Artists, Tourists, and the State: Cultural Tourism and the Flamenco Industry in Andalusia, Spain

YUKO AOYAMA

Abstract

In this article, I seek to demonstrate how research on cultural industries and tourism combined yields insights into the contemporary dynamics of cultural survival in the age of globalization. Tourism is increasingly an important economic force that facilitates cultural mobility and promotes cultural consumption, and in turn contributes to the growth of a regionally embedded cultural industry. I take the example of flamenco music and dance in southern Spain and focus on three agents that help shape this art complex — the cultural industry, the tourists and the state. I analyze how these agents interact, and show how their engagements at multiple geographic scales result in a distinctive and successful cultural tourism in Seville, Andalusia. The flamenco art complex survives and thrives today through the combination of resilient local talent closely linked to identity maintenance, domestic and foreign tourists that engage in cultural consumption, and the government subsidizing the artists through state-sponsored spectacles.

Introduction

How do regionally embedded art complexes survive and thrive in the age of globalization? In this article I examine how flamenco art is sustained through cultural tourism and generates a particular economic space in the region of Andalusia. Flamenco, the art complex that typically combines song (cante), dance (baile) and guitar music, originated in the early nineteenth century from the most economically and socially marginalized gypsy (gitano) communities in the Andalusian cities of Cadiz, Seville, and Jerez de la Frontera. Given its humble origin, it is a wonder that this regional culture survived to thrive in the age of globalization. Indeed, production of culture today involves a complex global–local paradox (Aoyama, 2007). On the one hand, production in cultural industries, comprising the learning, display and sale of literary and visual arts, crafts and music, is largely grounded in uniquely place-specific cultural heritages (see, e.g., Pratt, 1997; Scott, 1997; 2001; Gibson and Connell, 2003). Research on the production of cultural industries has shown that the location of talent plays an important role in its growth, and this finding has been useful in developing various local economic development strategies (see, for example, Florida, 2002; Markusen, 2006; Markusen and

1 Gypsy is the term traditionally used by Europeans as they were misunderstood to be Egyptians in origin. They are today increasingly referred to as ‘roma’ or ‘romani’, the word that means ‘people’ in their language. However the roma population of Spain is often regarded as distinctive from others as they long ceased to be nomadic and lost the language. I will therefore use the term gitano or the Spanish gypsies to refer to this population and also to distinguish them from the recent roma immigrants from Romania to Spain.

© 2009 The Author. Journal Compilation © 2009 Joint Editors and Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford OX4 2DQ, UK and 350 Main St, Malden, MA 02148, USA
Schlog, 2006). On the other hand, cultural industries are also increasingly dependent upon global demand for cultural commodities, through exports of culturally distinct music and art forms (Aoyama, 2007). The rise of cosmopolitan consumerism, i.e. the demand for distinctive cultural experiences particularly in advanced industrialized societies, reinforces the market for cultural commodities originating from and produced in distant locations. Regional cultures establish links to access global markets for their survival, thereby introducing complex global–local tensions which are sometimes even paradoxical to their place-based identity.

Today, tourism represents an aspect of this global–local nexus, where consumers seek to gain access to regional culture. As Milne and Ateljevic (2001: 381) suggest, ‘tourism needs to be placed in the context of the contemporary cultural economy, within which groups and individuals increasingly attempt to construct their identities by certain consumption preferences and lifestyle practices which signal taste and position in society’. Cultural industries, such as film, newspapers, TV, magazines, records and videos, are important contributors in shaping a certain ‘anticipation’, a process of re-representation of an area’s history and culture (Urry, 1995). MacCannell (1973) called such a process of re-representation ‘staged authenticity’, a carefully orchestrated process with multi-stakeholder involvement by the state and local businesses as well as artists.

The case of the flamenco industry in Andalusia serves as a useful example of such staged authenticity. As I shall show in subsequent sections, the survival of the flamenco art complex into the twenty-first century is by no means accidental. Instead, artists, tourists and the state played critical roles in staging authenticity and thereby sustaining this distinctive regionally embedded art form. In this article, I examine the region of Andalusia in southern Spain as both a site of production of a cultural industry organized around flamenco, as well as a destination of cultural tourism. I do so by analyzing the three key agents which constitute flamenco tourism — the businesses involved in flamenco (producers, artists and related business services), the tourists and the state — and explore how these agents combined contribute to the survival of this art form. Through the active participation of tourists, particularly international tourists, the region of Andalusia has, I argue, successfully generated a co-dependent relationship in which a regionally embedded art complex is financed, produced and consumed. In particular, as I shall show, international tourism as promoted by the Spanish state successfully marketed the art complex and developed aficionados around the world. Thus, combined with the cultural hybridity of flamenco that holds an appeal to contemporary cultural consumers, flamenco represents an outcome of a longstanding and deliberate marketing strategy which has achieved a degree of success.

This research builds on various attempts that have been made to incorporate tourism research in economic geography (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001; Ioannides, 2006), by analyzing tourism as an increasingly significant aspect of economic globalization. Research on tourism in geography has been dominated by those with cultural perspectives (Shaw and Williams, 2002). Yet it has also been acknowledged that tourism serves as a useful avenue to illustrate how production and consumption are intricately linked with juxtaposed global-local links (Ateljevic, 2000; Milne and Ateljevic, 2001). My aim in this article is to offer empirical evidence, based particularly on a 2-month period of field research in Seville, Spain (June 2006 and May 2007), interviews with researchers, aficionados and students of flamenco art, and participant observation at

2 Manuel (1989), a prominent ethnomusicologist on flamenco, coined the term ‘flamenco complex’ to describe this art form which involves songs, dances, instrumentation and rhythms (hand-clapping and percussion instruments).

3 Shaw and Williams (2002) identify three dominant approaches in tourism geography: behavioral models, political economy and cultural interpretations. Research has been conducted on tourism as decision-making activities (López Sintas and García Álvarez, 2002; Sastre, 2002; Alegre and Pou, 2004), as regional development strategy (Giaoutzi and Nijkamp, 2006), as place identity formation (Caffyn and Lutz, 1999; Carmichael, 2002; Pitock, 2004) and as heritage conservation (Chang, 1997; Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1999; Hubbard and Lilley, 2000).
dance schools, to demonstrate the symbiotic relationship that exists between tourism and the cultural industry. Tourism shapes the economy and culture, creates controversies over the role of the state, and develops a complex power triangle at the foundation of this art. Today, arts and cultural complexes do not simply survive — instead, they are made to survive by multiple actors with broad and varying representations in various parts of the world.

Cultural tourism as a consumer’s search for authenticity

As Hall suggested (2005), tourism is an interdisciplinary area of study that involves non-work activities (leisure, recreation) combined with mobility (and all related transportation networks and services) that takes place increasingly at the global scale (Shaw and Williams, 2002). Whereas conventional tourism seeking sun and beaches is largely dependent on climate and physical geography, cultural tourism has a distinct spatial and temporal manifestation. Today’s mass tourism has considerably diversified in terms of tourist origins, destinations and objectives, with cultural tourism constituting a segment that emphasizes a pursuit of exoticism and cultural authenticity. Unlike heritage tourism, which is typically centered on efforts to preserve physical facilities (Teo and Yeoh, 1997; Harvey, 2003), cultural tourism focuses on engagement with quotidian regional culture and seeks experiences that are distinctive, and often exclusively offered by the region. As a result, it is multidimensional and far more complex to coordinate than other forms of tourism.

Tourism is shaped by the dynamic changes in patterns of consumption (Urry, 1995). Although globalization is frequently viewed as synonymous with cultural convergence across societies, a reverse process of cultural intensification is also in progress, where cultural distinctiveness becomes a highly sought-after commodity. Particularly consumers from advanced industrialized economies demand exotic experiences as part of their leisure, entertainment and tourism. Some view this as a reflection of increasing cultural diversity within societies (Caplan and Cowen, 2004), while others suggest that it is an outcome of increasingly popular ‘cosmopolitanism’, which is characterized by ‘a curiosity about and openness to all places, peoples, and cultures, as opposed to the tendencies in the previous era that involved a longing for uniformity or superiority’ (Urry, 1995: 167). In fact, cultural distinctiveness is a new and growing source of value in the economy, in both commodified and uncommodified forms. Demand for cultural distinctiveness is expressed through various means, including tourism, ‘gastronomic tourism’ (visiting local restaurants serving ‘ethnic’ cuisines), as well as consumption of World Music, festivals and cultural performances (Waterman, 1998; Nash, 2000; Dunbar-Hall, 2001; Johnson, 2002; Connell and Gibson, 2004). Yet few studies to date have examined the relationship between cultural industries, cultural tourism and the state, and how it impacts cultural survival under globalization.4

Hybridity in the origin of flamenco speaks to contemporary consumers whose cultural tastes increasingly tend to omnivorousness, not snobbishness (Peterson and Kern, 1996; Kim and Drolet, 2003). Flamenco is simultaneously authentically and genuinely Andalusian and yet undeniably hybrid in origin.5 Flamenco is also arguably the only

4 Exceptions include research on such state-mandated mega-projects as the Olympics (Hannigan, 1995) or on tourism in a strongly centralized state. Tourism is rigorously promoted by Singaporean and Chinese governments (Chang 1997; Teo and Yeoh, 1997; Chang and Yeoh, 1999; Chow, 2005; Nyiri, 2006). Sarkissian (1998) discusses the state use of cultural shows to emphasize ethnic diversity in Malaysia.

5 Hybridity has been understood from multiple perspectives, as a new cultural politics arising out of diaspora (Hutnyk, 2005), as a difference in the ‘other’ (Jacobs, 2000), and as a hegemonic discourse in the post-colonial world (Kraidy, 2002).
Spanish music that is globally known, and one that has ‘managed to enter the circuits of what is commonly known as World Music, that is, the commercial global network specializing in selling music that evokes certain international localities’ (Pérez, 2006: 75). Yet, unlike various world music genres that have been examined for their role in local economic development, flamenco has been almost exclusively studied from ethnomusicological and socio-cultural perspectives (Yoors, 1974; San Román, 1975; Mulcahy, 1989; Douglass, 1992; Leblon, 1995; Gay y Blasco, 2001; Nair, 2002; Charnon-Deutsch, 2004). As I will demonstrate in a later section, flamenco tourism is a unique form of tourism that includes active participation by international tourists — a performative experiment on a transnational scale — practiced and consumed through an authentic staging in Andalusia.

Tourism is a modern-day ritual and a search for authenticity (MacCannell, 1973). Fox Gotham (2002) viewed cultural tourism for the Mardi Gras celebrations in New Orleans as a contemporary form of sacred crusade and pilgrimage. Music tourism in particular possesses many of the characteristics of pilgrimages to sites where an authentic legacy is perceived to be on offer, as it is often motivated by nostalgia of some kind. Contemporary pilgrimage is arguably motivated by a belief in ‘place authenticity’ offering culture, arts and music in their ‘purest’ form. For example, visits to Graceland in Memphis, Beatles-related locations in Liverpool, as well as the Bob Marley Museum in Jamaica may well be characterized as pilgrimages (Connell and Gibson, 2003). Moreover, cultural tourists are by no means passive consumers. Consumers interpret, adapt and appropriate meanings attached to art complexes such as flamenco in different markets (Aoyama, 2007). Cultural tourists are viewed not only as participants, but also instigators and even collaborators of cultural change (Picard, 1990; 1998). Bywater (1993) identified at least three types of cultural tourists, distinguished by the intensity of their involvement in cultural activities; culturally motivated, culturally inspired and culturally attracted tourists. The culturally motivated tourists are more likely to be highly educated women who already possess substantial cultural capital and constitute a small share of the total number of tourists, while for culturally attracted tourists cultural consumption at their tourist destinations is only incidental.

Although normative views on cultural tourism typically emphasize the pervasiveness of ‘cultural imperialism’, in which the global always subsumes the local, this view has now increasingly been criticized for its one-sided stress on the detrimental effects of tourism on local communities and culture (Lacy and Douglass, 2002; Chow, 2005; Fox Gotham, 2005; Wiley, 2005). In fact, evidence from around the world suggests that arguments can be made in favour of the positive role of tourists in the viability of an art complex. Some even suggest that the production of art for outsiders can have positive impacts on the community’s self-identity and heightens the value of indigenous creativity (McKean, 1989). Fox Gotham (2002) argued that tourism can be a force of heterogeneity that enhances place distinctiveness as much as it is also a force of standardization that eradicates local cultures and traditions. In Bali, Indonesia, music and dance developed not in isolation, but in fact in conjunction with and as a result of international cultural tourism (Picard, 1990; 1998; Dunbar-Hall, 2001; Johnson, 2002; Yamashita, 2003). Picard (1990; 1998) analyzed the complexities of the issues of beneficiaries in his study of dance performances, and suggested the presence of significant confusion in interpreting the role of tourism in promoting culture. Similarly,

6 See examples from Jamaican Reggae (Kozul-Wright and Stanbury, 1998), Latin American music (Ochoa Gauthier and Yudice, 2002; Perrone and Dunn, 2002), Australian aborigine music (Gibson and Connell, 2003), Balinese music and dance (Dunbar-Hall, 2001; Johnson, 2002) and Swedish music (Power, 2002),

7 Indeed, a social construction of dualism is often highly problematic, as it forces an interpretation of, for example, oppression or resistance, or the benefactor or victim of cultural transformation. Instead, an argument exists for a move toward a transformative aspect of a community or a locality (Rutherford, 1990; Pile, 1994; Grossberg, 1996).
the origin of flamenco has been closely associated with the rise of tourism (Charnon-Deutsch, 2004; Aoyama, 2007). Flamenco was as much a product shaped and molded by the emerging tourists of the early nineteenth century, as it was a product of the cultural attributes of the gypsy population. In fact, the interplay between the observed (gypsies) and the observer (tourists), especially the latter’s much romanticized view of the former, deeply influenced and shaped the art form.8

As competition has intensified in the tourism industry, with destinations expanding and options increasing for consumers around the world, the importance of the state has grown considerably in tourism development today. Tourism inherently involves the state, which governs its regulatory framework, infrastructure development and local development planning. The state is increasingly viewed as a ‘co-producer’ of tourism (OECD, 2008a), although its role to date is typically viewed in its involvement in redevelopment projects and is traditionally oriented toward physical infrastructure and tourist-attraction facilities. Also, the state’s involvement in cultural tourism is somewhat controversial, as it is often viewed as a challenge to the independence and integrity of arts and cultural complexes (Howell, 1994; Milne and Ateljevic, 2001).

Thus, my research focuses on the understanding of ‘flamenco tourism’ in its three overlapping layers; cultural industry, cultural tourism (particularly with respect to international tourism) and the role of the state in marketing flamenco as a staged authenticity. Fainstein and Judd (1999: 5) discuss how the tourist, the tourism industry and cities interact to produce ‘a complex ecological system’. My goal is to empirically demonstrate the dynamics of this ecological system, with the focus on multiple stakeholders in local tourism. I will first examine the history of tourism development in Spain, on which ‘flamenco tourism’ is ultimately founded. It provides a background to the development of tourism in the Andalusian economy and the importance of state involvement. Then I will demonstrate how flamenco tourism is sustained in Andalusia through talent and business establishments that generate and market this art form, and particularly one centered on the province of Seville. Finally, I will examine the role of the state and the tourists in shaping and sustaining the art form.

The history of tourism in the Andalusian regional economy

Tourism in Spain dates back to the nineteenth century, and the country has achieved phenomenal success as a major tourist destination. Andalusia in particular was developed by the surge of celebrities visiting the area that became known as Costa del Sol, clustered around coastal towns such as Torremolinos and Marbella in the province of Malaga that were already reputable resorts (de Dios Mellado, 2004) (see Figure 1).

A deliberate policy for encouraging international tourism began under Franco in the late 1950s as one of two ways to earn a much-needed infusion of international currency for its otherwise depressed economy (the other being remittances from overseas Spanish workers) (Lacy and Douglass, 2002). By the early 1970s, tourism was the leading industry in Spain, offering proximate and affordable destinations for the emerging mass tourism in Western Europe. Under the slogan, ‘España es diferente’ (Spain is different), Franco succeeded in marketing the country where the sun and beaches are combined with a diverse mixture of cultures, from the Basque country to the Catalan region in the north to the strong Moorish cultural influences in the south. As compared to Catalonia and the Basque country, Andalusia had no separate ethnic, linguistic or historic institutional basis for a separate identity (Bukowski, 2002). This makes the position of Andalusian culture simultaneously unique and ambiguous, and the Franco regime

8 See Aoyama, 2007 for an extended discussion on the role of early tourism in the evolution of flamenco.
strategically exploited this ambiguity for its own goals. Aggressive promotion of tourism under Franco actively made use of Andalusian culture such as bullfights, flamenco, gypsies and Catholic festivals as distinctive ‘national’ culture, thereby altering them from a uniquely Andalusian cultural expression to a quasi-national performance symbol for the entire nation (Malefyt, 1998; Dietz, 2004). Dietz (2004) characterized the contemporary Andalusian regional culture in three overlapping legacies; the fiesta legacy, a Catholic Andalusian legacy that emphasizes annual processions and pilgrimages by members of religious fraternities, the gitano legacy of flamenco singing, dancing and guitar music, and the moro legacy from the Arabic and Islamic influences in Andalusian culture. Although much despised and discriminated against, the Spanish government used the images of the gypsies as ‘one of the key ingredients in Spain’s touristic formula’ (Quintana and Floyd, 1976: 10). As a regional government document on flamenco tourism puts it, ‘while flamenco cannot be understood without knowing Andalusia, neither can Andalusia be understood without flamenco’ (Consejería de Turismo, Comercio y Desporte, 2004).

Today Spain is ranked number two among worldwide tourist destinations. In 2004 Spain received the second-largest number of international tourists in the world with 53.6 million (up from 40.3 million in 1996 and exceeded only by France) and was also number two in tourist receipts after the United States (World Tourism Organization, 2005). Because tourism has had a strong positive impact on the modern Spanish economy, public interventions to promote tourism for economic development are well justified in Spain (Balaguer and Cantavella-Jorda, 2002). A number of strategic plans were devised to further develop and fortify the tourism sector. One relatively recent attempt was to emphasize cultural tourism as a way to diversify tourists and reduce dependence on ‘sun-and-beach tourists’ who concentrate in the cities along Costa del Sol in the months of July and August (Maiztegui-Oñate and Areitio Bertolin, 1996). Flamenco tourism therefore coincided with the interest of the state in shifting from mass to specialized tourism, as well as with an increasing consumer demand for variety, difference, authenticity and exoticism.

Persistent poverty in Andalusia provides further impetus for flamenco tourism. Historically, the region of Andalusia flourished primarily as a mineral-exporting area with a strategic port and the center of transportation between the then Latin American colonies and Madrid (Lanaspa et al., 2003). With the exhaustion of mining and the independence won by the colonies in the nineteenth century, the regional economy reverted to sustaining itself through agriculture, most recently with olive products in
particular. As a result of Franco’s development policy in the 1960s and 1970s that concentrated Spain’s industrial base in Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao, Andalusia became a massively labor-exporting region, without a notable manufacturing sector and with its regional economy heavily dependent on an inefficient service sector (Bukowski, 2002). Today, Andalusia continues to be among the poorest regions in Spain. Andalusia was by far the largest recipient of the EU’s various structural funds in the 1990s (Pardo García, 2003), and is more dependent on public sector employment than the Spanish average. Only in the past several years has it experienced an economic boom, driven largely by EU-induced, tourism/retirement-oriented real estate speculations. Tourism constituted 11% of Andalusia’s regional GDP in 2004, without taking into account numerous indirect links to other sectors of the economy. Andalusia earned €6.7 billion from tourism (16% of the total value of tourism for the nation), but lags behind the Canaries (€9.5 billion), Catalonia (€8.8 billion) and the Balearic Islands (€8.4 billion) (INE, 2007a).

Interregional competition for tourism is intense in Spain, and Andalusia struggles to compete against such famous beach destinations as the Canaries and the Balearic Islands, as well as such cultural destinations as Madrid and Barcelona. Overall, Spain had a higher share of cultural and leisure industry employment than Australia, Finland, the Netherlands, UK and the United States by the mid-1990s (García et al., 2003), yet Andalusia’s cultural and leisure industry is a distant third after Madrid and Catalonia in terms of employment, number of firms, and the value added. In fact, Madrid reigns as the cultural center of Spain by all measures, with Barcelona providing its own well-known artistic traditions. For some flamenco artists, a move to Madrid is an inevitable part of making it ‘big’ in the flamenco scene (Aoyama, 2007), while for others the relocation was motivated by a search for work. Yet, as I shall show in the subsequent section, Andalusia continues to be the center of the flamenco art complex.

Staging flamenco tourism: the economic geography of cultural tourism in Andalusia

Flamenco tourism is staged in multiple and overlapping layers that offer authenticity to experiences, most of which are inaccessible in other regions. Aside from the conventional tourism sector (such as hotels and other accommodations, eating and drinking places), there are multiple local actors that help stage authenticity: artists, businesses, community organizations, schools and state-sponsored spectacles.

Flamenco artists: the socio-cultural geography of talent

Artistic legitimacy is often tied to a particular place through historical legacy. Evidence shows that Andalusia dominates as the origin of flamenco artists, and particularly the area around the region’s largest urban center, Seville. The most recent directory of flamenco-related artists, Guía libre del flamenco (Gamboa, 2001) catalogs 1,105 artists.

9 Andalusia produces 70% of Spanish olive oil (Instituto de Estadística Andalucía, 2005). In addition, the eastern coastal areas of Andalusia take advantages of the early arrival of spring and export various fruit and vegetables to the rest of the EU.

10 The overall decline of the Andalusian economy is also reflected in its urban hierarchy. Lanaspa et al. (2003) compared the largest 100 Spanish cities in 1900 and 1999 and found that 42 cities on the list in 1900 had disappeared from the list by 1999, among which 15 (36%) were in Andalusia.

11 According to the data compiled by the Instituto de Estudios Turiscos, it is interesting to note that destinations for cultural tourism differed between international and domestic tourists in Spain. For domestic tourists, Andalusia was by far the number one destination for cultural tourism in 2003 and 2004 (Ministerio de Cultura, 2006), while for foreign tourists, Cataluña was the number 1 destination, followed by Madrid and Andalusia.
individual artists and 72 groups from 23 countries, with 93% of individual artists and 96% of groups originating in Spain. Seven provinces of Andalusia combined claimed 43% of the total artists listed in this guide, with the province of Seville being the largest source of talent with 275 artists, followed by the metro-region of Madrid and the province of Cadiz. Combined, these three regions constitute the birthplaces of almost 60% of the artists.

Table 1 shows the distribution of prominent flamenco artists by their origin at the city level. Seville is the commonest city of origin, with 15.1% of the total of flamenco artists originating from there although it accounts for only 4.4% of the total population of Spain. Madrid is a close second (14.5% of artists), but the artists are underrepresented on a per capita basis (13.4% of the population lives in Madrid). Small towns within the province of Seville, such as Utrera, Lebrija and Écija, are also notable origins of flamenco artists. Flamenco artists form distinct communities, typically along family lines (in the case of gitanos) or following instructional lineage. In the case of flamenco, artistic legitimacy is particularly reinforced through ethnicity. Andalusia has always been

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City (Province)</th>
<th>% Population in 2006 (Spain = 100%)</th>
<th>No. of Prominent Flamenco Artists (A)</th>
<th>% of Artists (Spain = 100%)</th>
<th>No. of Gitano Artists (B)</th>
<th>% Gitano (B/A)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sevilla (Sevilla)</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid (Madrid)</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz)</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Córdoba (Córdoba)</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granada (Granada)</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barcelona (Cataluña)</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Málaga (Málaga)</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cádiz (Cádiz)</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utrera (Sevilla)</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huelva (Huelva)</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeciras (Cádiz)</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebrija (Sevilla)</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Écija (Sevilla)</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Línea de Concepción (Cádiz)</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morón de la Frontera (Sevilla)</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Fernando (Cádiz)</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badajoz (Badajoz)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rota (Cádiz)</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Gamboa (2001; INE, 2007b)
the home of flamenco in large part due to the presence of the gitano population. There are estimated to be 250,000 gitanos (roughly 50,000 households) living in Andalusia, representing roughly two-thirds of the entire Spanish gypsy population (Gamella, 1996). At 3–4% of the region’s population, it is remarkable that gitano artists constitute about a third of the artists in the directory. While technological progress and a gradual shrinking of the informal sector in the Spanish economy have eliminated many of the traditional occupations of gitanos such as metal working, horse trading and fortune telling, careers as flamenco artist-entrepreneurs have offered an important alternative to the otherwise progressive proletarianization of their community. In fact, cultural industries are among the few left in the developed-world context that offer independence and relatively informal markets, which are consistent with the gypsy tradition and their way of life. Flamenco provides an almost exclusive opportunity for the gitano community to access fame and wealth. As Nair (2002) wrote, ‘with few skills other than the musical spontaneity acquired largely through oral transmissions from their elders’, gitanos opportunistically exploited the economic potential offered by flamenco and actively trained their children at early ages to develop this expertise (Quintana and Floyd, 1972). Gitano flamenco musicians and artists form an old gypsy aristocracy of sorts, and reputable gitano families that have produced a number of dancers, singers and guitarists are known as ‘flamenco dynasties’. As flamenco flourished and became professionalized, however, the connection between gypsies and it became increasingly ambiguous. Today, non-gypsies (payos), outnumber gitanos in most categories of flamenco art, as shown in Figure 2.14

The resilience of Andalusian cities as places of origin for flamenco artists reinforces the region’s role as the ‘soul’ place of flamenco, even though Madrid might serve as a major arena for business and competition for flamenco artists. To flamenco aficionados, Andalusia is a ‘Mecca’ and a primary destination to engage with the art form, and to others, flamenco is an accompaniment that accentuates the authenticity of their encounter with Andalusian culture.

Flamenco-related business establishments

Flamenco tourism is supported by a number of business establishments. The economy generated by flamenco is estimated to be worth between 120 and 500 million euros annually (Calado, 2004; Olivo, 2006). This figure includes numerous services and commodities related to flamenco, such as tourism-related services (teaching, tablaos and bars, accommodation), flamenco events (festivals and peñas flamencas), and flamenco-related purchases (recording media, moda flamenca).

By far the largest concentration of the flamenco industry is in the province of Seville. As shown in Table 2, over two-thirds of the shops selling moda flamenca (flamenco fashion), artist’s representatives and recording studios, as well as 2 out of 5 flamenco schools in Andalusia are in the province of Seville. The only exception is guitar manufacturing, which predominates in Granada. Flamenco and classical guitar manufacturers are craftsmanship-based, and annually produce a total of 30–40 handcrafted guitars exclusively on demand.

14 Of the 1,027 individual artists listed in this directory, 79% were men. This may be a reflection of the larger number of singers, who constitute over half of the individual artists listed, and are 79% male. Guitarists, a little over a quarter of the database and constituting the second-largest group, are 99% men. In addition, the overwhelming majority of those who also claim to be composers, producers, percussionists/palmero(s), and those who play other instruments (which range from piano, electric bass, saxophone, flute, violin, electric guitar, harmonica, accordion, trumpet, and so on) are men. There are slightly more female flamenco dancers (bailaoras) than males (bailaors), but there are more male ballet and modern dancers (bailarins) than female dancers (bailarinas).
Figure 3 shows flamenco tourism-related business establishments in the city of Seville. These establishments, and particularly moda flamenca retail stores, are concentrated in the city’s commercial center located in the historic core, whereas training schools, artist reps and other services tend to extend beyond the commercial district into the historic neighborhoods to the north (Macarena) and across the Guadalquivir River to the west (Triana).

**Tablaos and peñas**

Flamenco is performed in various tablaos (taverns) in Andalusia, which cater to tourists as well as local aficionados. More importantly, informal nurturing and diffusion of
flamenco takes place locally through peñas flamencas, which are community gatherings where cantaor(a)s (singers), bailaor(a)s (dancers) and guitarists meet to practice and share their talents. Peñas are among the most bottom-up, local and participatory flamenco activities that take place in Spain. Peñas flamencas meet from as frequently as every 2–3 days to once a month and are typically supported by the sponsorship of local individuals and businesses, with annual membership fees ranging from €50 to €300, and generate a total of €3 million annually across Spain (Olivo, 2006). Foreign flamenco dancers taking classes in local dance schools also join some peñas in the evenings to watch performances by professional artists and mingle with local aficionados, community elders and active members of the establishment. While larger peñas are well advertised, less participatory and readily admit tourists, small peñas are seldom advertised, highly participatory and acts (singing and dancing) are typically performed impromptu and improvised by participants sitting in a circle. To some, these small, invitees-only peñas, where the boundary between performers and audience is blurred, are the pinnacles of ‘pure’ and authentic flamenco (flamenco puro) (Malefyt, 1998).

Over 70% of the peñas in Spain are in Andalusia, with the rest concentrated in major destinations for Andalusian migrants such as Madrid and Barcelona. Junta de Andalucía (2006a) identified 329 peñas in the region of Andalusia (see Table 2), with the
The greatest concentrations in the provinces of Seville, Cadiz and Córdoba. The community-based aspects of *peñas* are also clear from Figure 3, which shows that *peñas* are relatively dispersed throughout the city. *Peñas* also serve as the smallest community units that play an active part in sponsoring and promoting flamenco shows, including theatrical performances and festivals.

**Flamenco schools**

The flamenco teaching industry is perhaps among the more peculiar aspects of this art complex. No other regionally embedded art form combines international popularity, regionally specific roots and a solid teaching industry that extends beyond professional training to include the training of amateurs, aficionados, hobbyists and tourists.\(^{16}\) Flamenco had been passed on from one generation to the next typically within gypsy families, and subsequently taught informally, as it still is in some smaller cities and towns. The formalization of instruction through the establishment of dance schools (*academia de baile*) is relatively recent and took place in the post-Franco era. In Seville, the formalization of the schools was spearheaded by a well-known dancer, José Galvan, who started a dance studio in 1977. This studio became today’s Fundación Cristina Heeren del Arte Flamenco, and offers intensive year-long courses on various aspects of flamenco. Across the river from the city’s historic core, in the traditionally gypsy neighborhood of Triana, Manolo Marin opened a dance studio in 1980, where dancers from around the world, and particularly from Japan, learned the art of flamenco. Today, the largest concentration of flamenco schools in Seville is found in Triana and in the neighborhood of Macarena, which is off to the north of the city’s historic core and therefore offers lower rent.

Flamenco schools are quite unique among the various examples of ‘world music’ training institutions. Unlike early ‘samba’ schools in Brazil, which were bottom-up, community-based and quite exclusionary in character and were organized at the neighborhood level with the specific aim of upgrading carnival processions and floats (Guillermoprieto, 1990), flamenco schools are more professionalized, neither community-based nor exclusive, and in fact heavily rely on international tourists for enrollment. Some flamenco dance schools have been established specifically for the international clientele, and offer related services such as providing airport transfer, finding appropriate accommodation near the school, and offering references for Spanish language courses or even running their own. There are also foreign travel agents in Seville specializing in coordinating all services for those who are interested in attending flamenco schools. International tourism plays a significant role in making flamenco schools viable businesses, also in part because teaching is the most stable and reliable source of income for many artists. This, in turn, helps provide a stronger economic foundation for this art complex as a whole.

Seville offers the largest number of flamenco schools (see Table 2). They range in size from one instructor teaching one course per school to three or four instructors teaching several courses at various levels. The smallest of schools with just one class of 12 students can generate annual revenues of €27,500 while larger schools can generate annual revenues of up to €150,000 from instruction. I estimate that Seville’s flamenco school industry generates close to €2 million in annual revenue, and the whole of Andalusia €4 million.\(^{17}\) Aside from the direct revenue, however, training schools also generate demand for other tourist services (transport, accommodation and meals).

---

\(^{16}\) The only other example that is probably worthy of mention is tango from Argentina. See Savigliano (1995) for an extended discussion on this art complex.

\(^{17}\) This estimate was made on the basis of my field research on the size of flamenco schools from the smallest to among the largest. I estimated that 20 small flamenco schools at €27,500 annual revenue, 5 large flamenco schools with €150,000 annual revenue, and 9 schools at €75,000 would make a total of €1,975,000 for Seville. I estimated the rest of the 40 schools in Andalusia to be of
Moda flamenca

Reportedly worth €120 million (Muñoz, 2003), moda flamenca includes flamenco costumes and dresses (trajes de flamenca), shoes and accessories, such as abanicos (fans), mantones (shawls), pins, brooches and hair accessories. Moda flamenca is based on traditional Andalusian costumes, originating in the annual spring festival Feria de Abril, which began as a venue for horse and other livestock trading. Feria is now one of the major fiestas in Andalusia, where locals dance sevillanas, the folk-dance version of flamenco in a rare partner-dance style. Women’s attire at ferias evolved into today’s moda flamenca, with distinctively styled dresses with abundant frills full of colors, often accompanied by a shawl (mantón). Mantones originally came to Andalusia from China via its colony, the Philippines (therefore they were called mantones de Manila), but later were adapted with Andalusian colors and motifs. Although production of mantones has long been taken over by Andalusian artisans and led to the rise of prestigious brands, today Andalusian shawls are increasingly contracted out and manufactured once again in China.

Unlike shawls, there is no evidence that flamenco shoe manufacturing has been offshored outside Spain. This is largely due to the specialized nature of the craftsmanship involved in producing flamenco shoes. Several well-known and established Spanish brands specializing in flamenco dancers’ shoes have emerged — interestingly, many of these are based in Madrid (Coral, Don Piel, Gallardo and Menkes) although a few are located elsewhere (Calzados Mayo in Seville and Begoña Cervera in Alicante). Gallardo, the largest among them producing 5,000 pairs a year, was purchased by a Japanese dance costume firm, Chacott, in 1997, indicating the importance of the Japanese market for flamenco shoe manufacturers.

Purchase of flamenco goods and music that are otherwise difficult to get elsewhere is among the primary objectives of flamenco tourists. As shown in Table 2, moda flamenca retailers in Andalusia are concentrated in Seville, and in the commercial district within the historic core heavily patronized by tourists (see Figure 3). Many moda flamenca stores also cater to the locals by providing festival wear, and some even double as wedding gown designers. Moda flamenca stores also custom-tailor dresses and export them to Japan. In fact, international export is an increasingly important source of revenue. An estimated 16% of moda flamenca revenue comes from exports, with Japan the largest market (Olivo, 2006). As a recognition of the importance of export, the manufacturers of moda flamenca recently established an industry association (Asociación de Empresarios de la Moda Flamenca) to promote their products and hold fashion shows internationally.

Recording media

A number of music recording studios in Spain distribute flamenco music locally and globally. In addition to Spanish firms such as Nuevos Medios, Dial Discos (Madrid), Pasarela, Senador, and Fods (Seville and Utrera), it is notable that Madrid-based multinational firms (EMI/Hispavox, Universal Music/Polygram Iberica), as well as a number of French firms (Harmonia Mundi, Auvidis) are involved in recording and disseminating flamenco music to the rest of the world. However, in part because flamenco relies on active improvisation and therefore has to be consumed live to be truly authentic, flamenco records have seldom attained global commercial success. As a result, flamenco music constitutes only about 5% of the market with sales of €30 million smaller size, with €50,000 annual revenue. Olivo (2006) estimated one larger flamenco school in Seville to be generating up to €420,000 annually.

18 A flamenco dress (traje de flamenca) ranges from €200–900, and shawls (mantones) €90–1,200.
19 Each craftsman can produce only 5–7 pairs of shoes per day. A pair of flamenco shoes can cost €75–150.
20 A few exceptions are internationally well-known artists, such as Paco de Lucia (guitarist).
a year (Olivo, 2006). About 80 flamenco albums are produced annually, with less than 10 selling over 4,000 copies (Pérez, 2006). Some record stores carry flamenco albums not because they are an attractive source of revenue, but because they are seen to add prestige and class to the store’s image and have a longer shelf life than others (much like classical music albums). Others allege that Spain’s piracy rate, the highest in Western Europe at 24%, dampens demand on this market (PriceWaterhouseCoopers, 2006). Yet others claim that the influence of flamenco goes beyond the sale of flamenco puro or pure flamenco CDs and DVDs. Flamenco infiltrates the Spanish music scene, creating examples of a unique flamenco fusion of styles, some of which reach the top of the charts (Pérez, 2006).21

Some companies specialize in developing flamenco albums for a remarkably narrow market niche. A notable example is Original Future Sounds (OFS), a recording company established in Seville by a Japanese entrepreneur/musician. OFS produces an instructional CD series called Sólo Compas, each featuring one of the dozen or so flamenco rhythms. Quite intuitive for those who grew up in flamenco musician families, flamenco rhythms are complex and unique, and therefore difficult to learn for those outside the cultural complex. Sólo Compas disks include a series of recordings of a single rhythm, typically rendered by hand clapping or percussion, and in variations of six to eight different speeds. These recordings serve the function of a metronome for dancers and guitarists, and have become indispensable for foreign flamenco students. Thus, OFS provides a much-needed formal learning tool otherwise unavailable to foreign flamenco students, and fills a market niche that only emerged along with the globalization of flamenco students.

Flamenco festivals: state-sponsored spectacles

The tourists, the tourism industry and the city interact to generate ‘flamenco tourism’ — the production and consumption of flamenco art from morning until late in the night. Although horizontal networks among producers do exist, and sometimes clienteles overlap, networks among flamenco artists and businesses are simultaneously collaborative and highly competitive, as in any artist community. These businesses do, however, collectively benefit from various flamenco spectacles that take place in Andalusia. These events are typically state-sponsored, and are instrumental in drawing Spanish and international aficionados into the region.

Flamenco festivals are prime examples of government-funded cultural events that combine international tourism with support of a regionally embedded art complex. With the decline of the wealthy local aristocrats (señoritos) who had played an important role as sponsors of arts and cultural activities including flamenco since the nineteenth century, the state has emerged as a critical sponsor. Today, the production of flamenco is aggressively promoted through the concerted efforts of city, regional and national governments as a unique cultural ingredient that increases ‘place attractiveness’ for the tourism industry. Among OECD countries for which data are available, Spain had among the highest proportion of its total government expenditure allocated to the category of recreation, culture and religion in 2005 (OECD, 2008b).22 In 2005, the Spanish

21 Some notable examples of fusion flamenco groups include Ketama (1984–2004) and Ojos de Brujo (1998– ). Ketama, formed in Madrid by sons of notable gitano guitarists from Granada, blended flamenco with African and Latin American music. Ojos de Brujo, formed in Barcelona, combines flamenco with hip-hop and funk, among others. Ojos de Brujo opted to escape the influence of the global media monopoly by establishing its own recording firm.

22 Spain’s ratio of total expenditure in 2005 numbered third among the 21 OECD member countries for which the data were available. Whereas the ratio for the 21 countries was 2.8%, Spain’s ratio was 3.7%. Two countries allocated a higher ratio: Luxembourg (7.9%) and Iceland (5.2%).
The government spent roughly €5 billion on cultural activities, and over half of it through municipalities (Ministerio de Cultura, 2006). The Centro Andaluz de Flamenco in the city of Jerez de la Frontera (2006) identifies 221 flamenco festivals in Spain and 10 other countries. Of those in Spain (199 festivals), 138 (70%) take place in the region of Andalusia, and 70% of those are held in three provinces: Seville, Cadiz and Cordoba. These festivals are well advertised in and outside Spain, and draw a significant number of foreign tourists.

Figure 4 shows flamenco festivals that took place in 2006 by type of primary sponsorship. It shows that over half at least of flamenco festivals are sponsored and organized by public agencies, particularly municipalities. The strong representation of municipalities, provinces and the regions is in part a reflection of decentralization strategies that began in 1978 and included tourism promotion. In contrast to the presence of the public sector, only one out of 5 events was organized by private businesses (such as bars, taverns and clubs). Finally, peñas flamencas were involved in one in 6 events, often in cooperation with municipalities.

By far the largest and the most successful flamenco festival is Bienal del Arte Flamenco de Sevilla (Bienal), which takes place in several theaters or districts adjacent to the historic core (as shown in Figure 3) from September to October in alternate years. Launched in 1980, the Bienal’s launch coincided with a newly emerging generation of artists intent on reviving the art of flamenco in post-Franco Spain. Various public agencies from various levels contribute to the Bienal — including the Spanish Ministry of Culture, and Andalusia’s Culture and Tourism offices, but the largest amount of public funds comes from the City of Seville (Olivo, 2006). According to the available data, public agencies collectively provided over a half to a third (54–68%) of the total fund to run the Bienal in recent years.23

The Festival de Jerez, an annual event that takes place in February–March in Jerez de la Frontera, has even more direct ties to the state, as it was initially conceived as a local economic development plan. The city of Jerez de la Frontera, long known for its sherry

Figure 4 Flamenco festivals in Spain by type of sponsorship (source: Centro Andaluz de Flamenco, 2006)

23 Calculated by author based on the data provided by Olivo (2006).
as well as for its gypsy community, has produced a number of flamenco artists (Papapavlou, 2003). In 1996 the city began a deliberate and concerted effort to revitalize the city center as the flamenco city (‘la ciudad de flamenco’) with the purchase and major renovation of a decayed old theatre (Teatro Villamarta) in the city center as its cornerstone. The festival was launched as a way to draw crowds to the city center through various flamenco activities, including performances, and up to 20 teaching workshops. It has become a highly successful event, which typically attracts over 16,000 students and spectators combined. The festival’s workshop classes are also highly subscribed, averaging a 2% vacancy rate. The festival in 2004 attracted 700 students from 30 countries, who spent an average of €700 each, bringing into the city a total of half a million dollars (US) during the two-week period. Unlike the Bienal, the Festival de Jerez has not been supported by the Andalusian regional government, but is heavily subsidized by the city and the province which, combined, provide roughly half of the total budget. The most recent major festival launched in Andalusia with a significant public subsidy is Malaga en Flamenco, inaugurated in 2005 as a bi-annual event to take place in alternate years to the Bienal in Seville. Given that Malaga is the largest mass tourism destination in the region of Andalusia, this festival promises to draw a significant crowd. Its inaugural event in 2005 generated 30,000 students and spectators, and 90% of the programmed events were reportedly sold out.

Government involvement is not limited to local festivals. The regional government sponsored 378 events to promote tourism in and outside Spain in 2005 alone, the largest share of which (100 events or 26% of the total) was devoted to the promotion of cultural tourism. The region’s strategic marketing document outlines the plan by the regional government to develop various promotional strategies for flamenco, not just in organizing spectacles, but also in offering training (courses for dancers, singers and instrumentalists, as well as courses in flamenco cultural history), and in developing a supply of accommodations suitable for cultural tourism (Consejería de Turismo, Comercio y Desporte, 2005). The regional government also plans to conduct targeted marketing differentiated by national markets — for the British market, marketing will focus on Andalusia’s gastronomy, art, history and landscapes, whereas for the German market, emphasis will be placed on marketing its urban-fortress cities (Junta de Andalucía, 2006b). It is notable that the Japanese and the domestic Spanish markets are the only two markets for which flamenco is identified as a primary tourism-promotion strategy. Internationally, the Spanish Ministry of Culture sponsors numerous flamenco events in the USA, UK, Germany, France, Japan and Scandinavian countries. These festivals not only provide performance venues for flamenco artists, but also contribute to their international visibility, which in turn translates into CD and DVD sales. Thus, the state’s role in promoting cultural tourism goes beyond spectacle sponsorship. The state is critical in creating international marketing venues for cultural tourism, where various stakeholders — artists, businesses and the community — come together. Cultural tourism is an outcome of effective alliances between the public and private sectors.

Flamenco tourists

An estimated 626,000 tourists whose primary motivation was flamenco visited Andalusia in 2004 (Consejería de Turismo, 2004). While not insignificant in numbers, culturally motivated flamenco tourists predictably constitute a very small share of tourists in Andalusia, which is after all, among the world’s largest sun-and-beach destinations. Culturally motivated tourists for flamenco only accounted for 2.8% of the total tourist arrivals of the region and 3.8% of the total tourism revenue of €54 billion. Although dwarfed by mass tourism, flamenco tourism in Andalusia is significant for the following

---

24 The survey included 2,250 respondents, with a degree of confidence of 95% with a +/-3% margin of error.
reasons. First, this figure excludes those whose primary purpose may be sun-and-beach tourism, but who consume flamenco incidentally as evening entertainment. Flamenco adds distinctive flavor to increasingly intensive competition for tourist destinations. Second, whereas flamenco may not be critical for the survival of tourism in Andalusia, tourism plays a critical role in the survival of flamenco. Mass tourism in Andalusia helps support the survival of this art complex, and thereby deepens the longstanding interdependence between regional culture and tourism. Some local researchers even argue that the role of guiris is important in the preservation of flamenco art (Aix Garcia, 2006). Guiris is a somewhat derogatory term directed at foreigners primarily from Western Europe, North America and Japan. Third, ‘flamenco tourists’ typically stay longer and spend more, and are far more likely to return to the region repeatedly. Finally, it is interesting to note that ‘flamenco tourists’ are more international (over 60%) than domestic, suggesting the importance of the global market in shaping this form of tourism. The geographical origins of flamenco tourists also differ from the portfolio of conventional mass tourists. While tourists to Andalusia in 2004 were dominated by the British (30.6%), followed by the Germans (18.7%), French (14.0%), Italians (4.9%) and the Dutch (4.3%), flamenco tourists came from a different set of countries. The largest number of flamenco tourists in 2004 came from France (10.0%), followed by Japan (6.5%), Germany (6.4%), and Italy (6.2%).

Without the international clientele, demand for flamenco activities would be considerably diminished. Although Seville’s tourists are 62% domestic (42% from outside Andalusia) and 38% international (24% from EU nations), flamenco tourists are more foreign than domestic. According to a survey conducted by Consejería de Turismo, Comercio y Desporte (2004), three out of five flamenco tourists (60.3%) were foreign. Among those flamenco tourists who visited a peña or tablao, 62% were foreign, from France (19.3%), Italy (13.8%) and Germany (8.4%). Those who attended flamenco schools were 75% foreign, from Japan (19.1%), France (11.6%), and Germany (9.1%) (Junta de Andaluca, 2004). Flamenco tourists on average spent 29 days in Andalusia, and spent 27.7% of their expenses on either flamenco-related activities or the purchase of flamenco-related merchandise. Flamenco tourists who attended schools and workshops tended to stay longer in Andalusia and therefore overall spent more, and were more likely to return to the region.

For flamenco festivals, roughly half of the attendees were foreigners. For the largest festivals, the share of foreign tourists was even higher. During the Bienal in 2004, for example, 69.6% of the participants were foreign — with the largest group coming from Japan (15.8%), followed by USA (12.3%), Germany (7.5%) and France (7.2%). Festivals offer attractive opportunities for flamenco aficionados from around the world to cram their short holidays with flamenco-related activities, including classes, performances and shopping for moda flamenca merchandise often unavailable elsewhere. For example, 12.4% of those surveyed at the Bienal also participated in flamenco workshops offered in conjunction with the festival. At the Festival de Jerez in 2005, Japanese students were the largest group of participants for dance workshops, followed by German, Taiwanese, Spanish, French and American students (see Figure 5). Japanese students consistently comprised over 20% of students during Festival de Jerez through the first half of the 2000s.

The over-representation of Japanese tourists among flamenco tourists is particularly remarkable as Japanese tourists comprised 1.3% of the foreign tourists in Andalusia (Consejería de Turismo, 2005), and a mere 0.3% of total international tourists in Spain. The interest among Japanese women in flamenco has been considered out of the

25 The same survey showed that flamenco tourists were slightly more female than male, and tended to be younger than average tourists.
26 The Tourism Office of Seville conducted the survey during the festival between 5 September and 10 October 2004 and received 434 responses, with a confidence level of 95% and a margin of error of +/-4.7% (Consejería de Turismo, 2004).
ordinary, and a number of speculations have emerged to explain this connection. The most common Japanese students I encountered at academias de baile in Seville in the summers of 2006 and 2007 were women in their late twenties and thirties, and most had already spent several years learning flamenco dancing in Japan. Some are dedicated aficionados who quit their jobs to come to Seville for a year or more, using Spanish language course attendance as a pretext and also presumably as a way to obtain a visa. For others, flamenco offers a convenient escape from the boredom of their daily lives in Japan. Others are using paid leave from work to cram flamenco courses into two to three weeks, with some returning annually. Some are previous aficionados who married and settled in Spain. A few spent years without concrete plans, contemplating a return to Japan for good every few months due to lack of money and status. These Japanese women in Spain are neither tourists nor migrants, a distinction tourism researchers today consider increasingly ambiguous (Williams and Hall, 2000).

What are the consequences of the predominantly international nature of flamenco tourism on flamenco art? Whereas the role of foreign tourists is indispensable for the flamenco industry in Andalusia, cultures that are interpreted through the filtered lens of international tourists — the ‘tourist gaze’ (Urry, 1990) — may be distinct from what is generally conceived of as an authentic art form. In fact, evidence already exists that tourism has transformed flamenco art, which originally centered on singing (cante), to one centered on dance (baile) in order to better cater to international tourists who lack language proficiency. Yet judgment on purity and authenticity in an art form is often elusive, subjective and highly disputable, and particularly so in the case of flamenco which is characterized by extreme cultural hybridity in its origin and a highly consumer-driven exoticism in its growth (see Aoyama, 2007). Furthermore, any art form evolves through tensions between the traditional and the avant-garde, between the producer and the consumer and between purity and fusion, or faces stagnation, which is often the shortest path to death. Perhaps precisely because such tension is particularly strong in flamenco, there have consistently been concerns expressed over flamenco puro or flamenco in its purest form by a segment of this artist community.

Figure 5 Participants of dance workshops at Festival de Jerez by nationality, 2005 (source: Navarro and Pablo 2005)
The concerns for the consequences of the ‘tourist gaze’ on various art forms is not the foreignness of the gaze per se, but the likely association between foreignness and a general lack of the knowledge and experience necessary to distinguish quality from the artificial, the superficial and the commercial. In this sense, local residents and domestic tourists play a crucial role, providing strong stewardship for quality control. A critical mass of discriminating critics is necessary to ensure production and reproduction of the highest-quality art in a particular place. This in turn makes flamenco not only widely recognized as a distinctively Andalusian form of art, but also makes flamenco art in Andalusia a worthy object of tourist consumption for both domestic and foreign tourists alike.

Perhaps foreign aficionados who travel to Spain are arguably already quite sophisticated as flamenco consumers, making their gaze distinctive from the generally conceived ‘tourist gaze’. Thus, as noted by Ateljevic (2000), a binary such as that between the global tourists and local residents, or between producers and consumers, tends to oversimplify the process of artistic production and consumption, and particularly so today. Fainstein and Judd (1999: 6) also suggest that ‘the relationship between visitor and visited is both more ambiguous and more positive than such typical critiques suggest’.

Domestic tourism also serves a critical purpose. Domestic tourism serves as an important economic buffer to often unstable international tourism, which fluctuates as a result of extra-regional factors such as currency exchange rates and economic conditions in tourism-originating countries. Domestic tourists in aggregate still outnumber international tourists in all but one province in Andalusia; 62% of all tourists in the province of Seville are domestic tourists, so are 63% in Cadiz, 70% in Almeria and 71% in Granada. Malaga was the only exception with the share of domestic tourists constituting 36% of the total. As for flamenco tourists, almost 40% are Spanish, although the proportions of domestic tourists are lower among flamenco school students and festival attendants. In sum, qualitatively and quantitatively, the role of local residents and domestic tourists as consumers of flamenco is by no means marginal and thus should not be neglected.

Conclusion: tourism and the dynamics of cultural relocalization

Through this research I have attempted to show how the flamenco economy has been sustained and staged multidimensionally by the localized ecological system comprised of local artists, businesses and the state in various scales that engage and promote this art complex in Andalusia. Andalusia continues to serve as an important site of cultural production, a contact zone between the producer and the consumer. Demand for mass tourism and the subsequent growth of cultural tourism from domestic and international sources provide strong economic foundations for flamenco. In contemporary tourism, a site of staged authenticity is simultaneously the site of a niche cultural market, but it also goes beyond the realm of private businesses and artists in Andalusia. Flamenco might not have survived if it were not for the multiple and overlapping attempts to develop a site of staged authenticity by businesses, artists and the state, and to cater to the broader, international audience. Tourism is a co-producer of the flamenco industry, and its survival hinges upon successful staging of authenticity.

Globalization, according to Robins (1991), is a new dynamics of relocalization. Promoting cultural tourism and marketing cultural distinctiveness for Andalusia is simultaneously a process of relocalization and globalization. In the age of globalization, domestic tourism is in part a reflection of past migration — Andalusians who migrated to Madrid and Barcelona to seek employment in the 1950s and 1960s returning to visit relatives and keep abreast of their cultural roots. Domestic tourism is also an affordable option for mid- to low-income households, many of whom cannot afford to travel long distance nor cross language barriers, and instead opt to stay with families and relatives.
cultural survival is by no means accidental. Instead, it is a carefully orchestrated act that involves, on the production side, the artists, businesses, and the state offering services and venues for efficient consumption. On the consumption side, the supply needs to be matched with the rising demand for cultural tourism, from national and international tourists who act as participants of regional culture. The proximity between the cultural complex and consumption today is shortened through tourism — and tourism expands the market for cultural consumption. Flamenco, in many ways, is a state-sponsored regional art complex that is made to survive and thrive through multidimensional tourism promotion strategies, which finance dedicated events and create international demand for local businesses. The survival of flamenco art is as much a successful result of regional tourism promotion as it is a reflection of the growth in cultural consumption. Cultural tourists from around the world, in search of unique, distinctive and regionally embedded authenticity, with the premium placed on participation and involvement, actively consume the staged authenticity of state-sponsored spectacles as efficient venues of cultural consumption. As cities and regions seek solutions to their economic problems through service industries, and particularly through tourism, a strategy that accentuates cultural attributes, offering experiences of authenticity to both the visitors and the visited may in turn contribute to sustain and revive a regionally embedded art complex.

Flamenco may well be a unique case in which the survival of a cultural complex has coincided with the rise of mass-tourism and state policy. In the case of Andalusia, tourism development has a history lasting for over a century, and a half-century of effort has been devoted to identity marketing alone. Flamenco has always been tourism-oriented, in that this art form has always catered to the gaze of the outside consumer. The revival of flamenco that began in the post-Franco era with corresponding efforts by the state to finance sponsored spectacles coincided with the shift in demand from mass tourism to cultural tourism. Yet the case not only offers insights into the survival process of a regional art complex, but suggests how selective such process might be, and how crucial the role of tourism could be in the survival of various art forms including Balinese dances and the Argentinean tango. Ultimately, for artists, access to tourism means access to the cash economy, and the state’s role in organizing flamenco spectacles is to coordinate theme-specific events and provide opportunities for cultural consumption for domestic and international tourists alike. Then tourism does not always and necessarily bring about the end of tradition (Mugerauer, 2004). Instead, the tradition itself is demand-sensitive and goes through an adaptive transformation.

There are perils in this dual process of globalization and relocalization, however. For one, arts and culture complexes face intensified competition for cultural consumption. For another, the global market will inevitably mean a larger, yet unstable and unpredictable market, where external economic forces, world events and other extra-regional factors impact on a localized creative process, putting cultural survival at the mercy of global fashion and changing tastes. In this sense, whereas market success may depend on tourists, the locals, besides sustaining basic demand, offer an important service as providers of quality standards through their sophisticated knowledge and discriminating tastes for the art form.

Finally, cultural tourism depends, on the one hand, on the global diffusion of an art form and associated knowledge. Yet, on the other hand, should an art form diffuse across space, and do so with uniform quality, cultural tourism will cease to exist. Because foreign aficionados recognize quality in the art form provided through various performances and events as well as in schools otherwise unparalleled elsewhere, they travel long distances to appreciate this art form in Andalusia, sustaining Andalusia’s status as the ‘Mecca’ for flamenco artists. Businesses, the state and the tourists, both foreign and domestic, contribute to the highly sought-after authenticity. Cultural tourism is therefore a search for authenticity in many ways, a search for a highly grounded and place-specific form of art. Staging authenticity is instrumental for establishing successful cultural tourism, and also for the survival of an art form.
References


chronicle of Andalusian tourism]. Turismo Andaluz, Malaga.


Junta de Andalucía (2006b) Plan Director Marketing Andalucía 2006/08 Factores de competitividad para la mejora de la promoción y comercialización turística de Andalucía [Competitive factors to improve the promotion and marketing of tourism in Andalusia]. Junta de Andalucía, Seville.


Résumé

Ce travail montre comment la recherche sur les industries culturelles et le tourisme combinés peut apporter des perspectives sur les dynamiques contemporaines de survie culturelle à l’ère de la mondialisation. Le tourisme devient une force économique considérable qui facilite la mobilité culturelle et favorise la consommation culturelle, ce qui contribue à la croissance d’une industrie culturelle inscrite au plan régional. Prenant le cas de la musique et de la danse flamenco dans le sud de l’Espagne, l’article s’intéresse à trois agents qui participent à la conformation de ce complexe artistique : l’industrie culturelle, les touristes et l’État. Il analyse les modalités d’interaction entre ces agents, et montre comment l’engagement de ceux-ci à plusieurs échelons géographiques se traduit par un tourisme culturel spécifique et couronné de succès à Séville, en Andalousie. Le complexe artistique du flamenco subsiste et prospère aujourd’hui grâce à un talent local vivace, étroitement lié à la préservation d’une identité, allié à des touristes nationaux et étrangers qui prennent part à la consommation culturelle, ainsi qu’au gouvernement qui finance les artistes à travers des spectacles subventionnés par l’État.