

Flamenco as a cultural good. A dynamic analysis of the supply of live flamenco shows in the city of Seville (Spain) 2006-2013.

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Abstract Flamenco, designated by UNESCO as world intangible cultural heritage, is key to any understanding of the cultural essence of Andalusia (Spain). Its availability and supply as a cultural good offer enormous appeal in terms of tourism and are thus a major source of employment and wealth. The present paper pursues a twofold objective. Firstly, we seek to describe flamenco as a cultural good from the standpoint of cultural economics. Secondly, we aim to analyse the offer of live flamenco in the city of Seville (Spain) vis-à-vis two variables: its nature (public, private, and non-profit) as well as the various expressions thereof (singing, dancing, and the two combined) together with a dynamic analysis of the supply of live flamenco shows over the period 2006-2013. To achieve this, the authors draw on the data source provided by the Guía Flama, a private guide reflecting the detailed programme of all the firms and live shows offered each month since 2006. The article contributes to literature on immaterial heritage in two ways: firstly by exploring, from the perspective of cultural economics, the phenomenon of flamenco, an example of immaterial heritage par excellence in Andalusia, and specifically for the city of Seville, and which constitutes a complex cultural good merging elements of the performing arts with features of conventional creative industries; and secondly by conducting a dynamic analysis of the supply of live flamenco shows, both aspects having remained unexplored to date in cultural economics. The findings to emerge might shed light on how to implement cultural policies that could foster cultural tourism and thus help boost the productive fabric of the economy, not only in Seville but also at a regional scale.

Keywords: Flamenco, intangible cultural heritage, dynamic analysis of supply, cultural economics, cultural tourism.

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1. Introduction

Designated by UNESCO as intangible cultural heritage in 2010, Flamenco is key to understanding the culture of Andalusia (Spain). UNESCO (2003, art. 2) defines intangible cultural heritage as “*practices, representations, expressions, knowledge*

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and skills –as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith- that communities, groups and in some cases individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage is considered traditional, since it is transmitted from generation to generation and is at the same time alive since it is recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity”².

Immaterial cultural heritage is today one of the main fields of analysis in the area of creative economics not only due to its important value as cultural capital in a region or country but also as a strategic factor in generating wealth and employment (UNESCO 2013). In addition, it plays a major role in strengthening the sense of identity or of belonging to a community and leads to greater social cohesion.

Flamenco is the most important cultural manifestation of intangible cultural heritage in Andalusia, and is also the main sign of identity in the region as well as being a unique symbol of Spanish culture around the world. This has led to it being considered as an image of *brand mark Spain*. This cultural expression forms part of the historical, economic, social, and cultural framework of Andalusia over the past two centuries.

The present paper pursues two main objectives: firstly to describe Flamenco as a cultural good from the perspective of cultural economics, and secondly to analyse the supply of live flamenco shows in the city of Seville (Spain) based on two aspects: types of cultural enterprises, with regard to two variables, the nature thereof (public, private and non-profit) and their diversity (song, dance, mixed), and a dynamic analysis of the supply of live flamenco shows over the period 2006-2013.

The main hypothesis to be tested is the ever more commonplace consideration of flamenco as a key component of the performing arts. This is supported by the increased availability of shows over the period studied, which has not been particularly affected during the financial crisis.

As a cultural expression, flamenco has been explored from a range of different perspectives, with a number of studies addressing the topic from the anthropological and sociological standpoint (Cano et al. 2001, Moreno 2002, Cruces 2002a, Cruces 2002b, Cruces 2003, Steingress 2002, Ros and Rios 2010), given flamenco’s link to the identity of Andalusia. There are many references in the world of literature (Machado, 1986, 1988, 1998; García Lorca 1992, Caballero Bonald, 1988) and it has had a major impact on the Spanish language (Ropero Nuñez, 1989a, 1989b, 1991, 1997). Not until recently, however, has it become the focus of analysis from the perspective of economics, as a result of being seen as intangible cultural heritage, something to be preserved and a consumer cultural good, as well as in terms of production and distribution. In the field of economics, however, studies into flamenco remain scarce. Prominent works include those of Acuña (2006) into flamenco as an economic resource, or the economic impact of

² Immaterial heritage is thus manifested through: a) oral traditions and expressions, including language; b) performing arts; c) social usages, rituals, and festive arts; d) knowledge and uses related to knowledge as well as uses related to nature and the universe, e) traditional craftsmanship

flamenco in the culture industry in Andalusia as explored in the works of Ortega (2006) and Ruiz and Pérez (2011). The study of Cantero and Hernández (2009) analyses the economics of flamenco in Seville. All of the works mentioned are descriptive except for Ruiz and Pérez, which offers data on the aggregated economic indicators of flamenco. To date, there is no study describing flamenco as a cultural good from the viewpoint of cultural economics adopting an analytical approach. As will be seen, this good is complex as it merges an array of different areas and subsectors within cultural economics, such that the approach differs depending on the particular area explored.

The paper contributes to the literature addressing immaterial heritage in two ways: firstly by exploring flamenco, the expression of immaterial heritage *par excellence* in Andalusia and in particular for the city of Seville, from the viewpoint of cultural economics, and secondly by conducting a dynamic analysis of the supply of live flamenco shows. Neither of these aspects have to date been explored in cultural economics. With regard to the dynamic analysis, it should be pointed out that we contribute towards generating a source of information thus far absent based on the data provided by the *Guía Flama*, a private guide covering the detailed schedule of all the enterprises and live shows offered each month since 2006.

The paper is organised as follows. The second section addresses flamenco as a cultural good within the framework of cultural economics, adopting a theoretical approach. The third section provides a dynamic analysis of the supply of live flamenco shows in the city of Seville during the period 2006-2013. The final section offers the main conclusions to emerge from the study.

2. Flamenco from the standpoint of cultural economics

2.1. Concept, origin and characteristics of Flamenco

Flamenco is a unique, living, artistic expression which is the result of merging vocal music, art and dance together with musical accompaniment, known respectively as *cante* (*singing*), *baile* (*dancing*) and *toque* (*guitar playing*), which may be expressed together or individually, giving rise to a wide variety of styles in these three facets³. The vocabulary associated with flamenco comes from Dutch

³ *Cante*: vocal expression of flamenco comprising structures accepted by individuals and the community in which it develops. Flamenco is generally sung in the first person and alone, usually seated and accompanied by a guitar. It is performed the same by both men and women alike. It is based on a range of structured musical constructions or styles, known as *cantes* or *palos*. These *cantes* express a whole range of feelings and moods (sadness, joy, fear, tragedy, heartbreak) using sincere words, characterised by their brevity and simplicity.

Baile: Flamenco dancing is a dance of passion and seduction which also expresses a whole range of emotions. The technique is complex and it is performed differently depending on whether it is a man or a woman. In the case of men, the dance employs greater strength and use of the feet. In the case of women, the movements are more sensual and involve greater use of the arms and more movement of the body as a whole.

flaming although the origin of the term in its present-day meaning was documented in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, although this is yet to be accurately determined (Ortega 2006, 14).⁴ One of the main features of flamenco as an artistic and cultural phenomenon is that it has been passed on orally, since flamenco originated and grew among the lower social spheres, many of whom were illiterate. As a result, there is no historical source written by its creators that allows us to determine its true origin (Ros and Rios 2010).

There are a number of differing hypotheses concerning the origins of flamenco, its etymology and above all regarding the social or ethnic group which has made the biggest contribution to it⁵. It is widely believed that flamenco has no single origin but that it is the result of merging or overlapping the various cultures which have left their mark in Andalusia over the centuries and that have proved key in shaping autochthonous music throughout history. The origins of flamenco have been variously attributed to Hebrew psalms, Byzantine liturgy, or Andalusian music, to which the contribution made by the gypsies in the early days of *cante* or the influence of Castilian romance ballads would have been added. Afro-American music would also have left its mark.

Although the origin of flamenco is rooted in Andalusia, it also enjoys a strong presence in other Spanish regions (Murcia and Extremadura) and has spread to Madrid and Catalonia as a result of internal migration.

Despite being a genuinely Andalusian cultural phenomenon and, therefore, one deeply rooted in Spanish culture, flamenco has become an artistic expression recognised worldwide and open to new trends. At the same time, because it is the result of merging several cultures, it is at the centre of intercultural debate, and has become a sign of respect and the ability to promote cultural diversity. In line with this, it embraces both a strong local and global component, in the sense that it has reached widespread popularity in such far flung countries as Japan, the USA, as well as in parts of Europe (France, the UK and Italy) or North Africa and Latin-America, where the musical and cultural ties with Andalusia are clear. This endows flamenco with one of the main characteristics of creative sectors, which

Toque: *toque* is linked to guitar playing. It was originally the instrument which accompanied the *cante* or *baile*. Over time it has ceased to play a secondary role and has become an artistic expression in its own right, acting alone although it still continues to accompany the *baile* and *cante*. Flamenco also draws on other instruments such as castanets and more recently the box-drum, the piano, violin or flute, resulting from the influences it comes into contact with and therefore merging with other musical genres, evidencing that it is an artistic and musical expression that is in constant evolution. UNESCO (2010) *Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage*. Intergovernmental committee for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage. Representative List Nomination file no. 00363 for inscription on the representative list of the intangible cultural heritage in 2010. Available at <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=es&pg=335>

⁴ The definition of the term flamenco has always been subject to controversy since it remains unclear whether it originated in India, Egypt, Maghreb, 15th century Mozarabs, or whether the term was created by the Gypsies. For a more detailed review of this controversy, see Ros and Rios (2010) and Ortega (2006).

⁵ Certain authors such as Leblon (1991) defend the gypsy origin, whilst others stress the importance of this people with regard to the inclusion of a number of aspects but point to its Andalusian origin.

the report carried out for the European Commission has come to embrace under the term *glocality* (KEA 2006).

2.2. Flamenco as a cultural good

Although it is a complex cultural good since it merges a range of areas that come under the umbrella of cultural economics, Flamenco in its three facets of *cante*, *baile* and *toque* may generally be approached from a twin perspective. Firstly, it is a live spectacle, and in this vein belongs to the performing arts, the main feature being that of a mixed good (Throsby 1994): “*joint production of a private component enjoyed by individual attendees and a public-good component deriving from the value of the arts and culture to society at large*”. Secondly, it is a cultural or creative product in the sense of Throsby (2001), the basis of a traditional cultural or creative industry revolving around flamenco.

Table 1 shows the various areas in which flamenco is expressed or included in the field of cultural economics, in this case considering intangible cultural heritage as a specific cultural domain, removed from the UNESCO focus, which will be addressed later.

Including flamenco as a performing art poses a twin analysis: firstly, from the demand side. In this case, we use the main features of performing arts as input for the production of the basic leisure good “cultural experience” following Becker (1965). It may be summed up as a time-intensive consumption good with little possibility of being exchanged for other similar basic goods that are not very time intensive. Substitutes in this case are television, radio or home cinema. These goods are generally consumed outside the house at specific premises.

The second analysis would involve approaching flamenco from the supply side, as a live show, the goal of this paper. In this respect, consideration would need to be given to the various types of shows depending on the different aspects involved such as the specific nature of the firms or institutions offering it and the type of market in which the supply is available. A further factor to be taken into account is the major impact it has not only on the tourist sector, and within this on cultural tourism, but also on the productive fabric, at a local, regional and national scale. This leads to it being considered as a strategic cultural sector for creating wealth and employment.

As a live show, flamenco may be classified into different types. Cruces (2002a) does this at the level of formalisation and institutionalisation. It is perceived to be institutionalised in the sense that social interaction occurs in a predetermined framework. This is the case of flamenco at festivals, theatres or *tablaos*⁶. Non-institutionalised⁷ but formal flamenco would be shows held at the *peñas flamencas*.⁸

⁶ *Tablao*: private premises devoted to flamenco singing and dancing

⁷ The non-formal nature which flamenco might evidence and which might involve a high degree of social interaction should be considered. This is flamenco performed within the framework of

In an effort to preserve its origins and development as well as spread awareness of flamenco, a museum was opened in Seville in 2006. The Museum of Flamenco Dance was a private project although it also enjoyed public financial support from the regional government of Andalusia and the Seville city council. The main contributions to the museum were promoted by the person behind the idea, the flamenco dancer Cristina Hoyos (professional wardrobe, images, artefacts, etc.)⁹.

Table 1. Flamenco as a cultural good

Areas of cultural economics	Flamenco
Performing arts	Flamenco shows at the <i>peñas</i> or associations, <i>Tablaos</i> or theatres Flamenco festivals
Material and immaterial heritage	<i>Material heritage</i> : museums (Museum of Flamenco Dancing) <i>Immaterial heritage</i> : <i>Oral tradition</i> (transfer of knowledge without codes or handbooks); use of traditional lyrics and specific terminology, <i>social, ritual and festive practices</i> (private festivities, family festivities) <i>Knowledge linked to human nature</i> (daily life is reflected in its lyrics, the sense of existence and work, the sea, the mines, the countryside), traditional craftsmanship (in musical instruments, accessories, clothes)
Visual arts	Handmade items (large embroidered shawls, small shawls, lace and silk veils, decorative combs, fans, etc.)
Traditional creative industries	Books, recorded music, TV and radio, videos, cinema
Creative industries	Flamenco fashion design or fashion inspired by flamenco
Related sectors	Textile industry (flamenco costumes, dance costumes and outfits), footwear (dancing shoes), musical instruments (castanets, box-drum, flute, violin, piano, guitars, etc.), the accessory industry (embroidered shawls, small shawls), costume jewellery (earrings, brooches, bracelets, necklaces), hair ornaments (flowers, large ornamental combs, small combs, etc.) Flamenco schools, cultural tourism, flamenco

private family festivities or even meetings in public places like taverns or bars, and which is characterised by its spontaneity and because it gives rise to a unique and unrepeatable experience.

⁸*Peñas flamencas* are cultural associations whose rules governing performances, admission of new members or membership fees are set out in their statutes and which aim to preserve and spread flamenco, although they may benefit from public body financial support. Such *peñas* at times receive part of their funding from cooperation with local television, private sponsors or funding agencies. *Peñas* may be classified both in terms of the number of members as well as how often they organise activities. 80% have between 50 and 150 members and tend to organise at least one activity per month; 10% have over 150 members and average one activity a week (Cantero and Hernández 2009).

⁹ Museum funding was 75% private initiative and 25% public from various regional ministries and the Seville city council.

Source: own compilation

The second area is the marketable cultural product, which in this case involves both craftsmanship products as well as those belonging to the more conventional creative industries, since flamenco in various forms has given rise to many works in the industries such as publishing, music, cinema, TV and radio. It is also having an increasingly important impact on related sectors or industries like cultural tourism, or a more specific version, namely flamenco tourism¹⁰, or industries which produce goods required for staging flamenco performances such as the textile industry, footwear, accessories, or musical instruments (Acuña 2006). Added to this is the existence of specific flamenco fashion design as well as the impact of flamenco on the Spanish fashion industry as a whole¹¹.

2.3. Flamenco as immaterial heritage from the UNESCO perspective

UNESCO (2009) does not embrace intangible cultural heritage as a specific cultural domain but as a transversal domain in the sense that it may expressed in a number of different cultural domains.

Table 2 shows flamenco as intangible cultural heritage perceived from the UNESCO approach, a transversal domain together with other domains, *archives and repositories of cultural forms, education and training, equipment and material support*.

As regards flamenco in cultural archives and repositories, we include the Andalusian Centre of Flamenco Documentation, set up in 1993, since it is the largest centre of documentation for this particular art form. It has three main objectives: 1) to safeguard and promote the artistic values and expressions related to flamenco, 2) to research, recover, and disseminate flamenco, by organising courses, seminars, etc. and 3) to preserve documents related to this art form: books, historical documents, sound, film and literary reproductions which serve to perpetuate the history of flamenco as well as research into it. Also included in this domain is the Andalusian Institute of Flamenco set up in 2005, a body which depends on the Regional Ministry of Culture at the Regional Government of Andalusia and whose goal is to implement all policies to preserve and promote flamenco. Finally, there is the Andalusian Agency for Flamenco Development also set up in 2005, and whose main goal is to preserve, disseminate and recover flamenco as heritage, but which also seeks to consolidate flamenco as a cultural industry, promote it an international scale, in addition to taking advantage of it as both an educational and tourist resource¹².

¹⁰ According to Ortega (2006, 16) “*flamenco tourism would be perceived as trips made by people from their usual place of residence for the purpose of visiting cultural elements related to flamenco culture (flamenco guided tours, flamenco shows, flamenco meetings or flamenco dance schools and academies)*”.

¹¹ An analysis of the flamenco fashion sector can be seen in Castillo et al. (2005). *Análisis económico y prospectiva del sector de la moda en Sevilla*. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla.

¹² Prominent amongst the action undertaken by the Agency is the production of shows, support for flamenco festivals as well as an annual cycle called “Flamenco comes from the south” and which tours several theatres in Andalusia performing *cante, baile* and *toque* shows aimed at raising

The cultural domain of training and education encompasses the flamenco schools and academies¹³. The nature and organisation of these institutions varies, ranging from performers who open their own school and combine performing with teaching to enterprises whose owners run the business, employing a number of performers (Cantero Martínez and Hernandez Pavón 2009). Flamenco academies have proven to be an important magnet in attracting so-called academy tourism and which has given rise to flamenco's growing popularity at an international scale. The final transversal domain deals with equipment and material support which includes Internet as a tool for training as well as for spreading awareness of flamenco.

flamenco to the status of fundamental performing arts. For further information, see <http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/iaf/opencms/portal/Programas/FVS/>.

¹³ There are a total of 991 in Spain in 2014: 158 in Andalusia. Specifically in Seville, the figure comes to 70. For further information, see *Guía de flamenco* [*Guide to Flamenco*] available at <http://www.deflamenco.com/guia-flamenco-escuelas-y-estudios.html>.

Table 2: Flamenco from the standpoint of cultural economics

Flamenco as intangible cultural heritage (<i>transversal domain</i>)											
Cultural domains						Related domains					
Cultural heritage	Performance and celebrations	Visual arts and crafts	Books and press.	Audiovisual and Interactive Media	Design and creative services	Textile industry	Footwear industry	Musical instruments	Accessories	Tourism	Recreation
Museum of Flamenco Dance	Performing Arts Flamenco shows at the <i>peñas</i> or associations, <i>Tablaos</i> or theatres Flamenco festivals. Music.	Craftsmanship embroidered shawls, veils, fans, ornamental combs, etc.	Books, press, and magazines	TV and radio, cinema and video	Flamenco fashion design and general fashion design	Flamenco dresses and dance costumes	Flamenco shoes or dance shoes	Guitars, castanets, box-drum, flute, violin, piano, etc.	Embroidered shawls, earrings, brooches, flowers, etc.	Hotels and restaurants, travel agencies	Theme Parks
<i>Archives and conservation of heritage</i> Andalusian Agency for Flamenco Development Andalusian Centre of Flamenco Documentation Andalusian Flamenco Institute											
<i>Education and Training</i> Flamenco schools											
<i>Equipment and support material</i> Internet as a tool for spreading flamenco											

Source: own compilation drawing on UNESCO (2009)

2.4. An approach to the economics of flamenco

As pointed out earlier, flamenco as a cultural good in its various expressions had not been the subject of economic analysis until fairly recently. Most existing studies explore flamenco from the viewpoint of supply, as a performing art, and therefore as a live performance to be marketed, or vis-à-vis the many aspects that are involved in flamenco and favour the development of related crafts or creative traditional as well as non-traditional industries in addition to other related sectors.

Table 3 shows economic studies of flamenco in its various forms. Said studies can be seen to be predominantly descriptive, addressing supply and an analysis of the sector adopting a qualitative approach with the exception of the study by Ruiz and Pérez (2011).

Table 3. Economic analyses of flamenco or related aspects

AUTHORS	TITLE	OBJECTIVE	METHODOLOGY	RESULTS
Acuña Arenas (2006)	El Flamenco como recurso económico	Assess the external impact of flamenco as a cultural industry from the viewpoint of supply and demand	Descriptive analysis identifying supply and lines of production (crafts and industrial), characteristics of the sector, marketing and channels of promotion. Analysis of the characteristics of potential demand at an international scale. Data from the Seville City Council, Regional Ministry of Tourism, and the Spanish Institute for Foreign Trade (ICEX).	Directory of flamenco associations, specialised magazines in Spain and abroad, manufacturers of flamenco articles. Sector with predominantly craftsmanship production and an informal character. Strong potential for external impact. Insufficient use of new technologies
Ortega Martos (2006)	El impacto del flamenco en las industrias culturales andaluzas	Analyse flamenco as one of the leading performing arts in Andalusia and its potential to generate wealth and employment but as a cultural product. External impact: Importance of flamenco tourism	Descriptive study of flamenco as performing arts: strengths and weaknesses. Analysis of flamenco as cultural tourism in Andalusia. Data: Andalusian and Regional Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Transport. Andalusian Strategic Plan for Culture (PECA).	Production of increasingly personalised flamenco shows since the 80s. Need for greater professionalisation in management and distribution. Importance of flamenco tourism, since both the mean stay (12.9 days compared to 10.1) and mean spending exceeds that of conventional tourism (53.19 Euros compared to 49.82 Euros).
Cantero and Hernandez (2009)	La economía sevillana del flamenco	First approach to quantification and functioning of the sector : directory of agents, enterprises and activities to gain an overview of flamenco activities in the province	Descriptive study of the supply of shows: flamenco biennale, flamenco <i>peñas</i> and shows in theatres. Descriptive analysis. Related activities: flamenco tourism, musical instruments, fashion, etc. Data. Secondary sources and interviews with performers.	Major de-structuring irregularity in the sector. An activity dependent on public financial support. Need to separate flamenco as a heritage resource from its role as a cultural industry. Potential of the sector in artistic production, cultural tourism, flamenco fashion and audiovisual production. Figures: the <i>peñas</i> move 3 million Euros, music sales 30 million, flamenco tourism 300, Seville biennale, 3 million investment in 2008.
Ruiz Navarro and Pérez González (2011)	Importancia del Flamenco en las Industrias culturales de Andalucía	Analyse the importance of flamenco in cultural industries in Andalusia	Microeconomic approach. Quantitative analysis based on surveys amongst experts, entrepreneurs and professionals, and secondary sources. Satellite accounting for culture in Andalusia. <i>Fundación Autor</i> Spanish Copyright Association (SGAE) data.	First SWOT analysis. Needs: Insufficient development of ICT, need for new business organisation models: greater levels of training and professionalisation in the chain of value. Opaque market. Weaknesses make it an unstructured activity, lack of flamenco ecosystem. Lack of rigorous economic sources. Figures period 2006-2009. Music: 8 million Euros in Andalusia. Impact of the biennale: 16.7 million; Jerez festival, 5 million. Budget. <i>Peñas</i> : 3.5

				<p>million.</p> <p>Flamenco fashion: 25 million in Spain, 7.5 in Andalusia.</p> <p>Flamenco related crafts: 10 million in Spain, 1 million in Andalusia. Tourism: 700,000 people, spending: 550 million Euros.</p> <p>Flamenco as a show: second place in the number of concerts in Spain (no. of concerts in Andalusia, 47%, Madrid, 35%, Catalonia, 10%). Fall in the number of flamenco spectators. In Andalusia there are more shows but revenue has fallen.</p>
Andalusia System of Tourism Analysis and Statistics (SAETA)(2004)	El turismo del flamenco en Andalucía 2004.	Analyse flamenco tourism demand in Andalusia and provide data on <i>tablaos</i> , <i>peñas</i> , academies and flamenco biennale	Descriptive study. 2250 surveys distributed over the area by activities	<p>Flamenco tourism: 3.9% of total revenue through tourism; 60% foreigners. Profile: female 18 to 44 years of age, with high income. Longer mean stay and spending per person than other tourists.</p> <p><i>Peña</i> and <i>tablaos</i> tourist shows lower number of days stay but higher mean spending than flamenco tourist.</p> <p>Academy tourist: much longer stay but lower mean daily spending.</p> <p>Festival tourist: longer than average stay and much higher than average daily spending, over twice as much.</p>
Castillo et al.(2005)	Análisis económico y prospectiva del sector de la moda en Sevilla	Analyse the economic impact of fashion on the city's economy in 2002	Economic impact methodology	<p>Total employment 536,22</p> <p>Staff costs 6 345,565.82€</p> <p>Sales 22 793,218.42 €</p> <p>Profit 3 103,633.95</p> <p>Taxes 1 487,097.75 €</p> <p>Sector with a high level of shadow economy</p>

Source: own compilation

3. Dynamic analysis of the supply of live flamenco in the city of Seville, 2006-2013.

Together with Cadiz and Jerez, Seville is one of the three hubs of the flamenco world. To date, no specific analysis has been carried out of the supply of flamenco shows in the city. Quantifying and analysing supply over a wide enough period of time enables insights to be gained into the importance of the cultural supply of flamenco in one of the key cities in its history. This is the goal of the present section.

3.1. Methodological introduction and data gathering

In order to fulfil this aim, an index or series reflecting the full supply of live flamenco shows advertised in the city is required. Unfortunately, no related statistical information exists at a microdata level¹⁴ such that the first step in the research was to prepare a series reflecting the most characteristic data on the supply of such shows both in quantitative and qualitative terms (what kind of shows, whether these are *cante*, *baile* or mixed) or where they are held. This would indicate either a private profit-seeking initiative or a private performance by flamenco lovers (*peñas*) or a major show at a public theatre reflecting the importance of flamenco as a key aspect in the culture of the region and a sign of identity in Andalusia.

This particular data series was created from the information available in the monthly publication *Flama. La Guía flamenco*, which lists which flamenco shows are being held in the city of Seville each day. This guide is distributed over the Internet and is also printed. It is available at most of the city's hotels. The quality of the information has gradually improved over the years and the guide has become a reference publication to know what live flamenco is being performed in Seville.

Despite the obvious shortcomings it entails, using this guide as a basic source of information has clear methodological advantages. It has been published every month since January 2006, and includes establishments which have both closed and opened, and which have offered live flamenco shows in the city of Seville. Moreover, as publication has been uninterrupted over the period considered, there are no gaps in the available information, allowing for a continuous chronological series to be produced. The guide offers raw information on flamenco shows and establishments. Based on this information, the chronological series of flamenco shows and audience capacity available in the city of Seville over the period 2006-2013 were produced. To do this, the first step was to classify the available information in relation to two reference variables: type of show, and the nature of the establishment where it was to be performed. The first of these has three possible categories: *cante* and *toque*, *baile* and mixed (a combination of both).

¹⁴ Statistical sources used for the studies conducted into the topic have been data provided by the Spanish Copyright Association (SGAE) (Navarro and González, 2011) or the aggregated data supplied by the Regional Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Sport at the Regional Government of Andalusia (Cantero and Hernández, 2009; Ortega, 2008).

The second is categorised in terms of the profit/non-profit motive and the ownership status of the establishment. With regard to this criterion, four categories have been established: non-profit associations such as the flamenco *peñas* or neighbours' associations, and foundations; private profit-seeking establishments, which include the *tablaos*, hotels and restaurants, bars, and so on; large publicly owned theatres, such as el Maestranza, el Lope de Vega, el Central or the Rocío Jurado concert hall, which might act as an indicator of public authority supply in this field. Finally, the fourth category comprises shows in open air public spaces, city squares or streets (la Alameda, el Muelle de la Sal, la Plaza de San Francisco, etc.). Due to their nature, these shows are held in summer and are organised by the Seville city council.

Based on this information concerning shows and where they are held, an estimation has been made of the total number of existing places to listen to flamenco in Seville. When available, official data on the capacity of the various areas and establishments has been used. When this information was not available, the capacity was estimated. Spectator capacity is assumed to have remained constant over the period studied. Using this information, we construct a time series of total capacity (total number of places offered) classified using the different categories of shows described previously.

One important aspect to take into account when considering the supply of flamenco in Seville is the *Seville Flamenco Biennale*, held each two years in September in even number years. It was first held in 1980, such that for the period considered in the study there were four editions, in 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012. Given the nature of this celebration, which might distort the information in the guide given its character, the shows and capacity resulting from said event have not been taken into consideration when producing the series. We are also aware that the *Biennale* affects the supply of flamenco in the city in a number of ways, both directly as well as induced, such that including it might distort the final series.

Finally, to describe the supply of flamenco shows in Seville over the period studied, we feel that it is necessary, albeit in passing, to make a brief reference to the general economic context over the period 2006-2013, in which two crucial facts need highlighting:

- a) The onset of the economic crisis around 2007-2008, which is key to understanding the development of economic activity. The preceding years of the property boom had an extremely positive effect on the city as indeed it did in the region of Andalusia and/or in Spain. Later on, the recession led to numerous companies closing down and a significant increase in the number of unemployed in the city.
- b) Recognition of flamenco as World Immaterial Heritage by UNESCO.

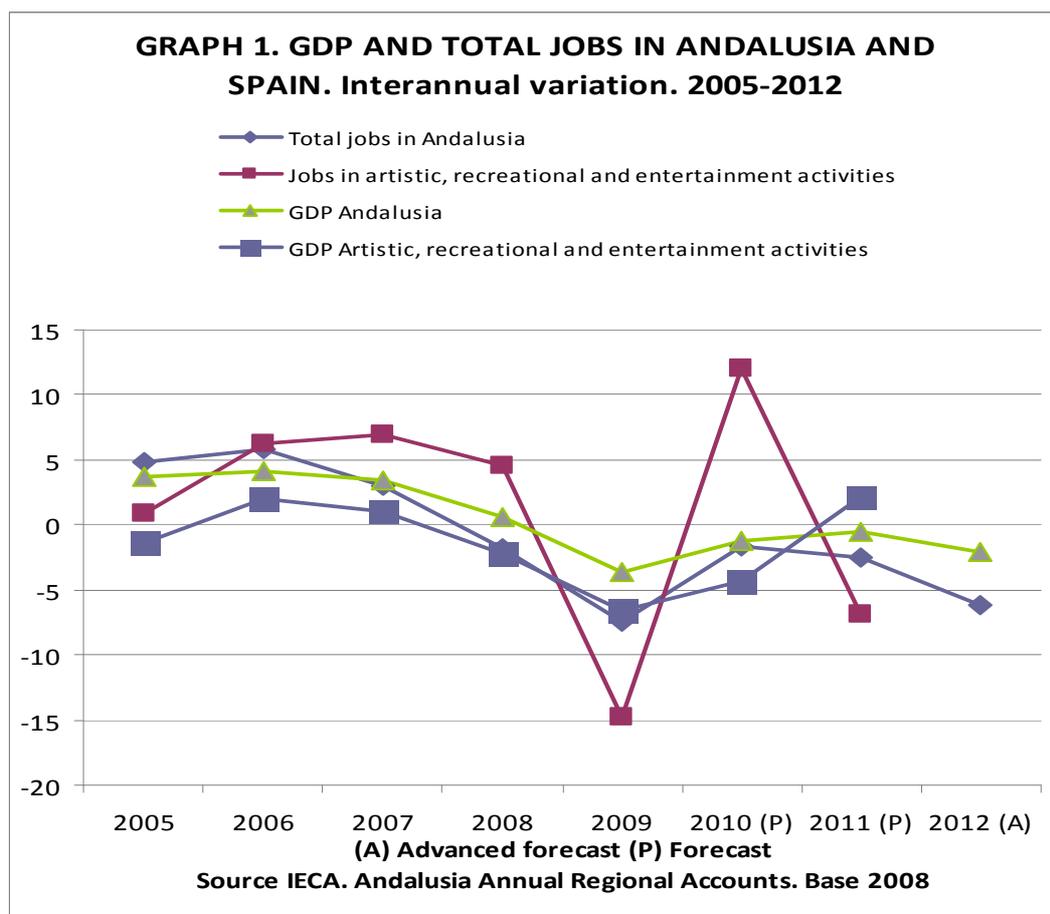
3.2. Analysis of supply

Flamenco is inextricably linked to Andalusian culture, and Seville is one of the main centres for its development. From a historical perspective, the supply of flamenco shows has been extremely varied although, in general, we can point to a gradual growth, from its early disorganised beginnings, where availability was limited to flamenco opera, until its inclusion in *coplas* (Spanish popular songs) in the 1970s and the dignifying of flamenco through the *peñas* as well as events and

festivals. The political transition witnessed the gradual commercialisation of flamenco, when it was embraced into high culture. This led to the organisation of the Seville Flamenco Biennale, which began in Seville in 1980 and which was joined in 2009 by the Malaga Biennale.

In this section, we focus on the evolution of the supply of live flamenco in the city of Seville over the period 2006-2013, when a basic infrastructure of flamenco establishments had already been set up in the city. This period lies between the latter years of growth and the onset of the economic crisis which we might date as being 2008. The economic situation is doubtless a key factor shaping the development of this activity. The economic crisis, and the particularly acute unemployment situation in Andalusia and especially in Seville, coupled with the downturn in economic activity, are the features of these years of economic decline. This was the adverse context in which flamenco was performed both vis-à-vis public and private initiatives, although it should be stated that this particular subsector of cultural activity was not overly affected, both in terms of the number of shows and in the available capacity of the places where it was performed.

Graph 1 shows the interannual variation rates of economic activity, in GDP, and the total number of jobs in Andalusia at both an aggregated level as well as with regard to artistic and recreational activities in particular. As can be seen, and although data are still provisional, the impact of the economic crisis has been more in evidence in artistic activities, both in production and jobs. Final information is still not available, however, for the most recent years. In any case, the picture over Andalusia as a whole is one of a major contraction in the economy and, as a result, in employment both at a general level and in the subsector of artistic and recreational activities and entertainment.



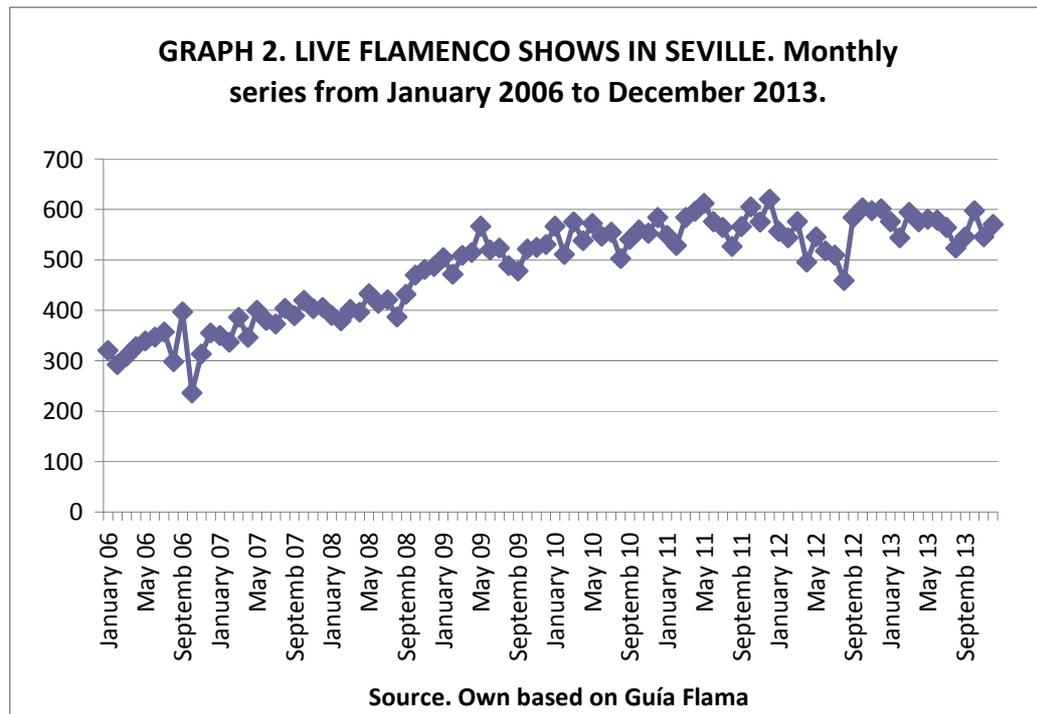
As regards the supply of live flamenco in the city of Seville, data obtained point to a positive evolution over the period, despite the cyclical contraction of the economy mentioned previously. Between 2006 and 2013 the supply of flamenco shows in Seville underwent a significant increase, rising from under 4000 shows to nearly 7000. Nevertheless, this intensification was neither continuous nor sustained since there was gradual growth in the early years, followed by a slowdown in 2009, and then a fresh rise in 2010-2011, followed by a certain stabilisation in the latter years of the series. (Table 4)

Table 4. Supply of flamenco in Seville 2006-2013

Year	Shows	Interannual variation %	Capacity	Interannual variation %	Mean capacity
2006	3891		800630		205.76
2007	4594	18.07	1040000	29.90	226.38
2008	5092	10.84	1037001	-0.29	203.65
2009	6157	20.92	975230	-5.96	158.39
2010	6605	7.28	1001685	2.71	151.66
2011	6903	4.51	1104110	10.23	159.95
2012	6591	-4.52	1059970	-4.00	160.82
2013	6797	3.13	1053830	-0.58	155.04

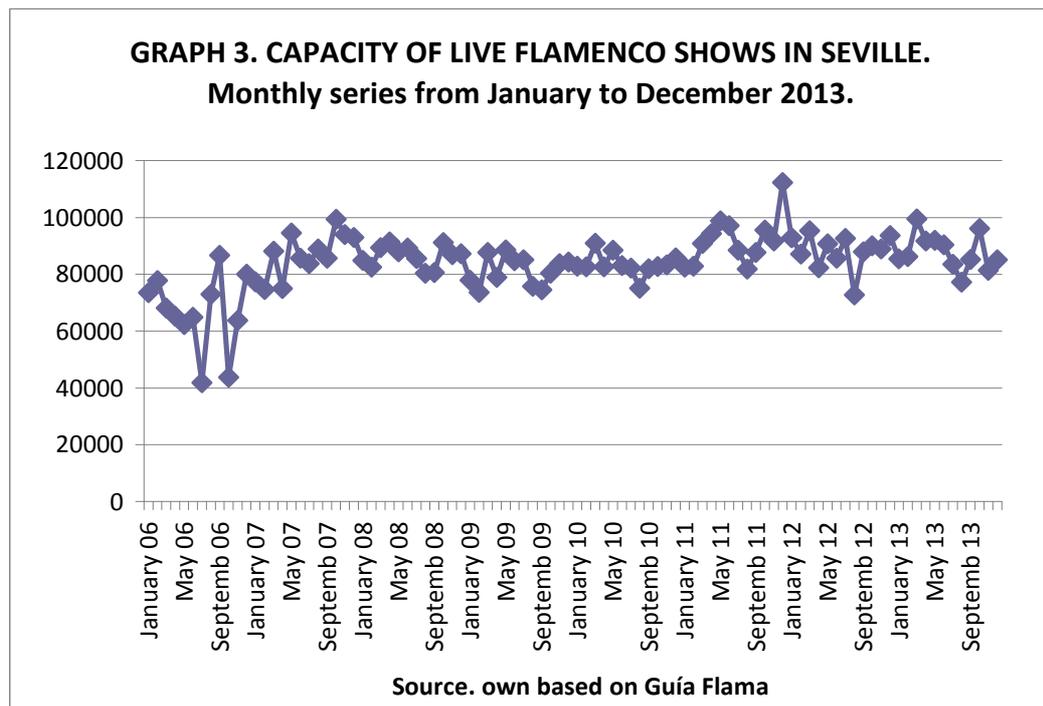
Source. Own compilation based on data from the Guía Flama

This behaviour is reflected in graph 2; the monthly series show a clear positive trend up to mid 2011, the year in which it stabilised around 550-600 shows per month.



In addition, it should be pointed out that the evolution of the number of shows and the capacity have not run parallel. The total number of places available has risen from over 800,000 in 2006 to 1 100,000 in 2011, then falling to settle at around one million in 2012 and 2013. Graph 3 shows the monthly evolution of the capacity offered in the city of Seville which has stabilised at around 90,000 places per month.

As a result of the greater increase in the number of shows, the mean capacity has fallen over the period considered, settling at around 150-160 places.



As pointed out previously, the supply of flamenco has been described in terms of two reference parameters: type of show and nature of the venue. As regards the first criterion, available shows have been classified in three basic categories depending on the main type of flamenco being performed: *cante* and/or guitar *toque*, *baile* or *mixto* (a combination of the two). Table 5 shows the evolution of the annual total of the three types of show over the period 2006-2013. Broadly speaking, in absolute terms, we can see a larger number of mixed shows, followed by *cante* and *baile*, of which there are far fewer.

Table 5. Supply of flamenco in Seville. Total and interannual variation. 2006-2013

Year	Total shows	<i>Cante and toque</i>	%var	<i>Baile</i>	%var	Mixed	%var
2006	3891	133		66		3592	
2007	4594	179	34.59	57	-13.64	4358	21.33
2008	5092	186	3.91	97	70.18	4809	10.35
2009	6157	155	-16.67	66	-31.96	5936	23.44
2010	6605	208	34.19	114	72.73	6283	5.85
2011	6903	206	-0.96	229	100.88	6468	2.94
2012	6591	238	15.53	317	38.43	6036	-6.68
2013	6797	140	-41.18	377	18.93	6280	4.04

Source. Own compilation based on data from the Guía Flama

As regards the second criterion, the establishments offering flamenco have been classified in four basic categories depending on the ownership status of the venue: non-profit (SAL) which basically includes the *peñas*. This category also contains the *purest* flamenco centres, where mainly *cante* or guitar performances are held. The second category covers private for-profit entities, and includes hotels, bars or flamenco *tablaos*. This category includes venues offering mainly mixed shows. It is also the category evidencing the largest and most constant supply over time. The third category corresponds to public theatres (Lope de Vega, Maestranza, Central). This category has the largest capacity although it has the smallest

number of venues, since these are not specialised flamenco venues and offer a much wider range of cultural activities. Finally, there are public areas (city squares) offering open-air shows, particularly during the summer months.

Table 6 reflects the total number of shows held in terms of these four categories in each of the years contained in the period studied together with the estimated capacity in each. The vast majority of flamenco shows each year are held at private venues (around 94%). The weight of this group falls slightly if we use the available capacity, a category occupying around 90% of the total number of possible places.

Table 6. Supply of flamenco in Seville in terms of where it is performed

Years	SHOWS					CAPACITY				
	Non-profit	Private	Public	Public areas	Total	Non-profit	Private	Public	Public areas	Total
2006	353	3377	46	15	3891	30050	716360	47400	6700	800630
2007	291	4257	34	12	4594	30910	964240	31100	13750	1040000
2008	297	4712	49	34	5092	30531	960320	16450	29700	1037001
2009	308	5761	63	25	6157	42560	888270	36600	7800	975230
2010	399	6096	105	5	6605	48775	908960	41200	2750	1001685
2011	468	6274	115	46	6903	63230	940270	65760	34850	1104110
2012	398	6071	104	18	6591	58440	927220	60910	13400	1059970
2013	280	6424	88	5	6797	42990	954690	53600	2550	1053830

Source. Own compilation based on data from the Guía Flama

The type of supply of flamenco shows differs depending on the venue offering them. Public theatres and shows in public areas offer the largest capacity. By their very nature such shows are designed for big audiences, the shows generally being mixed and small in number. Private and for-profit venues are those with the lowest mean capacity, these being primarily the *tablaos* and hotel establishments offering mixed shows (see Table 7).

Table 7. Mean capacity in terms of venue

Years	SAL	Private	Public	Public areas	Total
2006	85.1	212.1	1030.4	446.7	205.8
2007	106.2	226.5	914.7	1145.8	226.4
2008	102.8	203.8	335.7	873.5	203.7
2009	138.2	154.2	581.0	312.0	158.4
2010	122.2	149.1	392.4	550.0	151.7
2011	135.1	149.9	571.8	757.6	159.9
2012	146.8	152.7	585.7	744.4	160.8
2013	153.5	148.6	609.1	510.0	155.0

Source. Own compilation based on data from the Guía Flama

To sum up, based on the data analysed, the supply of live flamenco in the city of Seville in the period 2006-2013, both in terms of the number of shows as well as available capacity does not appear to have been affected by the general economic crisis. In this sense, it may be concluded that the adjustment in this subsector of

cultural activities has occurred through demand, a notion which may be confirmed through subsequent studies.

4. Conclusions

Flamenco is the most representative and important expression of intangible cultural heritage in Andalusia, in addition to being its main hallmark, as evidenced by UNESCO when it was declared intangible cultural heritage.

This paper pursues a twofold objective. First, it seeks to describe flamenco as a complex cultural good from the standpoint of cultural economics, in the sense that it may be expressed through a number of different subsectors. Secondly, we focus on analysing flamenco as a performing art, and therefore as a live show. We conduct a study of the offer of shows over the period 2006-2013 in Seville, given the city's importance in creating, producing and spreading flamenco. Both the evolution of the number of shows as well as the diversity thereof (*cante*, *toque*, *baile* or mixed) have been explored, in addition to the ability to meet potential demand (capacity). For this purpose, we draw on the data provided by the *Guía Flama*, a private guide offering detailed information about all the companies and live shows available, and which has been published each month since 2006.

The paper contributes to the literature in three ways: firstly, from the perspective of cultural economics by adopting an economic approach to flamenco as a cultural good, a topic which has thus far received little attention in the literature; secondly, by compiling two chronological series, one dealing with capacity and the other with the number of flamenco shows available in the city of Seville over the period considered; thirdly, by carrying out a dynamic analysis of the availability of shows in one of the main cities in the world to offer this kind of performing art. By drawing on a hitherto unexplored database, we thereby generate a source of information thus far absent.

Data show that over the period analysed, 2006-2013, the number of flamenco shows available in the city of Seville has grown, both in terms of the number of shows offered (a rise of 74.7%) as well as in the available capacity (a rise of 31.6%) although said increase has been neither consistent nor constant. The number of shows on offer at the start of the series, 2006-2009, was particularly high, after which it remained stable at the end of the period. The data series reflecting capacity has evidenced more regular behaviour, with significant annual reductions (2008, 2009, 2012, 2013). Likewise, the differing progression between the number of shows and the capacity, the former having increased far more than the latter, has led to a fall in the mean capacity over the period, from an initial availability of 206 places each year to the 155 offered in 2013.

As regards the type of shows on offer, these are mainly mixed, where singing and playing are merged with dancing. With regard to the ownership status of the establishments offering flamenco, these tend to be private and for-profit.

The study shows that supply of flamenco shows, which at the very least remains stable during a period of recession, reflects the existence of potential demand for flamenco as a cultural good. This evidences the need to promote flamenco even

further at both a domestic and international scale in order to make it a resource which is able to generate economic activity linked to cultural tourism.

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