The Zambra, Tourism, and Discourses of Authenticity in Granada's Flamenco Scene

MATTHEW MACHIN-AUTENRIETH

Abstract: The zambra is a genre and context of flamenco unique to the Gitano (Gypsy) neighbourhood of Sacromonte (Granada), which throughout its historical development has been closely intertwined with tourism. Framed by recent musical and social change in the zambra, this article examines debates regarding tourism, authenticity, and local heritage in Sacromonte. Previous research has focused on the economic and institutional dimensions of flamenco tourism with little consideration of local discourses. This article interrogates a static notion of "staged authenticity," instead focusing on the dynamic and contested relationship between music and tourism in the context of local musical practice.

Résumé : Le zambra est un genre de flamenco propre aux Gitans, dans le contexte unique des environs de Sacromonte, dans la région de Grenade, qui, au cours de son développement historique, s'est trouvé étroitement mêlé au tourisme. Dans le cadre des changements musicaux et sociaux qui sont récemment intervenus dans le zambra, cet article examine les débats portant sur le tourisme, l'authenticité et le patrimoine local à Sacromonte. De précédentes recherches se sont focalisées sur les dimensions économiques et institutionnelles du tourisme du flamenco, en portant peu attention aux discours locaux. Cet article interroge la notion statique de « l'authenticité mise en scène » au lieu de se restreindre à la dynamique et à la relation contestée entre la musique et le tourisme, dans le contexte de la pratique musicale locale.

Throughout its history, flamenco has been closely linked to the development of tourism and the formation of exotic stereotypes of Spanish identity. In recent years, flamenco has come to represent the political and cultural aspirations of an autonomous Andalusian region, while still an intrinsic part of the tourism industry. Some scholars have examined the political and economic role of flamenco in Andalusian tourism (Aix Gracia 2014; Aoyama 2009; Washabaugh 2012: 89-92), while a handful of others have offered ethnographic case studies that examine the links between flamenco, ethnic identity, heritage, and tourism (Giguère 2005,

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2010; Pasqualino 1998; Quintana 1998). This article focuses on one specific manifestation of flamenco and its role in the tourism industry: the *zambra* of Granada. The zambra is a performance context and genre unique to the Sacromonte neighbourhood of Granada and its *Gitano* (Gypsy) community, and is inseparable from the tourism industry. However, members of the local flamenco community rarely frequent these performances and therefore the zambra's reliance on tourism has led some aficionados and artists to criticize it for being a commercialized genre that departs from notions of "authenticity" in flamenco performance.

Yet, discourses of authenticity surrounding the zambra are often conflicting. On the one hand, the zambra as a context (i.e., cave venues) and Sacromonte as a locality are sites of so-called authenticity, because they have played an integral role in the historical development of flamenco and Granada's artistic lineages. Moreover, the zambra is also known for unique dance styles that exist nowhere else in Andalusia. On the other hand, the zambra is sometimes viewed as a commercial context degraded by tourism and detached from "true" flamenco artistry. Here, discourses of nostalgia for a golden age in Sacromonte when traditional dances were still performed are a counterpoint to this notion of degradation. I examine the different discourses and practices that characterize the zambra and its relationship with tourism. Invoking theoretical perspectives on music and tourism studies, I situate the zambra at the centre of conflicting discourses regarding tourism, authenticity, and local heritage in Granada.[1] As such, I hope to move beyond rigid notions of authenticity

> to explore the value of the tourist site, not to ascertain tourism's determinative influence on authentic culture (preservative or degenerative), but rather as a unique space within which multiple interpretations of a single ostensible culture can be negotiated, contested and consumed (whether by natives or outsiders). (Lacy and Douglass 2002: 7)

Flamenco Tourism

Flamenco's relationship with tourism is partly rooted in 19th-century Romanticism. The popularity of flamenco in Spain during the mid-to-late 19th century largely stemmed from the accounts of foreign travel writers and intellectuals who constructed notions of "Spanish-ness" built on Andalusian cultural stereotypes: Gypsy culture, flamenco, and Islamic architecture. For

many foreigners, "true" Spain existed in the south; the north was too similar to Europe and thus failed to quench a thirst for the exotic and the primitive (Charnon-Deutsch 2004; Fernández Cifuentes 2007). Spaniards themselves also capitalized on these external representations of national culture in the construction of a national identity. Flamenco was an important component of internal and "touristic" depictions of Spanish identity given its close association with the Gitano community and its typically "oriental" characteristics. Gradually, flamenco was popularized and commercialized in theatres known as *cafés cantantes* (Steingress 1993, 1998b), despite its seemingly humble beginnings as a form of social catharsis amongst subaltern groups in Andalusia (Mitchell 1994).[2] As the tradition increased in popularity so too did its relationship with tourism as more and more people visited Spain in search of exoticism within Europe.

It was during the Franco regime, however, that flamenco's role in tourism really gained prominence. During the 1950s and 60s, the regime started to open up politically and economically to the rest of the world, particularly as a result of diplomatic and military agreements with the United States during the Cold War. As a result, there was a large drive to promote tourism within the country. The exotic character of flamenco made it a suitable vehicle for the construction of an exportable image of Spain that encapsulated the regime's tourist slogan "*España es diferente*" (Spain is different). During this time, a number of venues (*tablaos*) emerged across Spain catering primarily, although not exclusively, to tourists. As Heffner Hayes states, the "official versio[n] of flamenco … captured all of the accessible tourist images of Spain in light-hearted, entertainment-orientated stage shows for the tablaos" (2009: 125).

Following Franco's death in 1975 and with the creation of a new constitution in 1978, Spain entered an era of democracy and modernization. An integral component of the "new" Spain was the decentralization of power to 17 autonomous regions (*comunidades autónomas*).[3] Culture has become an important tool for the representation of regional identities and the development of regional economies. In Andalusia, the regional government has monopolized the flamenco industry in the service of its own project of identity building.[4] Paradoxically, flamenco is used to demarcate a distinct regional identity as a response to globalization, while also functioning as a form of regional promotion in global circuits and tourism (Aix Gracia 2014: 337). Flamenco is now a profitable culture industry that contributes to Andalusia's economic development where tourism plays a pivotal role (Aoyama 2009).

Flamenco tourism predominantly takes place in Andalusian cities and their historical centres (such as Córdoba, Granada, Jerez de la Frontera, and Seville).[5] The economic geographer Yuko Aoyama (2009) argues that the

development of city-based flamenco tourism was part of a general shift in Andalusia from mass, beach tourism to cultural tourism. He describes the range of contexts in which flamenco and the tourism industry intertwine including venues, festivals, shops, museums, cultural centres, and schools (Aoyama 2009). Flamenco is also a form of niche tourism where people come to Andalusia to learn flamenco in its "homeland." Here, there is a certain fetishization of place where tourists view Andalusia as a site of pilgrimage in the search of "true" flamenco (Aoyama 2009; Connell and Gibson 2005). According to a document published by the Junta de Andalucía (2004), 626,000 tourists travelled to Andalusia in 2004 with flamenco as their principle motive, generating revenues of over 540 million euros. This figure only includes tourists who explicitly travelled for flamenco and so does not account for the huge number of "conventional" tourists who may well have seen flamenco performances.

Since 2004, flamenco tourism has increased exponentially, helping to raise awareness of Andalusian culture and to bolster the regional economy. Flamenco's inclusion in the Andalusian Statute of Autonomy in 2007 (Junta de Andalucía 2007; Machin-Autenrieth 2015, 2017) and its inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO in 2010 have led Andalusian institutions to invest even more attention and money in developing flamenco. As a result, schools/academies for foreign and native students are expanding, as well as the number of festivals and venues. Of course, in recent years the global economic crisis has had a dramatic impact on Andalusia, affecting unemployment rates and increasing levels of outward migration. However, tourism remains one of the region's most prominent forms of income, of which flamenco is an intrinsic part.

The literature on flamenco tourism is relatively limited.[6] Aoyama (2009) has examined in detail the economic dimension of flamenco tourism, exploring how local and regional institutions have an impact on this "regionally-embedded" culture industry. For Aoyama, "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" (2009: 98). Here, Aoyama draws upon MacCannell's (1973) theory of "staged authenticity" to account for constructions of cultural authenticity in flamenco tourist settings. However, such an approach does not consider the discursive dimension of flamenco tourism. How do artists negotiate discourses of authenticity? What role does flamenco tourism play in local conceptions of identity? Much of the existing literature on flamenco tourism focuses on top-down approaches and the political/economic characteristics of the industry. Aside from the work

of Giguère (2010), who explores the commercialization of flamenco in Jerez de la Frontera, the impact of tourism on local discourse and practice is less understood.

Ethnomusicologists are well positioned to deal with discourses of authenticity and identity in music tourism, given their emphasis on ethnography and grassroots musical practice (Krüger and Trandafoiu 2013). In flamenco, authenticity is often rooted in an idealized performance style—especially an austere, passionate, and rough style in song, which is seen as the most aesthetically superior performance medium. This authentic style is often collapsed into Gitano ethnicity, with many artists and aficionados arguing that only Gitanos can perform authentic flamenco.[7] However, different groups and artists often present divergent discourses of authenticity dependent on their social and geographical positions in the tradition.[8] Drawing on Giguère's (2010) work in Jerez, I argue that discourses of authenticity surrounding the zambra are based on four factors: the zambra's uniqueness as a context and genre; social networks and transmission lineages; particular places and contexts (i.e., the caves of Sacromonte); and nostalgia for a golden age of the zambra. What interests me is how tourism influences these discourses of authenticity. As a point of comparison, I invoke Jennifer Ryan's (2011) study of blues tourism on Beale Street, Memphis. She explores how musicians negotiate discourses of authenticity, which tend to position tourism as a corrupting force that belies idealized concepts of poverty and transcendentalism. I believe that the zambra is also a suitable case for discussing differing notions of authenticity and the relationship between tourism and local identity.

Flamenco Tourism in Granada

Granada is one of Spain's most popular tourist destinations and is particularly famous for its Islamic architectural legacy epitomized by the Alhambra Palace and the Albaicín. The legacy of Islamic Spain and the arguably mythical, utopian notion of *convivencia* (peaceful coexistence between Christians, Jews, and Muslims) are defining features of the tourism industry in Granada. Tourists come to relish in a reconstructed and idealized version of Granada's Islamic past (Calderwood 2014). Flamenco plays an important role in this representation of Granada's history. In particular, Granada is often portrayed as a key location for interactions between *Moriscos* and Gitanos that allegedly paved the way for the development of flamenco (Bäcker 2005; Infante [1923-33] 2010; Cruces Roldán 2003; Gelardo Navarro 1996).[9] Moreover, certain stylistic characteristics in flamenco such as its melodic structure, ornamental

vocal style, and dance resonate with orientalized representations of Granada. Throughout the city, flamenco can be found in a variety of contexts that attract both tourists and locals,[10] including large festivals, tablaos and more traditional venues such as the Peña la Platería.[11] The city also has a number of shops selling flamenco wares, as well as schools that offer courses in guitar and dance for foreigners.

The Sacromonte neighbourhood is perhaps the most popular flamenco context topping the itineraries of most tourists visiting Granada. This traditionally Gitano neighbourhood is slightly isolated from the urban centre and stages zambras for tourists nearly every night of the year. The zambra is both a context of performance and a genre that is unique to Granada: it exists nowhere else in Andalusia and thus enables a local reading of flamenco as a tourism industry. As a context, the zambra refers to caves that host performances and that were once homes for the Gitano community (Pérez Casas 1982). These caves provide an intimate and seemingly authentic context for the consumption of touristic spectacles. As a genre, the *zambra gitana* (Gypsy zambra) refers to a distinct sub-genre of flamenco that is based on traditional Gitano wedding rituals. Nowadays, it is occasionally performed as a re-enactment of the wedding ritual, consisting of a number of choreographed dance routines including the *alboreá*, *cachucha*, *fandango del Albaicín*, *mosca, tana,* and *tango de la flor*. One characteristic that distinguishes the zambra gitana from other flamenco styles is the presence of group dancing, including stylized circle dances. Moreover, the zambra gitana's basis in folk tradition in terms of melodic form, meter, and vocal and instrumental style is more notable than in the majority of flamenco forms. Traditionally, the zambra gitana also made use of the *bandurria*, a mandolin-type instrument that has fallen out of use since the 1960s.

The Origins and Development of the Zambra

Scholarly literature regarding the zambra is limited, but there exists a small body of work by local flamencologists and aficionados that examines its historical development.[12] First appearances of the word zambra referred to festive rituals of music and dance enacted by the Morisco community of Granada (see Mármol y Carvajal 1600). Following the Reconquest of Granada in 1492, Moriscos were initially permitted to continue cultural customs, including the zambra. However, during the middle of the 16th century, these customs were banned as the Inquisition strengthened in its persecutory fervour. In 1609, Moriscos were officially expelled from Spain

following violent uprisings. However, scholars argue that some remained by hiding in the mountains of the Alpujarras or by disguising themselves amongst the Gypsy community. Moriscos and Gitanos allegedly engaged in cultural exchange, given their shared position of social marginality. Gradually, Morisco cultural practices were subsumed into the Gitano community thus paving the way for the development of the zambra and possibly flamenco more generally (Albaicín 2011; Gelardo Navarro 1996; Mitchell 1994).

The word zambra reappeared in the context of the *zambra gitana granadina*, a term used by Antonio Torcuato Martín "el Cujón" in the 1840s to refer to a choreographed flamenco spectacle based on Gitano wedding dances (Albaicín 2011: 20-21). Since the late 18th century, travel writers had been fascinated with Granada as a site of exoticism and romanticism steeped in Islamic history and inhabited by "primitive" figures such as Gitanos. "El Cujón" capitalized on the influx of foreign visitors who were in search of exotic representations of Spanish-ness. Linked to the Gitano community and evocative of Granada's Islamic past, the zambra awakened a romantic desire for the primitive and the exotic. In 1881, the first cave in Sacromonte, called the Zambra de los Amaya, was opened to the public and which catered to this burgeoning tourism industry.

In the 20th century, the zambra entered its golden age as numerous caves were opened to take advantage of tourism and the visits of political and royal figures from around the globe.[13] In the early 1950s, there were 3,682 inhabited caves with the majority of the population being Gitanos (Pérez Casas 1982). Flamenco was a prominent feature of the neighbourhood's soundscape.[14] However, in 1963 floods in the area irreconcilably changed the neighbourhood and its zambras. The majority of Gitano families were moved to other areas of Andalusia or Madrid, either voluntarily, or more commonly they were forced by local authorities (Albaicín 2011). This redistribution of the Gitano community echoed a wider process of so-called "urban development" during the 1960s, which saw the removal of Gitano populations in other parts of Spain, most notably the Triana neighbourhood of Seville. Those that had been flamenco performers in Sacromonte started working in tablaos on the Costa del Sol or in Madrid, taking advantage of the increase in tourism during the 1960s (Lorente Rivas 2007). Although there were attempts to rekindle the neighbourhood and its zambras during the late 1960s, Sacromonte entered a period of decline and in the 1970s many of the caves were taken over by discos (Lorente Rivas 2007).

In the 1980s, Sacromonte began to open up to tourism again with some Gitano families moving back into the area to reinvigorate flamenco tourism. The model of the zambra had changed, however. Despite attempts to revive

the traditional zambra gitana, the repertoire of the zambra shifted to the model of the *tablao* that was popular across Spain.[15] As Lorente Rivas states:

> Attempts to revitalize the traditional zambra at the end of the 80s were doomed to failure; the performers were very old and lived outside of the neighbourhood, and the economy and model of the *tablao* and festivals had taken over the *zambra sacromontana*. (2007: 15)

As this quotation shows, the reasons for this shift were multiple. The lines of transmission that once supported the zambra gitana had been broken following the floods, and younger artists started to train in modern styles outside of the familial environment. Moreover, these artists were attracted by the growing international popularity of flamenco as a world music genre, spearheaded by innovative artists such as Paco de Lucía (1947-2014). Young artists were less inclined to continue the folk-based and perceivably simplistic styles of the zambra gitana, instead opting for the virtuosic and individualistic characteristics of modern flamenco that emerged in the 1970s. These factors had a profound effect on the zambra gitana to the extent that its survival as a genre today is in doubt.

The Zambra as a Tourist Spectacle

While the repertoire of the zambra may have changed, it is still a successful economic enterprise that is inextricably linked to the tourism industry. More than a century of interaction between tourists and Gitano performers has left an indelible mark on the zambra, such that tourism is engrained in its social and performative structure. As Connell and Gibson (2005: 148-9) argue, tourism can be part of so-called traditional practice in music and is not simply a superficial industry that obscures private socio-musical life. This is certainly true of the zambra. Even until the floods in 1963, tourism and daily social life in Sacromonte were inseparable. Recent demographic changes have meant that performers tend to work in Sacromonte and live elsewhere. Nonetheless, the structure of the zambra as a performative industry is impossible to understand without tourism.

Today, there are four main, privately owned zambras that continue to offer performances: Cueva de la Rocío, Venta el Gallo, Cuevas los Tarantos, and Zambra María la Canastera.[16] In order to understand the makeup of the flamenco tourism industry in Sacromonte, it is worth discussing each of these

caves in turn. The Cueva de la Rocío is perhaps one of the most well-known caves in Sacromonte having opened in 1952 and belonging to the Mayas, a prestigious Gitano family. The cave has been visited by a number of famous figures, the most recent being Michelle Obama in 2010. Venta el Gallo is positioned higher up in Sacromonte and actually advertises itself as a tablao rather than a zambra, perhaps because there is a stage for performance (normally artists perform in the middle of the cave). Cuevas los Tarantos is another well-known zambra founded in 1972 that gained popularity during the 1990s. This cave occupies a prime position at the entrance point to Sacromonte and so is the first that tourists encounter. Finally, the Zambra María la Canastera, founded in 1954, is best known for its supposedly "authentic" interpretation of the zambra gitana, incorporating original wedding dances into its repertoire (discussed in detail below).

All of these zambras follow a similar model in the experience that they offer to tourists where performances are usually part of a larger package. Typically, tourists are picked up from their hotel in coaches and driven to Sacromonte. Some will then be treated to a dinner with local specialties and then the show usually lasts around an hour, with a drink offered halfway through. The Venta el Gallo also offers a night tour of Sacromonte following the performance. The zambra experience takes place in a particularly felicitous setting, with the backdrop of the Alhambra lit up against the night sky and is often regarded as one of the highlights of a trip to Granada. The profile of tourists who attend these performances is wide-ranging and when I visited the caves there were a number of different nationalities present, including American, British, French, Japanese, and South American.

As Aubert (2007: 24-29) argues, tourists are often in search of an authentic cultural experience that allows them to transcend their own value systems and cultural perceptions. He identifies four different "categories of the authentic" (art genres, ritual genres, folk genres, and ethnic genres) in his discussion of staged performances of traditional musics. According to these categories, the zambra would uneasily fall somewhere between a folk genre that embraces festivity and harks back to a golden age and an "ethnic" genre that celebrates a cultural Other, in this case the valorization of a Gypsy ethnicity (2007: 27). Indeed, the caves' marketing strategies are aimed at constructing a particular vision of the zambra based on typical stereotypes of place (the idealized, "oriental" connotations of Sacromonte and the Alhambra) and "primitive" representations of Gypsy ethnicity. For example, the website of the Cuevas los Tarantos states: "Enjoy an unforgettable evening at Cuevas los Tarantos. Meet an authentic Gypsy Zambra. Flamenco full of purity and feeling, in an incomparable place The Sacromonte Caves."[17]

The performance setting is also carefully orchestrated to provide spectators with a representation of reality, or what Debord (1994) has described as the "society of the spectacle." When tourists enter the caves, the appearance of their surroundings immediately evokes a sense of cultural authenticity rooted in idealized notions of place, history, and ethnicity. Here, it is useful to revisit MacCannell's (1973) notion of staged authenticity, itself based on Goffman's (1959) theorization of front and back social regions. According to MacCannell, tourist contexts often construct front regions (i.e., public meeting places for hosts and guests) in the image of back regions (i.e., private spaces where "authentic" social practice occurs). This spatial transformation fulfills the touristic desire to enter back regions, which they view as spaces of authentic experience. The zambra is an interesting case in point when interpreted according to MacCannell's theory. On the one hand, these caves and the performances in them have been set up to maximize the touristic experience and thus economic revenue. The caves are adorned with photographs of famous visitors, paraphernalia, pots, and garments to give the impression of a so-called back region—or in this instance a place in which Gitanos live and work.

However, this differentiation between front and back regions is difficult when the very nature of the zambra is inseparable from tourism. These caves and their performances have been intrinsic to Gitano social life and cultural identity in Sacromonte for many years. They are inscribed with local history and heritage. Indeed, the images that adorn the walls are sources of local pride and not simply tourist magnets, and therefore it is impossible to disentangle touristic perceptions and the cultural significance of these images and artifacts for the artists themselves. While few Gitanos live in the caves nowadays, they *were* the homes and places of work for many Gitano families. Therefore, at least from a historical perspective, it is impossible to separate tourism and the zambra from so-called authentic cultural life in Sacromonte. In a sense, then, tourists are entering the shadow of a "back" region or what Baudrillard (1994) has described as a simulacrum: a representation or copy of a social reality that no longer exists as it once did. These caves, then, can be viewed as reincarnations of a local context that invoke a nostalgic past before the floods and migrations that irreconcilably altered the Sacromonte neighbourhood.

The performances themselves are structured in such a way that tourists are offered a unique experience unlike any other in Andalusia, even if the music performed in the majority of the caves is the same as in any tablao. The set-up of the performances in each cave tends to follow the same format.[18] With the exception of the Venta el Gallo, which has a stage at the back, performances take place in the middle of the cave with audience members seated along the edge of the cave wall and the performers in the middle or to the sides. This

means that audience members are in amongst the artists, adding to a constructed atmosphere of intimacy. Usually, there is a small ensemble consisting of a guitarist, a singer, and two people clapping seated close to the audience. Forming the centrepiece and always the focal point for audience members is the dancer, and these shows consist of solo dances performed in turn by a male and female dancer. The female dancer is usually dressed in a localized version of a typical flamenco dress, which continues stereotypical representations of the female, Gypsy figure in flamenco. As is normal in flamenco performances, the dancers perform on wooden boards thus contributing to the percussive sound of the footwork and slightly deadening the overall volume given the acoustic nature of the caves. The singers and guitarists are usually amplified, a non-traditional practice in the zambra that is of particular benefit to the guitarist as it allows him to perform more virtuosic material and extended *falsetas* (melodic sequences).[19] As discussed above, the typical repertoire of these zambras is usually that which can be found in any tablao and includes more accessible, energetic *palos* (such as bulerías and tangos) and the profounder palos (such as *soleá*).

At the end of the performance, audience members are usually invited to dance with the performers, enabling them to interact with the artists. Overall, the performances are intimate, loud, and flamboyant, offering a unique experience to visitors. The physical closeness between audience and performer and the lack of conventional rowed, concert seating adds to an almost communal atmosphere that contributes to a sense of cultural authenticity. Audience members are able to get closer to the artists than in any other performance in the intimate and richly decorated setting of the cave, a stark departure from the somewhat "sterile" and familiar setting of conventional concert venues or tablaos. As Aubert (2007: 32) notes, the performances here can be read as a "game of mirrors" because audience and performer "each looks to the other for the reflection of his or her own ideal": for tourists, the search for an authentic cultural experience in the "back region" as a form of cultural voyeurism; and for performers, an opportunity to present and valorize their cultural traditions and to earn a living. However, the relevance of the zambra for the local community is often contested due to the uneasy relationship between the zambra's role in tourism and its cultural value as a form of local heritage.

The Zambra in Local Discourse

In the context of the Beale Street blues industry, Ryan (2011) explores narratives of purism that counteract the perceived corrupting impact of tourism. She argues that the blues is tied to essentialized discourses of the

"black experience" such as poverty, rurality, non-commercialism, and authentic venues. As such, many purists view tourism as a corrupting force where musicians seek commercial gain. Yet, Ryan uncovers a schism between the discourses of aficionados and the reality of musicians who do not necessarily seek authenticity in the first place. Rather, musicians use tourist contexts as a source of regular income and even as a means for developing musicianship and virtuosity. However, she argues that the "decoupling of musical authenticity and labor has led to situations in which folkloric authenticity seems to be used as an excuse to pay musicians less" in what she calls the "fetishization of poverty" (Ryan 2011: 496). While I am not approaching the zambra from the perspectives of economics and labour, similar discourses of commercialism and authenticity characterize responses to flamenco tourism in Sacromonte. Moreover, similar discursive divisions exist between aficionados and musicians.

Lorente Rivas (2007) argues that for some people in Granada (particularly aficionados), tourism is the "enemy" of traditional flamenco. This is coupled with the notion that artists involved in the tablaos and zambras are somehow "second-rate" in quality (Lorente Rivas 2007), an opinion that was replicated in my own fieldwork. This disregard for flamenco tourism is commonly to be found amongst aficionados who tend to frequent more orthodox venues, most notably *peñas*.[20] Peñas are usually membership based and attract aficionados who are very knowledgeable in flamenco. Dance is usually, although not always, seen as less important and is more associated with tourism. Instead, performances in peñas tend to centre on voice and guitar, and are usually guided by faithfulness to the traditional repertoire and aesthetics. The zambra is often seen as a departure from the practices that characterize so-called authentic performances in peñas, because of its relationship with tourism. Therefore, a number of aficionados I spoke to view the zambra as a commercial enterprise that exists only for tourism and represents the degradation of Sacromonte.

However, a certain ambivalence characterizes attitudes towards the zambra. Many people I spoke to also felt a sense of nostalgia for a bygone era, expressing the idea that Sacromonte had lost something of its artistic heritage. In particular, people referred to the zambra gitana as a traditional representation of Gitano culture and a locally embedded manifestation of flamenco found nowhere else in the world. Aficionados talked negatively of the zambra nowadays, but nostalgically of its past, linking the genre with notions of cultural memory and heritage. One aficionado told me: "Let's remain clear, the genuine zambra granadina died, sadly it died … it died during the floods in Granada" (personal communication, May 2, 2012). This quotation reflects the sad loss of an integral part of Granada's flamenco artistry, which is here described as the zambra granadina rather than the zambra gitana, thus

privileging local identity over ethnicity. This sense of nostalgia is curious, given that the zambra gitana itself as it existed in Sacromonte's so-called golden age was just as implicated in tourism as the contemporary zambra is now. However, the difference lies in the fact that the city has lost a unique form of local heritage. As such, significant musical and social change in the zambra has given way to the alleged commercialization of flamenco in the model of an overarching regional and international style.

With reference to the work of Fox Gotham (2002), Aoyama argues 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" (Aoyama 2009: 83). This tension pervades the zambra, but needs to be understood in a temporal frame. According to these discourses of authenticity, the zambra's past emphasizes place distinctiveness (through the zambra gitana), and its present represents the replacement of local heritage with a commercialized form of flamenco tourism. Both the zambra's past and present are inseparable from tourism, but in the eyes of many aficionados its past holds value over its present. In the next section, I will explore the discourses that emerged from my interactions with musicians in the Sacromonte community. While they may share similar notions of nostalgia and loss, many still viewed Sacromonte as an important site of local identity and a crucible of artistic talent. Moreover, attempts are being made to reconcile the past with the present by reinterpreting the zambra gitana in certain contexts.

Reconciling the Past and the Present: Revisiting the Zambra Gitana

In the summer of 2012, I was able to meet with the singer and writer Curro Albaicín, one of the most prolific gatekeepers of the Sacromonte community. He was born in 1948 to a family of flamenco artists who had performed in the zambras of Sacromonte for many years. His nostalgia for the neighbourhood is particularly profound and captures the idea of a golden age prior to the floods when thousands of Gitanos lived and performed in Sacromonte. I asked him to describe his memory of the place:

> It was a neighbourhood where people lived, where 6,000 people lived who all learnt flamenco, forging, basket making … but they dedicated themselves to flamenco.… It was beautiful because it was our home and all the tourists that came up the hill stayed to see how we lived … it was beautiful. (personal communication, May 9, 2012)

What is particularly revealing about this quotation is the role of tourism, which is seen as inextricably linked to local life at this time. Indeed, many artists I spoke with were not necessarily critical of tourism—quite the contrary; they often viewed it as an intrinsic element of the social history of Sacromonte. When I asked Curro how the neighbourhood has changed, he spoke negatively and drew attention to the sheer number of families who have left or were forced out of Sacromonte. This altered the ways in which families learnt flamenco and thus broke the line of transmission for the zambra gitana. He is still proud of his neighbourhood and its close link to local and ethnic identity, but his sense of loss and nostalgia is palpable. Tourism was not a culprit here, but rather a given element of Sacromonte's past and present. Instead, Curro was critical of institutional intervention and its ambivalence to the zambra as a form of local heritage.

Beyond the realm of discourse, the caves themselves are also repositories of local memory and heritage. Upon entering Curro's cave I was struck by the number of photographs and newspaper clips documenting the local performers and famous visitors that had visited the cave. This cave once offered zambras, but now only holds private events and is being turned into an archive and museum. This memorialization of local heritage is part of a wider sense of local pride. People I spoke to talked of the famous figures that had visited the caves such as heads of state or film stars. However, these discourses of nostalgia and pride are not only rooted in the past with a sense of loss dominating the present. Musicians and performers recognize that tourism in Sacromonte is still an integral component of the neighbourhood even if an older way of life and musical transmission may have changed. Tourism is crucial to the development of Sacromonte and provides economic stability for its performers, as well as an opportunity to display and valorize what is left of Sacromonte's flamenco heritage. Pride is also prominent in terms of Sacromonte's artistic legacy, both past and present. People often talked to me about the number of famous artists who had trained in the zambras and then took Granada's flamenco to the rest of the world.[21] The artistic quality of performers from Granada, and specifically those who trained in Sacromonte, contradicts the notion that touristic performers are "second rate," as discussed above.

There are also attempts to revive the traditional forms of the zambra gitana as a way of invoking the golden age of Sacromonte. Interestingly, some of these attempts have emerged as private initiatives that are not targeted at the tourist trade. For example, Curro Albaicín is involved in private events where artists are contracted to perform the zambra gitana.[22] Even the Platería has become involved in the preservation of the zambra gitana with it recently

Fig. 1. Inside the Zambra María la Canastera. Photo by author.

Fig. 2. Performance in the Zambra María la Canastera. Photo by author.

holding a course in collaboration with Curro where the traditional dances of the zambra were taught to students.[23] However, an attempted revival of the zambra gitana is also evident in the tourism sector, and the Zambra María la Canastera packages itself as the only cave to offer the "authentic" zambra gitana (Figs. 1 and 2).[24]

This cave was founded by María "la Canastera" Cortés Heredia (1914-66) in 1954 and gained popularity during the early 1960s (Fig. 1), even surviving the floods. Today, the cave is managed by her son Enrique "el Canastero," and as well as holding regular performances, it also operates as a small museum. Its website gives a good indication of the importance placed on the historical legacy of the cave and its continuation of the zambra gitana.[25] The website contains information regarding the traditional format of the zambra gitana, photos of famous visitors, and the history of the cave. The cave itself is also a site of local memory with pictures, memorabilia, copper pots, and bowls covering the walls and ceiling. A CD is available of María "la Canastera" and her group recorded in 1966 that features styles from the zambra gitana.

Beyond these material items, the artists interpret some traditional group dances unique to the zambra gitana that are performed on the cave floor and not on wooden tablaos as in the other zambras (Fig. 2).[26] Moreover, guitarists and singers do not use amplification unlike in some of the other caves. The traditional guitar parts, based largely on strummed chord patterns,

are loud enough to cut through the clatter of heels on the cave floor and the sound of clapping (*palmas*). When I spoke with Enrique, he emphasized the authentic nature of the performances in his cave and almost welcomed the role of tourism, although he did speak negatively of the lack of local audience members (personal communication, May 6, 2012). Enrique also highlighted the familial form of transmission that still occurs in the zambra. I took lessons with one of the cave's guitarists, Antonio Heredia, who also spoke of his musical formation in the cave amongst family members. While he now plays other modern styles, he did not train in conservatoires or academies, having learnt his trade in a local familial environment.

This analysis of the Zambra María la Canastera clashes with dominant discourses regarding the loss of tradition and transmission, nostalgia, and the rejection of Sacromonte's contemporary tourism industry. Seemingly, this zambra continues the practices of the 1950s and 60s prior to the floods, maintaining both the traditional forms of the zambra gitana and its transmission practices. However, such an interpretation needs to be approached with caution. When I discussed the Zambra María la Canastera with other musicians and aficionados, many disregarded its narrative of authenticity, claiming that only loose renditions of the zambra gitana are performed there. Indeed, when comparing the dances performed in the cave with those presented in a promotional video of the zambra gitana produced in 1991 (see note 26), what is now performed in the Zambra María la Canastera is a stripped-down version of the zambra gitana, with fewer dancers and combined with "conventional" flamenco styles performed by solo dancers. Arguably then, the notion of stylistic authenticity is located in the past because for some people, the Zambra María la Canastera only pays lip service to traditional practices. Nonetheless, Enrique (like Curro) is striving to represent the zambra gitana beyond Sacromonte, having recently presented a proposal to the Andalusian Institute of Flamenco to include a performance of the zambra gitana by artists of the Zambra María la Canastera as part of the festival circuit *Flamenco viene del sur*. Time will tell as to whether the proposal is successful.

Conclusion

In sum, the Zambra María la Canastera perhaps remains as a shadow of a former era when music, Gitano socio-cultural life, and tourism seemed to interact and coexist. Discourses of nostalgia and local identity are intrinsic to how the zambra (as a context and genre) is understood in Sacromonte despite its reliance on the tourism industry. Although renditions of the

zambra gitana exist in some form, its continued survival remains in doubt. In this article, I have argued that the zambra cannot simply be interpreted from the perspective of staged authenticity, packaged for the consumption of tourists. While some may criticize the zambra as a commercialized touristic display that is detached from "true" flamenco, tourism *is* in fact its authenticity. The zambra both in its idealized past and its contested present cannot be divorced from its relationship with tourism. Yet, it remains an important marker of local and ethnic identity, and a fruitful economic enterprise for its exponents. The zambra, therefore, is a pertinent case study for understanding the complex relationship between music and tourism, encouraging scholars to look beyond the notion of the corrupting impact of tourism on musical practice.

Notes

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1. This article is partly based on ethnographic field research conducted in Granada in 2012 and 2015.

2. Debate continues regarding the historical development of flamenco. Scholars sometimes foreground a particular socio-cultural reading of flamenco and its relevance for different categories of identity: as a transcendental, universalist tradition born of Spanish nationalism in commercial contexts (see for example Steingress 1993, 1998a, 1998b, 2002); as a regional phenomenon that emerged from the Andalusian working classes (see for example Cruces Roldán 2002); or the cultural property of Gitanos (see for example Mairena and Molina 1967).

3. Andalusia gained its autonomy in 1981. For a thorough analysis of Andalusian regionalism and political autonomy, see Cortes Peña (2001); Gilmore (1981); Moreno Navarro (1993); and Newton (1982).

4. Key sources in this area include: Aix Gracia (2014); Cruces Roldán (2002); Machin-Autenrieth (2015, 2017); Manuel (1989); Steingress (1998a, 1998b, 2002); and Washabaugh (1996, 2012).

5. It is important to recognize that flamenco also has an important role in the tourism industries of Barcelona and Madrid.

6. Existing studies include: Aoyama (2009); Calado Olvio (2007); Giguère (2010); and Washabaugh (2012: 89-92).

7. This Gitano discourse reached its zenith during the 1960s and 70s due to the writings of the Gypsy singer and writer Antonio Mairena (1909-83). He viewed the *Gitano* community as central to flamenco authenticity, often disregarding the stylistic contributions of non-Gitanos. The influence of his ideological legacy is so powerful that a Gitano-centric bias in flamenco discourse is usually referred to as *mairenismo*.

8. For theoretical perspectives on authenticity, see Aubert (2007: 23-33).

9. *Morisco* is the term often used to refer to Muslims who were forced to convert to Christianity following the Catholic reconquest of Islamic territories in Spain.

10. For a useful overview of all the flamenco contexts and performances in Granada, see http://www.granadaesflamenco.com (accessed November 16, 2016).

11. The Platería was the first *peña* to be established in Spain (1949), initially as a series of gatherings between aficionados (see Machin-Autenrieth 2017: 123-32). *Peñas* are a setting for the performance of traditional, orthodox flamenco that usually centres on song and guitar (Malefyt 1997, 1998). Many never open for tourists, maintaining their reputation as private, membership-based contexts for aficionados. The Platería only opens to tourists on Thursday evenings.

12. This literature includes: Albaicín (2011); Cabrero Palomares (2009); Lorente Rivas (2007); Martos Sánchez (2008); Molina Fajardo (1974); and Navarro García (1993). In Chapter 7 of my monograph, I also discuss the zambra within the context of localism in Granada's flamenco scene (Machin-Autenrieth 2017).

13. Albaicín gives a comprehensive overview of the appearance and disappearance of different zambra*s* in Sacromonte (2011: 73-83).

14. Alan Lomax recorded the zambra in Sacromonte during his tour of Spain in 1952-3. For an example, see http://research.culturalequity.org/get-audio-detailed-recording.do?recordingId=22351# (accessed November 16, 2016).

15. Broadly speaking, the repertoire in tablao performances consists of typical styles that are considered the core repertoire of flamenco. Usually, performers will focus on lighter more festive styles (such as *bulerías*, *alegrias,* and *tangos*) in order to fulfill the tastes of a predominantly tourist audience.

16. There are other caves in Sacromonte that offer different types of flamenco events or tablao-inspired performances. La Bulería, for example, is a flamenco "club" that opens late after the zambras have finished and attracts a mix of locals and tourists. Some caves also offer private performances for organized groups or special occasions.

17. See http://www.cuevaslostarantos.com/ (accessed November 16, 2016).

18. For a depiction of a typical performance in one of the caves, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tKCzYhAJmW0&spfreload=10 (accessed April 27, 2016). This video was taken in the Cueva de los Tarantos and is a performance of a tangos.

19. I note the use of "him" here. I only met one female guitarist in Granada,

and all of the guitarists I am aware of in the zambras are male. For more on the flamenco guitar and gender, see Lorenzo Arribas (2011). For issues of gender in relation to flamenco song, see Chuse (2003).

20. Malefyt (1998) explores the role of peñas in the socialization of traditional flamenco, contrasting them with commercial contexts such as the tablao. According to him, aficionados view peñas as "inside" spaces, whereas tablaos and tourist flamenco are constructed as "public"/"outside" spaces. As well as providing a space to distance flamenco from commercial ventures, Malefyt argues that peñas are also gendered, male spaces that underscore social distinctions between men and women in Southern Spain. Although I find Malefyt's binary of public and private spaces overly simplistic, some of his findings echo my own research experience in Granada.

21. Artists famous to Sacromonte and Granada include the Habichuelas, Enrique and Estrella Morente, Juan Andres Maya, Mario Maya, and Manolete to name but a few.

22. Curro was also involved in the filming of a documentary regarding Sacromonte and its history, people, and music. For a trailer, see http://www.deflamenco.com/revista/noticias/sacromonte-los-sabios-de-la-tribu-de-chus-gutierrez-1.html (accessed November 16, 2016).

23. See http://www.laplateria.org.es/8-de-noviembre-curso-de-introduccion-los-bailes-de-la-zambra-del-sacromonte-granadino/ (accessed November 16, 2016).

24. All photographs were taken by the author. I would like to thank Enrique "el Canastero" for allowing me to take and reproduce photographs of the Zambra María la Canastera (Figures 1 and 2).

25. See http://www.marialacanastera.com (accessed November 16, 2016).

26. For a video depicting the zambra gitana as traditionally performed in the Zambra María la Canastera, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c78fzmRXOtg&spfreload=10 (accessed November 16, 2016). This video is actually a performance recorded for Canal Sur Televisión in 1991 and so does not depict the tourist performance offered nowadays. I was not permitted to record during the performance I attended, and other YouTube videos are not representative of the zambra gitana. However, this video should give an idea of three of the key dances: the *alboreá*, the *cachucha*, and the *mosca*.

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