MASTER THESIS

Cultural policies development in safeguarding and preserving intangible cultural heritage: the case of Flamenco

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ABSTRACT

The development of cultural policies is not an easy task. Moreover, there are specific kind of policies that become increasingly complicated to develop. Especially when referring to some topics, as intangible cultural heritage, and particularly, the case of Flamenco, given the specific characteristics of these items. The aim of this thesis is to analyse what is nowadays being done in terms of cultural policies for the safeguarding, preservation and growth of Flamenco and what can be do in the near future. At the same time, the present research strives for serve as starting point for reflection on the Flamenco safeguarding to improve the future cultural policies for Flamenco as intangible cultural heritage. A wide literature has attempted to explain the general characteristics of cultural policies, intangible cultural heritage and Flamenco under the framework of the UNESCO. The analysis has been carried out by asking the people responsible for transmitting it from generation to generation. By conducting interviews with Flamenco community members, this qualitative study attempts to investigate the current situation of Flamenco since in November 2010, it was included in the UNESCO "Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity". But also, the research seeks to analyse the lines of action that the Flamenco community suggests as more convenient in the safeguarding Flamenco.

KEY WORDS: Heritage, Intangible Cultural Heritage, cultural policies, safeguarding, Flamenco community.

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Contents

1. INTRODUCTION

The task of legislators and policymakers in every field is difficult, or at the very least, challenging. Because from their work and knowledge we obtain the laws that govern our institutions and consequently, our lives. In other words, policy development is not like a cooking recipe: following the same steps and adding the same ingredients do not assure, obtaining the same results. Policies are affected by many factors. Their impacts and consequences may vary from one time to another. Moreover, there are specific kind of policies that become increasingly complicated to develop. Especially when referring to some topics, as intangible cultural heritage, and particularly, the case of Flamenco.

The motivations to analyse cultural policies for intangible cultural heritage focusing on Flamenco, lie in my personal experience with Flamenco. First as a Flamenco dance student, and later through the Flamenco's experiences I had when living abroad. On the one hand, when I studied and performed in different places, it was very common to listen to the complaints of Flamenco people about the lack or inefficiency of cultural measures adopted by the institutions regarding Flamenco. When the conversation turned to how institutions were legislating, Flamenco people used to say things like: "to continue like this, they will destroy Flamenco", "we do not even have money to make ends meet" or "at the end, it is always the same people receiving the same subsidies". By having the opportunity to analyse closely the cultural sector, I would like to focus on Flamenco cultural policies, to understand if the complains of my Flamenco gig's colleagues were, and still are, right or not.

On the other hand, again motivated by my personal experience, since I have been living in many countries I have always had the feeling that Flamenco was more valued outside the Spanish borders. Curiously, over the years, I had the opportunity to share this feeling with other Spanish people that have always agreed with me. Therefore, which are the steps carried out on cultural heritage legislation to expand Flamenco overseas? Is the national lack of valorization real? and if so, what are the measures undertaken by the policymakers to reinforce Flamenco and the cultural identity it represents within Spanish borders? The aim of this thesis is to analyse what is nowadays being done in terms of cultural policies for the safeguarding, preservation and growth of Flamenco and what can be done in the future. At the same time, the present research intends to serve as starting point for a reflection on the Flamenco sector to help to improve the future cultural policies for Flamenco as intangible cultural heritage.

The analysis will be carried out under the framework of cultural policies for Intangible Cultural Heritage, since in November 2010 UNESCO declared Flamenco one of the

"Masterpieces of the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity" (UNESCO, 2010b). By asking the people responsible for transmitting it from generation to generation, defined by Goto (2013) as holders. Despite Flamenco has been studied from an anthropological and sociological point of view (Palma et al., 2017), studies from a more economical and managerial perspective remain insufficient.

For the better understanding of the research, in the next chapter the basic terms are defined: intangible and tangible cultural heritage, cultural policy and their connection with Flamenco. Besides the definitions, the existing theories on cultural policies and intangible cultural heritage are explained, followed by an analysis of Flamenco situation and the measures taken to safeguard and preserve it. The present thesis aspires to serve as an entrance door for reflection about cultural policies in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. Therefore, a literature review that only summarizes the existing theories by highlighting them is avoided (Gray, 2010).

In the methodological part, decisions regarding the research methods and data sampling are explained and justified. In the main findings, based on the data collected and the existing theories previously explained, the principal or the most relevant discoveries are explained. Conclusions are followed by an analysis of the practical limitations faced during the present work, as well as, new alternatives and ways to approach the safeguarding of Flamenco to continue the line of study for the sector in the future, started with the present paper.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Definition of Cultural Heritage: what do I talk about when I talk about cultural heritage?

Cultural Heritage can be understood as an umbrella term under which many cultural goods and services are included. Hence, it is a wide-ranging term, including from ancient buildings or arts works to skills and natural heritage. To get an idea of the breadth of the term, the Internal Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) elaborated a paper, which includes more than 60 variations of the definition depending on the institution, the historical moment and the country in charge of defining cultural heritage, which gives an idea of the number of meanings of the term (ICOMOS, 2005). As a starting point, here it is adopted a simplistic definition of heritage. According to the Cambridge (2018) dictionary's definition, heritage indicates "features belonging to the culture of a particular society, such as traditions, languages, or buildings, which were created in the past and still have historical importance".

According to the definition abovementioned, concepts as past, present, but also future, through the individuals that make up the society and therefore, those who strive for building the future, are included in the term heritage, specifically or implicitly. In this regard, Habermas (1982) points out that the historical knowledge offered by cultural heritage, not only shows us what our predecessors were capable of build, but also, gives us the opportunity to reconciliate with our past to face the challenges of our present. These concepts lead us to reflect a step further about the topic of the present research: the importance of safeguarding cultural heritage. Since paraphrasing the writer Luis Sepúlveda, "it is extremely important to know the past to understand the present and imagine the future" (EUROPA PRESS, 2009).

Concerning the definition of cultural heritage, many authors consider cultural heritage items as assets, which hold cultural capital, with economic and cultural values embodied on it (Throsby, 2010; Goto, 2013). On this regard, as Throsby (2010) mentions, the economic values are related to how individuals experience heritage. Thus, individuals not only experience heritage thanks to direct consumption, with the purchase of a ticket to visit a heritage site, for instance. But also, they experience heritage, by indirect consumption, under the form of positive externalities, derived from the beneficial collateral effects that heritage may create on its surrounding (Licciardi and Amirtahmasebi, 2012). Because individuals can experience benefits even if they would not have contributed to produce or safeguard cultural heritage (Benhamou, 2011).

Therefore, within the positive externalities of cultural heritage are included: the capacity to foster the unity through a sense of national identity, improvement in the respect and

consideration for other cultures, stimulation of cultural diversity and encouragement of the comprehension of the past while teaching creative, artistic and ethical values to the present and future generations (Towse, 2010; Goto, 2013). But also, the strengthening of the identity and dignity of individuals that enhances the respect for human rights among societies and helps countries in their development (Cominelli and Greffe, 2013). Without forgetting, that heritage also contributes to enhance people's existence with the aesthetic values embedded on it (Lixinski, 2013).

That is why, it is not an overstatement to say that all these beneficial externalities and spillover effects, by themselves, would be enough to justify an intense intervention of the governments to protect, preserve, safeguard and disseminate their national cultural heritage. Consequently, the reasons to justify safeguarding of heritage seem to be endless. Reasons as the creation of employment (Cominelli and Greffe, 2013) and the creativity development of the individuals (Lee, 2014) come to the point together with other as the risk of loss. Not only the loss of the cultural good itself, but also the loss of the cultural identity of the holder community, in case the cultural heritage would not be safeguarded (Lenzerini, 2011). Precisely, the threaten of loss is consider a definitive driver to determine the action of policy makers and governments in striving for keeping alive the cultural heritage. In order to preserve the conditions and social relationships that serve as framework for the cultural productions, above all, in the case of intangible cultural heritage (Machuca, 2006).

2.2. Types of Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage can be divided in different categories, which need to be clearly defined as a first step to come closer to the different cultural policies that may be carried out for each type of cultural heritage (Lixinski, 2013). Being these different categories established as tangible immovable heritage, such as buildings or monuments, tangible movable heritage, like artworks, artefacts or archives and intangible heritage, where works of music, languages, rituals or skills and knowledge, for instance, are included (Throsby, 2010; Goto, 2013).

Although cultural heritage can be divided in three categories, the most extended division is between tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Following Goto (2013), the dependency of intangible cultural heritage on living people can be one of the most important differences. This dependency can also be the reason for the "shortcoming when compared to tangible heritage" (Lixinski, 2013, p. 20). A heritage building, for instance, does not need the present living communities to hold and carry its significance, beyond the maintenance tasks required to preserve it. While Flamenco, for instance, is completely dependent on its people to exist, being so important the figure indicated by Goto (2013): the holder, for its existence and

survival. If the Flamenco community disappears, Flamenco will disappear too, because "it cannot survive without being a part of present life" (Goto, 2013, p. 572).

Therefore, intangible cultural heritage, hereafter ICH, has an ancestral origin, due to its being entrenched in the social and cultural lives of the communities of holders (Arantes, 2007). Although, the UNESCO's definition of ICH used in the present work dates from 2003. What reinforces the opinion of some authors that believe that ICH is a novel concept (Miguel de, M., Miguel de, B, Santamarina, V. & Val, M., 2016). However, many countries early understood the importance of ICH as a tool for developing and reinforcement the bonds among their inhabitants, as well as to promote social cohesion, inclusion and peace (Lee, 2014). Consequently, they started programmes, and introduced policies or guidelines to serve the aim of preserving intangible cultural heritage. The most representative example is Japan. As Goto mentions (2013), in Japan, policies for ICH started in 1950, with the adoption of the Act on Protection of Cultural Properties. Because of that, Japan is clearly and advanced developer of legislation for safeguarding ICH in comparison with UNESCO, due to the fifty years of advantage and wide expertise in the field (Goto, 2013).

All in all, according to the definition given by UNESCO 2003 Convention, ICH is defined as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly 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, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity" (UNESCO, 2010). According to this definition, authors, as Kurin (2007), Goto (2013) or Cominelli and Greffe (2013) notice that UNESCO attempts to emphasize the importance of the community in the task of ICH safeguarding and it also recognizes the ICH as community identity.

Nonetheless, throughout the history ICH has received less attention compared with the importance conferred to tangible cultural heritage (Yim, 2004). Not only from a policy-making point of view, but also for the development of the theory on the topic, which has been developed under the analysis of tangible cultural heritage (Goto, 2013). Taking UNESCO as example: UNESCO did not adopt a specific framework for action regarding the ICH until 2003, when the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage took place (UNESCO, 2010). While in the case of tangible cultural heritage (including natural heritage), the focus on its safeguarding and protection was developed since 1972, when the first convention was issued in Paris (Lenzerini, 2011).

However, in the Convention of 1972, many country representatives realised that the UNESCO's point of view regarding heritage was too restricted and it was necessary to extend their efforts, to the immaterial manifestations of heritage (Lenzerini, 2011). Nevertheless, as Cominelli and Greffe (2013) point out, the Convention of 2003 can be seen as the culmination process, which had already started in the late 1980's. Firstly, in 1989, with the Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore, established by UNESCO to foster the sustainable development of intangible cultural heritage and to boost the respect for human rights. And secondly, by launching the programmes of 1993 and 1997, to introduce respectively the system of living human treasures and the list of masterpieces of oral and intangible heritage (Cominelli and Greffe, 2013).

It is important to remark what Kurin (2007) says about the 1989 Recommendation, where the intangible, artistic and folklore expressions were understood under the possibility of being taken out of their natural context or communities. In the context of the 1989 Recommendation, UNESCO showed as the best option to maintain the cultural expressions over the years, their preservation as statics pieces in the museums' collections (Kurin, 2007). Aspect that contradicts the character of living heritage of the ICH (Goto, 2013). Thus, the approach changed radically in the 2003 Convention, where the UNESCO's interest focused on giving to the community of holders the importance they deserve in safeguarding ICH, which meant a great step forward in the ICH's area (Kurin, 2007). A proof of the aforesaid, is the Article 15 of the 2003 Convention, in which UNESCO emphasizes the importance of the participation of communities in safeguarding ICH, by being involved in the safeguard decisions (Kurin, 2007). Article 15 states "within the framework of its safeguarding activities of the ICH, each State Party shall endeavour to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management" (UNESCO, 2013).

In line with the above, following what Blake (2009) says, the perspective's novelty relies in the sense of awareness in valuing the community as the driver for safeguarding, what implies the implementation of bottom-up approaches that are community-driven. However, it is precisely on this point, that many authors have expressed their concerns regarding the open lines of action the Convention established, being more, at the end, a guide of best practices than a proper framework of action or guidance where cultural policies are established (Kurin, 2007; Cominelli and Greffe, 2013; Taylor, 2008; Bonn et al., 2017; Machuca, 2006).

2.3. The concept of safeguarding

Before going deeper in the analysis of cultural policies and their instruments, it could be convenient to define what it is understood by safeguarding in the context of the present work and the existing differences between this term and the concept of preservation. By addressing the definition of UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage given in Article 2.3, safeguarding means: "The measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage" (UNESCO, 2010).

As mentioned, the present research aims to study the implications of cultural policies for the safeguarding of cultural heritage, more particularly, intangible cultural heritage, ICH hereafter, by studying particularly the case of Flamenco. The definition of safeguarding above mentioned brings us to the main point of the present paper: the requirements of vitality, dynamic and sustainability when safeguarding ICH, represented by its communities or holders, as Goto (2013) mentioned.

Besides that, it is important to distinguish safeguarding from protection. As Irina Bokova, 10th General Director of UNESCO from 2009 until 2017, pointed out on the foreword of *Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (UNESCO, 2010): "protection implies constructing barriers around a given expression, isolating it from its context and past and reducing its social function or value. Safeguarding involves maintaining its living character, value and function". Since, for the comprehension of the study is important to understand heritage as a living element integrated in our daily live, and hence, as Goto (2013) mentions, dependent on its holders to survive, but also to evolve and progress.

2.4. The interest of being on the UNESCO's ICH Representative List

Although the 2003 Convention invoked a simple formula, where the safeguarding model suggested does not seem to be the most convenient (Lenzerini, 2011), the Convention have had a greater degree of acceptance among countries. More than 100 countries were involved on it in September 2008, only after 5 years of activity (Aikawa-Faure, 2008). Moreover, the Convention undeniably helped to educate in the safeguarding of ICH, even when a deep analysis of the complex "matrix of ecological, social, technological, economic and political relationships" (Kurin, 2007) is needed. As Cominelli and Greffe (2013) highlight the UNESCO 2003 Convention was in line with the process of listing followed by the World

Heritage Convention, but the UNESCO stressed the differences between the intangible and the tangible conventions, by emphasizing that it is more important to safeguard skills that are widely accepted as valuable, although these skills are not in danger of extinction.

Notwithstanding, the Convention can be seen as a step forward where UNESCO serves as meeting point for the reflection on the matter. Allowing to the countries involved to learn and share different ways to face the safeguarding of ICH. In the 2013 IOS[1], countries recognized that the importance of being included in the UNESCO list is overvalued (UNESCO, 2013), there are not clear guidelines of action (Cominelli and Greffe, 2013) and the effective economic impact of the inclusion is not clear enough (Towse, 2010). However, more and more countries want to include intangible heritage on the list. Arguments in favour of continuing including items are the visibility effect that the inscription has (Aikawa, 2014), the reinforcement of national policy, the access to new financial sources or the increase in the public interested in the item (Towse, 2010). For instance, the director of the Andalusian Agency for the Development of Flamenco[2], María Ángeles Carrasco, declared that "the inclusion on the list of Flamenco will bring subsidies and tourism" (EUROPA PRESS, 2010), in line with Towse (2010).

2.5. Definition of Cultural Policies: what do I talk about when I talk about cultural policies?

Everything that includes the word culture is difficult to be defined. That is why, public policy will be the starting point to get closer to ICH cultural policies. Public policy can be defined as "the sum of government activities, whether pursued directly or thought agents, as those activities that have influence on the lives of citizens" (Peters, 1996, p. 4), but also to regulate the development of a specific sector (Gobierno de Chile, 2011). Being the Ministry of Culture, or any institution with the same capabilities, the governmental bureau in charge of giving public support to a wide range of artistic and humanistic activities (Williams 1977, Pp.80). In other words, "The Ministry of Culture should concentrate on formulating a mission for cultural policy and make sure it is implemented properly" (Ploeg van der, 2006, p. 1).

Therefore, in the light of the above and concerning the approach taken to address the topic in the present research, cultural policies can be defined as the set of all the strategies carried out by any government in regard with the arts, liberal arts and heritage, involving all

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[1] Internal Oversight Service (IOS) Evaluation Service. Evaluation of UNESCO's Standard- setting Work of the Culture Sector

[2] Andalusian Agency for the Development of Flamenco (Agencia Andaluza para el Desarrollo del Flamenco, n.a.) is an entity launched by the Council of Culture of the government of Andalusia and dependent administratively of the Andalusian Institute of Arts and Letters. The Agency attempts to support measures for the promotion of the professional and associative fabric of Flamenco and for research.

the governmental actions and plans that evolve the creation, diffusion, commercialization and the use of the culture (Mulcahy, 2006). Consequently, there is not a unique way to understand what cultural policy is (Gray, 2010). Additionally, the existence of cultural values in each heritage item, makes necessary to analyse and evaluate carefully and independently each cultural item, when legislating (Lixinski, 2013). Due to the careful analysis needed, and by resting on the predominance of each cultural value, the instruments used to carry out the most suitable policies for each cultural heritage may vary (Throsby, 2010).

The development and the subsequent implementation of a policy is affected through the utilization of distinct policy instruments (Throsby, 2010), that governments should use, combining various kinds of intervention for each type of heritage, direct or indirect, and different instruments, as public expenditure, tax expenditure or regulation (See Figure 1 below). At the end, the choice will depend on "the outcome they generate" (Peacock and Rizzo, 2008, p. 138). Being this last statement easier to understand in the case of tangible heritage, where the instruments for safeguarding, are related to the allocation of budgets to preserve and maintain the items. On the contrary, the safeguarding of ICH seems to be more subjective, due to the discussion hinges on the capacity of the ICH to be transmitted by communities for the enjoyment of the successive generations, and where the financial issues are not addressed on the debate (Cominelli and Greffe, 2013).

Figure 1: The practice of public intervention
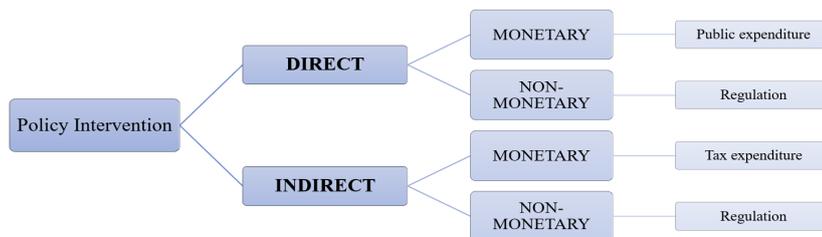
Source: Author's elaboration according to Peacock and Rizzo (2008, p.137)

Applying theory to practice, Japan is considered a world leader in the reinforcement and improvement of policies that helps to safeguard and protect ICH items. Always keeping a strong emphasis in the respect for the community of holders of ICH (Goto, 2013), where it has extended experience. It is the case for the National Living Treasures, in which holders of ICH are supported by the government with special grants to apprentice training (Goto, 2013). Moreover, Japan empowers the holder's communities by facilitating the access to educational systems that assure the continuity of the craft techniques or alive skills and techniques (Goto, 2013). This shows that Japan understood what is mentioned by Mulcahy (2006, pp. 321)

regarding the "natural affinity between education and culture". Additionally, among the endless list of tools that Japan has in safeguarding ICH, Japan also works in the promotional side, by allowing performances of ICH in National Theatres, as a way to increase the audience (Goto, 2013).

2.6. Difficulty in the elaboration of cultural policies for the safeguarding of Intangible Heritage

Given the above and taking into consideration the importance of the ICH and the positive effect that cultural heritage has in enriching society, it must not only be protected or safeguarding, but also fostered and disseminated to all areas, nationally or internationally. For these purposes, the necessity to create ad hoc legislations and policies for each specific ICH item arises (Castillo, 2006; Throsby, 2010; Lixinski, 2013). Therefore, the impact and importance of cultural policies on the safeguarding labour cannot be underestimated. But why is it so hard to legislate to safeguard ICH?

Firstly, the difficulty lies in the intangibility character of the item itself. As Throsby (2010) outlines, the subjectivity within the cultural capital heritage is represented by cultural values such as: aesthetic, spiritual, social, historical, symbolic, authenticity and locational values. Moreover, these values cannot be measured, and consequently, this fact make much more complicated the task of legislating, in comparison with the same task when there are economic values. As the economic values are easier to estimate, many policies focus on these values to simplify reality and express with numbers those subjective parts of culture that cannot be easily measured (Klamer, 2017). Therefore, it could be stated that the unequal attention, the vagueness in the lines of action and, the difficulties that policy-makers find to establish adequate laws to safeguard ICH in comparison with the same ones for the TCH, may be related to the intrinsic inviolability of the ICH items.

Secondly, the relative novelty of the concept of safeguarding ICH, is especially noticeable in the Western approach. Where the idea of authenticity and transmission related to ICH is not that integrated in the mentality of the policy makers, as it is in the Eastern approach, with the Japanese case as one of the greatest exponents (Goto, 2013). Moreover, the lack of awareness in the necessity of safeguarding ICH may lie in the fact that human communities accomplished spontaneously the labour of preserving and safeguarding ICH over the years (Lenzerini, 2011). Therefore, it could be said that it is a crowding-out effect (Frey, 1997), but the other way around. Since, safeguarding of ICH has been occurring with no intervention for years, it results extremely difficult to explain the governments, they have to start worrying about how to protect these ethereal elements (Mydland et al., 2012).

On top of that, the "issue of agency" (Lixinski, 2013, pp. 11) appears as another critical point in the difficult process of legislate ICH. This issue occurs when governments, academics or even, connoisseurs entitle themselves as the owners of the ICH, displacing and supplanting the authentic ICH community members in the boards of decision of any specific ICH (Lixinski, 2013), justifying their behaviour because they are acting according to the "national sovereignty" (Kurin, 2007). The agency effect could have derived partly from the lack of strict guidelines given by UNESCO (Cominelli and Greffe, 2013) and the unexperienced or isolation of the ICH holders. But also, it also happens because governments have not done an exercise of self-reflection about the differences between conservation, preservation and safeguarding. And neither, in the implications that the implementation of some policies may have on the safeguarding of ICH.

Consequently, "minority cultural communities do not see government as representing their interests, particularly when it comes to their living cultural traditions and their vitality as living, dynamic communities" (Kurin, 2007, pp. 13), reason why it is not unusual that the desires of communities may conflict with the objectives of the governments (Taylor, 2008). Therefore, these institutional acts of reifying and superseding ICH, normally end up in suffocating the ICH community, condemning the ICH to its extinction. Because they are not able to make the necessary changes to adapt their practices to the natural evolution, in the case of living practices (Machuca, 2006; Bonn et al., 2017).

Finally, the risk of loss of some elements of any given ICH, such as the spontaneity (Lenzerini, 2011) can be another cause for the difficulty in developing cultural policies for ICH. Sometimes, policy makers develop legislation based on a commodification and objectification of the ICH practices, totally opposed to their alive character (Taylor, 2008). This attitude can ultimately lead the skills or traditions to the disappearance (Lixinski, 2013). Authors as Goto (2013) or Peacock and Rizzo (2008) point out the difference in the regulation to be used, regarding the above-mentioned fragility. Accordingly, hard regulation is more suitable for built heritage but not recommended in the case of ICH. Being more appropriate for ICH, what is known as soft- regulation, such as "non-enforceable directives implemented by agreement and not involving penalties, as the list of the UNESCO world heritages" (Peacock and Rizzo, 2008, p. 145), but also as Goto (2013) underlines, being education and training the most accurate instruments for the safeguarding of skills.

In the light of the difficulties above mentioned for the development of cultural policies, it is crucial that policy makers work on a multi-level protection system to cover the maximum possible of sides in the safeguarding of ICH (Lixinski, 2013), including aspects from sociology and historic safeguarding, to promotion and artistic instruction (Mulcahy, 2006).

Therefore, to avoid err on the side of ambition, it could be convenient to go step by step, raising realistic objectives to prevent policy makers to put the cart before the horse. Although, it is also important that policy-makers do not forget to design long-term objectives, that strive to achieve the optimal cultural policy that helps countries to "promote a sense of communal continuity and definition while continuing to support aesthetic discourse and artistic creativity" (Mulcahy, 2006, pp.328).

2.7. Development and Implementation of Cultural Policy in Spain

Given that the definitions and the problematic aspects of developing a cultural policy for ICH have been already addressed, it could be convenient to analyse the mechanism of developing and implementing cultural policies in the country where Flamenco is framed: Spain.

As van der Ploeg (2006) explains, although in the majority of the cases it is the Ministry of Culture who has the last word, the way in which the countries proceed towards cultural policies and allocation of resources can be divided in three basic systems. Firstly, the French and Italian systems that are "top-down" and "state-driven" (Ploeg van der, 2006, p. 29). Secondly, the British System in which "the Secretary of the State allocates a budget to the Arts Council and asks it to take responsibility for allocating it to the applicants for cultural subsidy" (Ploeg van der, 2006, p. 29). And in third place, an intermediate system, under which the Arts Council advices the government, but at the end, it is the Ministry of Culture who decides which budget goes to which cultural sector, being the receiving institution who, ultimately, spends the allocation in what, under its criteria, is more convenient (Ploeg van der, 2006). The third system is where the Spanish case would be included.

The Spanish model is characterized by decentralization, with political and administrative division into regional governments. The Autonomous Administrations have their own laws concerning many aspects, including the heritage (UNESCO, 2010a). The Central Ministry with cultural competence is the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports. This Ministry divides the budget assigned by the Central Government to Culture, among the seventeen autonomic communities, which ultimately divide the available budget among the different cultural organizations and city councils. The Autonomous Administration have a huge importance and independency for the development of culture (MECD, n.a.). Attending to this division and taking into consideration different levels of government, Spain is the second country in the European Union with more autonomy for the regions and the municipalities, with an 80%, just behind Germany (90%) (Klamer et al., 2006).

Regarding the above, public financing culture in Spain lies mainly at the lower levels, where the municipalities are responsible for the funding of at least more than 50% of the cultural activity. Followed by the Autonomous Administration (27,5%) and the central government (17%), according to the data on Klamer et al. (2006). As it is mentioned in van der Ploeg (2006), it is commonly known that politicians do not hesitate to delegate those tasks that have a high risk of policy failure, as occurs in the case of the cultural policies.

Considering the distribution of the different budgets among the three Spanish Public financial bodies, central government, Autonomous Administrations and municipalities, in the case of the central government more than the 50% of the total budget goes to cultural goods and services, in which heritage is included (Klamer et al., 2006). The amount spent by the Autonomous Administrations is similar, where 40% of the funding goes to the same budget line. On the contrary, in a municipality level only 8,8% of the funds goes to the cultural heritage, being the promotion of culture the item where these local administrations spend the most (91,2%) (Klamer et al., 2006).

All in all, regarding the specific case of the present work, developing and implementation of cultural policies for safeguarding Flamenco, have been diverse and are mainly characterized by discontinuity in their implementation. Hereafter, it is included a more in-depth analysis regarding cultural policies to safeguard Flamenco.

2.8. Definition of Flamenco: What do I talk when I talk about Flamenco?

According to the structure, followed in the previous section of the literature review, it would be convenient to begin by giving a definition of what is Flamenco. The problem appears when, given the intrinsic complexity of Flamenco as an art, it is almost impossible to find a general accepted definition. All definitions found for the purpose of the present master thesis, talk about the same topics but not in the same way. Some emphasize more the art itself, others highlight the technique and the purity of Flamenco, while other definitions are focused in the historical background and its mix of ancient cultures. However, all the texts about Flamenco have something in common; they strengthen the idea that Flamenco is about passion and feelings.

Therefore, Flamenco is an art to be experienced in live performances, otherwise the essence and the purity of the feelings cannot be understood. Flamenco is something that never leaves one indifferent. As the film critic and Flamenco connoisseur, Ángel Fernández Santos, wrote concerning the film release "Flamenco" by Carlos Saura in 1995: "Flamenco is immeasurable, a universe. There is no way to lock it up in a concert, a record, a movie... Going into it requires that explorers choose an itinerary, which necessarily has to be

insufficient, small, partial" (Fernández, 1995). Hence, Flamenco is infinite. And according to that, Flamenco can be an entire subject of sociology itself, full of historical, economic, even psychological aspects, which can take the entire life of the researcher, who wants to explore the complex world of Flamenco (Quiñones, 1981)

However, given the investigational character of the present thesis, and as an attempt to escape from the personal subjectivity and passion of the author, the definition included in the Royal Academy of Spanish Language is included as a base approach, followed by the definition given in the Nomination file for the inscription of Flamenco on the representative list of ICH in 2010 (UNESCO, 2010a). The definition of Flamenco in the Spanish Dictionary, suitable for this research, would be the one that appears in fourth place and reads as follows: "Said of a cultural manifestation, or of its interpreter: With a popular Andalusian character, and often linked with the gypsy people and their community" (RAE, n.a). In the light of the above, this definition, already deals with basic concepts for the understanding of Flamenco as ICH, such as: cultural manifestation, Andalusian character and gypsy people.

As it was mentioned before, and because this paper arose by the inclusion of Flamenco in the UNESCO´s Representative List of ICH the 16th of November 2010 (Belausteguigoitia, 2010), it seems to be appropriate to delve in how is understood Flamenco in an institutional level. And under which criteria it was presented to become part of the Representative List. Thus, on the document presented by the regional government of Andalusia, in cooperation with the regions of Murcia and Extremadura and with the support of the central Spanish government, Flamenco is defined as "a unique, living and evolving cultural element that goes beyond the world of music, possessing a great variety of styles in its three facets: *cante, baile* and *toque* -singing, dancing and guitar-. Flamenco as an artistic expression is the product of the fusion of song, dance and musicianship, which may be performed jointly or separately. Flamenco is expressed through the mastery of fundamental performance skills and the use of musical instruments, costumes and objects which constitute a specific ethnography and generate their own craft traditions (making guitars, shoes and costumes for the dancers, for example)" (UNESCO, 2010a, art. D). It should be added that Flamenco is the result of a mix and superposition of different cultures that were established in Andalusia over time, with influences of Hebrew psalms, Byzantine ceremonies, Andalusian music that was already there, and the input included by Gypsies (Palma et al., 2017).

Once, the definitions of Flamenco have been presented, an in-depth analysis about the intangible characteristics and the need of being safeguarded are analysed, hereafter.

2.9. Flamenco as Intangible Cultural Heritage:

As it was mentioned before, countries show a huge interest in being involved in the UNESCO's Convention for ICH for different reasons, mostly related with the obtention of funding for the preservation and safeguarding of the ICH item (Barron, 2017), not directly by UNESCO, but via sponsors attracted by the recognition status of the inclusion in the list. This high interest was also shown in the Flamenco's case. Junta de Andalucía, supported by the Spanish central Government, presented Flamenco for the second time in 2009. After in 2005, the Andalusian Government submitted an initial application to be listed as Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity that was denied for the "shortcomings of the application file presented" (Rondón, 2009). However, in 2009, the nomination was successfully presented, due to a relaxation in the UNESCO's criteria to include in the list firstly those intangible elements in danger of disappearance or degradation (Nueva Alboreá, 2010).

By reading carefully the nomination file presented, it is noticeable that all the key elements to consider an item as ICH previously mentioned, are fulfilled by Flamenco. Firstly, it is addressed the importance of the community for the existence, developing and transmission of this ICH. The identification of the communities described in the nomination file is not limited only to the Gypsy community. Flamenco families and dynasties, Flamenco clubs or peñas, performers, critics and researchers, Flamenco schools and academies, as well as, the entire cultural industry of Flamenco are included as part of the groups that made Flamenco's existence possible (UNESCO, 2010a).

Although the importance of the Gypsy ethnic community in transmitting Flamenco orally and continuing with its traditions cannot be denied and it is recognized throughout the document. Something full of significance and sense, if it is considered that Flamenco is embedded in the daily life of Gypsy community and in their own worldview (Grimaldos, 2010). And, because for years the Gypsy community was terribly battered. As an example of the latter, it can be mentioned the enactment of specific laws, between the years 1499 and 1783, for prosecution, harassment and molestation of the Gypsy community, with the inclusion of, among others, the right to whip, cut ears, forced exile and of course, unconditional imprisonment for this community (Quiñones, 1981mp. 111).

Secondly, the nomination file also explains carefully the importance of Andalusia as the place where Flamenco was born. As it is shown in the Statute of Autonomy of Andalusia, organic law 2, article 68, section 1: "The Autonomous Community also has exclusive competence in terms of knowledge, conservation, research, training, promotion and

dissemination of Flamenco as a unique element of the Andalusian cultural heritage" (Organic Law 2, 2007).

Thirdly, Flamenco as ICH includes the domain of oral traditions with the transmission of its rules and codes without written manuals. But also Flamenco's social, ritual and festive practices, the connection with the nature perceived by means of its lyrics and the Flamenco's craft techniques. All these elements are essential for the complete experience of Flamenco (UNESCO, 2010a, section C.3.). Hereafter, it is included an explanatory table (see table 1 below) from Palma et al. (2017), that simplifies all the domains where Flamenco operates, included in the Nomination File (UNESCO, 2010a).

Table 1 : Flamenco as ICH – Transversal Domain

FLAMENCO AS INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE – TRANSVERSAL DOMAIN (UNESCO)

Cultural domains	Cultural heritage	Museum of Flamenco Dance
	Performance and celebrations	Flamenco shows in *peñas, tablaos* or theatres Flamenco festivals Flamenco music
	Visual arts and crafts	Crafts: shawls, fans, ornamental combs, veils
	Print media	Books, newspapers, magazines
	Audiovisual and interactive media	TV, radio, cinema, video
	Design and creative services	Flamenco fashion and general fashion inspired by flamenco
Related domains	Textile industry	Flamenco dresses and costumes
	Footwear industry	Flamenco shoes or dance shoes
	Musical instruments	Guitar, castanets, box drum, flute, violin, piano
	Accessories	Shawls, costume jewellery (earrings, brooches), hair ornaments (flowers, combs)
	Tourism	Hotels and restaurants, travel agencies
	Recreation	Theme parks
Archives and heritage conservation Andalusian Centre of Flamenco Documentation Andalusian Flamenco Institute		
Education and training Flamenco schools (public and private), Chair of Flamenco at University of Seville		
Equipment and support material Internet as a tool for promoting flamenco		

Source: Table included in Palma et al. (2017, p.61)

Flamenco as ICH covers the above-mentioned domains, but it also has some functions. The functions and aspects included in the Nomination File (UNESCO, 2010a, section D.) are mainly; the social and cultural functions that Flamenco has by giving a community individuality to the people involved, also by the existence and usage of many terms specifically for Flamenco, the special characteristics of the interpreters and protectors of Flamenco because "Flamenco its past legacy but also a living presence. It is constantly being transmitted and renewed through the creations and interpretations of its exponents and

guardians" (UNESCO, 2010a, section D. Pp. 5). The existence of the classification of duties inside Flamenco, as the role represented by the peñas, the tablaos and the Flamenco artists themselves is also to be noticed. And lately, the ways in which Flamenco knowledge and skills are transmitted, in its own environment, through private academies or public institutions.

Finally, it is important to highlight, that the inclusion is not and end itself, it is just the beginning of a hard process of suffering, pain and fight of a community that, above all, has defended a reviled art for a long time. And as Enrique Morente, international figure of Flamenco said "Flamenco suffered a lot until Spain has listened to it! It was necessary that foreign people came to convince us, and even then, we are doubtful about it. Almost no bureaucrat likes it. Although Flamenco is Spanish. It is difficult to say that flamenco is an art of persecuted, but it is true that it comes from marginalized neighbourhoods" (Mora, 2008, p. 37). Therefore, the inclusion of Flamenco in the Representative List of ICH of the UNESCO has not to be the end, but a challenge to work and a responsibility, in the public and private spheres (Junta de Andalucía, 2011).

2.10.   Cultural policies in Flamenco

As it was mentioned before, although Japan was the first country in developing cultural policies for the safeguarding of the ICH (Goto, 2013), it has not been the only one. Many other countries followed the Japanese example and they stared working in this direction. Regarding Flamenco, for instance, in 1958, some flamencologists and artists founded in the south of Spain, the Faculty of Flamencology of Jerez, as an attempt to spread and safeguard Flamenco (Cátedras de Flamencología, 2018). Therefore, it can be considered as the beginning of the development of cultural policies for Flamenco.

A path with relevant milestones, such as the one mentioned above, and many others such as the opening of the Museum of Flamenco founded in Sevilla in 2006 (Palma et al., 2017), with the aim of the preservation by describing Flamenco origins and development, but that reopens the debate of the effectiveness of museums in the preservation of something that is by nature "vital, living and embedded in ongoing social relationships" (Kurin, 2004). On this regard, as many experts or scholars of Flamenco expressed, including Jose Luis Navarro, professor at the Flamenco Doctorate at the University of Seville, the initiatives start and are established because of the efforts of the private sphere, rather than by public or state action (Junta de Andalucía, 2007). As well as, the extended opinion, that there were many measures the previous years to the inclusion on the list, but once Flamenco was included there were less actions (Mellado, 2016).

However, as it can be seen in the Table 1 above, the immense variety of elements that Flamenco has, makes extremely complex the realization of concrete measures for safeguarding Flamenco (Grimaldos, 2010). And continuing with the Flamenco nomination file (UNESCO, 2010a, Section 3b) there are many safeguarding measures proposed in the 2009 paper that has being fully or partially implemented although almost eight years have already passed, while some of them have never materialized. As an example, right after the inclusion of Flamenco in the Representative List the I International Congress of Flamenco took places to discuss the next steps to take in the safeguarding process after the inclusion (Junta de Andalucía, 2011). Unfortunately, this meeting only took place twice, first in Sevilla in 2011 (Huerta, 2011) and the last one, two years after in Córdoba in 2013 (Montes, 2013). While it is true that other institutions and Flamenco groups as the International Federation of Peñas Flamencas have been organising annual international congress since 2010 until the present (Federación de Peñas, n.a.).

Within the objectives of education and promotion of Flamenco, were included the creation of the University Flamenco Observatory, the preparation of an Ethnographical Atlas of Flamenco, the inclusion of Flamenco in Andalusia's public education system or the creation of courses, postgraduate and doctorate programmes at universities have to be noticed. As it was mentioned before, the path is not easy and nowadays, although some progress was made, some steps back are taking place. For example, as in the case of the doctorate programme, in 2004 the University of Sevilla established the programme, but it has disappeared for the next Academic Year 2018/2019 (Molina, 2004). However, the progress is a constant and this year the first official master for Flamenco Research has been launched by the Cádiz University (Universidad de Cádiz, 2017). Many programs to include Flamenco in high schools and schools have been developed by the enthusiasm of teachers, in an attempt to include Flamenco not only in the subject of Music but also, among other disciplines as English or communications technology (Parra, 2015).

Besides the educational measures, the actions for promotion are where the greatest progresses have been observed. In the nomination file (UNESCO, 2010a) measures as the maintenance of the Flamenco Ballet of Andalusia, consolidation of the program for supporting the Flamenco artists "Flamenco viene del Sur" – Flamenco comes from the South, the ongoing partnership with the Cervantes Institute by programming Flamenco performances outside Spain and the establishment of an online platform with Flamenco resources to study called "Flamenco en red" are examples of actions carried out with more or less success on their initial goals. Moreover, being the promotion of Flamenco events as concerts and festivals part of the agenda, it can be said that in the light of the data of the annual surveys of

the Performing, Musical and Audiovisual Arts elaborated by SGAE[3] from 2010 to 2017, analyzed in the Appendix 1, the number of Flamenco concerts that have taken place in Spain has not stopped growing since 2013, being always in the second place after concerts held by pop-rock singers (SGAE, several dates).

Finally, even some measures took place, the overall impression is that a long way must be walked in safeguarding Flamenco. Although there are people who look suspicious to Flamenco and may even doubt about the importance of it safeguarding; according to the economic data of 2009, Spain should not ignore a sector, that in 2009 generated 719 million euros, which is the equivalent to the 2.42% of the GDP generated by the Spain's cultural industries (Molina, 2014). A lot of ideas and good intentions have been considered, but also implemented. Although the feeling is that they are mostly pilot tests that normally are stopped before seeing the first rewards. As it was mentioned by Grimaldos (2010) it is important to achieve the recognition of Flamenco in the administrative and social levels as cultural heritage in all its dimensions, not only in the most reinforced ones: the lost item's inventory and the Flamenco shows. Consequently, it is time to ask the people involved in Flamenco about the weakness, the strengths, but also the present and the future of Flamenco under their point of view.

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[3] The Spanish General Society of Authors and Publishers (SGAE) is a private entity working since 1899 for the intellectual property rights of its over 100,000 members. (SGAE, n.a.)

3. METHODOLOGY

The previous chapter has developed the theoretical framework, in which the present research work is based, emphasizing the relevant theories and concepts that frame the point of view adopted in this paper, within the Intangible Cultural Heritage and Cultural Policies' field of study. However, as Bryman (2012) mentions the literature review is not only about defining concepts, rewriting previous theories or the expert's opinions regarding a topic, over and above, the literature review is also about using the previous researches as a starting point from which you can develop a personal perspective of the object of analysis or even learn from the previous scholar's methodological approaches and their findings to conduct your analysis in one direction or another.

However, with the help of the literature review, the main concepts and the key points of reflection in this thesis have been defined to get a better understanding. Because as Bryman (2012) says, scholars, me included, develop research studies, due to while reading the literature or reflecting about a specific topic, many doubts and questions appear and consequently, the need of answering these questions. And conducting researches is a valid solution for that. While the previous chapter raised some doubts, this chapter will focus on the explanation of the methodology used and how through it, the research question is outlined and answered. Therefore, the research strategy, research design and research methods, as well as the sampling and data analysis are explained in this chapter. Moreover, an overview of the quality of the research and the limitations will be also discussed.

3.1. Research strategy

As it was mentioned before, the research question of this master thesis is formulated as follows: "How developing cultural policies to safeguard Flamenco as intangible cultural heritage?".

Following the definition given by Bryman (2012, p.35), research strategy is understood as a "general orientation to the conduct of social research". But, it should be recalled that, there is not a unique way of orienting the research in any specific field of study, as it is the case in cultural policies, for instance. In general, Gray (2010) proposes at least three approaches to address cultural policies as a field of study: positivism, interpretivism and realism. These methodological approaches differ, depending on the prism used in the analysis – economic, political, sociological (Gray, 2010). In this regard, the present paper, is closer to an interpretivist and realist position, but not strictly attached to them. Due to it aims to emphasize social problems, as the safeguarding of Flamenco as ICH, by using qualitative research methods.

Moreover, as Rose (1993) explains the different methodologies followed in the examination of cultural policies, respond to the fact that, there are different perceptions about cultural policies, their existence, raison d'être, assessment, but also application and improvement. And since the purpose of the present study is to analyze how cultural policies in terms of preservation of Flamenco can be developed, a qualitative research is carried out, to give voice to the people inside Flamenco. That it is why, qualitative research seems to be the most suitable for the purpose of the study, as it brings to the research a more human point of view and, as it is mentioned in Marshall and Rossman (2014), it makes more comprehensible the discourse, when it comes to understand the behavior or the positioning of a community, as it is the case with Flamenco and its community of holders.

3.2. Research design

As Bryman (2012) explains, the research design can be defined as the framework, under which the accomplishment of a research method and the interpretation of the results, is established. In this regard, the present qualitative research follows an inductive approach based on a subjective interpretation of the data collected to study and analyze new ways to improve Flamenco's safeguarding. Not being used the data collected, to develop a hypothesis that must be accepted or denied (Bryman, 2012)

The qualitative procedure seems to be the most appropriated one for this thesis, because it allows to go deeper in the discursive analysis. Therefore, as it has been mentioned, the aim is to reflect on the need of developing cultural policies for preserving Flamenco, not to serve as a source of statistical data of the actual situation of Flamenco in Spain.

3.3. Research Method

In the present case, the method chosen to collected data were under the form of semi-structured interviews, although as an attempt to get closer to the topic and adopt a reliable point of view, secondary data from yearbooks regarding the consumption of Flamenco have been used, as it has been mentioned in the theoretical framework (See Appendix 1).

The selection of semi-structured interviews is justified because, as Martínez (2006) points out, semi-structured interviews adopt the form of a colloquial conversation, which helps to generate an atmosphere of trust between the interlocutors that helps to use dialogue itself, as a method of knowledge of human beings. Moreover, following Kvale (2006), the purpose of semi-structure qualitative interview is to get first-hand knowledge of past experiences of the interviews, since through their vision we can obtain reliable descriptions of the studied phenomena, in our case, Flamenco community and their experiences. As it was mentioned in

the literature review, the topics addressed in the research were initially oriented to the main research topics such as how to develop safeguarding cultural policies for ICH. But, as a consequence of the openness of the interview, more topics have been added to the discussion, making harder the generalization of the data. That in the end, it has been possible by a coding process (see Appendix 4).

Accordingly, fourteen semi-structured interviews were conducted with people located in Spain. The language used for the interviews is Spanish, as the majority of the interviewees are only Spanish speakers, and otherwise, it would have been impossible to obtain the information. The interviews have been performed between mid-March 2018 and the first week of May 2018, and they have been recorded using the application Voice Recorder[4].

Besides that, all the interviews have been transcribed in Spanish, only those parts included in the analysis hereunder have been translated to English. From the total amount of interviews, only three, 21% out of the total, were face-to-face semi-structured interviews, carried out in different locations of the center of Madrid – two in coffee places and one in the artist's house, but all located in the central neighborhood of La Latina, Madrid-. The remaining interviews, representing 79% out of the total, have been carried out by telephone, using skype as telephone and recorded as well, with the above-mentioned application.

Concerning the reasons to do both, telephone and face-to-face interviews, it is important to mention that initially, there was a schedule to carry out all the interviews face-to-face. For that purpose, and after confirming almost all the appointments, I travelled to Spain to collect the data for ten days. The problem arose when, once in Madrid, most of the artists cancelled the appointment due to professional or personal issues and as an alternative plan I collected the data by semi-structured telephone interviews. For that reason, as it is shown in Table 2 the average duration of the interviews decreases from 47 to 36 minutes, due to by telephone, people usually summarize more than in a face-to-face interview, although it does not affect the quality of the responses, and consequently the data obtained (Blasco and Otero, 2008).

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[4] Technical aspects of the application. Voice Recorder. Version 20.1.86.12. Medium quality used in the recordings with 128 kbps, 44.1 KHz.

Table 2: Duration and average duration per kind of semi-structured interview

	Interviewee	Kind of interv	Duration
1	Teo Sánchez	Telephone	0:17:00
2	Elena Andújar	Face-to-face	0:48:49
3	Pepe Torres	Face-to-face	0:45:46
4	Alejandro Granados	Face-to-face	0:47:00
5	Bernardo	Telephone	0:34:02
6	Elena Barajas	Telephone	0:31:10
7	María la manzanilla	Telephone	0:22:31
8	Antonio Andújar	Telephone	0:27:38
9	Sergio Bascuñan	Telephone	0:14:56
10	Udo	Telephone	0:50:08
11	Ariel	Telephone	0:40:17
12	Cheto	Telephone	0:50:29
13	Juañares	Telephone	0:42:59
14	Pedro López	Telephone	1:05:36

% telephone interviews	79%
% f-t-f interviews	21%

Average duration per telephone interview	**0:36:04**
Average duration per face-to-face interview	**0:47:12**
Total Average duration	**0:38:27**

Source: Prepared by the author based on her own data collected (see Appendix 3).

Regarding the structure of the interview, it is divided in three main topics (see Appendix 2) in which are include more sub-questions. In other words, the semi-structured and open-ended interviews seek to maximize the researcher learning process from the community and to create an atmosphere of confidence to obtain the most information possible, but also the deepest, from the interviewees. For this reason, there is a core of three broad themes that must be treated in each interview, but the concrete questions to reach them can vary from one respondent to other. As Figure 2 shows, the first set of questions aims to collect data on the respondents' background in Flamenco; who introduced them to Flamenco, how they have developed their career and how they transmit their knowledge to next generations. The second set of questions deals with the identity, recognition, valorization but also, with the existence or not, the danger of extinction in Flamenco as intangible heritage.

Finally, the third battery of questions is about cultural policies: how aware they are about the policies concerning Flamenco, if the respondents have been benefited from any of these policies, etc. Additionally, due to the participative character of the study, the respondents will be asked about what they would do in a hypothetical case, in which they would have the opportunity to develop any cultural policy to preserve Flamenco. Therefore, as it can be seen, there are sub-questions distributed throughout each topic, which serves as a support guide.

This is so because this kind of research method gives flexibility about the order of the topics to be treated during the interview, while allowing to adapt each question to the discursive level of the interviewee and the flow of the speech (Konomi, 2006).

Figure 2: Core structure of the semi-structured interviews

Group 1: Flamenco background	• Can you tell me a little bit of your background in Flamenco? • Who taught you the base of your knowledge and skills? • Are you transmitting your Flamenco skills to future generations?
Group 2: Flamenco identity, valorization, overseas and national recognition and Flamenco in danger of extinction	• Do you think Flamenco is exclusively from Andalucía? • Do you think Flamenco is more valued overseas that inside Spain? • Do you consider Flamenco in danger of extinction?
Group 3: Cultural Policies in Flamenco	• Can you tell me about any Flamenco cultural policy done by Spanish institution? • Have you ever received subsidies from Spanish institutions? • How would you develop cultural policies in Flamenco?

Source: Prepared by the author (see Appendix 2).

3.4. Sampling

An important stage in any investigation, drawing the sample clearly defines the results we will obtain, but there are not clear guidelines to stablish how many interviews are necessary when statistical results are not the output you are aspiring to (Guest et al., 2006). Contrary to what many people may think, samples are not always designed for their meaningfulness in terms of representation, but for the importance that the sample has, being the most appropriate and adequate from a research point of view (Bryman, 2012). In the present case, the sample will serve as a starting point of reflection and so, the data will not be extrapolated, due to the reduce amount of people interviewed (Bryman, 2012), but the importance lies in the better comprehension and analysis that thanks to the selected sample, it has been achieved.

This study focuses on the Flamenco people, also known as Flamenco holders or Flamenco community. Therefore, Flamenco people may be understood as people related to Flamenco, either as a dancer, guitarist, singer, percussionist or merely, as a simple

connoisseur of Flamenco (see Table 3). For the research, Flamenco people are considered those who fulfil two main characteristics:

Firstly, those who learnt Flamenco by living it inside a community, either in the family environment or in their affective relationships with friends by transmission of oral knowledge. Besides that, although some of them went to school at some point to improve their technique or to wide their musical o dance knowledge. All of them acquired the knowledge by observing and sharing with their communities, while they improved in their skills by practicing with their peers in a relaxed and non-ruled atmosphere. All in all, this factor is one of the most determining ones because, as it was mentioned before an important characteristic of intangible cultural heritage is that it is alive as far as the community keeps the tradition from one generation to the other (Goto, 2013)

And secondly, those for whom Flamenco represents their main activity, or at least one of the main. Since, in terms of salaries, they probably need other sources of income, due to the general labor precariousness of the cultural and creative sector (Oakley, 2014), but, as Cruz (2017) points out this is even worst in the Flamenco sector, where many artists cannot survive and become homeless.

Table 3: Interviewee's profession and compliance with the sample's characteristics

	Interviewee	Profession	Sample Characteristics	
			Charact. 1	Charact. 2
1	Teo Sánchez	Radio Speaker	✓	✓
2	Elena Andújar	Cantaora, bailaora	✓	✓
3	Pepe Torres	Guitarrist	✓	✓
4	Alejandro Granados	Bailaor	✓	✓
5	Bernardo Vázquez	Guitarrist	✓	✓
6	Elena Barajas	Bailaora	✓	✓
7	María la manzanilla	Bailaora	✓	✓
8	Antonio Andújar	Percussionist	✓	✓
9	Sergio Bascuñan	Cantaor	✓	✓
10	Udo	Cantaor	✓	✓
11	Ariel "El Chino"	Activist	✓	✓
12	Cheto	Guitarrist	✓	✓
13	Juañares	Cantaor	✓	✓
14	Pedro López	Musicologist	✓	✓

Profession
Cantaor = Flamenco Singer
Bailaora = Flamenco Dancer

Sample Characteristics
Characteristic 1: Learning Flamenco in community
Characteristic 2: Flamenco as main activity

Source: Prepared by the author based on its own data collected (see Appendix 3).

Initially, the scheduled interviews calendar considered as part of the sample only the previously mentioned professions - dancer, guitarist, singer, percussionist -, excluding other important professions inside the field of Flamenco as critics, producers, theatre owners, agents, musical instruments manufactures, clothes designers, etc. Lately, due to several factors as the cancellation of some interviews with no possibility of rescheduling, other Flamenco related professions to the sample were added, provided that, they meet the two

characteristics. Therefore, Pedro Lópeh, musicologist and writer specialized in Flamenco that learnt Flamenco from his father and his village's neighbors, and Teo Sánchez, radio speaker of the national radio station with more than 20 years of experience in Flamenco radio programming, were included in the sample, together with Ariel "EL Chino", Madrid based gypsy, with a large Flamenco family tradition that works as a political activist to defend the rights of the Spanish Gypsy community.

Another factor to take into consideration in drawing the sample is that, once the characteristics of the sample have been defined, the formation of the sample was influenced by the snowball sampling technique, which consists on an initial small relevant number of people to interview, regarding the research questions, who, in turn, propose other people to be interviewed, joining the original sample (Bryman, 2012). In the Flamenco case, Elena Andújar and Antonio Andújar acted as initiators of the snowball sample (see Figure 3 below).

Figure 3: Graphic description of Snowball effect in Flamenco Thesis

Source: Author's elaboration

Nonetheless, these interviewees inclusions and extensions of criteria have not done anything else but enrich the sample and hence, the findings. In addition to the above, the sample is not biased by any distinction made for reasons of race, religion, sexual inclination or age. The only distinctions allowed are: being involved in one of the four professions mentioned before, with the inclusion of the two exceptions also mentioned, and have learned Flamenco by transmission of knowledge.

Because of the historical relation between Flamenco and the Spanish Gypsy community, explained in the literature review, 71% of the sample is from the Gypsy community (see Appendix 3 for the detailed description). This fact gives a vision of the importance for Flamenco of this ethnic group, that traditionally has been outcast from the system. Far from understanding this as a limitation on the sample design, it will be taken as an important factor to enter in the community of people that have learnt through the years, how to maintain their ancestral Flamenco roots and to preserve Flamenco as it was initially, which it is at the end, what the paper is trying to focus on.

Finally, following the tips given by Holm-Hansen (2008) when organizing the information, a database has been created in an excel sheet, where there is an identification for each interviewee with all the contact details, the duration of the interview when it has been already done, the dates of the interviews, as well as, some benchmark information as the age, profession, place of birth, if the person is gypsy or not, etc. (see Appendix 3). Moreover, following what Johnson et al. (2010) suggest individual folders have been created for each of the participants, where the transcription and the recording file are saved. On top of that, all the interviews recorded and transcribed are included as an appendix at the end of the paper (see Appendix 4), being analyzed through a coding process explained hereafter.

3.5. Data Analysis

Once the interviews have been carried out and transcribed, as Bryman (2012) suggests, one of the hardest parts of qualitative research appears, because of the openness in the answers in semi-structured interviews. Therefore, it is crucial to systematize to make easier the understanding and reviewing of the transcribed interviews, on which will depend the findings reached (Bryman, 2012). To dealing with the openness in the answers, the grounded theory approach is applied, being considered the most widespread groundwork for analyzing the qualitative data collected (Bryman, 2012). Specifically, codification processes seem to be ideal in the qualitative data analysis. Thus, the present data analysis will be focused in open coding defined by Bryman (2012) as 'the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing data'.

The Excel sheet mentioned in the sampling section, was used as a starting point of the coding process, due to the benchmark's sample value it possesses. As Konomi (2016) addresses, using a table as a starting categorization of themes and subthemes treated in the analysis, could be an effective way to establish a prioritization of the results to get to a more reflective and controversial discussion in the analysis of the research (see Appendix 3).

Finally, the way of conducting the coding process depends on the discursive approach of the present thesis. And because it revolves around the idea of giving voice to the Flamenco community to reflect on the ways that they can work to develop efficient and effective measures to fight for the safeguarding of Flamenco, the coding has been done regarding the questionnaire structure. The main themes are those detailed in the research method: 1) Flamenco Background, 2) Flamenco identity and 3) Cultural Policies in Flamenco. Besides that, the coding process is completed by the sub-themes derived from the analysis of the transcriptions (see Appendix 4), essential for the findings.

3.6. Quality of the Research and Limitations

The fact of having a small sample follows the aim of the thesis, to serve as a reflection as a starting point of discussion about the necessity, or not, of cultural policies in preservation of Flamenco. But also, it serves to study in which ways these policies for the be directed. Additionally, the results obtained cannot be generalized for all the Intangible Cultural Heritage, but as it was mentioned, can served as a starting point, from here on, more reflection groups can be created to give light on the points of view of the different communities involved in each ICH item.

Besides that, as Bryman (2012) mentioned repeatability is difficult to be accomplished in qualitative review. But specifically, in cultural policy theory, sometimes researches should take a distance from absorbing used theories and methodology, to obtain more effective and useful findings that help the policy makers and the scholars (Gray, 2010).

4. FINDINGS

In this chapter, the content of the interviews will be analysed in depth to present the main findings of the research conducted. The findings obtained are explained based on the theory previously introduced in the Section 2 of this thesis. All the conclusions and tables, included in this section, come from the interview data after the codification process, already explained in the methodology, and summarised in the Appendix 4. As a way to organize the results extracted from the data collected, the present section is divided in two subsections: 4.1. Radiography of Flamenco: an analysis from within Flamenco community and 4.2. Cultural policies in Flamenco.

The first subsection relates to the overview diagnosis of Flamenco as ICH from the perspective of the Flamenco community. Therein, findings attempt to show how the community identify the special characteristics that made Flamenco an ICH to be safeguarded and must be studied, delving into all the benefits that Flamenco as ICH gives in return. The conceptions that Flamenco community has, regarding Flamenco as ICH, are in line with the theory presented in Chapter 2, as shown below (see subsection 4.1).

In the second subsection, findings about the cultural policies to safeguarding Flamenco are presented. On this regard, the data collected strive to show how the Flamenco community members interviewed would develop cultural policies to safeguard Flamenco. In this subsection, the opinions of the interviewees focus on their perceptions about what has been done in the field and which areas of work should be implemented to enhance and give prominence to Flamenco.

The research undertaken within the Flamenco community shows that the general ideas, already referred at the beginning of the literature review, such as the greater appreciation of Flamenco outside Spain, the precariousness in the Flamenco labour market or the lack of visible and efficient actions to safeguard Flamenco, are extended impressions among the Flamenco community. On this regard, it also can be said that the respondents do not perceive any support from the institutions. As an example, no one in the sample claims to have received any public subsidy or grant through his/her career (see Appendix 4: Benefitted by cultural policies). So, they all agree to claim the need for more cultural policies for the safeguarding and the development of Flamenco, but they are not clear in what specific measures these efforts should go, as explained in subsection 4.2. (see Appendix 4: Cultural policies measures).

4.1. Radiography of Flamenco: an analysis from within Flamenco community

4.1.1. The role of the community in Flamenco: Gypsy community and the importance of formation.

As it was mentioned before, one of the main characteristics to identify ICH, addressed by Goto (2013) is its dependency on the community of holders that transmit the skills and knowledge from generation to generation and that keeps open the window for hope about its continuity and protection for the future. In the light of the information collected, Flamenco confirms the statement about the strong impact that the community has in the process of learning the basic knowledge and develop the necessary skills to become members of the Flamenco community. On this regard, according to the data obtained, 12 out of 14 of the interviewees (86%) mention knowledge transmitted by the community as their basic learning source for the Flamenco skills they have. Specifically, these 12 respondents mention family, as the fundamental pillar under which all the curiosity, experiences and learning process are sustained. (See table 4 below).

> Pepe Torres: "My initiation in Flamenco was when I was a kid, because Flamenco was what I used to live daily at home. Normally when you are a kid you play with a doll or electric cars, but in my case my toy was my guitar"

> María La Manzanilla: "My mother was a seamstress and my father was a mechanic, but they have always inculcated Flamenco at home. Since I was a kid they took me to the Peña and since I was two months-old, my parents made me listen to Flamenco music, and that was mainly the beginning of everything…"

Table 4: Beginnings in Flamenco: Family and environment vs Personal Interest

Interviewee	The beginnings in Flamenco
Teo Sánchez	Personal Interest
Elena Andújar	Family/ Environment
Pepe Torres	Family/ Environment
Alejandro Granados	Family/ Environment
Bernardo Vázquez	Family/ Environment
Elena Barajas	Personal Interest
María la manzanilla	Family/ Environment
Antonio Andújar	Family/ Environment
Sergio Bascuñan	Family/ Environment
Udo	Family/ Environment
Ariel "El Chino"	Family/ Environment
Cheto	Family/ Environment
Juañares	Family/ Environment
Pedro Lópeh	Family/ Environment

% Learnt in community	**86%**
% Learnt by him/herself	**14%**

Source: Author's elaboration according to coding tables (Appendix 4)

Additionally, not only the family is mentioned as basic tool for the acquisition of the Flamenco technique and skills. As it is shown in Table 4 above, under the coded term as Environment, are included other essential factors that have been mentioned by the interviewees. Factors as the neighbourhood where they had grown up, but also the interaction with friends involved in Flamenco world, appear as the basic influence to learn and improve their Flamenco skills, together with the family.

> Udo: "I grew up in a Gypsy community neighbourhood. When I was a kid my mother worked so hard, so I always stayed with other families, that it is why I started to listen to Flamenco, unconsciously, and from that initial point, little by little, I started to be into percussion, guitar… One thing led to another and to another, and that is how I started to be involved in Flamenco"

> Antonio Andújar: "There was a moment in my life, when I was 14 or 15-year-old where I started to meet more people from the environment, and I entered deepen in this world. You meet people that play one instrument, other plays another… Among all of us, we play a lot of instruments, we learn from each other. We meet and play in one place, such as the Flamenco School of my mum. It has not to be in a concert, expressly. We meet, and we play for 4 or 5 hours, it is our way to have fun".

> Pedro Lópeh: "Kids learn more from listening to their parents and their grandparents. Perhaps, in other musics it does not have as much impact, but in Flamenco is fundamental"

Traditionally the Gypsy community is the one that has been, and still is, more related with Flamenco in its purest sense (UNESCO, 2010a). However, according to the data collected, and although 71% of the sample are gipsies; 79% of the sample, say that being gypsy is a factor that influence how they perceived Flamenco (see Table 5 below), but it is not determinant to become an artist or a true expert in the field. Finding in line with the nomination file, and hence the institutional view, from which the document was elaborated (UNESCO, 2010a). but also, in line with the idea expressed by Grimaldos (2010) about the special feeling Gypsy community has regarding Flamenco experience.

Table 5: Gypsy community in Flamenco: How determinant is the influence of being a gypsy in being a Flamenco?

Gipsy Community	Respondents	%
It influences, but it is not decesive	11	79%
Flamenco belongs to gypsies	2	14%
Not decisive at all	1	7%
TOTAL	**14**	**100%**

Source: Author's elaboration according to coding tables (Appendix 4)

Hence, they mention that being born in a Flamenco environment is a gift for them, because they are one step above from those that are not born in that atmosphere. But it is not totally decisive in how they experience or feel Flamenco. Consequently, 21% of the respondents that are not gypsy, they also recognize that being a gypsy is a plus, but it is not decisive. Therefore, given the data collected, the influence to become part of the Flamenco community comes more from the environment, including friends and family ties, than for ethnic or gypsy reasons.

Antonio Andújar: "If I had been born in another family, maybe I would have liked Flamenco, I do not say I would not, but I would not live it in the same way […] We have learned it since we were little, it is a language"

Jose Manuel Muñoz "Cheto": "It does not matter to be gypsy or not, there is a mistake in believe you have to be gypsy for being a Flamenco. If you are born and you grow up not being a gypsy and you learn it because you like, and you experience the feelings of Flamenco, it has nothing to do with being gypsy or not".

Pedro Lópeh: "Gypsy is to Flamenco, the same as in the ali-oli sauce, it is the mayonnaise. It is what unites many scattered elements. […] What the Gypsies have brought to Flamenco is above all, elements to the interpretation and transmission of skills and knowledge¨.

Lastly, it is important to mention that more than half of the interviewees support the idea that the environment and the community are basic to approach and to be involved in Flamenco. But they also strength the idea that to become a real artistic or connoisseur of Flamenco, the person must investigate, work and study hard. Particularly, given the complexity of Flamenco. They also address that when they refer to study, it does not mean only going to a regulated institution. Studying is also asking to others, listening, practicing,

sharing and researching by themselves. In this respect, some of the interviewees mentioned the great influence that the development of new technologies has had for them when studying.

> Juañares: "New technologies help more than you can imagine. In the past, if you wanted to sing *Seguiriyas*[5], you had to go to a party where someone was singing *Seguiriyas*, or going from festival to festival, driving many kilometers. But now, if you want to listen to a certain *Seguiriya*, you only have to look for it on YouTube, and you can listen to it over and over, allowing you to learn it step by step¨.

4.1.2. Andalusian identity and the perception of the valuation of Flamenco in and out Spain.

As it was previously mentioned, Flamenco was presented to enter in the ICH Representative List of the UNESCO (2010a), as an Andalusian cultural identity item, given that Flamenco is also included in the Andalusian Autonomy Statute. On the one hand, Andalusia is considered the birthplace of Flamenco (Palma et al., 2017; Cruz, 2017; Grimaldos, 2010; Molina, 2014; Mora,2008; Quiñones, 1981) and thus, it can be easily understood that Flamenco is something that is immersed in the Andalusian people's daily life. Therefore, they experience Flamenco traditions and folklore more often than those living in other parts of the Spain. Conversely,100% of the sample agrees that enjoyment of Flamenco is not only restricted to the Andalusian area. Although, most of the respondents also add that because of the Flamenco roots are from Andalusia, its people live Flamenco in a different way.

> Teo Sánchez: "Obviously, the origin of Flamenco is Andalusian and that is where the breeding ground comes from, where it has originally come from. It is the place where Flamenco has been generated and has been sprouted from the beginning, but at the same time it is a music that transcends all possible borders, not only Spanish ones, but also transnational […] The evidence is clear: Andalusia is the origin of Flamenco and it is where better it has been developed throughout the history".

The sample's perspective about the Andalusian identity and Flamenco, not considering it exclusively a cultural representation from Andalusia, is an important point because normally, all the safeguarding actions encompassed within cultural policies for Flamenco are focused in the Andalusian area. As an illustrative example, it is the case of the safeguard measures included in the Flamenco's nomination file (UNESCO, 2010a). They were prepared by the various institutions involved, which includes the Spanish Central Government. However, out
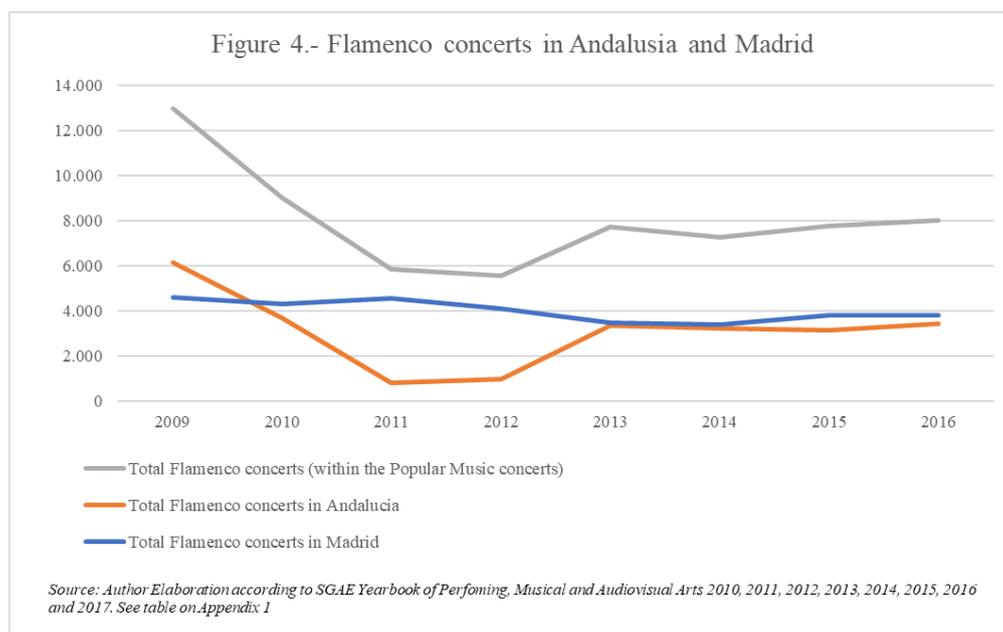
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[5] *Seguiriya* is a kind of Flamenco song. It is known for its sad and solemn way of being interpreted.

of the thirty-one measures proposed, eighteen concerned only Andalusia. Being Andalusia also included in thirteen remaining actions. Therefore, if the objective is to achieve the safeguarding of Flamenco, one of the first steps to consider, should be to maximize the impact of the actions, by avoiding working from a regional perspective, and trying to develop more open border polices, at least within the autonomous communities existing in the Spanish territory. Although the impact would be higher in Andalusia, given the importance of Flamenco in the area.

Anyways, what the information shows is in line with the idea present by Lee (2014) regarding the importance of ICH to develop and reinforce the bonds among the citizens, helping in the creation of social cohesion and inclusion. Because, if already the own community does not understand that Flamenco is exclusive for a region or a group of people. Flamenco can help to unite a diverse and huge community, as the Spaniards. This aspect reinforces the emphasize given since the beginning, regarding the importance of developing cultural policies to safeguard, but also to benefit from the positive externalities that Flamenco can produce on its surrounding (Licciardi and Amirtahmasebi, 2012).

Besides that, another example in line with the unanimous opinion of the sample regarding the identity of Flamenco, is the number of Flamenco concerts performed annually in Spain. As it is shown in Appendix 1, the autonomous communities with more number of Flamenco concerts are Madrid and Andalusia. Being Madrid always above in number of Flamenco concerts. However, it is even more significant that, during the worst years of the financial crisis, as mentioned in Palma et al. (2017), the number of concerts held in Andalusia was drastically reduced, not exceeding 1000 per year. While in Madrid, the difference was hardly noticeable, always surpassing the 4,000 Flamenco concerts. See Figure 4 below.

Figure 4.- Flamenco concerts in Andalusia and Madrid

Legend:
- Total Flamenco concerts (within the Popular Music concerts)
- Total Flamenco concerts in Andalucia
- Total Flamenco concerts in Madrid

Source: Author Elaboration according to SGAE Yearbook of Performing, Musical and Audiovisual Arts 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016 and 2017. See table on Appendix 1

On the other hand, the perception of the higher Flamenco's recognition outside Spain, continues unanimously: 100% of the respondents believe that Flamenco is more valued outside Spain. The unanimity differs when they explain the reasons why they consider this statement as a reality. Although all the reasons are in the same line, they address different aspects as the cause of this extended insight, such as the exoticism that Flamenco has outside Spain, the better education regarding the consumption of arts, as well as, the Spanish tendency to underestimate national products, welcoming with more affection what comes from abroad. From the point of view of the theory analysed, the lack of valorization of Flamenco perceived by the Flamenco people, can be seen as a symptom of the lack of effort in developing policies for promotion and safeguarding in a national level, either because it has been done traditionally in a spontaneous way, as Lenzerini (2011) mentions, or because Spanish Government did not reflect about all the benefits that Flamenco can give to Spain in return as authors as Towse (2010), Goto (2013) or Cominelli and Greffe (2013) point out: stimulation of cultural diversity, country development, respect for humans rights or creation of employment among others.

Besides that, other important points are mentioned regarding this topic: because of racism and the historical belittlement of Flamenco, it was, mistakenly, considered an art for marginalized groups, due to the conjunction of Flamenco with Gypsy community (Quiñones, 1981). Some of the answers are included as example of this point:

Antonio Andújar: "I know there is a lot of racism with the gypsies. Every time less and less, but it still exists. At the end, it is a music with a gypsy origin, whether we like it or not. For that reason, perhaps in Spain, Flamenco does not have all the success it deserves, because of the prejudices. People who have a career and fame in Flamenco in Spain are not of gypsy ethnicity".

Elena Andújar: "[…] We can now talk about Flamenco, but 40, 50 or 60 years ago Flamenco did not exist, because it was not interesting that Flamenco was represented by an ethnic group, like the gypsies, and that this represented Spain".

For the present thesis, this aspect has a special impact, since this complicated and arduous background may have had an effect on the lack of policies to safeguard an art that has not being in the position it deserved because of political issues. In other words, the internal underestimation at the country level, in comparison with the great esteem that Flamenco has outside the Spanish borders, may be strongly influenced by the country's historical past, aspect mentioned in the Habermas (1982) understanding of cultural heritage. Something that

at the end, does not help the policy makers to realise the importance of maintaining and help the Flamenco community.

4.1.3. Danger of extinction:

Contrary to the understanding of Flamenco as an ICH in danger of extinction, as it was presented in the first nomination in 2005 (Nueva Alboreá, 2010), according to the data collected, more than 80% of the sample argues that Flamenco is not in danger of extinction, against the 14% that think it is. Regarding the respondents with a pessimistic view for the future of Flamenco, the extinction can occur due to the general apathy and the selflessness to study the origin of Flamenco and learn from the predecessors, among the youngest in the Flamenco community. This fact may end up drowning pure Flamenco, according to the respondents.

> Pedro Lópeh: "You do not have the slightest doubt that it will go extinct. It is not going to be lost because there are no records, but because of general apathy. […] I think that there is no interest, neither of the Flamencos for their art, nor a cultural interest to expand that repertoire. [...] Flamenco is being since many, many years less and less professional".

On the contrary, those who do not believe that Flamenco can become extinct, they identify the lack of study of the roots as evolution, not as a symptom of its exhaustion. Specifically, 8 out of the 12 contrary opinions to the disappearance clearly claim that it is not about extinction it is about evolution. This is in line with what was proposed by Goto (2013) in the understanding of the ICH as a living entity in continuous development. But also, with the spontaneity that Flamenco needs to exist that makes more complicated the policy-making process (Taylor, 2008; Lenzerini, 2011; Lixinski, 2013). Curiously, what Jose Manuel Muñoz "Cheto" explains to justify why Flamenco is not going to disappear, strengthens what Lenzerini (2011) mentions as a reason why, sometimes governments do not realize about the necessity of developing safeguarding policies for ICH. Specifically, Cheto appeals to the spontaneous safeguarding labour of the Gypsy community, that will keep Flamenco always alive.

> Jose Manuel Muñoz "Cheto": "The extinction of Flamenco is not possible. Because there is a reason. Although it can be selfish to say that Flamenco belongs to the Gypsies, Flamenco is our daily life. It will never be extinguished because we live it, even inside the Church. Flamenco is not going to disappear. Perhaps, part of its purity, but Flamenco will not be ever extinguished".

4.2. Cultural Policies in Flamenco

Once the analysis of Flamenco as ICH has been done under the point of view of the sample, cultural policies will be addressed following the definition of ICH in UNESCO 2003 Convention (UNESCO, 2010), where in line with what Kurin (2007), Goto (2013) and Cominelli and Greffe (2013) point, the emphasis is on giving a greater weight in the elaboration of policies to the community. That is the reason why, in the performing of the research, to continue with the approach given by UNESCO definition, the sample has answered questions regarding what measures should be taken or in which areas more efforts should be done to safeguard Flamenco, under their point of view as part of Flamenco community.

On this regard, it is curious to notice how the interviewees, as Flamenco community members, reaffirm spontaneously, what Goto (2013) and Cominelli and Greffe (2013) already underline regarding the importance of the community of holders to safeguard ICH. Since the respondents show with their answers that their involvement in the decision process of measures to safeguard Flamenco is important and convenient. At the same time, they agree that more work and effort from public bodies is needed (see Appendix 4: Cultural policies measures).

However, even all of them claim for more efforts from the institutional side, the determination shown in calling out for more policies blurs when they have to reflect about what specific measures, tools or ideas would be more appropriate in the safeguarding of Flamenco. Since in all their answers, with some minor exceptions, they talk about general aspects, such as education or promotion of Flamenco, but not specifying with actions or tools they would use. The respondents' vagueness in addressing specific measures or instruments is in accordance with the literature review regarding the shortcomings of the ICH cultural policy compared with policies for TCH (Lixinski, 2013), the difficulty of estimating in the ICH items and the consequences that this has in developing cultural policies (Klamer, 2017) and the lack of clear guidelines of action proposed by UNESCO (Cominelli and Greffe, 2013). Thus, the data collected evidence that developing cultural policies for safeguarding Flamenco, is an arduous task either it is done from the institutions, or directly by the community of holders of Flamenco.

Additionally, to the lack of specificity on the tools to be set in, shown by the interviewees. By examining the answers given, it is observed that they claim for more participation in the policy-making process, from their side. In the words of Elena Andújar, "It is now up to us to fight for Flamenco". But at the same time a lack of motivation and

leadership is observed. Since more than half of the sample assures not being prepared to lead any cultural proposal in relation to the safeguarding of Flamenco (See Appendix 4: Passive or active attitude). Hence, it can be understood that this passive attitude, to some extent, undermines the attention that Flamenco can receive from the institutions. Because, as in the case of the spontaneous safeguarding previously mentioned, the passivity of the Flamenco community can be translated, for the public bodies, as no necessity of development of cultural policies because the safeguarding of Flamenco is assured. Causing what it has been mentioned in the literature review as a crowding-out effect (Frey, 1997), but reversed.

On the other hand, according to the data collected and despite the vagueness in the suggested measures, the respondents mainly propose actions aligned with the ones carried out by Japan to safeguard its ICH items (Goto, 2013): promotion and education. Therefore, this coincidence with the tools used by Japan, in general, give hope, due to by following the Japanese example, many safeguarding objectives could be reached soon for Flamenco. Both areas, promotion an education, are analyzed in more detail hereunder.

4.2.1. Promotion for safeguarding:

Commonly it is said that to understand what Flamenco is about, everyone should experience it in live Flamenco shows, at least once in their lifetime (Fernández, 1995). Therefore, live shows are extremely important in Flamenco. They constitute one of its main sources of income (Molina, 2014), but also one of the simplest ways to expand the influence of Flamenco, reaching new audiences. According to the data collected, 71% of the sample mentioned promotion as the main task to be developed when talking about cultural policies (see Appendix 4: Cultural policies measures). The reason seems to be clear, the more promoted Flamenco would be, the more the opportunities to experience live Flamenco appear, and thus, more opportunities to increase the population interested in Flamenco, and ultimately, stimulate the creation of a market that favours not only the safeguard of Flamenco, but also the creation of employment, as Cominelli and Greffe (2013) point out. And thus, by helping in self-sufficiency of the Flamenco workers, whose market labour is totally precarious (Cruz, 2017). As the respondent, Teo Sánchez, mentioned in his interview "Flamenco is still a stranger to be known".

According to the information extracted from the interviews, some different strategies for an effective promotion, such as spreading via mass media, support Flamenco artists with grants or give out spaces without charging, are some of the ideas mentioned. But in contrast to what it might be thought, the respondents do not talk about money as the main way to help the promotion. They talk more about the promotion itself and about the recognition, freedom

and reduction of some strict laws, so they have more power to manoeuvre. The data collected in the present paper are in line with the results obtained in Palma et al. (2017), in which it was mentioned that its sample felt "that the role of the public sector is to promote and publicize Flamenco (70%) and/or provide financial support (35%)". As an example of this, Udo, one of the respondents, gives the following answer, when he was asking about what measures should be done to perpetuate the existence of Flamenco:

Udo: "I would not give grants directly. I would bet for the publicity, the promotion, to make the artists known to the public, to give a space to everyone that would have an initiative".

Even if they do not focus in their discussion on the grants and subsidies, both were mentioned to help artists to achieve the promotion and visibility they need for. It is true that from the central government of Spain but also from the Junta of Andalusia, every year some grants and subsidies are given to promote the cultural fabric of Flamenco (Junta de Andalucía, n.a.). As it is commonly known, every method or system to grant cultural subsidies has its own anomalies or deviances, for that reason, it is crucial that the public body in charge of the allocation of grants establishes specifically the rules that will apply to obtain the subsidies and assures all the process is completely transparent (Ploeg van der, 2006), to avoid favorable treatment or that every year the subsidies go to the same beneficiaries, something that some of the respondents mention that is usual in Flamenco.

Bernardo Vázquez: "I have never received monetary help. And I do not think I am going to receive economic grants or subsidies, because every year the money goes to the same people"

Therefore, since no specific measures are proposed by the interviewees, what can be understood from the sample is that mainly, they are not afraid of the spread of Flamenco and they do not understand Flamenco as a closed social club. On the contrary, according to the data collected, they are transmitting Flamenco themselves (93% of the sample) not only to their offspring, but also outside the community, to enlarge it. (See Table 6, below).

Consequently, if they consider themselves as Flamenco transmitters, it makes sense that promotion is oriented to the creation of a market, where they can survive and spread Flamenco's skills, because under their perception the more people interested in Flamenco, the more probabilities will be of spontaneous safeguarding, process mentioned by Lenzerini (2011). On this regard, the measures proposed by the respondents encompass among other: the promotion of Flamenco Festivals, the increase in the visibility of Flamenco in mass

media: radio, television, newspaper and mass media websites but also, the inclusion of Flamenco artists in the programming of regional, municipal and neighborhood parties paid by the regional government or municipalities. On that point, in the Madrid regional and municipal popular parties of May 2018, for instance, four performances of Flamenco of important Flamenco artists, as well as other less known were programmed and scheduled in times of high public presence and on key days (Comunidad de Madrid, 2018).

Table 6: Self-consideration of the respondents as Flamenco transmitters.

Interviewee	Flamenco Transmitter
Teo Sánchez	✓
Elena Andújar	✓
Pepe Torres	✓
Alejandro Granados	✓
Bernardo Vázquez	✓
Elena Barajas	✓
María la manzanilla	✓
Antonio Andújar	✓
Sergio Bascuñan	✓
Udo	✓
Ariel "El Chino"	✗
Cheto	✓
Juañares	✓
Pedro Lópeh	✓

% Flamenco Transmitters	**93%**
% Not Flamenco Transmitters	**7%**

Source: Author's elaboration according to coding tables (Appendix 4)

There are other measures extract from the data collected, that can be embraced under promotion for safeguarding. Measures as the one proposed by the interviewee, Jose Manuel Muñoz "Cheto", regarding the establishment of a label like the existent one for wines: designation of origin. This measure should be established as a safekeeping against the intrusiveness that they claim they are suffering, because the lack of legislation and regulation make easier the access to some privileges such as, grants, gigs or professional media coverage, not even having professional skills enough to defend Flamenco as it deserves. Jose Manuel Muñoz "Cheto" also includes this action as a way to prevent the Flamenco consumer from bad quality shows, in particular when this shows are related with tourists, that normally are not Flamenco connoisseurs, as it is pointed as well by Millán Vázquez de la Torre et al. (2016). Although, the designation of origin is a good measure for safeguarding, it cannot be forgotten that Flamenco is a complex art and overtly subjective. So, the establishment of a clear line dividing what is Flamenco apt for the denomination of origin and what remains on the edge, seems difficult to carry out.

Moreover, the dancer Alejandro Granados, in his interview, proposes as a way of promotion the creation of a National Flamenco Ballet. Nowadays in Spain, there are Flamenco Ballets in Madrid and Andalusia. Hence, Alejandro's proposal is oriented towards the creation of an institution with relevance at a national level, to unite all the efforts not only in a regional level, aiming to spread Flamenco and to create collective consciousness to value our art. However, this measure can generate doubts because somehow it contributes to create more instability in the precarious labor market of Flamenco (Cruz, 2017; Oakley, 2014). Consequently, if the aim is the safeguarding of Flamenco, other measures, even more simple ones can be studied as more convenient for the purpose, as the one proposed by Pedro Lópeh, in his interview, regarding actions taking into consideration the Flamenco figure of *peñas*.

Pedro Lópeh points expressly the importance that peñas has on the safeguarding of Flamenco and thereby on its promotion. Firstly, according to what is expressed in the Nomination File (2010a) peñas can be understood as Flamenco clubs or associations within all Spain, that comprise another kind of social structure. Following what is mentioned in the file "peñas have a key role for the preservation and dissemination of Flamenco culture. Because they organize training courses, conferences and recitals. They develop the relationship and dialogue between performers and the public within a context defined by proximity and respect" (UNESCO, 2010a, P. 5). As Cruz (2017, April 6) mentions, the official number of existing peñas remains uncertain, due to the lack of official records that audit the existing number of this social and cultural fabric. Besides that, because of the financial crises, the subsidies for this apolitical social association of Flamenco have decreased considerably. As an example, during 2017 in Andalusia where distributed only 65,000 euros among 350 registered associations (Cruz, 2017 April 6).

Once what a *peña* is has been explained, and considering what Pedro Lópeh mentions, more support should be done to promote Flamenco from the roots, as *peñas* act in a basic level, below even the city councils themselves. This states the data included in Klamer et al. (2006) about the 91,2% of local administrations' budgets spend in promotion. Besides that, it is a way to support Flamenco without spending big budgets. Due to, *peñas* are a network that already exist along Spain. All these characteristics support the view given in Klamer et al. (2006) and in van der Ploeg (2006), being *peñas* the perfect example of the autonomy given in Spain to the regions and municipalities and how public financing in Spain lies mainly at the lower levels, city council or as in the case of *peñas*, funding comes from the contributions of partners.

All in all, it would be convenient to establish an action plan in which firstly, an inventory of them would be created and secondly, developing a supportive plan in the organization of

their traditional conferences and artistic contests. All of this with the objective of opening them not only to the partners, but also, to everyone who wants to try something new. In other words, to include *peñas* in the cultural offer of anyplace in Spain. Because *peñas* are also spaces where it is possible to have a very close relationship with the artists, what contributes greatly to the transmission of Flamenco, by favoring a pseudo environment similar to the one necessary for learning Flamenco, as was commented by the sample. To sum up, the words of Pedro Lópeh collected from his interview and included hereafter, highlight the importance of this social structures in line with Kurin (2004) regarding the nature of the ICH as a living item embedded constantly in social relationships.

> Pedro Lópeh: "Peñas Flamencas, administrative units without political interests, are what have sustained Flamenco. […] It is a way to avoid that the City Council is overuse in its tasks. If every City Hall supports its closer *peña*, controlling, facilitating the use of venues, adapting… forgetting a little bit the regulatory yearning we have in Spain. […] The labor of *peñas* is essential because they bring live Flamenco to every tiny village. […] Apart of that, *peñas* have affordable prices. […] Another important issue, it is that even the structure of *peñas* is decreasing, it already exists. In other words, what better way to extend Flamenco and take it to all sides with a network already woven? A network of people that does it just because of altruism, enthusiasm… people that many times put the money themselves. […] You already have the net in the middle of the villages from Madrid down, so what else do you need? The hardest is to elaborate these nets and you already have them…".

As a conclusion of the Flamenco promotion measures, it is proven that subsidies are not what the Flamenco community expects the most when they ask for public intervention. On the contrary and according to the diverse practice of public intervention in Peacock and Rizzo (2008), the Flamenco community claims for direct or indirect non-monetary intervention, with less tighter regulation, for instance: allowing them to act in more festivals (Juañares) or selling alcoholic drinks in the shows as a way to add funds to the box office (Pedro Lópeh). And with indirect monetary instruments as the reduction of taxes for Flamenco (Elena Andújar). All these tools are oriented to the promotion, and consequently, the safeguarding of Flamenco, but from different perspectives.

Lastly, just to remark that the measures should continue in the long term, due to as some interviewees complain, efforts were done for the inclusion in the UNESCO's Representative List, but once Flamenco was included many actions ceased (Mellado, 2016).

Udo: "There were a TV show, "Flamenco Son", that had a lot of success. But they only launched it to make Flamenco be recognized as Intangible Cultural Heritage. The TV show had a huge communication campaign, and it was a success, but that was all. Flamenco was included, and they removed the TV show from the programming".

4.2.2. Education for safeguarding:

At least 57% percent of the respondents include education in their answer to improve the safeguard and indirectly the promotion of Flamenco (see Appendix 4: Cultural policies measures). Agreeing with Mulcahy (2006) regarding the culture inclination toward education. Because with Flamenco educational policies, the development of taste towards Flamenco would be more feasible. Addressing what the interviewee Teo Sánchez says, education can play the role of "trickster of followers" normally people access to new cultural knowledge in the easiest ways. Therefore, education, if it is done properly, can result an efficient way to spread the influence of Flamenco and consequently guarantee its safeguarding.

According to the data obtained, apart from the above mentioned 57% of the sample that highlight education as a cultural policy to develop. Most of the interviews allude to education also as a mandatory step to become a solid artist. Therefore, it can be said that education is considered by the sample as a duty to shine as an artist, and as a tool to keep Flamenco alive. On the one hand, as it was mentioned above in the environmental influence for the learning process, despite Flamenco can be learnt in a familiar atmosphere, the artists must continue training hard as dancers, singers or guitarists, for instance, if they want to pass from being connoisseur to become an expert and good transmitter. On this regard, it is included the testimony of Pepe Torres and Elena Andújar.

Pepe Torres: "It (Flamenco) is able to be born from yourself, but apart from that, you must continue practicing, you must continue learning, you have to study it, it is not only a matter of having it inside. The master of the guitar, Francisco Sánchez (Paco de Lucía) has been studying in his room for many, many, many hours. You have to work, like with everything in this life".

Elena Andújar: "Preparation is essential. If it is true that, if a person likes and has not been born in a Flamenco environment, and he/she does not study, it will not be a Flamenco in his life, and if he/she studies, he/she can become a Flamenco person. While the one who was born in a Flamenco environment, is already a Flamenco forever. But If he or she wants to become an artist, he or she must study because otherwise, he or she will not get anywhere".

On the other hand, 8 out of the 14 interviewees pointed educational policies and the inclusion of Flamenco in the school's curriculums as the main way to act in order to safeguard Flamenco. The respondents also add that thanks to education, people would value more Flamenco as ICH. And also, that through teaching strategies, the willingness to protect Flamenco could be increased, because if they understand it, they would respect it, and they would feel like being part of it. On this regard, some extracts from the interviews are included, where the approach of the importance of the inclusion of Flamenco in the classrooms is mentioned, as well as, the lack of quality in Flamenco education;

Elena Andújar: "I would bet for Preparation. Learning. Training. Dissemination. I would do that in all Spain and wherever. Moreover, I have always collaborated with my people, I have collaborated for free, and I also know some colleagues that have come with me, working for free, or for few euros […] and to organize conferences, talks, concerts and everything, and then a class of Flamenco dance, *cante*, percussion, guitar, whatever. […] When my son studied philosophy, he had to study all the philosophers. And it does not mean it is useless or we will be all day thinking about their ideas, isn't it? So, it is the same with Flamenco. You can know what it about is and then you decide if you want to learn more or to stop. It is good you have the opportunity to decide."

Elena Barajas: "I truly believe in education. So, I believe it (Flamenco) should be introduced in the school's curriculums. I meant, as a subject, or as the topic of one subject, because once it is included in the education, then the access to everything would be easier".

Antonio Andújar: "I think the first step is education. Not studying it a lot, but just a little to start to value Flamenco as it deserves. […] I think in Spain we don't know anything about Flamenco. I studied in a Performing Arts High School and we had a subject called Music History, in which we studied from Gregorian chant to Michael Jackson, XX Century Pop. But, they do not mention more than a couple of sentences in the book about Flamenco. This happens in Spain. We also analyzed pieces of music, from classical to pop, jazz, blues ... but nothing about of Flamenco".

Apart from the reasons already given by the respondents, education is extremely important because the investment in cultural education in primary schools, for instance, consists for many students the only chance to learn directly about cultural goods and awaken in them, the interest in this type of cultural heritage (Ploeg van der, 2006). In the case of Spain, although many innovative Flamenco educational projects are being developed now (Parra, 2015), they have only a regional character focused on Andalusia. Moreover, there is

still a lack of educational materials and teachers do not have enough knowledge to given them confidence to introduce Flamenco in the classroom (López, 2004), as it was pointed by the interviewee Pedro Lópeh.

That is why actions as the introduction of the Flamenco not only in conservatories of dance and music is important, the training of the teachers in charge of giving Flamenco classes is also relevant. As a starting point at a national level, could be valued the inclusion of Flamenco in the subject of Music. Not only by reading some theoretical texts, but also by experiencing it. The probabilities of success regarding the acceptance by the younger audience would be higher, if they would have the opportunity of experiencing the music by playing it. Because, once again, in Flamenco is fundamental to feel the live Flamenco. Given that Flamenco is a complex art, Flamenco artists could be hired for the purpose, which would improve teaching, the quality of the skills taught and the size of the Flamenco community, in case of best scenario occurs. This measure contributes to create a wider and diversified Flamenco labor market, not only focused on shows. Additionally, to safeguard Flamenco by spreading the radius of action of its influence, it would be convenient the inclusion of some conferences or easy talks in not serious environments, to attract adult people to Flamenco.

Lastly, to end with the educational tools, some Flamenco artists mentioned the importance that new technologies have had for the development of their careers because, in a moment where there is doubts about the continuity of the purity Flamenco. These tools allow everyone to investigate and learn from the roots without the necessity of listening live Flamenco. Hence, even if some steps have been done in online platforms, more efforts should be made on this regard, since it is a way to promote the root and spread knowledge at low cost.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this thesis is to analyze what is nowadays being done in terms of cultural policies for the safeguarding, preservation and growth of Flamenco and what can be done in the future. The data obtained to carry out the research have been collected using a qualitative research procedure, under the form of semi-structured interviews. Since Flamenco holders have to be active part in this research, this research method is the most convenient one, because it allows to generate a confident atmosphere between the interviewer and the interviewed that facilitates the reflection on the main research topics. Additionally, thanks to the direct interaction more related topics have been added to the conversations, allowing a better understanding of the subjective point of views and giving extra insights around the main subject.

The hypothesized greater appreciation of Flamenco outside Spain, precariousness in the Flamenco labor market and lack of visible and efficient instruments to safeguard Flamenco are corroborated by the respondents. According to the way they perceive it, Flamenco fulfills the characteristics to be considered as an intangible cultural heritage item. Firstly, according to the data collected, they perceived the importance of the oral transmission of knowledge and skills for the safeguarding of Flamenco, as it Goto (2013) mentions. The data show that Flamenco community learn Flamenco by living in their daily live.

Secondly, theory shows that Gypsy community has been considered traditionally as the owners of Flamenco. But the data collected show that the Flamenco community itself does not consider it in that way. So, being gypsy helps to learn easily Flamenco, but it is not a determinant to be part of Flamenco community. And thirdly, in line with the above-mentioned, Flamenco community does not believe Flamenco to be only attached to the region of Andalusia. The importance of this conclusions lies in the fact, that while the measures used in the safeguarding Flamenco has been taken so far from a regionalist point of view, according to this finding, Flamenco policies should be developed with a national perspective.

Lastly, danger of extinction is analyzed within the overview of the current situation of Flamenco. According to the spontaneous safeguarding carried out by communities (Lenzerini, 2011), Flamenco community members do not fear the extinction of Flamenco. On the contrary, they mostly advocate that instead of becoming extinct, Flamenco is now in the process of evolving. Its evolution process goes in parallel with the social changes of flamenco holders, because of Flamenco dependency on its living people to survive (Goto, 2013).

On the other hand, the findings regarding cultural policies for Flamenco show that the Flamenco community expects an increase in the decisions taken and measures developed for

Flamenco. So, they expect more involvement from the public side, but also from their side as holders of Flamenco. The latter agrees with what is said by Goto (2013) and Cominelli and Greffe (2013) regarding the importance of the community of holders to safeguard ICH. However, the complex process to develop cultural policies for ICH comes to light when the respondents have to address specific measures to be implemented. A fact that reflects that the elaboration of cultural policies is an arduous task either it is done from the policy-makers, or on the contrary directly by the holders of Flamenco.

Despite the vagueness in the concrete measures proposed, the data collected shed light on the general areas where the safeguarding process should be done: promotion and education. Coinciding with the ones carried out by Japan in its extensive work in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage (Goto, 2013). The coincidence in the areas proposed by the Flamenco community and those already used by Japan, can be seen as a positive aspect, since it means that the path initiated by the Flamenco community is on the right track. As long as, they adapt Japanese measures to the Flamenco context using the Japanese experience as a guide, given the lack of clear guidelines of action in the UNESCO (Cominelli and Greffe, 2013).

In regard to the promotion as one of the line of action proposed, the Flamenco community understands that promotional activities contribute in spreading Flamenco, reaching new audiences, improving the creation of a market, in where Flamenco artists can stabilize their employment situation. What at the end creates a spontaneous safeguarding process, assuring the continuity of Flamenco (Lenzerini, 2011). Despite the vagueness in proposing concrete measures, in the case of promotion, some precise instruments are presented. Instruments to safeguard Flamenco as the creation of a denomination of origin and a National Flamenco Ballet, as well as, the promotion through the already existing networks of *peñas*. These examples prove that for the safeguarding of Flamenco, measures can be designed from many different perspectives.

In the case of education for safeguarding of Flamenco, the Flamenco community mentions its importance in two ways. Firstly, as a requirement to become a solid artist. And secondly, as a measure to spread the sphere of action of Flamenco. As in the case of promotion, the educational measures seek to increase the community. To this end, the respondents propose to teach Flamenco in national schools and high schools, with the particularity that the members of the Flamenco community have to be responsible for teaching Flamenco. What would allow to work in the direction of the employability of Flamenco artists, at the same time that knowledge is transmitted to enlarge the audience.

It follows from the above that the efforts to safeguard Flamenco from the point of view of the holders, are related to its continuity as an item dependent of its living people. Due to mostly all the measures, aim to enlarge the Flamenco connoisseurs, in other words, the community. Moreover, from the foregoing, it also can be pointed out the importance of giving the opportunity to reflect about safeguarding steps to the community, even if the concrete steps to take, are not clear enough. The results here presented show that although the interviewees need to reflect more about specific instruments or measures to develop cultural policy to safeguard Flamenco. They know clearly why Flamenco is considered an ICH item. And as Castillo (2006) and Lixinski (2013) remark, understanding the specific characteristics of an ICH item, is the first step to be able to develop and implement the most suitable policy for the safeguarding of Flamenco.

Consequently, limitations in the research appear firstly given the reduce number of the sample, which does not allow to extrapolate the findings to the entire Flamenco community. And secondly, due to the technical characteristics in which the research has been developed, such as the limited time for carrying out the research. Additionally, the extensive topic analyzed, made difficult the task of synthesize. On this regard, further research will allow a more concrete comprehension on the safeguarding measures to be developed. Given the widespread of the topic more research can be carried out by analysing in detail each of the proposed measures and their implications or by making a comparison of what has already been done about these specific policies in other countries.

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