in an informal manner by performers and audience, *guiri* and locals alike. It was a magical experience that involved guitarists playing various accompaniments in a *bulerías* compás together, while *cantaores* took turns singing a few of their own *letra*. Periodically a dancer stood up and danced a *pataita* as well. Noemi and I stood amongst the crowd, clapping palmas and shouting jaleo. Every once in a while she would tap out some *zapateado* along with the song. As we watched and participated in the interplay and blurred lines between ex-pat and local aficionados, performers and onlookers engaging in the most raw and spontaneous form of the flamenco tradition, she turned to me and said ‘Can’t you see this is my culture, too? I live flamenco like the rest of these aficionados.’ This phrase characterises foreign ex-pat interaction with the Sevilla flamenco scene as they struggle to find their place within it.

1.4 Making sense of the flamenco journey

These bio-ethnographic vignettes about British flamenco dancer Noemi Luz contextualises how individual human hubs, through their transience and transnational interactions, contribute to the creation of a glocal music culture, both within the music’s area of origin (Andalucía) as well as in the ‘receiving’ country (England.) Kiwan and Meinhof, in their book *Cultural Globalization and Music*, define four types of hubs according to the way they support transnational flows: Human, Spatial,

Institutional, and Accidental.²⁰ Human hubs are primary agents who are the focus for everyone in the local network – they know and are known by everyone.²¹ Their social networks cross and link diverse geographic spaces and through their activities some translocal and transnational networks not only remain rooted in origin cities, but also create an exchange between origin and receiving locales.²² My research indicates that this is especially true in the creation and maintenance of flamenco cultures, both at home in Andalucía and abroad. Significantly, in the case of flamenco, these human hubs who transmit the art complex to new scenes are quite often foreign aficionados who through one avenue or another, have developed a passion strong enough to lead them to Spain to learn more about the tradition. Therefore, equally important to specific locales in which flamenco exists are the scenes in between. It is these in-between spaces that occur in the course of the journey down the corridor by individuals who link specific places via flamenco, which shape and create these glocal scenes.

These foreign human hubs' are influential in the grand scheme of flamenco because of its status within the broader Spanish cultural landscape. While foreigners journey to Spain with the expectation that flamenco dancing is an integral part of the culture (a perception that has been encouraged and perpetuated by numerous national and regional governments and institutions), it is really an art complex which only a comparative handful of Spanish (primarily Andalucians) claim as an identity. Early flamencologist, Antonio Machado y Álvarez (or 'Demófilo' as he referred to himself) noted that flamenco was a peculiar genre of music, which neither fell into folkloric or popular styles, because it was not the property of the people as a whole, but an isolated group of *cantaores* and aficionados of the cante.²³ In modern times, this 'isolated group' now includes individuals in foreign countries. Due to both the voracity of the institutional insistence on flamenco as a national identity and its somewhat false association with *Gitano* culture, the vast majority of Spanish nationals (including many Andalucians) view flamenco with emotions ranging from

²⁰ Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike Meinhof, *Cultural Globalization and Music: African Musicians in Transnational Networks* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011a), p. 3.

²¹ Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike Meinhof, 'Music and Migration: A Transnational Approach', *Music and Arts in Action*, 3.3 (2011), 3-20 (p. 6).

²² *Ibid*, p. 6.

²³ Luis Ingelmo and Michael Smith, *Cantes Flamencos: The Deep Songs of Spain* (Bristol: Shearsman Books 2012), p. 8.

indifference to resentment to outright hatred. This was exemplified by many Sevillanos I encountered, including Maria, mentioned in the above ethnography.

1.4.1 Foreign Human Hubs vs. Spanish Cultural Ownership

Because of this animosity and lack of identity towards flamenco within Spain, these transient foreign human hubs are crucial to the creation of global flamenco cultures abroad, as well as nurturing the scene in Andalucía through the maintenance of it as an economic industry as well as contributing to cultural performances. This interest from foreigners (ex-pats and tourists included) has, through fear of dilution, led some Andalusian enthusiasts to view flamenco, for better or worse, as something to be safeguarded, as evidenced by the successful 2010 bid for UNESCO protection and unwillingness amongst some to accept foreigners as legitimate performers. The idea of ‘protection’ from dilution has resulted in the emergence of an off-shoot ex-pat flamenco culture in Sevilla which, as a site of pilgrimage for foreign flamenco aficionados, is the scene that many of our human hubs travel to and from.

1.4.2 Varying ‘Roles’ of human hubs

The ethnographic excerpt featuring Noemi aids us in understanding how flamenco human hubs radiate and influence culture in Spain, at home in the UK, and in the transient space between the two.

Notably, she has different ‘roles’ in each locale. In the UK, we observe Noemi as a cultural broker, performing flamenco for an audience unfamiliar with the art complex and largely from England. Here, she is a teacher, a revered professional, demonstrating flamenco and creating a perception of what it is for the audience. Noemi’s identity as a flamenco dancer is not called into question, nor is she perceived as a foreigner. Many of the concepts she presents to the audience are foreign, though. This includes not only the exotic-seeming dance itself, and the idea of audience participation during the performance (through *palmas* and *jaleo*), but most notably the idea of improvised audience dancing (through the *fin de fiesta*) at the end.²⁴

²⁴ ‘*Palmas*’ are rhythmic hand claps; ‘*jaleo*’ translate to ‘hellraising’ and refers to audience interactions with flamenco performers.

Within the Sevilla scene, by contrast, Noemi's role is that of student and aspiring professional. In the realm of the *peña*, she is perceived as a foreigner, albeit one that is in the know in terms of cultural conventions regarding flamenco dancing. In some circles, she might have her ability as a flamenco called into question or viewed with scepticism because of her ethnicity and associated ideas of cultural ownership. Despite this, she is an active participant in the scene, interacting with locals on a flamenco level and participating in the *juergass* and *fin de fiestas* which are typical at the end of local performances.

Because of differing roles in each location, human hubs, such as Noemi, navigate each flamenco scene in different ways, creating a glocal culture within and as a response to the greater [non-flamenco] cultural landscape. For example, in the UK, conventions in flamenco performance differ from those in Sevilla. Noemi was not thrown by the lack of interaction during the performance (in the form of *palmas* and *jaleo*), which would be normal in Andalusian flamenco performances. She also specifically invites someone (Nemmy) on stage to perform a *fin de fiesta*, as spontaneous performance by audience members is not the norm. Furthermore, even if another British flamenco dancer had been present, it is unlikely they would have volunteered to dance spontaneously. Despite this, Noemi creates an idea of what constitutes 'flamenco' through the act of performing in this way and introducing these ideas of spontaneity in flamenco performance to a UK audience, which will influence how the culture continues to develop.

1.4.3 Responding to scene expectations

In the Sevilla flamenco scene, ex-pat human hubs, such as Noemi, respond to the existing culture, with its conflicting ideas of cultural ownership and rejection of flamenco as its identity, in several different ways. Firstly, they engage in transnational interactions (such as Noemi hiring Sevillano musicians and acquiring a *Gitana* mentor) to improve her skills, acquire knowledge of the historical context in which flamenco was created, and to absorb the cultural behaviours that accompany its performance. Secondly, due to their attempt at finding a place within Sevilla flamenco, foreign aficionados have inadvertently created an ex-pat sub-culture. This is a response not only to the transience of these flamenco ex-pats – members of the sub-culture are forever coming and going – but

also a reaction to their foreignness to the local culture and the resistance that is sometimes directed towards their professionalization within the flamenco scene from natives.

1.4.4 The individual in cultural creation and maintenance

While the experiences of these individual ex-pat flamencos may not seem relevant to how flamenco is globalised, the first example of Noemi within the UK scene alludes to the importance of the individual in cultural transmission. Jonathan Stock, in his article ‘Towards an Ethnography of the Individual’ indicates that, whilst a culture is viewed holistically, individuals are the building blocks, and thus have great influence over how it progresses. He surmises that ‘the personal, the idiosyncratic and the exceptional turn out to be the building blocks of the collective, the typical and the ordinary.’²⁵ The ex-pat experience in Sevilla has great bearing on the scene that individuals transport back to their home countries (in this case, the UK). Reciprocally, the scene that ex-pats create abroad influences expectations that foreigners have of the booming flamenco tourist industry when they travel to Spain. Therefore, Noemi’s brief bio-ethnography hints at the role of the individual in flamenco’s transnational cultural transmission because of the transience between original and receiving locales. It also demonstrates the place of individualism in flamenco through the depiction of an ensemble that had never performed or even really rehearsed together before putting on a professional performance. Flamenco is an art form that consists of independent elements (song, music, dance, rhythm) making up a whole and united by a mutual understanding of the culture and the compás. If an aficionado has a grasp of these elements, he/she can communicate with other flamencos, even if they have never met nor have other cultural or linguistic commonalities; and yet it is an art form whose point it is to communicate deep individual emotions, as opposed to cultural symbolisms.

1.4.5 Flamenco in the Global Flow

In a broader sense, the bio-ethnography above demonstrates how flamenco is glocalized in the UK, how the transmission abroad influences the scene in Sevilla (through an influx of foreigners), and how cultural identity is formed and maintained outside of an all-encompassing national or regional

²⁵ Jonathan P. J. Stock, ‘Toward an Ethnomusicology of the Individual or Biographical writing in Ethnomusicology’, *The World of Music*, 43.1 (2001), 5-19 (p. 15).

identity. Many UK informants, including Noemi, cite the overall lack of understanding of flamenco amongst British audiences and casual dance students (those who just approach it as a leisure activity). Other than individual aficionados, such as Nemmy, who serve as advocates for the art form in their local area, flamenco is something that is enjoyed superficially by leisure-seekers who want to engage with singular aspects (usually dance or guitar) on an occasional basis, with no inclination towards grasping its full impact. Despite this, foreign aficionados refer to a mystical aire in Sevilla that makes sense of flamenco. This encourages them to keep reaching towards Andalucían flamenco hotspots for inspiration. It demonstrates the importance of place for the art complex, which exists irrespective of the lack of mass Spanish identification with it. It also indicates that even glocalized versions of the art complex are not assuming flamenco as their own or striving to dilute it.

1.4.6 Conflicts in Cultural Identity and Cultural Ownership

Also exhibited in the opening ethnography is the lack of identification with flamenco that some Spanish and Andalucíans have, such as Liam's girlfriend, María. While flamenco is considered by many outside of Spain to be one of the primary symbols of national identity, with the accompanying assumption that everyone appreciates it, this is mostly false. It is a concept largely created by various nationalist (through the Franco regime) and regionalist (through the recent Andalucían autonomy movement) campaigns, which attempted to create unity through cohesiveness, as well as attract the tourist eye away from Fascist dictatorships and bullfighting, and towards the lady in the red polka dot dress.²⁶ However within Spain, flamenco is an art complex that is appreciated only by a small handful of individuals. This creates an interesting similarity with the scene in the UK (and other international flamenco communities) in that flamenco is but a small subculture (or series of subcultures) which represents the identity of a relative few dedicated individuals.

Uniquely, the individuals who are transmitting the flamenco culture to the UK are largely British nationals who have, like Noemi, assumed flamenco as an identity. Due to access to a multitude of global cultures (perpetuated by transient human hubs), there are those that are attracted to a culture

²⁶ For more information on the Franco regime see: Stanley G. Payne, *The Franco Regime, 1936-1975* (London: Phoenix 2000).

different from their own and choose to assume it as a new identity – in this case flamenco. Because of reciprocal access to other music cultures within the sending locale (in this case, Sevilla), oftentimes these foreign aficionados appreciate it more than locals that grew up with the culture. This problematizes ideas of cultural ownership in regard to flamenco. While dilution of the art form as a result of globalisation is not desired, foreign interest, specifically amongst tourists and flamenco expats, is important to the continuance of the culture. Industrial economist Yuko Aoyama supports this notion in her article ‘Artists, Tourists, and the State: Cultural Tourism and the Flamenco Industry in Andalusia, Spain’. She maintains that cultural industries like flamenco, while relying on a unique place-specific heritage, are sustained by global demand, occupying a specific economic space within Andalucía.²⁷ Thus foreign involvement is important for flamenco’s continuance in a globalised era, specifically via tourists and individual human hubs. The following thesis explores this reliance on the individual for cultural development and transmission. It sets the scene for a transnational study of human hubs, examining the transience that accompanies the formation of culture in the era of globalisation; specifically a study that examines how these individuals create and transmit culture through a series of transnational interactions and transience between the existing scenes.

1.5 A Methodological Conundrum

This sort of multi-site, dual-national study presents a certain conundrum for the ethnomusicologist. It would have been infinitely simpler to examine the structure and existence of flamenco in either the UK or Spain. However both scenes are defined and shaped by globalising forces, transnational interactions, and the people who move in between these two spaces. Because of this, the question becomes identifying the location of the ‘field’ when examining globalised cultures, especially when looking at the actors that travel between them. In order to achieve this, I viewed these transient cultural brokers both in moments of travel and stasis, necessitating the use of mobile ethnography. Karen O’Reilly, in her key text *Key Concepts in Ethnography*, discusses this relatively recent methodological approach, stating that mobile ethnography ‘invokes a sense of voyage, where the

²⁷ Yuko Aoyama, ‘Artists, Tourists, and the State: Cultural Tourism and the Flamenco Industry in Andalusia, Spain’, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33.1 (March 2009), 80-104, p. 81.

ethnographer traces clues by travelling along pathways, spatially, temporally, virtually, or bodily'.²⁸ The researcher is looking for relationships and connections that explain cultural formations beyond borders.²⁹ Mobile ethnography pertains well to my study, as neither locale in and of itself holds the key to understanding the transactions and transmissions that occur between the UK and Spanish scenes via these human hubs; nor do they independently present a picture of how flamenco has responded to globalisation, varying conflicting cultural identities, and foreign interest. Thus my methodology involved moving between the two locales, much like the human hubs I write about, experiencing flamenco as an ex-pat, and viewing it in states of transience.

As an American living in the UK, I am in a unique position to conduct this study. At its outset, I had no particular connection with either the UK or Spain, but was familiar with transience and walking the line between cultures. As a recent immigrant to the UK, I instead had a concept of what it meant to be an ex-pat and a culture bearer, having spent time traversing transnational pathways between the US and England. This intimate distance is important, as Andy Bennett points out in his scathing review of youth sub-culture researchers.³⁰

1.6 Chapter Summary

This thesis is divided into three sections. First, I set out the theoretical and historical parameters that contextualise and advise my research findings. Second, I utilise traditional ethnography to examine how flamenco plays out in Sevilla and the UK, specifically examining structures, demographics, locations, transnational interactions and how various cultural identities are manifested. Furthermore, I explore how individual foreign aficionados interact with each scene and the difficulties they encounter. Third, I examine the process by which these transnational interactions occur between the two locations and analyse how individual human hubs transport information between them. This further influences how flamenco is glocalized and interpreted in each place.

²⁸ Karen O'Reilly, *Key Concepts in Ethnography* (London: Sage Publications 2009), p. 146.

²⁹ O'Reilly, p. 145.

³⁰ For more information see: Andy Bennett, 'Researching youth culture and popular music: a methodological critique', *British Journal of Sociology*, 53.3 (September 2002), pp. 451-466.

In Chapter 2, I provide a broad overview of flamenco, including a description of its components, performance practices, and stylistic and geographical nuances. I also construct a reading of the contested history of the art complex, with a focus on globalising forces that influence its development. This includes a contextualisation within more recent periods of Spanish history (namely the Civil War, Franco regime, and post-Democratization) which have influenced flamenco development, foreign interactions with it, and concepts of Spanish/Andalucían cultural identity, cohesiveness, and ownership.

In Chapter 3, I offer a theoretical approach to music and globalisation, focusing on transnationalism, music cultural migration, and transmission. I also examine the significance of the individual experience in cultural creation and transmission for ethnomusicological scholarship. Here, I also include a literature review. In Chapter 4, I describe the methodologies employed to shape my thesis, demonstrating the necessity of mobile ethnography and fieldwork in globalisation research specifically that which examines how music travels and re-forms in a different location.

In Chapter 5, I provide a detailed ethnography of the Sevilla flamenco scene. In doing this, I discuss the structure, cultural aspects, and competing identities that characterise flamenco's manifestation in this locale, which often differ drastically from outside perceptions. I also examine the ex-pat subculture that exists alongside the more broadly entrenched flamenco tradition there. Through this, I will show how various foreign interactions contribute to the transcultural social space, thus affecting the scene which is transported abroad by individual human hubs.³¹

In Chapter 6, I develop an understanding of the English flamenco scene through an ethnography encompassing various loosely-connected groups across the country. Through this, I discuss the structure, demographics, and cultural norms that shape its appropriation. Most notably, I analyse the individual human hubs that are crucial to the maintenance of local British flamenco scenes. I provide insight into how the English approach multiculturalism, which often has bearing on how foreign music cultures are interpreted there. Furthermore, I demonstrate how individual human

³¹ Victor Roudometoff, 'Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Glocalization', *Current Sociology*, 53.1 (January 2005) 113-135, p. 119).

hubs, the transient flamenco aficionados, are instrumental in the creation of local flamenco groups in England. I also examine the forces within British culture that inspire these English aficionados to assume flamenco as a cultural identity to the extent that they are led to become these transient human hubs. However, similar to Graham St. John's discussion of the Global-Local Psytrance culture which takes its inspiration from Goa, these flamenco human hubs (and through them, local English collectives) are constantly reaching outwards towards Andalusian scenes for inspiration instead of inwards towards UK culture.³² Nonetheless, UK cultural influences result in the creation of a glocal flamenco identity, in the image of Andalucía but informed by regional variations.

In Chapter 7, I analyse how the individual human hubs, through transnational interactions and transience between both locales, are influential in the development and maintenance of flamenco culture. I also discuss the conflicts surrounding cultural ownership in flamenco. I maintain that, rather than there existing a broad embrace of flamenco across Spain (or even Andalucía), the art complex is actually one assumed as identity by small enclaves around the world, creating a loosely-integrated glocal culture that reaches towards the original for inspiration.³³

1.7 Conclusion

Ultimately, my research offers a distinctly musical reading on how transcultural interactions shape local cultures. Most importantly, it provides an original approach not only to Kiwan/Meinhof's transnational hubs theory to incorporate the foreign aficionado as culture bearer, but also to flamenco academic scholarship. Previously, the latter has neglected discussions of the individual's role in cultural transmission, with very little written about its globalisation. Notably, this research will shed light on foreign human hubs, brokering culture, as an important aspect. This is a crucial distinction because, as cultures become increasingly interconnected and individual access to 'the music of the other' becomes quicker, nationalist-centric concepts of identity erode, leaving in its place widespread individual cultural identities.³⁴

³² Graham St. John, *Local Scenes and Global Culture of Psytrance*. (London: Routledge 2010), p. 3.

³³ Roland Robertson, 'Comments on the 'Global Triad' and 'Glocalization'', in *Globalization and Indigenous Culture*, ed. Nobutaka Inoe (Tokyo: Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics 1997), pp. 217-225 (p. 221).

³⁴ Kiwan and Meinhof, p. 6.

Chapter 2: An Introduction to Flamenco and Globalisation

There is a general assumption by the broader public (at least in the UK and the US) that they understand what flamenco is. This is evidenced both by my personal experiences (being told ‘oh that’s the dance with the red dress and castanets, right?’) and by the depiction of flamenco in performance posters, programmes, and media. Throughout the course of my research, I began to understand that these outsider assumptions about flamenco, and even those presented in academic books, are vastly different to the complex and multidimensional reality that is flamenco. These differences are extensive, including where it takes place, who does it, what ‘authenticity’ is, and what the art complex entails. Flamenco is a tradition composed of a wide variety of genres, styles, conventions, creative aesthetics, identities, and performance contexts. The first part of this chapter provides an overview of flamenco with regards to its components, terminologies, styles, common misconceptions, and what I mean when I refer to flamenco and its ‘original culture’. This will clarify references in latter sections of this thesis. In the second part, I examine the locations of flamenco, describing its original geographic locations, as well as typical performance locations. In the third section, I discuss who does flamenco, ascertaining the ethnicities and identities that are formed. Finally, I provide an overview of the art complex’s historical timeline to situate its trajectory from a local, minority subculture to one practised by countless individuals around the world. In particular, this chapter contextualises flamenco culture and its path toward globalisation so as to provide a backdrop for the modes of cultural migration, such as network migration theory and human hubs, which I reference throughout this thesis.

2.1 What is Flamenco? A Clarification of Components and Materials

The populist view of flamenco, especially outside of Andalucía, is that it is a dance. The term conjures up images of a woman stamping about in a long frilly dress with castanets, while a guitar provides the necessary melodic element in the background. This image has been perpetuated by promoters, tourist organisations, media outlets, and various regional and national movements within

Spain in an effort to centralise identity. This is possibly because it is the easiest aspect to grasp for the non-flamenco enthusiast. The guitar is complicated and seemingly not in a particular rhythm. The singing is in Andalusian dialect and utilises many non-Western vocal techniques. Thus the dancing becomes the focal point.¹ In reality, flamenco consists of four main performance components: song (*cante*), guitar (*toque*), dancing (*baile*), and percussion (usually *palmas* or *cajón*).² Integral to the art form as well is the *jaleo* (audience participation).



Figure 2:1 Leeds-Based cuadro, Flamenco Diez

To complete this list of elements is the *aire* (literally ‘air’) which is a common flamenco term with dual meanings: in the first, referring to a performer’s unique qualities of animation, expression, and rhythm. More importantly *aire* references the atmosphere at a particular event, the sounds, the smells, the people, and, above all historical allusions to ‘place’ and ‘origin’. Because of these diverse components, I refer to flamenco as an ‘art complex’ – a term advocated by economic geographer and flamencologist Yuko Aoyama.³ It is important to note here that flamenco is not, strictly speaking, a folk music, as it generally does not consist of known songs, only styles which are re-created by each

¹ D. E. Pohren, *The Art of Flamenco*, (Jerez de la Frontera: Editorial Jerez Industrial, 1962), p. 56.

² *Ibid*, p. 56.

³ Yuko Aoyama, ‘The Role of Consumption and Globalisation in a Cultural Industry’, *Geoforum*, 38 (2007), 103-113 (p. 104).

performer. Many are simply referred to as *por bulerías* or *por soléa*, which means ‘in the style of *bulerías* or *soléa* – both common flamenco *palos*. Flamenco is not a popular music either, as it has never held widespread cultural appeal in Spain. It is something that falls outside of the normal designations of music cultures.

Details surrounding the origins of flamenco’s components are vague. Until the mid-twentieth century, flamenco has primarily subsisted as an oral tradition and is to this day mostly taught by ear in Spain. As will be discussed later in this section, flamenco started first with the *cante*, as it evolved from various song styles (*palos*) pre-dating the art complex itself. It is the most important aspect for most Andalusian enthusiasts. The *cante* is present in almost all non-tourist flamenco performances. Its magnitude rests not only on what is sung, but also in *how* it is sung. Ricardo Molina in *Misterios del Arte Flamenco* describes what is sung as:

...a deeply human factor, as an artistic expression of a collective, *el cante flamenco* [...] is a wail of complaint from a people who had been repressed for centuries. Flamenco is the primal scream in its primitive form, from a people sunk in poverty and ignorance. Only their utter need and their instinctive emotions exist [...] the] songs are desperation, dejection, lamentation, distrust, superstition, curses, magic, wounded spirit, a gloomy confession from a suffering and abandoned race.⁴

This quote contextualises song lyrics, which are often of unrequited love, persecution, death, loss, political dissent, and (every once in a while) happiness. *Cante* is song with deep emotion, often seeming to be rhythmically free. *Cantaores* (flamenco singers) perform a variety of *palos* which are formed of *coplas* (verses). Lyrics traditionally have come from a variety of sources such as orally (through families, performances, recordings, etc.), poetry, or self-written.⁵ The first mention of flamenco *cante* dates to the late seventeenth century.⁶

⁴ Ricardo Molino from *Misterios del Arte Flamenco*, as quoted by Barbara Thiel-Cramér, *Flamenco: The Art of Flamenco, Its History and Development until our Days*, (Lidngo, Sweden: REMARK, 1991), p. 34.

⁵ Peter Manuel, ‘Flamenco in Focus’, in *Analytical Studies in World Music*, ed. by Michael Tenzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 92-119 (p. 99).

⁶ Michelle Heffner Hayes, *Flamenco: Conflicting Histories of the Dance* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc. 2009), p. 31.



Figure 2:2 *Cantaores* Capullo de Jerez (Top) and in La Candela (Bottom)

Originally unaccompanied, most contemporary *palos* utilise some sort of guitar accompaniment. There are records indicating the presence of guitar in Andalusian folk music starting from the late 1700s, however most scholars attribute its usage in a flamenco context starting more towards the middle of the nineteenth century; a delayed entry which is perhaps explained by there not being enough guitarists familiar with the style.⁷ It was solidified as part of the culture in conjunction with flamenco's emergence into the realm of public entertainment in the mid-nineteenth century.⁸ It existed primarily as an accompaniment for the *cantaor* until the turn of the twentieth century, when it began to evolve as a solo instrument.⁹ Flamenco guitar gained significance as an international art form since, unlike the singing, it was free from cultural conflicts such as language barriers. These days,

⁷ Thiel-Cramer, p. 69.

⁸ Manuel, p.99.

⁹ Ibid, p. 99.

flamenco-style guitar is used in solo performances or in group contexts with *toque* at the forefront (such as Paco Peña's world-renowned performing group). Several techniques are unique to this style, such as *falsetas*¹⁰ and *rasgueados*¹¹. In an ensemble, the role of the guitar is often still as an accompaniment for the *cantaor/a* and timekeeper for the dancer.

Baile (the dance) is undoubtedly the best known and internationally recognised components of flamenco. Outside of Andalucía it is rare to see a performance without a dancer, unless it is of a particularly prominent singer or guitarist. *Baile* was the last of the elements to come under the auspice of 'flamenco', although similar to *cante*, it was most likely influenced by centuries of folk and popular dance forms that came into contact with Andalucía. It emerged around the end of the nineteenth century, possibly also as a reaction to commercialisation.¹² The *bailor/a* is a prominent feature in flamenco group performances. The dance is typified by a paradoxical choreography of gentle, expressive arm and body movement and choreography, interspersed with periods of rapid spins and footwork. Contrary to popular belief, castanets are not traditionally a feature of *baile* – they hail from Spanish classical dance, and are periodically incorporated into *siguiriyas* (a sombre flamenco *palo* with energetic bursts).¹³ The main percussive element on the part of the dancer is in their feet. Flamenco shoes (or *tacónes*) have strong, thick leather soles, wooden heels, and clusters of small nails in the heel and toe. The *bailor/a* actually leads the ensemble by providing cues to signify the beginning and end of song sections, tempo changes, and alterations to the 'feel' of the piece. These signals usually take the form of *llamadas*, which are energetic series of percussive *zapateado* (footwork) to bring the ensemble together. This level of collaboration is vital to the flamenco group performance and requires each performer to have detailed knowledge of the particular *palo*. It is important to note that flamenco is mainly an individual dance; use of a troupe, while done in some *palo* variations or stage shows, is not traditional. Most *palos* do not depict flirtation or gallantry as in

¹⁰ Short complex melodies which act as introductions or interludes in a piece.

¹¹ Scratching or plucking the strings of the guitar in a flicking motion with four or five fingers consecutively.

¹² Heffner Hayes, p. 31.

¹³ Thiel-Cramer, p. 61.

many types of folk dances. It is meant to be introspective and is supposed to reflect the interpreter's emotion, both in movement and facial expression.¹⁴



Figure 2:3 *Gitana bailora* in Sacromonte, Granada

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 65.



Figure 2:4 Leeds-based *cuadro* Flamenco Diez with the author playing cajón.

The *percusión* element of flamenco has most likely existed since flamenco's birth as a music culture. The form these percussive contributions take has evolved since the late eighteenth century, however. Older *palos*, such as those from the *tonás* family, were traditionally accompanied by singular hits on an anvil, a reference to one of the historical *Gitano* occupations of blacksmithing. *Palmas*, or rhythmic hand claps, are one of the older percussive features of flamenco. While they may sound simplistic, *palmas* involve rhythmically-specific patterns, different timbres of clapping (*sordas* and *fuertes* – see Figure 2:5), and often clapping *contratiempo* (cross-rhythms) with other participants. A more recent development in flamenco percussion is the use of the cajón, which is essentially a wooden box hit with the hands. The cajón is a testament to flamenco's history of globalisation. The cajón is one of the best-known Peruvian percussion instruments. Somewhat ironically, it originated with African slaves working in Peru's coastal towns under Spanish rule. Fearing a revolt, Spanish overlords ordered the slaves' drums to be confiscated. Drumming is an integral part of many African religions so the slaves compensated by reconstructing drums out of the fish crates from the harbours where they toiled.

Thus the cajón was born. (See Figure 2:4). In the 1970s, renowned flamenco guitarist Paco de Lucía visited Peru on a tour and was gifted one by composer and Afro-Peruano cajón master, Caitro Soto. De Lucía liked the instrument's sound so much he bought another cajón to bring back to Spain.¹⁵ He began to integrate it into his performances and it gradually became part of flamenco culture. It is now taught at many of the Andalusian flamenco schools and the top troupes utilise them as part of the ensemble.



Figure 2:5 Palmas techniques. *Sordas* (Eng. 'Deaf') and *Fuertes* (Eng. 'Strong')

The primary purpose of *percusión* in whatever instrumental format, is to keep the *compás*. This is the rhythmic backbone of flamenco. The *compás* provides a thread that links the entire ensemble together. It is a marker of expertise for an individual or an ensemble to correctly maintain *compás*, which is more than just maintaining a beat. It involves intricate accents which define each style. For example, a *bulerías compás* is a twelve-beat cycle with counting (somewhat confusingly) beginning on '12' (See Figure 2:6)Figure 2:6. Other percussion innovations include Middle Eastern instruments and the marimba.

¹⁵ 'Paco de Lucía', All About Jazz (2011) <<http://www.allaboutjazz.com/php/musician.php?id=6218>> [Accessed 26/8/2012].

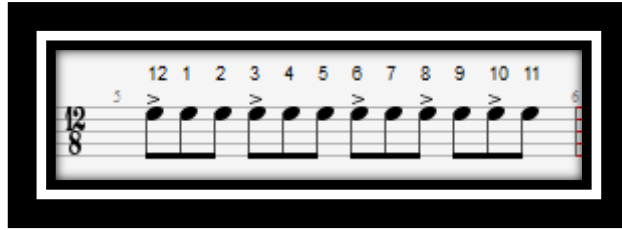


Figure 2:6 Bulerías compás.

The term ‘*Compás*’ describes the basic rhythmic structure which is unique to each type of *palo*. It is something that is felt by all performers, even if no one is directly playing it. The modern flamenco group is referred to as a *cuadro* and on average is composed of a *cantaor/a*, *tocaor/a*, *bailor/a*, and *percusión*. Variations regarding instruments which comprise the flamenco ensemble have emerged as flamenco has globalised, such as flute, saxophone, and marimba.



Figure 2:7 Flamenco fusion with Diego Guerrero and European Jazz Musician of the Year, Jorge Pardo (flute)

Jaleo, derived from the verb *jalear* (Eng: to stimulate or encourage) is audience participation. It includes words of encouragement (such as ‘*olé*’, ‘*toma!*’, or ‘*huasa!*’) shouted to the performers and *palmas* clapped by the audience members (versus a member of the ensemble). Both types of *jaleo* must be done in the correct place in the piece. *Jaleo* is vital not only for the performers, but for establishing an *aire*, as it is generally only present amongst flamenco-educated audiences. Onlookers

who are in-the-know will often clap *palmas* more intricately than the performers themselves. During my research I attended several performances put on by *Peña Juan Bravo* (in Málaga) where seemingly most of the thirty person audience were clapping *contratiempo*¹⁶. Another aspect which blurs the line between audience and performer is the *fin de fiesta*, which was described in the previous chapter. This occurs at the end of a performance, usually in more intimate settings (such as bars and *peñas*), when members of the audience (usually limited to dancers or singers) are invited on stage to perform a few improvised *pataitos*.¹⁷ The ability to participate in this aspect of *jaleo* is the mark of an extremely confident performer, and often provides an outlet for one to demonstrate skills to an audience with the hope of being hired for future performances.

2.1.1 *Palos*

Flamenco repertoire comprises around about a dozen song styles known as *palos*, which have several dozen subtle variants. The *palos* differ from one another in terms of singing and playing styles, lyrical form, distinct *toque* and *cante* melodies, *compás*, song structure, and modality.¹⁸ They can be categorised along many different lines such as the type of music they originated from, *compás*, character, and geographical place of origin. Due to flamenco's status as a primarily oral tradition, a proper classification tool is widely debated. Suggesting a fool-proof method of classification is outside of the scope of this thesis.¹⁹ For the purposes of my research surrounding flamenco globalisation, I find it useful to consider *palos* in terms of their purpose or the ethnic groups they originated with; primarily because in this way, *palos* represent a trajectory of flamenco's globalisation. An example of this sort of system is illustrated by American flamencologist D. E.

¹⁶ On the off-beats.

¹⁷ Footwork sections which fit within the confines of a few *coplas*.

¹⁸ Manuel, p. 95.

¹⁹ For a details analysis of this topic see William Washabaugh's *Flamenco Music and National Identity in Spain* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2010).

Pohren (Error! Reference source not found.)

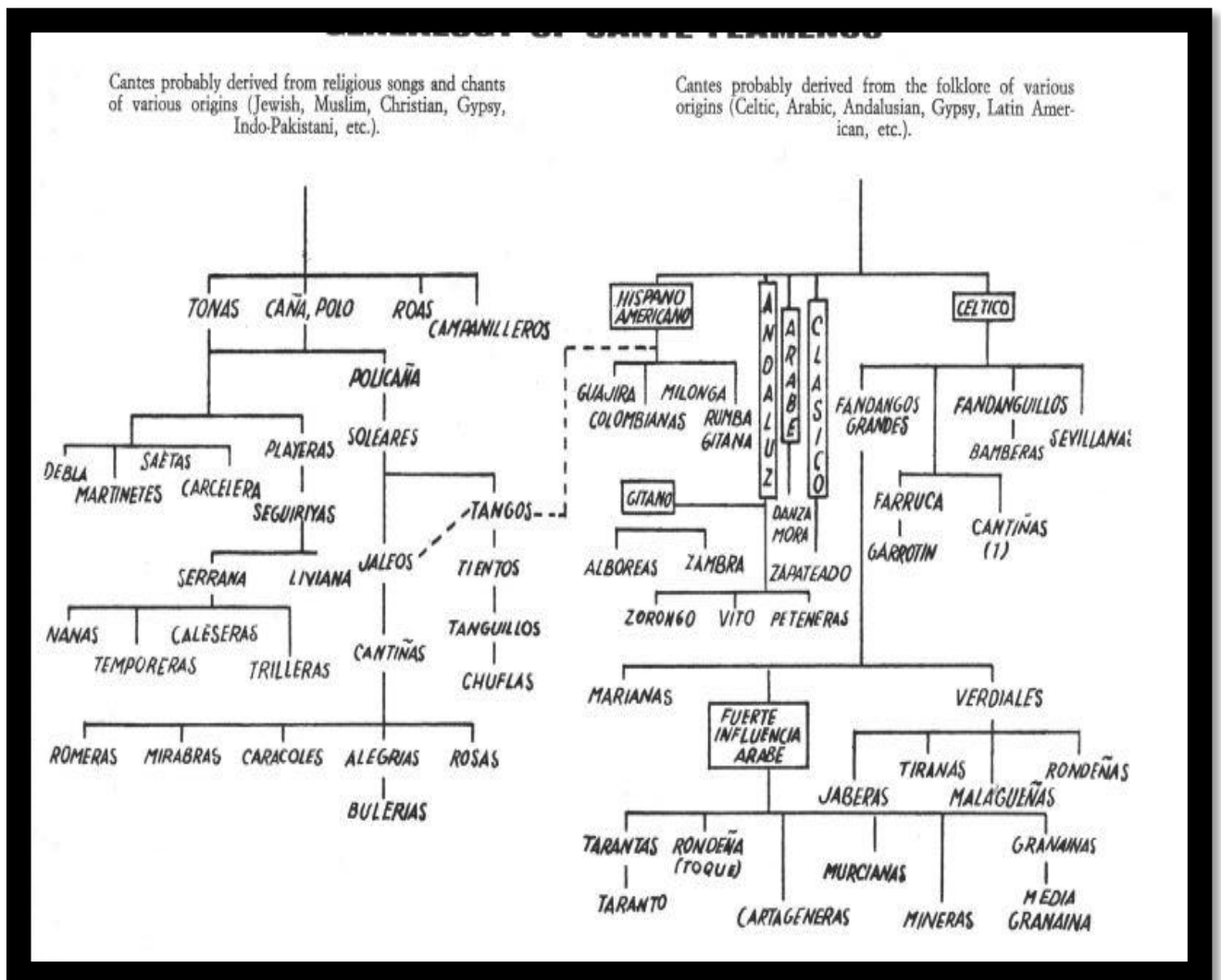


Figure 2:8 D. E. Pohren’s proposed classification system of flamenco palos.

As can be seen from the above chart, flamenco *palos* emerged from a number of ethnic groups: Sephardi Jews, Arabic, *Gitano*, Indian, Celtic, Andalusian, and Latin American. The chart also indicates a variety of performance contexts. To clarify, some *palos* are used only in specific circumstances or reflect a particular scenario. For example, *saetas* are unaccompanied chants sung only during Semana Santa (Holy Week processions) and take their roots from Sephardic religious song. *Alboreas* are wedding songs of *Gitano* origin. *Tanguillos* are songs originally used during Cádiz’s carnival celebrations. *Carceleras* are songs whose lyrics refer to the singer being in prison and emanate from historic *Gitano* persecution and incarcerations.

Significant for my research, flamenco *palos* have been broken up into several main categories, based on the seriousness of the emotional range being conveyed. These designations are *cante jondo*, *cante intermedio*, and *cante chico*. *Cante jondo*, also known as ‘deep song’, is widely believed to be the ‘original expression of flamenco’, the oldest types of *palos*, and derived from religious songs.²⁰ It is considered to include the most difficult *palos* to interpret, due to the effort required to sing with the amount of voice control required for these powerful laments, as well as the emotional effort needed to express the seriousness of the content. The vocal style required is known as “*afillá*”, which describes a rough quality that can crack or split at will.²¹ They include *palos* such as *siguiriyas*, *carceleras*, and *tonás*. *Cante jondo* evolved in private or semi-private settings, as opposed to in the commercial realm.

Cantes intermedios are less intense than *jondo*, although still difficult and profound. They are distinctive because of their strange dischords and eastern-sounding melodies. They evolved from *fandangos*, which actually pre-date flamenco as song styles. Many of the *cante intermedio palos* derived from songs of miners, farmers, and fisherman. They include *palos* such as *tarantas*, *cartageneras*, and *mineras*.²²

Cantes chicos are technically and emotionally simpler than the former two categories. They are generally more obviously rhythmic than the other forms and are often more upbeat. Pohren describes *chico palos* as characterised by ‘the ability to restimulate one’s faith in mankind, life, and faith itself.’²³ Essentially, these are the party *palos* and include song styles such as *bulerías*, *tangos*, and *alegrías*. *Cantes chicos* are more festive than the other two categories and evolved in public contexts such as *ferias* and commercial venues.²⁴

Most *palos* (across all three categories) and their accompaniments were solidified with the era of commercialisation by the end of the nineteenth century.²⁵ These categories are significant designations

²⁰ Ibid, p. 48.

²¹ Ibid, p. 48.

²² Ibid, p. 48.

²³ Ibid, p. 48.

²⁴ Manuel, p. 95.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 96.

because *cantes chicos* are the *palos* most often displayed to tourists, because of their accessibility, whilst the other two categories tend to remain in the domain of aficionados.

2.2 Where is flamenco? Geography and performance situations

Flamenco's geographical and performance locations are crucial considerations when investigating issues of globalisation and identity. The actual place of origin is unknown, and a source of great debate in the flamenco world, especially in recent years as it has been appropriated as a source of identity for use as a political tool. The general opinion is that flamenco emerged in Andalucía in a region known as *triángulo de oro* (the Golden Triangle) which encompasses the area between Cádiz, Sevilla, and Ronda (including Jerez de la Frontera). Others place this triangle between Ronda, Córdoba, and Linares; and still others between Ronda, Granada, and Málaga. (See Figure 2:9). These are all areas which are associated with landing points for *Gitanos*, Sephardic Jews, and Moors during the Spanish inquisition.²⁶

Although many generalise flamenco as an Andalusian art complex (including UNESCO, as discussed later), there are actually several *palos* that claim Extremadura and Murcia as their source of origin.²⁷ The latter even boasts one of the most prestigious flamenco *cante* and *baile* competitions - *Concurso de las Minas*. These *concurros* occur in cities in towns across the South of Spain with varying degrees of prestige. They are generally not tourist attractions and are attended primarily by aficionados. *Concurros* serve as a way would-be flamenco professionals (both Spanish and foreign) can gain distinction, thus providing an easier pathway to paid performances.

With this in mind, it is reasonable to generalise that flamenco emerged from the *palos* of Southern Spain. However, it is also accurate to say that it did not remain there. Flamenco quickly moved into Spain's metropolitan centres, namely Madrid, with the advent of commercialisation (as will be discussed later in this chapter). As early as 1840 there are records of commercial flamenco in Madrid, in what is referred to as part of the 'Andalucización de Madrid' movement.²⁸ These locations,

²⁶ Thiel-Cramer, p. 35.

²⁷ Such *palos* include tangos de Extremadura and la minera from Murcia.

²⁸ José Blas Vega, *Flamenco en Madrid*, (Córdoba: Editorial Almuzara, 2006), p. 93.

as well as Barcelona, are the primary locations for flamenco performance in Spain, although nowadays there are many more locations that boast flamenco as a tourist attraction.

For the purposes of this thesis, I will refer to ‘Andalucía’ and Spain as the ‘sending’ regions of flamenco and the UK and the rest of the world as ‘receiving’ locales (to borrow the terms from migration scholarship).

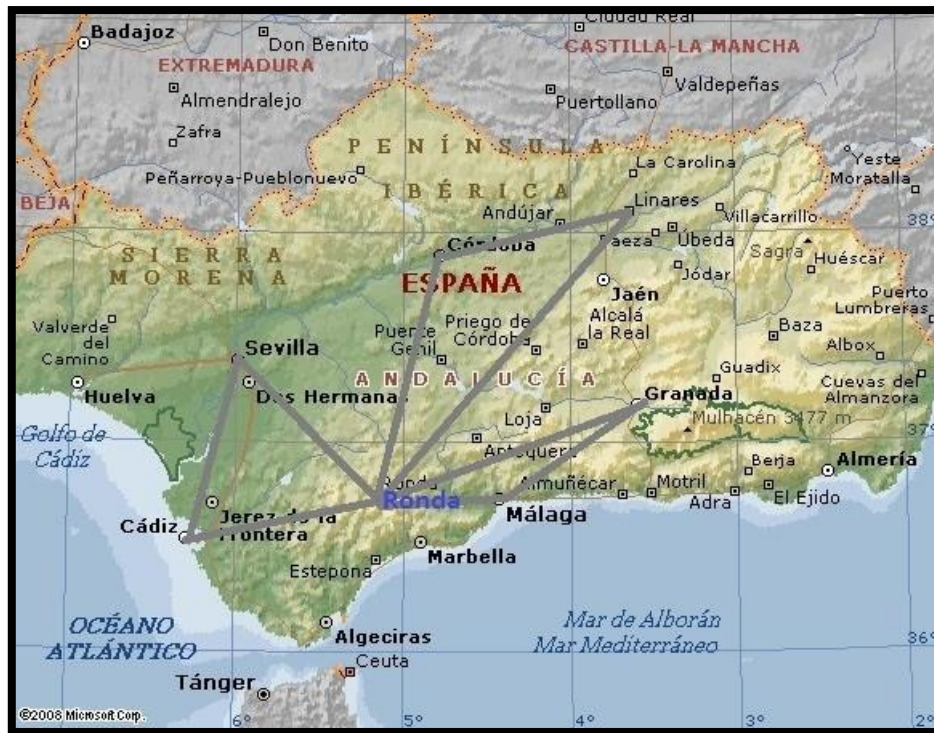


Figure 2:9 Map of Andalucía, *triángulos de oro* of flamenco

2.2.1 Performance locations and instances

Significant to note are the venues, performance locations, and forms which are typical of flamenco. These instances include private family or friend gatherings, festivals (*ferias*), impromptu *juergas*, *peñas*, theatre shows, and *tablaos*. Flamenco occurs privately, not so much as performances, but as a party activity, at family or friend gatherings. This is most common if flamenco is something that ‘runs in the family’, as is the case especially with some *Gitano* dynasties, such as the Sorderas or Farrucos. Local festivals or *ferias*, held across Andalucía during the spring and summer months, are street festivals (usually celebrating the town’s patron saint or of some other religious origin) and residents turn up in their finest to eat, drink, and dance sometimes for days at a time. They often feature

spontaneous outbreaks of the more upbeat *palos*, such as *bulerías* and *tangos* in to street musicians, piped music, or simply to *palmas*. Often local *peñas* set up marquis and hold free flamenco performances featuring local artists during the afternoon. (See Figure 2:10).

Different from these Andalusian town *ferias* are the flamenco-specific festivals. The first one of these was the famous *Concurso de 1922* (also the first official *concurso*²⁹), organised by Manuel de Falla, Federico García Lorca, and Andrés Segovia, among others, to showcase *cante jondo*.³⁰ There are now big flamenco festivals across southern Spain, as well as in Madrid and Barcelona. The most prominent of these are Festival de Jerez and the Bienales de Sevilla and Málaga. They tend to feature popular flamenco artists whose fame is on an international level, as the shows presented are also often taken to significant flamenco festivals abroad (such as in London, Nimes, and Moscow). Many of the larger festivals are primarily marketed to foreign audiences, which is reflected in the price. The implications of expensive travelling shows marketed to foreigners will be discussed later.

²⁹ A flamenco competition

³⁰ William Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion, Politics and Popular Culture*, (Oxford: BERG, 1996), p. 45.



Figure 2:10 Feria de Málaga: Dancing *builerías* in the street and performance by Peña Juan Brea.

The flamenco danced in the street at *ferias* is not limited to aficionados; many Andalucians are familiar with the basic *bulerías* rhythm and style but do not claim flamenco as an identity.

Juergas, or flamenco jam sessions, on the other hand, are a common space for flamenco experimentation and improvisation by aficionados. A *juerga*, similar to that described in the introduction, can be a planned event, where a group decides to get together and practice or a *peña* is held specifically for that purpose. It can also be a spontaneous occurrence, where a few people are sitting in a bar, one starts singing, another starts tapping *compás* on a table, and eventually someone gets a guitar. I have mainly experienced *juergas* in small bars and *peñas* in Andalucía and Madrid,

although a few flamenco groups put them on in England periodically. (See Figure 2:11). While *juergas* are common amongst Andalusian aficionados, serious flamenco students, such as those in the Sevilla ex-pat scene, also schedule them for practice.



Figure 2:11 Spontaneous *juergas* in Jerez de la Frontera

‘*Peña*’ is a term already referred to multiple times in this thesis. To clarify, it is a simply a flamenco club for aficionados. In Andalucía, many of them take place in spaces that the club owns or rents. *Peñas* are usually run by committee and hold events on a semi-regular basis which can be attended by members and guests (who must usually pay a nominal fee to attend). The typical *peña* event that I experienced involved a performance by local artists followed by a *juerga*. *Peñas* in Andalucía often sponsor *concursons*, which are flamenco competitions usually specific to a particular element (*baile*, *cante*, or *toque*) or *palo* (such as *Concurso de Taranta* in Linares.) 70% of Spanish *peñas* are in Andalucía and the rest are concentrated in areas with large groups of Andalusian

migrants, such as Madrid and Barcelona.³¹ The phrase ‘to have a *peña*’ (which I have only heard outside of Spain) refers to holding an event similar to those that *peña* clubs typically put on.



Figure 2:12 Tablao Cardomomo in Madrid

The final two performance locations, theatres and *tablaos*, veer towards the more commercial side of flamenco. Flamenco performances that occur in theatres generally take two formats: concerts by prominent *cantaors/tocaors* or more elaborate, more artistically-daring events often conveying some sort of theme or message (such as political activism, saving the environment, or a *homenaje* to a particular artist). The latter type of show usually features a particular singer or dancer (or collaboration) and involves increasingly elaborate costumes and special effects (such as LED-infused *tacones*). These theatre shows are often created by artists for the purpose of presenting them in different flamenco festivals, both inside and outside of Spain.

Tablaos are flamenco-specific performance venues aimed at tourists. They feature spectacular, highly choreographed shows which heavily feature the dancer. *Tablao* shows generally include the more upbeat and flashy *palos* and play to audience stereotypes, especially with regards to mode of dress. The price tag for entrance is often upwards of €60, which may include a drink and

³¹ Aoyama (2009), p. 90.

tapas. These commercial performance locations differ from the previously mentioned flamenco occurrences because they lack *jaleo*, an omission which detracts from the *aire* of the experience. This is because foreign audiences, on the whole, are usually unfamiliar with the performance conventions of the art complex. They attend to experience the exotic novelty of flamenco. *Tablaos* came into prominence in the late 1950s and 1960s as part of Franco's tourism campaign, which will be discussed in more detail later.

2.3 Who does flamenco?

There are several sweeping popular assumptions regarding who practises flamenco. The first of these is that flamenco is appreciated by all Spaniards and is an important source of national identity. The second is that flamenco is really only a *Gitano* music culture. Neither of these statements is true. Most Spaniards do not consider flamenco a form of identity; this was a construct of the Franco regime in an effort to create a unified national culture. The assumption that flamenco is a *Gitano* construct casts a negative light on the art complex as Spain, as a whole, has never learnt to embrace the 650,000 *Gitanos* who live there.³² While many *Gitanos* do consider flamenco *their* music, not all of them practice flamenco.³³ It is an art form which, from its origins, has developed in conjunction with Andalusian historical and cultural developments. However, even amongst the Spanish and *Gitano* populations in Andalucía, flamenco exists as a minority music culture, appreciated only by a small percentage of the population. I refer to these people as 'aficionados', which is a term in flamenco lingo for someone who is a fan of the art complex. I utilise the term 'aficionado' to refer to anyone who is a dedicated fan, practitioner, or performer.

As noted earlier, there is significant foreign interest in flamenco on both sides of Spain's borders. While foreign aficionados do not come from a location associated with flamenco, they nonetheless embrace it and take it back to their home countries. It is imperative to note that no singular ethnic group claims flamenco holistically as part of its identity, even though both the Spanish

³² Giles Tremlett, *Ghosts of Spain: Travels through a country's hidden past* (London: Faber & Faber, 2012), p. 160.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 163.

national and Andalucían regional governments have attempted to encourage this. Instead, flamenco exists across ethnic lines, which sets the scene for designating it as a postnational art complex. I elaborate on flamenco and postnationalism in Chapter 7.



Figure 2:13 Foreign flamenco aficionados at T de Triana in Sevilla

2.4 Flamenco and Globalisation

Many Andalucían and *Gitano* aficionados ascribe to the idea of flamenco as an art form which is purely a product of their cultures and, thus, must be protected from global contamination. They view it as an art complex which communicates ‘heritage’ and transmits the sentiment of suffering and common history which must be protected from foreign adulteration.³⁴ Even some flamencologists, such as Cristina Cruces Roldán, argue for flamenco being an art complex which emerged as a response to nineteenth century socio-cultural stresses which involved *Gitanos* coming into contact with lower-class Andalucían in an urban environment; that it is a ‘musical mixture that gradually became a cultural fixture.’³⁵ Roldán suggests that flamenco’s hybridisation occurred during a fixed period of time, in the mid-1800s and after this was synonymous with Andalucían regional identity.

³⁴ Malefyt, p. 67.

³⁵ Washabaugh (2012), p. 28.

Peter Manuel, in ‘Flamenco in Focus’, argues a similar line of thought – that flamenco is a crossroads, an ‘eclectic entity, syncretizing the legacy of the Arabs, Berbers, Jews, Christians, and pagans who cohabitated for several centuries.’³⁶ This represents a rhetoric of flamenco cultural essentialism which demonises further global influences.

Other scholars, such as Gerhard Steingress argue that flamenco arose and developed as a response to commercialism and the role of the market. Steingress, in particular, argues for the universal appeal of flamenco, as opposed to Roldán’s cultural essentialism on the grounds that:

While it seems evident that the majority of the population considers [flamenco] to be a consistent element of the Andalucían cultural system, this does not necessarily mean that they identify with it or consider it as a “marker” of their identity.³⁷

Having read a number of accounts by flamenco historical theorists, the main point to become clear is that no one really knows exactly how, when, and where flamenco materialised. It is an art form which has been orally-transmitted until very recently. Its musical etymology is not a neat and tidy affair, but one that is a compilation of cultural interactions. Furthermore, since its pre-commercial origins existed amongst largely-illiterate Andalucían lower classes and *Gitanos*, written accounts prior to 1900 are limited to when flamenco came into contact with other cultures (including upper class Andalucíans and foreigners). Based on these accounts and various flamencology theories, my perception of flamenco’s evolution is that it is an art form influenced by the foreign cultures which have musically contributed to it, the regional and national socio-political forces which have affected its practitioners, and the influence of commercialisation.

2.4.1 Historic flamenco influences

When examining the history of various *palos* that flamenco’s origins reach further afield than Andalucía. For example, styles such as *rumba*, *colombianas*, and *guajira* were influenced by Latin American and African music styles coming into contact with Andalucía because of colonialism and the slave trade. The *palo, farruca*, originates with Galician miners’ songs, brought by Northern Spanish sailors who sailed on colonial voyages from Cádiz. Furthermore, most flamenco *palos* are

³⁶ Manuel (2006), p. 92.

³⁷ Steingress, p. 57.

based on a modal harmony reliant on the Andalucían Phrygian mode, which takes its pitch resources from the Arabic *Bayati* and *Hijaz* maqams – a nod to Moorish influences.³⁸

The pre-history of flamenco is actually a history of the peoples who have passed through Andalucía over the last millennia and, by proxy, created a musical footprint. Between the twelfth century B.C. and fifteenth century A.D., Andalucía became a melting pot for various nationalities to merge and interact. The first Sephardi Jewish settlements supposedly date to about 1,000 B.C., although their age of greatest influence occurred between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, when they were permitted to hold office and even intermarried with Christian families.³⁹ The Moors ruled Spain from 711 A.D. to 1492. Under their rule there was a fair amount of tolerance for the other ethnicities who resided there, including Christians, Jews, and *Gitanos*.

However the *Gitano* arrival in Spain is considered the most important influence on flamenco development. It is rumoured that the *Gitanos* arrived in Spain towards the end of Moorish rule and then were relegated to rural enclaves with other non-Christians upon the onset of the Spanish Inquisition.⁴⁰ The earliest references to flamenco began from the late 1700s in the form of literary allusions in Sevilla and Cádiz.⁴¹

While a full debate on the many theories of flamenco ownership is outside the scope of my thesis, I feel a brief overview of flamenco's evolution overview enables a greater understanding of the individuals and situations portrayed in my case studies and analysis. For the purposes of this thesis, the most important aspect shaping the current flamenco climate has been the Franco regime and, in particular, his tourism policies.

2.5 Tourism

To understand the impact of globalisation on flamenco, it is crucial to contextualise its presence as an element of touristic interest since this has significant bearing on both its transmission abroad and as an

³⁸ Manuel (2006), p. 96.

³⁹ Thiel-Cramer, p. 19.

⁴⁰ Manuel (2006), p. 96.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 94.

identity signifier at home. While it has existed and been influenced by commercialism practically since it has been recognised as a genre, flamenco's status as a specific tourist attraction has really only gained prominence since the middle of the twentieth century. This is, in part, because affordable, mass tourism really did not begin in earnest until 1938, when the UK established widespread paid vacation laws and air travel became more affordable.⁴²

In post-1945 Europe many politicians, intellectuals, and industries viewed mass tourism as a potential instrument of peace and an instigator of Federalism. This was based on the German concept of *Tormuswissenschaft*, which was the belief that tourism could broaden trade scope and improve international income distribution, also possibly contributing to intercultural understanding and removing age-old prejudices.⁴³

Daniel Boorstin, possibly the first social critic to recognise contemporary culture's usage of simulations and contrivances to transcend mundane everyday life, argued that the purpose of tourism was to 'satisfy a widespread craving for "pseudo-events", which were often merely a popularised illusion of culture. Sociologist Joffre Demadezier described this European trend towards leisure as a remedy for the numb routines of modern urban life and labour.⁴⁴

Since the eighteenth century, Spain's modernisation programmes have been closely tied to the concept of expanding 'social, cultural, and economic contact with Europe via travel.'⁴⁵ This culminated with the creation of, most likely, the world's first state tourism commission, undertaken by King Alfonso XIII in 1905, which continued through Spain's Second Republic (1931-36.) During the Spanish Civil War, Franco's Nationalist forces began to use tourism for propaganda purposes, offering battlefield tours in an attempt to influence public opinion. Post-1945, Franco became uneasy with the continued encouragement of foreign tourism because they could no longer restrict freedom of movement without allying themselves with Soviet policies.⁴⁶ However, by the late 1940s, foreign and

⁴² Sasha Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship: Europe's Peaceful Invasion of Franco's Spain*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 6.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 5.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 10.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 11.

commercial policy figures began to envision tourists witnessing progress, order, and tranquillity of Franco's Spain. This also enabled them to extract wealth from European countries which were, at that time, benefitting from the Marshall Plan.⁴⁷

1957 to 1969 marked a political era known as *desarrollista* (Eng: development-guided) in the Franco regime. During this time, the administration enacted policies which essentially created heritage tourism, focusing on print media, speeches, films, and tourism promotion.⁴⁸ By the 1960s, Spain's coastal regions were Europe's most popular holiday destinations, surpassing all other countries in tourism per capita except the US and Italy by 1968. Anthropologist Oriol Pi-Sunyer described Franco-era tourism as a propagandist function since 'the substantial presence of foreign tourists would demonstrate the acceptance of the regime abroad and reinforce the legitimacy of the Spanish economic model.'⁴⁹ This shift came about in part because of a re-focused advertising strategy. This approach, which began to be adopted in the 1950s, was meant to highlight Spain's difference from the rest of Europe, but at the same time its familiarity.

There was a public call for proposals by the DGT⁵⁰ in 1953, in search of focal points for the national advertising plan. One entry, from ten year DGT veteran Carlos Gonzalez Cuesta stands out from the rest, stating that:

Spain has no alternative but difference. [T]he tourist wants amenities and ease of travel, comfort in hotels, good food at the restaurant, better wine, and *Españoladas*: bulls, dance, flamenco, singing, Gypsies...Sevilla, Córdoba, Granada... we must resign ourselves, where tourism is concerned, to being a country of *panderata*⁵¹, or we will have lost 90% of our attractiveness for tourism.⁵²

Following this line of reasoning, eighteen regional themes were selected, most significantly for this paper, Andalucía and Sevilla. This ultimately resulted in a DGT newsprint campaign with the slogan 'Spain is Different', erupting in the 1960s. The promotion emphasized specific local cultures that, to the Franco regime, defined national culture and placed it outside the European norm – such as

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 11

⁴⁸ Eugenia Afinoguénova, "Unity, stability, continuity": heritage and the renovation of Franco's dictatorship in Spain, 1957-1969', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16.1 (2010), 417-433, (p. 417).

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Government publicity agency.

⁵¹ A small tambourine.

⁵² AGA 3:49, 84/18520; Pack, p. 69.

religious festivals, bull-fighting, and flamenco.⁵³ These advertisements, 72% of which were in English, highlighted for UK tourists images of ‘beaches and bullfights, crumbling red castles, flamenco singers, and the ting-tong-tang of the guitar’ for less than £1 a day.⁵⁴



Figure 2:14 Flamenco tourism paraphernalia

These tourist campaigns were often distributed alongside tapes of *Fiesta Flamenca* (such as *sevillanas* and *rumbas*). They targeted audiences around Europe, but specifically England, France, Germany, and the US (because of their post-war presence on the continent). By the end of the 1960s, foreign tourism covered two-thirds of Spain’s trade deficit and was its largest industry.⁵⁵ Due to the poor socio-economic state of the country, localities were doing all they could to attract foreign interest. Across Spain, ‘places with no tradition of flamenco or bull-fighting hurried to build bullrings or Gypsy caves to lure the American or European tourists for whom “Spain” was Andalucía.’⁵⁶ This is also demonstrated in popular culture of the time, for example the 1954 film, *Bienvenidos Mr. Marshall*, which farcically displays a northern Spanish village donning flamenco gear and playing up Andalucían stereotypes when they hear that US Secretary of State Marshall might visit their village.

⁵³ Eugenia Afinoguénova, and Jaume Martí-Olivella *Spain is (still) different: Tourism and Discourse in Spanish Identity* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2008), p. 6.

⁵⁴ Pack, p. 71.

⁵⁵ Pack, p. 2.

⁵⁶ José Alvarez Junco, *Spanish History since 1808* (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), p. 9.

In this way, flamenco became part of a national tourism campaign with *tablaos* being opened not just in flamenco's native home in Southern Spain, or in Madrid (where there had been flamenco performance venues since the nineteenth century), but across the entire country, especially to the coastal regions that were developing reputations as coastal tourist destinations. In the process of developing this tourist campaign, a national identity and perception was also created – specifically to those outside looking in. Interestingly, through this process, Franco was also accomplishing his goal of formulating a cohesive national identity. This concept of national identity in Spain becomes important when assessing how foreigners fit into the broader scheme of Andalusian flamenco culture, as well as how flamenco is understood abroad.

Overall this chapter has portrayed a basic background of flamenco. My assessment is intended simply to provide the relevant background information with which to contextualise the rest of this thesis. The following chapter will discuss in detail the theoretical backbone which contextualises flamenco and its history of globalisation.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Implications

The flamenco art complex is formed by a paradoxical combination of localising and globalising forces. The source of its identity is firmly rooted within the culture of Andalucía's poorer and historically persecuted social classes, although, as described in the previous chapter, the *palos* themselves are significantly influenced by a number of different cultures that have come into contact with the province and its citizens over the last millennia. While strong perceptions of authenticity persist in informing how flamenco is interpreted both inside and outside of Andalucía, these perceptions and interpretations are heavily influenced by transcultural interactions between Spanish and (for our purposes) British aficionados. The UK presents an intriguing contrast to Sevilla in terms of how flamenco is altered when it travels across borders. It is a country that has had historic connections with Spain, as well as currently having almost 400,000 British ex-pats living in it. Spain is almost a default tourist destinations for holiday-bound Brits.¹ Reciprocally, the UK has served as a primary landing location for Spanish touring artists and immigrants. Despite these connections, British cultural norms differ from those of Spain and how flamenco is interpreted. Whilst foreign stimuli have been influential in both the creation and maintenance of flamenco culture, there is an oft-voice anxiety amongst some aficionados, particularly those of older generations living in *cuña* locations, that foreign involvement in the art form dilutes it. However, given the external influences on the maintenance of the industry and, arguably, the art complex itself, a consideration of flamenco in the global flow is practically essential for an understanding of it.

Because these globalising and localising forces are in conflict, flamenco offers intriguing insights into similar threads in ethnomusicology, musicology, and anthropology, especially with regards to migration and global transmission. The subsequent sections in this chapter focus on globalisation, transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, network migration theories, capital, Britishness, and flamencology. In this chapter, I provide brief reviews of relevant literature and suggest possible

¹ Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2016, <http://www.ine.es/jaxi/tabla.do> [Accessed January 31, 2016].

applications to understanding flamenco in the global flow, particularly with regards to the UK. The ethnographic data supporting these implications is presented in Chapters 5 through 7.

3.1 Flamencology: Opinions and Assessments on the history of an Oral Tradition

While there have been many accounts and descriptions written by enthusiasts, only a handful of academics have truly delved into the nature of flamenco. There has been, to my knowledge, nothing written on flamenco globalisation and localisation, much less with regards to the UK. In order to develop an understanding of this phenomena, I not only examined sources regarding flamenco history, descriptions and politics, but also topics such as non-flamenco music globalisation and localiation, local music-making, and ethnomusicological theory and methods.

3.1.1 Scholarly Flamenco Resources

The origins of flamenco are highly speculative, with some maintaining that it is a purely *Gitano* art adopted by the Andalucians with whom they coexist, and others insisting it has evolved from traditional country dances.

Bernard Leblon's book, *Gypsies and Flamenco*, provides perhaps one of the more comprehensive histories of flamenco that I have found. It presents a well-argued case for flamenco being of *Gitano* origin, although many Spaniards argue it is an Andalusian invention. Leblon delivers a detailed description of the different flamenco song-styles and their usages, including musicological analysis. Additionally, he outlines the many similarities between flamenco and *Gitano* music from other parts of Europe and the Middle East. *Gypsies and Flamenco* provides a useful timeline for flamenco music, painting a picture of the oppressive circumstances under which flamenco developed. Additionally, although Leblon does not speculate on this, flamenco's connection with non-Spanish *Gitano* music brings about the idea that, within Spain, it originated as a diaspora itself. Leblon's book makes a convincing argument for its *Gitano* origins.²

² Bernard Leblon, *Gypsies and Flamenco: The Emergence of the Art of Flamenco in Andalusia* (Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1994).

William Washabaugh's book, *Flamenco*, serves the dual purpose of being both a good general resource on flamenco as well as providing a more detailed analysis of the subtle political context behind it. The author categorises flamenco into seven eras of political history: *nacionalismo*, *romanticismo*, *fatalismo*, *modernismo*, *Franquismo*, *Andalucismo*, and *Gitanismo*. He then details the four metonymic aspects of flamenco: orientalization, synchronization, 'Dys'-appearance, and recording. Washabaugh explains flamenco history from the conflicting viewpoints of *Gitanos*, Andalucians, Populists, and sociologists. *Flamenco* also outlines the major turning points for the art in the last century: *café cantantes*, opera flamenco, *concurso del cante jondo*, and the documentary, 'Rito y Geografía del Cante'.³

Washabaugh's *Flamenco* is a relevant resource for several reasons, not the least of which is his academic credentials. The author is considered one of the foremost scholars in flamenco, especially from a political standpoint, and this work was cited by several other flamenco researchers. His description of the political history is more organised and academic than many sources. I found his description of the metonymic aspects particularly helpful, especially when applied to the non-Spanish groups I observed. The fact that these performance characteristics can still bring up political memories outside of Andalucía is particularly relevant and worthy of consideration. This resource is especially helpful in grasping the collective history and emotion that Andalucians put into flamenco, thus shedding light on aspects that their British counterparts may miss.⁴

Malefyt's article, "'Inside" and "Outside" Spanish Flamenco', investigates the relationship between traditional flamenco performance and its commercial "touristy" counterpart. During his lengthy reign, Franco set out to transform flamenco, a previously regional art form, into one of the primary tourist symbols of Spain. As a result, it is widely practiced around the country in a polished commercial context. However, the version displayed for tourists is vastly different from that which is performed by Andalucian and *Gitano* flamenco aficionados. Local flamenco enthusiasts consider the tourist version as inaccurate and have started a movement to relocate the art form in private clubs.

³ See Washabaugh (1996).

⁴ See Washabaugh (1996).

Malefyt provides a comparison of the two flamenco forms, paying specific attention to the contrasting gender implications of each.⁵

“‘Inside” and “Outside” Spanish Flamenco’ is relevant to my project for several reasons. Firstly, it provides a useful description of the differences between tourist and traditional flamenco. These characteristics are significant in comparison with the diasporic version of flamenco. Outside of its Andalucían context, flamenco seems to be more polished, at least from my to-date observations. Secondly, Malefyt’s identification of gender representations in flamenco is based on deeply rooted Andalucían cultural practices. It seems that, especially among non-Spanish participants, these may lose their relevance outside Spanish society. The weakness in Malefyt’s article is that it is twelve years old. While this may not at first glance seem out-of-date, given the fluency of Andalucían social climate and the tourist trade, the author presents the Andalucían aficionado *peñas* as being private and inaccessible to non-Andalucíans. Based on my experiences, this is no longer the case. Anyone can attend a good number of the non-tourist *peñas* if they know where to find them.

Manuel’s article, ‘Andalusian, Gypsy, and Class Identity in the Contemporary Flamenco Context’ presents a comprehensive view of both the history and performance practices of flamenco. While attributing much of flamenco development to *Gitano* influence, he generalises that the art came from Andalucían lower classes who utilized it as a mouthpiece for social commentary. In addition to a history, Manuel provides a detailed musicological analysis of flamenco structure, identifying its modalities, common themes, and typical stylistic features. Finally, the author examines contemporary flamenco hybridisations, tracing even these art forms to *Gitano* society. ‘Andalusian, Gypsy, and Class Identity’ is a valuable source in several respects. Firstly, Manuel is currently one of the most respected ethnomusicologists in the world, especially on the topic of flamenco. Secondly, this article presents flamenco as a product of social oppression and political protest. This is an interesting viewpoint when put in the context of diasporic groups. It begs the question, especially since flamenco

⁵ See Timothy D. Malefyt., “‘Inside” and “Outside” Spanish flamenco: Gender constructions in Andalusian concepts of flamenco tradition’, *Anthropological Quarterly*, 71.2 (1998), 63–73.

lyrics are often improvised, how the music will be affected when it is placed somewhere where the artists do not have a history of oppression.⁶

Bertha Quintana and Lois Floyd wrote a one-of-a-kind ethnography in *Que Gitano!: Gypsies of Southern Spain*. Because of the closed nature of *Gitano* society, there are not many non-*Gitanos* who have gained enough trust to gain access to the inner workings of their lifestyle. Quintana and Floyd present a detailed picture of the life of the *Gitanos* of the Sacromonte in Granada, who are among those most closely associated with flamenco culture. It is important as a scholarly resource because there are few (if any) first-hand outsider accounts about the life of the stationary *Gitanos* who are so closely associated with the development of flamenco. This source also provides a hypothetical history of the origins of this race, with deference to the fact that their history is primarily an oral one and supplemental information must be gleaned from governmental laws, news sources, and other non-*Gitano* written accounts. *Que Gitano!* is important to my research in several capacities. For one thing, it provides fantastic background information on flamenco and *Gitano* culture, which supports and explains many of my observations when visiting the Sacromonte. Additionally, the history of migration theory the *Gitanos* suggest and the authors perpetuate, supports my theory that flamenco is, historically, a globalised music. Finally, the research methodology utilised here is quite instructive. Similar to *Gitano* history, flamenco, both in Spain and further afield, is to a great extent, an oral tradition, with many aspects passed by word-of-mouth. The authors, as mentioned above, uses indirect written records as a means to supplement stories their hosts have shared.⁷

Claus Shreiner's *Flamenco* is a small collection of essays devoted to flamenco. It provides a detailed description of flamenco history, specifically with reference to its *Gitano* heritage. Shreiner includes an essay by Marion Papenbrok that analyses the spiritual side of flamenco, a subject that is often only lightly touched on in most other works, and then only in the context of discussing *duende* (the trance that flamenco performers sometimes go into). Papenbrok's article takes the investigation

⁶ See Peter Manuel, 'Andalusian, Gypsy, and Class Identity in the Contemporary Flamenco Context', *Ethnomusicology*, 33.1 (Winter 1989), 47-65.

⁷ See Lois Gray Floyd and Bertha B. Quintana, *!Qué Gitano!: Gypsies of Southern Spain* (New York: Hold, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).

of spirituality much further, examining the lyrics and performance practices as well. *Flamenco* also contains three essays that provide both a technical and historical examination of flamenco *cante*, *baile*, *toque*, and percussion. These three essays notate and explain the primary musical aspects of flamenco music, as well as offering an explanation of the various expressive techniques that are utilised in this art form. *Flamenco* is a significant source for the detail and breadth of information provided, as well as the calibre of the contributing scholars. It provides an invaluable resource especially in the realm of traditional flamenco expression and rhythms. Particularly relevant to my project are Schreiner's description of *juergas*. The obvious weakness of *Flamenco* is that it was written 25 years ago. It is missing updated information regarding social conditions, political climate, and *Gitano* life.⁸

3.1.2 Globalisation of Flamenco

As noted above, my study hinges on the transcultural flow of flamenco between Britain and Spain. I was surprised to discover precursors to this situation, if only in a vague sense. Holton's 'Like Blood in Your Mouth' addresses two primary themes: flamenco diaspora in Chicago and *cante* techniques. The article is an ethnographic study of a small group of flamenco aficionados in Chicago, led by Andalusian musician Tomás de Utrera. It examines how de Utrera has transported flamenco from its homeland and his efforts to maintain its cultural integrity in a foreign context. The article also inspects the importance of geography and context in flamenco performance, as well as the differences in American musical preference versus those of Andalusians. Holton continues by describing *cante*, which is her area of flamenco performance. She gives a description of specific qualities and techniques that de Utrera teaches. Flamenco singing methods are vastly different from those taught and valued by conventional Western singing tutors. Holton conducts her research similar to my methods, through participant observation and interview, while presenting her findings as in ethnographic form. She examines several issues that I will consider, such as the importance of locality and whether the non-Andalusian audience can grasp the full effect of the raspy flamenco *cante*. I

⁸ See *Flamenco: Gypsy Dance and Music from Andalusia*, ed. by Claus Schreiner (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1990).

question why the author does not analyse the issue of location further. As in the case of any globalisation-related research, I think it is critical to consider whether transporting flamenco from its natural environment removes its potency.⁹

One particularly relevant book is Rocio Plaza Orellana's *Bailes de Andalucía en Londres y París (1830-1850)*, which discusses flamenco in London and Paris from, as the title suggests, 1830-1850. Significantly, it features extensive appendices with articles from various London newspapers during that time period. These consist primarily of theatre reviews and social columns related to Spanish flamenco dancers. Prior to my discovery of this work, the only source I had found regarding the existence of flamenco in the UK had been the documentary, 'Spanish Steps', which really only traces the art form back to the 1950s. *Bailes de Andalucía* documents evidence of its existence long before then, providing an important reference point in which to place British flamenco.¹⁰

In her article, 'The City as a Stage: Flamenco in Andalusian Culture', Maria Papapavlou examines the case of *Gitano* and non-*Gitano* (*payo*) relationships in flamenco, in terms of the construction of social identities. Utilising field work in Jerez, she demonstrates that although the differences between these two groups is small, regarding flamenco values, they recognize themselves as polar opposites. Papapavlou aims to examine how 'negotiated identities are performed on the social stage', or how cultural differences are created in public spaces, such as festivals and performances. Papapavlou accomplishes this through the use of three discursive levels: history, ethics, and aesthetics, demonstrating how they converge and shape the debate amongst native interpreters about flamenco puro. In this discussion, she points out that both *Gitanos* and *payos* actually use the same cultural references and aesthetic criteria for judging the quality of flamenco performances, they just do so for different purposes. *Gitanos* want to keep flamenco private and for themselves and *Jerezanos* want to promote the Andalusian origin and their competence to perform *puro* and *jondo* flamenco. Although they are similar, *Gitanos* feel the need to act out 'difference', specifically in the realms of

⁹ See Kimberly DaCosta Holton, 'Like Blood in Your Mouth: Topographies of Flamenco Voice and Pedagogy in Diaspora', *Text and Performance Quarterly*, 18 (1998), 300-318.

¹⁰ See Rocío Plaza Orellana, *Bailes de Andalucía en Londres y París (1830-1850)* (Spain : Arambel Editores, 2005).

flamenco, to demonstrate a unique identity – performing ‘difference’ on the social stage. The author then uses two major Jerez festivals – Semana Santa and Feria del Caballo – to exemplify how the *Gitanos* accomplish this.¹¹

Papapavlou’s article is significant because it provides a hitherto unexplored angle of *Gitano* identity and how they exercise it to exert difference. I also think the article does not completely accomplish its aims, as Papapavlou only addresses *Gitano* performance of difference, without discussing the *payo* claim of identity with regards to flamenco. Taking place in Jerez, her research is interesting to consider since one of my case studies involves the Jerez Flamenco Festival – an event put on by *payos*, employing *Gitanos*, and catering to a primarily foreign audience. I think this would have been important for her to point out – that although *Gitanos* say they would prefer to keep their art to themselves, a significant number of them utilise it as a source of income, particularly marketing to foreigners. My research builds on her observations about identity but applies them to the interactions between foreigners, *Jerezanos*, and *Gitanos* in terms of this festival and how the lines between performers and spectators are often blurred – a point that is disputed by Papapavlou in her description of performance requiring a clear audience divide .

In her article, ‘Artists, Tourists, and the State: Cultural Tourism and the Flamenco Industry in Andalusia, Spain’, Yuko Aoyama endeavours to demonstrate how the cultural industry and tourism affect cultural survival in the age of globalisation. To accomplish this, she uses flamenco, described as a ‘regionally-embedded art complex’, and exemplifies the three agents that have influenced it over the last 60 years – the cultural industry, tourists, and the state. This article is significant because, while many scholars have acknowledged the cultural hybridity and commercialisation that influenced the development of flamenco (specifically in the nineteenth century), few, if any, have addressed the role of tourism and foreigners as a potential positive force in the continuation of this art form. In fact, amongst several flamencologists and many Andalusian aficionados, global interest is considered a negative influence. Utilising a combination of qualitative research and quantitative economic data,

¹¹ Maria Papapavlou, ‘The City as a Stage: Flamenco in Andalusian Culture’, *Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Europe*, 3.2 (2003), 14–24.

Aoyama suggests otherwise, insisting that the economic power of the flamenco industry is, in essence, what keeps the art form alive. Ultimately, she theorises that ‘staged authenticity’ is crucial for establishing cultural tourism and, consequentially, for the survival of flamenco.¹²

This article is obviously an important one in my research as I, like Aoyama, utilise the Sevilla flamenco scene as a case study to support my theories. Aoyama’s data about Jerez is particularly interesting because it corroborates my observations that the majority of those attending festival events and classes are foreign, or at least from outside of Andalucía. What the author does not note is that the festival-promoted events are not actually marketed for locals – the ticket prices and class fees are much higher than would normally be paid by an Andalucían, especially in this time of extended economic crisis. I feel that this is an important factor to consider when assessing percentages of attendees at this festival in particular. Additionally not in the article, is any mention of the many non-festival events in smaller venues that the festival and tourist office refuse to advertise and are more locally-rooted. I found these performances of equal quality and much cheaper, but only attended by locals or those foreign attendees that had specifically sought out this more intimate experience.

Aoyama’s assessment of the Sevilla flamenco scene is useful as it provides an economically-detailed breakdown of where foreigners access flamenco in the city, which is useful in placing their role in the Sevilla flamenco scene. However, while the author does create a vast industry picture in the municipality, she does so without really placing it in the context of the broader flamenco complex that is the Sevilla flamenco community. More importantly, she does not take into account the significant community of foreign flamenco aficionados (my flamenco ex-pats) who have immigrated (both legally and illegally) to Sevilla to learn, perform, and teach flamenco. Most of these would not identify themselves as tourists, but as insiders of a flamenco subculture. This is a significant distinction when assessing the importance of foreigners in the survival of flamenco. My research incorporates Aoyama’s observations and addresses aspects that she overlooks, expanding upon them to examine the close-knit flamenco ex-pat community and its place in the often closed-minded Sevilla

¹² See Aoyama (2009).

flamenco community, with the aim of understanding cultural exchange and the place of flamenco in an increasingly globalised world.

In Aoyama's article, 'The Role of Consumption and Globalization in a Cultural Industry: The case of flamenco', the author sets out to examine consumption's role in developing flamenco both into an art form in the nineteenth century and then into an industry. She examines case studies in the US and Japan in order to establish the global market reach of the art form. Ultimately, she proposes the presence of a 'geographic paradox' within the cultural industries which both feel the need to root themselves in a place-based identity, but alternatively necessitates regional cultures to create export markets to survive. This article is significant because most scholars tend towards examining flamenco as an art form itself, in terms of Andalucían or *Gitano* identity, or in terms of socio-cultural aspects. Aoyama is addressing, through qualitative and quantitative research, the origins of flamenco, emphasising the role of consumption in its development, with the hope of coming to an understanding of how a cultural art form so reliant on place-based identity is sustained in local and global markets. She demonstrates through her case studies that the diffusion of cultural products, such as flamenco, interacts with globalisation and morphs from a localised art to an exportable commodity and tourist attraction.¹³

Aoyama's article is specifically relevant to my research because the author examines processes of globalisation – namely tourism and exportation – and its influence on flamenco advocating that it is a paradox, most likely positive. She also suggests that flamenco has been influenced by consumerism since the nineteenth century. The points she makes involving the validity and positivity of foreign involvement are arguments I contend with in my field research, specifically those involving the flamenco scene in Andalucía, feelings towards tourist flamenco, and the presence of the ex-pat community. Furthermore, Aoyama's ethnography of Japanese and US flamenco scenes is useful to consider in my ethnography on UK flamenco culture. She supports my observations regarding the paradox of the Sevilla flamenco scene in particular, which looks down on the tourists and the flamenco ex-pats, whilst relying on them for jobs and the existence of flamenco industry as a

¹³ See Aoyama (2007).

whole. My research fits into this dialogue as well because of the similarities and differences between the UK flamenco scene and US and Japanese markets she examines – the demographics of consumers are similar, but the timeline and storyline of its development are naturally, different. Ultimately, my research utilises similar themes – importance of tourism and foreign interest, for example – but is different in the acknowledgement of the alternative ex-pat, aficionado subculture that seeks to understand flamenco beyond the superficial levels and forms a consistent economic and artistic level of flamenco in Andalucía.

3.2 Globalisation

Ulf Hannerz, in ‘Notes on the Global Ecumene’ observes that ‘Cultural interrelatedness increasingly reaches across the world [...] there is now a global ecumene.’¹⁴ Since my research focus is on how and in what form flamenco travels, a logical theoretical starting point is a background on globalisation so as to set the scene for an examination of how it fits into this global ecumene. There are, of course, many scholars who have examined globalisation, especially when referring to its effects on local cultures. Because of this, I limit my examination to a few theorists whose work most closely aligns with my themes. I will begin by looking at Appadurai and his ‘scapes’ theory, which sets a framework for understanding how cultural processes are influenced by both sameness and difference in the context of global flows. I will then discuss globalisation and cultural transmission, using the work of Huib Schippers. Finally, I will examine several theorists who argue for globalisation as a force that actually bolsters local identity, instead of homogenizing and diluting. The first of these is John Tomlinson, who advocates for local cultural identity being a product of global encounters, instead of a casualty of it. Agreeing with this assertion, Roland Robertson introduces his theory of glocalization. Glocalization is the premise for my later explanation of a transcultural flamenco model.

3.2.1 Global Cultural Interactions

Perhaps the most significant of these globalisation theorists is Arjun Appadurai. In ‘Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy’, he observes, the problem with an increase in global

¹⁴ Ulf Hannerz, ‘Notes on a Global Ecumene’, *Public Culture*, 1.2 (Spring 1999), 66-75 (p.66).

interactions is the friction between cultural homogenization and heterogenization.¹⁵ Hannerz also notes similar alarmist predictions that the centre-periphery global cultural flow will lead to the eradication of difference and act as a tool for hegemony.¹⁶ Appadurai asserts that global cultural economy cannot be explained with existing centre-periphery models, as they are complicated, interweaving, and disjunctive. This complexity is a result of underlying disconnects between economic, political, and cultural factors.¹⁷

Appadurai develops a framework for understanding these disjunctures by examining the links between five aspects of global cultural flow, which is his 'scapes' model. He designates the five aspects as Ethnoscapes, Technoscapes, Finanscapes, Mediascapes, and Ideoscapes. Combined, they are the components for 'imagined worlds', which are made up of 'historically-situated imaginations of persons and groups across the globe'.¹⁸ In brief, 'ethnoscape' refers to the scope of people who contribute to global movements, such as tourists, immigrants, exiles, and other mobile groups who seem to affect relationships between nation-states. 'Technoscape' denotes the global flow of technology and the fact that it now rapidly crosses boundaries between nations which were previously impenetrable.¹⁹ 'Finanscapes' describe how global capital moves, since entities such as currency markets and stock exchanges transfer monetary assets almost instantaneously across borders.²⁰ The relationship between these first three 'scapes' is constantly unpredictable and variable. 'Mediascapes and 'Ideoscapes' are more interdependent. The former depicts the global electronic flow of information via the media, and the images created by these media communications. 'Ideoscapes' are also images but are frequently political and related to state ideologies and counter-ideologies.²¹

These five 'scapes' represent the basis for an understanding of how current global flows transpire. A significant change resulting from the disjunction between 'scapes' involves the interplay between

¹⁵ Arjun Appadurai, 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy, *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol. 7 (SAGE: London 1990), 295-310 (p. 295).

¹⁶ Hannerz (1999), p. 66.

¹⁷ Appadurai, p. 296.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 296.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 297.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 268.

²¹ Ibid, p. 299.

production and consumption. Utilising Marx's concept of 'fetishism of the commodity', Appadurai suggests that it has been replaced by 'production fetishism' and 'fetishism of the consumer'.²² The former refers to an illusion perpetuated by transnational production that conceals transnational assets in the 'idiom [...] of local [...] control, national productivity and territorial sovereignty.'²³ 'Production' is a fetish and 'locality' disguises the global forces which are actually in control of production. 'Fetishism of the consumer' indicates that the individual consumer has, through global commodity flows and advertising (mediascapes), evolved into a simulacrum (in Baudrillard's sense), which masks that fact that they no longer have agency over production (through supply-and-demand), but are in fact controlled by the producer.²⁴ This is symptomatic of how flamenco is consumed by UK audiences.

Regardless, Appadurai maintains that cultural globalisation is not synonymous with homogeneization, although it does entail the usage of various homogenizing tools – such as weapons, advertising, and hegemonic languages. In many cases, nation-states have taken it upon themselves to facilitate the 'repatriation of difference' – in the form of emblematic culture, goods, slogans, etc. However, this exercise in national identity creation often inflames 'internal' homogenization.²⁵ Franco's creation of flamenco as a symbol of national identity is a good example of this phenomenon, especially as it resulted in considerable backlash from those who did not identify with it. Ultimately, Appadurai views the individual as 'the last locus' of his 'scapes' model, as the latter are traversed by independent agents who 'both experience and constitute larger formations, in part by their own sense for what these landscapes offer'.²⁶ This foreshadows my later assertions of the influence of the 'individual culture broker' in flamenco.

3.2.2 Globalisation and Music

In his article 'Tradition, Authenticity and Context: The case for a dynamic approach', Huib Schippers sets out to discuss the issues surrounding teaching music, specifically 'world' music, with respect to

²² Ibid, p. 306.

²³ Ibid, p. 306.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 307.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 307.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 196.

tradition, authenticity and context in the classroom. He sees music encountering various cultural backgrounds as a challenge to existing pedagogical belief systems, especially because ‘tradition’, ‘authenticity’ and ‘context’ are terms that, whilst often used with righteous conviction, are applied with uncertain meaning. He advocates the need for a dynamic interpretation of teaching methodology to understand contemporary music-making realities and help educators apply these concepts to their daily practices. Whilst my research is not specifically about pedagogical practices, these concepts of ‘tradition’, ‘authenticity’ and ‘context’ are important terms to both my research and effects of globalisation as a whole. The onset of globalisation has inspired many cultural complexes, such as flamenco, to want to freeze the art form in time – sort of like a musical museum – so as not to be affected by outside influences. In the case of flamenco, this freezing process has occurred not only in the educational sector, but also amongst government-affiliated organisations, and even to some degree in the commercial sector. Schippers’ argument for a dynamic approach is a similar one which I make; ‘tradition’, ‘authenticity’, and ‘context’ are all concepts in flamenco that have been constantly affected by globalisation, commercialism, and improvisation thus to not allow them to happen would be to not preserve the tradition.²⁷ In flamenco, this improvisation occurs within a *palo*’s *compás* and stylistic parameters, with the other performers adhering to this structure while the soloist improvises.

Schippers’ article is particularly useful to me because of his in-depth discussion of the three often-ambiguous concepts referenced in the title. He begins with a discussion of ‘tradition’. He points out that in music education, there has been wavering between an emphasis on perpetuating masterpieces or encouraging creative musicianship. He points out that from Beethoven onwards, the concept of the ‘musical’ museum came into existence, which provides the framework that Western music places itself in cultural heritage. In terms of world music, Western thinking approaches it as ‘music in culture’, citing Merriam who states that ‘there is little validity for treating it as though it were divorced from social and cultural considerations, for [...] music is inevitably produced by humans for other humans within a social and a cultural context’.²⁸ Schippers then addresses the

²⁷ See Huib Schippers, ‘Tradition, authenticity, and context: The case for a dynamic approach’, *British Journal of Music Education*, 23.3 (Nov. 2006), 333-349.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 335.

concept of 'Tradition of Mechanism', which accounts for existence of 'living traditions', where change is a part of the essence of these cultures. This subverts the typical view of Western culture that views 'tradition' as a static phenomenon, whilst most non-Western cultures have traditions that constantly, organically change, sometimes in an effort to retain relevance to their audiences. The author describes the two primary views of tradition as the 'Static approach' and the 'dynamic approach'. The former is characterised by a work that has existed within a closed system, with no new additions and where 'tradition' is a symbol of distinction for an 'established class'. The latter describes music styles whose existence is characterised from continuous change and innovation, having always been exposed to new influences. In the case of flamenco, many of the aficionados, institutions, and communities advocate a static approach, but in reality the music is characterised historically by a dynamic approach. Schippers points out that conservatism is important in the transmission of these living traditions, which in the classroom is often approached as presenting world music as static.

Schippers continues to discuss the concept of 'authenticity'. He utilises a quote from Timothy Taylor in *Global Pop*, who discusses authenticity as historical accuracy or cultural authenticity, stating that there is often confusion over 'these authenticities and an authenticity that refers to a person's positionality as racialized, ethnicized, and premodern'. In the author's view, this supports the definition of authenticity as a 'sincerity or fidelity to a true self'. Schippers points out that change is most likely to occur at the cultural centre of a music tradition and when music travels the teacher and student attitude tends to be conservative. I would dispute this in part when it comes to flamenco, as I have found that the attitudes in locales at the *cuña* de flamenco, such as Sevilla, to be quite conservative, even amongst the ex-pat community. Contrarily it is the more metropolitan cultural centre of Madrid that, in my research, has demonstrated more innovative approaches to flamenco. Further afield, I have noticed differences in the UK flamenco scene from the Andalucían one that demonstrates an effort to accommodate local norms and adapt to a more limited understanding of the music. Schippers supports this phenomenon with his observation that a desire for visible authenticity does not match up with the musical realities where approaches to authenticities overlap and interact.

This addresses the interacting realities of Spanish and foreign flamenco communities that are culturally and economically linked. Looking at authenticity as a whole, Schippers says that while we should view it as having often contradictory meanings, depending on the context, the overall aim is to create the most truthful music experience. With flamenco, there will be constant debate as to what that experience entails.

Schippers' article is important to my research because it neatly discusses concepts central to music globalisation, with specific reference to music education. Although my research goes beyond pedagogy, these well-rounded discussions are very useful. The concept of 'living traditions' that Schippers writes of is particularly important to my arguments about flamenco. While many within and around the culture would argue that it is based on a static collective history, it is actually an art form that has constantly been affected by different ethnic migrations, colonisation, and commercialism. His discussion of context is also relevant because one of the arguments against globalisation of flamenco is that it cannot effectively be understood out of context. Flamenco, as an example, has been moving on a global scale since at least the mid-1800s and, as a music originally used on the street, always responded to different contexts; therefore arguments that its re-contextualisation automatically results in an inauthentic label must be problematized. My research departs from Schippers' in a pedagogical sense because he is specifically referring to teaching in schools, where the pupils are not paying customers. One must question how this concept applies to a teacher in the commercial realm – for instance that of a dance teacher for paying hobbyists. How do they approach balancing maintaining tradition versus accommodating the sometimes competing expectations of foreign students? Are artistic and cultural compensations acceptable if they are a response to consumer expectations, especially bearing in mind that in the views of some flamencologists, the art form has always been a response to commercialism?

3.2.3 Globalisation and Local Identities

In his chapter 'Globalisation and Cultural Identity', John Tomlinson disagrees with the traditional negative view that globalisation is an extension of Western imperialism and a destroyer of local cultural identity. Instead, he argues that the existence and strength of cultural identity is actually the

product of global encounters, rather than its victim. Ultimately he concludes that the complexities involved with globalisation do not indicate they diminish the significance of national identities, but it does implicate the manner that these complexities are experienced within globalisation, as always in flux. This chapter is significant to my research because of the complex and usually heated debates that surround not only the effects of globalisation upon local flamenco, but also its status as a marker of identity – internationally, nationally, and regionally. Many of his points are quite potent to my arguments regarding the effects of globalisation on the flamenco industry, however I would argue that because of reasons regarding national identity – to be discussed later – that while globalisation is integral to the strength and survival of the flamenco scene it is possibly not beneficial to its status as an identity icon. In the grand scheme of things, flamenco is an art form that is part of the self-identification for small, enthusiastic groups of people both inside and outside of Spain, whilst the rest of Andalucía and Spain view it largely as something that does not apply to them.²⁹

Tomlinson opens his chapter with a description of the reasoning behind the theory that globalisation is a destroyer of identity. He somewhat sarcastically points out that before the current era of globalisation, the world consisted of local autonomous and culturally-independent communities with strong connections between sense of place and cultural experience, which makes up cultural identity. The ‘Globalisation as Destroyer’ theory views the current era as globalisation sweeping over these unadulterated local cultures and resulting in the general process of loss of cultural diversity. Tomlinson contradicts this, saying that globalization has actually created and proliferated cultural identity, however this involves a different understanding of ‘identity’ and a more complex understanding of the process that allows for the unpredictability of consequences.

Tomlinson continues by stating that there are plenty of scholars that contradict the theory of ‘Globalisation as Destroyer’. In particular, he cites Castells, who states that ‘Our world and our lives are being shaped by the conflicting trends of globalization and identity’ and shows identity as the ‘upsurging power of the local culture which resists centrifugal force of capitalist globalization’.

²⁹ See John Tomlinson, ‘Globalisation and Cultural Identity’, in *The Global Transformations Reader*, 2nd Edition, ed. by David Held and Anthony McGraw (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 269-277.

Tomlinson points out that the impact of globalisation is determined by the interaction of an ‘institutional-technological impetus towards globality with counterpoised localising forces’, but that it is contradicted by various processes expressing locality as well as cultural efforts by nation-states that bind populations into cultural-political order of local identification. This point in particular relates to my research on flamenco, as attempts to lock the Spanish and Andalucían population into a flamenco identity have existed in varying degrees on institutionalisation since the Franco era.

Tomlinson in his next section seeks to make his point that globalisation actually proliferates identities, stating his belief that there is an ‘inner logic between the globalization process and the institutionalized construction of identities’. He views the globalisation process as actually the ‘globalisation of modernity’ and modernity as the harbinger of identity. He believes that cultural identity is not easily affected by globalisation because it is such a massive dimension of ‘institutionalised social life in modernity’, which is reinforced on a daily basis through institutions such as media discourse. Tomlinson continues by relating globalisation to modernity. He sees modernity as the substance of categories of belonging as well as their institutionalisation, and thus the harbinger of identity. Globalisation is the vehicle for the distribution of modernity across cultures, but also produces it where it did not previously exist.

Tomlinson discusses the effect of deterritorialization on identity. He views culture as less determined by location because locality is now penetrated by distance, which results in the transformation of our typical cultural existence and brings globalised influences into our daily lives. He states that although globalisation may produce challenges to the dominance of national identity, since most of us lay claim to some sort of affiliation even after immigration, it is not actually in danger. He acknowledges that it may be necessary to examine more long-term identification shifts, such as the development of hybrid cultural identities which result from multicultural societies and the emergence of transnational popular culture. Tomlinson concludes by reiterating that the complexity of globalisation does not diminish national cultural identity, but it does influence how this identity is experienced and how individual state apparatuses respond to these changes.

Tomlinson's chapter is significant because it describes and challenges the commonly-held theory that globalisation destroys and dilutes local 'traditional' cultures, instead he defends globalisation as a clarifier of cultural and national identity. This work is important to my research because many scholars and aficionados within the flamenco scene see globalisation as something that cheapens and weakens the art form and its meaning, Many view foreign performers and performances for tourists as vehicles for the destruction of flamenco and thus of the significance of their cultural identity, which results from a more diluted and popular form of the art. I contend that foreign interest actually strengthens flamenco, in terms of creating an industry and a performance demand. Globalisation, and specifically tourism, has actually created flamenco as a regional and national identity, this view is held by outsiders. Inside of Spain, it is an identity symbol only to small pockets of aficionados largely situated in Andalucía, Madrid, and Barcelona. Outside of those groups, it is often considered an imposition on individual identities. Because of this, foreign interest is actually crucial to its survival. Similar to what Tomlinson suggests in terms of cultural identity, the effect of globalisation on flamenco culture relies on how it is presented to these foreign enthusiasts. If it is presented as a stereotype or in a diluted form, that is how it will be reproduced by them.

3.2.4 Glocalization

Along the same lines as Tomlinson's assertions regarding globalisation and cultural identity, sociologist Roland Robertson promoted the need to examine basic issues of meaning surrounding globalisation. He observed a tendency for some scholars to imagine globalisation as a macro-phenomenon but felt this was part of a 'mythology of globalization', as per Ferguson (1992).³⁰ This mythology references developments that eliminate locality through the 'triumph of culturally homogenizing forces over all others.'³¹ He criticises Giddens' view that globalisation should be understood as expressing time-space distancing and the intersection of social events 'at distance' with local cultures.³² Robertson does not feel this viewpoint fully accounts for global-local

³⁰ See Marjorie Ferguson, 'The Mythology about Globalization', *European Journal of Communication*, 7 (1992), 69-93.

³¹ Robertson (1995), p. 25.

³² Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), p. 21-22. Giddens in later writings defines globalization as 'the reason for the revival of local

complexities and maintains that sociologists need to surpass arguments which pit homogenization against heterogenization since globalisation is not either of these.³³ However, unlike homogenization scholars Hamelink and Barber, Robertson did not see the global as necessarily detrimental to the local; instead he viewed globalization as the ‘compression of the world as a whole, involve[ing] the linking of localities [...and] the invention of locality.’³⁴

Robertson, instead, stipulated that the universal and the particular should be synthesised, which led to the development of his theory of ‘Glocalization’. Glocalization, in brief, describes the ‘simultaneity and the interpenetration’ of the global and the local. The theory is meant to address some of the weaknesses in typical usage of globalisation theories and surpass the usual portrayals of global-local tensions.³⁵ Glocalization falls in line with speculations by Hannerz which describe two possible outcomes of long-term transnational flows: saturation and maturation. The former suggests the preponderance of homogeneity. The latter, which Hannerz views as the most likely, rests on the possibility that eventually imported cultures which were originally unaltered, would come to evolve in a manner more aligned with a fundamentally local disposition.³⁶ Basically, globalisation increasingly entails creating and incorporating locality, in a mutually beneficial relationship. The concept of glocalization address how local cultures travel and are adapted to other localities. Glocalization suggests an element of ‘selective incorporation’, which addresses a nation state’s propensity to mimic aspects of cultural practices from other societies, and incorporating a range of foreign ideas into their own culture.³⁷ I discuss the concept of glocalization in greater detail in Chapter 7, as it informs my proposed model for international flamenco culture.

3.3 Cosmopolitanism

The concept of cosmopolitanism is one that has gradually edged its way into scholarly rhetoric surrounding globalisation, glocalization, and transnationalism. Socialist Ulf Hannerz defines

cultural identities in different parts of the world’ (2000: 31), however this was not one of the inspirations for Robertson’s glocalization theory.

³³ Ibid, p. 27

³⁴ Ibid, p. 35.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 40.

³⁶ Hannerz (1999), p. 74.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 41.

cosmopolitanism as ‘an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness towards divergent cultural experiences’, where particular individuals have the ability to access a variety of cultural competencies and interact within ‘new meaning systems’.³⁸ He outlines two types of cosmopolitanism: cultural and political. ‘Cultural’ cosmopolitanism refers to consumption of foreign cultures, while ‘political’ deals with ‘global government and governance’.³⁹ I will focus on the former category as that is most applicable to my research. Hannerz goes on to specify that these individuals endeavour to immerse themselves in foreign cultures, participating in them on a holistic level. This is in contrast to foreign tourists, who are attracted to specific qualities in a holiday destination (such as beaches and sunshine), and otherwise want them to be similar to their home environs.⁴⁰ Hannerz is quick to point out that in both cases, the ‘surrender to otherness’ is generally a personal choice and does not require a definitive commitment to any particular culture, pointing out that ‘one always knows where the exit is’.⁴¹ This implies that cosmopolitanism is always a personal choice. While this may be the case for citizens of the Western world, others, such as those in post-colonial countries, have also had to learn to handle cultures other than their own – and not by choice.⁴²

Building on Hannerz earlier definitions of cosmopolitanism, Szerszynski and Urry examine ‘cultures of cosmopolitanism that transpire from various global processes. Through research in the northwest of England, they examine whether globalisation is actually causing cosmopolitanism.’⁴³ They define cosmopolitanism as ‘a cultural disposition involving an intellectual and aesthetic stance of “openness” towards peoples, places and experiences from different cultures’.⁴⁴ It entails an appreciation for the differences between societies, as opposed to a desire to dominate. They identify a series of issues with previous definitions of cosmopolitanism, which indicate cultural receptivity is primarily a trait of affluent travellers from the Western world and occurs at the expense of local

³⁸ Hannerz (1990), p. 239.

³⁹ Ulf Hannerz, ‘The Two Faces of Cosmopolitanism: Culture and Politics’, CIDOB Edicions, Barcelona, (2005), 5-29 (p. 8).

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 6.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 6.

⁴² Ibid, p. 16.

⁴³ Bronislaw Szerszynski and John Urry, ‘Cultures of Cosmopolitanism’, *The Sociological Review*, 50.4 (2002), 462-481 (p. 464).

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 448.

peoples. Szerszynski and Urry then suggest a general model for cosmopolitanism which avoids pitfalls of previous scholars.⁴⁵ This model focuses on several main traits of cosmopolites:

- 1) 'extensive mobility' – where people have the right and the means to travel;
- 2) 'capacity to consume many places en route';
- 3) Cultural curiosity;
- 4) Willing to risk encounters with the "other"; and
- 5) Ability to situate one's own culture on a historical and cultural map.⁴⁶

This builds on Tomlinson's expansion into 'glocalized cosmopolitanism', which focuses on an individual's ability to live in both the global and local, since cosmopolites regularly experience these 'other' cultures while residing in their own localities.⁴⁷

These concepts of cosmopolitanism can shed light on certain aspects of musical globalisation. In 'On Musical Cosmopolitanism', Martin Stokes observes that 'supercultural, subcultural and intercultural music practices [...] are now in close and unpredictable contact'.⁴⁸ He draws specific attention to the globalisation issue of musical encounters happening outside of their borders which challenges the logic of traditional 'bounded culture'.⁴⁹ Stokes proposes an approach which makes sense of globalisation not as a singular, holistic entity, but as a conglomeration of many cells, with 'cultural and institutional specificity' which approach the global as an operation zone in from diverse angles. This leads him to cosmopolitanism as it applies to music. Stokes believes cosmopolitanism inspires thoughts about how people embrace the music of the 'other' and how this embracement enables music to circulate globally, which inserts human agency back into globalisation analysis.⁵⁰ He asserts utilising cosmopolitanism as a tool for understanding music globalisation signifies conscious musical exchanges and hybridisation. However, 'cosmopolitanism' (as alluded to above) is a

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 469.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 470.

⁴⁷ Tomlinson, p. 198.

⁴⁸ Martin Stokes, 'On Musical Cosmopolitanism', *The Macalester International Roundtable 2007*. Paper 3. <http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/intlrtable/3>. (2007), 1-19 (p. 4).

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 4.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 6.

complicated term that also incites images of local music cultures fighting for prestige and cultural authenticity.⁵¹ Stokes, warns that cosmopolitanism is no longer a benign concept, as it is now linked with ‘acts of acquisitive consumption, and the control of others.’⁵² Nonetheless, Stokes perceives music cosmopolitans as creating new musical worlds within specific circulation systems. These systems dictate what is available and how the music culture moves.⁵³

In my research, I utilise the term ‘cosmopolitan’ to apply to the human hubs who transmit flamenco in between Spain and the UK. As these individuals are largely British transporting a local Andalusian art form, the term applies. However, it is important to consider Hannerz’s words regarding the situational state of cosmopolitan consumption, for this points to how, quite often, aspects of flamenco change during the journey because, for whatever reason, they do not fit with British consumer or audience specifications. This refers back to Stokes’ statement regarding music cosmopolitans moving within specific circulation systems. As will be demonstrated throughout this thesis, flamenco’s specific circulation system seems to be via cosmopolitan human hubs who transport the music within the cultural norms of their home country.

3.4 Music and Migration

Moving on from theories of globalisation, I now examine modes of cultural transport and creation, which are explained by various aspects of Network Migration Theory. Flamenco, as I discuss in later chapters, globalises primarily by individuals carrying it from Spain to foreign locales. This necessitates a background discussion about migration theory.

The volume *Migration, Development and Transnationalization: A Critical Stance* is a collection of essays edited by Nina Glick Schiller and Thomas Faist aims to critically examine the tools and conceptual frameworks that surround scholarly debates about migration and development. They explore the oft-times contradictory discourses and how they perpetuate existing inequalities. All of the scholars, from various scholarly starting points, argue that the traditional arguments

⁵¹ Ibid, p. 10.

⁵² Ibid, p. 10.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 15.

surrounding migration, specifically the ‘asymmetrical but mutual’ resource transfer that characterises it, is flawed in that it is primarily focused on the interests of the North. The authors point out that in light of the recent global economic downturn, migrants have been the most vulnerable, whilst contradictorily being viewed as important ‘agents of international development’ by institutions such as the World Bank, the EU, the UN, and various NGOs.⁵⁴

Although the authors of this volume are primarily examining migration from a macro-economic perspective, with minor focus on social remittances, it is pertinent and indeed important for my research because I believe the theories and frameworks it suggests are applicable on a micro level to the situation of globalization and flamenco, as an example of cultural migration. In fact the two competing macro arguments in migration and development are essentially the same contradictory narratives that surround the presence of foreigners and their interest in the flamenco world. For example, Glick Schiller and Faist in the ‘Introduction’ point out that the attribution of ‘difference’ to immigrants amongst receiving populations has reinforced concepts of national identity, unity, and borders. They support this with the immortal assertion of Fredrik Barth in his book *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (1969) that borders and boundaries construct and mark cultural difference. This is essentially a created space for identities to develop within. Barth also surmises that social groups are formed and build value and behaviour systems based on interactions with other groups. Identity can only exist based on interactions with the ‘other’ and the construction of borders. In applying this, what are the borders in flamenco migration? If nation-state borders are not the divisive feature, then where are the flamenco lines of difference drawn? In terms of flamenco, these ‘borders’ and perceived identities are not based on lines drawn by nation-states per se, but they are based on ethnicity to some extent and, failing that, cultural capital. These ethnic borders, specifically in my case study on the Sevilla flamenco scene, consist of Spanish Andalucians, *Gitanos*, and flamenco ex-pats. The additional factor is that not all (or even most) Andalucians consider flamenco to be part of their identity, but they will still question the validity of

⁵⁴ See Nina Glick Schiller and Thomas Faist, eds., *Migration Development, and Transnationalization: A Critical Stance* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010).

foreign aficionados' and ex-pats' understanding of the art form. Some Andalucians and *Gitanos* acknowledge that members of the other groups can actually grasp flamenco, find it *en el corazón*⁵⁵, relying on cultural capital to establish respect and status within the flamenco world. Others within the first two groups denounce that each other and, of course, the foreign flamenco migrants, can properly engage in the art form and thus are a danger to its future.

The authors reiterate that, despite negative rhetoric involving migrants as a destabilising force, the benefits of migration actually flow in both directions with regards to sending and receiving countries in terms of economic benefits. This concept also applies to cultural migration and flamenco. From an economic perspective, in Spain, and Sevilla in particular, migration of ex-pat flamenco students create jobs for teachers, need for housing, and demand for bars and *peñas* in which to perform and observe the art form. Although some Sevillano aficionados would argue that these foreigners dilute the meaning behind flamenco, it seems that the influx of students' intent on learning and becoming part of a subculture which is largely rejected as an identity marker within Spain, can only strengthen it. In turn, migration of these ex-pat aficionados strengthens the scene back in their home country – the UK for the purposes of this PhD – in the form of socio-cultural remittances.

Within the Sevilla flamenco complex, the scene is affected by this infusion of people wanting to learn and be a part of the culture. However, some in the Sevillano flamenco scene have quite close-minded ideas about who, ethnically, should actually be performing flamenco, whilst other native performers view them as a threat to their limited employment opportunities – despite the fact that the foreign interest actually creates and maintains the flamenco industry. This local hesitance to accept foreigners results in the creation of a new social group – one who is increasingly knowledgeable, highly-devoted, and eager to immerse themselves. These migrants become cultural brokers who transfer their knowledge to flamenco students and audiences back home, thus strengthening the scene there with increased cultural knowledge. Consequently, this also creates a demand for visiting teachers and performers from Spain – temporary migrants – who strengthen this cultural exchange by travelling the UK to share knowledge. Not only is it beneficial to the receiving country (in this case,

⁵⁵ In the heart.

the UK) but also provides an economic benefit to Spain in terms of remittances to family members. Furthermore, the cultural remittances flow back to Sevilla through an increased worldview and oftentimes an altered view about the ability of those in the outside world to understand flamenco.

The authors draw a distinction between old and new scholarly methods of thinking about migration, claiming that while the most common trope is that development failure produces international migration, the new mantra should be that migration actually aids in advancing economic development in the country of origin. In the case of flamenco migration, both of these seemingly contradictory statements can apply. On the one hand we can consider that the ‘failure of development’ is equivalent to the inability of native flamenco performers to find work in Sevilla, and thus they move abroad temporarily or semi-permanently to find work. The lack of work is due to several factors, not least of which is the lingering economic crisis in Spain, but other culprits include institutional involvement in Andalucían flamenco, which sponsors only the very top-level of artists, causing a domino effect. These institutions include UNESCO, the Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco, and the Andalucían government itself. The other factor is, to some extent, ex-pat migration to Sevilla. Many of these ex-pats are interested in performing for the experience and are not that interested in excessive payments, therefore bar owners hire them instead of Andalucíans of a similar level.

On the other hand, the authors’ ‘new mantra’ is also applicable. As mentioned above, flamenco ex-pats create demand for a number of services including teaching, accommodation, flamenco moda and musical instruments, rehearsal space, *peñas*, and venues to gain performance experience, as well as to watch others. This is a small, but important part of the overall economy in Andalucía, in this time of economic crisis, as the region is dependent on tourism and, generally, foreign currency to keep people in work. The government was, until recently, investing money into a local performance series (CajaSur), although money is still provided to festivals to support the biggest artists by the Andalucían government flamenco institution. On a socio-cultural level, the ex-pats, at least to some extent regenerate flamenco interest amongst Andalucíans (who might not otherwise have identified with it) if for no other reason than it is a way of earning extra income. The demand is there for flamenco, specifically in this region with a high unemployment rate, so musicians and

tourism services will accommodate. This renewed local enthusiasm is also possibly because there is simply more flamenco around in the public forum and regional popular music scene due to tourist interest and the increased number of people in the flamenco industry itself. Because of the economic crisis in Spain, international interest is crucial for keeping the art form alive, and, coincidentally, it provides employment for individuals who may not be able to find it otherwise. For example, *Gitano* families actually train their children from a young age to perform professionally and famous *Gitano* artists will often incorporate younger family members into their acts.

Glick Schiller and Faist draw our attention to the fact that various development agencies have predicted migration to be agents for development in their country of origin. Outputs such as the 2005 report of the Global Commission on International Migration places emphasis on not only the necessity for financial remittances but also for highly skilled labour in OECD countries, which gives encouragement to ‘new schemes of circular migration’. This applies on a cultural migration level to flamenco as well. In terms of flamenco artists touring or temporarily residing in the UK, they inevitably return with an increased worldview on the capacity for British practitioners to understand the art form, which in turn will gradually broaden the worldview of the scene in the culture of origin, possibly lowering the ethnic barriers and reverence for static tradition. Additionally, the Spanish flamenco presence in the UK will expose more people to it, increasing interest and, inevitably bringing more business to flamenco-related businesses in Spain. My observations support the importance of this influx of ‘new blood’ and interest in the flamenco scene.

In Faist’s chapter, ‘Transnationalization and Development: Toward an Alternative Agenda’, the author addresses the current thinking of migration as an agent for development, which is characterised by ‘Transnationalization of the model, with mobile people emerging as central agents of social transformation’ In terms of flamenco, this statement could not be more true. It is the combination of these international flamenco performers and foreign ex-pat aficionados that create the circular migration trend which encourages the continual artistic, economic, and social development of flamenco. It is often questioned in the flamenco world whether this internationalisation is a good process and whether it should change. There is significant resistance to change, even though

historically it is an oral tradition with a history of hybridity and globalisation. Many scholars and institutions (both external and internal to Spain) have expressed the desire, both implicitly and explicitly, to freeze flamenco in time and keep it traditional, even though oral cultures typically change with the times, the people, the technology available, and, arguably, with the will of the consumers.⁵⁶

The never-ending debate regarding the commercialisation of flamenco fits in with the two competing narratives that characterise migration, in the minds of Glick and Schiller: firstly that migrants are development agents and secondly that migrants are threats to the prosperity of nation-states. On a micro, cultural level, this concept can be applied to flamenco, specifically the debate about the benefits and detriments of tourists and foreigners in flamenco. The foreign involvement in flamenco on the one hand demonstrably serves to economically benefit the flamenco scene. Conversely there are compelling arguments for the negative influence they can have on the culture and the purity of the art form. The latter debate is not without validity, seeing as the average tourist flamenco performance rarely includes *cante jondo*, has a focus on dance instead of *cante*, and rarely includes the critical element of *jaleo*. There are clearly changes in style and meaning when performed for non-aficionados.

Glick and Schiller conclude that the conditions for realizing migration's benefits are complicated because they are inextricably interconnected with the transformation of the fundamental power struggle between regions and states. They surmise that migration cannot singlehandedly eradicate structural limitations to economic growth and greater democracy. This final statement is also applicable to flamenco. The art form is a complex being that exists as a quasi-folk and popular music, a major industry, and a performance culture. There are many competing interests that affect flamenco – including local interests, foreign aficionados, tourists, economic entities, and Andalusian political factions. The capability to reap the benefits of flamenco's circular migration patterns lie in the hands of these competing narratives and their willingness to view and correctly utilise and the

⁵⁶ Scholars such as Isidoro Moreno Navarro in 'La identidad Andaluza en el marco del estado español, la union europea y la globalización', (2001), <http://www.andalucia.cc/adarve/IdentidadAndalucia-5.htm>. Institutions such as Instituto Andaluz del Flamenco, UNESCO, and the Spanish Dance Society.

socio-cultural benefits. This cultural migration cannot solve the pre-existing conflicts regarding flamenco institutionalisation, nor can it settle the ongoing fight over the competing flamenco creation myths which lie at the root of debates regarding hybridity and commercialisation. These pre-existing conflicts have developed around the debate about whether flamenco is harmed or helped by government promotion, UNESCO protection, and usage as a commercial tourist attraction. Despite all of the arguments for the positive effects of migration and globalisation, Glick and Schiller do not address the issue raised by many enthusiasts: should flamenco be an industry or will that dilute the art form? However, the question being asked by flamencologists and native aficionados alike should not be ‘Are the *guiris* ruining flamenco?’, it should be ‘how do we properly present this art form to them so that they can effectively apply their own individuality to it?’ These are important things to consider because flamenco is not an art form that represents national or regional identity it is a transnational community drawn together by its magic and *duende* as a form of expression.

3.4.1 Networks and Hubs

The discussion of migration and transnational development leads into a discussion regarding the transnational networks within which migrants operate. Kiwan and Meinhof, in their book *Cultural Globalisation*, recognise a recurring problem in migration research which emerges from the circuitousness of investigating specifically-located diasporic communities. This reinforces the stereotype that migrant groups are spatially-defined.⁵⁷ In reality, they maintain significant contact with both their sending and receiving countries. Tim Rice advocates for subject-centric musical ethnographies in order to contribute ‘narrative coherence to the complex and seemingly fragmented world’ with which socio-cultural researchers engage.⁵⁸ The type of ethnography (as I will discuss in Chapter 4) takes the form of investigating research subjects’ biographies and interactions in time and space.⁵⁹ Kiwan and Meinhof’s model shares the concept of musical ethnography with Rice, but

⁵⁷ Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike Meinhof, *Cultural Globalization and Music: African Musicians in Transnational Networks* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011a), p. 3.

⁵⁸ Timothy Rice, ‘Time, Place, and Metaphor in Musical Experience and Ethnography’, *Ethnomusicology*, 47.2 (2003), 151-179, (p. 156).

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 156.

applies it to significant migrant musicians and cultural organisers.⁶⁰ Based around Rice's suggestion and concepts of Network Migration Theory, Kiwan and Meinhof propose a hub model, which provides a perspective of how people and places interact in a 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' manner. They further argue that the transnational networks migrant musicians operate within are facilitated through and by four different types of hubs: human, spatial, institutional, and accidental.⁶¹

Human hubs are influential individuals (musicians, cultural organisers, etc.) who are a focal point within the scene, known by most members of their particular network. Their social networks transcend borders and connect countries of origin with countries of settlement, linking a wide range of artistic, institutional and professional contexts.⁶² Spatial hubs are key spaces for cultural activity of migrant musicians. Examples of this include capital cities in the receiving (such as London, Paris, and New York City) and sending countries (such as Dakar, Casablanca, and Algiers).⁶³ Institutional hubs refer to roles played by particular organisations in sending and receiving countries which support cultural work of migrant and post-migrant musicians, such as Instituto de Cervantes or the Goethe Institut. Lastly, accidental hubs refer to researchers who become involved in networks. They have connections with other academics, media, and cultural institutions so it is predictable that the cultural investigator would also become involved in our subjects' musical networks.⁶⁴ This model demonstrates the vast array of interpersonal connections that exist between migrant musicians and cultures, sending and receiving countries, local populations in each locale, and the possible manifestations of how musicians perceive their own movements.⁶⁵ Kiwan and Meinhof's hub theory (specifically the 'human' aspect) is further unpacked in Chapter 7, as it is a keystone for my model of flamenco globalisation and transmission.

⁶⁰ Kiwan and Meinhof (2011a), p. 4.

⁶¹ Kiwan and Meinhof (2011), p. 6.

⁶² *Ibid.* p. 6.

⁶³ *Ibid.* p. 7.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 7.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p. 6.

3.4.2 Concepts of Capital – Migration meets Bourdieu

Kiwan and Meinhof's theoretical model adopt a network field research design with the aim of exploring the routes and pathways of multifaceted hubs and nodes of artistic creation within the realm of migration pathways. In doing this, they demonstrate how migrating musicians utilise transcultural capital to fashion a career that features trans-border connections.⁶⁶ Initiated by Meinhof and Triandafyllidou in their book *Transcultural Europe*, transcultural capital references a blend of social, cultural, and economic capital utilised by migrant musicians to create music careers outside of their home countries.⁶⁷ It merges Bourdieu's notions of 'capital' with Levitt's 'social remittances' and provides a vehicle for the researcher to analyse capital specific to transnational migrants to retain artistic links with their sending countries.⁶⁸ The concept of transcultural capital will be further explored in Chapter 7, specifically as it applies to globalised flamenco. I will, however, provide a brief background of Bourdieu's notions of capital and Levitt's social remittances.

Bourdieu, influenced by Marx, created the concept of *capital* to explain the foundations of social order and to make sense of how people are situated within various social spaces. Essentially, the more capital one has, the more influential they are within their particular social fields.⁶⁹ Bourdieu identifies four species of capital: Economic, Cultural, Social, and Symbolic. Economic capital refers to a command over economic resources, such as cash or assets. The other three types of capital can be derived from it but this requires some sort of transformation process.⁷⁰ Cultural capital concerns any knowledge, experience, or connections that one has had through the life course that allow someone to succeed more than someone with a different series of experiences or connections. It allows one to be familiar with and at ease using institutionalised cultural forms.⁷¹ Social capital is indicative of resources based on group membership, relationships, and networks of influence and support.⁷² Finally,

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 8.

⁶⁷ Ulrike Meinhof and Anna Triandafyllidou, *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in a Changing Europe*(Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 14.

⁶⁸ Kiwan and Meinhof (2011), p. 8.

⁶⁹ Pierre Bourdieu 'The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups', *Theory and Society*, 14.6 (1985), 723-744 (p. 724).

⁷⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in *Education: Culture, Economy and Society*, ed. by A. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown & A Stuart Wells, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 46-58 (p. 46).

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 46.

⁷² Ibid, p. 51.

symbolic capital is resources available to an individual based on honour, prestige, and recognition within their particular field of existence. Levitt's concept of social remittances incorporates ideas, behavioural norms, identities, and social connections that transfer from receiving to sending countries through migrant communications with their homeland.⁷³

Capital is essentially resources utilised by agents who occupy positions in particular realms of social life. In conjunction with concepts of 'capital' is Bourdieu's notion of 'social fields'. He stipulates that society is a collection of loosely associated groups of 'cultural activity' with different rules and values of cultural capital, with field members striving to maintain their significance.⁷⁴ Conflict arises when overlapping fields strive to preserve their own forms of capital. If members of a dominant social field appropriate an activity from a non-dominant group, they have the power to utilise cultural institutional tools to creatively alter its aesthetics to play to the dominant's strengths and modify them.⁷⁵ This is similar to Gramsci's observations regarding hegemony. He proposes that, in a culturally diverse society, the ruling class can dominate by imposing its worldviews as the societal norm, which is then, because of their prestige, perceived as a valid ideology by all social classes.⁷⁶

In terms of UK flamenco, while British practitioners (in this case, the dominant group) do assert their cultural capital upon flamenco traditions, it is only to the extent to make them fit within their behavioural norms. On the whole, British practitioners and aficionados do not consider themselves to be the new authority and constantly strive to emulate the Spanish tradition. As a result of this, there is a collection of impassioned individuals whose tendency is to reach not to the practitioners of their own country (however experienced) but to the keepers of the tradition in the South of Spain. It is significant to note that a large part of Flamenco's meaning originally emanated from a history of collective suffering amongst the *Gitanos* and Andalucians. With this factor in mind,

⁷³ Peggy Levitt, 'Social Remittances: Migration Driven Local-Level Forms of Cultural Diffusion', *International Migration Review*, 32.4 (Winter, 1998), 926-948 (p. 926).

⁷⁴ Norman Urquía, 'The Re-Branding of Salsa in London's Dance Clubs: How an Ethnicised form of Cultural Capital was Institutionalised', *Leisure Studies*, 24.4 (2005), 385-397 (p. 387).

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 396.

⁷⁶ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2003), p. 12.

it is difficult to comprehend how such a musical tradition could be conceived by those not ethnically affiliated with the intimate taverns and village squares of Andalucía. However, this is what my research seeks to understand – the appropriation and reciprocal effects of globalisation on flamenco. This paves the way for foreign flamencos (and Andalucían flamenco migrants) who have experience with the art complex in its homeland of Andalucía, as well as existing social connections there, to have significant influence in flamenco scenes abroad. This influence, which combines social and cultural capital, is often used to perpetuate economic capital. The fact that the cultural and social capital emanates from cross-border connections confirms the necessary application of Meinhof and Triandafyllidou's concept of transcultural capital.

3.5 Britishness

It is helpful, at this juncture, to consider several other ethnomusicological studies which have as their focus British music cultures, particularly those pertaining to amateur and foreign music consumption. This will aid in situating my research into the existing body of ethnomusicological literature. There are several key accounts which address concepts of Britishness with regards to approaches to music as leisure, specifically with regards to the interpretation of the music of the 'other'.

Ruth Finnegan's *The Hidden Musicians*, is an ethnography of local, amateur musicians in Milton Keynes. She only briefly addresses world music groups, but nonetheless the book provides detailed descriptions of demographics, performance practices, individual and group dynamics, among other things across a variety of amateur musical organisations. Finnegan seeks to explore the significance of local music-making and how it enables people to make sense of urban life.⁷⁷ Utilising the urban centre of Milton Keynes as an example, she points out the breadth and vibrancy of amateur music in the UK. Finnegan observes that local amateur music consists of structured activities but is often hidden from outsiders not directly associated with the scene. Significantly, she notes what the musical activity meant for its participants, if not for professionals. From her research, many people were motivated by social aspects and the general desire for an artistic experience.⁷⁸ The author notes particular aspects

⁷⁷ Ruth Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2007), p. 3.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 41.

about performance practices – namely that they must be organised and require specific preparation.⁷⁹ Finnegan finds that local music has to be ‘made’ to happen and is dependent on social organisation on a grassroots level.⁸⁰ Ultimately, she sets out two paradigms for understanding how music fits into UK urban life: first, the idea that the city is large, heterogeneous, and adverse to personal control and warmth; and second is that musical activities provide a community where people develop ties, associations, and the feeling of personal involvement in their locality.⁸¹ This work provided insight in how to examine local (UK) amateur flamenco groups and validated certain observations I subsequently made regarding motivations and performance.

In ‘Samba in Wales: Making sense of Adopted Music’, author Jochen Eisentraut looks at street samba percussion groups in Wales and the participants understanding of its personal significance for themselves, also providing a comparison with Bahían samba.⁸² Similar to Finnegan’s research, the author looks at structure, motivations, and performance and rehearsal practices. While some of his findings are similar to Finnegan’s, Eisentraut’s research is particularly relevant to my examination of UK flamenco groups because his Welsh samba group is made up of members with no historical connection to the music they play.⁸³ This necessitates an additional dimension to his investigations, namely one into the adoption and de-ethnicisation of samba. The primary variation that he notes is how UK samba bands are entirely percussion, removing the melodic and vocal elements that characterise Bahían samba.⁸⁴ As a result, Eisentraut surmises that players in the UK and Brazil ascribe differing meanings to samba music – with the former focused on the sound and process of music creation, and the latter ascribing greater historical and social significance.⁸⁵ Despite this, he finds that, to quote Blacking, foreigners can ‘make connections between musical and non-musical experiences without specific cultural rules...because the human brain’s ability to relate different

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 152.

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 236.

⁸¹ Ibid, p. 299.

⁸² Jochen Eisentraut, ‘Samba in Wales: Making sense of Adopted Music’, *British Forum for Ethnomusicology*, 10.1 *Music and Meaning* (2001), pp. 85-105.

⁸³ Ibid, p. 85.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 97.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 102.

transformations of the same figure do not depend entirely on cultural experience.⁸⁶ Eisentraut's assertions support many of my observations about British flamenco culture, specifically with regards to patterns of adoption, variations, and modes of understanding.

Sue Miller, in her article 'Perceptions of authenticity in the performance of Cuban popular music in the United Kingdom', investigates essentialism in Latin music promotion in the UK, with a focus on ethnicity, gender issues, and perceptions of authenticity by looking at autobiographical evidence from her *charanga* ensemble, Charanga del Norte.⁸⁷ She notices that, in the UK, there is a lack of curiosity about foreign cultures regarding authenticity, which she refers to as 'globalized incuriosity'. This occurs specifically amongst promoters and general audiences, who are content to assume foreign music authenticity lines up with their stereotypes.⁸⁸ Miller asserts that it is the responsibility of promoters and performers to alter 'globalized incuriosity' by avoiding generalised, exotic images when promoting Latin music. Significantly, Miller also draws attention to a certain disconnect between music and dance which results in inaccurate understandings of ethnicity and authenticity.⁸⁹ The author's observations of the UK Latin music scene hold many similarities with my findings about *Flamenca Britannica*, specifically with regards to 'incurious' cultural assumptions and a misunderstanding with regards to the culture being more than just a dance.

3.6 Theoretical Conclusions

This chapter has provided some theoretical background for flamenco in an effort to make sense of the paradox of its globalising and localising forces (both in Andalucía and abroad). While its identity is perceived to be historically situated in Andalucía, stylistically it has been influenced by the many cultures that have come into contact with the province. Furthermore, it is an art complex that, for the last two centuries has travelled and gained a following on a global level. Somewhat unexpectedly, this international interest comes in spite of flamenco being rejected by most Spaniards as a signifier of

⁸⁶ John Blacking, *Music, culture and experience: selected papers of John Blacking* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 233.

⁸⁷ Sue Miller, 'Perceptions of authenticity in the performance of Cuban popular music in the United Kingdom: 'Globalized incuriosity' in the promotion and reception of UK-based Charanga del Norte's music since 1998', *Journal of European Popular Culture*, 4.1 (2013), pp. 99-116, (p. 99).

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 101.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 112.

identity. This chapter has introduced theories of globalisation, cosmopolitanism, migration, and Britishness in an effort to contextualise the research and findings presented in Chapters 5 through 7. The next chapter describes methodological approaches, specifically focusing on ethnography and the relevance of investigating global flamenco from the perspective of individual actors.

Chapter 4: Methodology

In this chapter, I will detail the methodological framework that has informed the course of this thesis. Two distinct but interrelated case studies are used to highlight the transcultural interactions, structures, and aesthetics that have developed as a result of the globalisation of flamenco. Qualitative methods were used in each case study. These methods are essential to understanding a rapidly-changing globalised flamenco scene, since they enable the researcher to respond and interpret issues of identity, interactions, and cultural perception that are evident when one is immersed in each flamenco environment. The case studies uncover different interpretations and valuations of flamenco, as well as the transcultural interactions that affect it. The mobile ethnographic approach adopted reveals how these interactions occur. The exchange occurs on Spanish soil, with British aficionados and tourists as the recipients of knowledge. It also transpires in the UK, driven primarily by British cultural brokers, while economically benefitting Spanish practitioners.

While a typical ethnomusicological study is generally characterised by a lengthy period of fieldwork in a specific location, the transnational interactions and globalisation aspects that are the focus of my research have necessitated a broader survey of locales across the UK and in Andalucía. There are numerous accounts and descriptions of flamenco music and culture; however, an absence of scholarly sources regarding transcultural exchanges and pathways, has necessitated the application of ethnographic, comparative social research methods. In Barz and Cooley's work *Shadows of the Field*, the authors describe the ways that ethnographers now 'reinvent' the field, which has resulted in new types of fieldwork, transcending the more traditional fixed site approach.¹

This thesis evolved from research gained during my Masters study on flamenco groups in England. During this research phase, I paid particular attention to group composition and dynamics, individual motivations for trying flamenco, performance trends, level of involvement, pedagogy, professional presence, and an assessment as to whether the group constituted a diaspora or an interest

¹ Gregory Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, *Shadows in the Field: new perspectives for fieldwork in ethnomusicology*, 2nd edition (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 11.

group. In the construction of the present research, I expanded my investigations not only to include the presence of Spanish flamencos in the UK, but also significantly into Spain focussing on the transnational interactions, globalisation, and concepts of identity and belonging that exist within the flamenco scene there.

4.1 Traditional Ethnography

Ethnography and first-person research is a tried and tested mechanism that has been utilised for nearly a century by qualitative researchers (with Malinowski's 1922 study of South Pacific Argonauts widely considered the first), including extensive use in the field of ethnomusicology.² Over the past half-century or so there has been a shift from a scientific paradigm of musical study, based on classification, description, and structural explanation to one that focuses on understanding music as culture, necessitating new fieldwork theories, methods and epistemologies.³ An attempt must be made by the researcher to 'Reflexively...understand their positions in ethnographies, including their relations to the cultures and individuals studied, and their relations to their own culture'.⁴ Geertz, in his work *The Interpretation of Cultures*, asserts that if the cultural researcher 'wants to understand what a science is, you should look in the first instance not at its theories or its findings... you should look at what the practitioners of it do'.⁵ This is ethnography, or as Geertz refers to it, "thick description". This method of anthropological interpretation enables us, as researchers, to formulate our understandings around the cultural actors themselves, meaning that the descriptions can be made in the terms of, for example, the British flamenco dancers and not the American ethnomusicologist.⁶ Although ethnography, for practical reasons, often occurs on a microscopic scale (i.e. on the village level instead of nationally), the ethnomusicologist confronts the same issues as other social sciences (globalisation, oppression, power, faith, etc.) only on a smaller, easier-to-read scale.⁷ Utilising theory in conjunction with cultural interpretation can be tricky because there is a requirement for less

² See Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*, (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1922).

³ Barz and Cooley, p. 11.

⁴ Barz and Cooley, p. 17.

⁵ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), p. 5.

⁶ Geertz, p. 15.

⁷ Geertz, p. 21.

abstraction when researching so close to the ground.⁸ Theory can, however, be used to recognise cultural commonalities amongst the broader concepts, such as globalisation and power. It is possible to engage these commonalities to develop a greater understanding of the culture at hand. Ultimately, abstract theory must lead back to “thick description” to place it in the context of the society in question.

4.1.1 Ethnography, Ethnomusicologists, and Globalisation

Ethnomusicologists are not strangers to analysing music cultures with globalisation as the theoretical focus. Researchers such as Monson, Roseman and Slobin have all been concerned with the global complexities surrounding their respective music cultures, only with differing approaches. Roseman, for example, in her research on the Temnjar of Malaysia, focuses on the smaller society’s use of music processes to contribute to the dialogue with the outside world.⁹ Burkhalter in his ethnography of Lebanese popular and experimental music scenes, examines how local and transnational interactions enable musicians to connect with the broader Lebanese cultural environment. He finds that these music hybrids maintain ‘revolutionary’ meanings. They challenge ‘ethnocentric perceptions of “place” and “locality”, suggesting the necessity of a different read on “modernity”’.¹⁰ I chose an ethnographic method for research quite simply because it seems the best way to approach globalisation research into a live music culture, such as flamenco. This is supported by many respected accounts of anthropological and ethnomusicological research methods.¹¹

It is important to focus on how these ethnographic methods are utilised to achieve the desired perspectives and information surrounding the current and increasingly globalised flamenco scene. In this chapter, I will explain why I chose this specific methodology, place myself as a transcultural, transient figure in the research, explain theoretical aspects of mobile ethnography, and discuss the significance of my usage of ‘the individual’ at the centre of my ethnographies. Ultimately, my research strives to demonstrate that flamenco does not exist in a little Andalucían bubble. The scene

⁸ Geertz, p. 24.

⁹ Ruth M. Stone, *Theory for Ethnomusicology* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2008), p. 209.

¹⁰ Thomas Burkhalter, *Local Music Scenes and Globalization: Transnational Platforms in Beirut*, (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), p. 4.

¹¹ For example, Bernard Lortat-Jacob’s *Sardinian Chronicles*; Tim Rice *May it Fill Your Soul*.

there, although localised, is heavily influenced by foreign tourists, flamenco ex-pats, and aficionados. External flamenco scenes, such as in the UK, are significantly affected by inputs from Andalucía. These inputs primarily arrive in the form of individuals (from both countries), mass media, and Spanish governmental and tourist institutions, which, in one way or another, traverse borders. The analysis of complex cross-border interactions has necessitated an alteration to the traditional ethnographic approach in the form of a mobile ethnography.

4.2 Traditional Ethnography vs. Mobile Ethnography

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, the transient nature of the subjects of my research, as well as the specific research focus regarding how flamenco is transmitted and re-created across borders, has necessitated the usage of mobile ethnography as a methodological focus. The reason for this is simple: traditional ethnographies are generally intended to focus on a singular place, group, or culture. In these, the researcher will stay in one place as long as possible, under the assumption that research subjects are engaging in similar movements. In fact, until recently, ethnographic focus shied away from concepts of ‘movement’ and instead considered a culture as a ‘single immobile and isolated unit’.¹² However, changes in the real world, such as increased intercultural contact, have inspired ethnographers to engage with concepts such as fragmentation, time-space/homogeneity-heterogeneity condensing, globalisation, and transcultural interconnections.¹³ Examination of these macro concepts often necessitates research across borders, negating the complete efficacy of static traditional ethnography. As a result, the location of the ‘field’ becomes somewhat ambiguous. Mobile or multi-sited ethnography, as discussed by O’Reilly, offers a possible solution which enables the ethnographer to ‘follow the paths and pursue the interconnections of ideas, people, cultures and material objects in pursuit of understandings without (or across) borders.’¹⁴ Under different nomenclature, this sort of study has long been used in fields such as migration studies and for the examination of hybridity and diffusion. Instead of only examining a particular culture or location in stasis, mobile ethnography embodies a voyage travelling through transcultural networks and enables

¹² Karen O’Reilly, *Ethnographic Methods*, 2nd edition (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), p. 169.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 169.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 169.

inquiry that traces ‘connections, relationships and links, and unpredictable trajectories in pursuit of understandings and explanations without borders’.¹⁵ Ethnographers in recent years have striven to expand studies beyond a narrow local culture, in order to contextualise them amongst global, historical, and transient factors which are now so prevalent in daily life.¹⁶ An example of this is Comaroff and Comaroff’s study about the reappearance of the occult in South Africa after the Apartheid; this took place in many cultural contexts, simultaneously responding to the same social conditions on a translocal level.¹⁷

Mobile ethnography is an appropriate methodology for my research on flamenco for several reasons. First, the art complex itself is one that has historically been influenced by global forces (such as immigration, colonialism, tourism, and commercialisation). In the present day, flamenco exists, to a large degree, as an industry almost entirely reliant on foreign audiences and students. This necessitates an understanding of global interconnections in order to grasp the broader structures and influences of flamenco in the global flow. The second reason is that the focus of my inquiry is an examination of how flamenco exists in the global flow. A multi-sited approach is, thus, required to grasp how the music culture is interpreted in varying locales. Finally, mobile ethnography was required because my inquiries revealed that flamenco moves through time and space due to the efforts of transient cultural brokers who carry it and shape it in new locales. To gain an understanding of this, my methodology involved travelling the pathways of these individuals between the UK and Spain. Mobile ethnography was required as neither locale on its own could reveal how flamenco has been transmitted and responded to global transience and cross-cultural transactions. Therefore, I travelled the road between Spain and the UK, as my informants have, to experience flamenco in both locations, as well as in its state of transience.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 170.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 171.

¹⁷ John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, ‘Ethnography on an Awkward Scale: Postcolonial anthropology and the violence of abstraction’, *Ethnography*, 4.2 (2003), 291-324, (p. 171).

4.3 Individual ethnography

Once coming to the conclusion that flamenco is actually a cross-border art form, practised in multiple locations around the globe, with individual actors as its primary mode of transport, it was a logical step to portray flamenco globalisation in the eyes of those that carry it. Individual ethnography is not a novel concept in ethnomusicological studies.¹⁸ As globalisation and political instability have led to deterritorialization (as described in Appadurai 1990), ethnomusicologists have looked to individual musical actors who are, themselves, ‘trying to make sense of collapsing worlds, create new individual identities, and [merge into] newly encountered social formations’.¹⁹ Jonathan Stock, in his article ‘Toward an Ethnomusicology of the Individual’, cites three motivations for an increase in ethnographical writing on individuals:

1. A recognition that certain societies give exceptional attention to exceptional individuals
2. A reappraisal of representational stances in ethnographic writing – the “voice of God” problem
3. A reconceptualization of “culture” as a mosaic of individual decisions, evaluations, actions and interactions; consequently, a desire to draw attention to individual cultural agency.²⁰

The third point in particular epitomizes my observations regarding how flamenco travels and evolves on a global level. I perceived flamenco’s globalisation as recontextualisations of a product of individual actors’ transmission and artistic decisions, as well as their transcultural interactions with aspects of the Spanish flamenco community. Turino (1993) shared this viewpoint, defining culture as a process reliant on ‘individual variation and agency’ and including ideas, dispositions, practices, material objects, and modes of expression and behaviour’.²¹ This quote further validates how the collective is composed of personal building blocks which greatly influence the overall composition of a culture.

Tim Rice and Jesse Ruskin, in their article ‘The Individual in Musical Ethnography’ (2012) present a survey of ethnomusicological studies that incorporate the individual. Their aim was to

¹⁸ See Bernar Lortat-Jacob’s *Sardinian Chronicles* (1995).

¹⁹ Timothy Rice and Jesse D. Ruskin, ‘The Individual in Musical Ethnography’, *Ethnomusicology*, 56.2 (2012), 299-327, (p. 299).

²⁰ Stock, p. 10.

²¹ Thomas Turino, *Moving Away from Silence: Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 8-9.

develop an understanding of how the ethnomusicologist copes with ‘competing poles of the social and ‘the individual in their musical ethnographic work’ and field work.²² In doing this, they exhibit the relevance and usefulness of individual-focus in ethnography. Rice outlines four categories of ethnomusicological studies involving individual ethnography: individuals absent from the narrative; individuals with limited presence in the narrative; individuals central to the narrative; and individuals as the sole subject.²³ All ethnomusicologists in Rice’s survey acknowledged the necessity of the individual perspective as a crucial aspect of methodology and integral to ethnomusicological theoretical insights.²⁴ My study lines up with the third category as informants serve to anchor the narrative and represent both ‘objects of analysis’ and the principal lens through which I examine flamenco’s globalisation.

Rice also outlines several categories which provide insight into the sorts of studies in which individual ethnography is used. Most notably are his first two categories: studies based on the concept of cultures as consisting of shared ideas and studies focused on difference. The former category revolves around the theory of shared culture and uses individuals as ‘specific examples to illustrate and give a human face to the social and cultural principles at stake in the book’.²⁵ The latter category sees individuals as ‘agents who operationalize, put into motion, give meaning to, and change social, cultural, and musical systems’.²⁶ My approach to flamenco’s transient individuals is a combination of these two categories. On the one hand, I promote flamenco as a shared experience and use individual actors to demonstrate how global structure and movements are formed and re-formed, as well as how it travels. On the other hand, I portray individuals as culture brokers who enact changes in flamenco, especially as it travels and adjusts to new locales.

Finally, Rice reflects upon the nature of how individuals are written into ethnographies. Two methods in particular apply to how my research is realised: ‘Dialogue’ and Polyvocality. ‘Dialogue’ manifests as interactions between the ethnomusicologist and individual which ‘reveals the tone and

²² Rice and Ruskin, p. 300.

²³ Rice and Ruskin, p. 302.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 304.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 307.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 308.

content of local discourses about music', seeking to supplement the researcher's version of "truth" with the "partial truths" perpetuated by the research encounter.²⁷ 'Polyvocality' is used to include multiple voices and viewpoints into the ethnography, so as to provide additional evidence to the ethnomusicologist's assessments. My ethnographies of the global flamenco scene utilise both 'Dialogue' and 'Polyvocality'. I use 'Dialogue' so as to better understand the individual's perceptions about flamenco, as this has great bearing on how the culture is manifested both in Sevilla and in the UK. I employ 'Polyvocality' in my ethnographies to explore differing methods of cultural understanding of flamenco, as well as the diverse approaches to transmission of and connection with it. This structuring choice is appropriate to my overall observations because of my exploration of flamenco as a glocalised culture which is reliant on individual initiative for its transmission, aesthetic portrayals, and maintenance both in Spain and abroad.

4.4 Transcultural Subjects: Combining Mobile and Individual Ethnography

My methodological approach to researching flamenco globalisation has entailed a combination of mobile and individual ethnographies. This is necessitated because of the postnational location of and influences on flamenco culture, as well as the fact that scenes, especially those outside Andalucía, are primarily maintained by individual drivers. It is appropriate to have individuals as the focus of this study because, as thesis will demonstrate, individuals are the primary catalysts for global flamenco transmission. These characters also facilitate interconnections between Spain and various international flamenco localities. It is significant to note that most of the individuals exemplified in this thesis, especially those that are scene creators and maintainers in the UK, are actually transcultural actors. Vince Marotta discusses multicultural, intercultural, and transcultural actors, whom he refers to as 'in-between subjects'.²⁸ Peter Adler, in his seminal paper 'Beyond Cultural Identity', is one of the first to examine the rise of the in-between subject, identifying it as a new personality type that was evolving, particularly in first world countries. He describes this actor as one who is fluid, mobile, and can exist

²⁷ Ibid, p. 314.

²⁸ Vince Marotta, 'The Multicultural, Intercultural and the Transcultural Subject', in *Global Perspectives on the Politics of Multiculturalism in the 21st Century: A Case Study Analysis*, ed. by Fethi Mansouri and Boulou Ebanda de B'éri (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 90.

at societal boundaries by transcending cultural constraints.²⁹ Building on this, Marotta describes transcultural subjects as ‘cultural hybrids’ that connect and integrate two or more cultural forms. They exist between the local and the global and have access to a ‘total perspective’ which is unavailable to those that exist on either side of border, immersed in the local.³⁰ These individuals are not free from embedded prejudices, as they are susceptible to pre-existing cultural meanings from their home country. However, these transcultural subjects occupy a lofty post which allows them to transcend ideologies of cultural essentialism and ethnocentrism.³¹

My individual ethnography is a hybrid between individual and mobile ethnography because the individuals in question are transcultural subjects. They were chosen specifically because of their roles not only within their own local flamenco scenes, but also their position in developing the global version of this art complex. Their role as transcultural subjects quite often involves interactions with flamenco scenes both in Spain and in the UK. If the actor is foreign (to Spain), they usually travel there to more completely engage with the culture, take lessons, attend performances, and go to *juergas*. Their role in the UK is generally that of a cultural broker, performer, and teacher. If the actor is Spanish, they are usually performers or teachers in Spain who travel to the UK under these same roles and are considered experts by British participants. They rarely set up their own scenes in the UK and, if permanent residents, usually have a permanent profession other than flamenco. Transcultural subject roles will be discussed in more detail in the Analysis section of this thesis.

4.5 Relevance of the Researcher

To conduct my research, I followed the path of these transcultural subjects (who I will also refer to as ‘drivers’ and ‘human hubs’), to learn about flamenco dance and percussion, and participate in Andalusian flamenco culture. Upon returning to England, I taught others about flamenco and performed with a *cuadro* called ‘Flamenco Diez’. This has enabled me to have similar experiences in

²⁹ Peter Adler ‘Beyond Cultural Identity: reflections on Cultural and Multicultural Man’, in *Culture Learning: Concepts, applications and research*, ed. by R. W. Brislin, (Hawaii: East-West Center Press, 1977), 24-41 (p. 26).

³⁰ Marotta, p. 16.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 18.

both locales as my informants and to evaluate these encounters from both an emic and etic vantage point.

My status as an American musician and ethnomusicologist placed me in a unique position for observing, participating, and understanding the individualities and intersections of the UK and Spanish flamenco scenes, which bears some consideration. Before beginning this research, I had no particular ties with either locale, or even with flamenco. I was, however, intimately familiar with the concept of transience, being a recent immigrant to England. I had experience walking the line between cultures, having traversed the transcultural journey between the US and the UK. I feel this enabled me to better understand the adjustments my informants made to their lifestyles and cultural interactions when travelling between the UK and Spain.

I am an aficionado, flamenco percussion teacher, dancer, and performer (as a percussionist). This wide variety of roles enabled me to access the 'field' at a variety of different points. In the UK, my role was as a teacher, a performer, and observer. In Sevilla, my role was participant observation and student. I took several dance and cajón courses, but primarily acted as an aficionado while in Spain. In this study, my presence as a researcher seemed to affirm my status as an aficionado to my informants and helped me win inclusion into flamenco groups (both in the UK and in Spain). It bears consideration that my perspective has changed from my Masters research (on UK flamenco) to the present project. Previously, I was a newcomer to flamenco, an outsider to the culture looking in. Over the course of my research, given my extensive exposure to UK flamenco and long list of friends within that context, I am, to a great extent, an insider. While this is good from an access perspective, it necessitated great care to ensure that I remain unbiased and unassuming. Despite my lengthy duration in the flamenco world, I would place myself in the role of an in-between subject and a Cosmopolitan Hub. I maintained this because I constantly moved between the worlds of UK and Sevillano flamenco, as well as within the greater non-flamenco music and dance scene. This mobility helped ensure my impartiality as a researcher.

It is important also to consider the influence of the researcher on the culture being studied. Kiwan and Meinhof refer to cultural researchers as 'accidental hubs', where the ethnomusicologist is

responsible for building up or contributing to the network they are investigating.³² This observation is corroborated by Kay Shelemay, in her work with Jewish Syrian singers. She notes that the more an ethnomusicologists become involved with ‘living musical traditions’ and their practitioners, the more they are caught up in the ‘processes and politics of transmission of tradition’, specifically involving continuity, change and raising awareness within the community itself.³³ When I first began my work with flamenco, I was an outsider and many flamenco enthusiasts were not aware of similar groups outside of their region, or even village. Over the last two years I have become a performer, interviewer and attendee at events across the UK. I have made a point, when speaking with fellow aficionados, to inform them of the existence and activities of other groups around the country. Specifically since December 2011, I have noticed participants from different cities mixing at workshops, *peñas* and visiting artist performances. Additionally, I witnessed several groups (such as Flamenco de Liverpool, Deva Flamenco and Bristol Peña) collaborating to fly Andalusian artists over to teach and perform. While it would be egotistical to assume that I created this wonderful occurrence of hitherto unforeseen flamenco unity, it is well-documented that the ethnomusicologist often has an effect on transmission and continuation of culture. Similarly, I was able to provide contacts and insight about the UK flamenco scene to informants living in Sevilla so they could pursue possible employment there. An example of this was connecting Noemi Luz with Rosi from Camino del Flamenco to enable the former to schedule a performance in the UK.

4.6 Description of case studies

My research parameters were intended to illuminate first how both the British and Spanish flamenco scenes structure themselves; second how British and Spanish flamenco aficionados interact with each other within the local environments; and third how flamenco travels between these locales. As the art form was originally a specifically local tradition (to Andalucía) that has become globalised, it is important to consider whether the UK groups are striving to keep the Andalusian format or if flamenco is tailored to fit within a local cultural comfort zone. Within the Sevilla flamenco scenes, it

³² Kiwan and Meinhof (2011), p. 7.

³³ Barz and Cooley, p. 197.

is crucial to understand how foreign cultures interact with the local in the realm of flamenco, how Spanish institutions (governmental and tourist) encourage these connections, and the perceived positive and negative effects of the transcultural links. These factors, both in the UK and Sevilla, are important because they have bearing on how and what aspects of the culture travels.

My application of mobile ethnography enabled the analysis of transcultural interactions and the examination of identity and aesthetics both inside various flamenco scenes in Spain and internationally. I achieved this by choosing two primary case studies: Sevilla and the UK. Each case study was approached with a slightly different aim in mind and thus I will address the various methodological techniques and their purposes within the parameters of the individual locales.

4.6.1 Case Study 1: Sevilla

Sevilla, the site of Case Study 1, is considered one of the *cuñas* (cradles) of flamenco and is perhaps the most historically and economically important epicentres of the art complex, with the possible exception of Madrid. The purpose of this case study is to demonstrate how the local scene is structured and how its interactions with foreignness have affected not only this structure, but also what aspects are transferred abroad by transcultural human hubs. Flamenco occurs in many different situations and is practised by a diverse variety of people with often conflicting motivations and perceptions regarding these practices, usages, tradition, and authenticity. The research purpose of this case study was to gain an understanding of the multi-layered and oftentimes paradoxical flamenco scene in Sevilla, with specific attention paid to the interactions between foreigners, ex-pats, and locals in a flamenco context.

Here, I used interview techniques to gain differing perspectives on the nature of the flamenco scene. I interviewed a number of foreigners residing in Sevilla – often for years at a time – to ascertain reasons why an enthusiast would give up their life in another country to learn and perform flamenco there. I also endeavoured to understand the structure of the ex-pat flamenco community, such as where they learn and perform, their reception amongst Sevillanos, and the difficulties they face in integrating with the native population. I also interviewed a cross-section of native Sevillanos, with a focus on flamenco performers, but also including a handful of informants who, while from the

region, did not consider flamenco an aspect of their identity. With these interviews, I hoped to understand the politics of flamenco in Sevilla, through an understanding of the local institutions and foreign interactions that affect the average local flamenco performer/aficionado. The aim of these interviews is also to demonstrate that, contrary to popular belief, flamenco is not a shared symbol of national or regional identity, but a passionate culture shared by a limited number of individuals who often have contrasting views about aspects that affect the art complex, including commercialism, tradition, foreign involvement, politics, and artistic interpretations. This view point strengthens the postnational argument I suggest for flamenco in Chapter 7.

Because of the contrasting views expressed amongst the foreign and native flamenco practitioners/aficionados, I utilised participant observation to attain first-hand knowledge. To investigate the structure, interactions, and issues surrounding the various players in the Sevillano flamenco scene, I attended *peñas*, theatrical performances, *tablaos*, dance classes (for both locals and foreigners), and fiesta days. In utilising this method in Sevilla, I assessed through immersion the atmosphere, interactions, institutional influences, and identities created and maintained at the various events. In doing this I concluded that the interactive transnational cultures, the lines of ownership, identity, and belonging, and the paradoxical views of flamenco, are evidence that, even within a *cuña de flamenco*³⁴, the actual state of this art complex is one of a global culture composed of individual identities, not of a national and regional culture.

4.6.2 Case Study 2: The United Kingdom

The second case study that I utilise to demonstrate transcultural aspects of flamenco occurs in the various pockets of flamenco that dot the United Kingdom. Its purpose is to present a picture of the structure and cultural norms of the UK flamenco scene, develop an understanding of the transcultural interactions that shape it, and demonstrate how individual human hubs, the transient flamenco aficionados, are instrumental in the creation of local flamenco groups in England. The research purpose of this case study is to firstly develop a concept of the demographics and structure of the UK

³⁴ *Cuna de flamenco* is a term used to refer to a location that is considered a ‘birthplace’ of flamenco.

flamenco scene, thus creating a model of not only how the UK understands a perceived musical ‘other’, but also of how this art complex is re-created and localised outside of its homeland. Secondly, the purpose is to perceive how transnational interactions occur in an example of a flamenco scene exterior to Spain, specifically with regards to how the British understand and interpret Andalucían culture and how the Spanish participants fit into and make sense of the UK scene.

Here, I utilised interview techniques to gain insight into local perceptions of the flamenco complex, as well as structure, and transnational interactions with flamenco. My interviews with Spanish flamencos working in the UK were focused on their perceptions of and roles within the local scene, as well as their reasons for migrating and their thoughts on how flamenco is received outside of Spain. I utilised participant observation in the context of dance classes, workshops, and performances that I either contributed to or observed. I employed these methods in several capacities: as a dancer, as a cajón player, and as a participating audience member. My goal as a participant observer was to understand how flamenco is received and interpreted in this country, the transnational interactions that occur within it, as well as to develop my own thoughts of how it is aesthetically and culturally understood within British social norms.

I focus on flamenco’s adaptation to fit in with British cultural sensibilities as well as how locally re-created music and dance enable non-Spanish participants to connect with what they claim as the original Andalucían meaning behind the artform. Furthermore, I explore what the significance of this connection with Andalucía is when considering the development of UK flamenco. Evidence suggests factors such as Andalucían immigration, 1960s tourism (Benidorm and Beneficio), visiting Spanish artists, internationally-released albums and Hollywood have all contributed to the establishment of UK flamenco and intercultural connections with Spain. My research is supported by an ethnographic assessment of several British flamenco groups currently operating, scrutinising dynamics within the groups, demographics, and performance practices.

4.7 Conclusion

Ultimately, this research, through a meta-ethnographic³⁵, multi-locale approach, seeks to provide insight into the globalisation of flamenco, and the transcultural links and transmissions which shape it. In conjunction, these two seemingly diverse multinational groups create a distinct culture resting on an appreciation for flamenco and recognition for the importance of keeping one foot in Andalucía. Research methods have been chosen to best demonstrate the transcultural interactions amongst individuals and institutions with the aim of demonstrating flamenco's place in a globalised world. Mobile ethnography proved a useful methodological tool because the 'action', as it were, occurred not so much in Sevilla or in the UK, but in the interactions and travels between the two locales. Because flamenco's transmission between Andalucía and the rest of the world had largely been encouraged by transcultural individuals, I have utilised a variation of individual ethnography so as to best describe the complex identity and aesthetic shifts that occur when a local art form goes global. These methods have allowed me to explore at an ethnographic level, how flamenco travels between the local and the global, as well as how this cultural transience affects the scene in both the sending and receiving countries.

³⁵ Meta-ethnography refers to a qualitative research method that strives for increased generalization and analytic potential by means of methodical synthesis. The goal is to determine conceptual schemes' translatability from the original studies in which they were developed to other case studies. The idea is that the process of translation will result in additional theoretical maturity across other studies. From: Michael Bloor and Fiona Wood, *Keywords in Qualitative Methods: A Vocabulary of Research Concepts* (London: SAGE Publications, 2006), p. 113.

Chapter 5: Sevilla



Figure 5:1 *Bailora Maria Pereira practising/busking in front of Sevilla's famed Torre de Oro*

5.1 Introduction

The last few chapters have created a picture of what flamenco consists of, how the art form itself is structured, and discussed how it is influenced by globalising forces. I also set the scene for a discussion about music, globalisation, migration, and individual transmission. In order to understand the intricacies of flamenco globalisation, it is necessary to grasp the specifics of a local scene – in this case, Sevilla. I chose Sevilla as a case study because it is Andalucía's capital city and one of the *cuñias* of flamenco. While many of the Andalusian flamenco professionals have moved to Madrid for increased opportunity, Andalucía is still considered the 'art and soul' of the music culture.¹ It boasts an *aire* and historical context that is essential to the art complex. Significantly, outsiders' perceptions (both within and without Spain) of Sevillano flamenco are often drastically different from the reality.

¹ Aoyama (2007), p. 105.

Sevilla flamenco is more than the pretty dancer in the *tablao* which characterises the vision imagined by the foreign tourist. It is also distinct from its portrayal as the art form of dirty *Gitanos*, as is envisaged by many non-flamenco Spaniards. Sevilla flamenco exists in a professional and amateur context. It is both revered as an integral component of identity and rejected for its associations with *Gitanos* and Franco. Furthermore, Sevilla is a hotbed for tourists and foreign aficionados. Sevilla has the largest number of flamenco schools in Spain, generating close to €2 million in revenue per year.² The Sevilla flamenco scene represents a complex web of interactions between tourist and performer, ex-pat and local, formal and informal, and government and artist. These interfaces combine to create a culture that is formed by a series of transnational interactions stemming from a socio-political history characterised by nationalism, autonomy, persecution of minorities, and global encounters.

Flamenco in Sevilla is often simplified in the minds of those outside the scene (as well as scholars and foreign aficionados) to be ‘just’ a *Gitano* art, or ‘just’ a tourist attraction, or ‘just’ something trivial to do at a *feria*. Many consider it a holistic art form practised by a cohesive group of Andalucians and *Gitanos*, with foreigners presence limited to casual students or uninitiated *tablao* audiences. The reality of the complicated interactions between these groups is often trivialised. Also overlooked is substantial community of foreign flamenco students who come to Sevilla to live for various periods of time to absorb flamenco in what they perceive as its ‘original setting’. The purpose of this case study is to explore the multifaceted and complex existence of flamenco in Sevilla, with specific focus on the interactions between the global and the local and how these coalesce. I explore the characteristics of the Sevilla flamenco scene, focusing on the internal and external socio-political and cultural factors that have influenced local flamenco.

I utilise the term ‘local’ flamenco to reference the art form that is performed by native Andalucians within, in this case, Sevilla. I pay particular attention to the transnational interactions that occur via flamenco and the existence of an ex-pat flamenco sub-culture. In doing this, I lay the groundwork for establishing how forces of globalisation have shaped a local scene, and, indeed created a ‘glocal’ within the local. These transnational interactions also demonstrate the experience of

² Aoyama (2009), p. 91.

the foreigner with flamenco in a local environ, setting the scene for what is transmitted abroad. This is significant because it is generally the ex-pats and visiting aficionados who function as the cultural brokers, the human hubs, who transport flamenco abroad, re-creating their perceptions of ‘the real thing’ in their home countries. Additionally, the experience of foreign tourists in *tablaos* colours their view of what constitutes ‘good’ flamenco, which serves to influence their expectations when viewing or learning flamenco back home.

Drawing upon interviews and participant observation, I will establish the structure of the Sevilla scene, socio-political factors that have affected it, flamenco’s status as a marker of identity, and the sub-culture of ex-pat aficionados within the local scene. I refer to Autenrieth and Pack to analyse the political and touristic forces that have further influenced this identity. I will utilise Aoyama to discuss the creation and importance of the ex-pat flamenco subculture. Finally, I will apply concepts of migration theory, specifically Kiwan and Meinhof’s hub theory to discuss flamenco’s route to the rest of the world.

This chapter is structured around the two primary categories of flamenco in Sevilla: local and foreign, similar to Malefyt’s ‘Inside and Outside’ characterisation of the scene.³ In the former, I examine the local Sevillano flamenco culture. I assess the geography and location of the art complex, as well as its transmission amongst locals and the transnational interactions that occur in the process of developing flamenco as a profession. Drawing upon ethnography, interviews, and participant observation, I explore the current reality of the scene. This stands in direct contrast to the simulacra presented to and envisioned by outsiders. Finally, I explore the impact of several socio-political developments that affect Sevilla flamenco; namely the perception of the art form within Spain, the Sevillano mindset, tourism, and reactions to the 2007 Statute of Autonomy and 2010 UNESCO Intangible Heritage designation. These factors have informed both how flamenco is perceived as a marker of identity as well as the interactions locals have with foreign tourists and aficionados.

³ See Malefyt (1998).

In the latter portion of the chapter, I will explore the development and characteristics of a distinct ex-pat flamenco culture. This has developed because of the existence of a strong local flamenco culture which reaches towards Sevilla for inspiration. However, due to issues of cultural ownership and idealism, the ex-pat community exists as a subsidiary of the native scene. I discuss ex-pat flamenco in Sevilla utilising ethnography based on participant observation. This is supplemented by numerous interviews which present the Sevilla flamenco scene through the eyes of the individuals who live it, as advocated by Tim Rice in his study of Bulgarian musicians.⁴ Examining flamenco through the eyes of individual actors allows for an on-the-ground account of their expectations, goals, the cultural friction encountered, and the sub-culture that emerges as a result of these factors. The ex-pat sub-culture and the realities of the native culture which it is accompanying contributes to what these foreign aficionados will then transmit back to their countries of origin, in a circular migration pattern similar to that described by Kiwan and Meinhof in their discussion of human hubs.

Ultimately, this chapter endeavours to make sense of the complicated web of local and ex-pat identities which comprise the Sevilla flamenco community. I reveal the structure, performance instances, and cultural aspects that create the scene as a whole, as well as recent political exploitations which have affected it. I demonstrate the transnational interactions that occur between two loosely inter-connected subcultures which have influence on flamenco's travels, what is transmitted by human hubs, and what is used as a pattern for glocal culture creation abroad. In the broader construct of this thesis, a case study on Sevilla exemplifies the effects of globalisation on a local scene and typifies the flamenco scene which is experienced by foreign human hubs who then carry it abroad.

⁴ See Tim Rice (1994).

5.2 Peña del Niño de Alfalfa: a place for transnational exchange



Figure 5:2 Performance at Peña del Niño de Alfalfa

A collective shout of ‘huasa!’ arose from the crowd as the dancer began the final *bulerias* section of the *alegrías* she had been dancing. The *cuadro* was just finishing their final dance piece with the audience enthusiastically shouting *jaleo* to encourage the ensemble. The room was packed with people standing, seated in chairs, or crouched on the cement floor, with the focal point the area that the *cuadro* was performing in – which was not so much a stage but an area where the audience was NOT. The venue was a large, low-ceilinged room, dimly lit with incandescent light bulbs. It was off of a large patio surrounded by two floors of music rehearsal spaces and dance studios, which opened via a tall, wooden door out onto a quiet side street. Standing amongst the densely packed crowd, I joined in the *palmas*, cheers, and shouts of ‘Olé!’ that followed the *cuadro* as they danced and played their way off Peña de la Niña de Alfalfa’s makeshift stage area. A group made up of a mixture of local and ex-pat performers, they had just completed an hour-long set in this *peña*, located in the heart of Sevilla’s Barrio Macarena. (Figure 5:3). The show was brilliant and the crowd had participated for its entirety, which is typical of local Andalusian flamenco performances.



Figure 5:3: Map of Central Sevilla

As the piece ended, the dancer walked off-stage to thunderous applause and foot-stomping, echoing off the cement floor and walls. The *bailora* came back ‘on-stage’ and invited any willing dancers in the audience to participate in the *fin de fiesta*. Literally translating to ‘end of the party’, the *fin de fiesta* is an invitation for further erosion of boundaries between audience and performers, and an opportunity for anyone to get up and improvise dance in front of an audience. The lead dancer was joined by three other young women, who would take turns dancing a few *pataitas* of *bulerias* interspersed with *cante* and *toque*. The *fin de fiesta* concluded with the original dancer performing a vigorous and complex series of footwork and then danced off-stage followed by the guest dancers and the rest of the ensemble. As the raucous applause and catcalls ended, the audience members gradually dispersed – some toward the small make-shift bar, others towards the large darkened, gated courtyard, which was surrounded by two stories of rehearsal rooms used for dance classes by the *peña* during the day.

I scanned the room for my friends – we had been separated during the show because I wanted to stand in the back to take pictures and videos of the performers. I had been brought to the *peña* by a group of people whom I had met earlier that evening for the first time through a mutual friend – Paco. In typical flamenco-community fashion, a brief exchange of Facebook messages brought me to the door of a large flat on a dark Sevilla street, not far from Plaza de los Maldonados. I was welcomed in like an old friend by 26 year old, dark curly-haired Samuel Guterrez. It is moments like this that have occurred on numerous occasions to me throughout the course of this research that have made me realise that, despite never-ending debates about origin, authenticity and inclusion, flamenco is a unifying factor on a global scale. Proclaimed knowledge, respect, and love of it is enough of a cultural passport to gain entrance into many circles of like-minded people. What happens after that is up to you.

Samuel and I were joined at his parents' flat by his friends Pepa and Maru. It was Pepa with whom I shared a mutual friend – she and my friend Paco had met when they were both living in Newcastle. Samuel was just finishing a year of intense courses at Fundación Cristina Heeren, to which he had received a scholarship to study flamenco guitar – with the aim of becoming a professional *tocaor*. Pepa works in a manufacturing plant on the north side of Sevilla and plays flamenco cajón as a leisure activity at parties. Maru is among the many Sevillanos whom I met with no real involvement or interest in flamenco, besides dancing the odd *sevillanas*⁵ at a fiesta or clapping palmas at a performance. For her, the involvement with flamenco did not go beyond ingrained cultural knowledge, and bordered on indifference. Interestingly, oftentimes it is these uninterested Sevillanos that are the first to claim it as a symbol of cultural identity if a foreigner wants to performer it.

After a few beers, some tapas, and an impromptu jam session - during which Samuel demonstrated an alternative way that I could play *alegrías* on the cajón - Pepa turned to me and said 'shall we go to the *peña*?' No one knew who the performers were that evening. The main purpose of the visit was the *juerga* afterwards.

⁵ An Andalusian folk dance commonly danced in *ferias*.

5.2.1 *Juerga*: crossing the boundaries between performer and audience

It did not take long after the *cuadro* had cleared the stage for someone to pick up a guitar and start plucking the beginning strains of a *bulerias*. My friends and I quickly bought our drinks at the makeshift bar and moved towards the small group of people now surrounding the table where the guitarist sat. Soon a few people began clapping *palmas* as more people gathered around. Then an older gentleman stood up and, in a gravelly voice began to sing. He sang with such pain and passion, as if everything he said was of gravest importance. It felt as if he were singing directly to each individual in the room, and that all of his pain had been caused by them. He finished singing after a few *letra*, with a flourish of ‘Olé’s’ and cheers from the onlookers. The first guitarist was joined in his playing by my new friend Samuel and after a few rounds of *compás*, another singer began to emote. This pattern continued – with singers taking turns to contribute their *letras* to the *juerga*, accompanied by various *tocadores*, *jaleo*, and *palmas* from the *peña* patrons.

This scene is not unusual and can, in fact, be experienced in many *peñas* and small taverns around the region for those who know how to access the pockets of this subculture. The uniqueness of my *peña* venture lies in the demographics of the participants. As I looked around the room, I saw not only the faces of those who were obviously Sevillano, like the group I had arrived with, but at least half of the crowd and active *juerga* participants, I knew to be foreign. For Sevilla, with its world-famous reputation of flamenco identity, and its many dance schools (including the world-renowned Fundación Cristina Heeren), boasts a significant (and often little known) pocket of flamenco ex-pats. It is a sector of the Sevillano flamenco subculture largely unacknowledged outside (and sometimes inside) of the city limits, but possesses its own pathways that often intersect with the local flamencos, while retaining its own unique, collective cultural identity born from foreignness and, often times, lack of acceptance inside of the largely close-minded Sevillano flamenco community. Pena de la Nina de Alfalfa is one of those points of convergence between locals and foreigners. Among the reasons for this include its location in the heart of Barrio Macarena where many of the foreign students live, its acceptance and friendliness towards non-members and strangers who turn up, and, most importantly, that they are willing to book foreigners as performers.



Figure 5:4 *Juerga* at Peña del Niño de Alfalfa

After about half an hour of *cantaores* and *tocaores* (both native and foreign) trading *letra*, a young Spanish woman stood up to sing. After she finished, she began to dance an energetic *bulerias*. Samuel stood up to play more vibrantly for her and he was soon joined by a male singer with light brown curly hair, who I knew to be French. The watching crowd heightened their *palmas* and *jaleo* as the three performers were joined by exuberant onlookers. Flamenco, in its most comfortable format, is unique amongst many other music cultures in the way in which the line between ‘performer’ and ‘audience’ is often blurred and transient. Pepa and Maru and I stood together, enthusiastically joining in the *palmas*, cheering Samuel on. Maru turned to me and, over the din, asked me, incredulously ‘how is it at all possible that foreigners could ever really understand flamenco, it is *En el Sangre*?’

5.2.2 Cultural Ownership and the non-flamenco

En el sangre or ‘In the Blood’, meaning something that an individual (in this case an Andalusian or *Gitano*) is born with.. This is a statement I often hear not only from Sevillanos, but other Andalusians. It is uttered by flamenco aficionados as well as those like Maru who profess indifference. It is an attitude that reflects a feeling of exclusivity and ownership over a tradition which rejects the idea that someone can ever truly know flamenco if they do not have it in their heritage. Despite the acknowledgement by many that flamenco evolved as a result of globalising forces, it is viewed as something that must be protected and preserved. This insular view holds that foreigners (*guiros*) can only grasp the superficial elements of it. Of all the places I visited in the course of this fieldwork, Sevilla was the location where this attitude was the most evident. It is as a result of this exclusivity and insularity that the flamenco ex-pat community exists on the fringes of the broader flamenco subculture and has developed its own sense of identity and unity. My practiced answer to Maru on that occasion was to explain that while foreigners obviously did not grow up in the flamenco environment, I thought that the raw human emotions and individuality it expresses is something that can be accessed by anyone and if a foreigner practices, feels, and has a *corazón flamenco*, I believed they could understand and perform it as well as an Andalusian. Maru sceptically accepted this argument. The singing and dancing continued for a few minutes longer until word filtered through the crowd that one of the neighbours had called the police. We would all need to leave quickly. This is

not an uncommon occurrence for flamenco venues. Even in the few weeks I was in Sevilla, I heard about two other venues – *Peña Torre de Macarena* and *T de Triana* – that were forced to temporarily close because of noise complaints. While this may seem normal, flamenco is not a particularly loud event and the audience (despite the *jaleo* and *palmas*) are not exceptionally rowdy. *Peña del Niño de Alfalfa* takes place within a room that is set off from the street in a gated courtyard, in a neighbourhood that is not really residential. My perception is that these complaints come from a lack of respect and tolerance for the art form.

We all trickled out onto the dark and silent streets of La Macarena and I bid goodnight to my new friends and headed back towards my hostel, pondering the irony of locals criticising foreign abilities, whilst neighbours repeatedly called the police to shut down flamenco venues on dubious noise complaints. For me, this was a demonstration of how, while there is a mutual association of Sevilla with flamenco outside of the city, it is far from an art form appreciated on a mass scale.

5.2.3 The Sevilla Experience

The preceding ethnography is typical of the experience at a *peña* in Sevilla, and similar to the experience when attending other flamenco performance contexts. There are several key observations to take from this encounter. First is the atmosphere at the event itself. The attendees were all familiar with flamenco and understanding of the particular conventions required at a performance (as demonstrate by *jaleo* and the *fin de fiesta*). Secondly, is the *juerga* which seamlessly evolved from the performance is significant. Thirdly, it is important to note the presence of transcultural interactions: ex-pat flamencos and locals joined together to collaborate and trade *pataitas* and *letra* during the *fin de fiesta* and *juergas*. This marks a potential opportunity for education and cultural exchange. Thirdly, the preceding ethnography featured instances of the broader Sevillano lack of appreciation for flamenco. This can be seen in Maru's indifferent attitude towards flamenco and, somewhat paradoxically, her scepticism regarding foreign understanding of it. Additionally, it is demonstrated by the intolerance of the neighbours towards a flamenco session. Finally, the above ethnography depicts how foreign aficionados participate and experience flamenco while in Sevilla, at least those who chose to engage at a level outside of their classes. This indifference and intolerance towards

flamenco amongst Andalucían, combined with foreign enthusiasm foreshadows my later designations of the art complex as a postnational phenomenon.

5.3 The Andalucían side of Flamenco

In order to understand the attitudes towards foreigners on the Sevilla flamenco scene, it is necessary to examine how the ex-pat subculture integrates with the broader Sevillano flamenco environments. This culture, even without the presence of foreigners, is a complex one which has, for centuries, been influenced by forces of globalisation, and is intrinsically linked with and influenced by politics, the economic situation, tourism, and conflicted concepts of national and local identity. In this section, the aim is to create a geographical and functional snapshot of flamenco's presence in the Sevilla cultural and economic environ and identify how economics, politics, and created concepts of cultural identity colour the interactions between foreign and native flamencos, as well as non-flamenco Sevillanos.

Flamenco's populist history places Sevilla, including the suburb of Triana, as one of the primary epicentres of the art's evolution. While the nature of its local development is mythical at best (due to a lack of early written sources), mentions of it begins as early as the late eighteenth century and it is largely associated with a melding of *Gitano* and Andalucían local musics – with each side claiming their importance in its invention. The *Gitanos* have historically been an ostracised and isolated ethnicity in Spain – at least since the time of *Los Reyes Católicos*⁶ – and it was not until the *Gitano* culture was romanticised by late eighteenth century writers that it began to merge with *payo*. Despite this, while the two ethnicities do mix somewhat in the present day, especially on the field of professional flamenco, there is still a fair amount of social division and mistrust between them. I have found, in various conversations with informants, that, while there is some degree of mutual respect between *Gitano* and *Payo* flamencos, there seems also an ethnic 'us versus them' mentality similar to that which exists towards foreigners.

⁶ 'The Catholic Rulers' is how the Spanish refer to Ferdinand II and Isabella I, who defeated the Moors in Granada in 1492 to unite Spain under Catholic rule. They notoriously instigated the Spanish Inquisition which resulted in non-Catholics (i.e. the *Gitanos*, Sephardi Jews, and Moors already in residence) having to convert, leave the country, or be executed.



Figure 5:5 Flamenco dancing on the street by Torre del Oro and the *Punta de Triana*

5.3.1 Local Flamenco Occasions and Norms: an ethnography

Flamenco exists in several different Sevillano socio-economic constructs outside of the foreign scene.

The primary occasions are unplanned cultural instances, tourist venues, fiestas and ferias, theatres, dance classes, and bars and *peñas*. Some of these operate largely autonomously from foreign involvement, while others mark significant points of transnational convergence. In terms of unplanned cultural instances, I am referring to the spontaneous outbreaks of flamenco that occur in family or neighbourhood gatherings, or perhaps in a bar in the format of an impromptu jam session, or maybe

even on a quiet street or square after the clubs have let out amongst friends. I have experienced many of these occurrences first hand.

Perhaps the most memorable was with a friend of mine, Paco, who had completed a PhD on flamenco guitar at Newcastle University. We had attended a flamenco performance in a small bar called La Candela. After the show, the manager, Octavio, who we had befriended, invited us into the basement which, as it turned out, was only for invited guests. It was unlike any VIP lounge I had ever been to before and, in fact, was an underground cave with whitewashed stone walls, a dirty stone floor, stone benches, and a few rickety tables. We sat down with our drinks and gradually a few others began to trickle into the little room. Most of the clientele, I later found out, were *Gitanos* stopping by after working in the *tablaos*. Everyone sat around chatting, drinking, and smoking (a habit which, despite a nationwide ban, was clearly allowed in this part of the venue) and then someone started lightly clapping *palmas*. Soon, the *Gitano* next to me began to sing, while people clapped a *bulerias* rhythm or knuckle-tapped on the table. The rest of the group in the small grotto moved into a rough circle where the first singer had been sitting, and some paid attention while others continued their quiet conversations.



Figure 5:6 Performance and *juergas* at La Candela

After the singer stopped, there were cheers from the onlookers but the *palmas* continued. Soon another *Gitano* picked up the musical mantle and began another *letra* of *bulerias*. Paco and I began chatting with the first singer, whose name was Miguel, and was about our age. Paco mentioned that he was a flamenco guitarist and soon one of the bar staff went off to fetch a guitar. He returned with a beat-up, five-stringed instrument, which Paco accepted and began to quietly pluck. One of the *Gitanos* came over to Paco and asked if he could play a *solea*. The *cantaor* sang a few *letra* and then someone else went back to singing *bulerias*. The *Gitano* that Paco had played for came over and told Paco that he felt some rhythms had been misinterpreted and demonstrated various corrections he should make. All the while the music and clapping persisted. There was a loose structure to the proceedings, with singers swapping *letra* whilst others clapped, tapped, or shouted encouragement. The most notable characteristic was that the performance appeared largely improvised with lyrics sung on the spot in the style of, for the most part, a *bulerias palo*. I have since been in many venues and have spoken with a number of Spanish flamenco informants that verify these sorts of spontaneous sing-a-longs are typical in local taverns and amongst friends and family.

As mentioned earlier, while it is not correct to refer to flamenco as a folk music, it is one that has a certain presence and influence in the culture – specifically *Gitano*. With the exception of the described experience, my interactions with *Gitano* communities were limited to a one-to-one basis. However, ethnographer Giles Tremblett describes his experience in the infamous *Gitano* barrio of Tres Mil – where Franco forcefully relocated most of the *Gitanos* from their historical home in Triana to non-descript tower blocks on the outskirts of town. It is a place so dangerous that most of the time the police will not go there and a *payo* should have permission from the head of the clan if he hopes to enter with any degree of safety.⁷ I could not convince anyone to accompany me, so have to rely on Tremblett's descriptions. He reports that spontaneous flamenco occurs, even in this rough and downtrodden neighbourhood. Many of the famous flamenco families such as the Farrucos and the Amadores came from Tres Mil, although some of the best rated singers from there will not sing

⁷ Personal experience; Tremblett, p. 162.

professionally because they feel it bastardises the art form.⁸ While my research did not extend to interviewing these individuals, the feelings of bastardisation did not appear to extend to all *gitano* musicians, especially those who had the opportunity to professionalise. Although not all *Gitanos* do flamenco, there are many *juergas* that occur in Tres Mil, sometimes around the oil drum bonfires that dot the derelict housing estate. Nowadays, these urban *Gitanos* fuse flamenco with pop music, rap, and rock as well.⁹ Although not all *Gitanos* claim flamenco as an identity, the song styles play a role in many of their key life events: such as birth, death, marriage, incarceration, and religious festivals.

5.3.2 Flamenco en Fiesta

Spontaneous flamenco instances are a result of a certain ingrained cultural familiarity with the art complex. Along the same lines as these unpredictable occurrences are the various ferias and festival days that occur throughout the year in Sevilla (and indeed throughout Spain), most notably Semana Santa. Semana Santa (or Holy Week) is a grandiose yet sombre affair featuring numerous processions of *hermandades* throughout the city on the week beginning with Palm Sunday through Easter Sunday. Whilst the occasion does not warrant much in the way of exuberant dancing, it does feature one of the oldest forms of *cante*: the *saeta*. In the course of the trek around the city, any time there is a palm frond above a door lintel, the procession stops and a *cantaor* comes outside and sings to the effigy of the Virgin Mary (weighing up to 7,000 pounds) that the procession is carrying. It is a particularly haunting experience because whilst the one procession has stopped for the *saeta*, it is against the backdrop of echoing drums and brass across the city from the other processions.

Two weeks after Semana Santa is Feria de Abril – Sevilla’s biggest fiesta of the year. It begins at midnight on Monday and finishes the following Sunday at midnight with a fireworks display. It occurs on the Real de la Feria in Parque de María Luisa, just outside the city centre. Feria de Abril, similar to Málaga’s *feria* described earlier, is a non-stop party with daily bullfights and parades of men dressed in *trajés córtas* and women in *traje de flamenco*. A significant feature of the festival are the over 1,000 temporary tents, called *casetas*, which are equipped with bars, kitchen, and

⁸ Ibid, p. 164.

⁹ Ibid, p. 164.

large music systems. These *casetas* are where the majority of the parties occur and are usually owned by prominent *Sevillano* families and only accessible to invited guests. This phenomenon is metaphorical of the experiences had by foreigners in the flamenco scene – only being allowed in if you have certain connections.

Flamenco in the Feria primarily exists in the form of *flamenquito* – or light, more popularised version of the art which is also known as *fiesta flamenco* – such as *rumbas*, *sevillanas*, *fandangos locales*, and *bulerias*.¹⁰ These are not generally considered ‘flamenco’ by aficionados, although outsiders – both *Sevillano* and foreign – sometimes insist that because they like *sevillanas*, they like flamenco.¹¹ *Sevillanas* is actually a music and dance with its roots in Castellano folk music that is considered a special genre in Sevilla and even has a place in mainstream radio. In the Feria, one can see these danced in the streets and the *casetas*, both to live musicians and music piped through sound systems. Other than this *fiesta flamenco*, the art is generally absent from this festival.¹² It is important to note that while foreigners can appreciate the festival, they are not likely to be able to engage in much *flamenquito* unless they have become connected with one of these family-owned *casetas*.

5.3.3 Flamenco Popular

It is significant to note here that, while flamenco is not considered a folk music by those ‘in the know’, it is also not fully in the popular music realm. The 1970s saw movements of ‘La fusion flamenca’ and ‘*el nuevo flamenco*’, which were promoted by flamenco greats Camarón de la Isla and Paco de Lucía. They began this incorporation of traditional flamenco elements – like guitar playing style, rumba beat, and *palmas*, but traditional flamenco (as described in Chapter 2) is far from a mainstream genre. Interestingly, while flamenco elements are demonstrably present within popular music and culture of Sevilla, it is more of a cultural familiarity than a widespread identity – like someone from Scotland might have with kilts and bagpipes. It does not serve as a marker of personal

¹⁰ Luis Perez interview, August 2015.

¹¹ Juan Verguillos interview, February 2014.

¹² Luis Perez interview, August 2015.

identity for most *Sevillanos* and *Gitanos*, although it is seen as a marker of the broader Sevilla identity. These complex concepts of identity will be discussed at length later in this thesis.

Although there is a certain perception amongst foreigners that flamenco is something that Andalucians grow up with and is learnt in the home, I have found this is not always the case. I have spoken with a number of Andalucian flamenco aficionados and performers that claim no familial connection with the art and have therefore had to attend classes. Carmen de Torres, an internationally-performing dancer and friend teaches classes in Castilleja de la Cuesta, on the outskirts of Sevilla and most, if not all of her students are Sevillanos. I have attended several of her classes. The below excerpt from my field notes demonstrates the atmosphere in one of these classes.

Castilleja is a town on a hill just outside of a Sevilla – close enough to be easily accessible via public transport but far enough to fly above the radar of most tourists. I found Estudio Flamenco Carmen de Torres without incident and waited in the warm sunshine for Carmen to arrive (it is worth noting that the Spanish are ‘relaxed’ when it comes to time-keeping.) Leading me into the studio, Carmen explained that, because of the *huelga*, the turn-out for class might be light, but we would be working on the *bulerias* that she taught in Liverpool. The studio consisted of a reception area adjacent to a long, thin, windowed hallway leading to two mirrored dance studios. Before too long, a middle-aged man carrying a camera case and a mid-30s woman showed up. Carmen introduced them to me as Diego and María. Only the latter spoke English, but both were very friendly.

The class ran similarly to Carmen’s workshops for foreigners that I attended in Liverpool, although it was, of course, conducted in Spanish. We began with warm-up stretches, focusing on the back and ankles. Next, Carmen spent about 15 minutes focusing on dance techniques, specifically those that applied to the *bulerias*. These included turns and *zapateado* exercises. Gradually, she incorporated these techniques into snippets of *bulerias* choreography, teaching first the footwork and then adding in the *braceo*¹³. We were practicing this to a CD of a guitarist playing *alegrías*, which has the same basic *compás* as *bulerias*, but is much slower and, therefore, easier for beginner dancers. As we repeated the choreography sections *ad nauseum*, Carmen walked around and made corrections. Once one move was, on the whole, mastered, she would teach us the next and then link the moves together when we had become comfortable with them. I found it interesting, in addition to maintaining a similar teaching style and class structure, that she taught the same *bulerias* to both beginners in Andalucía and in the UK. I interpret this as having a respect for the Liverpool flamencos – that they could cope with the same standards as her Spanish students of the same level.

This ethnography demonstrates not only the presence of flamenco classes for natives, but also that they are run similarly to classes for foreigners. Furthermore, it signifies the transnational relationship between Carmen and Liverpool’s flamenco scene which I examine further in the next chapter.

¹³ Arm work.

5.3.4 Performance Instances

Flamenco is most visible in Sevilla in the realm of its performance venues. They exist, depending on the context and type, both for foreign and Sevillano audiences. It is important to note that, with the exception of a few ex-pat dancers (described later) most of the performers are Spanish or *Gitano*. Additionally, with the exception of flamenco ex-pat aficionados, Sevillano and foreign punters do not often mix. The reasoning for this is unclear, but my observations throughout the course of fieldwork have suggested a few possible explanations. These include lack of Sevillano identity with flamenco, high entry prices, and negative associations with *Gitanos*.

When I visited Sevilla for the first time with the naïve intent of finding ‘the real thing’, I was armed with a few recommendations from UK friends and one contact (Carmen de Torres). I was confident that in a city renowned for its mythical levels of flamenco saturation and identity, I would be overrun with opportunities to witness the non-touristy side of flamenco. This was not the case. When I arrived, I discovered that the recommendations I was given were expensive tourist *tablaos*, with the exception of La Carboneria, which was free and full of tourists. When I asked people at my accommodation and at the tourism offices, I was told that the only real flamenco to be seen nowadays in the city were these *tablaos*. I found no information on the *peñas* or the bars I would eventually discover. I got so frustrated that, after going out to my dance class with Carmen, I got on a train and headed to Jerez. It took meeting a few insiders – Noemi Luz and Paco Benitez – on my second trip to actually discover the breadth and depth of the Sevillano flamenco performance scene.

5.3.4.1 Places for performance

There are several primary types of performance locales in which flamenco exists in Sevilla (similar to those discussed in Chapter 2): *peñas*, theatres, bars, and *tablaos*. *Peñas*, like the one described at the beginning of this chapter, are small flamenco-oriented social clubs normally run by aficionados with the aim of presenting ‘good flamenco’ to other aficionados, not leeching money from customers. The style presented is considerably more ‘traditional’ and focused more on *palos* that fall within the *cante jondo* category – generally considered the deeper, more emotive singing styles – than on the energetic, and easily-accessible genres of the *tablaos*. According to La Federación Provincial de Sevilla de

Entidades Flamencas, there are twelve registered *peñas* in the city of Sevilla, with an additional 80 listed in the rest of the province. Although there is no particular ruling that a *peña* must be registered, membership in the Federación grants some level of prestige, although there is a membership fee. *Peñas* are a very social experience and the performances and *juergas* that frequently follow mark a liminal experience where the lines are blurred between performer and audience, and participation and interaction is part of the immersive culture.¹⁴ The artists who perform here are generally local stars and up-and-coming artists, and *peña* activities are largely unadvertised outside of local newsprint or posters (although a few now have Facebook pages). This makes them difficult to access for foreigners who are not ‘in the know’ and the attendees are usually Spanish aficionados, with a smattering of flamenco ex-pats if it is at a *peña* in the city centre. As mentioned earlier, *peñas* hold annual *concursos* in *cante* and *baile* to decide who will represent them in the city-wide competitions. The process involves a *peña*-specific competition, which qualifies for the city-wide and then larger provincial competitions. Non-flamenco foreign audiences are usually hard-pressed to find their way to one of these.

Another locale for flamenco performance are the numerous small bars with stages that present live music mentioned earlier in this chapter. There are countless of this type which will sometimes include flamenco shows. Some have a certain longevity to the point of nearly becoming an institution, like T de Triana, others have a fairly short-lived flirtation with flamenco performances. Due to the extremely localised publicity – often just in the form of fliers and homemade posters – the clientele tends to be local – it will often include ex-pats if the performance is in the city centre. The tourist offices do not tend to advertise either these or the *peña* performances and rarely allow fliers to be left amongst their other leaflets.

5.3.4.2 *Tablaos and Cultural Controversy*

While there are a few places around Sevilla that hold flamenco only occasionally, like theatres and organised street festivals, the majority of Sevilla’s public-facing flamenco takes place in the form of

¹⁴ Malefyt, p. 69.

the *tablaos*. At present, there are seven large *tablaos* – Tablao Arenal, Los Gallos, El Palacio Andaluz, El Patio Sevillano, El Museo de Baile Flamenco, Auditorio Álvarez Quintero, and Casa de la Memoria. A *tablaos* is a performance venue specifically meant for tourists. They were developed during the Franco era as a throwback to the *cafés cantantes* of the late nineteenth century. They generally consist of an hour long flamenco show preceded by dinner and drinks. They range in price from about €35-100. There are usually at least four performers in each troupe – a guitarist, singer, and two dancers – although often there are more and can include a percussionist and *palmera*¹⁵ as well. Their marketing strategy is aimed at evoking the tourist’s vision of flamenco and usually focused on stereotypical images of the dancer; red roses, castanets, frilly polka dot dresses, and imagery which arouses an air of mystery. Tourism bureaus, hotels, and tour companies all push the flamenco *tablaos* as a necessary activity for any visitor to consume. The shows are noticeably missing locals in the audience – the prices are set higher than most Sevillanos can afford, plus they know where to go see it for free on the streets or *peñas*. As a result of the primarily-foreign and non-aficionado audiences, the crowd interaction is minimal, with the exception of applause at the end of each ‘piece. This is something that performers sometimes feel is a disconcerting difference from when they play for Spanish audiences, although a few performers noted it made a nice change for audiences not to be talking during the performance (as often happens in Spanish bar settings). The repertoire performed in *tablaos* tends to be music from the lighter genres of flamenco, which are more easily accessible to non-aficionado tourists. The performers are often local flamenco stars, with famous visiting artists periodically making appearances. The aims of the performance are primarily to meet the expectations of the tourists, which involves playing the more upbeat flamenco *palos* and wearing these stereotypical clothes. Some flamenco aficionado informants have criticised the quality of performance at *tablaos*, but in my observations the performers are still top class. The most noticeable difference is the lack of *jaleo* and audience engagement.

Many aficionados (local and foreign) at the very least question and oftentimes show outright hostility towards *tablaos*, citing that they devalue the culture by presenting an inaccurate version of

¹⁵ A *cuadro* member whose role is to clap *palmas*.

the art complex. While I would dispute the complaint of cultural dilution (a point that will be discussed at length in the analysis), the *tablaos*' importance to the culture as an economic vehicle is indisputable. The institution has significantly bolstered flamenco's status as not just a performance art and local subculture, but an industry as well. Although the jobs are not easy to win and are riddled with politics and nepotism, they are consistent and reasonably well-paid (for an arts job in a country in economic crisis). Indirectly, they have also bolstered foreign interest and mystique regarding the art complex, which periodically leads these visitors to take a dance class, go see another show, or buy a *traje de flamenco*.

For the most part, foreign interactions with *tablaos* are limited to the audience side of the stage, whilst simultaneously making up the primary reason for the *tablaos*' existence. An understanding of the spaces in which flamenco occurs is vital context for the comprehension of the difficulties that native Sevillanos face in navigating the scene, constructing conflicting identities, and negotiating transnational interactions with flamenco ex-pats and tourists.

5.4 The Difficulties for Sevillano Flamencos

Although the data presented earlier in this chapter indicates that native flamencos have sovereignty over the Sevillano flamenco scenes, it is, nonetheless, a difficult road for them to traverse. Sevillano flamenco occurs on amateur and professional levels, as well as significant crossover between the two. While there is a fair amount of flamenco existing in Sevilla, to successfully make it as a professional requires not only a lot of dedication and luck, but also the negotiation of a fair number of hurdles associated with both national, regional, and transnational forces. To understand the transnational interactions that are an ever-increasing part of the scene, it is crucial to grasp how politics, socio-economic forces, tourism, local perceptions about the art complex, and conflicting views of national and regional identity are currently affecting the flamenco culture and industry in Sevilla.

5.4.1 Flamenco Perception

The first factor which creates difficulties for Sevillano flamenco artists is the perception of flamenco performers in Spain. While the non-aficionado view of flamenco is one that closely associates it with

Spain and Andalusian identity, this is not a perception that is shared across the country or even the region. As will be discussed later, flamenco possesses a dubious link with the individual Andalusian identity. Guitarist Ramon Ruiz had significant insight on the assumptions made about flamenco performers:

While the flamenco is more respected in Spain than abroad, the FLAMENCOS are not more respected in Spain, unless they are big names [...] it's one thing to play flamenco, it is another entirely to BE flamenco. A flamenco is actually a person and not a very well looked at one.¹⁶

Ruiz is in a unique position to understand this view, being Spanish-South African, living in England, but born in Granada. His words have been echoed by many informants, both Spanish and foreign, aficionado and non-aficionado. A young Sevillano guitarist informant, Antonio, cleverly observed that:

Until recently, the definition of "flamenco: in the dictionary was "unsavoury person". The dictionary had a pejorative connotation. Historically we have been conceptualized as drunks, addicts, *Gitanos*, etc. And if you practiced flamenco you were [an outcast]. Now things are different [than the drug culture that flamenco used to be]. But it is very sad that in your own country dictionaries define you that way. In many pubs there are signs saying "*Prohibido el cante*"¹⁷ which were also typical in the era of Dictator Franco.¹⁸

This quote indicates the perception of flamenco amongst the broader Spanish population as well as residual resentment towards its culture leftover from the Franco regime.

An informant from Madrid who I met while dancing flamenco in Leeds imparted that when she worked in an office in Madrid, she never even told her co-workers that she was a flamenco dancer, for fear of their judgment of her. Also there is a perception that *Gitanos* are illiterate. These traits are then applied to flamenco because of its inextricable link with *Gitanos*. This perception of illiteracy not only contributes to the negative view of the art form, but also results in promoters and agents trying to dupe performers with unfair contracts assuming that they cannot read.¹⁹ While the *Gitano* community does have a notorious drug and alcohol problem (as do many marginalised communities the world over) this is neither a trait or nor exclusive to the flamenco community, not necessarily applicable to it as a blanket statement. As a result of the *Gitano* link, even though

¹⁶ Ramon Ruiz interview, May 2015.

¹⁷ Prohibiting flamenco-style singing.

¹⁸ Antonio Cafuco interview, July 2014.

¹⁹ Ana Real interview, January 2014.

flamenco is not exclusive to that community, drug abuse is an outsider's perception applied to those who are involved in the culture. The negative beliefs about those that practice the art are damaging to its legitimacy as a non-tourist performance art, furthermore it discourages locals to get involved in it.²⁰

5.4.2 Sevillano Mind-set

A further problem, sort of on the opposite end of the spectrum, is the general mind-set of Sevillanos. Most Spain-based informants have, in some manner or another, referenced Sevilla as being a closed-minded city. This is also reflected in the feeling one gets when spending a period of time there – like it is operating on its own separate timescale, slower, isolated from the rest of the world, and existing in its own special bubble. While this may seem like a subjective and abstract statement, it is one that several Sevilla-based informants have echoed. *Tablao* singer Ana Real states that:

The problem is that Sevilla is a closed city. Madrid is an open city. Closed because we are very proud of our culture, our music, we think that our culture is the best. [...] There are a lot of other musics, a lot of cultures, a lot of artists. You want to think that you are the best? That is your problem. This is not reality. [...] I see Sevilla like a *cateto*. [...] 'Cateto' is an adjective that we use to name a person that just likes his own things and doesn't want to learn. [...] Sevilla is a very important place for flamenco, but it is not the only place.

While this evidence of certain feelings of cultural exclusivity maybe creates the idea that Sevilla flamenco is kept more 'pure' or 'authentic', the close-minded attitude has some problematic aspects. It creates a widespread narrow-minded view of flamenco's possible interpretation, something that was perpetuated in the first decade of the 2000s with its UNESCO Intangible Heritage designation. Firstly, this narrow mind-set limits what is artistically acceptable in a flamenco performance – for example, I rarely encountered a percussionist at a paid performance or *peña*. Second, it exacerbates the concept of who can and cannot understand flamenco, and what they should look like – which enhances difficulties for outsiders, whether they be from another province or another country. Ana, who is an internationally-travelled singer with a much broader worldview, but significant insight into the Sevillano mind-set –having performed there most of her adult life – states:

I have a dancer friend who is Swedish with blonde hair and blue eyes [...] and because of her blonde hair, it is impossible for her to dance here. Because we are *catetos*, we can't understand that foreign people can be a good dancer or guitar player.²¹

²⁰ Luis Perez interview, August 2015.

²¹ Ana Real interview, January 2014.

Although these xenophobic feelings towards outsiders may not, at first glance, seem to affect the careers of local flamencos, the implied restrictions on artistic interpretation creates some difficulty in their ability to express themselves. It seemingly curtails their capacity to differentiate their performance from what is already there, thus restricting available avenues for ‘breaking into the scene’.

5.4.3 Impacts of Economic Crisis on Access

Another problematic aspect of the Sevillano flamenco model is the cost of tuition. It is a commonly held assumption outside of Spain that the flamencos of Andalucía learn the art culture in their home, passed down through word-of-mouth and inherited by blood. While there is sometimes truth to this, plenty of Sevillano flamenco aficionados come from families without this background and attend classes similar to those that the foreigners do. However, the prices of tuition, in many cases, are set higher for foreigners and are unattainable commodities in a society in the midst of a ten-year long economic crisis. It is difficult for local Andalucians to afford these fees. For example, Fundación Cristina Heeren charges more than €3,000 for a nine-month course. They offer a limited number of bursaries available for Sevilla residents and several other dance academies in the centre also offer similar discounts. Regardless, for most Sevillanos, tuition rates are incredibly expensive for the current economic climate. Rosi Reed imparted that this is going to create problems and knowledge gaps in the next generation of would-be flamenco stars – possibly a contributing factor to the slight animosity felt towards foreigners who can afford course fees.²² While the high fees are to some extent emblematic of flamenco’s foreign interest, their impact is a direct result of the economic crisis.

The most imminent problems that colour and influence the Sevillano flamenco scene revolve around the current economic situation and politics. Flamenco journalist and historian Juan Verguillos says:

Hombre, now it is not easy for anyone. I do not think our sector is necessarily worse than others, but it is difficult for most people of the [flamenco] culture in general. It is now really very complicated [because] of the economic situation.²³

²² Rosi Reed interview, June 2015.

²³ Juan Verguillos interview, February 2014.

In terms of the crisis, the complications of flamenco, or really any art form, are easy to comprehend: when a region (such as Andalucía) reaches unemployment figures ranging from 30-50%, commodities such as attending ticketed flamenco events all of a sudden are not a familial budget priority. Also sadly inevitable are the government cuts to arts funding and closures of venues that previously ran shows – such as La Cartuja. Even successful performers, such as Ana Real have had difficulties:

It is very difficult, a strange time to make a performance because there is no money anywhere. For instance, in Carmen, there are 60 of us. 60 to get planes, hotel, *dietas*. A lot of money plus the horse comes with us from Sevilla!²⁴

Ana reports that with this flamenco company, which is internationally travelling and of fairly high level, she has not actually been paid in two years. The options for recourse are limited as the money is just not there and jobs in big companies are few and far between. Ana reported that she had started singing in bars for the first time in her career – having always had enough work in *tablaos*, *peñas*, and theatres. Many other Sevillano flamenco informants conveyed that they have or would be going to Japan to teach for three to six month stints, where there is a high demand for Andalusian flamenco teachers and performers. There has also been a noticeable influx of Spaniards (flamenco and otherwise) coming into the UK to try to find work. Despite the economic situation, *tablaos* seem to be staying open, as the tourist demand for flamenco has not diminished. However, due to the scarcity of performance opportunities, competition for these events is fierce. This is especially true if the artist is not an established performer, at least on a local level. Aspiring Andalusian guitarist Antonio ‘Cafuco’ feels that chances are better for work outside of Spain:

Because of the crisis and because there are so many people [trying to] do the same. Much flamenco. Flamenco is already international, and people from outside come to Spain to play, and do it well. And because of the economic crisis, many of them [the promoters] pay them the same as a native. And the person who asks for a little more has no chance because there are others who do it cheaper. Why do they do it cheaper? For those who come and are practicing and do not mind economic compensation. What matters to them is the art of practicing.²⁵

Antonio, in this quote, is referring to competition from foreigners for performances, which often results in negative feelings towards foreign competitors who already have money and are perceived to be taking work away from Spanish flamencos. Ana also reports significant competition from well-

²⁴ Ana Real interview, January 2014.

²⁵ Antonio ‘Cafuco’ interview, July 2014.

known flamenco performers who supplement their more prestigious performances in large theatres and concert venues with work in tablaos. Even though they cost more, a promoter is more likely to book them for a one-off performance because they know it will sell out. However, there are also political factors at work which have contributed to the competitive market for flamenco performances.

5.5 Sevillano Ex-Pat Flamenco Culture: a construction

As mentioned before, my first trip to Sevilla had me questioning if there was anything worth recording in a scene seemingly dominated by the tourist flamenco. It was not until I connected with Noemi Luz that the intricacies of the Sevilla scene, including the seemingly hidden ex-pat scene, became apparent. Noemi, then 27, had moved to Sevilla at the age of 20. She had spent several years attending Elmhurst Ballet School in Birmingham, becoming acquainted with flamenco, and deciding that this was a dance for her. She moved to Sevilla without any specific plans a few days before Semana Santa (when Spain closes down for a week). She randomly stumbled across a class of Yolanda Heredia (the daughter of acclaimed *Gitano* singer Jesús Heredia), who took the more improvisational approach to flamenco that Noemi was seeking (as opposed to the normal routine-driven classes that attracts most foreigners). Noemi has been studying with Yoli ever since and has gradually been finding her way into the teaching and performance world of the Sevillano flamenco scene. Her goal was to make it into the world of *tablao* performance – although recently she has been rethinking that particular path in favour of focusing on theatre projects and workshops with Dot-Dot-Dot Flamenco.

The trajectory from paying student to professional is not an easy one for an ex-pat. Indeed, the battle with one's own body and mind to understand and internalise a physically, rhythmically, and conceptually challenging art form is nothing compared to overcoming the complications of cultural difference economic crises, bureaucracy, and prejudice in the Sevillano flamenco world. These difficulties are what provide the glue and the ammunition for the creation of a diverse community of strangers from different countries who have come to one place in pursuit of their passion for flamenco.

The remainder of this chapter will explore the motivations and daily life of a flamenco ex-pat, but also how the difficulties for would-be foreign practitioners existing within the close-knit Sevilla flamenco scene not only lend themselves to transnational interactions which deeply affect the local flamenco, as well as how they influence the formation of a new cultural identity both amongst locals and foreigners. It will also demonstrate how Sevilla represents a local scene that has gone global due to foreign flamenco aficionados pilgrimaging to this site that they envisage as the homeland of flamenco, who then appropriate it as their own.

5.5.1 The Life of an Ex-Pat Student

Some come for a couple of weeks, others for a couple of months, and some change their plans and stay for years, scraping by on a meagre existence and a dream of professionalism (or at least greater proficiency). The members of Sevilla's ex-pat flamenco community have the ingrained belief that in order to actually become good at flamenco, they need to study in Sevilla – either for the good teachers, the superior musicians and singers, or simply for a better understanding of the culture. Most seem to come with a rather romanticised view of the scene, which is more often than not shattered if they attempt a professional existence. These foreign flamencos come to Sevilla to improve their *nivel*, as well as to absorb the culture. Most I spoke to had experienced a version of Spanish flamenco culture in their home country and had then flocked to their perception of the original homeland to discover how it really worked. This is similar to Graham St. John's Psy-Trance pilgrims who flock to Goa for the 'authentic' experience and then strive to re-create the culture when they return to their home countries.²⁶

Most flamenco ex-pats, like Noemi, turn up in Sevilla with the ambition to learn as much as quickly as possible. Many, similar to my Sevillano friend Samuel, come to study at the prestigious Fundación Cristina Heeren – the largest flamenco school in Sevilla which boasts a broad curriculum including all four performance aspects of flamenco, as well as *palmas*, history, and Spanish. Unlike many other Sevilla flamenco schools, it has a comprehensive web presence with a well –laid out

²⁶ See Graham St. John, *Local Scenes and Global Culture of Psytrance* (London: Routledge, 2010).

curriculum with obvious trajectories forward. This makes it easier for prospective foreign students to understand the offerings, which is a departure from many other independent teachers in Sevilla who, if they have an online profile at all, it is not up-to-date or available in English. The classes are attended by students from a wide range of countries, supplemented by a few locals who have received scholarships to help cover the pricy tuition. Adding to the international flavour is the fact that, while the school employs mainly local flamenco stars, the concept was created and financed by American flamenco enthusiast, Cristina Heeren. Many students stay at the school for a particular duration – maybe a series of months or a year, taking as many classes as they can cram in, and practicing in whatever tiny accommodation they have been able to afford.²⁷ Many of these have come with the idea of gaining enough knowledge (*nivel*) to return to their home countries as experts and revered teachers. Others, like Noemi, quickly discover that the formalised curriculum of Cristina Heeren, while a good starting point, is not inclusive enough for their broader goals. They search for a well-known teacher outside the school and, whilst still taking classes, begin to entertain aspirations of a professional career – perhaps in a theatre or *tablao* – within Spain.

5.5.2 The Life of an Ex-Pat Flamenco Professional

While most of the flamenco ex-pats are content with their short, class-oriented visits and will then return to their home countries to perform and teach, others, such as my friend Noemi, become attached to Sevilla and dream of a more professional existence there. Some want to do this for the prestige of becoming the best and working in a *tablao*, creating their own theatre show, and winning regional competitions such as the *Concurso Nacional de Baile por Alegrías* in Cadíz. Others recognise that flamenco is not just defined by a single element (such as singing and dancing) but by how all the elements, including crowd participation and cultural ambience, combine to form the flamenco cultural complex. Sevilla is an excellent place for this.

There are very few places outside Andalucía, Madrid, and Barcelona where all flamenco ingredients exist at a professional level. It is extremely problematic to find experienced flamenco *cantaores*, in particular, outside of Spain, and rare to perform for an audience who

²⁷ Cristina Heeren Foundation, 2014, < <http://www.flamencoheeren.com/en/> > [Accessed January 30, 1016].

understand and engage with the *jaleo* performance conventions of an *espectáculo*. The ex-pats I interviewed report difficulties in returning to inexperienced dancers, musicians, and punters in their home countries and feel that they are unable to effectively progress in their own practice under those circumstances. So they opt to stay in Sevilla, where the flamenco culture feels like home to them. In Sevilla, they also have the opportunity to take classes in their chosen discipline and to continue expanding their knowledge, while also learning more about the other aspects of flamenco. These ex-pats also stay because, oftentimes, they feel Spain – and Sevilla or Madrid in particular – are the best place to begin a performance career in an ‘authentic’ atmosphere.

5.5.2.1 Daily Activities

While these ex-pat flamencos are from many different cultural backgrounds, they tend to develop similar routines in an effort to reach a similar goal – professional performance. Most of them maintain local mentors or teachers in order to continue improving their art, as well as to help them develop contacts within the city – as with many professional performance genres, with flamenco in Sevilla, it is not always what you know, but who you know. While some of them may have one-off jobs teaching private English lessons, most with whom I spoke do not have consistent employment. This is due in part to the soaring unemployment rate in Andalucía (currently 35%), but also to their devotion to learning their art form. Those with whom I spoke cited doing just enough non-flamenco work to supplement their savings and were content to live in shared accommodation and eat cheaply. Many of them have living situations that are inconducive to practicing– either having non-flamenco flatmates or thin walls and intolerant neighbours. As a result, most of them rent out studio spaces – often just makeshift rooms above taverns – and sometimes splitting the costs with other ex-pat associates. All of the informants reported practicing at least two hours a day in studio. In addition to this, they would spend time studying videos and other resources related to various techniques or *palos*. I met several people that, in addition to their normal dance or guitar classes, would take additional sessions about other aspects of flamenco (as mentioned earlier). Of particular interest was a class offered by a *Madrileña* singer named Patri who taught classes specifically geared towards helping foreigners learn *cante*. This is significant because, as with many globalised music cultures,

cante is often the most difficult to access for foreigners. I have found that once these foreign aficionados enter into and engage with the local scene they realise that the most important aspect of flamenco is the *cante* and that if they want to understand and engage with the art form they need to at least comprehend the mechanics behind it.

In addition to spending a large portion of the day practicing and studying flamenco, most flamenco ex-pats I met were engaged in some degree of self-promotion – in that they were networking to attempt to acquire gigs and connections. Without the presence of a performance engagement, this is carried out online and by attending various *peñas* and *juergas*. It is particularly common for students in classes at Cristina Heeren or studying *flamencología* at Universidad de Sevilla to meet up in public locales to practise with their course mates in groups that are composed of natives and foreigners. Important jamming and networking opportunities also occur at the events surrounding a *peña*, like the one described earlier in this chapter. This grass roots level of informal performance and networking enables ex-pats not only to hone their skills, but also to improvise and network with those that they may want to perform with in future.

Juergas, especially those at *peñas*, serve as important meeting points to network with the local flamenco scene whom ex-pat students have scant opportunity to play with otherwise. The networking opportunities, especially for dancers, extend to attending performances. As described earlier in this chapter, the final song at the end of a typical flamenco performance (one that is reliant on crowd participation and not in a *tablaos* or theatre), is a *fin de fiesta*. The importance of this occurrence is not only to network with performers and practice improvising, but also for showcasing talents to the public and venue owners who they might try to get gigs from in the future.

5.5.2.2 Performance culture and venue options

For the ex-pats that manage to attain performance opportunities, they will spend a large amount of time promoting their upcoming gig. Usually that takes the form of Facebook badgering, but most will also create fliers to distribute. Popular distribution points are obviously the various flamenco schools around town, as well as local bars, but also include tourist information and hostels. These events, while seemingly less prestigious than *tablaos*, are also at least a third of the price of entry. It is

interesting to note that not all of the tourist information centres are willing to allow you to leave fliers if you are not with a *tablaos*. It is imperative for ex-pats to get a good audience at their performances so that they will be booked again. This is where I have experienced the most cohesion amongst the group – foreign flamenco students will flock to sit and watch their friends and associates perform, even if they do not know them, with the aim of supporting them and, often unknowingly, supporting the ex-pat cause in Sevilla.

Although it is not an easy engagement to acquire, there are venues where these ex-pat flamencos can periodically get a performance. Rarely will one of those be in the *tablaos* or a theatre but in smaller venues or bars. On the topic of foreigner performances, Noemi Luz told me:

There are foreigners who have gone into the *tablaos* and done it. ... it's a lot about luck and who you fall in with. There are a lot of foreigners here and as with the Spanish dancers...there are all levels...us foreigners tend to dance in these places that aren't official because we can't get into the *tablaos*.²⁸

Noemi started her performance career at one such small venue called Bar Sol – a grubby local *taverna* with small rehearsal studios that rents a lot to foreign flamenco dance students.

They decided to put in a stage in my first year when I was here, to give us all an opportunity to perform. Because all of us young girls were coming from all over the world and practicing every day and going to class, but we had nowhere to perform for those first performances where you need to fuck it up and make mistakes – a safe place where you can do that. And these guys created a space for us. We did our own publicity and you know, all of our friends would come and see the show.²⁹

This statement brings up the point about how performance experience is necessary in flamenco in Sevilla. Since so much of the envisioned full flamenco experience is based on all four components being present, as well as the quasi-improvisational nature of it, performance experience at the lowest level is considered crucial to those with professional ambitions. Noemi tells me:

I started dancing in these small places, like Bar Sol. And because I rehearsed so many hours [there], they obviously gave me a lot of performances [...] and actually I really owe it to them. There was a time when I was dancing [...] every other week [...] and I really learnt so much because there is so much you learn only performing.³⁰

This is a sentiment echoed by most prospective professional flamenco dancers I met (note: not those only pursuing it as a pastime). However the venues available for that level of performance, especially amongst foreigners (bearing in mind that, unlike some Sevillano aficionados, performance amongst the family and in fiestas is not an option) are often difficult to find. In fact, as a researcher it took

²⁸ Noemi Luz interview, January 2014.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

getting to know an actual insider in the ex-pat flamenco community to actually gain awareness of the performance venues – they are not well-publicised. Bar Sol has been forced to close its performance space due to complaints from the neighbours, as has La Cartuja, a church-turned-venue which ran a ‘Miercoles a Compás’ weekly flamenco performance where Noemi performed.³¹ According to my informants, these venues come and go. Maybe a restaurant or bar saw its lucrative value and decided to put on a weekly or monthly show for a while, but, not being flamenco lovers themselves, loses interest eventually. Other venues get shut down or forced to cancel flamenco performances by less-than-understanding neighbours. Still, when I was conducting my research in Sevilla there were a handful of small, non-*tablaos* venues with regular *espectáculos* for a minimal entry fee. Dissimilar to *tablaos*, these small venues are not widely attended by tourists and were willing to accept foreigners as performers though.

It is important to note that most aspiring flamenco ex-pats are women coming at it from a dancing side. During my trips to Sevilla, I frequented a number of ex-pat oriented performances. Caja Negra was a modern-looking bar with a stage on the far end of La Alameda. The management hosted shows two nights a week, featuring a mixture of native and foreign artists (primarily featuring dancers). The owner of this bar also owned a venue called Sala Garufa, a large roomy venue north of the city centre. Another popular ex-pat performance venue of note is T de Triana, which is a cosy bar with an elevated stage located in the former *Gitano* neighbourhood of Triana – on the opposite side of the Guadalquivir from the city centre. It was an event started by a Chilean flamenco dancer, Flor, who decided ‘we’ (the ex-pats) did not have anywhere to dance. She asked the manager and he agreed to try a one-off flamenco night. A sizable intake of the ex-pat community came out to support the night, so the bar agreed to run it once a week. Now the event happens every Thursday and is free entry. They pay the artists (two dancers, a singer, and guitarist) at least €30 each. The guitarist and singer are Sevillanos and play every performance, while the dancers rotate out. The dancers do not have rehearsal time with the *tocaor* and *cantaor*. It is treated like a *tablaos* – the dancers specify what *palo* and how many *letras* they wish to perform then go on stage. Noemi remembers:

³¹ Ibid.

It is a brilliant experience. The idea is it doesn't matter if you are foreign or from here, they are not prejudiced [...] It's just about dancers who don't have enough experience on stage and need it. [...] You just turn up, get on, and do it. That kind of experience you can't get anywhere else.³²

³² Ibid.



Figure 5:7 Performance and *Fin de Fiesta* at T de Triana, Sevilla

I attended T de Triana one evening and it was packed with people, even though it was at the end of the Christmas holidays. Although there were clearly some tourists that had found their way to Triana,

most of the clientele seemed to be foreign aficionados and locals. It was a great atmosphere with a lot of *jaleo*. At the end of the performance, there was the traditional *fin de fiesta*, where I recognised a few of the dancers who got up from previous experiences, including a wonderful Taiwanese man, Chian, who I would later interview about his plans to gain a high *nivel*, specifically in *fin de fiesta bulerias* improvisation.

There are several other little places, including one called La Carbonería which is perhaps the only one of these ex-pat venues that is advertised to tourists. Most of the ex-pats I spoke with do not consider it a very good venue to perform in. It is always packed mostly with the tourists and I did not get the impression that it treats artists very well. Another performance option explored by a couple of the more bold ex-pats is the option to perform on the street, although most stick with indoor venues or go back to their home countries.

Peña de la Niña de Alfalfa (described at the beginning of this chapter) is one of the more prestigious venues that *guiris* can acquire a performance opportunity at in Sevilla. They are considered more traditional in style and will often hold annual cante and baile *concurros* to decide who will represent the club in the city's annual competition. Peña de la Niña de Alfalfa is a relatively new establishment by Sevillano standards, having opened in 2010. Dancers have to bring their own ensemble and provide their own publicity, but they get paid on the door. Noemi reports that because the audience is primarily local aficionados:

It's a little bit more scary, because they know what you are supposed to be doing but [...at Niña de Alfalfa] they're really not prejudiced at all [against foreigners], really accepting and supportive.³³

Performance is an important aspect to ex-pats who choose to remain in Sevilla – both in the short-term goal of becoming a better flamenco dancer by learning to perform, but also in the grander scheme of becoming professional in the homeland of flamenco.

³³ Noemi Luz interview, January 2014.

5.5.2.3 Difficulties for Ex-pats

In talking to multiple ex-pat informants who aspire for permanent residency in Sevilla, it is clear that the ultimate goal does not involve the occasional, hard-won performances in one of the few small venues described above, where the clientele is primarily other ex-pats. Noemi recently told me:

I've stopped trying to advertise and get performance in all those shitty little bars now. I couldn't be fussed about working there – it didn't seem to be a step forward. Ever since I formed together with the Dots³⁴ it is like we have banded together – three British girls trying to accomplish the same things.³⁵

The goal for many, however, is to develop a professional career in a *tablao*, have their own studio, or perhaps join a touring company. Getting to that level is more complicated than the comparatively easy task of emailing smaller venues for a spot on a waiting list without being asked many tricky questions nationality. To achieve the higher echelons, it is more than a question of skill. As mentioned above, as with many other aspects of the arts, there is some element of 'knowing the right people' and, in a town like Sevilla where families are close-knit and certain surnames are strongly linked to flamenco, this can cause difficulties for an outsider. Beyond that, there is a certain amount of prejudice to overcome regarding physical attributes and nationality – as demonstrated in the first section by Maru's quote.

There are four abstract characteristics of the Sevilla flamenco scene which create difficulties for these ex-pat would-be flamenco performers: nepotism, the economic crisis, ethnicity and physical characteristics. In terms of nepotism, as mentioned above, Sevilla is a fairly incestuous society where families have been living in the same locality for generations and, as a result, there is an 'everybody-knows-everybody' vibe to the flamenco scene. There is a certain saturation of the flamenco market, even amongst native dancers, and often in order to get into a *tablao*, dance company, or even a job teaching in a dance studio, it takes connections.³⁶ These connections are not likely to be in place for an ex-pat who has only been in the city a year or two, as these connections exist outside the realms of dance classes (that most foreigners base their working and social life off of) and even *peñas*, although

³⁴ Referring to Dot-Dot-Dot Flamenco Company.

³⁵ Noemi Luz text correspondence, 2015.

³⁶ Juan Verguillos interview, February 2014.

this desire for connections is one of the motivations for describing the post-*peña juergas* described above. French dancer Maria Pereira imparted:

It is difficult. There is a lot of *tablaos*, but to enter in, you have to have friends [...] Now there are so many dancers it is difficult [...] I know people in the *tablaos* but they aren't close to me. I have contacted but am still waiting. [...] There are some programmes in *teatros* that give artists the funding for shows [...] but it is mostly for the best-known artists. It depends on the level of theatre. If these programmes permit you to perform in the best theatres it will be based on the names. If it is a smaller theatre, they might give you a chance. It is still difficult. You really have to sell yourself.³⁷

Shortly after my conversations with her, Maria opted for a six-month stint teaching in Tokyo due to lack of opportunity in Sevilla. The level of nepotism inherent in the scene means that foreigners who wish to breach these barriers have to not only spend excessive amounts of time practicing, but also have to devote significant effort to networking outside of their classroom, which is daunting in a city as tight-knit and saturated with foreign tourists and ex-pats as Sevilla.

The second factor is that of the current economic situation in Spain. The crisis began in 2008 and only in the last few months (as of March 2015) has been reporting economic growth (although unemployment figures and research funding still lag significantly behind). Since the crisis began, opportunities for flamenco performances have lessened and a lot of the government arts funding that was responsible for putting on shows and festivals has been cut.³⁸ My informants have cited that there are fewer big performances and, as a result, bigger name artists have been pushed down into the *tablaos* and smaller theatres which otherwise might have been the proving ground for up-and-coming Spanish and excellent foreign artists.³⁹ Maria conveyed:

From what I can see, the payment is now not so good. And there is not so much work as before. So then we have big names in *tablao*. If you want to go to a *tablao* now to perform you have to compete against the best artists. They need to go there too. And so people of the next level get pushed out.⁴⁰

Tourist *tablao* jobs became a difficult-to-obtain commodity because of the consistency of work (several nights a week at least) and higher pay rates.

³⁷ Maria Pereira interview, January 2014.

³⁸ Ana Real interview, January 2014.

³⁹ Ana Real interview, January 2014.

⁴⁰ Maria Pereira interview, January 2014.

5.5.2.4 Cultural Hierarchy: The importance of ethnicity and appearance

While the two above-mentioned factors are significant, the most difficult factor that these aspiring flamenco ex-pats have to overcome is one they cannot control: idealistic concepts of looks and ethnicity amongst native Sevillanos and tourists. These are deeply-seeded factors that are entrenched in Sevilla (and Spain's) concepts not only of flamenco image, but also of national identity and cultural exceptionalism. As early as the 1950s, American anthropologist D. E. Pohren theorised that non-Spanish aficionados would always need to remember that, regardless of their skill level, they will always be 'thought of, and referred to, as that fellow who performs well, or knows a lot, considering he is a foreigner'.⁴¹ There is a history of Andalucians assuming that they can properly perform and understand the art complex.

There are two primary grounds on which ethnicity creates issues: one being the perception that the foreigner's ability and feel is not as good because they were not born into the culture; the other is the importance of 'looking' Spanish, specifically in the presence of tourists. There is a not-so-hidden feeling amongst many Sevillanos, including some of those who do the hiring at *tablaos*, that flamenco is something so rhythmically and conceptually entrenched in the collective social history of the *Gitanos* and Andalucians that a foreigner could not possibly do it as well – it would always be missing the heart, the *duende*. A number of ex-pat flamenco informants have noted various comments and attitudes about their arts and also the hindrance of gaining employment because of ethnicity.

Noemi observed:

I think there is a little [animosity] amongst them towards us. I have been with Spanish artists after a show and a singer has gone off on one "oh, these foreigners! Oh, not you. You're one of us" – kind of in the way that people talk about the 'gay friend' they have [...] It's a big barrier that hasn't been breached yet.⁴²

Even Maria Pereira, who is French-born but of Spanish parentage has received similar comments:

I think there is racism here [...] "she is an outsider. She can't dance well." This is especially come from the *Gitanos* – but not all of them. Normally those that come from traditional families and aren't so open-minded. Not as much with Spanish people, although

⁴¹ Pohren, p. 78.

⁴² Noemi Luz interview, January 2014.

Concha Vargas⁴³ said to a friend of mine once, talking about a foreign girl from the US, “she’s no dancing so bad for a foreigner”. So that’s the mentality usually.⁴⁴

In general, both Spanish and ex-pat informants have referred to an unspoken ethnic hierarchy of flamenco performers, regarding who is preferred and respected: 1. Gypsy, 2. Sevillano, 3. Spanish, 4. Foreign.⁴⁵ The reasoning behind these designations relates to shared beliefs and myths about flamenco’s origin and authenticity – that it was based largely on *Gitano* dance, Sevilla is one of the main *cuñias* of flamenco, and foreigners have changed and adulterated it.⁴⁶ The paradoxes and realities of these theories of origin and authenticity will be discussed later in the chapter. Flamenco is seen as so attached to these ethnic designations that it is incredibly difficult for an outsider especially to acquire serious work. Rosi, a UK dance teacher who formerly danced professionally in Andalucía, said of ex-pat performer prospects:

No one will hire you, full stop, to work in the *tablaos* or companies. You have to be better than the best [...] No one will hire a foreigner if they can hire a Spanish girl [...] nationality is important [...] They feel it lessens the value of their art and identity if foreigners are doing it too.⁴⁷

These attitudes often encourage ex-pats to look more Spanish and acquire Spanish-sounding stage names (which sometimes they use permanently as their real names). While this may seem extreme, ex-pats who have been attempting professionalism often tire of constant ethnicity-based scepticism about their abilities. Noemi confides:

I could pass for Spanish. This is one of the things that gets really old. People come up to you and say “oh, you’re English! I thought you were Spanish! What are you doing flamenco for?” Blah, blah, blah. It gets wearing. I just think that flamenco is something that is so universal. You don’t have to understand the words of the song to understand what they are singing about – human emotion. It’s so obvious and it’s something that is so direct and guttural that anyone can understand because it is completely an intuitive and instinctive thing. Obviously, most of us aren’t going to have the same level as those that have ‘lived’ flamenco their whole lives. We get a bad name because of our nationality. We’re struggling to catch up basically. Some of us put in the hours, but we’re a minority. You’re fighting against people’s preconceptions.⁴⁸

These preconceptions are not only those of the Spanish but those of the tourists coming to see shows as well. Several informants report that, even though *tablaos* are mainly frequented by foreign tourists,

⁴³ A prominent Andalucían *bailora*.

⁴⁴ Maria Pereira interview, January 2014.

⁴⁵ Pohren, p. 78; Maria Pereira interview, January 2014.

⁴⁶ Malefyt, p. 67.

⁴⁷ Rosi Reed interview, June 2015.

⁴⁸ Noemi Luz interview, January 2014.

the irony was that someone who ‘looked’ non-Gypsy and non-Spanish was not likely to be hired, especially as a dancer. Ex-pat dancers do not fit with tourists’ image of flamenco, and as tourism is about the ‘created experience’ which meets idealistic (however imagined) expectations, hiring a blonde-haired, blue-eyed foreigner was not a likely scenario. This is primarily applicable to *bailoras* as, in the tourist *espectaculo* they are the focus.

Dancing, being the aspect of flamenco most accessible to foreigners is also the aspect that the majority of these flamenco ex-pats are engaging with. Being a singer as a foreigner is the most difficult, not only because of the unique, non-Western vocal techniques, but also because of the importance of grasping the distinct Sevillano accent, lingo, and cultural references.⁴⁹ Guitarists have the easiest path, as they can get by on playing talents and there are fewer of them compared to the dancers. Also, as they aren’t the focal point of a Sevilla *tablao* show, their looks aren’t as important.

While there are a few foreigners that have made it into the Sevillano *tablaos* and theatres – such as Canadian dancer Chloe Brule and Dutch guitarist Tino van der Sman. – it is largely an area that is inaccessible to ex-pat flamencos as a result of ethnic prejudice. Several informants referred to feeling that the Sevillanos felt they were robbing their culture. Noemi imparted:

I do understand there’s a kind of fear that the foreigners are going to take over flamenco. We’re going to do it badly and it’s going to lose the flavour from here. I think if we are going to take it back to our countries, most of us feel we owe it to flamenco not to do it half heartedly.⁵⁰

Despite Sevillanos’ fears and perceptions of foreign interest, the attitude reflected by Noemi is the one most often stated by ex-pat flamenco devotees. I have also found that many Sevillano flamencos have not expressed major concern with foreign flamenco performers – that attitude has come primarily from Sevillanos and *Gitanos* who do not claim flamenco as something of their identity and non-Spanish tourists.

⁴⁹ Ana Real interview, January 2014.

⁵⁰ Noemi Luz interview, January 2014.

5.5.3 Ex-pat cultural In-Roads

Despite the insurmountable difficulties cited with regards to attaining professionalism on the Sevillano flamenco scene, my informants have noted recent inroads that foreigners have made into the flamenco scene, although these seem to have mainly come as a result of placing well in one of the many *concurros* outside of Sevilla. ‘Occasionally one of us – God it sounds like a clan! – gets a really good opportunity to dance at one of the big *peña*s like Torre de Macarena – where you are performing for Sevillanos and aficionados – your hardest customers’ Noemi informed me, but these opportunities are few and far between. Both Noemi and Maria Pereira advise me that the best way to get publicity and recognition towards a job is to do well in these *concurros*. Lately, several foreigners have had success in these. For example, Jasaila, a Cuban girl, has recently won the Perla de Cadíz *concurso*; she has since danced in some of the *tablaos*. Flor – a Chilean girl who opened T de Triana – has won a prize at Villa Rosa *concurso* in Madrid and since got into the Compañia Andaluz Danza. ‘These were really important moments for the clan’, Noemi Luz tells me. There have also been recent instances of a Japanese dancer coming in second place at Concurso de Las Minas.⁵¹ This Japanese dancer comes back once a year to Sevilla, takes classes to acquire new material then goes back to Japan where she can have a career.

Despite the inroads that can be made at the *concurros*, there is still a long way to go. Noemi imparts an opinion corroborated by several other informants – ‘The Japanese girl never would have actually won at Las Minas. Second is ok. But they couldn’t let a Japanese girl win. Look at what that would say about flamenco!’ It is clear from various informant comments that, although foreigners are often gaining grudging acceptance in some Andalusian flamenco circles, factors such as economics, ethnicity, and physical aesthetics still cause significant road blocks.

5.6 External Influences on Sevillano Flamenco

There have been several fairly recent developments external to the flamenco scene which have nonetheless affected the art complex. The effects range from employment opportunities (or lack

⁵¹ Noemi Luz interview, January 2014.

thereof) to actual aesthetic shifts. These factors are tourism (as discussed in Chapter 2), the 2007 Revised Andalusian Statute, and flamenco's successful bid for UNESCO protective status.

5.6.1 Flamenco conflicts with tourism

Flamenco has a complex, love-hate relationship with tourism, specifically in more populous Andalusian cities, such as Sevilla. It exists across Spain in the form of *tablaos* geared (and priced) for tourists. These venues are advertised at tourist offices, hotels, transport hubs (bus and train stations), and essentially anywhere a tourist might be likely to find themselves. Aoyama captures this conflict in work on consumption and globalisation, suggesting a global paradox in the cultural industry (including tourism), specifically with regards to flamenco. She observes that one side of the argument sees the need to maintain a 'place-based identity' and the other the need for regional cultures to establish export markets for survival. She further demonstrates that contemporary cultural exchange is not a unilateral global-invading-local scenario, but a process of consumers 'interpreting, appropriating, and adopting a cultural commodity in their own terms.'⁵² This validates my observations in the Sevillano flamenco scene. Tourism creates both opportunities and difficulties for local Sevillano professionals. The opportunities are primarily of a financial and employment nature. The difficulties are along the lines of aesthetics, transmission, and ideas about identity creation.

The paradox of the promotion of flamenco for national tourism is that Franco's inward facing policies were known for austere Catholicism, hatred of liberal democracy, and anachronistic isolationism, as well as brutality (often resulting in 'disappearances') towards his political and moral enemies. This is especially significant when speaking about the flamenco scene because *Gitanos* and Andalusians typically fell into these categories. For example, in 1943 the Guardia Civil (Franco's military police), passed a law specifically advocating the persecution of *Gitanos*, such as observing their dress and arresting them if they did not carry the proper horse-trading licences.⁵³

⁵² Aoyama (2007), p. 103.

⁵³ Rosemary Barbaret and Elisa García-España, 'Minorities, Crime, and Criminal Justice in Spain', in *Minorities, Migrants, and Crime: Diversity and Similarity across Europe and the United States*, ed. by Ineke Haen Marshall (California: Sage Publications, 1997), 175-197 (p. 177).

Andalucians received similar levels of mistreatment, as the province, specifically urban centres such as Sevilla and Málaga, were strong supporters of the Republican government, which Franco overthrew using the province as an important battleground. Under Franco, political opposition and freedom of speech of any kind were harshly repressed. Due to its association with *Gitanos* and Andalucians, Franco's secret police saw flamenco as a form of cultural dissent and political commentary. They repressed this, especially in lower-class neighbourhoods, by illegalising many concerts and *peñas*, as well as general flamenco singing in bars. Essentially, lighter, more frivolous forms of flamenco thrived as a diversionary art, primarily for tourists, whilst those that claimed it as their identity were persecuted.⁵⁴ During this time, that which was seen as authentically *Gitano* or Andalucian was condemned. Due to the rise of tourism (which included the marketing of flamenco) and its effect on city real estate prices, *Gitano* communities were expelled and thrown out of their neighbourhoods into slums outside of city limits, such as Sevilla's infamous Tres Mil development.⁵⁵

While tourist interest plays a significant role in flamenco's widespread visibility in Spain, it also creates some points of friction both amongst those that like it and those that do not. Across Spain there is residual resentment towards flamenco amongst non-aficionados because of its association with *Franquismo* and the national identity they were assigned during his brutal dictatorship. This results in some consternation directed towards its usage as a representation to tourists. Within the aficionado community, many feel that since flamenco transmits a cultural heritage that reflects a history of Andalucian suffering, it should not be a form of light entertainment.⁵⁶ There is also a belief that *tablaos* trivialise the art, reducing its cultural meaning to a girl in a frilly dress prancing about to an exotic dance. This is in contrast to the *peña* which is not about objectifying music and dance, but about creating social space where flamenco can be celebrated and creativity can flourish.⁵⁷

In speaking with my informants, the feeling towards *tablaos* was one of economic necessity but not necessarily artistic merit. The performance is changed for the tourist audience to one that is less

⁵⁴ William Washabaugh, 'Flamenco Music and Documentary', *Ethnomusicology*, 41.1 (1997), 51-67, (p. 53).

⁵⁵ Truth-Out.org, 'Flamenco Under Attack', <http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/27946-flamenco-under-attack>, [Accessed December 3, 2015].

⁵⁶ José María Pérez Orozco, *Pensamiento político en el cante flamenco*, (Barcelona: 1985), p. 14-16.

⁵⁷ Malefyt, p. 65.

dependent on the more sombre, reflective *palos*. It also tends to be more dance-focused, since most foreign visitors will not understand the lyrics or appreciate the raspy, free form singing style of *cante jondo*. Furthermore, there does not tend to be *jaleo* (audience participation) in *tablaos* due to lack of cultural knowledge amongst the punters. This omission alters the experience for both the audience and performers, who respond to the crowd energy. These artistic and atmospheric changes are felt by aficionados to cheapen the experience and negate its artistic merit.

On the other hand, there is certainly evidence that flamenco's survival, or at least its thriving, have been due in part to the tourist industry. Aoyama tells us that in the modern world arts and cultural complexes, such as flamenco, do not survive on their own – they are compelled to by a multitude of actors with 'broad and varying representations in various parts of the world.'⁵⁸ According to her, flamenco thrives because of a combination of local interest, identity maintenance, tourists, and government subsidised artists at state-funded events.⁵⁹

There seems to be some evidence of this in that, by many accounts, flamenco had all but become obsolete, at least as a performance art, by the time the Spanish Civil War began. Many flamencologists maintain that without its promotion into the tourist realm, flamenco would have mostly died out.⁶⁰ In the beginning part of this century, flamenco tourism and its supporting industries have been worth about €120-150 million a year, which includes schools, *tablaos* bars, accommodation, events (festivals, *peñas*, theatre shows), and merchandise (recordings, clothes, etc.)⁶¹ The largest concentration of the industry is in Sevilla, with a small enclave of guitar manufacturers residing in Granada.⁶² While a significant number of beach-motivated tourists attend flamenco shows, a certain percentage are also only there for flamenco – an estimated 626,000 in 2004, with overall tourism numbers rising from 7.9m to 8.5m since then.⁶³ There is significant evidence that tourism

⁵⁸ Aoyama (2009), p. 85.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 80.

⁶⁰ Hefner Hayes, p. 40.

⁶¹ Aoyama (2009), p. 88.

⁶² Ibid, p. 88.

⁶³ Ibid, p. 85.

plays a crucial role in the survival of flamenco, as mass tourism intensifies the interdependence between regional culture and economics. Even some local Sevillano researchers support this theory.⁶⁴

It seems clear, both through Aoyama's research and my correspondence with those working in the industry that, while tourism may change how flamenco is presented, it is crucial at least to the economic survival of those who practice it, if not to the art form itself. Despite the difficulty attaining work in a *tablao*, it is really the only steady flamenco work, especially in Andalucía. Because some local aficionados see it as an opportunity to gain work, it seems plausible that more Sevillanos are engaging with flamenco because of the tourist interest and, thus, the art form is strengthened.

Tourism has played such a decisive role in popularizing and influencing flamenco, specifically by shifting the focus of the art complex from the *cante* to the dance, and in the styles that are performed.⁶⁵ *Tablaos* and other tourist flamenco locales serve as an important place for transnational encounter. It is where foreigners develop their perceptions about flamenco, which will influence the expectations they have when attending shows in their own country. These experiences will thus influence how the art complex is interpreted on a glocal level. In Sevilla, *tablaos* will feel compelled to meet previously developed tourist expectations in order to attract punters. Abroad, glocal scenes will develop around perceptions of authenticity in Andalucía. Even foreign aficionados who know otherwise are forced to comply with these expectations in order to attract students and audiences. It is, therefore, imperative for Sevillano flamenco shows to recognise their role as transnational culture bearers and providers of quality standards, as what they exhibit will serve as a benchmark for the glocal flamenco culture.

5.6.2 Flamenco Politico

Although it may seem strange that politics could have a hand in affecting the flamenco scene, it has been an underlying trope throughout its history. Notably, there has seemingly been an increase of this influence in recent years. There are two primary developments in the last decade which have affected Andalusian flamenco, and by proxy, Sevilla: firstly its inclusion in the Revised Andalusian Statue of

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 96; Juan Verguillos interview, January 2014.

⁶⁵ Aoyama (2007), p. 106.

Autonomy, which included the creation of the Instituto Andaluz de Flamenco (IAF) and officially making flamenco a marker of regional identity.⁶⁶ The second political development was the successful bid by Spanish and Andalusian factions to have Flamenco acquire UNESCO Intangible heritage status.

5.6.2.1 Revised Andalusian Statute of 2007

Beginning in the 2000s, Spanish regional governments sought to revise their statutes of autonomy, which had been put in place in the early 1980s during the post-Franco transition to democracy.⁶⁷ This movement, in what political scientists Keating and Alex Wilson refer to as the ‘second wave of decentralisation’⁶⁸, was a response to leading political party Partido Popular’s centralist policies coupled with persistent identity issues overhanging from the ‘first wave of devolution’.⁶⁹ Andalusia’s revised statute was approved in 2003 and finalised in 2007 after both a regional and national parliamentary referendum and ratification.

The revised statute included competencies on a wide variety of issues, such as European integration and regionalised health care.⁷⁰ However, the statute also sought to partition out cultural difference and a regional identity which became a major controversial element.⁷¹ The new statute sought to characterise Andalusia as ‘*hecho diferencial*’⁷², utilising their historical identity and unique culture.⁷³ Article 68 states that the Junta de Andalucía possesses ‘exclusive competence [responsibility] regarding the knowledge, research, development, promotion, and diffusion of flamenco as a unique element of Andalusian cultural heritage.’⁷⁴ Flamenco satisfied the quest for *hecho diferencial*⁷⁵ because, although it had strong associations with Franco’s tourism and

⁶⁶ Matthew Machin-Autenrieth, ‘*Andalusia flamenca: Music, Regionalism and Identity in Southern Spain*’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cardiff, 2013), p.133.

⁶⁷ Machin-Autenrieth (2013), p. 135.

⁶⁸ Michael Keating and Alex Wilson, ‘Renegotiating the State of Autonomies: Statute Reform and Multi-level Politics in Spain’, *West European Politics*, 32.3 (2009), 536–558 (p. 549).

⁶⁹ Machin-Autenrieth (2013), p. 135.

⁷⁰ Keating and Wilson, p. 549.

⁷¹ Machin-Autenrieth (2013), p. 136.

⁷² ‘Something different’ – a marker of distinction from the rest of Spain, warranting autonomy

⁷³ Keating and Wilson, p. 550.

⁷⁴ Machin-Autenrieth (2013), p. 134.

nationalism campaign, it was felt that it still ‘epitomised regional identity’ and filled the role of distinctiveness.

To achieve the broad, sweeping goals of Article 68, the IAF was formed in 2005 as part of the *Consejería de Cultura*. Its responsibilities were for the conservation, promotion, and diffusion of flamenco inside and outside of the province. In an interview with flamencologist William Washabaugh, the body of IAF (previously known as AADF), Francisco Perjuo Serrano said that the institution is the “only official governmental institution charged with the responsibility for articulating music and politics by advancing an understanding of flamenco through investigation, study, teaching, and promotion”.⁷⁶ Andalusian flamencologist Cristina Cruces Roldán concurs that prior to IAF; flamenco had little institutional support and was mainly a ‘Fragmented system where foreign and provincial governments provided their own support.’⁷⁷ The significance of this will be discussed later in the chapter.

5.6.2.2 UNESCO Intangible Heritage

On the back of the Revised Andalusian Statute’s inclusion of flamenco came the nomination (driven by the IAF) of Andalusian flamenco to UNESCO as an object of Intangible Cultural Heritage. The IAF emphasised that “flamenco reaches out to the world with its universal style while still serving as an Andalusian cultural marker” and was one of the primary drivers behind flamenco’s nomination.⁷⁸ It was supported and accepted by the Andalusian parliament and regional governments of Extremadura and Murcia, as well as receiving backing from elements of the Spanish government, such as the Ministerio de Cultura and Consejo Nacional de Patrimonio. Similar to the Revised Statute, most of the rhetoric surrounding the nomination rested on flamenco as Andalusian in origin and radiating out to the rest of the world.⁷⁹ The IAF instituted an extensive publicity campaign called ‘Flamenco Soy’ which was intended to draw attention locally and internationally to the nomination and to drum up support. Its aim was to create emotional community support for what they viewed as Andalucía’s

⁷⁶ Washabaugh (2012), p. 94.

⁷⁷ Machin-Autenrieth (2013), p. 137.

⁷⁸ Washabaugh (2012), p. 94.

⁷⁹ Machin-Autenrieth (2013), p. 143.

most important cultural manifestation – flamenco. The campaign included promotional stands around commercial shopping areas where there was a support petition to be signed as well as merchandise. It also included a website with information about the campaign and an online petition, available in Spanish, English, French, and Japanese.⁸⁰ In order to qualify for an Intangible Cultural Heritage designation, a nation-state must demonstrate a cultural practice/tradition meets five key criteria:

- 1) To meet UNESCO’s Definition of ICH, including one or more of the 5 domains
- 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 the community for the element
- 5) To inscribe the element in the state’s own ICH inventories.⁸¹

In terms of the first criterion, flamenco was demonstrated to have met four out of five of the ICH domains, in that it is a diverse tradition that “affords identity” to many communities and individuals, such as *Gitanos*, performers, and public and private institutions. The second criterion was met, by proclaiming the nominating body would present flamenco at a local, national, and international level. To meet the third criterion, numerous safeguarding measures were proposed to be enacted by agencies such as the IAF. Some examples of these include maintaining a stable performance schedule and providing aid to the sector to continue conserving and promoting digitalisation.⁸² Six key areas for further development were noted: Evaluation, protection, research, education, promotion (in the form of festivals and performances), and coordination. Promotion was the most important measure, with the file proposing €15 million to spend on promotion and support for flamenco events and festivals not only in Andalucía, but on an international scale.⁸³ Criterion four and five required the nomination to be supported by the communities and government involved, which was demonstrated by the petition. These criterion were all demonstrated in the UNESCO file and the nomination received a

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 145.

⁸¹ Ibid, p. 146.

⁸² Ibid, p. 147.

⁸³ Ibid, p. 148.

vast outpouring of support from flamenco performers and *peñas* across Spain, as well as the regional governments of Andalucía, Murcia, and Extremadura. It was accepted by UNESCO in November 2011.

5.6.2.3 Impact of Statute of Autonomy and UNESCO Designation: outcries

Although these political moves come across as institutionalised, protective measures that hypothetically aim to shelter flamenco from the evils of globalisation and situate it as a defining feature of Andalusian identity, they have not been without their opposition. The Statute of Autonomy, for example, sparked major debates even before it was finalised regarding the use of flamenco for political purposes and issues of music ownership.⁸⁴ Additionally, there is a significant rumbling about how the UNESCO designation has actually harmed the artists who perform it and restricted the art form. There are three main groups from which these outcries have emanated: other regional governments in Spain (namely Extremadura and Murcia), non-flamenco Andalusians, and regional flamenco performers.

5.6.2.3.1 Murcia and Extremadura

Although flamenco is widely assumed to have its origins firmly ensconced in the Andalusian *Gitano* and *Payo* social life, there are other places where even the most staunch Andalusianist will acknowledge has a hand in the creation of flamenco – namely Murcia and Extremadura. During the formation of the Revised Statute of Autonomy, there was an extensive outcry from members of these provincial governments regarding Andalucía's perceived appropriation of flamenco. Several key political figures of those regions even said publicly that flamenco's inclusion in the statute was unconstitutional. Extremadura's councillor for culture, Francisco Muñoz Ramirez, and President Juan Carlos Rodríguez Ibarra were particularly vocal in the press, arguing that Extremadura and Murcia were also critical in flamenco's geography with their specific palos, performance practices, and history. The feeling was that Andalucía was seeking exclusivity in flamenco.⁸⁵ Murcia hosts one of the most prestigious annual *concursos* in La Unión – Festival Internacional del Cante de las Minas.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 137.

⁸⁵ *Hoy*, 'Extremadura critica que Andalucía quiera la exclusividad del flamenco' (8/6/2006).

⁸⁶ Machin-Autenrieth (2013), p. 139.

While Andaluz politicians and members of the IAF tried to quell these concerns by stating publically that they only controlled Andalucían flamenco, detractors still viewed it as symbolic of Andalucía's monopoly on flamenco development and its close association with regional identity.⁸⁷

Interestingly, even though the UNESCO declaration gave detractors of regionalisation more evidence to query how the Andaluz government could claim exclusivity over a deterritorialized tradition's development, the nomination was actually formally endorsed by the Extremadura and Murcia governments.⁸⁸ Extremadura and Murcia are mentioned in the text of the nomination, but the monopoly Andalucía has over flamenco development is evident in that the majority of the safeguarding measures proposed apply to Andalucía institutions.⁸⁹ It seems that despite this, Extremadura and Murcia were happy to endorse the bid.

5.6.2.3.2 Regional Flamenco Professionals

Somewhat surprisingly, significant objections against both UNESCO and the Statute have been voiced to me by Andalucían flamenco professionals – i.e. those that technically are the ones being protected. Although it got a fair amount of support from them at the time, many of the Sevilla-based professionals and up-and-comers have reported negative feelings towards flamenco's use as a political tool, issues surrounding preferential treatment of big flamenco stars, and its institutionalisation.

Tablao singer Ana Real imparted:

The *patrimonio*⁹⁰ is the worst enemy of flamenco. This definition, this political title that someone has given to flamenco is the worst enemy. Because I think it is impossible to mix feelings and culture, artistic ways, impossible to mix with politics, money, power, it is impossible.⁹¹

Ana's objections, which demonstrate a resistance to stylistic elements of art being dictated by governmental authorities, are shared by other flamenco performers and aficionados with whom I spoke.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 140.

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 141.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 150.

⁹⁰ In Andalucía, the UNESCO recognition is referred to as 'Patrimonio'.

⁹¹ Ana Real interview, January 2014.

The UNESCO declaration, as mentioned above, seemingly grants the guardianship of flamenco to the Andalusian government and allows them to make decisions regarding its safeguarding and definition. The idea of placing flamenco into a box of what is traditional and what is not is problematic. This is firstly because, even amongst Sevilla-based aficionados, the definition of what falls under the heading of ‘flamenco’ and, even more controversially, what constitutes ‘good’ or ‘traditional’ flamenco varies almost on an individual level. The controversy is only exacerbated when the debate includes someone from a *Gitano* background or from a different Andalusian city. Spain, despite being a hypothetically unified country, has cultures that vary almost on a city-by-city-by-town level. Local performers from Sevilla can tell if a guitarist, for example, is from Jerez by miniscule stylistic variations in their playing – and often maintain that they are doing it wrong! Under those conditions it does not seem plausible or fair to generalise such a varied tradition. Secondly, relegating flamenco into a musical museum of sorts limits the artistic variations which naturally occur in any art form when a performer tries to differentiate their performance from that of another. Strict definitions restrict creativity and the artist’s ability to exercise the individuality that is so integral to flamenco. Furthermore, flamenco developed over the last several centuries from the influences of the many different races who have passed through southern Spain, and thus to put it in a box is actually to break from tradition.

5.6.2.4 Objections to political motivations

Other objections came from feelings of doubt regarding the motivations of politicians. Many, including an informant who works for the regional Sevilla government, feel that the government’s appropriation of flamenco was part of a political agenda. They felt that the government’s desire to help and protect flamenco really fell under the category of uniting people under a regional identity without actually helping the artists. Ana imparted:

For me, Tenley, I think that this was a political maneuver. For us, flamenco has not changed since this Patrimonio Humanidad. I think it’s all political fact, to earn points from the people. For me, is no changes. [Nor] for flamenco artists. I think if flamenco was an important culture for politicians there would not exist this tax of 21% [on artists]. For you, I think it is very important. You try to protect this thing and to make it easy for the rest of people to come to see your treasure. But here [in Andalucía] flamenco is nothing. Just the moment [for the politicians] to take a picture, go to the newspapers, say ‘Oh, I’m the mayor of Sevilla; flamenco for us is the best’. A lot of artists and the mayor in the middle of the picture. Ok you

have taken a picture, bye bye. Tomorrow there is no flamenco, so I [the mayor] don't want to make a picture. I want him to help flamenco, not me, FLAMENCO. But if you put tax of 21%, this is not a help. It is a knife to kill us. And I think this is a social or politician fact. [...] I don't see any change since we became Patrimonio Humanidad... I don't have a job now. I have 3 days here [in the tablao]. This is Patrimonio Humanidad for me. I started singing when I was 5 years, now I have 39. [...] This is the worst moment in my flamenco life. Salvador, my boss, he depends on Ministerio Cultura, Ayuntamiento Andalucía. These people were supposed to pay him 2 years ago and he can't pay me. He can't because there is a lot of money owed €150 or something. So this is Patrimonio Humanidad. The money of this title, I don't know where it is.⁹²

Ana's quote demonstrates frustration both with the general state of flamenco being institutionalized by people who do not really care about the art, but also with the governing body – Ministerio de Cultura – promising money to support artists and then not paying them. Because of this, fewer performances can happen. Additionally, Ana refers to the 21% tax that the government places on performers, which is crippling them financially.

Sevilla-based flamencologist Juan Verguillos corroborates Ana's observations that flamenco is closely linked with public administration these days. He informed me:

Most artists work for the government, because the festivals are organized by municipalities or regional governments [...] as they are in crisis, all others are in crisis with them. [...] [The IDF] is part of a political organization, and well, it is also in crisis like all other political institutions. Now they have no budget, practically, they cannot do much because they have limited resources, except engage in promoting it.⁹³

It is worth noting here that there is an unfortunate and recent precedent for Spanish governmental entities supporting the art form but not the artists themselves. This was a notable feature of the Franco regime. Throughout his reign, Franco's administration constructed flamenco into a symbol of national identity through extensive tourism campaigns, whilst simultaneously brutally persecuting poor Andalusian and *Gitano* artists who lived the art form. I find in my conversations with flamencos that this is never far from their thoughts about artistic regionalization and national identity.

5.6.2.5 Flamenco festival promotion and interference with career progression

There is some debate about the government's value even in promoting the art of flamenco. Civil servant and flamenco aficionado Paco Benitez informed me:

I think sometimes what you get is a name, a little to somehow give some validity to the pricy ticket of a flamenco event – especially overseas. For example recently in Russia there was a presentation of a flamenco festival and the IDF supported it. They participate in organizing the

⁹² Ana Real interview, January 2014.

⁹³ Juan Verguillos interview, February 2014.

concerts. For example, if there are seven or eight concerts in a festival, they might pay for one of them, and in return, their logo is on the festival.⁹⁴

The real-life workings of these festivals and their relation to the IDF were described to me by several informants – including international touring performers Ana Real and Carmen de Torres. They describe three levels of flamenco artists: first level of international flamenco stars, such as Estrella Morente, Miguel Poveda, and Paco de Lucía; a second level of regional flamenco performers, such as Ana and Carmen; and a third level of up-and-coming performers. Before the IDF and Patrimonio Humanidad, local and regional flamenco festivals would hire performers from all three levels, giving those in the second and third tiers the chance for exposure, the opportunity to compete in *concursos*, and the capacity for moving up to higher levels.⁹⁵ Since the Patrimonio Humanidad, this ladder system has changed. My informants report that the way festivals (regional, national, and international) work now is that they will contact the IDF for funding. The IDF will say ‘ok, we will give you €40,000, but you have to spend €35,000 of that on Miguel Poveda, or someone else from that first level.’ After spending that, the festival only has €5,000 to spend on the other performers, and can no longer afford any but the artists in the beginner’s level. The festival rarely has a choice but to take this option because maybe their previous budget without IDF aid was €20,000.

Seemingly, the reason for the IDF taking this more elitist route is to put forth the best artists as the face of flamenco; their idea of the most representative of the culture. However, what these measures really accomplish is removing the rungs of the ladder that enable the second-level artists to climb to the first tier. Because of this, Ana tells me:

I think Patrimonio is good for these artists in the first level. For example, Estrella [Morente] is a social media star in flamenco more or less. Lady Gaga of flamenco. She of course is important for Patrimonio Humanidad. But these are the artists that the politicians show, but flamenco is more than these persons. I love Estrella and Miguel, Arcangel because they are fantastic. But there are a lot of artists and a lot of people in flamenco that need help. Estrella doesn’t need nothing; her daddy was one of the best singers in the world. I do. [...] There are meteoric singers like Poveda and Estrella, but the culture is the same for all artists. So we in the second level [...] we are a lot of artists suffering to have recognition of the person that governed flamenco theatres. If I want to put on a performance in Teatro Central in Sevilla, I need a lot of papers, permissions, things that Estrella doesn’t need.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Paco Benitez interview, January 2014.

⁹⁵ Carmen de Torres Interview, March 2013; Ana Real Interview, January 2014.

⁹⁶ Ana Real interview, January 2014.

This quote represents a conundrum created by institutionalization and attempting to place flamenco into a sort of musical museum. Institutionalization has resulted in a government organization being granted the capacity to make decisions regarding aesthetic representation regarding an art form neither currently nor historically specific to the region. Furthermore, even within the region in question, opinions regarding authenticity and artistic value are contested on an almost individual basis.

The governmental entities that are creating such sweeping aesthetic designations are being viewed with a certain degree of hostility because they are not seen to be supporting the actual artists. Therefore, these definitions of authenticity are being viewed by actual practitioners with hostility. Further problems with institutionalization arise because the government is in economic crisis and cannot actually support the programmes it initially promised UNESCO, demonstrating the problem with making the continuance of an artistic tradition dependent on economics and political power. Finally, in an effort to support and demonstrate the ‘best of flamenco’ to the outside world, the IDF and the Andalucían government has seemingly granted preferential treatment to the bigger artists – described by some as the Flamenco Mafia – and have crippled the middle tier of performers. In so doing, the Statute of Autonomy and the UNESCO Patrimonio Humanidad, whilst raising flamenco awareness outside of the region, seemingly do more harm than good on a micro level.

5.6.2.5.1 Non-Flamenco Andalucíans

During the period of time when the statute was being debated, there were people contesting the politicisation and nationalisation of flamenco at an Andalucían level. Machin-Autenrieth states that this indicates problems with the use of culture for the consolidation of regional identity.⁹⁷ This is somewhat problematic because, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, flamenco is an art that is actually only a form of identity to a minority of the population. Others may dance the odd Sevillana at a feria or a wedding, but rarely beyond that. In his virtual study of the PAO – an online forum that discusses issues regarding regionalisation in Eastern Andalucía – there were many controversial reactions to the perceived regionalisation of flamenco.⁹⁸ Most objections focus on a lack of self-identity with

⁹⁷ Machin-Autenrieth (2013), p. 139.

⁹⁸ Matthew Machin-Autenrieth ‘Flamenco ¿Algo Nuestro? (Something of Ours?): Music, Regionalism and Political Geography in Andalusia, Spain’, *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 24.1 (2015), 4-27 (p. 14).

flamenco, thus feeling it should not be part of a unified Andalusian identity. Many merely rejected flamenco development on an institutional level, viewing it as regional nationalism and equating it to Franco's often unpopular programme of Spanish Nationalism (*Franquismo*).⁹⁹

Objections are in part along the lines of the government spending millions of Euros to promote flamenco during a prolonged economic crisis.¹⁰⁰ Other questions of institutionalisation arose around how Andalus government could presume to claim exclusivity over the development of a Spanish, and now universal, tradition. One PAO member is quoted to have written 'Flamenco belongs to its aficionados, not governmental institutions.' Prominent flamencologist Gerhard Steingress problematizes government interference with flamenco, emphasising that it is a universal art form that can transcend Andalusian regionalism. He surmises that '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 a "marker" of their identity as Andalusians'.¹⁰¹ These objections are echoed by many Sevillano non-flamencos that I have interviewed in the course of my research. For example, an informant, Manuel, who is a Sevillano in his late twenties imparted:

I like to have flamenco in Sevilla. But my musical taste, my daily music is rock, pop, blues, rap [...] I do not hear flamenco in my house. [...] it's like bullfighting. I personally find it repulsive. I do not like it, but it is typical of my country. Something old that still exists.¹⁰²

This quote emphasizes the paradoxical relationship that Sevillanos seem to have with flamenco – it is something many believe is from their culture, but not personally relevant to them so should not be institutionalised. It is for these reasons that many non-flamenco Sevillanos (and Andalusians) have launched into outcries against both the art form's usage in the Statute of Autonomy and as a UNESCO protectorate.

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 15.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 16.

¹⁰¹ Gerhard Steingress and Enrique Baltanás, 'El Flamenco como Patrimonio Cultural o una Construcción Artificial más de la Identidad Andaluza', *Revista Andaluza de Ciencias Sociales*, 1 (2002), 43-64 (p. 51).

¹⁰² Manuel, interview in Bar Tregua, February 2014.

5.7 Conclusions

This chapter has provided a description of some of the complex identities which make up the Sevilla flamenco scene. In doing this, I have described the basic structure, performance locations and occasions, and difficulties for those who practise it. These depictions often differ from the assumptions of those not directly associated with the scene. The chapter also introduces the ex-pat flamenco community and the complex relationship it has with the local Sevilla scene. Finally, I discussed several external influences which affect the current flamenco scene, which take the form of touristic and political factors. This dissection of the Sevilla scene is important when attempting to understand the culture that foreign transient flamencos experience. The flamenco experience they have in Sevilla has significant bearing on the culture that they then strive to emulate when they travel to their home countries. The next chapter discusses this phenomenon with regards to *Flamenco Britannica* – the UK flamenco scene.

Chapter 6: Flamenca Britannica

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I provided an examination of the complexities within the Sevilla flamenco scene. I explored its structure, performance contexts, and competing identities that characterise its manifestation. I discussed the socio-political and cultural factors that have influenced the local flamenco scene, as well as how globalisation has shaped those factors. Most notably, I described the transient ex-pat subculture that developed in conjunction (although not always in accord) with the local Sevillano flamenco community. I explored the transnational interactions (both present and historic) that transpire between local and foreign factions which have influenced flamenco's development 'at home' in Sevilla.

These transcultural encounters become significant as we move to this chapter because it is the cross-cultural interactions at the 'local' level that most impact individual perceptions of flamenco which are transmitted abroad. What becomes especially important is the act of transit between Sevilla and, in this case study, the UK. This physical and conceptual journey across borders shapes the form that flamenco takes when moved from its 'original' context. Individuals are largely responsible for transmission in England, as opposed to media or Diasporic cultural migrations (such as Indians settling in separate communities in Bradford). There are several factors that influence what occurs on the journey between the Andalucían and the UK culture. These factors determine how flamenco is manifested across the border. The first is the individual's experience in Sevilla (or other Spanish flamenco location), specifically if they believe they have encountered 'authenticity'. Another factor to consider is their motivations for returning 'home' – is it to teach, to practice, to perform? Is it permanent or temporary? Another factor which influences flamenco's development abroad is the transmitting individual's role in each location (Spain and home). Interviews revealed that these motivations often differ significantly. Finally, the most tangible alterations which happen to flamenco on this proverbial journey from Spain to the UK are the changes enacted to cope with cultural differences, involving aspects of the art form that might be 'lost in translation'. These are changes

that the individual human hubs deem necessary and are often a compromise between their perceptions of ‘authentic flamenco’ and the concessions which must be made to suit student and audience expectations, as well as UK cultural norms.

This chapter reveals how *Flamenca Britannica* developed and is maintained through the efforts of these individual human hubs who transmit information gained through transnational interactions. The mode of UK transmission is significant because, unlike the ‘human hubs’ described by Kiwan and Meinhof, most of these flamenco culture brokers in the UK are of English heritage. Furthermore, many of them serve as the only flamenco aficionado (beyond the hobbyist level) in their general locality. On one hand it is wonderful that there are dedicated individuals who learn flamenco in Spain and want to transmit it at home. On the other hand, it is problematic because most UK flamenco scenes feature only one person who is considered the expert. This presents issues not only with the continuity of a scene, but also because these individuals create what oftentimes is the only perception that their students/audiences have of flamenco. If it is too diluted from the original, it becomes detrimental to the survival of the art form. Ultimately, this chapter offers insight into the factors that influence the development of a glocal flamenco scene in the UK and cultural identity. These aspects include the British approach to leisure and multiculturalism, the transcultural exchanges that occur on the route from Spain, and the prevalence of singular human hubs in cultural dissemination. I hypothesise that these factors may occur in other flamenco cultures operating outside of Spain.

This chapter is configured around one primary question: **What is the role of individual culture brokers in the creation and maintenance of UK flamenco communities?** First, I examine what flamenco is in a UK context and how it has developed. Drawing upon ethnographic methods, interviews, and participant observation, I suggest a scene structure, history, demographics, and cultural norms that shape the appropriation of flamenco in the UK. Here, I also examine the flamenco characteristics that change ‘in transit’ when transmitted by human hubs in the UK.

Secondly, I differentiate between varying levels of participation (hobbyist, human hub/scene driver, and Spanish performer), which ties into the socio-cultural factors that inform the UK approach

to leisure, especially in activities considered ‘exotic’. In doing this, I provide insight into how the English approach leisure, tourism, and multiculturalism. All three factors influence how foreign music cultures are interpreted in a British context. Furthermore, I demonstrate through individual ethnographies how human hubs, the transient flamenco aficionados, are instrumental in the creation of local flamenco culture in England.

Thirdly, I examine the role of individual cultural brokers in the development of these local British scenes. I explored how these English aficionados have come to assume flamenco as an identity and something to transmit. I looked at the transcultural interactions of English aficionados (both at home and in Spain) which inform the development of a local UK scene, as well as influencing the counterpart in Spain. Here I also present a picture of who these individual cultural brokers are, specifically the roles they play in the British flamenco scene which often drastically differs from those assumed when amongst Andalusian flamencos. Specifically, I outline the importance and relevance of foreign human hubs (as opposed to Spanish) in the manifestation of flamenco in the UK, as well as an analysis of the factors that change as a result of their journey between Spain and the UK.

Finally, I propose a model for the UK flamenco scene – one that is relatively new for a music culture. It is a local (to Andalucía) subculture that has been transmitted abroad by human hubs who, in most cases, are actually UK nationals who have claimed flamenco as a surrogate cultural identity. Uniquely, these UK flamenco scenes reach towards Andalucía for inspiration as the ultimate authority on flamenco, instead of looking inwards at a definitive ‘UK flamenco style’. Presumably, this is because of the foreign aficionados who recognise that to understand flamenco, one must reference the culture that surrounds it. As a result, I propose a glocal model which refers to perceptions of the ‘original culture’ (in Andalucía) for inspiration but is informed by regional cultural norms. While established for many years, the UK flamenco locales are still reliant on these individual brokers for transmission, continuity, and connection to Andalucía. This chapter provides insight into how the English approach multiculturalism, which often has bearing on how foreign music cultures are interpreted.

6.2 What is the UK Flamenco Scene?

In order to understand the issues outlined in the previous section, it is necessary to examine the structure, values, and composition of the UK flamenco scene. A brief explanation of what is meant by the term ‘scene’ when applied to *Flamenca Britannica* is needed in this instance to clarify my subsequent observations. A ‘scene’, in ethnomusicological terms, is a socio-cultural space that is situated around a selected identity, as opposed to an ethnically-inherited identity. These ‘scenes’ represent a forum for discursive negotiation as ‘musical practices work to produce a sense of community within the conditions of [local areas].’¹ Andy Bennett describes three types of scenes: local, translocal, and virtual. Flamenco in the UK most closely resembles what Bennett refers to as ‘trans-local’ and what I (and music migration theorists Kiwan and Triandafyllidou) refer to as ‘transcultural’. Bennet’s ‘trans-local’ designation illustrates how cultural resources are appropriated within specific local contexts, whilst maintaining a connection with similar cultural and stylistic expressions in other localities.² Bennett warns:

[...] the trans-local quality of a music scene may not rest exclusively on the global mobility of particular music styles, nor the ability of scene members to communicate with each other across time and distance using new technologies. Indeed [...] trans-local scenes are increasingly characterised by global flows and people.³

This indicates that a musically-oriented trans-local scene is one that is adopted on a local level but is characterised by links to similar cultural groups in other locations. Notably, this definition also points out that a trans-local scene is not reliant on mobility of a music style or communication between scene members of different locales, but it does rely on the influence of the individual person in global flow of the culture. This definition corroborates my theories about the UK scene creation and maintenance.

Around the UK, there exists small pockets of flamenco aficionados consisting primarily of British enthusiasts with a small population of relocated Spanish performers, most of whom are semi-permanent fixtures. These entities, operating mostly independently of one another in a growing number of locales across the country, represent a faction devoted to the practice and preservation of a

¹ Will Straw, ‘Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change: Scenes and Communities in Popular Music’, *Cultural Studies*, 5.3 (Oct. 1991) 361-375, (p. 373).

² Andy Bennett, ‘Consolidating the Music Scenes Perspective’, *Poetics*, 32 (2004), 223-234 (p. 229).

³ *Ibid*, p. 230.

passionate and emotionally intense art complex existing independently of its Andalucían homeland. When I speak about the UK flamenco scene, it is in reference to a small collection of individuals across the country who are organised into groups dependent on locality. Flamenco exists in many locations across the UK, from predictable hubs such as London, Manchester, and Birmingham, to unlikely alcoves in Hebden Bridge and Matlock Bath. The scene is primarily situated around a particular dance class or teacher. Most localities only have one group – exceptions being in larger metropolitan areas, such as London, Bristol, and Birmingham. However, even in these cities, the groups are generally in different neighbourhoods. While there are rarely interactions with those outside of their localities within the UK, they do, have intermittent contact, in one way or another, with elements of the Andalucían flamenco community. This will be demonstrated more fully in the following ethnographies.

6.2.1 Flamenco Groups

When I refer to the UK music scene, I am mostly talking about a variety of mini-scenes that are loosely (or not at all) connected – however they have similar characteristics, namely that they are made up of a series of hobbyists pulled together by an individual culture broker. Despite their primarily-autonomous existences, these groups consistently share several common characteristics. Firstly, they are predominantly focused around a particular dance class, which is the main source of interactions (via classes, performances, or workshops) with flamenco. Secondly, these classes are principally composed of non-Spanish participants who approach the complex art form as an exotic hobby to be engaged with on a superficial, one-a-week level. Finally, in each locale there are individuals who have, for whatever reason, become infatuated with flamenco, to the extent that they have made it a way-of-life, often quitting jobs for periods of time because they recognized that the best way to understand the art form is to spend time studying it in Andalucía. These individuals become revered as local experts and, more times than not, become the drivers of the individual flamenco scenes, which would often cease to exist without them. However, given that a large part of flamenco's meaning supposedly emanates from the history of collective suffering felt by the *Gitanos* and Andalucíans who practice it, it is important to consider the impact that an outsider cultural broker,

such as these revered individual drivers, can have on perception and appropriation of flamenco in the UK.

Groups existed in three formats: publically run (by an institution), private businesses (by an individual), or as a *peña*. Publically run groups were generally run by dance schools or institutions such as Instituto de Cervantes. In this case, students pay a subscription to the institution and the latter would hire the teacher and advertise. In such cases, the teacher is generally not one of the scene drivers. Private businesses are typically run by individuals (such as Rosi in Oxford and Patricia in Liverpool, whom we will hear from later). They hold primary responsibility for finding a venue, advertising, and other logistical functions such as hiring musicians and scheduling performances. *Peñas*, in the UK format, operate as a sort of flamenco club that puts on performances – sometimes using professionals and sometimes students – and *juergas* which are flamenco jam sessions. They typically exist in locations with more than one dance teacher and pull in membership from across classes, as well as professionals in the area (who are often hired to perform). An example of this is Peña Flamenca de Londres. These first two group types are characterised by being the figurehead for weekly classes, which, as mentioned previously, forms the basis for UK flamenco sub-scenes. All three types feature the presence of a scene driver, who is often single-handedly responsible for the continuance and advancement of flamenco in the local community.

Group identity is defined by associating one's flamenco activities with a specific organisational entity. Some groups have formal membership, such as Peña Flamenca de Londres, which requires a yearly membership fee to attend events. Other groups, such as Flamenco Birmingham, are defined by whomever is attending courses or associated with the scene – such as semi-professional dancers and musicians. Members and non-members alike are kept informed by group Facebook pages, usually run by the scene driver.

6.2.2 Group Activities

While membership is largely based on locality, there is intermittent crossover between nearby factions – usually at events such as visiting artist workshops and performances. Singers and musicians, because of their scarcity, are often connected with more than one group. For example, Mike Holland

(a guitarist for the Leeds flamenco group) would often travel to Hebden Bridge to play for their classes. Activities they engage with outside of class, depending on the location, include *peñas*, performance attendance, workshops, and the occasional class performance.

UK flamenco groups, although primarily class-centric, often have other activities associated with them. Some, such as Leeds Flamenco and Birmingham Flamenco, hold *peñas*, every few months, attended by members, family, and friends. They also often have public class performances, with anywhere from one (the teacher) to fifteen dancers. Often groups are asked to perform by venues in the broader community. These smaller performances take place in pubs and restaurants, while larger class performances are often in large church halls, theatres, or town squares. Groups, particularly their leaders, often have interactions with community or local government organisations. For example, Patricia (Hebden Bridge Flamenco) and Ruth (from Leeds Flamenco) frequently taught flamenco history and dance workshops in local schools or for the Women's Institute.⁴ Christine from Deva Flamenco teaches a weekly class for SCOPE to adults with disabilities.

6.2.3 Local Performances

Paid performance opportunities are not uncommon with the UK's flamenco sub-scenes. Oftentimes a Spanish or Latin-themed restaurant or a pub will ask a local group if they want to perform for a one-off flamenco night (although the pay is usually low). They are specifically after a dancer, as this is in line with the UK perception of flamenco. Often these small venues do not understand why the dancer requests money for a guitarist and sometimes a singer and percussionist as well. The *cuadro* usually is contracted for several sets of 25 minutes, which involves a combination of instrumental, singing, and dancing solos. The typical audience is not familiar with flamenco, as is demonstrated by the lack of *jaleo* at these events. Even when instructed on how to clap *palmas* in the course of a performance, a British audience is reticent to participate.

The typical British audience conventions do not apply during a *peña* performance, as usually those present are students or flamenco aficionados. In that respect, they are comparable to an English

⁴ Patricia Skeet and Christine Stockton interviews, 2011.

folk club – while non-members may be present, most of the attendees are insiders with an understanding of the behavioural and musical norms.⁵ In fact, the audience members are supposed to be participants in a *peña*, with an awareness of the appropriate conventions of when voice and clapping are used. Most flamencos I have encountered in the UK have been British by descent and, if they do come to *peñas*, are interested in learning how to utilise *jaleo*. *Peñas* generally boast a relaxed, friendly atmosphere. Most of the time they are more of a jam session than a performance, with attendees eating, drinking, and chatting in the background. The exception to this is when a visiting professional attends and performs; here it is an unspoken behavioural alteration that, instead of musicians and dancers joining in, everyone will respectfully watch.

Peña participation within these flamenco sub-scenes is akin to amateur ethnomusicology, with attendees striving to re-enact an Andalusian cultural phenomenon in order to learn and understand it. As will be discussed in the following ethnographies, most participants have never experienced flamenco in its Spanish homeland and rely on information from people who have – namely visiting artists and the human hubs responsible for creating their particular flamenco scene. The UK *peña* creates an opportunity for students to perform amongst local aficionados and to link their local scene with its roots in Andalucía in order to create a better understanding for the premise of the music itself.

6.2.4 Group Components

Flamenco sub-scenes in the UK have typically featured similar components. As mentioned before, these sub-scenes usually focus around a particular flamenco class. Therefore, primary components include a teacher, students of varying experience levels, and a guitarist who not only plays for the class, but may have associations with other classes. Other elements, such as a *cajón* player or singer are not common to every scene. The group driver can fall into any of these categories and it is not unusual for them to not be the teacher.

⁵ Finnegan, p. 59.

6.2.4.1 Teachers

Most flamenco sub-scenes feature a professional flamenco teacher who regularly instructs one or more classes of amateur, hobbyist students. Most of the teachers I contacted were of British origin. During the course of my research, I encountered a handful of teachers who were of Spanish parentage, however most of them were temporary fixtures and returned to Spain within a year or two. I attribute this in part to the difficulty of finding consistent work in flamenco in the UK, as well as inaccurate perceptions of the UK scene. The British instructors I encountered were usually university-educated, had previously held a conventional non-dancing career, and often had no prior dancing experience to flamenco. For example, Christine Stockton was formerly a librarian at Chester University and Patricia (Hebden Bridge) taught languages at Bradford University. These educators (and others) discovered flamenco, became addicted, and made it the primary focus of their lives. Many teachers, like Christine and Patricia, quit their other jobs to devote themselves to the art complex. They learn through books, Youtube and workshops. A common characteristic is that they travel to Spain for lessons, for time frames ranging from two weeks to several years. This is the basis for how individuals become human hubs, carrying flamenco knowledge from its homeland to create scenes in its image in the UK. One of the primary differences between teachers and students is a desire to perform. Teachers generally had a strong desire to showcase their constantly-developing talents and attract more students.

6.2.4.2 Students

Students tended to primarily be women of British descent, although since the outset of Spain's economic crisis there has been an increase in Spanish migrants which has resulted in an increase in Spanish students – most of whom are not from a flamenco background.⁶ They range in age from mid-twenties through to their eighties, as well as a few groups (such as Camino del Flamenco in Oxfordshire) boasting classes for children. For most students, interactions with flamenco occur only during this weekly class; some do not attend *peñas* or workshops.

Dissimilar to their teachers, most students are not inclined towards performance unless persuaded. Unless the students have aspirations towards paid work, most really just want to do it for

⁶ Rosi Reed interview, June 2015.

fun. Instructors such as Patricia, Christine, and Rosi (Camino del Flamenco) actually lose pupils once they start preparing for a performance, even though they are given the option whether to perform or not.⁷ Several teachers, such as Patricia, have theorised that since the English culture is generally not ostentatious and the prospect of performing an emotional dance for an audience which includes their peers is terrifying.⁸ One possible reason for this reticence might be that the majority of these participants do not define themselves by their flamenco involvement; it is simply an activity they engage with for a limited time.

Each sub-scene I encountered always featured a few exceptions to student performance-aversion. There are usually a few students who have fallen for flamenco to the extent that a once-a-week class is not enough involvement. Students like Emily in Leeds, who is a mother of two young children and a primary school teacher, has become the hub of Leeds Flamenco. She does not teach the class but has revitalised the scene by facilitating bi-monthly *peñas* and workshops with visiting professional dancers. She practices for classes on a fold-out wooden floor in her kitchen and seeks out performance opportunities.⁹

6.2.4.3 Singers and Instrumentalists

Flamenco singers and instrumentalists (guitarists and percussionists) are hard to come by in the UK, especially outside of London. The reason for the lack of singers, as will be discussed later in this chapter, has to do with the difficulty of singing and improvising in Andalusian dialect for non-Spanish speakers, the complexity of flamenco singing techniques, and the intricate rhythms. Outside of London, I encountered only three singers. Flamenco percussionists are rare simply because there are not any classes focused on cajón. While the cajón itself is not a difficult instrument to play, the flamenco *compás* is not one that can be effectively learned by notation – it has to be understood within the context of the guitar, singing, and dancing.

⁷ Christine Stockton interview, 2011; Rosi Reed interview, June 2015; Patricia Skeet interview, 2011.

⁸ Patricia Skeet interview, 2011.

⁹ Emily Winter interview, August 2015.

Flamenco guitarists in the UK make for an interesting discussion. The best analogy is that there are many guitarists who play a bit of flamenco, but there are very few flamenco guitarists. There seems to be a certain type of guitarist that is attracted to learning a few showy flamenco *falsetas*, with no inclination towards playing for dancers or fully engaging with the culture. They are interested in learning the impressive technical side, but not in understanding the context. In flamenco, the role of the guitar is first and foremost to accompany and respond to the dancer and singer, keeping the *compás*. For this reason, I do not classify classical guitarists who have learned a few Spanish-sounding riffs as part of the flamenco scene. Flamenco guitarists seek out opportunities to perform with local dancers and often play in dance classes for practice or for a small fee. One potential explanation for the scarcity of singers and instrumentalists on the scene is that they generally require some degree of prior training on the instrument or in vocal techniques and, ideally Spanish language. This makes flamenco singing and guitar something that cannot be randomly picked up on a whim. Dancing, on the other hand, is often picked up as a hobby with no prior dance experience.

6.2.4.4 External Awareness within Flamenco Groups

An interesting discovery in the early part of my research involved how little awareness existed within UK flamenco groups of the Spanish version of the culture, or even of other similar groups in their own countries. UK groups are essentially a local salute to a foreign cultural complex, however for most participants, cognizance of this is limited to information provided by local human hubs and teachers, with little individual initiative to learn independent of that. Direct interactions with Andalusian culture is typically limited to the local aficionados who travel to Andalucía or invite visiting Spanish professionals over. An example of this is Christine bringing *bailora* Maria de Suarez (from Malaga) to Chester to teach yearly workshops to Deva Flamenco.¹⁰ Overall, group contact with the Andalusian cultural complex comes primarily from second-hand information conveyed by human hubs (such as Christine) and aficionados. As will be discussed, with 60 or more years of flamenco classes, London has greater contact with the Spanish scene. Despite this, few actually go over to Spain – they rely on artists coming to them. For the most part, London students’ interactions are still

¹⁰ Christine Stockton interview, 2011.

dictated by local human hubs.¹¹ There is, however, very little awareness of UK groups outside of London. For example, despite Peña Flamenca de Londres's heightened connection with Spain, the members I spoke with were not aware of the flamenco scenes north of Birmingham and were undeniably shocked that Leeds had one at all. The unfamiliarity with other similar organisations would not be so shocking except that there just are not that many flamenco entities in the UK, at least compared to other music interest groups. Outside of London, inter-group interactions are a little more common (although usually only occur if a significant flamenco teacher or performer is visiting). This will be demonstrated in the ethnography on Flamenco de Liverpool, in which students from several groups in northwest England converge for *peñas* and workshops. Interestingly, although London offers many excellent workshops and performances, hobbyists and aficionados north of Birmingham are usually more likely to fly to Spain for a performance than take a train to London.¹²

6.2.5 Individuals in the UK Flamenco Scene

Finnegan, in her work with amateur musicians in Milton Keynes, utilises Howard Becker's concept of 'art worlds' to describe 'musical worlds' as scenes that are composed of people whose actions are necessary to the production of a music scene.¹³ They are characterised by shared practices, musical styles, values, social conventions, and 'modes of production and distribution'.¹⁴ Within these scenes, individuals situate themselves in a specific socio-cultural space and navigate the space utilising their knowledge of its shared values and behavioural norms to create a cultural identity. In the case of *Flamenca Britannica*, this identity (for most participants) is one that exists when they are in that particular social space. However, the parameters and cultural capital within these localized social spaces is generally determined by individual culture brokers who assume flamenco as an integral part of their personal identity. The difference between these hobbyist and scene-driver personas will be discussed later in this chapter. Spanish flamencologist Enrique Baltanás, in his discussions about recent developments in flamenco, observed that:

¹¹ Rowena Ritchie interview, May 2015; Rosi Reed interview, June 2015.

¹² Patricia Skeet interview, 2011; Trish Anderton interview, 2013; Christine Stockton interviews, 2011.

¹³ Finnegan, p. 31; See also, Howard Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 32.

New flamenco tends onwards a great universality, towards an international and a cosmopolitan expansion but at the same time this new flamenco keeps inventing its own set of identities, either from the classic and well-known groups (Gypsy, Jewish, Moorish, Christians, etc.) or from additional, ad hoc ones [...] [This has to do with] a procedure far too familiar in the realm of culture and art [...]: the mutual exchange of influences between individuals, social groups and ideological currents.¹⁵

This quote is a step towards understanding the effects of individuals on scene creation in flamenco, specifically with regards to identity and aesthetics. Therefore, in order to grasp the nature of the UK flamenco scenes and sub-scenes, it is necessary to examine the role of the individual culture brokers with them. Through transcultural interactions with the Spanish scene (both in the UK and in Spain), cultural capital gained in the ‘original’ Andalusian culture, and a knowledge of UK behavioural norms, these British aficionados serve as human hubs within the UK scene. The ethnographies in the remainder of this chapter will demonstrate how a foreign music culture (such as flamenco) manifests itself in a scene abroad (like the UK scene), as well as the influence of various foreign (British) human hubs in facilitating this process.

6.3 Ron Hitchens Ethnography – tales of a Cockney flamenco geezer

I knock on the elegant front door, made from green, sculpted terracotta tiles. The door is answered by an elderly Chinese-British man with a smile and a sparkle in his eye. He introduces himself as Ron, in a thick Cockney accent. This is the man who every London flamenco I interviewed for the past four years told me I must speak with. He is the person who knew ‘everyone’ and whom ‘everyone’ had heard of, both Spanish and British, that had passed through the UK scene for the past 50 years.

As I enter his front hallway, I hear jazz coming from what turns out to be a 50+inch flat-screen TV. As he leads me through the front hallway to the sitting room, I notice the wall space is filled with art work, photos of Ron dancing, and photos of famous flamenco and jazz performers. After helping him to make cups of tea, he has me sit on one of the sofas so he can set up a video camera– he wants to make sure that I have copies of our conversation and that he can talk to me about some of the photos. Within the first few minutes of our conversation he has referenced his art, his love

¹⁵ Enrique Baltanás, ‘The Fatigue of the Nation: Flamenco as the basis for heretical identities’, in *Songs of the Minotaur: Hybridity and Popular Music in the Age of Globalization*, ed. by Gerhard Steingress (London: Transaction Publishers, 2002), 139-168 (p. 159).

of flamenco, his trip to reform school for stabbing someone, his passion for jazz, and the fact that at the age of 31 he broke the Guinness World Record for jive dancing for over 24 hours straight. It is at this point I know that I am in for an eclectic afternoon.

Since I began researching the London flamenco scene vie years ago, I have had people telling me to speak with Ron. Every single person, regardless of their age, who had at any time associated with the scene, viewed him as one of the ultimate authorities on the nature and development of the London flamenco community. His legend seemed to play a part in most narratives, both from native Londoners and Spanish visitors. Most informants cited the length of time that he has been active in flamenco and the related historical developments that he was part of as reasons to speak with him. Additionally, his extreme sociability, demonstrated largely by flamenco parties at his house, provided him with the opportunity to connect with people from the UK scene as well as artists from Spain. These factors combine to form one individual's part in shaping the history of flamenco in the UK. Beyond that, and perhaps most representative of the UK flamenco experience, is Ron's involvement in many different leisure activities, and his claim that he is not 'a flamenco' he just likes flamenco. It is not a source of identity for him. Ron is an example both of an individual culture broker, who has transmitted, and developed the London flamenco scene, and is representative of British leisure consumption practices.

6.3.1 History of Ron

Ron was born in 1926 in the East End of London to British-Chinese parents. He was ill-treated as a child and ended up in reform school for stabbing someone. He was released because of World War II and went to work in the mines in Derbyshire. After the war ended and he returned to London, he began dancing – specifically jive. In fact, he broke the world jive record by dancing for twenty-four hours and five minutes straight in 1955. It was in 1951, though, that Ron first discovered flamenco.

CAMBRIDGE THEATRE
 CAMBRIDGE CIRCUS, W.C.2
 Proprietors: ARSULT, Ltd.
 Licensed by the Lord Chamberlain and under the direction of
 TOM ARNOLD and EMILE LITTLER

PETER DAUBENY
 for and on behalf of
**CONTINENTAL OPERA & BALLET
 ENTERTAINMENTS LTD.**
 presents

**ROSARIO
 AND
 ANTONIO**

ASSISTED BY
Pianists:
ANGEL CURRÁS and JULIAN PERERA
Guitarists:
**JUAN GARCIA DE LA MATA, RAFAEL NOGALES
 and MANOLO SEVILLANO**
Flamenco Singer:
VICTORIANO DE MALAGA

FIRST PROGRAMME

SEASON EXTENDED FOR ONE WEEK TO JULY 14th
 EVENINGS at 7.30 MATINEES: SATURDAYS at 2.30

FIRST PROGRAMME	
<p>1. TRIANA Albéniz ROSARIO and ANTONIO The stylised choreography of this dance is in the noble and purest conceptions of the Andalusian tradition. It offers a vivid visual parallel to the music which is part of the famous Iberia Suite composed by Albéniz on melodic themes of Southern Spain. The castanets are not used as mere rhythmical accompaniment but as a fine musical enrichment, faithfully following and underlining the pattern of the music.</p> <p>2. ZORONGO GITANO García Lorca ROSARIO and ANTONIO García Lorca's haunting Gypsy Ballad provided the inspiration for this Flamenco dance.</p> <p>3. LEYENDA (Asturias) Albéniz ROSARIO Rosario's major solo contribution to the programme. The rhythmical beats of the Zapateado, backbone of the Flamenco dance, and the polished technique of Spanish dancing are here fused together in a composition which is the essence of Andalusia.</p> <p>4. ZAPATEADO Sarasate ANTONIO Antonio's Zapateado is without a doubt the highest form of virtuosity ever achieved in the realm of Spanish dancing. Contrary to other styles of "stamping" dances, the prodigious footwork of Antonio's Zapateado never once interferes with the natural flow of feeling and emotion.</p> <p>5. SERENATA ESPAÑOLA Malats Guitar solo Juan García de la Mata</p> <p>6. JOTA ARAGONESA Falla ROSARIO and ANTONIO The most famous of all Regional dances is the unrivalled Jota of Aragón. The words of the Jota song by Manuel de Falla run something like this: "People say we do not love each other, because they do not see us talking; but they can ask your heart and mine . . ."</p> <p>7. ALLEGRO DE CONCIERTO Granados At two pianos Angel Currás and Julián Perera</p> <p>8. SEGUIDILLAS GITANAS Popular air ROSARIO and ANTONIO Almost completely "uncharacterized" and undefinable, in spite of its intricate rhythms, the Seguidilla Gitana is the most heightened form of "bonds" or pure, free, Gypsy dancing, and is entirely dependent on feeling. It is the very expression of the primitive Gypsy soul.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">INTERVAL</p>	<p>9. GOYESCAS Granados ROSARIO and ANTONIO (a) Intermedio (b) El pelee (c) La maja y el Ruiseñor The Maja with her fan, and the chivalrous gallant, symbolise Picaresque Spain brought to life by Goya in his tapestries. The "Pelle" variation is a display of technical virtuosity. From a harmonic and contrapuntal point of view, the famous "Lady and the Nightingale" is the most interesting piece used by Granados for his Goyas "Goyescas." This musical poem serves as a background in the dance of the Maja and the Chiquero and to the flirtatious conversation expressed by the dancers with their castanets.</p> <p>10. MOZALCO GITANO Nogales Guitar solo Rafael Nogales</p> <p>11. HUAYNO Popular air ROSARIO and ANTONIO (a) el Cholo Frutero. A Peruvian market boy offering his "chirimoyas" Cactus and other tropical fruits. (b) Danza Incaica. In pre-Spanish Compost days the "Huayno" was already the favourite dance of the Cholo or native Indians. The strange costumes and large hats are typical of Cuzco.</p> <p>12. NAVARRA Albéniz At two pianos Angel Currás and Julián Perera</p> <p>13. BAILE FLAMENCO (a) Soleares Popular air (b) Tangullo de Cádiz Popular air (c) Por Alegrias Popular air (d) Los Cuatro Maleros (Bulerías) García Lorca ROSARIO and ANTONIO These dances are the mainstay of Flamenco dancing. In Spain the active participation of the audience (crying out their appreciation, etc.) establishes a link between dancer and public. The dancer is no longer entertaining, in the rigid sense of the word; he is offering his dances spontaneously to the audience.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CHOREOGRAPHY BY ROSARIO AND ANTONIO STAGING AND LIGHTING BY ANTONIO</p>

Figure 6:1 Programme from one of Antonio and Rosario's performances at The Cambridge Theatre

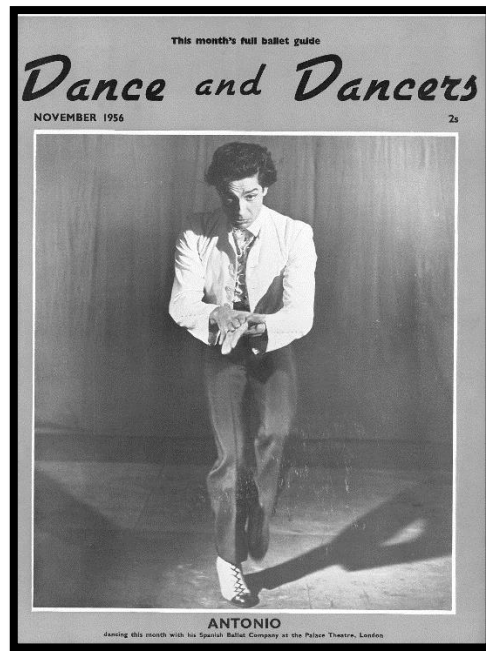
He recounts:


Well, I went to see Antonio and Rosario¹⁶ [See Figure 6:1] at the Cambridge Theatre in, I think, 1951. In them days, they had been touring America and Spain doing recitals – so it wasn't just flamenco, it was Spanish dance, jotas, Peruvian, flamenco, a real mixture. The difference between those other types of dance and flamenco is that in the former you follow the music; in flamenco the musicians follow the dancer. So I went backstage and talked to Antonio, who could speak a little English. I told him I wanted to dance flamenco and he said 'Don't think it's as easy as it looks!' I figured, already being a dancer and having rhythm, I'd have a routine nailed in a month. Sixty years later, I'm still learning!

The next year I went to see some Indian dancing and bought a book called 'Dancers and Dancing'. There was an advert for Spanish dancing classes by Madame Lalagia [See Figure 6:2]. So I found it, and she said to come along and see if I liked it. There were two other Spanish dancing teachers in London at the time – Elsa Brunelleschi and someone else whose name I can't remember.¹⁷

¹⁶ Antonio and Rosario were a world-famous Andalusian dance duo (including Spanish, Latin American, and flamenco styles) who left Spain in the wake of the Spanish Civil War and toured North America, South America, and Europe.

¹⁷ Ron Hitchens interview, June 2015.





BAILE CLASICO ESPAÑOL
CLASSICAL SPANISH DANCING

Lalagia

gives private lessons daily by appointment
Dances arranged for the stage

Classes for Professionals, Students and Amateurs
Evening Classes: Mondays 6.30, Fridays 6 & 7 p.m. at 26 West St. WC2
Studio adjacent Stoll Theatre. Enquiries: Telephone Frabisher 4151 or write
48 Kensington Mansions Trebovir Rd London SW5

***** THE *****

ROSELLI

STAGE ACADEMY
Principal: MISS IZNA ROSELLI

* DANCING * SINGING * ELOCUTION *

* Classical Ballet * Modern Ballet * Tap and Character *

* Evening Classes for the benefit of those in business *

* Special courses for students embarking on a stage career *

AUDITION NUMBERS ARRANGED IN MODERN BALLET, ETC.

* Every assistance given in obtaining engagements *

* 13-14 Archer Street · London W1 · GER 4179 *

The Waltz of the Toreadors

JEAN ANOUILH'S successful play first produced in London this year and now at the Criterion Theatre, and opening in New York next year.

Full Text with pictures

IS PUBLISHED IN

PLAYS AND PLAYERS

OCTOBER & NOVEMBER NUMBERS
October: now on sale November: one 01s. 30

Give your newspaper a regular order now or by post 2s.3d. (6 months 15s) from 21 Lower Belgrave St. SW1

PLAYS AND PLAYERS is the theatre companion magazine of DANCE AND DANCERS, similar in size, style, production, price

Figure 6:2 *Dance and Dancers* from 1956 with advertisement for Madame Lalagia's classes

Ron explains that Madame Lalagia's reasoning for allowing him to come and see if he liked it is that so many people don't because it is contrary to their expectations. They want to do it for the fancy footwork, the clacking castanets, and the fiery dancing. Like Ron, they think they can learn a routine in an hour. However, flamenco is more complex than that. Learning the tools first is imperative – the body, the footwork, the arms, and the castanets – before a routine can be created. Many lose interest when they realise the work that goes into it. However, Ron stuck with it:

Because I said I would do it, I persevered and it became a big part of my life. And, of course, after that I got "the fever". Each class had 45 minutes of exercises (arms, turns, castanets, etc.) then you learnt one step at the end. I kept thinking "when are we actually going to do some flamenco?!" Antonio came over to London again in 1954, but instead of

Rosario, he brought an entire company of at least 50 dancers. It was out-of-this-world! They were only supposed to stay for a month, but flamenco was so popular in London they kept extending!¹⁸

Flamenco, as well as other forms of foreign folk dancing was very popular in London during the post-war era. Important concert venues included the Cambridge Theatre and Palace Theatre. Even the Royal Albert Hall was holding annual folk festivals. The venues included performances from around Ireland and Great Britain, as well as Spain, Macedonia, and other parts of Europe. Ron performed in several of these prestigious events.

Alongside these prominent venues, Ron refers to a number of more casual venues that staged shows of both professional and amateur artists. Ron's first performance experience came at 'The Acapulco', then a coffee bar on Hanway Street, which was near Cambridge Circus where Ron had lessons. He and his classmates would go after their weekly class:

You would pay 2 and 6 to get into the basement, which included coffee and a coke and a night's entertainment. They had a flamenco guitarist and singer (who would also dance.) The first dance you really learn in a flamenco class is Sevillanas, because it is a partner dance and has a set routine. This duo would play Sevillanas for us to dance to.¹⁹

These coffee bars were typical of London during the post-war era, and a number of them offered foreign and folk music. The most famous of these venues was The Troubadour. The Troubadour was opened in 1954 by Michael and Shelia van Bloemon as part of the second Great London Coffee Revolution.²⁰ It became known as one of the primary venues of the British folk revival (late 1950s and early 1960s.)²¹ They hosted the likes of Bob Dylan, Jimi Hendrix, Joni Mitchell, and Paul Simon (as well as *Private Eye* and the 'Ban the Bomb' campaign.) However, alongside these Anglo-centric activities, were a number of foreign music and dance nights. Ron remembers:

Once we knew a bit more, we would go to the Troubadour on Old Brompton Road, instead of The Acapulco. In them days, you had people who were interested in different types of dances. It was a place where everybody went because it was Earl's Court, where there was a lot of bedsits. They would come to this place, pay 3 and 6 for a night's entertainment and get food at a reasonable price. Wednesday night was flamenco night, Tuesday was French. There were other world music and poetry nights too. Us students would go there and there

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Lyndon's Coffee, 'UK Coffee Revolution, the Third Wave?', 01/04/2013, <http://lyndonscoffee.com/uk-coffee-revolution/>, [Accessed February 2016].

²¹ Troubadour London, 'History', <http://www.troubadourlondon.com/history>, [Accessed January 2016].

was pro guitarists and student guitarists. We would get up, practice dancing, and enjoy ourselves.²²

He points out that the world is much more intertwined now than it was in post-war London. People did not travel as much and video technology was not widely utilised. ‘When the war finished, here in London you had to go to the theatre to see a Mexican or an Indian show; if they got Ravi Shankar over, you wanted to know when you would see him again. TV and the internet enable that now’, he says.²³ People were, therefore, eager to participate in other ways, such as putting on their own dance nights.

It was then that Ron met many other actors and musicians who were just starting out, such as Oliver Reed and Ken Russell. This led to a steady stream of radio and television appearances over the years, such as ‘Monitor’ with Ken Russell and the Russell Harty Show. Ron has always attracted attention because of his Cockney and Chinese background and his diverse interests.

Ron mentions some of the many venues that were putting on small nightly or weekly shows. The Antonio Restaurant in Long Acre, for instance, would book a group of three or four performers from Spain. Ron got his first flamenco job in 1955 at Casa Pepe in Pelham Court because some of these performers were headed back to Spain. The vacating dancer suggested him for an audition. Ron remembers:

I went, not expecting much, without any flamenco boots, wearing crepe-soul shoes, with my braces undone. I looked a right state, but I got the job because I could improvise and had a good feel of the music. I learnt that improvisation was an important skill in flamenco.²⁴

He joined a troupe of Spanish performers – two guitarists, a singer, and another dancer. They did four twenty-minute shows, six nights a week for £9/week. Ron earned the nickname of ‘El Bruto’ because he was responsible for cracking the parquet floor with his jumping and stomping (See Figure 6:3). He also went by ‘Manolo’:

²² Ron Hitchens interview, June 2015.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

Because the Governor wanted me to have a Spanish name. But I never wanted to be Spanish. I wanted to be English and do Spanish dancing. I even got reprimanded for not picking up my wages there – the money wasn't important. Just the dancing.²⁵

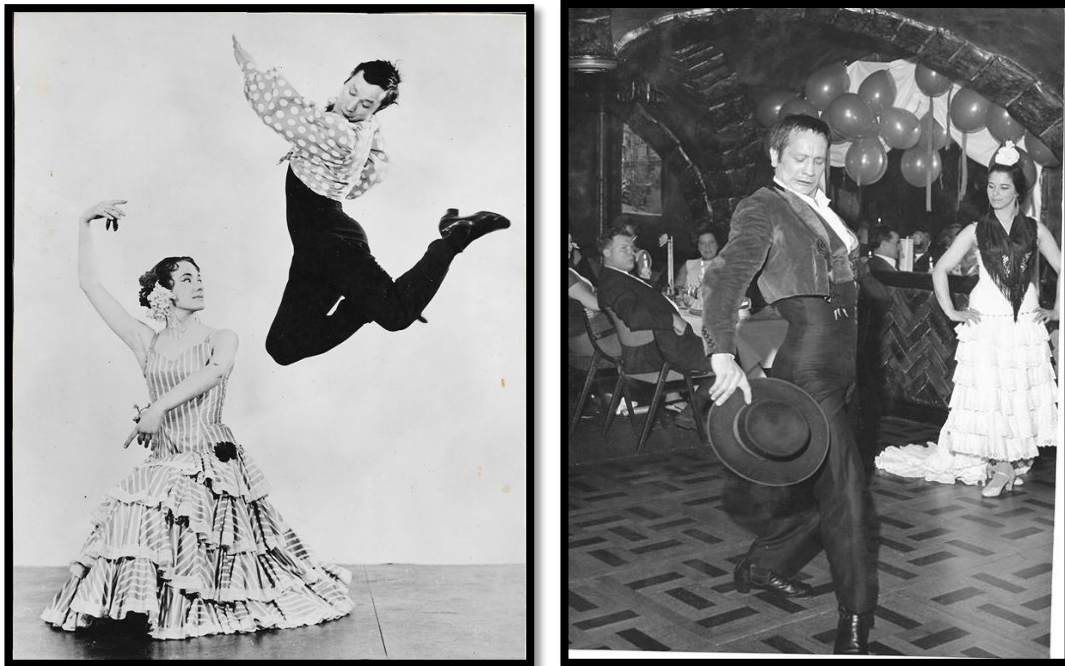


Figure 6:3 Ron Hitchens performing, c.a. 1960s

Ron refers to many other little venues putting on nights like this (See Figure 6:4), as well as recitals that were put on in peoples' houses. The interesting thing about these evenings was that the guests were not always flamencos; there would often be other types of music played on violins and pianos, different sorts of dances, and a combining of styles. One night, after performing at a wedding, Ron and, his girlfriend, stopped by a little Turkish restaurant they often frequented in Islington (the Sultan Ahmet). When questioned by the owner regarding their Spanish attire, his girlfriend revealed they had been dancing flamenco. The owner thought they were joking as Ron usually sat around playing backgammon. He then suggested they put on a flamenco night in his establishment. So Ron created a group called 'Flamenco Place' and started running a flamenco night there on the first Sunday of the month, starting at 3 pm. There was no entrance fee and people brought their own wine and would pay three and six (3s 6d) for a large plate of Turkish food.

²⁵ Ibid.



Figure 6:4 1960s-1980s London Flamenco Scene. Top Row: Antonio's (1971); Middle: Casa Pepe (1969) and Costa Dorada (Unk.); Bottom: Costa Brava (1989). Photos courtesy of Mario Basilisco

Student dancers and guitarists from nearby flamenco classes came down to perform and practice. Sometimes professionals would attend and dance for fun. Even visiting Spanish dancers turned up periodically. The event would continue until about 7:30 pm then the flamenco students and guests would head back to Ron's house where he had prepared chicken and jacket potatoes, supplemented by food and wine brought by guests. The flamenco party would continue until 3 am. Ron refers to this

time period as one that brought together flamenco lovers, not only across London but transnationally. I recognise many of the names Ron mentioned, but most notable is Vera, a professional journalist, who assumed the task of creating and printing the group's newsletter – 'La Habladora'. She would later go on to begin London's prominent and long-lasting flamenco-meeting point – Peña Flamenca de Londres. Ron credits her with keeping the organization going strong – now at 400+ members – since 1984. Ron's 'Flamenco Place' evening was the precursor to this.

6.3.2 Flamenco Parties at La Casa de Ron

These flamenco evenings and after-parties were also central to Ron's (and the London flamenco scenes) transnational interactions with Spain. From the comfort of his couch, we spent a couple hours watching DVDs of the many videos and photos Ron has from these occasions – some dating from the late 1950s. There are old photos, colours dulled with age, on his walls of some of the more renowned visitors:

You see Mario Maya up there? And to his right is Carmen Vargas. Juan Amaya is the photo next to her. My friend Mark, a Scottish guitarist, went to Jerez last year and met someone who had been at my house twenty years ago!²⁶

We sit and laugh at more recent videos of Sara Baras eating melted ice cream on his stairs and Vicente Amigo laughing at Ron's practical jokes. Ron began these little informal flamenco gatherings as early as the late 1950s. He and his friend, Jingles, would go backstage after a visiting flamenco artist performance, compliment them on the show, and ask if they would like to come back to the house for food and drinks. Earlier that day, Ron would have acquired the food and begun making Tandoori chicken, rice, and spareribs. Jingles would pick the artists up and bring them back to the small semi-detached house in which we sat. Ron remembers:

People would be packed in here. [See Figure 6:5] On the stairs, in the studio, because sometimes there were two companies in town at a time. José Greco's daughter was here (pointing to a black and white photo on the wall.) Then of course, the people from the Spanish community in London would come, as well as my friends from the *peña*. We would all sit here eating, smoking, and drinking. Manuela and Rafaela Carrasco, Manolo Ti, La Tati, Cumbre Flamenco - they were all here. Then a guitarist would get a hold of an instrument and the singing and dancing would begin. They were so disciplined on stage, but let loose once they got here!²⁷

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.



Figure 6:5: Maribel la Manchega and Mario Basilisco, at one of Ron's parties. Courtesy of Mario Basilisco

Ron's parties became famous among the London flamenco community and visiting artists as a liminal space between performances to relax and let loose after a show. Generations of flamenco families passed through, for example, the Basiliscos in London, and the Farrucos from Sevilla. Ron reports that visiting Spanish are told when they come to London that 'when you are there, you will meet someone named Ron Hitchens, or 'El Chino'. You will go to his house and eat well and when he gets up to dance, you must watch him.'²⁸ This demonstrates the reverence that Spanish performers travelling to London developed for this Cockney aficionado. 'They all knew where I lived, even when they didn't know where Buckingham Palace was!' Ron tells me proudly. On a reciprocal note, the occasions brought the London flamenco aficionados, who may otherwise not have had any other association with Spain, into casual contact with 'the real thing.'

Ron is well-known amongst the flamenco community for his antics at parties. Although an excellent dancer, Ron confesses that he never got on well with learning specific choreographed routines once he grasped the techniques. He has always preferred improvisation. However, his improv

²⁸ Ibid.

has often included a certain sense of humour. He recounts how he once had someone turn off the lights at a party so he could enter the room to start dancing. When the lights went up he was completely nude except for shoes and a sombrero performing a particularly sombre *siguiriyas*. At Peña events, he often is called onstage at the end to dance. He finished by turning his bum to the audience and making it ‘dance’ in *compás*. Ron’s flamenco parties and informal *peña* events offered a place for relaxed transcultural integration of flamenco.

6.3.3 The Hobbyist

After a couple of hours of video and picture viewing (as well as a half dozen biscuits and a cup of tea), I asked Ron about what he got out of these events – all the time and energy that went into them was an admirable level of dedication. I also was curious if he ever felt that the Spanish professionals had questioned his ability because he was foreign. He replies that he had never felt that because they had never seen the extent of his dance abilities – he only ever got up and did a bit of *bulerias* at these parties. He explains:

I’ve always done it [these parties] because I love to dance. It’s not a business. I’m not looking for connections or a good name. I’m a moron in flamenco; I know nothing about its history. But I do love it. It’s for fun.

Even though he is considered by many (local and foreign) to be one of the focal points (human hubs) of the London flamenco scene, Ron says that it is a hobby he can take or leave because he has other things in his life. He does not speak Spanish and does not miss flamenco now that he is too old to dance. Ron says that he took flamenco up as a hobby (as he has tango, salsa, jive, and many other things) because he loves to dance. Most of the time when he was performing for money, he would not even bother to pick up his wages because he already had a career selling shirts at Petticoat Lane Market. Ron clarifies:

I love flamenco, but I am not A FLAMENCO. I don’t live for it like those guitarists that practise three hours a day or the dancers who perform with a broken ankle. I just enjoy dancing and want to have fun. Its music and the greatest thing about music is you don’t have to speak the same language.

This sentiment I have found to personify the British approach to leisure – one that devotedly dabbles instead of ‘lives’ a cultural activity. This is demonstrated in other British music culture

researchers such as Sue Miller (2013), Jochen Eisentraut (2001), and Ruth Finnegan (1989). Still, after spending eight hours in the presence of an entertaining and multi-talented Cockney flamenco aficionado, I leave Ron's house with the impression that I have met the heart and soul of the London flamenco scene. He is someone who brought it together for sixty years and single-handedly (if fleetingly) linked it with some of the biggest flamenco performers in Spain on an intimate level not experienced in normal performance interactions. He also brought the local London flamenco community together – first through his 'Flamenco Place' events at the Sultan Ahmet and subsequent contributions to Peña Flamenca de Londres and secondly through his famous parties. Ron is representative of the influence of the individual in developing a local, but transnationally-connected scene, as well as the British hobbyist approach to flamenco that will be demonstrated to be the norm.



Figure 6:6 The author and Ron Hitchens in front of his hand-sculpted terracotta door

6.3.4 Analysis

The story of El Chino, Ron Hitchens, is in many ways the story of Flamenca Britannica, at least in London. His story offers insight into several aspects of the British flamenco scene. Firstly, he offers a

view of how flamenco has evolved as a leisure activity in the UK (and London in particular). Ron also offers an example of how the English approach hobbies in general flamenco in particular. While Ron is, uniquely, a network creator, he is not one who claims flamenco as a sole identity. Despite this, he has represented an important transcultural link and human hub within the London flamenco community for over sixty years.

6.3.4.1 The Evolution of Flamenco as Leisure

Ron offers particularly poignant insight into the evolution of the British flamenco scene, as there are not many who have engaged with it from the outset of its adoption as a leisure activity in the post-war years, through its development into a global phenomenon. If we follow Ron's flamenco pathway, he starts off wanting to learn because he sees a show by Antonio and Rosario, who performed Spanish and Latin American folk dances – including flamenco. Ron began taking lessons from Madame Lalagia who taught Spanish folk dancing, of which flamenco was a just one of the styles. There were two other Spanish dance teacher in London at that time (early 1950s) who offered similar agendas. Ron references the folk music festival that occurred annually in Royal Albert Hall. These included a mixed programme of folk music from the British Isles as well as traditions from across Europe:

Traditions from Belgium, France, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Macedonia, Russia and many others were all performed under the Royal Albert Hall's glass dome at the Folk Festival. For many members of the audience in the early years of the Festival, the international performers provided something of great excitement in an age before mass travel. The exotic dances were one of the closest experiences the British audience had of lands beyond the coast.²⁹

Ron also references smaller venues which, in the 1950s and 60s, were holding nightly events featuring world music traditions. Sometimes these venues were exclusively flamenco-oriented, such as at the Acapulco on Hanway Street. Other places, such as The Troubadour, marked spaces for collaboration between various music and dance traditions. Ron also mentions private house parties where he was invited to fuse flamenco with other instruments and genres. To contextualise this era in flamenco's history in the UK, for the most part up until World War II, it had primarily existed in this country as

²⁹ Harry Baulcombe, 'Folk Festivals at the Hall, 1927-1984', (13 Jan, 2014) <http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/news/2014/january/folk-festivals-at-the-hall-1927-1984/>, [Accessed December 2015].

part of travelling theatre and ballet shows and were described as Spanish dance or ballet.³⁰ In the interwar years, popular dance (especially from the UK and Latin America) began to evolve as pastimes.³¹ It is unclear if flamenco was included in these popular dance interests. Leisure activities, accessible to upper and middle classes since the Victorian years, became possible for a wider range of people after the war, as did an interest in foreign cultures. These factors, plus increased immigration and traveling artists³² from Spain to escape the Franco regime, set the scene for an increase in flamenco participation in England.

It is significant to note, at this point, that based on Ron's evidence, flamenco was an activity often combined with something else – such as other Spanish folk, Indian ragas, and Peruvian music. It is unclear what the reason for this would have been, other than perhaps the presence of a condensation of cultures coming into contact that maybe had not been utilised as leisure activities previously. This is not to say that flamenco did not exist in the UK as a separate entity during the 1950s, just that the British enthusiast engagement with it seems to have occurred in a fusion/combination format.

Ron's story progresses to descriptions of flamenco experiences in London which are more exclusively devoted to the art form – such as Casa Pepe, where he performed with a mostly Spanish group. This was part of a professional flamenco world that existed alongside the amateur scene (inhabited by Ron and his classmates) from the late 50's through the late 80's (give or take a few years).³³ Several informants who were performing in that era cite an atmosphere in London where the intrepid performer could acquire gigs in two or three locations a night – especially around Tottenham Court Road at places like Sevilla Mia and Costa Dorada. A turning point in the London flamenco scene seems to have occurred when Ron began his 'Flamenco Place' evenings at Sultan Ahmet's, which brought together amateur, professional, and visiting Spanish flamencos from across London. Ron's evenings marked seemingly one of the first times that British hobbyists received the

³⁰ Show clip of the newspaper articles

³¹ See Allison Abra, 'Dancing in the English Style: Professionalisation, Public Preference, and the Evolution of Popular Dance in 1920s Britain', in *Leisure and Cultural Conflict in Twentieth-Century Britain*, ed. by Brett Bebbler (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 41-62.

³² Such as Antonio and Rosario, Carmen Amaya, and La Argentina.

³³ Mario Basileisco interview, March 2014.

opportunity to interact in a *peña* format and hone their skills alongside Spanish professionals.

Flamenco Place evolved into Peña Flamenca de Londres, which is London's biggest and longest running flamenco group, pulling together students and professionals from across the city.

The London flamenco scene has expanded to include dance studios in practically every neighbourhood in London.³⁴ Ron attributes this to students gradually splintering off to form their own studios. There are also an increased number of dance academies that put on workshops and shows (such as Flamenco Express and Escuela de Baile). Interestingly, although the number of students and institutions are at saturation level, the number of cafes and restaurants that regularly book flamenco evenings have declined to almost nothing.³⁵ It is no longer possible to perform flamenco on a nightly basis in London – the storied venues have all stopped hiring. Peña Flamenca de Londres is widely considered to be the focal point of the London flamenco scene, but their performance options are limited to once every few months and are usually reserved for local stars and visiting artists. Flamenco Express and España On Fire host performances as well, but also are reserved for local stars and visiting professionals. There are, of course, Spanish flamencos who live in London, although they tend not to run sub-scenes, only act as performers and workshop technicians. Essentially the London flamenco scene has evolved from a scene almost entirely professional (pre-World War) to one that is mostly amateur, with the professionals primarily teachers and visiting artists.

6.3.4.2 The British Hobbyists

Ron represents the history of flamenco in the UK as a leisure activity, having been one of the few on the scene since the beginnings of its existence as a leisure activity. He also exemplifies the typical flamenco hobbyist (albeit a very accomplished and dedicated one), as well as being an example of the quintessential British approach to leisure – as something to be consumed. Ron became dedicated to learning flamenco, among several other types of dance (such as jive, tango, and salsa) as a leisure activity. He never considered it a profession, citing his real work came from selling handmade shirts in Petticoat Lane Market. He also is a well-known ceramic and mirror artist. Ron, although sometimes

³⁴ Rowena Ritchie interview, May 2015.

³⁵ Vera King interview, May 2015; Rowena Ritchie interview, May 2015.

paid for his performances, never considered himself a professional or a ‘flamenco’, just a guy who loved to dance in general and liked flamenco in particular. This is characteristic of ‘local’ music in the UK – the absence of a clear distinction between amateur and professional artists.³⁶ In my interview with him, Ron was quick to point out that flamenco was just one aspect of his life; he could take it or leave it because he had so many other things to be interested in.

Ron’s approach to flamenco is representative of how most British participants approach the art complex, and is indicative of how the British approach leisure activities in general. Flamenco is something to be engaged with as an exotic social activity; one to be consumed and discarded at will. This attitude will be corroborated in the next case study by Rosi’s observations about her students. Finnegan also confirms my assessment of the British approach to leisure in her study of Milton Keynes’ amateur music scene. She surmises that musical activities for the English are set within a wide range of other social activities.³⁷ Patricia Skeet, the ‘driver’ Hebden Bridge Flamenco, notes that even in a small town, she often loses students to other activities such as yoga or trapeze classes. Cultural activities, such as flamenco, become one of any of a number of ways in which leisure time could be spent. Eduardo De la Fuente, in his article, ‘Signs and Wonders’, considers the trajectory of cultural consumption versus “spiritual fulfilment”:

The ‘infinite’ and the ‘unattainable’ become questions of gratification, or what we moderns term ‘consumption’. Culture becomes reduced to taste, or to lifestyle choices.³⁸

What this suggests is that in ‘modern’ Western countries, culture and its consumption is reduced to activities, cherry-picked and discarded at will. Pastimes, such as flamenco, are engaged with to a limited level – usually once a week in a dance or guitar class – as something to accompany the rest of ‘life’.

Leisure consumption activities are likely the root of acceptance of art complexes like flamenco and are common amongst privileged, high income, and well-educated individuals.³⁹ Popular

³⁶ Finnegan, p. 15.

³⁷ Finnegan, p. 328.

³⁸ Eduardo De la Fuente, ‘Signs and wonders’, *Times Educational Supplement*, (June 2, 2011), p. 39-40.

³⁹ Aoyama (2007), p. 110.

musicologist, Sue Miller observed that ‘when music is consumed as a lifestyle choice there is no curiosity about a music’s history, how it works or where it originated.’⁴⁰ In the UK flamenco scene, I perceived a certain lack of interest about aspects of the art form outside of the dance or guitar. As has been mentioned previously, flamenco is an art complex that involves *cante*, *baile*, *toque*, *jaleo*, and *ritmo* in communication with each other via the *compás*. Its meaning is heavily linked with Andalusian culture and history of socio-political oppression. Therefore, it seems unfathomable that one aspect (i.e. dance or guitar) could be separated from any other part. However, flamenco is very much treated as a ‘lifestyle choice’ to be cherry-picked and consumed at will. While there are those, even amongst the hobbyists, that display an interest in learning a bit more than ‘just the dance’, it is rarely considered essential to flamenco education. Because of this, many UK flamenco students never grasp the entirety of flamenco culture; they are content to attend a once-a-week class, maybe perform in a few class performances, and otherwise focus on other aspects of their lives. For most, flamenco is a dance, not a culture. Miller notices this in her study of salsa music in England:

Salsa music has been promoted in the main as a lifestyle rather than a cultural phenomenon, and only a small portion of salsa dancers are informed about salsa or Cuban music’s history and culture.⁴¹

This supports my argument about the British approach to leisure, suggesting that the British view leisure as something that can be learned in part, without incorporating aspects that are deemed irrelevant or difficult/impossible to engage with (such as the *cante* or the history). The most important feature of learning flamenco for most students seems to be a perceived presence of Spanishness in their dancing, a sense of empowerment, elements of physicality, and exoticness. This has bearings on how flamenco is taught, as will be demonstrated in the next ethnography.

6.3.4.3 The Hobbyist as a Human Hub

While Ron is in many ways represents the quintessential British hobbyist, who consumes leisure activities, cherry-picking only aspects which are of interest, he has been integral to the development of the London scene. He brought together students within the community first with his ‘Flamenco

⁴⁰ Miller, p. 112.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 112.

Place' evenings and then with his involvement with Peña Flamenca de Londres. He facilitated transcultural interactions between visiting Spanish artists with the local UK scene through his parties and his outgoing, welcoming personality and vivacious dancing. He is perceived as an important hub within the London flamenco community. Across the city's scene, he is viewed as someone knowledgeable about the history of flamenco and an accomplished dancer. Most importantly, Ron is viewed as an important transcultural connection with Spain. Although most of these cross-cultural interactions have occurred on an individual level, they have had an impact on the scene. Within London, he is granted significant capital because of the many important artists who know him and visited his house. Amongst some facets of the professional flamenco community in Spain, Ron is considered a novelty – an Anglo-Chinese man, who understands flamenco. He is also someone that they are told to visit because of his welcoming attitude and parties. Overall, Ron's parties represent an occasion of transcultural interactions with Spain – ones where professional artists engage with local UK flamencos, instead of just teaching or performing for them.

Overall, Ron characterises a human hub in the UK flamenco scene. He is someone who has great knowledge of the local scene and connections with the Spanish one. He is a hobbyist, like most participants in the UK community. He has been instrumental in the London flamenco community's development because of these factors. Most importantly, Ron is someone who is known and respected by the London flamenco community and has served as a vital connection with Spain.

6.4 Rosi Reed Ethnography

While Ron's status as a hobbyist is representative of a sizable proportion of the British flamenco experience, it is important to understand that there are those who endeavour to build a UK-based career – many of whom were once flamenco transients in Spain. It is also crucial to grasp the differences between how flamenco is practiced in London versus the rest of the county. The scenes have some noticeable differences. Rosi Reed, the focus for this ethnography, is one of the more

prominent flamenco teachers in the UK. She teaches numerous courses and sponsors many performances – both student and professional – throughout the year.⁴²

Operating out of Oxfordshire now, Rosi is connected with most of the UK flamenco community through her Facebook persona of ‘Camino del Flamenco’. She is significant for the purposes of this thesis because she was one of the human hubs in Spain and now transmits the culture in the UK, while maintaining transnational connections with the Spanish scene.

6.4.1 Camino del Flamenco *Spanish Evening*

I walked along the darkening path beside Banbury’s River Cherwell towards the Mill Arts Centre, formerly a working mill which still features the old water wheel. Now an arts and performance venue, it is home to Camino del Flamenco’s Spanish Nights. I trekked down to Oxfordshire to see the show, but also to meet Rosi for the first time. At the suggestion of a mutual friend, Patricia from Liverpool, I contacted Rosi via Facebook about coming to one of her events and conducting an interview. She agreed, so I went down for her February show.

Entering the building, I noticed a small cafe bar so went and bought a cup of tea. There were only a few people present for the performance so far. I sat at a table near some stairs that appeared to lead up to the theatre. After a few moments, the door from upstairs opened and a short, middle-aged woman with her hair in an elaborate up-do and a red flower tucked behind her ear appeared. I recognised Rosi from her Facebook photos and stood up to introduce myself. She embraced me and kissed me on both cheeks, saying she could not talk at the moment but was looking forward to our conversation after the show. I followed her upstairs to the theatre (another small attic room) and to a café table where she had reserved a seat for me. Eventually three other strangers joined me for the performance.

The room was dimly lit and decorated with Spanish flag bunting. The cafe tables had red and yellow paper tablecloths. Each table had a candle and plastic plates of olives, pork scratchings, and

⁴² Based on queries in UK interviews.

*kikones*⁴³. The room was set up with about fifteen tables surrounding twenty square feet of wooden floor space where the artists would perform. There were four chairs at the edge of the “stage” designated for the *cuadro*. Behind the artists’ seats was a long table with punch bowls of *sangria* (a glass of which was included in the ticket price). The cafe table had fliers for Rosi’s courses as well as the following month’s Spanish Night.

The room began to fill and soon it was at capacity (70 guests). Some people were wearing flowers or flamenco-inspired attire. However, most audience members seemed to be middle-aged and British. Soon the audience was seated with glasses of sangria and ready for the show to commence.

Rosi came onto the stage to introduce the *cuadro* – Ramón Ruíz on guitar, Javier Macías singing, Anita La Maltesa dancing, Antonio Romero playing cajón and darabuka, and Attab Haddad on the Iraqi oud. The first part of the show would be a fusion of Middle Eastern oud/darabuka and flamenco *cante*, *toque*, and *compás*. It would demonstrate the musical connections between the Iraqi and Spanish musical styles via historic Moorish influences in flamenco. ‘But don’t worry,’ Rosi assured the audience, ‘there will be plenty of dancing in the second half.’

As Rosi left the stage, Javier, a tall Andalusian *cantaor* from London, walked through the door and onto the make-shift stage. He began to sing a slow, soulful song, a *martinete*. This is a beautiful old *palo* which is unaccompanied and takes its rhythmic feel from the tempo of a blacksmith’s hammer – harking back to the days of this being a typical *Gitano* profession. Javier lightly clapped *palmas* in a ‘3’ feel during the song. At the conclusion of the haunting *cante*, Ramón, Attab, and Antonio came onstage. Before beginning the next piece, Ramón gave some background on how the group came together. Already a prominent flamenco guitarist, South African-Spanish Ramón met Iraqi Attab in London and they began experimenting with fusion. Now they work as a trio alongside Antonio. That evening, they included singing and dancing to more clearly demonstrate the Arabic links with flamenco.

⁴³ Salted fried corn kernels.

For their second piece, Attab began a solo based on an Iraqi melody, which then led directly into a *bulerias* where he was joined by Ramón and Antonio. Somehow the styles of the two musics seemed to meld together seamlessly. The remainder of the first half consisted of the instrumentalists plus Javier performing several Spanish folk songs and flamenco *palos*, often fusing the two together. The shared roots of the two styles were demonstrated to the audience by use of similar melismatic vocal and guitar techniques, as well as the use of the Spanish Phrygian mode. The first act ended with another energetic *bulerias*. Before leaving the stage to appreciative applause, Ramón assured us that there would be dancing in the second half, almost as if he expected people to leave.



Figure 6:7 Camino del Flamenco Spanish Nights: Top: Ramon Ruiz Trio; Middle: Kikones; *cuadro* clapping *palmas*; Bottom: Magdalena Mannion

As the interval began, audience members arose to stretch their legs and get more sangria. I introduced myself to the people at my table, who were all former students of Rosi's. They agreed that the show so far had been enjoyable, although they had expected more dancing. During the break, there was a raffle to raise money for Calvert Trust. All items were related to Spain or flamenco. I won a bottle of Tio Pepe Fino – what luck! Then the lights dimmed and the audience took their seats for the second half.

First the musicians came back onstage with Javier and performed another solo *siguiriya*. The audience primarily watched without contributing *jaleo*. Following that, Attab performed a *tangos*-esque solo. After the applause at the end of that piece, Ramón began to play the *salida* (opening improvisation) to an *alegrías*. Finally, Ana La Maltesa, adorned in a long red and white dress, entered the room. She was greeted with enthusiastic claps from the audience. She walked to the middle of the stage and danced a *llamada* which signalled to the rest of the ensemble to begin the next section of the piece. The audience participated a bit more in this piece and clearly had been anxiously anticipating the dancer. They shouted a few 'olés!' and a few people even clapped *palmas*.

A highly structured *palo*, the *alegrías* typically ends with a modulation to a minor key into a *bulerías de Cádiz*. Ana La Maltesa danced a few *letra* of this and then invited Rosi and her 30-year old daughter, Madeleine, to begin the *fin de fiesta* – the improvised end to a flamenco show which is not often executed in UK shows. All three performed two *pataitas de bulerías* interspersed with cante before dancing out of the room to the audience's standing ovation and shouts of 'olé!' The crowd immediately began filtering out of the venue, and I looked around for Rosi to say good-bye, as I needed to run to catch the last train out of Banbury. She seemed pleased with the performance and the sold-out tickets. However, she commented that this was not the type of performance she normally presented, in that dance was not the focus and audiences generally associated dancing with flamenco.

I found the show to be representative, both from an audience and artistic standpoint, of a flamenco performance in the UK. The UK's municipal centres provide opportunity for transnational interactions – not only between British and Spanish, but also many other cultures. This performance represented a multicultural collaboration finding a common ground between flamenco and Iraqi music, whilst maintaining aspects of each individual genre. This type of fusion is an example of taking artistic

risks and expanding the definition of flamenco. These collaborations are not the norm within the more purist Sevillano flamenco scene, nor are they part of the flamenco education offered there. It is not unusual in the UK. I suspect that it is in part something that occurs not only because of the large number of cultures that come into contact here, but also because the audience is more receptive to fusion and possess a more flexible concept of ‘authenticity’. This expansion of flamenco’s artistic parameters is typical of the broader UK scene (as will be discussed later.) Also typical in this performance was the obvious preference for dance – the audience appreciated the instrumental/vocal performance but were most animated during the *alegrías*. Rosi, as the event organizer, recognised this and felt the need to continually reassure the crowd that they would see dancing. British audiences have a strong association of flamenco with dancing. Most attendees, even those who take classes, do not link it with an art form that encompasses song, music, rhythm, and *jaleo* as well. This will be explored later in this chapter.

6.4.2 Camino del Flamenco as a UK Cultural Hub

6.4.2.1 History

Later I would meet with Rosi, proprietor of Camino del Flamenco in The Jam Factory, a little café near Oxford rail station set in a former marmalade factory. Rosi, an animated middle-aged blonde woman, tells me that ‘somehow or other, I have been lucky enough to spend most of my adult life in flamenco.’⁴⁴ She did not intend to pursue it as a career, although she always loved dancing and is half-Andalucían. Rosi did not begin flamenco until her late teens – and then only because some of her friends did it. After a few years, she went to Andalucía to study flamenco and before long found herself in a professional job on stage in one of the tablaos, even though she was still learning. Rosi recounts that she had some lucky breaks in Spain and learned just as much performing as in class. At that point, all of her friends in Spain were involved in flamenco. She spent several years learning and performing amongst some of the top tablao artists in Andalucía. Rosi describes experiences dancing as part of the ensemble behind these top artists and how she, for several years, had to keep her blonde hair dyed black and her skin tanned to an orange-ish brown hue to meet expectations of the tourist audiences. She also describes instances of teachers taking advantage of foreign students – such as famous flamenco patriarch, El

⁴⁴ Rosi Reed interview, June 2015.

Farruco offering to trade a private lesson for a blowjob to one Canadian dancer. Amongst positive and negative experiences in the Sevilla scene, Rosi gained important flamenco knowledge and contacts that would serve her well in developing a teaching and performance business in the UK.

After returning to London, she continued to perform. One evening, she and another dancer, Nuria García, were parked in a car outside a London tablao. Nuria turned to Rosi and said ‘You know, I am thinking of starting a flamenco school in London, would you like to come in with me?’ And so Escuela de Baile was born. Nuria did the teaching and Rosi did the administration and marketing. Rosi remembers that it was fun and successful for 11 years, but it stretched their friendship to the breaking point. At the same time, Rosi’s husband, who is from outside of London, wanted to leave the city. They moved to Oxfordshire (in 2003), leaving Escuela de Baile in Nuria’s hands.

After a few months, Rosi realised she would have to do something other than clean house all day and that the only thing she knew how to do was run a dance school. Applying the same techniques that had made Escuela de Baile a success, Rosi opened Camino del Flamenco.

6.4.2.2 London vs. Outside: Adjusting the business plan

Rosi quickly realised that Camino’s outside-London location required a new marketing strategy for her classes. She noticed that students outside London oftentimes had different motives for pursuing flamenco than those in London. London has multiple performance venues, a strong Spanish community, and a large population which allows students to actually envision flamenco as a career path. Because of this, classes are geared towards a holistic approach to flamenco technique, with frequent performance opportunities, and a focus on constant improvement. Escuela de Baile even offers a Full Time Professional Dance Course.⁴⁵ Rosi found this not to be the case in Oxfordshire. She observes:

In London, they can start at the beginning in children’s classes and can see themselves doing it professionally, teaching, maybe even dancing in Spain. Noemi Luz is a good example of this. When students come to me that isn’t even something that has ever entered their minds. They tend to be, in the adult classes, late twenties through early sixties[...] These people already have a career, often a family. They have their life in place and are looking for an interesting hobby – something to do once a week where they will make

⁴⁵ Escuela de Baile, ‘About Us’, <http://ledb.co.uk/about-us/>, [Accessed December 2015].

friends, have one, do the occasional show. And that is IT. They aren't interested in anything beyond that. I don't think most of them realise you can become professional.⁴⁶

When she began her classes in Oxfordshire, one of the first things which shocked Rosi was that most students did not speak a word of Spanish, had never visited Spain, and knew nothing about it or flamenco. This poses a stark contrast to the London scene which, as indicated by Ron's story, has long harboured a Spanish population and considerable cultural interactions. 'This was my new normal', she marvels; 'I wanted to say, "why are you here? If you know nothing, what are we going to do?"' Most of her former students tell Rosi that they were looking for something to do on a particular evening, saw her advert and thought flamenco might be fun to try for a while.

In order to create a sustainable business, Rosi had to ascertain what motivated her students to begin in the first place, if it was not for the same motivations that applied at Escuela de Baile. Her findings indicate that people generally start because they have something lacking in their lives and want to make new friends, start a hobby, and do something interesting and exotic. However, she realised that these adult students in Oxfordshire were really only interested in a once-a-week class commitment. They had no concrete end goal beyond attending a class and no long-term commitment to flamenco. The majority of Rosi's clients come for a year or two and then move on to another activity. She remembers losing a student who had been with her for several courses:

Out of interest, I contacted her and asked why she wasn't coming back. She replied "well, I absolutely loved the courses, but I decided I am going to start pottery." That is so normal for students I lose. The majority come for one or two courses, love it, and then go flick the brochure to find something else that is interesting to do on a particular night; maybe yoga, knitting, or belly dancing.

This is representative of the British level of commitment to leisure activities and is echoed across the other groups I studied in the UK. Most Brits are interested in the exotic novelty value, but not in embracing the art form in its entirety, even amongst many London aficionados. As a result, Rosi found that her courses have to be very routine-focused. She found that she could not hammer technique-oriented classes and mostly had to teach dance routines that were straightforward and enjoyable. 'Listen, they're choosing between me, pottery, and yoga. Why would they want to stand in

⁴⁶ Rosi Reed interview, June 2015.

their own sweat and stamp?', she asks. Rosi adjusted the Camino del Flamenco business plan to accommodate these motivations. She now structures her courses into five week sessions, where a specific routine to a particular *palo* is taught during that time period. In a class of twenty people, she finds that usually half are completely new. In several locations throughout Oxfordshire Camino del Flamenco teaches about 25 kids, and between 50-60 adults. Most of these students are British, although she has seen an increase in Spanish clients over the last three years because the ongoing economic crisis in their home country, which sends them searching for work in the UK. In addition to the professional Spanish Nights, Rosi also puts on a student show every June where those who are willing can perform. She employs a dressmaker specifically for this student event, as many can usually be persuaded to perform just because of the costume! Rosi's business approach demonstrates the differences between flamenco in London and outside, as well as, in a broader sense, how an international music culture can be adapted to UK leisure consumption patterns.

6.4.2.3 A view of British Perceptions of Authenticity

Of course, Rosi's business plan for Camino del Flamenco must constantly address the perceptions that British students have as to what it means to be authentically flamenco. In the case of students, this revolves around what they feel it means for them to be a flamenco dancer – even if for only once a week. In general, students want to feel more Spanish, usually by dressing up or dancing as well as they can in what they feel is a 'Spanish' style. In addition to having a dressmaker, Rosi meets these expectations by utilising upbeat Spanish rumbas and *bulerías* for many of her choreographies; these are the sounds students most associate with flamenco – at least the tourist version. When Rosi worked in London, she created a sort of depth chart which addressed the hierarchy of flamenco professionals, ranked in terms of how British consumers perceived their authenticity. In the first (and highest) tier are *Gitanos*, then Andalucians, followed, by Spanish, Hispanics, non-Spanish who are married to a Spaniard, then Brits who have studied in Spain, anyone outside of London, and, finally, Brits who have not studied in Spain. This phenomenon of outward-looking authenticity will be discussed later, specifically with regards to how that affects cultural capital in the UK flamenco scene.

In terms of performances, Rosi strives to create an atmosphere that audiences associate with Spain – for example the Spanish flag bunting, typical Andalucían bar snacks, and sangria. She also generally puts on performances that are dancer-focused (although the previous night’s *espectaculo* was an exception.) Naturally, these perceptions of authenticity are not usually equivalent to reciprocal concepts of flamenco culture in Sevilla. It is rare to see Spanish flags hanging in taverns – at least in part because of the regional and municipal identities which often outweigh the national. Furthermore, as noted earlier, local Andalucían performances are often more focused on *cante* or holistic flamenco group performances. Rosi balances the perceptions of UK punters with her knowledge of the real thing, whilst also paying homage to artistic advances – fusions – that are faithful to flamenco’s focus on individuality and history of globalisation. Her business plan and hosted performances reflect these concessions. Rosi recognises that the concept of ‘authenticity’ in flamenco is a loaded term:

At the end of the day, if you get too caught up in ‘authenticity’ you are holding up the creative process. Then you just bring it back to some sort of folk art, some sort of anachronism and that’s not the way flamenco is supposed to be.⁴⁷

Uniquely, the UK consumption of flamenco as a leisure activity relies on Andalucían performers for inspiration, as opposed to reaching inwards towards the many British aficionados. This phenomenon is in stark contrast to other foreign music/dance interest groups, such as salsa, which tend to look inwards towards local experts.

6.4.3 Post-Journey Perspectives of a transcultural broker

Rosi occupies a unique vantage point from which to grasp the journey of the transient flamenco ex-pat between the UK and Spain, as well as the changes which occur within the art form as it travels from the ‘local’ to the ‘glocal’. While this ethnography has not focused so much on her time in Spain, the practices that she utilises in her ‘Camino del Flamenco’ business plan, as well as the Spanish artists she chooses to engage for workshops and performances, are a product of her lengthy residency in Sevilla. The alterations Rosi applies to the art complex’s practice are in part a response to cultural norms, as well as incomplete perceptions of flamenco culture. These assumptions, in themselves, relate to the fact that dance (and to some extent guitar) are the most transferrable aspects of the art

⁴⁷ Rosi Reed interview, June 2015.

form. Unlike my younger ex-pat informants, Rosi has completed the transnational circuit and returned to the UK as a cultural broker both ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ of London. Although she is obviously devoted to flamenco and wants other Brits to appreciate and understand it, Rosi voices scepticism about the wisdom of them embarking on a similar transcultural journey to her own. She cites the difficulties of life in Andalucía as a flamenco student, paying for expensive classes and only befriending other ex-pat flamencos who, ultimately, are the competition. Rosi also cites the prejudices that foreign performers often experience, especially (but not limited to) finding performances. She offers a cautionary tale for those that would try to assume this culture as their own:

Why do they want to make a life in flamenco? Why do they want to go to Spain? “Well, it’s deeply fulfilling and in life we never regret what we do but the things we don’t do!” Blah, blah, blah. You can go to Spain, you can achieve real, viable flamenco, but by the time you are in your thirties it is over. Whatcha gonna do? Go back to England and teach where you are 1-2-3-4-5-6 7th down the pecking order?[...]I have to say, starting anew with flamenco [as a foreigner], even if you’re only 18, dreams of professionalism are an illusion. No pension, inconsistent and badly paid performances, and there are already a lot of flamenco teachers in the UK. You face your middle years with no transferrable skills. Oh. But you’ll be able to judge people on whether they have *duende* or not. Yay!⁴⁸

Rosi’s viewpoint is an important one when considering how flamenco develops transnationally. It indicates the difficulties that individual culture brokers must overcome to learn their art in a foreign locale, as well as the challenges creating a career back in the UK. She has learned the adjustments to make in her business and performances to sustain client expectations, and maintains a grip on reality when advising other foreigners to do the same. Rosi’s business plan strives to find a balance between presenting and teaching ‘good’ flamenco, whilst attracting British consumers to the art form. These are the decisions that individual cultural brokers have to make when returning to their home countries.

Rosi is a particularly influential flamenco hub because of her extensive transnational connections and experience moving between Spain and the UK via flamenco. Her teachings at one of the biggest flamenco schools in the UK inspire would-be flamenco ex-pats to pursue greater knowledge. She also provides performance opportunities to transient flamencos of both British and Spanish nationality. Because of these factors, Rosi is representative of the influence an individual cultural broker can have on developing a glocal scene after returning to their home country – one that

⁴⁸ Rosi Reed interview, June 2015.

makes compromises but still reaches towards the ‘original culture’ and transnational interactions for inspiration.

6.4.4 Rosi Analysis – The Completed Journey

Rosi’s ethnography is a depiction of the completed journey. She travelled to Sevilla to pursue flamenco, worked and learnt there, then carried her knowledge back home to the UK to transmit and create a glocal culture. Her story represents several key facets of British flamenco culture: firstly, the differences between the scenes in London and the rest of England; second perceptions of flamenco authenticity in the UK; and third, how these factors influence flamenco pedagogy. Rosi is also a significant figure because of her status as a human hub and the transcultural interactions she facilitates. She creates and links flamenco scenes outside of London, as well as maintaining transnational connections with Andalucía. This is important because, as indicated by Rosi’s cynicism towards the ex-pat experience, completing the flamenco journey rarely comes to fruition. Rosi’s ethnography, overall, offers insight into how and why flamenco changes when it moves to the UK. These alterations are, in part, a response to perceptions of authenticity amongst British audiences, as well as the aspirations of dance students. They manifest themselves, most often, in how flamenco is taught but also, as demonstrated by Rosi’s ‘Spanish Evening’ how the art form is presented to uninitiated British audiences.

6.4.5 London versus ‘Outside’

Rosi is in the unique position of having experienced flamenco scene creation both inside and outside of London. While most of the group characteristics and structures described in the early part of this chapter apply to the London flamenco sub-scene, there are some differences that must be acknowledged. One does not have to live in the UK for very long to understand that London is different from the rest of the UK, not just in the ‘big city’ vs. ‘small city’ mentality but they view themselves as different and approach everything from leisure to ‘the local’ to travel differently. London is the flamenco epicentre of the UK; there are more teachers, more students, more shows, and more *peñas* than anywhere else. There is even a flamenco radio show – Flamenco Fix – run by Alicia Graham, a former British flamenco ex-pat. My observations have been based on direct and indirect

(email exchanges and websites) contact with a number of people and organisations associated with the scene. This suggested a wide spectrum of singers, instrumentalists, dancers, and non-performing aficionados, both professional and amateur. Interestingly, while there is opportunity to adopt a more holistic approach to flamenco, most participants still only choose to interact with dance and guitar.

The reason for this larger flamenco scene is primarily attributable to an increased contact with Spanish culture, compared with the rest of the UK. While exact years and dates are difficult to come by, it is possible to discern a roughly traceable history. This began with visiting performers in the mid-1800s, a trend that has continued through today. This contact also came in the form of Spanish immigration; significant waves of which occurred to escape persecution under the Franco regime, as well as to avoid the current economic crisis. Currently there are 60,000 Spanish citizens living in London, out of the 131,000 in the UK.⁴⁹ As has been demonstrated, not all Spaniards do flamenco. Regardless, immigration increased London's contact with flamenco culture, as did touring artists such as La Argentina and Antonio and Rosario, which ultimately contributed to British interest in learning it.

As was recounted in Ron's ethnography, in the middle of the century until around the early nineties (accounts vary) there were multiple venues with regular performance opportunities for both amateurs and professionals. London flamenco aficionados, especially those of the older generation, have a keen awareness of their flamenco heritage and reminisce of the days when they could perform in several venues each evening.⁵⁰ There seems to be a view amongst this older generation of flamencos that the art complex in London is on the decline. My research indicates that while dedicated performance venues and regular opportunities are potentially harder to come by, the number of classes and students has most certainly risen. The presence of multiple generations of aficionados represents a continuity pathway which is not as certain or evident in other scenes in the UK.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Office for National Statistics, 'Underlying Datasheets for Population by Country of Birth and Nationality, www.ons.gov.uk, [Accessed February 2016].

⁵⁰ Finnegan, p. 59.

⁵¹ Finnegan, p. 323.

Despite the protests from the older generation, London still boasts a significant number of flamenco performances, however many of them are only offered to the absolute best British dancers, as Spanish performers are often sought out first (as per Rosi's 'Flamenco Hierarchy' chart). The most prominent flamenco event in London is its annual Flamenco Festival London, occurring at Sadler's Wells for two weeks in late February. In recent years the festival organisers have received criticism for essentially booking the same acts every year, which are always the highest echelon of flamenco performance in Andalucía. They have been known to ignore up-and-coming artists who are making a name for themselves within Spain, as well as any local British stars.⁵² While the latter is still true, this year there are a number of lesser-known stars who are incorporating interesting collaborations, such as live drawing, into their theatre shows.⁵³ In addition to this yearly spectacle, London hosts a number of touring artists as they pass through the UK, such as Vicente Amigo and Paco Peña. However, the main perpetuators of flamenco events are a few of the larger flamenco schools that also function as production companies, such as Flamenco Express, Ilusion Flamenco, and España On Fire. These organisations, along with Peña Flamenca de Londres, host monthly performances that incorporate either up-and-coming Spanish artists who want to enhance their reputation abroad, or professional London-based performers.

Because of the numerous performance options and schools, students join flamenco classes with the knowledge that it is possible to be professional in London. As mentioned in Rosi's ethnography, the most obvious difference she finds between students in Oxfordshire versus London is that, since the latter have so much more exposure to the art complex, more of them have aspirations towards professionalism. There are many classes to choose from and, unlike other British locations, teachers do not have to spend time explaining what flamenco is.⁵⁴ Students in London often intend from the outset to attend as many classes and workshops as possible to quickly attain a professional level. Therefore, many classes in London's more prominent flamenco academies, especially at the

⁵² Vera King interview, May 2015.

⁵³ Sadlers Wells, 'Flamenco Festival London', www.sadlerswells.com/whats-on/2016/flamenco-festival-london/, [Accessed December 2015].

⁵⁴ Rosi Reed interview, June 2015.

higher levels, are composed of dedicated and competitive students.⁵⁵ This is also evidenced by larger schools, such as Escuela de Baile offer courses aimed directly at aspiring professionals.⁵⁶

The difference in access to flamenco culture in the UK's most populous city is not a new concept in music migration cities. Kiwan and Meinhof demonstrate that capital cities in the global 'north', such as London and Paris, offer endless opportunities for migrants and their music to merge and 'transform the cultural fabric of the cities they reside in'.⁵⁷ London is renowned for its world openness, cultural dynamism, and, with 36.7% of its population foreign-born, considered one of the most culturally-diverse cities in the world.⁵⁸ However, despite the large population of migrant cultures (in this case flamenco) in global cities, migration scholars such as Kiwan and Michael Peter Smith advocate for considering the role of the individual paramount for cultural transmission because of their 'extensive connectivity' with sending countries and influence on global flows.⁵⁹

6.4.6 Perceptions of Authenticity

Rosi's ethnography draws attention to certain perceptions of authenticity that the British, in general, have of flamenco. This has bearings on what audiences and students expect when they attend events and classes. Quite often these expectations are different from the realities that scene creators learn from their transcultural interactions with Spanish aficionados. Therefore, how these human hubs reconcile British expectations with the Andalucían version is imperative to not only their success in scene maintenance, but also the development of flamenco in the global flow. This will be discussed further in the Analysis (Chapter 7).

To generalise, the perception of the non-aficionado Brit of flamenco is encompassed to a great extent by the imagery that Franco created in the 1950s for his tourism campaign. The image, similar to those in the posters in the below figure, is one of a sensual dancer, with flowers and a red,

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ <ledb.co.uk>.

⁵⁷ Kiwan and Meinhof (2011a), p. 87.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 114; Office for National Statistics, 'Census Update', (2014) <<http://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/population-country-birth>>, [Accessed January 2016].

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 88.

frilly dress. She has brown skin, black hair, and black eyes. She is a Gypsy, dancing with castanets to a fast upbeat rumba.



Figure 6:8: 1950s Iberian Airlines poster and Spanish State Tourism Department Poster

This is an image utilised by Spanish *tablaos* and tourism organisations to this day, both inside and outside Andalucía (as can be seen in Figure 6:9).



Figure 6:9: Recent posters from a Bar Vivant in Portland, OR and Casa Patas in Madrid

Most people in the UK (at least those who are not directly involved with the art complex) know very little about flamenco outside of these touristic images. To them it is fancy cabaret turns, stamping, and swishing skirts. They think all Spanish people have black hair, brown skin, and wear red and black flouncy dresses.⁶⁰ Rosi also recounted several instances of having people walk out of her classes and treat her with scepticism because she does not meet this description. She advises:

If you want to teach Flamenco successfully in the UK (particularly outside of London), then you need to think carefully about the way that you present yourself to your students. You need to look like a Flamenco dancer, sound like a Flamenco dancer and make quite sure that your students are left in no doubt that you are going to take them into the Flamenco world. It ought to be enough just to be a really good teacher who knows Flamenco inside out, but sadly it isn't.⁶¹

Other dancers have encountered similar experiences. Nemmy remembers a time when she performed in a working men's club in Derbyshire and, upon arriving with her guitarist, was asked by the male event organiser if the lads were allowed to touch. They had assumed that 'sexy' flamenco dancing was akin to 'exotic dancing'!⁶² Although it was more common in the early days of UK flamenco, some British teachers and professional dancers still change their names to sound more Spanish; case

⁶⁰ Rosi Reed interview, June 2015.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Nemmy Hatch interviews, October 2013.

and point, Amarita's (from Oxford) real name is Debbie. This, in the mind of students and audiences alike, lends an air of authenticity to the class or performance. Rosi's ethnography describes numerous instances of her efforts to find compromise between British stereotypes and her perception of 'real' flamenco.

Other ethnomusicologists who examine British music cultures have noticed similar trends in how the British consume foreign musics. Sue Miller, in her autobiographical study of *charango* music in the UK, notes that there is a certain lack of inquisitiveness in the UK about foreign cultures, which she refers to as 'globalized incuriosity'.⁶³ This term refers to her perception that the general British public suffers from a disinterest in understanding particular music cultures outside of media and tourism-led stereotypes. Miller's experiences have revolved around ethnicity and gender perceptions and the difficulties she has encountered performing Cuban music as a white, British female. She finds that this 'globalized incuriosity' on behalf of promoters and audiences regarding authenticity adversely affects creativity and how music is consumed and distributed in the UK.⁶⁴ Reductively, in Cuban music, dark-skinned Latinness and masculinity sells.⁶⁵ However, Miller feels it is within the capacity, and in fact the responsibility of, promoters and performers to alter the exoticised images and educate the public.⁶⁶ This, however, in the case of flamenco, must be balanced with audience and student expectations:

[outside of UK *peñas*] you have to incorporate a certain amount of stamping and swishing and definitely wear a red dress - if you expected the audience to think that they'd seen something good and you wanted to be asked back. So basically and sadly, any Flamencos performing in the UK quickly learnt that unless you were prepared to prostitute your art in a major way, you just wouldn't get enough work to live on. Since the audience wanted the cabaret cliché, they had to be given it and so it perpetuated.⁶⁷

Rosi and other successful British flamenco teachers have adjusted the way they teach flamenco.

Most classes I have encountered in the UK have been focused on learning a particularly routine to a specific palo, with some time at the beginning spent on technique. There has been very little

⁶³ Miller, p. 100.

⁶⁴ Miller, p. 101.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 104.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 114.

⁶⁷ Rosi Reed, email communication.

discussion regarding improvisation or how the dance fits with the music – much less understanding the surrounding culture. Most students do not realise flamenco’s status as an art complex, in which the dance is of equal importance to the other elements. Concessions that British flamenco aficionados make to remain in-demand amongst students and audiences result in variations to how the art complex is transmitted. These variations contribute to my designation of the UK flamenco model as ‘glocal’, as will be discussed in Chapter 7.



Figure 6:10 Rosi Reed (Left) during her performance career

6.4.7 Rosi as a Human Hub

Rosi, as alluded to, in her ethnography, is an influential human hub in the UK flamenco scene. She spent many years learning and performing in Andalucía. Subsequently, Rosi returned to London and utilised her knowledge of both the UK and Andalucía flamenco to influence the scene first there and then in Oxfordshire. She has maintained transcultural links with flamenco through visits to Spain and contact with the Spanish flamenco community in London. She utilises these transcultural connections not only to keep her knowledge current, but also to find artists to perform in her shows

and teach workshops. Rosi, despite her remote Oxfordshire location, is first and foremost a human hub because almost everyone who has been on the UK flamenco scene for any length of time has heard of Camino del Flamenco. They may not have attended a performance or a course, but Rosi has enacted an extensive online business promotion campaign via Facebook. Rosi actively seeks out and 'Friends' potential students and audience members, as well as members of the British ex-pat flamenco community in Spain whom she could use as visiting performers. Most importantly, Rosi plays a significant role in shaping the UK flamenco scene, particularly the one in Oxfordshire. She makes decisions regarding how to present the art complex within the context of UK culture, which often includes compromises in terms of how and what is taught, music choice, and performance practices. Essentially, Rosi utilises her cultural knowledge of Andalucían flamenco and reconciles her business model with UK behavioural norms and concepts of authenticity. These variations made by influential human hubs, such as Rosi, influence what flamenco's model abroad is.

6.5 Peña Flamenco de Liverpool⁶⁸

Of the groups with whom I have interacted, the one that best represents my research is Flamenco de Liverpool. Significantly, it is among the only one with a connection to Spanish flamenco in an official capacity whilst maintaining British roots amongst the majority of its participants. It is organised by Liverpool native Trish Anderton, however Sevilla-based flamenco dancer and teacher Carmen de Torres acts as the group's president.

My first interactions with Flamenco de Liverpool came at an invitation from Christine of Deva Flamenco (Chester) to attend an event the two organisations were running together at the new studio in Wavertree. The Liverpool and Chester groups, along with Bristol Peña brought Flamenco Azabache over from Fuengirola to perform at a peña and run workshops in Liverpool and Bristol (this is one of the rare occasions when I observed cross-pollination of groups.)

⁶⁸ After this ethnography was written, Estudio de Liverpool's founder, Trish Anderton, sadly died after a long battle with cancer. I have decided to keep the ethnography unaltered but explain the implications of this in Chapter 7.

I arrived in Wavertree, a suburb of Liverpool, on a chilly January afternoon and lugged my *cajón* to the newly opened Estudio Flamenco de Liverpool, which is situated in a small business park. Even though I knew few people that would be present, I had high hopes of playing, as instrumentalists are often few and far between in the flamenco community. Entering the studio, I instantly recognised Christine, the head of Deva Flamenco, and sat down next to her. Many guests had yet to arrive, so we were able to find adjacent seats in the front. Others had already claimed the tables set up on either side of the 3 long rows and had brought along food and alcoholic beverages. The room was large, with a dance floor taking up all but a small section by the entrance. The studio was dimly lit (stage lighting only) but I could make out flamenco posters on the wall and a small stereo system in one corner. As more guests began to arrive, I recognised a handful of attendants from previous flamenco events I attended in Chester. I also noticed a tall dark-haired man and shorter black-haired woman dressed in elaborate flamenco costumes. This was, evidently, Juan and Maria of Flamenco Azabache. Christine and I were soon joined by Penny, who is Deva Flamenco's teacher. She is in her late twenties, from Liverpool and makes her career as a professional contemporary dancer.

Although the evening was meant as an opportunity for the local flamenco enthusiasts to watch Flamenco Azabache perform, it was structured as a *peña*. *Peñas* are, essentially, a flamenco jam session. The *peña* on this particular evening was no exception, with an abundance of dancers and instrumentalists eager to perform both in groups and solo. I recognised a teenage guitarist, Louis, who got up and played a solo tangos that he wrote himself. I was asked to play *cajón* while Christine and Penny danced *bulerias*. Demonstrating the spirit of fusion that often accompanies localised music traditions, one of the Liverpool dancers took the spotlight and danced a tangos while juggling. All of these dances were accompanied by crowd interaction. Interspersing the performances by locals were exhibitions by Flamenco Azabache.



Figure 6:11 Flamenco juggling, audience participation, and Flamenco Azabache with Flamenco de Liverpool

Flamenco Azabache, which consists of two dancers, Juan Antonio and Maria, performed several very exuberant dances in quite elaborate costumes. Juan especially, had such enthusiastic *zapateado* that he stomped a hole in the dance floor. Despite their presence as revered performers, they invited Penny, Trish and several other advanced dancers up to perform with them, in addition to allowing several guitarists and myself (on cajón) to play for them. This is not something I have observed often of visiting artists at *peñas*. I am not sure if this is a reflection of the inclusive nature of the artists themselves or the communal spirit and willingness to perform evoked by Flamenco-de-Liverpool, but it was an uplifting experience for everyone involved. The evening concluded with dancers from several different groups dancing *sevillanas*, teaching the moves to anyone who wanted to learn. While not considered flamenco by some Spanish schools of thought, *sevillanas* is a Spanish country dance that shares many musical and stylistic similarities. In Britain it is usually one of the first dances that students learn. It is a *palo* with a standard routine adaptable to varying levels of experience and can be performed amongst people who do not usually dance together. Because *sevillanas* is typically danced in pairs, this was by far the most social and merry part of the evening.

The next afternoon, I returned to the studio and attended Juan Antonio's Beginner *Tientos* class, along with fourteen other dancers from Liverpool, Chester and Manchester. The class was accompanied by Louis and the husband of a dance teacher (Brenda) from Manchester. It was by far one of the most difficult beginners' workshops I have ever attended. Juan, adorned in leggings, a vest and a skirt, moved quickly between several styles of *tangos* and *tientos*. This is typical of flamenco classes in Andalucía – the level of flamenco is such that often an intermediate or advanced dancer from the UK will only be able to cope with a Beginner level course there.⁶⁹ Juan allowed the workshop attendees to video his choreography at the end of the class. While I have found this a common occurrence amongst English workshops, many dance teachers in Spain are reluctant to allow video-taping, fearing that the choreography would be stolen or end up on YouTube against their wishes.⁷⁰ I stayed to observe the advanced workshop, which was run in similar fashion to the

⁶⁹ Patricia Skeet interview, 2011, Christine Stockton interview, 2011, Trish Anderton interview, 2012.

⁷⁰ Ibid; personal observation.

beginners only at a more rapid pace. The highlight was decidedly Juan, once again, broke the floor with his impassioned *zapateados*. After the course ended, I walked to the bus stop with one of the advanced dancers, who introduced herself as Minna. I soon realised that I had been told about this woman in previous interviews – a nurse from Chester who had taken a year off work to advance her flamenco skills. Minna travelled to Spain once or twice a year, with one visit usually coinciding with the El Festival de Jerez⁷¹, and brought back choreography to teach monthly workshops at a studio in Liverpool. We sat in a coffee shop awaiting our respective trains home, discussing flamenco and realising how many of the same people we knew. I am constantly amazed that no matter how disconnected the various UK flamenco groups seem, I always meet new people that know the same people I do. It was due to her upcoming trip to El Festival de Jerez that would cause Minna to miss the next event in Estudio Flamenco de Liverpool – a weekend workshop and performance by Carmen de Torres of Sevilla.

6.5.1 Carmen in Liverpool

I had first heard of Carmen the previous year when interviewing Christine about the beginnings of Deva Flamenco. In 2007, Deva received a lottery grant and they decided to ask Carmen, a talented and famous dancer from Sevilla, to fly in and give a weekend workshop. It was during this workshop that Trish Anderton first met her.⁷² Trish had attended many workshops before, mostly with short men, tall and skinny women, or doll-like girls, all who danced in a way that she never felt would be right for her body type. Carmen had the same frame as Trish and, moreover, was and is a phenomenal teacher. After having a fantastic experience at the workshop, she decided to schedule a trip to Sevilla to take lessons with Carmen. After booking time off work and communicating details with Carmen, Trish was advised by a doctor to postpone her trip due to the necessity of immediate cancer treatment. Reluctantly she agreed, sending heartfelt regrets to Carmen. In 2008 Trish was well enough to travel

⁷¹ Jerez's annual flamenco festival, one of the largest and most famous in the world.

⁷² Trish Anderton interview, May 2012.

to her studio for lessons.⁷³ She found Carmen so inspiring, both as a person and a flamenco dancer that she travelled to Spain at least once a year since then to train with her.

In 2011, when Trish decided to form her own organization, Flamenco de Liverpool, she asked Carmen to be their president. The reasoning behind this was twofold: firstly because Trish wanted to honour her for the inspiration she provided as a teacher and a friend. Furthermore, Trish wanted Carmen as president to represent a seal of approval from a respected Andalucían dancer to lend more authenticity to what she is attempting to create in Liverpool – a network of professional and amateur enthusiasts (both performers and non-performers) devoted to sharing their enjoyment of flamenco.⁷⁴

I returned to Estudio Flamenco de Liverpool in late February to attend the first day of Carmen's two-day workshop and the performance in the evening – held at the Cornerstone Theatre in central Liverpool. Carmen was to teach two levels of workshop, accompanied by her guitarist Jaime, and another member of her advanced class in Spain, Nieves. Carmen is about 5'3" and in her early 50s, with an outgoing and friendly personality. Unlike many Andalucían flamenco professionals I have encountered, Carmen speaks perfect English – a by-product of having lived in Winnipeg for 20 years.⁷⁵ I entered the studio, having taken the train from Leeds that morning, to a flurry of activity. In each corner of the small studio, different dancers were practicing various routines with coaching from Carmen and Nieves, in preparation for the evening's show. In addition to Carmen and her troupe performing, a number of dancers from Flamenco de Liverpool would also participate.

The beginners' workshop had eleven women participating, including myself, and once again I recognised individuals from Manchester, Chester and Liverpool. Carmen, over the two day course, would be teaching us a *buleria*, which is quite a tall order for a novice class because of its rapidity and difficult *compás*. Unlike Juan, she kept the warm-up short in an effort to make the best use of a condensed amount of time. Most workshops that I have attended feature warm-up exercises and stretches, followed by at least a half-hour of technique practice, followed by choreography. Carmen,

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Conversation with Carmen de Torres, March 2012 in Castilleja de la Cuesta.

instead, incorporated the technique section with learning applicable sections of the choreography. For simplicity purposes, she taught the intricate footwork first, followed by *braceo*. Her pedagogical methods primarily involved teaching sections and having us repeat them whilst Jaime played a slower-than-normal rendition on his guitar and she walked around providing individual corrections. Not only did she comment on the physical aspects of the dance, but also on the nature of learning flamenco itself and the intricacies of the dance's structure.



Figure 6:12 Carmen de Torres workshop at Flamenco de Liverpool

The evening's performance was to take place in the Cornerstone Theatre at Liverpool Hope University. It would feature Carmen singing and dancing, Jaime on guitar, and Nieves, Trish and her students dancing as well. I arrived early and managed to snag a seat in the front row, which was fortunate because by the time the show began the theatre was packed. The evening commenced with fourteen of Trish's students performing *sevillanas*. Previous experiences with other flamenco groups, such as Leeds, Hebden Bridge and Chester signal this as a phenomenon. It is often difficult to convince students to perform and some clubs even report losing students in the face of upcoming optional performances.⁷⁶ Trish, on the other hand, confided that she had no problems convincing her students to perform, it was more a matter of telling them when it was time to stop. For the evening's

⁷⁶ Interviews: Patricia Skeet and Christine Stockton, 2011.

event, a group of her students would be performing *sevillanas* and had needed no cajoling, just instructions on what to wear and when they could practice.⁷⁷ Trish speculates this willingness is a typically Liverpudlian characteristic – a certain unabashedness and proclivity towards showing off.

Trish performed a lovely *solea* with *bata de cola*, a very difficult technique which involves rhythmically flipping the long train of a frilly dress to emphasise *compás*. She was followed by Carmen singing a *siguiriya*⁷⁸. I do not think I have ever been quite so moved by the heart-wrenching sounds of flamenco *cante* as I was by Carmen that evening. There are not many flamenco singers in the UK, due to both the difficulty of the style, and the highly personal nature of the Spanish lyrics. When she later got up to dance, I was completely spellbound. Carmen was of a higher calibre than any dancer I had witnessed in either England or my recent trip to Granada. The evening concluded with Carmen, Nieves, Trish and Priscilla⁷⁹ taking turns to perform a short *fin de fiesta* and then, in a marvellous mixing of cultures, dancing in pairs. As I wandered through the empty streets back to the train station, I speculated on how Liverpool had managed to form closer ties with Spain than any other group I had encountered outside of London. A faction made up of individuals not linked to Andalucía through heritage, they have established ties and gained the beginnings of acceptance from members of the Andalucían scene. The question remains, can flamenco truly be understood outside of its Spanish context? With lyrics, choreography, sound and meaning so deeply entrenched in Andalucían history and culture, it seems almost necessary for would-be participants to actually be in Spain to understand.

⁷⁷ Trish Anderton interview, May 2012.

⁷⁸ A *palo* of flamenco music, noted for its deep, expressive style.

⁷⁹ An advanced dancer from Flamenco de Liverpool.



Figure 6:13 Trish Anderton performing with Carmen de Torres in Liverpool

6.5.2 Flamenco de Liverpool Analysis

Flamenco de Liverpool's ethnography describes a scene in the north of England created by a British human hub (Trish) after being drawn to flamenco in her thirties. She studied in Liverpool and attended workshops all over the UK and in Spain before setting up her own organisation to share her knowledge with others. The ethnography supports several key observations about British flamenco culture: firstly, the role of Spanish professionals in the UK scene; second, a description of the scene at a UK *peña*; and third the role of Trish as a human hub, linking sub-scenes in northwest England with Carmen de Torres' studio. Overall, Flamenco de Liverpool's ethnography offers insight into the nature of the connections with Spain, variations made from the Andalucían version, and the influence a singular cultural broker can have in developing a transculturally-connected flamenco scene abroad.

6.5.2.1 Spanish Presence in UK Flamenco

This thesis has yet to touch directly on the Spanish presence in the UK flamenco scene. While this may seem like an oversight, the reasoning is that the focus of this chapter is on various aspects of the

UK scene, situated around the human hubs who create and maintain it. Even though British flamenco is a cultural manifestation of its Andalucían cousin, upon closer scrutiny Spanish participants, while present, are on the fringes of British groups. It is significant to note their location within the grand scheme of British flamenco. There are few Spanish participants outside of London. They are usually professional performers or teachers, often just visiting, and rarely the drivers of the local flamenco scene. On the whole, Spanish aficionados are not scene creators (with a few exceptions, such as Ana García in Birmingham). Spanish participants are primarily brought in by these British human hubs to enhance an existing scene. Flamenco Azabache and Carmen de Torres are typical examples of Spanish presence in UK flamenco. They are a part of the human hub's social capital, to some extent, providing cultural information and a link to Andalucía but not actually contributing to the scene's continuity. Spanish flamencos are considered experts on the scene, their nationality granting them considerable cultural capital. Because of this they are highly sought after as teachers and workshop technicians. Even on the London flamenco scene, Spanish performers do not usually join Peña Flamenco de Londres; they are usually the paid performers. Their presence is imperative because it provides British aficionados who cannot travel to Spain the opportunity to directly associate themselves with the original culture instead of an interpretation.

The scarcity of Spanish flamenco hubs is not necessarily for want of trying. After all, they do possess enough cultural capital regarding flamenco to be scene creators. As Spain's economic crisis has worn on, more artists have attempted to come to the UK (and other foreign locations) to make a career of flamenco. Vera, the primary organiser of Peña Flamenca de Londres, imparted that her organisation often gets contacted by Andalucían performers seeking gigs and teaching opportunities. They are usually unable to help because there are so many local London artists. I interviewed several, namely accomplished guitarists Samuel and Cafuco from Sevilla. They come over trying to work in flamenco (due to lack of professional opportunities in Spain) but do not necessarily understand the way to go about creating an artistic career in the UK, or how to market it to UK hobbyist students and audiences who want their stereotypes verified. Essentially, most Spanish performers who have come

here specifically for flamenco, lack the social and UK-specific cultural capital to develop a sustainable career. A further discussion of this will occur in Chapter 7.

6.5.3 The UK Peña

Flamenco de Liverpool's ethnography demonstrates the atmosphere at a local UK-based *peña* and the variations and transcultural interactions that can occur there. These are important events both in Andalucía and UK flamenco scenes. The *peña* is a crossroads where the different categories of flamenco participants can meet: students, teachers, instrumentalists, audience; often providing a platform for non-local interaction. I have attended *peñas* organised by several different British groups – namely in London, Leeds, Birmingham, and Liverpool. Although they lack the *aire* of Sevilla they shared some similarities. Structurally, events in the UK and Sevilla both featured performances by professional troupes, followed by a *juerga* where anyone could perform and collaborate. Both locations boasted a predominant presence of attendees who knew enough about flamenco to participate.

The *peñas* I frequented in Sevilla had a higher skill level of participants, as evidenced by a greater number of audience clapping *palmas* during the performance. The *juergas* after Sevilla *peña* performances tended to occur with more fluidity and a greater level of participation. The guitars basically never stopped while singers traded *letra* and periodically dancers stood up to participate. The process was not as spontaneous in Liverpool – performers were cajoled into getting up and had to sort out structures with the instrumentalists before commencing. Also, while the audience was willing to dance in Liverpool, many of them had to be shown the steps. However, this is to be expected because most of the Liverpoolian attendees were hobbyists, who did not regularly engage with flamenco outside of their once-a-week class. Furthermore, the *juerga* marks an interesting fusion of flamenco with other areas of speciality. Incorporating other aspects of individual identity is an important feature of the art complex. It would be unusual to incorporate these identity fusions in Andalucía's traditional *peñas*. In Sevilla, many of those present at the *peñas* lived flamenco and had grown up with it as their identity. Even the foreigners at Sevilla *peñas* had come to Sevilla specifically to learn flamenco and visited these events to improve their understanding and skills.

Significantly, British *peña* affords UK hobbyists the opportunity for transcultural interactions with flamenco. Sometimes this is merely in the form of further contact with the art complex itself, as at the events actors can practice, perform, and experiment with it outside of a structured class setting. Most professionals agree that performing is as much a part of learning flamenco as it is an art form that requires non-vocal communications and dance footwork signals between performers, so this makes *peñas* a valuable transcultural experience. Beyond that, *peñas* often enable direct interactions with Spanish performers – both local and visiting – who usually would not be present in dance classes. A final crucial difference between Sevilla *peñas* and Flamenco de Liverpool’s event (as well as most other in the UK), is that the former showcase aficionados across all flamenco elements, with a specific focus on *cante*. UK *peñas* and *juergas* are dominated by dancers. The dance-centric nature of *Flamenca Britannica* will be elaborated on later in this chapter.

6.5.3.1 Trish as a Human Hub

Trish, as demonstrated in the Flamenco de Liverpool ethnography, is an influential human hub, linking the Liverpool scene with Spain, as well as with other scenes in northwest England. Beginning flamenco as an adult, Trish gathered information through workshop attendance with Rosi Reed in London, as well as through various journeys to Andalucía to study with Carmen de Torres and other teachers. She then returned to England to set up her own group, pulling from transcultural knowledge and utilising social capital to connect Flamenco de Liverpool with Andalusian flamenco. Trish is a human hub because she is the sole organiser of flamenco in her city and she enables associations with the original culture through her knowledge and workshops. She also provides a link to the UK for the Spanish performers mentioned to international performance. Trish’s role in shaping flamenco in her locality is imperative to its continuation, especially that she is able to facilitate direct interactions with the Andalusian scene, which otherwise her students would not experience.

6.6 Conclusion: The Grand Scheme of *Flamenca Britannica*

Overall, there are several primary issues to extract from this ethnography on British flamenco. Firstly, the scene revolves around dancers and the dance class, which is dissimilar from Sevilla. Second, on

the whole, the motivations of its participants differ from those in the Andalucían scene. Finally, since flamenco is not native to the UK's cultural framework, as it is in Andalucía, it has to be created. This signifies the importance of the individual human hubs and their transcultural interactions in creating and maintaining a flamenco scene outside of Andalucía.

6.6.1 Motivations for trying Flamenco

To develop an understanding of the broader UK scene it is important to grasp students' motivations for learning flamenco. Most participants are not doing it to become flamenco stars or to pursue it as part of their cultural background, as they would in Spain. This sort of cultural adoption is especially interesting as it occurs in the presence of an existing music culture, rooted in the personal and national histories of most UK participants. So why do they take on such a demanding art complex?

In her book, *The Hidden Musicians*, Finnegan notes several prominent patterns regarding why people join UK amateur music and dance organisations. The two primary reasons she cites are sociability (a desire to spend time with other people outside of work) and empowerment (a path to a socially-recognised position and the opportunity to make an aesthetic contribution).⁸⁰ Eisentraut, in his study on samba groups in Wales, notes a similar pattern. His research reveals a group that is not motivated by any sort of ethnic background, but by a desire to create music in a group setting, or to just have a unique hobby.⁸¹

Finnegan and Eisentraut's observations are true of the UK flamenco scene as well. While there are a few people who decide to take on flamenco as an identity, the majority participate on a more superficial level – to enjoy the social context. They make friends through classes and group events, and are drawn to communing over a shared involvement in flamenco. Similar to other musical interest groups, it provides a collective aesthetic experience.⁸² It is a style of dance that does not require a partner, nor does one have to be young and thin to excel.⁸³ Another common motivation is for fitness reasons. Related to this is the desire to learn a new skill that would distract the mind from

⁸⁰ Finnegan, p. 328.

⁸¹ Eisentraut, p. 89.

⁸² Finnegan, p. 329.

⁸³ Trish Anderton interview, May 2012; Christine Stockton interview, 2011.

the stresses of everyday life. It is a complicated dance with rhythms that are uncommon in English and American music. Between the intricate body movements and the footwork which is often using contra-rhythms to the hands, it keeps the brain and body very active. A third explanation given by students regarding their interest in flamenco is that they had seen it performed, thought it looked intriguingly exotic, and decided to try it out. In England, there seems to be a part of society that loves the musical ‘other’, which is possibly attributable to a colonial past, which inspired the UK ‘world beat’ movement of the 1990s. Steven Feld (2005) attributes this phenomenon to:

[...] a long history of essentializing and racializing other bodies as possessing a “natural” sense of rhythm, the invention of “world beat” reproduces a Western gaze towards the exotic and erotic, often darker-skinned, dancing body.⁸⁴

Many of these world music genres, including flamenco, have made recent appearances in popular culture on television shows such as ‘Strictly Come Dancing’.⁸⁵ In addition to glamorous dancing, women love the idea of wearing exotic clothes, specifically those that aren’t skimpy. With Spain being a common UK tourist destination, people have been exposed to flamenco that way as well. The final reason for beginning flamenco, and in fact the most common, is via ‘the road less travelled’ – strange circumstances that for some reason resulted in joining a class. I found flamenco dancing because I was hired to play a percussion gig that required it. An engaged couple in my class had decided to make their first wedding dance a flamenco number to surprise the wife's Spanish family. Then there were several occasions where people had thought they were attending a different type of dancing class, such as Welsh national dancing.⁸⁶

These motivations are not necessarily enough to keep hobbyists occupied long-term. As Rosi’s ethnography demonstrates, most students only want a superficial engagement with flamenco, enough to learn a routine and attend a class for a couple of years. Finnegan explains this phenomenon by pointing out that music and dance are not the only activities that bring people together – other leisure pursuits can fulfil a similar role (although she views music’s role of collectiveness as having wider societal implications).⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Steven Feld, *Music Grooves: Essays and Dialogues* (Tucson: Fenestra, 1994), p. 266.

⁸⁵ Patricia Skeet interview, 2011.

⁸⁶ *Spanish Steps*. Dir. Anna Holmes. Independent. 2010.

⁸⁷ Finnegan, p. 329.

Of course, to some UK flamenco participants, such as the human hubs described above, the art complex becomes a new cultural identity – something maybe that did not exist in other aspects of their lives.⁸⁸ These individuals opt to pursue flamenco beyond a classroom level and become obsessed with it. As described by several informants, flamenco has something to say to some people, which takes them back to its origins as an art complex that expresses intense, human emotions and moves them beyond ethnic boundaries.⁸⁹ While its Andalusian history of shared suffering is not something that British participants can comprehend, they can relate to the need to express this concept on a personal level. For this small group of UK aficionados, flamenco physically and mentally is an area of liminality and a ritualized state of escaping the everyday.

6.6.2 Dance-centricity

It will be noted that the bulk of this ethnography has focused on the dance element of flamenco in the UK. The reasoning for this is not an oversight, but simply because the UK flamenco scene, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, is focused around the dance class. Most participants in UK flamenco are dancers with the other elements (with the possible exception of guitar) falling by the wayside. The primary reason for this is that the *baile* is an element that requires very little pre-existing cultural or dance knowledge. The ability to speak Spanish is not required, nor are pre-existing instrumental skills. To simply attend a flamenco dance class in the UK requires only the ability to follow an instructor's movements and walk.⁹⁰ Dancing requires less cultural context than the other elements and therefore easier to replicate at some level. Unfortunately this focus on *baile* perpetuates the long-established stereotype that flamenco is a dance, as opposed to an entire culture, thus simplifying the art form as it globalises.

This dance-centricity is not unique to flamenco when it comes to holistic music cultures that are reinterpreted in the UK. Miller notes a certain disconnect between music and dance in the UK salsa scene, which has resulted in Latin music marketing focused on stereo types and 'a clumsy understanding of ethnicity.'⁹¹ Urquía, similarly, observes that British participants in London's salsa scene emphasise 'ethnically neutral aspects'.⁹² This shift focus away from features outside of their

⁸⁸ Christine Stockton interview, 2011.

⁸⁹ Vera King interview.

⁹¹ Miller, p. 112.

⁹² Urquía, p. 389.

cultural comfort zone (particularly language and musical knowledge) and towards those that play towards skills they already possess, such as the ability to dance a routine.⁹³ He refers to it as ‘de-ethnicisation of salsa and integration into local sensibilities’; I will later describe it as ‘glocalization’.⁹⁴ Eisentraut also discusses samba’s de-ethnicisation in Wales, pointing out that ‘most samba played in the UK is percussion only’, removing melody and words, the two most important elements of the Brazilian version.⁹⁵ Martin Stokes, in his article ‘On Musical Cosmopolitanism’, surmises that an ethnomusicologist can learn a lot about musical cosmopolitanism in the examination of dance. He sees dance as a cultural feature that circulates quickly and easily across borders where other elements are rebuffed.⁹⁶



Figure 6:14 Hebden Bridge Flamenco

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 391.

⁹⁵ Eisentraut, p. 97.

⁹⁶ Stokes, p.14.

While *Flamenca Britannica* is dance-centric, with less focus on the other elements, I would not go so far as to suggest it is de-ethnicised. In the examples of samba and salsa, focus has been shifted to favour British participants as artistic authorities. The British flamenco scene values, above all, Andalusian flamenco knowledge and transcultural interactions between the two scenes. The emphasis on the dance is most likely a product of it being the easiest to access on a hobbyist level of participation, coupled with the fallacious stereotype that flamenco culture is only a dance.

6.6.3 Flamenco Britannica and Human Hubs

This chapter and its three ethnographies demonstrates the structure and development of flamenco in a UK context. I specifically have focused on the role of individual human hubs and their transcultural interactions in the creation and maintenance of the British flamenco scene. These cosmopolitan cultural brokers are important because, unlike in Andalucía where flamenco is built into a subset of local culture, in the UK flamenco has to be facilitated and created. The majority of local British groups are driven by dedicated aficionados who had discovered flamenco through means outside of cultural heritage. These individuals, with or without a committee and devoted students, are responsible for the continuance of flamenco in their locality and push the organization forward. These individuals have significant influence regarding the shape of the UK flamenco model. As will be elaborated upon in the next chapter, instead of existing as a de-ethnicised cultural appropriation, like UK salsa, flamenco's aesthetic inspiration rests with Andalucía. This is at least in part due to British human hubs who reach towards the original culture and facilitate transcultural interactions in the UK. Patricia (Hebden Bridge Flamenco) emphasises that, as a dancer and a teacher 'you have to keep one foot in Andalucía, in order to maintain a feel for the music and culture'.⁹⁷

The cultural capital of UK flamenco is also prompted by human hubs. This is, essentially, specific knowledge or characteristics necessary for acceptance into restricted groups without reference to economic capital. The required information includes behaviours, languages, education, and cultural history. In the case of British flamenco, the acceptance requirements are two-pronged: firstly a desire

⁹⁷ Patricia Skeet interview, 2011.

to understand flamenco and secondly, the possession of Andalucían culturally-specific experience. By those standards, individuals with the most cultural capital, and therefore the highest degree of respect, are the artists from Andalucía which, as mentioned above, usually hold loose associations with local groups. Significant authority is given to those who have first-hand knowledge of flamenco from study in Andalucía. Flamenco musicians are gauged as knowledgeable based on their familiarity with the typical *palos* and accompanying *compás*. Cultural capital is also manifested in dance class and workshop attendance, attire and execution of proper performance conventions.

Although the UK interpretation may appear to Andalucían aficionados as a watered-down departure from tradition, I maintain that it merely is a negotiation of transcultural boundaries that take the form of local (UK) cultural variations. This differs from the cultural appropriation that characterises UK salsa or diasporic formations such as bhangra. As described in the following chapter, these variations which occur in conjunction with the reverence for perceptions of the Andalucían version, signify a glocal cultural model for UK flamenco.

Chapter 7: Connected by the *compás* – an Analysis of Cultural Transmission and Links between Sevilla and the UK

In this thesis, I have described the flamenco scenes that exist in Spain (specifically in Sevilla Andalucía) and the UK (specifically England). In Chapter 5, I provided a detailed ethnography of the Sevilla flamenco which describes the scene in Sevilla as it is experienced by locals. I pointed out that the extent to which Sevillanos identify with flamenco is minimal compared to that which is broadcast by various governmental and tourist agencies to foreigners. The latter part of Chapter 5 addressed the experiences of foreigners who come to Sevilla to experience flamenco. While many foreigners experience the art complex solely on a tourist level in the *tablaos*, I described the dynamic ex-pat scene, which is made up of foreign aficionados who travel to Sevilla, usually for short periods of time (one month to several years), for the sole purpose of learning and absorbing flamenco culture. In doing this, I presented the structure, cultural aspects, and competing notions of identity and authenticity. In doing so, I demonstrated how socio-political organizations and transcultural interactions inform the scene and contribute to the postnational social space (within Sevilla) which is then transported abroad by these foreign ex-pats.

In Chapter 6, I resumed the journey of these ex-pats, using the UK as an example, when they return to reside in their home country. Specifically I considered how they use their transcultural capital (regarding flamenco) to create a UK scene, which is composed of a number of loosely-connected hobby-oriented groups. The chapter, through individual bio-ethnographies, demonstrates the functioning of the UK scene, particularly the structure, demographics, and cultural norms that determine how it is appropriated. This provided insight into how the English approach multiculturalism, which often influences how foreign music cultures are deciphered there. Most notably, through these bio-ethnographies, I established that individual human hubs are imperative to the maintenance of local UK flamenco communities. I examined the motivations and forces within the British culture that inspire these aficionados to assume flamenco as an identity. Significantly, these individual human hubs (and through them, the local English groups) persistently reach outwards

towards Andalusian scenes for cultural and aesthetic inspiration, as opposed to internally towards local British experts. However, due to significant differences in the broader national and regional cultures, the UK scene is a glocalised (as described in the introduction) version, adapted to UK societal norms and regional variations, but in the image of a British aficionado's perception of Andalusian flamenco.

So how do we make sense of the two flamenco cultures (Sevilla and the UK) that are in contrast but also in contact? Through my experiences interacting with flamenco in Spain and the UK, I have made several observations regarding the pathways which gave rise to flamenco globalisation. A particular example of this is 'scene creation' in the UK which involves a certain amount of cultural exchange with Spanish destinations, such as Sevilla. This is a music culture that is assumed to be intrinsic to Spanish national identity, and is promoted as such by various socio-political and tourist institutions. In reality it is rejected by the majority of Spanish society, as evidenced by my interviews and observations. There are groups of aficionados that exist in scattered enclaves, concentrated mainly in Andalucía, Extremadura, Murcia, and Madrid. I painted a paradoxical picture of Spanish cultural identity that on one hand largely rejects flamenco, whilst those select few who do embrace it treat foreign interest with scepticism. I observed that individuals in the UK who were not satisfied with the offerings at home come to Andalucía to learn more and holistically approach flamenco education. Once there, they have the opportunity to immerse themselves in all aspects of the culture (*baile, toque, cante, jaleo, and aire*). Most ex-pat aficionados have to adjust their perceptions of what flamenco actually entails since the British version is mostly dance-centric. For a variety of reasons, most ex-pats opt to resume contact with the UK, on varying levels. Upon re-engagement with the UK flamenco scene, these transient flamencos often have to create their own flamenco space in order to transmit their knowledge. Due to a lack of original culture, this is often in the format of performance or teaching. This is a shift in roles from their position of 'student' and 'foreigner' in Spain. Due to differences in cultural norms, the parameters for what flamenco 'is' shifts and the individuals must adjust how they present the culture to fit in so to attract clients and audiences. As a result of these shifts, a glocal culture is created, which begs the question: how do we account for the changes that

occur during flamenco's journey from its homeland? Or, more importantly, how do we account for what occurs on the journey between flamenco's homeland as it travels with these transient aficionados? And: how do the scenes in either locale affect what travels? Finally, how is it modified when it lands?

7.1 Frameworks

Several frameworks are useful in the development of a model that helps address the above questions. This chapter will address these frameworks and then construct a new model from them which suggests new ways in which flamenco cultures travel and adapt to new surroundings. First, I will discuss flamenco in the global flow, utilising a postnational viewpoint (advocated by Knudsen and Corona and Madrid) and explain how borders are obsolete when considering flamenco culture.¹ Applying Roberts' (1995) concept of glocalization I will examine flamenco's status in the UK as an art complex that is continually mirroring perceptions of the Spanish scene whilst responding to regional British variations. Next, applying Kiwan and Meinhof's 'Human Hubs' concept², which rests on network migration theories, I will examine the role of the individual in postnational cultural development and transmission, focusing on how they utilise transcultural capital and links to influence and create glocal flamenco culture in Spain and the UK. Finally, I will propose a new model that encapsulates the phenomenon of British nationals (as an example) becoming the culture brokers of an art form not associated with their national or ethnic identity. Ultimately, I will analyse how individual human hubs, through transcultural interactions and networks, are influential in the creation and maintenance of a postnational, glocal flamenco culture.

7.2 Postnational Culture

While flamenco is assumed by outsiders to be intrinsic to Spain's grand, national rhetoric, upon closer inspection my research has demonstrated considerable detachment and even animosity on the part of Spanish nationals. Reasons for this, as outlined in the chapter on Sevilla, include associations with

¹ Jan Knudsen, 'Music of the Multiethnic Minority: A Postnational Perspective', *Music and Arts in Action*, 3.3 (2011), 77-91; Ignacio Corona and Alejandro Madrid, *Postnational Music Identities: Cultural Production, Distribution, and Consumption in a Globalized Scenario* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2008).

² Kiwan and Meinhof (2011), p. 6.

Franco and *Gitanos*, identity associated with other folk musics, and preference for popular music. At the same time there is extensive foreign interest in flamenco which has in part emanated both from Spanish performances and immigration abroad, as well as the extensive and ongoing tourist campaign using flamenco as the poster-child. This calls into question the correlations between ethno-national musical identities and globalization processes. The dichotomy between lack of identity amongst the Spanish and foreign interest encourages new ways to look at this travelling cultural complex, which are possible from a postnational viewpoint.

“Postnationalism” refers to the process or trend by which nation states and national identities lose their importance relative to supranational and global entities. Corona and Madrid in their book, *Postnational Musical Identities*, define “postnationality” as the unsuitability of the nation-state as a basis for identity analysis which, therefore replaces the nation as a ‘frame for considering the relationship between identity and music.’³ Because of this, they make a case for music’s role in moulding social networks that go beyond ethno-nationalistic boundaries.⁴ What this suggests is that identity is no longer necessarily based on national and ethnic background. Jan Knudsen, in his article ‘Music of the Multi-ethnic Minority: a Postnational Perspective’, ascribes the rise of postnational music cultures to two factors: first to demographic changes resulting from increased immigrant groups which form social communities in their new country of residence; and more relevantly in this context, he attributes the rise of postnationalism to the emergence of cultural groups founded on transnational exchange which contravene ethnic and national identifiers as their defining feature.⁵ He stipulates that postnational thought provides a structure to examine ideas regarding how national identities lose their importance in comparison to transnational configurations, emphasizing the importance of socio-cultural communities that ignore borders.⁶ Knudsen surmises that whilst national background cannot be discounted ‘the focal point for understanding cultural dynamics is not the relationship to any

³ Corona and Madrid, p. 3.

⁴ Knudsen, p. 78.

⁵ Ibid, p. 78.

⁶ Ibid, p. 79.

situated “authentic sources”, but rather the innumerable ways in which groups and individuals choose to build their own cultural worlds based on the sum of links to the network available to them.’⁷

7.2.1 Cross-border flamenco

Flamenco, as a case study, connects conceptually to postnational thought, which is a useful mechanism for understanding some of the cultural phenomena described in this thesis. First of all, there is a certain lack of identity with flamenco amongst the Spanish. For one thing, it is an art form that has been propagandised as a symbol of Spain since the beginning of Franco’s 1950s tourism campaign, but my research has indicated that this did little to endear it to the citizens. Firstly, it imposed a nationalist culture upon a country that had previously been culturally and politically decentralised. Spain has typically been a country characterised by extensive regionalisation with many different music styles and dances that citizens feel are representative of their specific town or province. Flamenco within Spain, although possessing a following in Madrid, is primarily an art form that a minority of Andalucians identify with. Therefore, other regions were having flamenco thrust upon them as their new national identity and felt some resentment. To add injury to insult, not long into his reign, Franco enacted strict censorship measures, enforced with a brutal secret police force. He viewed regionalisation as ‘the enemy within’, which included regional languages and culture.⁸ These policies strangled (oftentimes literally) any discordant words and images which included cultural dissent in the form of folk music.⁹ Regional music cultures, such as the Catalanian *sardana* were illegalised. Even flamenco was affected, as Franco suppressed its local and non-commercial variations because of its association with politic subversion and revolutionary protest. All the while he promoted a professional, sanitized version as a tourist attraction.¹⁰ It was at this time that a concept of ‘outside’ and ‘inside’ flamenco began (as referred to in Chapter 2) – one version for the tourists, one

⁷ Ibid, p. 81.

⁸ Simon Barton, *A History of Spain* (London: Palgrave MacMillan 2009), p. 232.

⁹ William Washabaugh, ‘Flamenco Documentaries of the Franco Era’, *The Journal of Flamenco Artistry*, 3.2 (1997a), <<https://pantherfile.uwm.edu/wash/www/francojfa.htm>>.

¹⁰ Ibid.

for the aficionados.¹¹ These official versions removed the regional emphasis and encapsulated more accessible versions of the art form.¹²

After Franco's death (1975), when Spain's transition to democracy culminated with the ratification of their Constitution of 1978, there were strong movements towards decentralization. This was encouraged by rules set out by the Constitution that allowed for territorial governments that could be autonomous from the national government. By 1983, all 17 regions had gained autonomy. This caused a wave of cultural decentralisation as well, which resulted in regions reinvigorating their particular cultures that had been quashed under Franco. Andalucía, in the previously-described 2007 Statute of Autonomy, used flamenco as a marker of cultural distinctiveness. While this actually strengthened flamenco as a symbol of Andalucía for governmental organisations, non-aficionados, and foreigners, most Spaniards outside the region (and indeed inside), disassociated themselves from the art form. My interviews and research have corroborated this indifference. Many non-flamencos with whom I spoke decried flamenco as something they did not identify with. They cited reasons ranging from having a regional music of their own, negative associations with Franco or *Gitanos*, or simply preferring other types of popular music.¹³

7.2.2 Foreign Identity

Somewhat ironically, it was the very same Franco-led tourism campaign that alienated other Spanish regions that attracted some foreigners to assume flamenco as an identity (albeit sometimes a skewed one). Foreign audiences are responsible for the maintenance of a flamenco performance industry in Spain. My informants have told me most Spaniards would not pay to see a performance – especially because if they were interested they could see a show for free on the streets or in a *peña*.¹⁴ According to the *Guia de Flamenco* website, there are 133 official tablaos in operation across Spain and, as indicated by this thesis, a number of flamenco schools which mostly cater to foreigners. Cristina Heeren, founder of the largest flamenco school in Sevilla, vouched that at least half of her students are

¹¹ Malefyt, p. 65.

¹² Heffner Hayes, p. 125.

¹³ Luis Perez interview, August 2015.

¹⁴ Ana Real interview, January 2014.

foreign, stating that in 2014 they had students from 28 countries.¹⁵ There are flamenco schools in practically every country on the planet and academic studies have been done on academies in the US and Japan.¹⁶ During the course of my research, most of the Spanish flamenco performers who I interviewed were even hired to go to Japan to teach for three to six month stints.¹⁷ My fieldwork in the UK has corroborated this assertion of global flamenco, as I have demonstrated. There are performances in larger cities by touring artists on a semi-regular basis which are generally sold out. The more enthusiastic UK participants travel to Spain specifically for lessons. Most of the UK scene members are not of Spanish heritage. As indicated, the British flamenco groups are small and generally only maintain a loose connection with one another, yet link themselves with the Andalusian scene.

7.2.2.1 Postnational Flamenco: *En la casa del herrero, cuchillo de palo*

While there is a certain place association (Andalucía) with flamenco, the fact that most of the Spanish population does not associate itself with it and the significant influence of foreigners on local Andalusian scenes indicates that the nation-state is no longer suitable as a framework for identity analysis in flamenco. In accordance with Corona and Madrid's theoretical study, there is a case for examining flamenco as an art form that moulds socio-cultural networks in a postnational manner – as connections that are developed through the art form and its participants, rather than on an ethno-national level. The necessity for this postnational perspective can be summarised by two quotes from my interviews. The first is by renowned flamenco film star Merche Esmeralda in an interview imparted that she travels around the world giving performances and classes, as do many flamenco performers.¹⁸ She describes the dichotomy of flamenco's lack of respect inside of the country, whilst incredibly popular outside with the proverb '*En casa del herrero, cuchillo de palo*'.¹⁹ This translates

¹⁵ Barry Neild, 'Wall of Sound: Spain's Next Flamenco Stars', (February 11, 2015), <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/02/11/travel/seville-flamenco-cnngo/>.

¹⁶ While this may seem a sweeping claim, Google searches (as well as connections with other foreigners made in Spain) have revealed the existence of flamenco in some truly astonishing locations such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iran, Syria, and Cape Verde.

¹⁷ Ana Real and Yolanda Heredia conversations, February 2014.

¹⁸ Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escenicas Y De La Música, 'Merche Esmeralda Biography', <http://www.danza.es/multimedia/biografias/merche-esmeralda>, [accessed 31 Jan, 2015].

¹⁹ Merche Esmeralda interview, February 2014.

as ‘In the House of the blacksmith, knife of wood’, which means that someone who is specialised in creating something particular does not appreciate it. In utilising this proverb, Merche is referencing how flamenco is not, on the whole, appreciated inside of Spain. She explained that when she grew up, even in Andalucía flamenco was considered vulgar and something only poor people engaged with. On the other hand, Merche’s extensive experiences performing abroad has given her the impression that flamenco is respected and understood outside Spain’s borders:

Probably because flamenco is a very natural expression of being. When you are sad, your expression is in pain. When cheerful, your face lights up. And that happens to everyone. Then there is the attraction that the dancer has a percussive movement, expression, arm movement, character... may things come together because the simple dance is a complete spectacle that leaves no one indifferent or passive, and it is contagious. Flamenco has something contagious that “takes” people.²⁰

These quotes from Merche are relevant because they demonstrate evidence given by a prominent and well-travelled dancer noting the lack of respect towards flamenco in Spain. The quotes also indicate Merche’s feeling that foreigners actually understand, even if they do not understand the language. The final quote, in particular, suggests this understanding extends a line of communication between the performer and foreign audience which is not widely accepted in Spain.

The second quote is mentioned earlier in this paper by British dancer Noemi Luz, while we attended a *peña* in Sevilla: ‘Can’t you see this is my culture too?’ We were standing in a dingy, low-ceilinged room after the performance had finished while an impromptu *juerga* had begun. Surrounded by local Sevillano aficionados improvising *baile* and *cante*, Noemi clapped *palmas*, shouted *jaleo*, and even danced. Through her actions and her words, Noemi reveals the connection, both perceived and actual, that foreigners can feel flamenco. She understands the cultural conventions and feels that she shares flamenco with the Andalucians. These quotes by Merche and Noemi epitomize the complex postnational boundaries that characterize global flamenco culture. They represent, most importantly, the concept that flamenco is, in reality, an art complex shared by informed individuals who are not necessarily of the same ethno-national background.

²⁰ Merche Esmeralda interview February, 2014.



Figure 7:1 The author with Noemi Luz (Top) and Merche Esmeralda (Bottom)

7.3 A Glocal Cultural Model

When considering a travelling culture in a postnational light, it is imperative to assess how that manner of culture is being created at various points on the global network. Obviously a culture will possess a particular place of origin, but what is necessary is to assess the nature of those flamenco cultures that exist outside the parameters of the sending region and the

reciprocal effects and developments on the culture in the place of origin.²¹ This designation is important because of globalisation critics who maintain that music traditions are diluted and homogenized when they travel. Scholars such as Hamelink have insisted: ‘the impressive variety of the world’s cultural systems is waning due to a process of “cultural synchronization” that is without historical precedent.’²² The general fear is that the ‘global’ is overriding the ‘local’, thus homogenizing cultures across the world.²³ As an initial outsider to both cultures, the interactions and compensations granted between two cultures as different as British and Andalucían fascinates me. This ‘predicament of culture’ (after James Clifford) is a by-product of the twentieth century’s unparalleled overlapping of traditions, where Western products, power, and popular culture can be experienced at the ends of the earth and, yet, a foreign culture can be experienced in the next neighbourhood.²⁴ This creates a constant negotiations between two ‘metanarratives’: homogenizations and cultural loss versus emergence and invention.²⁵ Naturally, all cultures do not interact at the same rate, even within the borders of the UK. The salsa and Neo-Balkan genres value a mere perception (simulacra) of their original culture to the extent that they are almost a different music style, albeit a talented one, as evidenced by groups such as Alejandro Toledo and the Magic Tomboinos. Baudrillard’s theory of simulacra postulates that postmodern societies (including politics, social life and culture) are based on simulation, whereby identities are created by image appropriation and simulated models determine how individuals perceive themselves in relation to other.²⁶ He also stipulates that postmodern identities are characterised by the implosion of distinctions (i.e. between genders, societies and cultures), meaning that such

²¹ Aoyama, (2007), p. 106.

²² Cees T. Hamelink, *Cultural Autonomy in Global Communications* (New York: Longman 1983), p. 3.

²³ Robertson (1995), p. 25.

²⁴ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: twentieth-century ethnography, literature, and art* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 14.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 16.

²⁶ ‘Jean Baudrillard’, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2007)
<<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ baudrillard/>>.

divergent entities such as politics and culture begin to converge and affect one another. Connected to these is Baudrillard's concept of hyperreality, which holds that in the postmodern world, entertainment, information and communication impart experiences more intense and engaging than real life, spurring individuals to seek out spectacle instead of actual meaning.²⁷ The simulacrum is not a copy of the real, but a truth in its own right, often bearing no similarity to any reality. One might propose the notion that Baudrillard's simulacra theory is accurately represented in the worlds of salsa and Neo-Balkan in the UK, as they merely imitate a stereotype of Cuban and Romani music, to the extent that those within these scenes believe them to be 'the real thing'. As will be demonstrated later, this is not entirely the case with flamenco.

Sociologist Roland Robertson (among others) has refuted this viewpoint of the 'global' in constant conflict with the 'local', instead maintaining that globalization actually entails the 'incorporation of locality'.²⁸ In the context of my research, this suggests that musics engage in a sort of cultural exchange, rather than a hostile takeover, when they encounter cultures from outside their historic ethno-national borders.

7.3.1 Rejected Cultural Models

Music cultures can exist outside of their historical borders in many different formats. Examples of this include diaspora, cultural appropriation, and simulacra, all of which I initially considered as potential descriptions of UK flamenco culture. Diaspora, in a cultural sense, refers to the production and replication of social and transnational culture, by a particular ethnic group away from their country of origin.²⁹ I ruled this out because flamenco's development abroad, using the UK as an example, is generally not associated

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Robertson (1995), p. 40.

²⁹ Steven Vetrovec, 'Three meanings of 'diaspora', exemplified among South Asian Religions', *Diaspora*, 7.2 (1999), p. 19.

with an ethnic group, but an interest group. This discovery led to considering cultural appropriation. James Young describes cultural appropriation as a culture created by ‘members of one culture (I will call them *outsiders*) tak[ing] for their own, or for their own use, items produced by...members of another culture (call them *outsiders*).’³⁰ While at face value this seems to apply to what we see in UK flamenco, appropriation also entails something being made private property, which in cultural terms is something that does not take into consideration the flamenco’s original culture.

I also ruled out Baudrillard’s simulacra concept (described earlier) as a possible model for globalised flamenco. Although there are undoubtedly those within the British flamenco community that worship a simulation of the real thing based on media image, in my experience anyone who has been on the scene for any length of time quickly sheds these illusions. Flamencos in the UK almost unanimously defer to the original Andalucían culture as the ultimate holders of cultural capital. Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital refers to specific knowledge that must be exhibited in order to gain entry into closed groups, thus reflecting what these entities value and respect.³¹ This can include, among other things, certain behaviours, languages, education, or material culture. Put simply, those with the most cultural capital generally have the most authority.

7.3.2 Proposing a Glocal Cultural Model

Flamenco in the UK, despite its differences, is reliant on the Andalucían version for inspiration and grants it the utmost aesthetic authority. Based on this reference to the original culture by ‘outsiders’, I maintain that flamenco is actually an example of a glocal culture.

Glocalization, a term popularized by Roland Robertson, involves ‘the simultaneity and the interpenetration of what are conventionally called the global and the local [...] – the universal and the particular’.³² It is a term adapted from the Japanese business notion of *dochakuka* which involves the ‘tailoring and advertising of goods and services on a global basis [...] to increasingly differentiated

³⁰ James O. Young *Cultural Appropriation and the Arts* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 5.

³¹ Urquía, p. 387.

³² Robertson (1995), p. 30

local and particular markets.³³ Glocalization is akin to micro-marketing in that it implies the adaptation of global cultures on a local scale.³⁴ An example of this is McDonald's regionalizing their menus – such as using beefless burgers in India.³⁵ This also occurs at a cultural level, for example, the combination of Catholic saints and African Deities is Afro-Caribbean religious life.³⁶ Robertson introduced this term at a time (the mid-1990s) when most globalisation discussions assumed that the global subverted the local. He felt this ignored several key eventualities, including how the 'local' is created on a 'trans'-local level.³⁷ Robertson asserts that there is a tendency to assume there is a conflict between local cultures and globalising forces which involves a clear-cut polarity, however in many ways they define each other. It does not make sense to assume the global omits the local; it is composed of local, diversifying aspects.³⁸ The model of the 'glocal', combining the 'global' and the 'local', both at a linguistic and cultural level, transcends the propensity to assume a constant global-local conflict. 'Local' refers to cultural aspects that are supposedly divorced from globalising influences. Globalisation inevitably involves the creating or amalgamating of locality.³⁹

Ethnomusicologists have adopted the term 'glocalization' into music globalisation studies to refer to the 'appropriation of globally available music styles and products and their reterritorialization and redefinition in local communities around the globe'.⁴⁰ At a musicological level, this concept describes both the differences that occur when music travels and the locally-specific adaptations that are made. This has been utilised to examine various popular music subcultures, such as the Mitchell's relocation of rap music and St. John's Global-Local Psytrance scene. The latter, in particular, exemplifies how glocalization operates in that it details the interconnectedness of the various Psytrance scenes around the world which are linked by referring back to the 'original' culture in Goa

³³ Ibid, p. 28.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 28.

³⁵ Ajai Prakash and V. B. Singh, 'Glocalization in Food Business: Strategies of Adaptation to Local Needs and Demands', *Asian Journal of Technology and Management Research*, 1.1 (Jan-Jun 2011), 1-21 (p. 19).

³⁶ Melville J. Herskovits, 'African gods and Catholic saints in New World Negro belief' *American Anthropologist*, 39.4 (Oct. - Dec. 1937), 635- 643 (p. 635).

³⁷ Robertson (1995) p. 26.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 29.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 40.

⁴⁰ Knudsen, p. 88; see also Tony Mitchell *Global Noise: Rap and Hip Hop Outside the USA* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2001).

whilst applying variations specific to their local cultures.⁴¹ The focus on glocal variations in relocated music serves to reduce focus on nationality and ethnicity.⁴²

7.3.3 Flamenco Glocal

There are assumptions amongst Sevilla aficionados which fall along the lines of pessimistic globalisation theories. This line of reasoning maintains that the ‘global’ will override and dilute the local. UK flamenco does anything but dilute flamenco culture. Similar to St. John’s Psytrance study (as described in Chapter 3), flamenco is epitomized by a glocal cultural model. It is inspired by a rich, place-based culture (Andalucía) and strives to emulate the original whilst enacting local variations in response to local (in this case, British) culture. The UK flamenco scene can be classified as a glocal model because it is set up primarily by outward-looking British aficionados and created as hybrid versions of a local phenomenon. This differs from appropriation because the participants are actually looking outwards instead of assuming it as their own private property. Glocalization explains the phenomenon of cultural similarities between, for example, flamenco groups which exist halfway around the world from each other. They may all know how to interpret a certain *palo* through dance, but will often put regional variations that refer to their home country or individual backgrounds – such as combining flamenco with circus skills or bellydancing choreography. Glocalization also explains how those who choose to fully engage with the culture can have a similar understanding of its intricacies, even when they are from different cultural backgrounds. These variations are enacted by the foreign aficionados who run the specific local scene and their experiences. Finally, glocalization demonstrates how someone from Andalucía, flamenco’s ancestral homeland, can have less of a connection with it than someone on the UK or Japan.

There are several reasons that explain why flamenco in the UK is representative of a glocal culture, as opposed to a simulacrum, appropriation, or diaspora. The first of these is the concept of looking to Andalucía as an authority on the art form. This demonstrates that cultural capital lies with the Andalucían scene, those of that ethnicity, or foreigners who have participated in it. Rosi’s

⁴¹ St. John, p. 50.

⁴² Knudson, p. 81.

description earlier of the hierarchy in the London flamenco scene is indicative of the preference for Spanish connections. As demonstrated by my ethnography on the UK, each sub-scene is limited to one or two individual drivers, which grants significant authority to those present. Supporting the theory that cultural capital rests with Andalucían flamenco is the fact that most of the small UK sub-scenes physically reach towards Spain. For example, my research revealed that aficionados in Northern England were more likely to fly to Malaga for a flamenco course than take the train to London or Birmingham. There are plenty of flamenco experts of Spanish background in London, but even in London people are more likely to look south. Most of the UK flamenco groups I encountered with had particular Spanish flamenco dancers that they brought over to their town once or twice a year. Barring this, they all had annual or bi-annual workshops scheduled where a new teacher from Spain would visit each year. An example of this is Deva Flamenco (Chester) who hired Maria del Mar (from Malaga) or Flamenco de Liverpool who hired Carmen de Torres. This travel pattern suggests that sites within the UK flamenco scene are more connected with Andalucía than other flamenco groups in their own country. The location of cultural capital is significant in designating flamenco as a glocal culture. It indicates that UK flamenco is not attempting to appropriate the scene – only to adapt it to fit with local circumstances. This is contrary to other global music scenes in the UK, for example the salsa dance scene in London. Norman Urquía, in his article ‘The Re-Branding of Salsa in London’s Dance Clubs’, discusses how UK salsa dancing has actually been appropriated and excludes most of the Latino community.⁴³

7.3.4 Variations

Additional support for considering flamenco as a glocal culture emanates from the British variations to the Andalucían version. Whilst the trajectory of *Flamenca Britannica* is towards emulating Andalucían cultures, alterations occur in response to local norms. These cultural alterations are due in part to decisions made by individual cultural brokers who facilitate the sub-scenes, and are primarily aimed at attracting audiences and students. A key example of this is the lack of crowd participation. In Andalucía, *jaleo* is an important part of the performance. In the UK, audiences, on the whole, are not

⁴³ Urquía, p. 395.

comfortable with the thought of shouting out or clapping during a piece. Therefore, some of the *aire* is altered and visiting performers must adjust to not hearing this additional element. Another significant change is the focus on dancing and guitar – most UK participants only engage with flamenco on this level, with only a handful of singers and percussionists across the country. The reasoning for this is that the dancing and guitar elements are the most accessible to those without detailed cultural knowledge. These components are considered to be the most quintessentially ‘Spanish’ to the uninitiated – a notion that is incorrect, as in Andalucía singing is probably the most respected and utilised. The singing requires knowledge of Andalusian dialect and specific techniques that are unfamiliar to UK vocal practice. The percussion entails very specific and syncopated rhythmic patterns which fit in a particular way with the music and dancing, which are unfamiliar to UK ears, but present even in non-flamenco Spanish music. To some extent this removes an ethnic element, although it makes flamenco more accessible to UK practitioners, who still value the *cante* and *compás* even if they do not personally practice it.

Another variation is the increased presence of fusion in UK flamenco. This was demonstrated in the ethnography about Camino del Flamenco’s night – where Iraqi music and flamenco were fused. The definition of flamenco is also extended in classes that teach sevillanas and rumbas, which are not considered flamenco in Andalucía, but folk music. This expansion of flamenco is used to make it accessible to a wider audience. A final variation to consider is the differing roles that flamenco plays in each location (Andalucía and the UK.) In the UK, flamenco serves as an exotic pastime or performance to view for most who engage at all with it. Most, as noted previously, participate on a superficial level that involves a dance or guitar class once a week. In Sevilla, flamenco (although not liked by many) is representative of a particular sub-culture. Those that participate are familiar with all elements and it is, to some extent, influential on regional culture (such as Semana Santa and annual *ferias*) and popular music. The variations exemplified demonstrate flamenco as a glocal culture in accordance with Robertson’s definition which specifies that the original culture is maintained but is influenced by globalised Western (in this case the UK) culture.

7.3.5 Glocality in Sevilla

Of course, as per Robertson's stipulations, globalization is not a one-way street. Despite being part of 'the original', the Sevilla flamenco scene could also be considered 'glocal', as it too represents a local scene influenced by the global. Whilst the 'global' is considered a homogenizing threat, in reality it has created a cultural industry. Aoyama, in her article 'Artists, Tourists, and the State', stipulated that in 2004 flamenco tourists accounted for 3.8% of Andalucía's €54 million tourist revenue.⁴⁴ The foreign interest in flamenco is almost entirely responsible for its presence as an industry.⁴⁵ There is a certain paradox in this because of the feeling amongst some Andalusian flamencos that the art needs to be protected from foreign dilution but the foreign interest generates significant income for performers and teachers, not to mention landlords, restaurants and other service providers. Merche Esmeralda, in an interview, informed me that actually:

It is we [the Spanish performers] who are doing the diluting. Not because we live outside the country, but because we are doing terrifying fusions and aberrations [...] I teach the traditional flamenco because, although the artist needs innovation, it must be from the roots.⁴⁶

This quote indicates that foreign dilution can be prevented with proper teaching of techniques.

Anthropologist Ulf Hannerz accounts for the dynamics between the UK and Sevilla scene in his chapter 'Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture' in a discussion regarding local-cosmopolitan distinction. He stipulates that, on a local level, diversity is the determinant that allows 'locals' to stay within their particular cultures, whilst cosmopolitans depend on 'the other' creating 'special niches' for their cultures: 'Cosmopolitans cannot exist without locals'.⁴⁷ This outlines the mutual reliance that Andalucía and the UK have upon each other in the maintenance of a flamenco scene. To put it another way, Andalucía possesses the cultural capital that the UK relies upon for its glocal scene, whilst the UK (and other glocal flamenco locales) provides the economic capital that enables the Sevilla scene to flourish.

⁴⁴ Aoyama (2009), p. 95.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 96.

⁴⁶ Merche Esmeralda interview, February 2014.

⁴⁷ Ulf Hannerz 'Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture', *Theory, Culture, Society*, 7 (1990), 237-251, (p. 250).



Figure 7:2 Performance by Norwegian *tocaora/cantaora* Bettina Flater and Mexican *bailora* Karen Lugo at La Candela

In summation, global and Andalucían flamenco combine to create a glocal flamenco culture. This exists on a postnational level because of flamenco's broad rejection in Spain and its assumption as identity by small groups in varying locales around the world. There is not an exact copy of the hallowed 'original' in any one place due to variations in local norms. Global and Andalucían flamenco are mutually dependent upon each other, with the 'global' receiving cultural capital from Andalucía, and Andalucía receiving economic capital. These glocal cultures exist on a network linked by a mutual passion for flamenco, as opposed to particular ethno-national associations. Deleuze and Guattari, in their work *A Thousand Plateaus*, discuss this phenomenon under the premise of Rhizome Theory, which is an allegory for a vibrant cultural complex comprised of decentralized, yet connected,

nodes with no references to a tangible origin.⁴⁸ Mitchell, in his discussion of glocal rap surmises that rhizomatic tendencies result in the formation of a plethora of ‘...syncretic “glocal” subcultures, involving local indigenization of [a] global music idiom.’⁴⁹ This rhizomatic pull is evident in flamenco as well. My research suggests a number of glocal scenes, decentralized, but loosely connected nodes which are glocal versions of a global music. Robertson implies that the process of intertwining localities and ‘inventing’ a new local is, in fact the process of glocalization.⁵⁰ The interweaving rhizomes accurately describe the shape of glocal flamenco but the final question is to assess the rhizomatic pull of cultural information in the art complex.

7.4 Hub Theory and the role of the individual

Although Deleuze and Guattari’s Rhizome Theory suggests a macro shape for flamenco’s glocal scenes, in order to understand how particular local scenes manifest, it is important to understand how cultural capital travels and re-forms into its glocal format. This links with discussions of ‘network migration theory’ which examines factors that encourage migration temporally and spatially, with a focus on interpersonal connections between migrants and non-migrants.⁵¹ A branch of network theory that is particularly relevant is Transnational Migration theory, which hypothesizes about social spaces which exist on a transnational level. This theory focuses on migrants who stay connected with and participate in the culture in both sending and receiving countries.⁵² These concepts of network migration begin to make sense of how flamenco moves between global locations. The primary carriers are foreigners who, living in their home country, maintain a link with the Andalucían scene.

7.4.1 Human Hubs: Individuals in Global Cultural Transmission

Recent tropes in ethnomusicological scholarship and migration studies portray individuals as crucial catalysts for the creation of glocal communities and flows between network nodes. Migration is

⁴⁸ For more information, see Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 1993.

⁴⁹ Mitchell, p. 108.

⁵⁰ Robertson (1995), p. 35.

⁵¹ Lucia Kurekova, ‘Theories of Migration: Conceptual review and empirical testing in the context of the EU East-West flows’, Paper prepared for Interdisciplinary conference on Migration. Economic Change, Social Challenge. April 6-9, 2011, University College London, p. 10.

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 11.

viewed as an agent for development, marked by Transnationalization, with mobile individuals transpiring as central to social transformation.⁵³ Global networks, such as that described above, are composed of a series of linkages between individual actors who facilitate ‘multi-connected forms of social interconnection’.⁵⁴ While the concepts of ‘culture’ and ‘society’ are macro constructs which involve vast numbers of people, Tim Rice points out that it is the distinctions between individual participants that are imperative to the creation and shaping of a music culture.⁵⁵ Rice also argues that culture cannot be situated in a spatial field any longer, both ‘culture’ and ‘field’ are more accurately considered as ‘constituted in and through the relationship of individuals.’⁵⁶ Transnational individuals, as well as transported culture, have also taken responsibility in re-creating it abroad. This marks a power relations shift in the politics of globalisation, in that individuals are seen to have the ability to engage with globalising forces, which have previously been thought to exist outside of their sphere of influence.⁵⁷

Kiwan and Meinhof, as mentioned previously in this thesis, created a theoretical model inspired by Transnational Network Migration theory, which addresses this phenomenon of individual influence on cultural migration. Their concept of human hubs in particular addresses the phenomenon of individual influence on globalisation, due to its emphasis on specific artists as culture brokers.⁵⁸ Kiwan and Meinhof, utilising African musicians in London and Paris, created this network model to exemplify the transnational connections which link migrant musicians with their sending and receiving countries, and examine how migrants self-perceive and execute their global movements.⁵⁹ These human hubs, in their case study, are African migrants who are ‘significant individuals’ (musicians, cultural organisers, etc.) within the musical community, the ‘main focus of the network [...] known by everyone in the network although not all the members of the network know each

⁵³ Glick Schiller and Faist, p. 14.

⁵⁴ R. J. Holton, *Global Networks* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), p. 1.

⁵⁵ Rice and Ruskin, p. 307, see also Sherry Ortner, *Anthropology and Social Theory* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

⁵⁶ Rice and Ruskin, p. 317.

⁵⁷ Kiwan and Meinhof (2011), p. 9.

⁵⁸ Kiwan and Meinhof (2011a), p. 3.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 6.

other.⁶⁰ These individuals are significant because they transcend and link far-flung geographic and social spaces from sending to receiving country.⁶¹ In many cases, the music scenes they create in their country of settlement would not exist if they were not present. Through the activities of these human hubs, translocal and transnational link music cultures in both sending and receiving countries, and create sending/receiving circuits for migrant musicians.⁶²

7.4.1.1 Transcultural Capital

The information and connections that result from interactions with the sending and receiving countries, the knowledge from both spaces that enables the creation of culture abroad, and the economic and social benefits that return to the hub's country of origin is known as 'transcultural capital'. Transcultural Capital theory, expounded by Meinhof and Triandafyllidou, integrates Bourdieu's 'capital' with Levitt's 'social remittances' and encapsulates their interactions in the lives of transnational artists.⁶³ It is a heuristic approach which enables the researcher to analyse resources of transnational migrants who maintain links with their home country, activate cultural interdependencies in cycles of migration.⁶⁴ Kiwan and Meinhof's migrant musicians utilise their substantial transcultural capital (acquired in their country of origin) to validate and develop their art, supporting its commercial viability to new audiences. This imported capital demonstrates how migrant musicians retain connections with the home culture and how these links inform their creativity, thus pointing to a cyclical dimension between sending and receiving country.⁶⁵

7.4.2 Flamenco transmission and cultural creation: the role of individual human hubs

As emphasised extensively in this thesis, individuals are largely responsible for the transmission of flamenco and creation of glocal scenes. Individuals inform how cultural identity is formed and maintained outside of flamenco's traditional national and regional identity. The concept of the 'individual' holds a unique place in this study, representing a number of different strands. In a

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 6.

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 4

⁶² Ibid, p. 4.

⁶³ Ibid, p. 8.

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 9.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 9.

methodological sense, it represents my approach to presenting a picture of the UK and Sevilla flamenco scene – from the eyes and experiences of the informants who live it. In an artistic sense, it represents how aficionados experience flamenco – it is an art complex that relies on the expression of deep, personal emotions which are accessible to all humans, regardless of ethno-national background. Structurally, it is a music that is made up of independent elements (*cante, baile, toque, jaleo, percusión*) which are linked by the *compás*, something that each performer will know, even if they have never met each other before. Metaphorically, this applies to the final theoretical aspect of this thesis. Glocal flamenco scenes, as described above, are independent aspects that are linked on a network by individuals who, similar to the *compás*' transportation of rhythmic information, transmit flamenco culture between nodes, creating glocal versions of the culture. These individuals fall into the category of Kiwan/Meinhof's human hubs because they connect with Andalucía to gain social and cultural capital, transmit or facilitate the transmission of culture outside of Andalucía, and, utilising their significant transcultural capital, become the centre of a local flamenco scene, which would oftentimes cease to exist without their influence.

As noted previously, most of the UK flamenco scenes documented in this thesis share the common characteristic of having the presence of a 'driver'. In larger cities, such as Birmingham, Bristol, and London, there is usually more than one of these individuals who create sub-scenes within the overarching scenario. These are individuals who, with or without a committee and devoted students, are responsible for the continuation of flamenco in their locality and truly push the local scene forward. These individuals are not always the teacher in the locale, nor are many of them Spanish, but they are the ones who facilitate the locality's interactions with flamenco. This can include activities such as classes, performances, film nights, lectures, and facilitating interactions with visiting Spanish performers. These cosmopolitan human hubs are the focus of local scenes. They provide a link to their perception of the original Andalucían culture, not only through their pre-existing knowledge, but through trips to Andalucía for lessons in addition to organizing performances and workshops with visiting Spanish artists. Most importantly, they anchor their glocal scenes with considerable transcultural capital acquired through interactions with the Spanish side of the story.

They create cultural exchange by rooting themselves in a British locale, while maintaining one foot in Andalucía in order to continue gaining cultural knowledge to transmit back home. The nature of these cross-cultural communications can range from extensive time spent studying in Andalucía (several years) to spending a couple weeks a year taking a course with a favourite teacher. It can also include facilitating activities or interactions with visiting Andalusian professionals to continue gaining cultural capital which can be applied to their local scenes.

Two examples of these hubs are Patricia Skeet from Hebden Bridge (a small town in Yorkshire) and Christine Stockton in Chester. Patricia teaches a group of 10-15 students who engage with flamenco once a week, but annually visits Andalucía to study with Chiqui de Jerez to top up her skills, maintain an emotional connection with the culture, and learn new routines to adapt for her teaching and personal performance. Christine makes an annual pilgrimage to the 10-day flamenco extravaganza of Festival de Jerez to take classes with various teachers, as well as visiting Malaga for lessons several other times a year. She also brings over Maria del Mar, a flamenco performer from Malaga, to teach workshops once a year, which are often attended by students from all over the Northwest of England. Both of these ladies, now in their 60s, picked up flamenco on a whim about 20 years ago and quit respectable university jobs to dedicate their lives to the art form.

In the case of both Christine and Patricia, they are the sole facilitators of flamenco in their locale. While they consistently have a steady flow of students, they all fall into the category of 'hobbyists'. If Patricia and Christine ceased to push flamenco as an activity, the scene would die out and their students would turn to belly dancing or trapeze class. Rosi's ethnography also validates this point – specifically when she notes that most of her students only stick around for a few short courses or a couple years before moving on to some other activity to occupy their Tuesday nights. Another example of this point is Flamenco de Liverpool. The Liverpool flamenco community, run by Trish Anderton, was a vibrant one which facilitated connections with internationally-performing dancer and teacher, Carmen de Torres from Sevilla. The scene began to taper off when Trish became terminally ill with cancer and upon her death most students moved on to other activities (although a few attended classes in Manchester). This demonstrates also the precariousness of a scene run by singular drivers.

Obviously the London flamenco community is slightly different than the rest of the country, due to the large, multicultural population. However, attributable to the tendency of Londoners to stay within their own neighbourhoods, the theory of the individual hub there applies for each region of the city. Ron Hitchens characterises a variation on the hub for London's flamenco community. He connects local Londoners with visiting artists from Spain through his parties. He is a highly-respected member of the London flamenco community, across a number of different sub-scenes. He is also known in Spain by artists who have visited, as well as their families and colleagues who have heard tales of the marvellous parties and dancing of 'El Chino'.

Noemi Luz and Yinka Graves, of Dot-Dot-Dot flamenco are also examples of human hubs, even though they no longer live in the UK. They both believe that staying in Sevilla enables the most complete connection with the art complex. However, Yinka explained:

I think we created Dot-Dot-Dot from a real place of feeling British because we ARE British. I think all 3 of us as dancers.... Well I'll speak for myself. As a black woman there is not part of me that can pretend to be anything. I am not going to pretend to be Gypsy. I am not going to dye my hair so that I look like them. It has always been about being who I am and expressing myself from that perspective. So I think a relationship with Britain has been very important because that is a part of who we are. And part of our experience as well, because before we came to flamenco, those were our references. I think it is wanting to embrace that.⁶⁶

She and Noemi have expressed desires to communicate their practice in different ways, such as in community engagement (for example through SCOPE for adults with learning disabilities), in the form of fusion which connects with their cultural backgrounds (Yinka is Afro-British and Noemi is Sephardi Jewish), or in workshops with school children. For example, while disabled people are more in the community in Andalucía, they are not often afforded the opportunity to learn to dance.⁶⁷

Whilst the context is different from in Andalucía, the inspiration and information communicated still resides with the 'original culture'. These type of activities are not the norm in Andalucía, both for reasons involving concepts of 'authenticity' and for financial concerns. They approach flamenco in the UK as an opportunity not only to expand to whom flamenco is communicated, but also to introduce context to the dance- and guitar-centric British flamenco world. This is accomplished

⁶⁶ Yinka Graves interview, November 2015.

⁶⁷ Rosi Reed interview, June 2015.

through both their performances with Dot-Dot-Dot and the workshops they conduct on their annual UK tours.

7.4.2.1 Individual roles in Spain

One of the reasons that Yinka and Noemi cite for wanting to maintain contact with the UK involves the differing roles that human hubs (in the flamenco world) play between their home and receiving countries. In Sevilla, they are students and foreigners. The focus is on what they are doing wrong, what is missing from their flamenco education, and how they can prove themselves so as to acquire performance and teaching employment. There is also an emphasis on acquiring contacts (social capital) both in Sevilla and in the UK in order to achieve employment. Hubs such as Noemi and Yinka, who have lived in Sevilla for an extended amount of time also take on the additional role within that local scene as a human hub within the ex-pat flamenco community. They are known by everyone within the community and are considered experts in how to navigate the scene; this includes what teachers to use, what classes to take, which events to attend, where to look for work, and how to acquire housing and rehearsal space. In The UK, transient aficionados, such as Noemi and Yinka, gain an opportunity to utilise their skills. Because of the transcultural capital that they convey from Sevilla, they are granted considerable respect within the UK scene, which increases their capacity to get performance and workshop dates. This sort of role is assumed by other human hubs such as Patricia and Christine as well. Significantly, the role of the transient (or semi-transient) human hub in the UK is that of ‘primary authority’ within the flamenco community, since the majority of that group are casual hobbyists.

7.4.2.2 Drawbacks of having a singular cultural broker

The ‘primary authority’ position held by these individual scene drivers with their localities creates a certain conundrum with regards to what is transmitted and continuity of the scene should they no longer facilitate. Human hubs, such as Patricia and Christine, create local scenes and serve as an important link for their students to the original flamenco culture. Flamenco scenes in the UK would not exist without scene-drivers like them; however there are positives and negatives with having an individual act as the singular cultural broker. Many of the flamenco human hubs I have interviewed

have reported that their students usually come into classes without knowing anything about flamenco other than castanets and polka dots, and many have never even been to Spain. The human hubs, as a result, create the perception of what flamenco is and is not for the students. This is a complex question to answer even in Spain. Suffice it to say, this designation is much contested and combines a number of historically complex identities and opinions. What is certain, is that flamenco can be described as a combination of dance, music, guitar, audience participation, and the surrounding culture. If it is presented as a dance-centric art form, dependent on a prescribed routine and only utilizing the *cantes chicos* – characterized by lighter, upbeat, and generally more easily accessible flamenco *palos*, this is what the local UK flamenco community will believe is the REAL thing.

Despite the best intentions of these human hubs, they are also limited by the UK’s approach to leisure – as something to be tried, cherry-picked, and consumed before usually moving on to some other exciting activity. Unless they become one of the few that truly embraces the art complex, they are generally disinterested in the broader cultural landscape, including how the routines they learn fit into it. Thus, drivers and teachers have to present flamenco in a manner that keeps students’ interest – a routine that they can see through to completion, with only brief flirtations with technique, *compás*, and the surrounding culture. Reciprocally, these created assumptions will determine what these students expect when they visit Spain and attend classes or shows, which will inevitably have a knock-on effect for how flamenco is performed, taught, and presented in Spain. This indicates that the human hubs play an important role in maintaining and influencing perceptions of the “original culture” not only at home but potentially within Spanish scenes as well.

7.4.2.3 Transcultural Capital of Glocal Flamenco

The decisions that human hubs make with regards to what is presented to foreigners as ‘flamenco’, can be thought of in terms of Roland Robertson’s concept of “selective incorporation”. Specifically, Robertson refers to the propensity for nations to “copy” practices and beliefs from other nation-states, incorporating a conglomeration of “foreign” concepts into their culture.⁶⁸ On a micro level, this

⁶⁸ Robertson (1995), p. 41.

applies to how flamenco's human hubs utilise their knowledge of Andalusian flamenco to create scenes in their home countries. This is part of the transcultural capital that they utilise to navigate the Sevilla and UK environs. Transcultural capital, in the case of glocal flamenco, combines social and cultural capital from Spain with economic capital from the UK. Cultural capital comes in the form of knowledge gained from the flamenco scene in Spain – through classes, performing, and cultural participation there, and interactions with visiting Spanish artists in London. Social capital comes in the form of Spanish artists and teachers that the human hubs connect with and utilise in workshops, performances, and general information-acquisition. They simultaneously contribute social remittances to the Andalusian scene through paying for lessons and performances (not to mention paying for meals and accommodation while there). Additional social remittances are provided when human hubs provide information and social connections with the British scene to Andalusian performers which will enable them to gain economic capital in the UK. Human hubs create and influence their local British scenes utilising transcultural capital. It manifests itself in routines learnt abroad, artists met, and cultural information acquired.

Most importantly, transcultural capital is used by individuals to create a glocal scene in the UK, which results in economic capital. It manifests itself by combining information and connections from Spain, with non-flamenco cultural knowledge in the UK. In order to succeed in doing this, human hubs must understand how flamenco is perceived and used in the UK, as well as general cultural norms regarding how British people typically consume culture and performance practices. These cultural considerations transpire primarily in the form of variations which fall in line with the greater non-flamenco cultural landscape of the UK. In the UK, flamenco is perceived as an upbeat, flashy, Gypsy dance with castanets. Human hubs who want to teach must recognise that, for the most part, UK flamenco consumers only want to focus on the dance or the guitar aspects and even then only on a casual, hobbyist level. They are generally not interested in understanding much of the culture; they just want to show up to class once a week, wear a pretty dress or play a *falseta*, and learn a prescribed routine. They are usually not comfortable with improvising in the form of a *fin de fiesta*, most are not that receptive to having technique drilled into them, and many are not that interested in

performing. The average British flamenco student's interest in flamenco is as an exotic hobby, which can easily be replaced with some other interesting activity. Human hubs, such as Rosi, compensate for these expectations by running routine-based short courses which allow students to attain quick, tangible accomplishments.

In a performance sense, as noted earlier, human hubs must take into account British audience norms. Most are not comfortable with the concept of *jaleo* and are accustomed to remaining silently respectful during a performance, so performers cannot force the issue. Furthermore, human hubs must understand what the British audience's perception of flamenco entails, which is very different from what they will have experienced in Sevilla. The UK understanding of flamenco is informed by mass media and tourist organisations, and involves upbeat flashy dancing, footwork, bright dresses, castanets, and Spanish flag bunting. It does not necessarily involve seriously emotional styles and audience participation. The human hub must decide how to balance their knowledge of 'the real thing' with audience expectations so as to inform without putting off their patrons.

Transcultural capital is the primary force that influences how flamenco travels and is transmitted abroad, as well as the lives of the artists in Spain. It is the information that flows between the two locations, carried by transient foreign aficionados. Most importantly, it informs the variations made by human hubs which result in the creation of a glocal scene. In flamenco, the human hubs make decisions about 'what will fly' within UK cultural norms, whilst still reaching towards the original Andalusian scene for inspiration.

7.5 Cosmopolitan Hubs: a New Model

Although Kiwan and Meinhof's 'human hubs' framework does, to some extent, encapsulate how a glocal flamenco scene is created, it falls short of a perfect match. This is because their theory is based on the premise that these culture brokers are from the same country as the music culture they are transporting. However, with the emergence of extensive transnational networks that are developing and thriving, especially in global cities such as London, the ethno-national dialogue of cultural

homogeneity is challenged.⁶⁹ Anthony Cohen, in his 1964 book *Self-Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity*, puts it best in his discussion of the virtues and flaws of Interpretivism:

Societies do *not* determine the selves of their members. They may construct models of personhood, they may [...] *attempt* to reconcile selfhood to personhood. But they have no absolute powers in this regard, and almost certainly have an exaggerated view of the extent to which they can clone their members.⁷⁰

This suggests that individuals in our transnational world do not necessarily have their identity chosen for them by ethno-national associations.

Based on the concept of transnational identities, I propose a new model for cultural migration, building on the solid foundation of Kiwan/Meinhof's 'hub' theory. This model focuses on individual human hubs who move cultural information between the sending country and receiving country. This new type of human hub is not ethnically or nationally connected with the cultural capital they are transmitting and are characterised by having gained an interest in the art form in their home country. For this reason, I will refer to them as 'Cosmopolitan Hubs'. This 'hub' designation incorporates the globalisation of 'cosmopolitanism', which refers to 'an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness towards divergent cultural experiences'.⁷¹ A 'Cosmopolitan' is considered to be someone who immerses themselves in other cultures, displaying the ability to accept them and handles themselves in this culture. Ulrich Beck furthers this designation by describing 'cosmopolitanization' as the situation where people within the same national boundaries 'can inhabit markedly different "life-worlds" and be closer to or farther from people who live outside the borders of the state they live in.'⁷² My new model marks a significant departure from Kiwan/Meinhof's theory in that the primary actors that are transmitting culture are actually foreigners. Also significant to note is that the two aspects of this model that are moving in tandem are technically travelling in opposite directions to one another, with the culture moving from its sending country to a receiving country and the Cosmopolitan Hubs travelling from their sending country to a receiving country then back to the sending country carrying

⁶⁹ Meinhof and Triandafyllidou, p. 13.

⁷⁰ Anthony Cohen, *Self-Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 71.

⁷¹ Hannerz (1990), p. 239.

⁷² Ulrich Beck, 'The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies', *Theory, Culture, and Society*, 19.1-2 (2002), pp. 17-44, (p. 17).

cultural information. This applies to the global flow of flamenco. Using the UK as an example: Cosmopolitan Hubs from England study flamenco in their home country, travel to Andalucía to gain social and cultural capital, then return to England to act as a Cosmopolitan Hub for the glocal flamenco community there. This differs from Kiwan/Meinhof's human hubs who are Moroccan and who travel to and from Morocco with Moroccan transcultural capital. Similarly though, both types of human hubs serve to create a glocal culture in the art form's receiving country (the UK) and have an economic effect on culture in its sending country (in this case, Spain).

There is certainly a case to be made for this model to be unique for flamenco, however I suspect that due to increased global interconnectedness its applicability will be broader. For one thing flamenco is a very place-oriented art form. It also is largely rejected as an identity within Spain, with the exception of a comparative few enclaves. Spain is also a popular tourist destination, with flamenco as one of the primary cultural attractions. However, with cultures coming into increased contact and foreign music cultures increasingly accessible, it is conceivable, in fact, likely that this type of cultural migration model - one that operates through individuals that are foreign to the culture they are transmitting - is applicable to other migrating art forms as well (Argentinian tango and salsa come to mind).

Within this model, the individual maintains contact with the sending country, through transnational interactions such as visits/residency or relationships with particular artists who they bring to the UK for performances or workshops. The individual (British) Cosmopolitan Hub, who has transcultural knowledge of both the sending and receiving culture, must make decisions that balance economic and cultural capital. These decisions are aimed at attracting British leisure and entertainment consumers to the art form, either as students or audience members. In doing this, these individual human hubs are utilising their transcultural capital to create a glocal version of flamenco culture. In the case of flamenco, while sometimes criticised by purist Andalucians as cultural dilution, this actually benefits the art form by creating significant economic benefits in Spain, which manifests in the form of a cultural industry.

Flamenco is an intriguing case in that despite its place-based identity and historical context, many Spaniards do not associate their identity with flamenco. It has a larger following outside of Spain than within. It is primarily transported outside the country by foreigners. Inside of Spain, flamenco is marketed to foreigners – as audience members and students – as opposed to other Spanish people. In Spain, natives really only attend a show if they are actually aficionados, not those from outside the flamenco world – and even they would not pay the expensive admission price for a *tablaó* show. While my foreign focus in this thesis is on the UK, I conducted formal interviews and informal chats with aficionados from the U.S., Mexico, Taiwan, Canada, and Japan. They confirmed my observations regarding Cosmopolitan Hubs being the primary cultural brokers and scene maintainers. It seems to be the norm for flamenco scenes to be driven by members of the home country, although they preserve a connection with the Andalusian version. Spanish artists were brought in as visiting performers and workshop technicians, but in general, were not a constant presence. Foreigners are the main carriers and creators of flamenco scenes abroad. Therefore, I maintain that flamenco culture itself is global – with its cultural capital resting firmly in Andalucía and its economic capital in the hands of intrigued foreigners some of whom combine these to utilise transcultural capital and singlehandedly create glocal scenes in their home countries. This is similar to Psytrance creating glocal variations of the Goan ethos and scene.

In this context, we see the emergence of extended social and cultural capital, which contributes to the cosmopolitan hub's transcultural capital. This extended social and cultural capital exists due to pre-existing capital in their home country. This greatly enhances the individual's capacity to facilitate economic capital and create a glocal 'scene'. This is information that Spanish artists generally do not possess which is a possible reason why they are not generally culture brokers and hubs in these foreign locales. They nonetheless benefit in the form of social remittances realised in Spain and stints as visiting teachers and performers. These Cosmopolitan Hubs enact variations which comply with UK cultural norms, expanding the ability for them to create economic capital. Noemi explains her use of transcultural capital when performing in the UK as understanding what it means to be British:

They treat it as a concert. They don't know about *jaleos* and won't make a noise. They feel like they're ignorant if you egg them on too much. I'm English, so I understand English

people. [...] Little by little I let them in. I get them to laugh, to warm up and feel more comfortable. Then they enjoy it more if they are comfortable and relax, and really experience flamenco. It is just a different culture, a different way of communicating, but we are communicating. The only way an artist would understand how to communicate with an English audience is coming from that culture.⁷³

This quote represents the glocal variations that inform how flamenco travels abroad, largely communicated by individual Cosmopolitan Hubs, who also nurture the Spanish scene through the economic sector whilst receiving cultural and social capital from Andalucía. On a local level, they singlehandedly create a glocal culture in an unfamiliar environment through transcultural capital and connections with perceptions and realities of the original culture.

7.6 Conclusion: Postnational, Glocal, Network, Hubs, New Theory

Flamenco presents a unique challenge in understanding its status in a globalised music environment. On one hand, it is an incredibly place-based phenomenon, with roots firmly planted in the small taverns and plazas of Andalucía. Aficionados there are extremely protective of the culture and insistent on maintaining its purity. However, when the researcher gazes beyond the government and tourist propaganda, ignoring the assumptions made by those external to the scene, the picture is a bit more convoluted. It is a sub-culture shunned by most Spaniards, claimed as an identity by a comparative few. It is, however, embraced by small groups of foreigners hailing from practically every country in the world. This makes it necessary to consider flamenco in a postnational light. Given that flamenco cannot be an exact replica outside of its home environs, foreign versions manifest in the form of glocal variations. These are inspired by the Andalucían scene, but with alterations to ensure they are palatable to the new locale. Flamenco is transmitted primarily by foreign individuals (Cosmopolitan Hubs) who possess transcultural capital encompassing social and cultural capital from the Andalucían flamenco community, as well as from their home country, which are utilised to create economic capital in the UK. Overall this research suggests an alternative, postnational, model (Cosmopolitan Hubs) which describes how global music cultures travel and glocalize in a world that is becoming increasingly less focused on ethnicity or nationality for the formation of individual identities.

⁷³ Noemi Luz interview, January 2014.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

Through a detailed cross-cultural qualitative study, this thesis has explored flamenco's place in the global flow. It has proposed modes of thought which allow us to make sense of how local flamenco culture has travelled and been reinterpreted outside of its historic Andalucían borders. Furthermore, it has provided an opportunity to problematize notions of identity and how some travelling music cultures, such as flamenco, under the right socio-political conditions, can erode fixed geo-political boundaries to create a postnational artistic conglomerate. It is an art complex that historically has been assigned as a marker of identity to those within Spain and Andalucía by national and regional governments. This has created false assumptions amongst those outside of the immediate flamenco scene (both at home in Spain and abroad). Nonetheless, a steady stream of foreigners from across the world has embraced flamenco and travel to Spain to gain an understanding of the art complex in its original context. Hence, labelling it as 'postnational' allows the researcher to designate it as a culture which, while rooted in a particular location, is one whose devotees are no longer limited by borders. However, when flamenco moves to these new localities, the rules under which it was initially established no longer apply. New cultural and historical truths must be negotiated and decisions made by those establishing the culture in a foreign clime. British aficionados who strive to emulate their perception of the Andalucían version must make decisions based on their knowledge of UK cultural norms and expectations. This results in variations localised to the UK but which still reach towards Andalucían flamenco for inspiration, thus necessitating a glocal cultural model. Significantly, UK scenes are predominantly created by native British individuals who discover an affinity to the art complex, form transcultural connections with the Andalucían scene, and are almost entirely responsible for the maintenance of a flamenco community in their home country. Building upon Kiwan and Meinhof's musical migration theory of hubs, I refer to these individuals as Cosmopolitan Hubs.

8.1 Flamenco ‘Authenticity’ and the Individual

This thesis has discussed the effects of globalisation on the scene in Andalucía and the influence of the individual in transmitting and creating the culture outside of Spain. What it has avoided is any sort of value judgment involving the foreigner’s ability to grasp flamenco and re-create it ‘authentically’. Yet, this is a question I wrestled with throughout the duration of this research. As alluded to earlier, globalisation theorists also grapple with the quandary of music globalisation, homogenisation, and authenticity. Perceptions of authenticity shadow the foreign flamenco performer, both in Spain and when they return home. Pohren, in his flamenco ethnography in the 1950s, observed that regardless of the non-Spaniard’s flamenco adeptness, they will always be referred to as ‘that fellow who performs well [...] considering he is a foreigner’.¹

To answer criticisms regarding globalisation and homogenisation, it is necessary first to ask: what is authentic flamenco? This is a difficult question to address; even amongst Andalusian aficionados, finding a definitive consensus would be unlikely. One person’s ideal of excellence is their friend’s idea of a soulless artistic tragedy. The dividing lines are ambiguous: sometimes they are based on ethnicity, other times the discord occurs between particular regions or villages. Still others prefer the more traditional interpretations to the fusions or themed stage shows which have become common in the bigger festivals (although these tend to be marketed to foreign aficionados). *Gitanos* think *payos* do not express the music properly, whilst the latter believes that when the former shows up at a *juergas*, they ruin the *compás*.² Aficionados from East Andalucía sometimes believe those from the west do not understand particular *palos*, whilst some from Jerez harbour the opinion that Sevillano flamenco does not ‘swing’ enough. Most from Andalucía believe flamenco from Madrid is technically brilliant but lacks the soul that can only be learnt while immersed in its homeland.³ This ethnic essentialism and regionalism as applied to flamenco is well depicted in Elizabeth Kinder’s 2013 BBC programme ‘Flamenco: Gypsy Soul’.⁴ Whilst the documentary itself contains numerous factual inaccuracies, simplifications, and omissions, the interviews she conducts with famous artists

¹ Pohren, p. 78.

² Javier Martín interview, July 2014; Luis Perez interview, July 2015.

³ Machin-Autenrieth (2015), p. 16; Ramon Ruiz interview, May 2015.

⁴ ‘Flamenco: Gypsy Soul’ (BBC Four Documentary, 2013).

across Andalucía are indicative of a lack of cohesiveness when it comes to aesthetics: no matter which city or town Kinder is in, the performers tell her that it is flamenco's birthplace and they are the only ones who correctly perform *real* flamenco.⁵ Prominent *tablaó* singer Ana Real imparted:

I have my own authenticity and you have yours, my brother, a guitar player, has his It is very difficult to know the quality of each one. The definition of *pureza* is not established. *Pureza* for me can be Israel [Galvan] and for you, Eva Yerbabuena, Camarón, or Mica Matín, it is very subjective. Thirty-nine years of singing and I don't know what *pureza* is.⁶

The reasons for these discrepancies are purely speculative. Flamenco, until the latter part of the twentieth century, has existed primarily as an oral tradition and, indeed, is still usually taught that way in Andalucía. It is a compilation of many different *palos* which originated from different ethnic groups and locations. Flamenco has continued to evolve as it comes into contact with different music cultures and foreign audiences. Beyond this, it is an art complex whose general aesthetics and emotional feel is based on individual expression. Whilst numerous flamencologists, *concursos*, the Andalusian government, and UNESCO have attempted to place flamenco into a musical museum, it remains artistically subjective. The most cohesive, inarguable definition I have gathered breaks down to flamenco's basic components: 'authentic' flamenco is *baile, cante, toque, percusión, and jaleo* based on various aspects of Andalusian culture. It is composed of a number of *palos* which, in themselves, are defined by distinctive artistic specifications and a rhythmic backbone – the *compás*. Beyond these basics, flamenco becomes incredibly subjective. Along this line of reasoning, Ana commented:

For me, all these things we are speaking of, authenticity, *pureza*, they do not exist. If I am sitting in a theatre and you are singing and I am feeling something. That is it. It is difficult to define a good artist and bad artist. Flamenco is a very strange culture because it is difficult to define something authentic. *Pureza* is *duende*.⁷

Duende is a difficult concept to define or quantify, especially in an academic context, but it is also what most will agree is the definition of an 'authentic' flamenco performer – the ability to find and communicate *duende*. It is, in a way, a spirit of evocation which emanates a physical or emotional

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ana Real interview, January 2014.

⁷ Ibid.

response, and is embodied in the performer's ability to communicate their feelings through flamenco.

The poet Federico García Lorca defines *duende* as:

[...] a power, not a work. It is a struggle, not a thought. I have heard an old maestro of the guitar say, 'The duende is not in the throat; the duende climbs up inside you, from the soles of the feet.' Meaning this: it is not a question of ability, but of true, living style, of blood, of the most ancient culture, of spontaneous creation.' He suggests, 'everything that has black sounds in it, has duende. [i.e. emotional "darkness"] [...] This 'mysterious power which everyone senses and no philosopher explains' is, in sum, the spirit of the earth [...] The duende's arrival always means a radical change in forms. It brings to old planes unknown feelings of freshness, with the quality of something newly created, like a miracle, and it produces an almost religious enthusiasm.⁸

The vagueness of this concept is difficult to reconcile, however similar definitions have been echoed by numerous informants. Ana described it as a 'magical, existential moment' that she has felt many times during her singing career and as an audience member. She explains 'I don't know the reason why, but in a moment you don't see the public; I close my eyes and I see colours, hear the claps, the guitar, and just sing.'⁹ For me, *duende* is the performer's ability to access and communicate their emotions through flamenco and, reciprocally, the individual audience member's openness to connect and understand them.

8.2 'Authenticity' and the foreign aficionado

The ambiguity and subjectivity of flamenco within Spain makes classifying 'authenticity' problematic. However, these discrepancies actually lend credence to the capacity for the foreigner to grasp flamenco to the same level as the Andalucían. The only aspects flamenco aficionados agree on is an understanding of the culture, the technique, and, above all, the ability to access and communicate deep emotions on an existential level. In terms of what this says about 'authentic flamenco', I understand it as performing truthfully to one's self and bringing receptive audience members into those magic moments.

Sue Miller discusses concepts of musical 'authenticity' and finds that the term can refer to the performer's ethnicity or the 'execution of the music [style]'.¹⁰ She purports that it should be feasible

⁸ Federico García Lorca, 'Teoría y juego del duende' ("Theory and Play of the Duende"); ed by Christopher Maurer (1998) pp. 48-62.

⁹ Ana Real interview, January 2014.

¹⁰ Miller, p. 102.

and acceptable to engage with music styles not from one's home country and 'we must therefore embrace the fact that as music travels, it undergoes modification wherever it settles due to the creativity and curiosity of human beings'.¹¹ I speculate that this is true of flamenco. In order for one to be good at it, the first step is to learn the tools with which to express it – the elements, how these interact with each other and the Andalucían culture. However, the second and arguably more important step is to find *duende*. This is the ability to send and receive authentic emotions to one's fellow performers and audience.

Duende, with its direct link with human emotions, like grief, love, ecstasy, and anger, transcends issues such as ethnicity and nationality. Good flamencos bring the audience in by not only physical skills but the innate ability to communicate authentic emotions. Ultimately, each artist brings not only this knowledge, but also their own individual emotions, personal cultural background, and past joys and sorrows to the table. It is the ability to truthfully express these very human emotions within a flamenco context, which is perfectly engineered for such heartfelt renderings, that separates good from the bad flamenco practitioners. A would-be flamenco (of any ethnicity) could have perfect *compás* and technique, but an inability to apply their own feelings to the performance would leave a knowledgeable audience dissatisfied.

In interviews, I often asked flamenco aficionados (foreign and Spanish) how they could tell if a student 'got' flamenco? Was it different teaching and performing in Spain versus in the UK? These sorts of questions were usually met with some degree of pensive uncertainty. Usually, the answer had to do with whether the student was comfortable enough with the styles to improvise and move with the music instead of always having to count *compás* beats, but more importantly is whether they understood *duende*. For as much as someone can transmit 'authentic' techniques to students, *duende* cannot be taught, it has to be discovered. Familiarity with the techniques is necessary but not sufficient to achieving *duende* and flamenco excellence. On a personal note, I first experienced *duende* after I had been studying flamenco for four years. I was visiting Andalucía on a research trip shortly after the death of my father and desperately trying to come to grips with my research again. I

¹¹ Ibid, p. 102.

decided to take a brief detour on my journey from Málaga to Córdoba and attend a flamenco festival in the quiet town of Linares. Arriving on a blisteringly hot summer afternoon, I walked straight to the theatre and bought a ticket for the *Concurso de Cante Libre* that evening (€10 for a second row seat). I, at that point, was not a fan of *cante*, but the headline act was the legendary Carmen Linares (who happened to be from that town). That evening, sitting amongst local aficionados, and listening to Carmen's haunting voice, I discovered *duende*. I did not understand most of her words, but the *cante* cut straight to core emotions of love and grief, and I cried. It was the first time I really felt I came to terms both with death and flamenco and reminded me that my heart was broken, but I was still there, clapping *palmas* with this amazing *cantaora*. Flamenco may be foreign to many who love and practise it, but the emotions being expressed are not.

Flamenco is something that can be understood by foreigners who find *duende* and understand how to utilise flamenco to express it. Whether or not foreign involvement dilutes the art complex is reflected in how it is taught to the Cosmopolitan Hubs who will carry it back home. Flamenco is about communicating aspects of the human condition in response to the surrounding culture, so as long as foreign aficionados stay true to that concept in combination with the *compás*, the danger of dilution seems minimal. There is a global paradox in cultural industries, where on one side a need is felt to maintain its 'place-based identity', and the other suggests the necessity for regional cultures to establish export markets in order to survive.¹² Flamenco might not have survived the Franco regime if not for corresponding attempts to develop it as a sort of 'staged authenticity' by businesses, artists, and the nation-state.¹³ One might argue that this peril lies more in the hands of Spain, than the foreign aficionados. They are the gatekeepers who determine what is experienced by foreign audiences. Aoyama surmises that in the era of globalisation (which we are now in) cultural survival is a carefully orchestrated act which involves 'artists, businesses, and the state offering services and venues for efficient consumption.'¹⁴

¹² Aoyama (2007), p. 103.

¹³ Aoyama (2009), p. 98.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 99.

In many ways, flamenco is reliant on external interest for its survival, at least as an industry. As Tomlinson emphasises, cultures did not exist in a vacuum prior to our current era and cultural identity is more of a product of globalisation than its victim.¹⁵ Flamenco culture is no exception. It has been continuously reinterpreted with varying elements emphasised or de-emphasised depending on contexts, such as its usage for Spanish national unity, as an Andalucían marker of identity, as a *Gitano* art form representing subcultural elements, or as a resistance to authority. Most significantly are the many multicultural influences which have assigned multiple meanings to its representation across its history, including a certain susceptibility to consumer manipulation.¹⁶ Because of this, decisions made by Cosmopolitan Hubs and those who convey flamenco to them in Spain affect whether or not flamenco is diluted, but at least in the case of the UK scene, it has evolved in the image of Robertson's glocal model. These human transcultural contact points enable occasions for exchange, transmission, and variation. Flamenco's evolution into a glocal art complex has transpired as a result of cultures in contact, so to put it in a museum because of fears of dilution would serve to incarcerate the quality that most defines it: the ability to respond to external factors and express individual emotions.

8.3 Original contribution and Future Research

My research has contributed to research areas of ethnomusicological scholarship, flamencology, and music globalisation in several distinctive ways. First, it adds to the limited scholarship regarding music and migration, specifically with regards to individual transmission and scene creation abroad. I accomplish this through examinations of how individuals travel with foreign music and influence its usage in new locations. Second, it suggests a new 'glocal' reading of flamenco, which involves an examination of the previously hidden ex-pat subculture in Sevilla, as well as the transcultural interactions which occur and affect that scene. Third, I examine how flamenco has manifested in a UK cultural environment. Fourth, my research suggests a prototype for a transcultural flamenco scene which rests on the concept of 'glocalization'. I depict foreign scenes constantly look to the

¹⁵ Tomlinson, p. 269.

¹⁶ Aoyama (2007), p. 105.

Andalucían scene for guidance, whilst adjusting to local (in this case, British) norms and demands; thus subverting worries about cultural dilution. Finally, I propose a new model for musical migration in the Cosmopolitan Hub, which accounts for the assumption of a foreign music as individual identity, as well as the role of foreigners who utilise transcultural capital to perpetuate music migration.

Although my concept of Cosmopolitan Hubs rested primarily on flamenco research in Spain and the UK, I believe that these instances of foreigners actually becoming the culture bearers of a foreign culture in a foreign country will only become more prevalent. As easy access to foreign cultures via travel and the internet persist, individuals will become increasingly interested in cultures that are not their own to the extent that they will travel to the music's origin country and bring it back to their own to transmit. An example of this already exists in the form of Leeds' vibrant salsa music community. There are eight salsa groups (and numerous unaffiliated singers and musicians) made up primarily of British (or at least non-Cuban) members. While the scene has existed on a miniscule level for many years, it began to blossom in 1998 when Sue Miller formed the band 'Charanga del Norte' and began teaching Cuban big band music at Leeds College of Music. She transmitted knowledge gained while studying flute in Cuba to members of the local British community. Every current salsa/Cuban music group in Leeds has members that partook of Sue's teachings. This necessitates a model such as the one I have proposed – cosmopolitan hubs.

The concept of 'cosmopolitan hubs' opens up an important area for further research – not only on the practices of these cultural brokers themselves, but also regarding the effects of transcultural exchange on the Andalucían scene. Furthermore, research on the effects of commercialisation and tourism on the propensity of individual Andalucíans adopting flamenco as an identity and on the artistic decisions they make in response to foreign expectations. This would shed light on whether flamenco relies on foreign interest for survival. Expanding the area of study to include Madrid would provide another interesting angle on flamenco globalisation as it is acknowledged within the Spanish flamenco community as the most important locale for professionalization. Work is currently in progress on this topic, but it was beyond the scope of this thesis to incorporate it.

Overall, this thesis signifies advancement in flamenco and cultural migration scholarship. With regards to existing flamencology research, it is often informed by a stationary depiction of the art complex, one that does not account for local variations and transcultural influences. These are glaring omissions in a world that will only become increasingly interconnected. Because of its postnational status, flamenco can also no longer be essentialised along ethnic or regional parameters. It must be considered as a culture which spans borders and is established glocally. My research marks an advancement in cultural migration literature in that it accounts for the individual's role in creating music scenes, and, more importantly, the phenomenon of foreign cultural brokers facilitating music cultural travels and subsequent scene creation. In order to accomplish this, I expanded Kiwan and Meinhof's 'hub' network migration model to include 'Cosmopolitan Hubs'.

Cosmopolitan Hubs and their transcultural connections need to recognise that, despite multifarious concepts of 'authenticity', glocal variations and transcultural connections must account for the basic elements which inform flamenco's identity as an art complex: the *duende* which characterises individual emotional expression and the *compás* which grounds this mystical force into the material world and must remain ever-present not only on flamenco's world tour, but also on the individual flamenco journey.



Figure 8:1 The author, performing flamenco with a Baroque quintet

Appendix A: Glossary of Spanish Terms

Aficionado: Flamenco enthusiast who may or may not perform, but has a passion for it that borders on obsession

Aire: Ambience

Alegrías, originating in Cadíz, is a jovial song and dance which has a *compás* consisting of 12 beats.

Bata de cola: A flamenco dress with a long train

Braceo: Flamenco arm and wrist work

Baile: Flamenco dance

Bailaor/a: Flamenco dancer

Bulerías is rapid and spirited, although oftentimes grave, and characterised by a 12-beat *compás* and impulsively-placed *coplas*

Cajón: A wooden box drum

Cante: Flamenco song, lyrics often written by the *cantaor* reflecting personal experience, with themes like love, death, fate, and social-political commentary

Cantaor/a: Flamenco singer

Cierre: Footwork or guitar pattern signalling the end of a flamenco piece

Compás: Flamenco beat

Concurso/s: Competitions

Coplas: Short verses, like stanzas

Cuadro: Flamenco performing group usually consisting of a dancer, singer, guitarist, and percussion

Cuña de flamenco: a city considered a birthplace of flamenco

Duende: Literally, "spirit" of "demon"; suggesting possession

Espectáculo: A flamenco performance

Farruca: A flamenco *palo* typically danced by males with no lyrics

Falseta: A melody played on the flamenco guitar, sometimes as an introduction or bridge

Fandango: is a version of a 17th century Spanish folk dance with roots as far back as the Arab invasion. It features the use of castanets and a 6-beat *compás*

Feria: A local Spanish street festival

Fin de fiesta: ‘End of the Party’; the end of a flamenco show where dancers or singers from the audience can come on stage and improvise

Flamenco Puro: Pure flamenco, the most traditional variety

Flamenca Británica: My term for the British interpretation of flamenco

Gitano/a: Andalusian Gypsy

Guiri: A foreign flamenco student or performer

Hermanidades: Brotherhoods

Jaleo: ‘Hell-raising’, audience participation at flamenco performances

Juerga: A type of flamenco party or jam session

Llamada: A dance movement signalling a change of end of section

Letra: Flamenco lyrics

Mantones: Traditional Andalusian scarves

Nivel: Level

Palmas: Rhythmic hand-clapping used to accompany flamenco song and dance

Palmera: One who performs *palmas*

Pataitas: Short sections of footwork, usually the length of a few *coplas*

Palo: General term for a flamenco genre

Payo: A non-*Gitano* Andalusian

Peña: A type of flamenco club or performance

Saeta: A flamenco *palo* originating from Jewish religious songs

Sardana: Folk dance from Cataluña

Sevillanas: a Spanish country dance, not considered flamenco in Spain

Siguiriya: A type of *palo*

Soleá: A flamenco *palo*. Consists of 12 beats with accents on the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 10th, and 12th

Tablao: A Spanish cabaret-like performance venue

Taverna: A small Spanish café or bar

Tientos: A type of *palo*

Tocacor/a: Flamenco guitarist

Toque: The guitar element of flamenco

Traje de flamenco: flamenco clothes

Zapateado: flamenco footwork

Appendix B: Cast of Characters

Ana Real: Sevillana flamenco *tablaó* singer; interviewed January 2014

Antonio Cafuco: Flamenco guitarist from Málaga; met in UK trying to find flamenco work there; interviewed 2014

Brenda: Head of Flamenco Manchester [deceased]; interviewed 2011

Carmen de Torres: Internationally performing flamenco dancer from Castilleja de la Cuesta (Sevilla); president of Flamenco de Liverpool; interviewed February 2012

Chian: Taiwanese flamenco dancer studying in Sevilla; interviewed February 2014

Chloé Brule: Canadian flamenco dancer who has professionalised in Sevilla

Christina Heeren: head of largest flamenco school in Sevilla

Christine Stockton: Head of Deva Flamenco in Chester; interviewed 2011

Emily Winter: Current organiser of Leeds Peña.

Jazmin: Argentinian flamenco dancer living in Sevilla; interviewed February 2014

Liam: French-British flamenco guitarist living in Sevilla; member of Dot-Dot-Dot flamenco; interviewed February 2014

Maria Pereira: French-Spanish flamenco dancer living in Sevilla; interviewed January 2014

Maru: Sevillana friend who does not like flamenco; interviewed February 2014

Minna: Finnish flamenco dancer in Liverpool

Nemmy Hatch: Flamenco teacher in Matlock Bath (UK); interviewed October 2013

Noemi Luz: British flamenco dancer living in Sevilla; member of Dot-Dot-Dot Flamenco; interviewed January 2014

Paco Benetiz: Sevillano flamenco aficionado and civil servant; interviewed January 2014

Particia Skeet: Head of Hebden Bridge Flamenco; interviewed 2011

Pepa Rubio: Amateur cajón player in Sevilla, formerly lived in Newcastle; interviewed February 2014

Ramon Ruiz: Spanish-South African guitarist, formerly in Sevilla, now living and performing in London; interviewed May 2015

Ron Hitchens: Nonagenarian Chinese-British stalwart of the London flamenco scene; interviewed June 2015

Rosi Reed: Head of Camino del Flamenco in Oxford; interviewed June 2015

Samuel Guterrez: Young Sevillano guitarist who moved to England in an attempt to find flamenco work; interviewed 2014

Tino van der Sman: Dutch guitarist who has crated a professional career in Sevilla

Trish Anderton: British Head of Peña Flamenca de Liverpool; interviewed May 2012

Vera King: Former journalist; head and founding member of Peña Flamenca de Londres; interviewed May 2015

Yinka Graves: Afro-British flamenco dancer living in Sevilla; part of Dot-Dot-Dot flamenco; interviewed November 2015

Yolanda Heredia: Current *Gitana* dancer, teacher of Noemi Luz; Interviewed February 2014

Bibliography

Abra, Allison, 'Dancing in the English Style: Professionalisation, Public Preference, and the Evolution of Popular Dance in 1920s Britain', in *Leisure and Cultural Conflict in Twentieth-Century Britain*, ed. by Brett Bebbler (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 41-62.

Adler, Peter, 'Beyond Cultural Identity: reflections on Cultural and Multicultural Man', in *Culture Learning: Concepts, applications and research*, ed. by R. W. Brislin, (Hawaii: East-West Center Press, 1977), 24-41

Afinoguénova, Eugenia, 'Unity, stability, continuity': heritage and the renovation of Franco's dictatorship in Spain, 1957-1969', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16.1 (2010), 417-433

Afinoguénova, Eugenia and Jaume Martí-Olivella, *Spain is (still) different: Tourism and Discourse in Spanish Identity* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2008)

Alvarez Junco, José, *Spanish History since 1808* (London: Bloomsbury, 2000)

Aoyama, Yuko 'The Role of Consumption and Globalisation in a Cultural Industry', *Geoforum*, 38 (2007), 103-113

---- 'Artists, Tourists, and the State: Cultural Tourism and the Flamenco Industry in Andalusia, Spain', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33.1 (March 2009), 80-104

Appadurai, Arjun, 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy', *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol. 7 (SAGE: London 1990), 295-310

Baulcombe, Harry, 'Folk Festivals at the Hall, 1927-1984', (13 Jan, 2014)

<http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/news/2014/january/folk-festivals-at-the-hall-1927-1984/>, [Accessed December 2015]

Baltanás, Enrique, 'The Fatigue of the Nation: Flamenco as the basis for heretical identities', in *Songs of the Minotaur: Hybridity and Popular Music in the Age of Globalization*, ed. by Gerhard Steingress (London: Transaction Publishers, 2002), 139-168

Barbaret, Rosemary and Elisa García-España, 'Minorities, Crime, and Criminal Justice in Spain', in *Minorities, Migrants, and Crime: Diversity and Similarity across Europe and the United States*, ed. by Ineke Haen Marshall (California: Sage Publications, 1997), 175-197

Barth, Fredric, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Boston: Little Brown Books, 1969)

Barton, Simon, *A History of Spain* (London: Palgrave MacMillan 2009)

Barz, Gregory and Timothy J. Cooley, *Shadows in the Field: new perspectives for fieldwork in ethnomusicology*, 2nd edition (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)

Baudrillard, Jean, *Simulacra and Simulation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994)

Beck, Ulrich, 'The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies', *Theory, Culture, and Society*, 19.1-2 (2002), pp. 17-44

Becker, Howard, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984)

Bennett, Andy, 'Researching youth culture and popular music: a methodological critique', *British Journal of Sociology*, 53.3 (September 2002), pp. 451-466

- 'Consolidating the Music Scenes Perspective', *Poetics*, 32 (2004), 223-234
- Blacking, John, *Music, culture and experience: selected papers of John Blacking* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995),
- Blas Vega, José, *Flamenco en Madrid*, (Córdoba: Editorial Almuzara, 2006)
- Bloor, Michael and Fiona Wood, *Keywords in Qualitative Methods: A Vocabulary of Research Concepts* (London: SAGE Publications, 2006)
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 'The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups', *Theory and Society*, 14.6 (1985), 723-744
- 'The Forms of Capital', in *Education: Culture, Economy and Society*, ed. by A. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown & A Stuart Wells, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 46-58
- Brown, Irving Henry *Deep Song: Adventures with Gypsy Songs and Singers in Andalusia and Other Lands* (New York, London: Harper & Brothers, 1929).
- Burkhalter, Thomas, *Local Music Scenes and Globalization: Transnational Platforms in Beirut*, (Oxford: Routledge, 2013)
- Clifford, James, *The Predicament of Culture: twentieth-century ethnography, literature, and art* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 14
- Cohen, Anthony, *Self-Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1994)
- Comaroff, John and Jean Comaroff, 'Ethnography on an Awkward Scale: Postcolonial anthropology and the violence of abstraction', *Ethnography*, 4.2 (2003), 291-324
- Corona, Ignacio and Alejandro Madrid, *Postnational Music Identities: Cultural Production, Distribution, and Consumption in a Globalized Scenario* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2008)
- Cristina Heeren Foundation, 2014, < <http://www.flamencoheeren.com/en/>> [Accessed January 30, 1016]
- De la Fuente, Eduardo, 'Signs and wonders', *Times Educational Supplement*, (June 2, 2011), p. 39-40
- Deleuze, Gilles and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1993)
- Eisentraut, Jochen, 'Samba in Wales: Making sense of Adopted Music', *British Forum for Ethnomusicology*, 10.1 *Music and Meaning* (2001), pp. 85-105
- Escuela de Baile, 'About Us', <http://ledb.co.uk/about-us/>, [Accessed December 2015]
- Feld, Steven, *Music Grooves: Essays and Dialogues* (Tuscon: Fenestra, 1994)
- Ferguson, Marjorie, 'The Mythology about Globalization', *European Journal of Communication*, 7 (1992), 69-93
- Fernandez, Lola, *Flamenco Music Theory: Rhythm, Harmony, Melody, Form* (London: Mel Bay Publications, 2005).
- Finnegan, Ruth, *The Hidden Musicians* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2007)
- Flamenco: Gypsy Dance and Music from Andalusia*, ed. by Claus Schreiner (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1990).

- Floyd, Lois Gray and Bertha B. Quintana, *!Qué Gitano!: Gypsies of Southern Spain* (New York: Hold, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).
- Geertz, Clifford, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 2000)
- Giddens, Anthony, *Modernity and Self-identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991)
- *The Third Way and Its Critics* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000)
- Glick Schiller, Nina and Thomas Faist, eds., *Migration Development, and Transnationalization: A Critical Stance* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010).
- Gramsci, Antonio, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2003)
- Hamelink, Cees T., *Cultural Autonomy in Global Communications* (New York: Longman 1983)
- Hannerz, Ulf, 'Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture', *Theory, Culture, Society*, 7 (1990), 237-251
- 'Notes on a Global Ecumene', *Public Culture*, 1.2 (Spring 1999), 66-75
- 'The Two Faces of Cosmopolitanism: Culture and Politics', CIDOB edicions, Barcelona, (2005), 5-29
- Heffner Hayes, Michelle, *Flamenco: Conflicting Histories of the Dance* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc. 2009)
- Herskovits, Melville J., 'African gods and Catholic saints in New World Negro belief' *American Anthropologist*, 39.4 (Oct. - Dec. 1937), 635- 643
- Holton, Kimberly DaCosta, 'Like Blood in Your Mouth: Topographies of Flamenco Voice and Pedagogy in Diaspora', *Text and Performance Quarterly*, 18 (1998), 300-318
- Holton, R. J., *Global Networks* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008)
- Hoy, 'Extremadura critica que Andalucía quiera la exclusividad del flamenco' (8/6/2006)
- Ingelmo, Luis and Michael Smith, *Cantes Flamencos: The Deep Songs of Spain* (Bristol: Shearsman Books 2012)
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2016, <http://www.ine.es/jaxi/tabla.do> [Accessed January 31, 2016]
- Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escenicas Y De La Música, 'Merche Esmeralda Biography', <http://www.danza.es/multimedia/biografias/merche-esmeralda>, [accessed 31 Jan, 2015].
- 'Jean Baudrillard', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2007)
<<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ baudrillard/>>, [Accessed February 2013].
- Junta de Andalucía (2012) < <http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/iaf/opencms/portal/>> [25/05/2012]
- Katz, Israel J., 'The Traditional Folk Music of Spain: Explorations and Perspectives', *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*, 6 (1974), 64-85
- Keating, Michael and Alex Wilson, 'Renegotiating the State of Autonomies: Statute Reform and Multi-level Politics in Spain', *West European Politics*, 32.3 (2009), 536-558
- Kiwan, Nadia and Ulrike Meinhof, 'Music and Migration: A Transnational Approach', *Music and Arts in Action*, 3.3 (2011), 3-20

- *Cultural Globalization and Music: African Musicians in Transnational Networks* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011a)
- Knudsen, Jan, 'Music of the Multiethnic Minority: A Postnational Perspective', *Music and Arts in Action*, 3.3 (2011), 77-91
- Kurekova, Lucia, 'Theories of Migration: Conceptual review and empirical testing in the context of the EU East-West flows', Paper prepared for Interdisciplinary conference on Migration. Economic Change, Social Challenge. April 6-9, 2011, University College London
- Leake, Jerry, 'Flamenco Compás for Alegrías: Analysis of the 12-pulse *palmas* (clapping) rhythm and its relationship to the standard African bell pattern', *Percussive Notes* (April 2008).
- Levitt, Peggy, 'Social Remittances: Migration Driven Local-Level Forms of Cultural Diffusion', *International Migration Review*, 32.4 (Winter, 1998), 926-948
- Lyndon's Coffee, 'UK Coffee Revolution, the Third Wave?', 01/04/2013, <http://lyndonscoffee.com/uk-coffee-revolution/>, [Accessed February 2015].
- Lortat-Jacobs, Bernard, *Sardinian Chronicles*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995)
- Machin-Auchenreith, Matthew, 'Andalucía flamenca: Music, Regionalism and Identity in Southern Spain' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cardiff, 2013)
- 'Flamenco ¿Algo Nuestro? (Something of Ours?): Music, Regionalism and Political Geography in Andalusia, Spain', *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 24.1 (2015), 4-27
- Malefyt, Timothy D., "'Inside" and "Outside" Spanish flamenco: Gender constructions in Andalusian concepts of flamenco tradition', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 71.2 (1998), pp. 63-73
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*, (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1922)
- Manuel, Peter 'Andalusian, Gypsy, and Class Identity in the Contemporary Flamenco Context', *Ethnomusicology*, 33.1 (Winter 1989), 47-65.
- 'From Scarlatti to "Guantanamo": Dual Tonicity in Spanish and Latin American Musics', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 55.2 (2002), 311-336
- 'Flamenco in Focus', in *Analytical Studies in World Music*, ed. by Michael Tenzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 92-119
- Marotta, Vince, 'The Multicultural, Intercultural and the Transcultural Subject', in *Global Perspectives on the Politics of Multiculturalism in the 21st Century: A Case Study Analysis*, ed. by Fethi Mansouri and Boulou Ebanda de B'béri (London: Routledge, 2014)
- Martí, Josep, 'Folk Music Studies and Ethnomusicology in Spain', *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 29 (1997), 107-140
- Martínez, Emma, *Flamenco...All You Wanted to Know* (London: Mel Bay Publications Inc, 2003)
- McRobbie, A. *Postmodernism and Popular Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994)
- The Mediterranean in Music: Critical Perspectives, Common Concerns, Cultural Differences*, ed. by David Cooper and Kevin Dawe (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2005)

- Meinhof, Ulrike and Anna Triandafyllidou, *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in a Changing Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)
- Miller, Sue 'Perceptions of authenticity in the performance of Cuban popular music in the United Kingdom: 'Globalized incuriosity' in the promotion and reception of UK-based Charanga del Norte's music since 1998', *Journal of European Popular Culture*, 4.1 (2013), pp. 99-116
- Mitchell, Tony, *Global Noise: Rap and Hip Hop Outside the USA* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2001)
- Morca, Teodoro, '*Becoming the Dance*': *Flamenco Spirit* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Pub. Co., 1990)
- Moreno Navarro, Isidoro, 'La identidad Andaluza en el marco del estado español, la union europea y la globalización', (2001), <http://www.andalucia.cc/adarve/IdentidadAndalucia-5.htm>
- Neild, Barry, 'Wall of Sound: Spain's Next Flamenco Stars', (February 11, 2015), <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/02/11/travel/seville-flamenco-cnngo/>
- O'Reilly, Karen, *Key Concepts in Ethnography* (London: Sage Publications 2009)
- *Ethnographic Methods*, 2nd edition (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012)
- Office for National Statistics, 'Underlying Datasheets for Population by Country of Birth and Nationality', www.ons.gov.uk, [Accessed February 2016]
- 'Census Update', (2014) < <http://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/population-country-birth> >, [Accessed January 2016]
- Orellana, Rocío Plaza, *Bailes de Andalucía en Londres y París (1830-1850)* (Spain : Arambel Editores, 2005)
- Ortner, Sherry, *Anthropology and Social Theory* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006)
- Pack, Sasha, *Tourism and Dictatorship: Europe's Peaceful Invasion of Franco's Spain*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)
- 'Paco de Lucía', *All About Jazz* (2011) <<http://www.allaboutjazz.com/php/musician.php?id=6218>> [Accessed 26/8/2012]
- Papapavlou, Maria, 'The City as a Stage: Flamenco in Andalusian Culture', *Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Europe*, 3.2 (2003), 14-24
- Payne, Stanley G., *The Franco Regime, 1936-1975* (London: Phoenix 2000)
- Perez Orozco, José María, *Pensamiento politico en el cante flamenco*, (Barcelona: 1985)
- Pohren, D. E., *The Art of Flamenco*, (Jerez de la Frontera: Editorial Jerez Industrial, 1962)
- Prakash, Ajai and V. B. Singh, 'Glocalization in Food Business: Strategies of Adaptation to Local Needs and Demands', *Asian Journal of Technology and Management Research*, 1.1 (Jan-Jun 2011), 1-21
- Rice, Timothy, 'Time, Place, and Metaphor in Musical Experience and Ethnography', *Ethnomusicology*, 47.2 (2003), 151-179
- *May it Fill Your Soul: Experiencing Bulgarian Music*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994)

Rice, Timothy and Jesse D. Ruskin, 'The Individual in Musical Ethnography), *Ethnomusicology*, 56.2 (2012), 299-327

Rito y Geografía del Cante. Televisión Española. 1971-3

Robertson, Roland 'Glocalization: Time-Space, and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity', in *Global Modernities*, ed. by Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Robertson (London: Sage Publications 1995), pp. 24-44

--- 'Comments on the 'Global Triad' and 'Glocalization'', in *Globalization and Indigenous Culture*, ed. Nobutaka Inoe (Tokyo: Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, 1997), pp. 217-225

Roudometof, Victor, 'Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Glocalization', *Current Sociology*, 53.1 (January 2005) 113-135

Sadlers Wells, 'Flamenco Festival London', www.sadlerswells.com/whats-on/2016/flamenco-festival-london/, [Accessed December 2015]

St. John, Graham, *Local Scenes and Global Culture of Psytrance*. (London: Routledge 2010)

Schippers, Huib, 'Tradition, authenticity, and context: The case for a dynamic approach', *British Journal of Music Education*, 23.3 (Nov. 2006), 333-349

Spanish Steps. Dir. Anna Holmes. Independent. 2010

Starkie, Walter, 'Gypsy Folk Lore and Music', *Journal of English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 2. International Festival Number (1935), 83-91

Steingress, Gerhard and Enrique Baltanás, 'El Flamenco como Patrimonio Cultural o una Construcción Artificial más de la Identidad Andaluza', *Revista Andaluza de Ciencias Sociales*, 1 (2002), 43-64

Stock, Jonathan P. J., 'Toward an Ethnomusicology of the Individual or Biographical writing in Ethnomusicology', *The World of Music*, 43.1 (2001), 5-19

Stokes, Martin, 'On Musical Cosmopolitanism', *The Macalester International Roundtable 2007*. Paper 3.
<http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/intlrtable/3>, (2007), 1-19

Stone, Ruth M., *Theory for Ethnomusicology* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2008)

Straw, Will, 'Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change: Scenes and Communities in Popular Music', *Cultural Studies*, 5.3 (Oct. 1991) 361-375

Szerszynski, Bronislaw and John Urry, 'Cultures of Cosmopolitanism', *The Sociological Review*, 50.4 (2002), 462-481

Thiel-Cramér, Barbara, *Flamenco): The Art of Flamenco, Its History and Development until our Days*, (Lidngo, Sweden: REMARK, 1991)

Thomas, Katherine, 'Flamenco and Spanish Dance', *Dance Research Journal*, 34.1 (2002), 98-102

Tomlinson, John, 'Globalisation and Cultural Identity', in *The Global Transformations Reader*, 2nd Edition, ed. by David Held and Anthony McGraw (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 269-277

Tremlett, Giles, *Ghosts of Spain: Travels through a country's hidden past* (London: Faber & Faber, 2012)

Troubadour London, 'History', <http://www.troubadourlondon.com/history>, [Accessed January 2016]

Truth-Out.org, 'Flamenco Under Attack', <http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/27946-flamenco-under-attack>, [Accessed December 3, 2015].

Turino, Thomas, *Moving Away from Silence: Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993)

Urquía, Norman, 'The Re-Branding of Salsa in London's Dance Clubs: How an Ethnicised form of Cultural Capital was Institutionalised', *Leisure Studies*, 24.4 (2005), 385-397

Vetrovec, Steven, 'Three meanings of 'diaspora', exemplified among South Asian Religions', *Diaspora*, 7.2 (1999)

Washabaugh, William, *Flamenco: Passion, Politics and Popular Culture*, (Oxford: BERG, 1996)

--- 'Flamenco Music and Documentary', *Ethnomusicology*, 41.1 (1997), 51-67

--- 'Flamenco Documentaries of the Franco Era', *The Journal of Flamenco Artistry*, 3.2 (1997a), <<https://pantherfile.uwm.edu/wash/www/francojfa.htm>>

--- *The Passion of Music and Dance: Body, Gender and Sexuality* (Oxford: Berg, 1998)

--- *Flamenco Music and National Identity in Spain* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2012)

Webster, Jason, *Duende: A Journey in Search of Flamenco* (London: Doubleday, 2003)

Young, James O., *Cultural Appropriation and the Arts* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010)