Diversity of Cultural Expressions

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**ARTICLE 7: MEASURES TO PROMOTE THE DIVERSITY
OF CULTURAL EXPRESSIONS**

LATIN AMERICAN APPROACHES[*]

> This paper, commissioned by the UNESCO
> Secretariat, offers a synoptic overview of measures to
> promote the diversity of cultural expressions at
> different stages of the cultural production chain as
> specified in Article 7

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[*] This study was drawn up at the request of the Secretariat by Sylvie Durán Salvatierra.
The opinions expressed herein are not necessarily those of the UNESCO Secretariat.

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This paper provides an overview of existing cultural policies and measures designed to promote cultural expressions at different stages of the cultural production chain in Latin America. Examples from different countries are mentioned and contextualized in terms of specific regional conditions.

It should be pointed out that the collecting and management of regional information remains a challenge because of the dispersed nature and variety of sources, as well as the lack of harmonization of methodologies and analytical frameworks. Such a fragmentary systematization of experiences and themes poses serious difficulties for the design of a comprehensive overview. Therefore, the dynamics described herein comprise a diverse but necessarily partial catalogue of experiences.[1]

A. Main characteristics of the Latin American context that have a bearing on the application of Article 7 of the Convention

The Introduction to the Convention acknowledges that 'while the processes of globalization (…) afford unprecedented conditions for enhanced interaction between cultures, they also represent a challenge for cultural diversity, namely in view of risks of imbalances between rich and poor countries'.

Those imbalances represent a challenge in terms of the observance of Principles 3, 5, 7 and 8 of the Convention: (3) equal dignity of and respect for all cultures, (5) complementarity of economic and cultural aspects of development, (7) equitable access to a rich and diversified range of cultural expressions from all over the world and access by cultures to means of expression and dissemination, and (8) openness and balance.

In Latin American societies, inequality threatens access to education and to circuits of institutionalized and professional cultural production and circulation – mostly oriented toward urban markets – leading to compartmentalized production and distribution of cultural expressions. This affects, on the one hand, the cultural practices of urban life, of the middle class and formally recognized artists, and on the other, the cultural practices of vernacular masters of oral and perfomative traditions and of disadvantaged sectors and regions. Quite often, the commercial distribution of cultural goods and services can overshadow the lesser-known and formal expressions of subaltern groups, or it may channel and filter those expressions in ways that the groups themselves do not necessarily endorse. Activities that used to be ends in themselves or that used to survive at the margins of the market – rituals, communitary manifestations, and so on – are increasingly intertwined with the market. Inequality abets these outcomes and these, in turn, reinforce it[2] (Achugar, 2007).

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[1] The current existing efforts dedicated to covering best practices do not show sufficient continuity or homogeneity to ensure the identification and comparability of data concerning the region as a whole. Some specific topics have been studied in depth by institutions or regular research programmes from a regional perspective (for instance the status of indigenous rights, by Bari). Other topics have been studied at the national level. However, the headway made in gathering and processing data coexists with a lack of infrastructure for information management in many countries and a diverse range of agencies promoting such activities. And even if events trying to promote dialogue, particularly concerning cultural indicators, these have not yet led to capacity-building among local institutions and actors in a sustainable and plural way, nor the establishment of platforms allowing for the cross-referencing of data.

[2] 'El modelo tradicional postulaba una cultura nacional construida desde la perspectiva de la clase media o de los sectores hegemónicos de la "ciudad letrada" (según la noción establecida por Ángel Rama)… El sector de la sociedad ... que defiende los llamados "valores nacionales tradicionales" de la clase media letrada –valores trasmitidos y reproducidos durante la mayor parte del siglo XX a través del sistema educativo y de los aparatos culturales y mediáticos del Estado y de la gran empresa privada- tiene derecho a preservar y trasmitir su concepción cultural, pero no puede proponer "sus valores" como los únicos válidos o los únicos dignos de ser apoyados o estimulados en un plan estratégico de la cultura nacional. Entre otros factores, por la simple razón de que hay otros sectores –marginales o marginados, minoritarios o silenciados- cuyos "valores o concepciones culturales" tienen el mismo derecho a ser preservados y trasmitidos, el mismo derecho a ser estimulados, financiados, protegidos y divulgados (...). Para los amplios sectores marginados

The Convention is an instrument for the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions in terms of social groups, as well as artistic creation, production, dissemination, distribution and enjoyment. It is, therefore, necessary for those implementing it to take into consideration differences in productive and distributive capacity in each region, country and social group, as well as the existing relations between cultural activities, goods and services that have or do not have a commercial value. To not consider these differences is tantamount to disregarding the reality of lesser-developed countries and regions, which form the majority worldwide.

This is the framework in which Latin American approaches should be contextualized.

1. Poverty and inequality

Poverty and inequality have serious repercussions on access to all kinds of goods and services (including those of a cultural nature), to participation venues and more generally to the very structure of the cultural sphere. We begin with access to education. For example, Mexicans between the ages of 25 and 64 complete an average of seven years of education, while the average in OECD countries is twelve years (Almanza, 2005). Research has shown that, in Mexico, years of education completed and earnings correlate to the number of books and newspapers read as well as access to the internet and libraries. Moreover, radio listenership and TV viewership, much less differentiated in consumption patterns than other media, and widely disseminated to most households, nevertheless show between 9% and 17% greater usage among those with more education (CONACULTA, 2004).

Every individual and group engages in cultural practices, but support for distribution and visibility of those practices is dependent on socio-economic status. The following conditions have a bearing on the implementation of the Convention in the Latin American context:

- Latin America is very heterogeneous in nature and its countries, regions and sociocultural groups show marked differences in the scale of cultural production, forms of circulation, conditions of access and market volume, even within the same territory.

- The forms that market integration of cultural activities take are quite diverse when compared with the more uniform situation in Europe or Canada. A high proportion of cultural activities take place in informal and poorly structured spaces.

- The cultural industries are concentrated in a few countries and mainly in the capital cities. Film and TV production is limited to a small number of corporations in the capitals of Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, Colombia and Venezuela.[3]

- Regulatory systems for cultural industries are uneven across Latin American countries while not every country has taken measures or developed specific institutions to promote and support them.

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económicamente, las fluctuaciones en la asistencia a salas de cine, los escasos recursos en la educación artística tradicional, el creciente uso de Internet o el progresivo "encarecimiento" de los libros –e incluso el hecho de que los libros científicos y no solo científicos lleguen con atraso-, entre otros hechos o fenómenos que la clase media o letrada vive con particular sensibilidad, no representan cambios o procesos de igual relevancia o preocupación.' Achugar, Hugo. Hacia la Asamblea Nacional de la Cultura Uruguaya. 'Seminario *Internacional sobre Institucionalidad Cultural en el Uruguay', 25 and 26 October, Montevideo. Dirección de Cultura del Ministerio de Educación y Cultura*

[3]   Telenovela production is limited to one or two companies per country, the most important of which are part of transnational conglomerates. Furthermore, the generalized lack or insufficiency of regulatory systems regarding this and other cultural industry sectors is patent, as most of the countries in the region do not possess specific measures aimed at promoting and supporting these. At the same time, there is an accelerated process of concentration at the global level that has debilitated once-successful Latin American industries.

2. Social dimension

The nation-state characteristic of most Latin American countries is the foundation for the above-mentioned inequality. Built on a long history of conflicts and domination, these states have witnessed 500 years of exploitation and marginalization of indigenous peoples, 450 years of slavery and its aftermath, and a centralizing structure whose consequences extend to the present and affect not only indigenous peoples and Afrodescendants, but also women, youth and other contemporary subaltern groups such as migrants. Ethnic, racial, cultural and other forms of demographic inequality were consolidated and institutionalized in a variety of ways. Republican constitutions decreed equality among all citizens without implementing policies to tackle inherited inequalities or give recognition to different ethnolinguistic communities, and cultural and educational institutions fomented the construction of a homogeneous sense of national belonging and the associated symbols.

In this manner, several phenomena were generated that, although widely discussed, remain ingrained as structuring factors of Latin American institutions and societies:

1. A concept of development based on a homogeneous yet hierarchical vision of modernization, in which diversity is seen as an obstacle.

2. Initially, assimilationist state educational policies that operate as agents of a mono-ethnic or mestizo nation-state.

3. Greater power and influence of mestizo and metropolitan groups and their expressions in spaces of representation and participation, including the preponderance of written over oral and performative forms.

Although it must be acknowledged that spaces of social recognition have changed dramatically and continue to do so with the widespread diffusion of mass media, cultural industries, emerging forms of urban expression and new technologies, these have not eliminated the above-mentioned factors of inequality. On the contrary, these new phenomena cut across these factors and take root in historically devalued multi-ethnic and pluri-cultural realities.

Today, relevant experiences exist that manage to transcend these circumstances. The main challenge, however, is the consolidation of these innovative experiences so they become the dominant paradigm thereby ensuring the inclusion of points of view of different social groups, both from the perspective of individual rights and collective rights, as necessary.

Such consolidation is advanced by the increasing visibility and activism of social groups, constitutional changes resulting from the struggles of these groups to gain recognition of their rights and international pressures to the same end, and the gradual abandonment of forced acculturation as the only route to modernization.

3. Economic impact and contribution to GDP of cultural industries and cultural activities, goods and services

Although latecomers in comparison with developed societies,[4] there is in Latin America and the Caribbean increasing recognition of the value of cultural industries for a range of reasons: a) the pursuit of sustainable solutions including the integration of cultural industries within the cultural and economic life of localities, b) the contribution of culture to the creation

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[4] 'La creciente percepción sobre el aporte económico de las industrias culturales, presenta -si se considera y analiza en perspectiva- límites histórico-políticos precisos: mientras en los países desarrollados como Canadá, Australia, Inglaterra, Francia o Suecia se vienen llevando adelante políticas activas desde hace ya bastantes años, en las "economías emergentes" como la nuestra, la realidad es otra. En efecto, a finales de la década del `90 se comenzó a prestar atención sobre la importancia no sólo económica, sino también estratégico-cultural que este distintivo sector productivo implica para las economías nacionales, por los bienes y servicios que genera."' (Calcagno, Natalia y Torterola, Emiliano, 2006).

of innovative opportunities for countries, and c) the elimination or reduction of the possibility that local cultural industries will be marginalized by globalization.

Optimistic analysts assume that the sector is in a stage of recuperation with increasing attraction of investment spurring a new era of growth. This is based upon acknowledgement of the region's creative energy – the capacity and volume of production of creators working in a range of expressions, their increasing international acceptance,[5] low production costs, the size of the worldwide Spanish and Portuguese speaking populations, and the accelerated growth of the diasporic consuming public, in particular the Latino populations of the United States and Europe (del Corral, 2005). The few countries with a history of cultural industry production offer high quality standards throughout the production process, a track record in original production and the presence of global media and entertainment corporations. These factors will strengthen existing export markets and contribute to the development of new niches in world markets.

In contrast with this optimistic vision, data on worldwide cultural industry concentration compels us to downplay these advantages. Despite the existence of worldwide Spanish and Portuguese speaking audiences, Latin America accounts for only 3% of global film production. Moreover, while available data demonstrate that cultural industries constitute a major economic sector, contributing 7% to the Gross World Product, it has to be recognized that their economic impact varies by region. The US leads the world with 7% to 8% of GDP, followed by Europe, with an average GDP contribution of 5% to 6%. The average GDP contribution in Latin America without including the cultural tourism sector lies between 3.5% and 4%[6] (Getino, 2004; Lanzafame et al., 2007).

4. Transversal topics and integral cultural policies

Some cultural policies focus on the interdependent relationship between the social and economic dimensions of culture. Such holistic policies would be ideal for promoting sustainability in cultural development. Some interventions aim in particular at fostering this type of interrelation.

Over the past few decades, many creators, artists' collectives and cultural groups have sought strategies for sociocultural mobilization with this approach in mind, combining access, empowerment and creation, for example, the promotion of subaltern artists and groups through communitary action, education and public diffusion. These projects open informal spaces or others linked to formal institutions such as workshops for the professionalization of artists, education for employment, and the creation of economic opportunities in the cultural industries.

The importance of the transformations brought about by the expansion of marketing techniques in the public realm should also be emphasized, as should the power of the new media. Today, cultural and social communication initiatives increasingly connect individuals and communities in ways that would have been unlikely a few years ago: art and entertainment celebrities work with multilateral agencies to raise consciousness or funding for a variety of causes; mainstream artists now enter alternative global consumption circuits; and municipalities work with private international actors to generate large-scale cultural content or programmes to enhance visibility.

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[5] Proof of the preceding discussion is the current vitality of production and the international recognition obtained by Latin American film productions at festivals and international events, which is increasingly related to co-production processes and other types of alliance.

[6] It is important to remember that there are gaps in available information on the economic impact of cultural industries in Latin America, and that there is little comparability of methodologies between countries that have carried out such studies.

These types of joint action generate complex effects that condition the ways in which local content and actors can have an impact on their immediate surroundings. Often, these actions run the risk of losing the power to shape local cultural agendas. The risks are quite evident in cases in which the State has little or no role in funding public media, establishing public strategies, or lacks the capacity to regulate or negotiate among diverse interests.

One of the main challenges for the State in its role in cultural development is the ability to promote the public interest, democratize social representation, and ensure a greater diversity of actors at various administrative levels (local, municipal, national and international scales). Market and citizen participation manifest themselves in increasingly complex and intimate ways, both in terms of mutual empowerment opportunities and contradictions and conflicts of interest.

B. Overview of existing policies and measures to promote cultural expressions in Latin America

The following section details a number of examples of the above-mentioned issues. While these illustrate important tendencies, they are not exhaustive, due to the wide variety and relevance of the many available experiences. The examples relate to the scope of the Convention's application regarding cultural activities, goods and services, and can be grouped into three broad categories: 1) Access and enjoyment, 2) Creation and production, and 3) Dissemination and distribution.

1. Access to and enjoyment of cultural activities, goods and services

1.1. The promotion of diversity in the institutional and normative frameworks

The changes in the regulatory framework of cultural policies and in the definition of the State in Latin America are very recent: only since the late 1980s has there been recognition of the pluri-cultural character of Latin American societies at the constitutional level or in legislation dealing with autochthonous peoples. By 2003, more than half of the region's constitutions recognized indigenous rights (Bari, 2003).

The main issues dealt with include cultural as well as territorial rights and demands for autonomy: the acceptance and protection of ethnic minority identity as a constitutive element of nationality, the recognition of the precedence of indigenous peoples with regard to the State,[7] as well as their autonomous organization, their representation in parliament and their jurisdictional capacities. Often, however, the new rules and regulations are limited to the explicit recognition of multiculturality and the promotion of the right of use and reproduction of ancestral languages, through intercultural and bilingual education programmes. For this reason, public debate on social issues continues to include relevant matters of governability:[8]

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[7] This ancestral character of communities that preceded the nation-state is recognized in particular in the constitutions of Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico and Paraguay. The possibility that the customary law of these ethnic communities will eventually be recognized as a source of positive law has also been foreseen. This is a necessary precondition for legal pluralism, whose full recognition 'continues to be a utopia in the Americas'.

[8] According to the Organization of American States, 'governability' means 'political and institutional stability and effectiveness in decision-making and administration' at the same time as 'it relates to the continuity of rules and institutions and to the pace, consistency, and intensity of decisions'

  ▪ It is the shortest line between the INPUT (demands) from society and the OUTPUT (results) from the government.
  ▪ In general terms, it is the capacity for continuing adaptation between the rule and the act, between the regulation and its results, and between the supply and the demand for policies and public services.
  ▪ Governability depends on governance, in other words, the level of maturity in an organized society and its capacity for assuming shared responsibilities in the implementation of decisions – and in the art of governing well.

- Harmonization of international treaties and commitments with constitutional frameworks and national institutional practices.

- Redefinition of structural conditions concerning the right to autonomy, territorial control – including demands for issuing of titles and the restitution of lands, the management of natural resources, and diverse forms of compensation (for historical usurpation of lands, slavery, and so on).

- Recognition of collective rights and the institutionalization of the participation of subaltern groups in policies that include or affect them and in the institutions of national governance.

- Protection and optimized use of traditional knowledge.

Yet, as many studies show, the inclusion of constitutional guarantees or rules and regulations regarding indigenous rights does not ensure their appropriate implementation. Nor can it be assumed that recognized indigenous rights will be included in the legislative framework or that contradictions will not exist between constitutional guarantees and secondary or complementary legislation. Finally, there is no guarantee that there will be compliance with specific programmes or policies, or adequate institutionalization or proper budgetary allocations (Bari, 2003; García Canclini et al. 2006; International Institute of Human Rights (IIDH).

Examples

In 2003, twelve countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela) were highlighted for their effective or broader treatment of the issue of recognition of constitutional indigenous rights. Treatment of the issue was less comprehensive in a second group of countries (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guyana and Honduras), while a few countries (Belize, Chile, French Guyana, Surinam and Uruguay) still neglected the issue in their constitutions.[9]

Examples of the first option are the Brazilian Constitution of 1988, which acknowledged the pluri-ethnic and multiracial character of the nation as a foundation for legislating specific rights for maroon descendants and indigenous peoples; and the Colombian Constitution of 1991, which established for the first time the multicultural character of the nation. Subsequently, the multicultural composition of their respective societies was acknowledged by Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico and Paraguay (1992). Only two countries in the first group have long-standing statutes for autonomy: Nicaragua (1980) and Panama (1932). Some countries in subsequent groups have acknowledged the issue via non-constitutional mechanisms such as laws (for example, Chile's Indigenous Law of 1993) or Costa Rica's acceptance of Convention 169 of the WLO.

Available, the 24 April 2008 at:
http://governability.wikispaces.com/%C2%BFQu%C3%A9+es+Gobernabilidad%3F?f=print

[9] Although there are precedents for the recognition of cultural rights and the right to autonomy in the 1920s (in Panama and Peru), it is generally accepted that a new wave of constitutional changes broadened perspectives to include the participation of indigenous organizations and a more modern terminology in Guatemala (1986) and Nicaragua (1987). From then on, the constitutions of Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, Bolivia, Argentina, Ecuador and Venezuela were also modified. An intermediate case is Ecuador in 1979; this generation of changes recognizes and takes on the multicultural character of Latin American nations.

1.2. The application of new paradigms and concepts in cultural policies

Although there have been modifications in the rules and regulations mentioned in the previous section and the 'culture and development' paradigm has been included within official documents, culturally sustainable development[10] has not been made an integral part of coherent investments and programmatic definitions. Most budgets are below 1% of GDP and these – as well as spaces for the promotion of cultural expressions – are concentrated geographically, politically and thematically in accordance with old patterns of exclusion. For example, mestizo and Eurocentric expressions predominate over the expressions of women as well as various social groups, including persons belonging to minorities and indigenous peoples.

Even when modifications in public investment were called for, cuts in social programmes, which included culture, trumped the implementation of the new paradigms. These cuts were a consequence of the structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s and 1990s, and their impact heightened by the lack of international cooperation resources. Today, specific investment in cultural development is still quite minimal.

However, it should be pointed out that leadership at the local level in Latin America – as in other continents – has taken steps to reverse the above-mentioned tendency. But this reversal is uneven due to the differing speeds and depths of decentralization processes in each country.

The celebration and adoption of diversity in cultural arts programming has become increasingly visible. Festivals are a good example, particularly as they seek to become significant aspects of public life and local affairs. This generates a virtuous circle in local development and programming policies for the promotion of citizenship and social cohesion, but also for the mobilization of public space and the revitalization of cultural tourism. Hence, 'enlightened' and condescending views toward less-educated publics with little access to high artistic expressions are superseded by participatory initiatives and the recognition of cultural rights and expressions that are important to the communities to which cultural programming is addressed.

Various cities working along these lines have invested or channeled cooperation to mobilize the art, animation and cultural industries. These approaches form part of policies on urban development that deal with increasing diversity; actions range from interventions in neighbourhoods with migrant or displaced populations to international positioning or the promotion of productive reconversion, among others.

> **Examples**
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> A good example of a cultural programme that has gained international recognition, in so doing, demonstrated the leadership of the local government is Bogotá's *Festivales al Parque.*[11] This initiative aims to provide access to art to people of all classes, ages and educational levels. It also gives greater vitality to public spaces and promotes the coexistence of citizens from diverse backgrounds. The first of the programmed festivals was 'Rock in the Park' (1995), an offshoot of 'Youth Music Gathering', organized by the local cultural council in 1994. The first phase of the programme aimed at providing new generations of rock musicians with spaces to perform. It

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[10] The UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity reinforces this idea by stressing that 'Cultural diversity widens the range of options open to everyone; it is one of the roots of development, understood not simply in terms of economic growth, but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence' (Article 3 - Cultural Diversity as a factor in development). Moreover, Article 13 of the 2005 Convention on the Protection and the Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions entitled 'Integration of culture in sustainable development' reads as follows: 'Parties shall endeavour to integrate culture in their development policies at all levels for the creation of conditions conducive to sustainable development and, within this framework, foster aspects relating to the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions.'

[11] *Festivales al Parque* was created by the Secretary of Culture, Entertainment and Sport through its programme aiming to stimulate arts: http://www.culturarecreacionydeporte.gov.co/festivales/al_parque/?disp2=tab

also succeeded in integrating other genres (jazz, rap, hip-hop, salsa, street and urban transport musicians) into the popular urban music festivals taking place in the park. Subsequently, traditional Colombian music, classical music (opera, symphony and philharmonic), religious music and eventually ballet, rancheras and children's music were all included within the festivals. [12]

Aside from the results the Programme claims to have achieved,[13] this initiative is also important for its integration of multiple objectives and its coherence, deriving from a sustained policy of urban regeneration and the promotion of coexistence. Also noteworthy are its efforts to ensure transparency and participation in all processes of administration (selection through public referenda, auditions in which exchange is favoured, and programming that combines shows with seminars, workshops, conferences and master classes). Finally, mention should be made of its 'work-in-progress' design: this is modified and enriched according to the specific suggestions of creators and audience members, who themselves comprise the cultural policy clientele.

Other notable local benchmarks in this field include the urban development plans of Bogotá, Buenos Aires and Montevideo. Examples on small and medium scales in terms of scope, projection and investment in peripheral cities and districts can be found, for example, in Santa Rosa de Copán or Comayagua in Honduras, and Esmeralda in Ecuador.

1.3. Inclusion of cultural expressions and their social actors in status-bestowing venues

The inclusion of cultural diversity within prestigious institutions such as academia, exhibition and concert spaces, national museums, galleries, publications, and so on, has been shaped by the invisibility and inequality of certain expressions. Hence, any cultural development plan that intends to implement the principles of the Convention and promote the diversity of cultural expressions needs to include consistent and proactive efforts to effectively integrate the principle of equal dignity and respect for all cultures.

This said, ambiguities exist nevertheless regarding representation. As long as conditions of inequality hold, the inclusion of an expression in status-bestowing institutions is problematic. The integration of expressions specific to subordinated groups into national, regional or global discourse may result in desidentification and alienation if there is no substantial transformation of the marginality of their creators, or the ways in which they participate in the benefits and consequences ensuing from such recognition. For example, the reproduction of ancestral performative and ritual genres as part of the processes of rediscovery and empowerment of current generations of Afrodescendants and indigenous peoples can result in the dilution of their redressive aspects when co-opted into the mainstream or redesigned,

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[12] The festival *Rock al Parque* (Rock in the Park) was created in 1995 as space for expression and organization of new generations of creators. Under a similar scheme, another sector of popular urban music, jazz, was added in 1996 with the creation of its own festival *Jazz al Parque*. The format was then extended to rap (the first event *Festival Rap a la Torta* evolved into *Hip Hop al Parque* in 1998), spontaneous concerts by musicians in buses (*Festival de Música sobre Ruedas*), and since 1997, salsa, thus providing a fully representative selection of genres of popular urban music. In 1998, this was further extended to include Colombian traditional music (*Festival de Música Llanera*) and classical music (*Festival Ópera al Parque and Sinfónica y Filarmónica al Parque*). In 1999, religious music was added followed in 2000 by a large number of classical dance companies accompanied by symphonic orchestras (*Festival Ballet al Parque*). In 2002 and 2003, *Colombia al Parque* and *Ranchera al Parque* were added, and in 2004, a special dance and music programme specially aimed at children and young adults entitled *Festival Niños y Niñas al Parque* was included within the programme.

[13] These are: 'recognition by citizens of local musicians and musical genres which weren't until now diffused in public areas; development and improvement of the musicians' and groups' capacities; increase and extension of training programmes in the music sector in schools and universities; transmission of memory through discography productions able to promote the activities of the participant musicians; support exchanges between local and foreign musicians'
http://www.culturarecreacionydeporte.gov.co/festivales/al_parque/?disp2=tab

spectacularized or folklorized by the entertainment industry.[14]

Furthermore, most observers agree that 'the increase in consumption of foreign cultural goods leads to an increasing loss of values and identities' (Lanzafame et al., 2007). This affects particularly countries with lower education levels where the transmission of content by cinema, radio and television programmes influence the construction of local identity (Ortega, 2006). This relationship between greater media consumption and identity deficit will not be repaired unless the new media achieve what the analogical media failed to do: increase and diversify the capacity to generate content and not just consume it.

Examples

A well-known example of the incorporation of a specific heritage is that of Afro-Latin music. Salsa, for example, operates as an affirmative discourse of *latinidad* in three continents (Latin America, Europe and Asia) although the production centres are based in cities where the entertainment conglomerates have their headquarters (Miami and New York). Similar processes take place at the national level in the case of samba in Brazil, percussive styles of music in Venezuela, and several different musical genres on the Caribbean and Pacific coasts of Colombia. The same may be said of indigenous crafts in countries like Guatemala, Panama, Ecuador and others.

Ensuring that benefits accrue to the creators is a complex process. In some cases, there have been attempts to create seals of origin to thwart industrialized reproduction of handicrafts, or pirated versions made elsewhere. In others, curatorial policies and marketing strategies have been developed to ensure recognition of the makers and their creativity in the marketplace, for example, in Colombia, Chile, and a number of municipalities such as Santa Clara, Michoacán, Yucatán, and Oaxaca in Mexico. Recently, El Salvador developed a trademarked brand of 'nostalgia' foods and beverages for export to the United States, which is home to the majority of Salvadoran emigrants. This strategy was devised to benefit small enterprises that develop their products from Salvadoran gastronomic heritage.

Regarding performing arts there are precedents in the creation of or support for artistic companies that affirm specific cultural identities or the expressions of subaltern groups. One example is Adbias do Nascimento's *Teatro Experimental del Negro* in Brazil, Nicomedes Santa Cruz in Peru, Manuel Zapata Olivella or Totó la Momposina in Colombia and the Ballet Garífuna of Honduras. Some of these initiatives work to advance the demands and concerns of their target communities. Nevertheless, there are risks and drawbacks, such as the need for companies and artists to leave their communities for metropolitan centres in their own countries or to international circuits without being able to maintain the link to their roots. This 'talent drain' is not exclusive to this type of company and can take place with regard to any artist who migrates in order to attain sustainability or consolidate his or her career.

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[14] 'How can a cultural form which represents an oppressed group within a nation (such as the *pachuco*, the *malandro*, the rude boy and the *curro*) also represent the nation in the transnational cultural context?' In her critical review of *Imagination Beyond Nation: Latin American Popular Culture*. (Edited by Eva P. Bueno and Terry Caesar. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), Anne Ruenstein (2000) illustrates the point: 'How can oppressed people make use of national cultures, which so often are used as tools of oppression?' These puzzles may be insoluble – certainly none of the contributors to *Imagination Beyond Nation* solves them – but Pancrazio, Bueno, Webb, and a few others here at least suggest interesting approaches to them, through cross-border comparisons, comparisons among different cultural forms, and connections between processes of cultural production and cultural consumption. Such thoughtful attempts to work through these difficult questions can bring us closer to a new and more profound understanding of the twentieth century in Latin America.' Consulted on 20 April 2008 on: The Americas 57.2 (2000) 306–308 http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/the_americas/v057/57.2rubenstein.html. Book Review.

2. Creation and production of cultural activities, goods and services

2.1. Cultural and artistic groups: mobilizing for integral objectives

As mentioned above, there are numerous cases of cultural mobilization and affirmation for empowerment and ownership that bring together community activism, struggles for social recognition, cultural industry creation and self-management. Some groups specifically propose to break down barriers that have kept them isolated and silenced, seeking empowerment through organizing and administrating their opportunities. In this way, they regain visibility, which contributes towards recognition and space for participation.

Such initiatives are usually generated by civil society or social movements, mobilizing to promote specific collective rights, and aiming to gradually make headway in institutions. Sometimes international cooperation assists in promoting their causes, and some groups have been able to generate effective models of intervention and have even developed 'second-floor' services – transferring know-how and methodologies to other groups and communities in the locality through bi-national or international cooperation processes. Successful citizen initiatives can influence the institutional framework (education, police and local government). In this way, those initiatives can also promote innovative policies and generate new spaces for participation in institutions.

This kind of relationship requires that institutions and their officers be disposed to decentralize and invest in grassroots development and organization – in models that enable the externalization of public investment or in participatory processes and methodologies that overcome the traditional tutelary relations that public institutions often assume. These institutions also need to develop their curiosity and their ability to recognize social leadership and the effectiveness of networking among civil society organizations.

There are a range of possibilities in the promotion of the arts, creativity and community-building. Some groups focus on artwork, while others define themselves as activists to expand citizenship. Some groups and networks, meanwhile, deploy art against family violence, or employ it to raise awareness about environmental issues, or to transform society.

Examples

Afrodescendant movements are quite salient in combining artistic activism and community empowerment. In Brazil, the music group Olodum, founded in 1974, established a Creative School in which black youth from poor neighbourhoods in Salvador da Bahia were taught about citizenship, human rights and information technologies, in addition to learning percussion in the Olodum youth band. Other similar cases in Salvador include the Afrodescendant groups Ilé Ayé and the Children of Gandhi. In Río de Janeiro, the cultural group Afro Reggae mobilized its members to find alternatives to the violence of narcotics traffickers and the police in the favelas.

With their consultancies and offerings of 'second-floor' services, Olodum has now transferred its cultural and social methodology to Afro-Colombian social groups participating in the Barranquilla Carnival. Since 1993, Afro Reggae has been working in the areas of community action, artistic education, and the development of artistic projects. It has also created complex partnership networks aimed at creating synergies for the development of their favela, Vigário Geral. Over the past decade and with the help of local governments, foundations and international cooperation, they have extended their own locally-acquired negotiation and peacemaking skills to many favelas across Rio and Brazil. The group also tours nationally and internationally with globally-renowned artists, including Caetano Veloso (Carnegie Hall, New York) and the Rolling Stones (in Brazil).[15]

In Central America, groups conduct initiatives among indigenous peoples and youth at risk in decayed urban areas. To this end they create intersectorial networks for exchange and intervention, such as the Community Art movement (MARACA),[16] which forms part of the Latin

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[15] http://www.favelatotheworld.org/

[16] http://www.redmaraca.org/

American Art Network for Social Transformation (comprised of art and culture organizations that promote 'social equity through open and professional education in theatre, dance, music, circus and visual arts').[17] In November 2007, the Latin American Art Network for Social Transformation was named Permanent Observer of the Interlocal Network (Red Interlocal) and has generated national networks in Peru, Bolivia and Argentina.

2.2. From information and knowledge to policies to stimulate the development of cultural industries

In Latin America there have been a number of important experiences in cultural mapping, the design of quantitative and qualitative cultural indicators, and to a lesser extent, the creation of satellite accounts (Chile and Colombia). These experiences are the result of national and local initiatives and official and academic interventions. Although these are relatively recent, some have already become international benchmarks and have received the sponsorship and technical assistance of international cooperation agencies, including UNESCO, OEI, OAS, Convenio Andrés Bello and IDB.

While the diversity of experiences has contributed to important methodological and qualitative discussions, it has also posed series limits to comparability and to a more coherent understanding of the full spectrum of cultural activity in Latin America.

Currently, each country has its own definition of the sector, which includes or excludes different subsectors, and results in different analysis frameworks. Hence, there is a need for greater coordination, taking advantage of the expertise and skills of different local, national and international cooperation agencies, as well as think tanks and trained experts.

Example

The Observatory of Cultural Industries of the City of Buenos Aires is an important local level example. As a government department of the General Directorship of Creative Industries of the Sub-Secretariat for Investment of the Ministry of Economic Development, its tasks include gathering data, and making diagnostic and prospective analyses for more effective policies for cultural industry development. This Argentinean initiative formed an important precedent for other initiatives launched by authorities in the South American Common Market (MERCOSUR) in 2001. These included the implementation of a research project on Cultural Industries' Economic and Social Impact in the region, the revision of rules and regulations pertaining to trade in culture, the creation of the Cultural Observatory of MERCOSUR, and the implementation of Macroeconomic and Social Systems of Cultural Information and Cultural Satellite Accounts.

Examples of more qualitative experiences, connected to information management, can be found in Chile, related to cultural mapping, and also in Mexico, with its System of Cultural Information (SIC), its National Coordination for Cultural Strategy and Forecasting (CNEP/CONACULTA), and the National Cultural Information Network (RENIC) comprising 32 governmental institutes. Also worthy of mention is the Cultural Policies Observatory of the Universidad de la República in Montevideo, Uruguay – in particular, its surveys to conceptualize and determine 'unsatisfied basic cultural needs' (NBIC).

Cultural indicator research in Central America is more recent, but there have been a number of important initiatives. In Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua, UNDP research teams have studied the impact of art and culture on various fields, including migration, construction of identity and ethno-cultural exclusion. The Salvadoran research team is particularly worthy of mention, in relation to its contribution to efforts made by the Council on Culture and the Arts (CONCULTURA) to measure the contribution of culture to GDP.

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[17] http://www.artetransformador.blogspot.com/

2.3. Models of productive development and viable linkages for the sector

Although Latin America acknowledges its cultural diversity as an important resource for engaging with the information society, it remains subordinate to the centres where cultural industries are concentrated and most developed. In the current international division of cultural production and labour, developing countries are obliged to cede their creative capital as peripheral partners to an industrial complex controlled by global conglomerates (Miller and Yúdice, 2002). In other words, from a strictly economic and industrial perspective, the successful development of an industry depends on its ability to link itself as a provider of talent and creative solutions to the main global distribution and diffusion agencies. Much Latin American creativity is processed and generates its greatest value outside of its place of origin (i.e. Latin American music stars are produced by major music labels whose headquarters are located in the United States).

Under these conditions, one route to gaining ground in national markets resistant to ensuring a return or making a profit – particularly for small and medium-size enterprises – is to develop intelligent strategies for outsourcing that will boost expertise and know-how to local actors. Alliances with international actors justify and attract investment in equipment and infrastructure that will foster and consolidate local capacities.

This economic logic poses several challenges, including:

1. The entertainment logic followed by corporate cultural industries tends to empty cultural expressions of their identitarian affirmation and subordinate them to the social imaginary of a mediatized spectacle.

2. This logic limits the autonomy of grassroots groups in the administration of their own symbolic production. Given their lack of effective representation (in decision-making), the individuals who do manage to gain access to decision-making spaces are too vulnerable to guarantee the expectations, sensibilities and interests of their constituencies.

3. As in other innovative sectors that require R&D, it is necessary to maintain spaces of creativity independent from market criteria – even for the benefit of the market itself – as it is in such spaces that the most innovative ideas emerge.

These alliances are critical because dependency on international decision-making centres channels distribution and imposes indirect access for the Latin American subcontinent. Latin American cultural commodities, especially audiovisual products and music, must pass through large corporations in order to achieve access to their potential audiences. Hence, even though language and geographic proximity are seen as comparative advantages, these do not ensure access to the region as a market.

Moreover, it is well known that in our countries 'financial and corporate support is largely based on the needs of large corporations and that the vast majority of cultural enterprises fall into the micro, small and medium-size category (MSMEs)' and that the main challenge for these is the low level of investment and capital for increasing production. There are very few systems of seed micro credit, and minimal access to venture capital (Lanzafame et al., 2007).

Given these circumstances, there is great interest in promoting policies to support MSMEs to better their production and local management capacities as well as to ensure linkages to large-scale actors and global trends. Different initiatives have adopted proven procedures from other sectors and have entered into arrangements to create cultural enterprise incubators. These are also making use of traditional business planning procedures (demand analysis, business plans, productive chain and local clustering analyses, development of market intelligence, etc.) in order to achieve sustainability.

These initiatives employ a range of agents and intermediaries, including university support programmes. Whatever their genesis, they generally take shape in inter-institutional alliances that include local governments, small producer collectives, economic ministries, NGOs and consultants with expertise in cultural enterprises.

Examples

Brazil can claim a number of important and varied experiences in cultural entrepreneurship. In 2002, the Pontificial Catholic University (PUC) in Rio de Janeiro created a Cultural Incubator within the business incubator programme of the Instituto Genesis.[18] It works with enterprises dedicated to the arts, education, fashion, design, cultural tourism, publishing and audiovisual fields. The Incubator began with a study of the production chain of the Rio music industry and found it to be a viable sector for employment opportunities. An offshoot project, Casa del Compositor (The Composer's Home) in Rio's Conservatory, was included within Brazil's national programme Puntos de Cultura (Culture Hotspots) in 2004. The Incubator also operates in other areas: today it is the most important cultural incubator for jewelry design in the country. It makes semi-annual calls for proposals, guides producers through all aspects of a business plan, holds specialized workshops in various sectors (music, ceramics, publishing and jewelry design), helps existing enterprises incorporate, and sponsors pre-incubation programmes. Among its members are national entrepreneur associations, finance organizations, businesses, foundations, the state government, specialized university departments, and regulatory bodies in technology, culture and economics.

Another leading country in this field is Colombia, which extends forms of support characteristic of the productive sector to the cultural sector, in other words, business round tables. The 3rd Ventana Internacional de Artes Escénicas [International Performing Arts Showcase] (VIA), supported by the Bogotá Chamber of Commerce (CCB) and the Bogotá Cultural Market, 'generated business transactions totalling over US$680,000 and a 70% yield in contacts between Colombian producers and foreign purchasers. Almost 300 business meetings were held between 59 theatre companies and 42 international purchasers who attended the conference.' (Economía y Negocios, 2008.)

The development of links with large global corporations through outsourcing is part of the strategy for the cultivation of audiovisual arts in Uruguay and Costa Rica. In Uruguay, the Presidency of the Republic launched a plan to strengthen national audiovisual companies, which include 150 enterprises producing advertising, film, video, TV programmes, animation, multimedia and videogames. The programme 'Competitiveness of conglomerates and productive chains' awards between US$500,000 and US$750,000 for completion of projects. Its objectives are to stimulate and develop strategic plans for the audiovisual industry, help find co-financing for enterprises, and strengthen public institutions that support this sector. It is estimated that a shoot takes place in Montevideo every four days, and that audiovisual content production generates 266 jobs, with another 500 indirectly generated of the 10,000 existing jobs in the city. The income generated by advertising exports in 2005 totalled almost US$24 million.[19]

2.4. Public financing for culture and diversification of procedures

At first, cultural policies in Latin America designated the State as provider of services and cultural producer in its areas of action. Subsequently, public resources were allocated to civil society actors through subsidies and tax incentives (Catalán, 2001). The latter trend is relatively recent and comprises only a small part of public institutional funding – a consequence of the influence of the European model of cultural policies based in a strong managerial State, in contrast to the Anglo-American arms-length model that encourage the existence of public or private agencies.

The following are the current salient subsidy and support trends:

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[18] http://www.genesis.puc-rio.br/genesis/

[19] http://www.observa.com.uy/Obuscar/notaarchivo.aspx?id=102805

- Subsidy and funding policies aimed directly at support for creation

- Decentralization and affirmative action policies aimed at specific territories or groups underrepresented in traditional cultural policies

- More recent funding policies aimed at creating cultural entrepreneurs; these policies straddle traditional creative subsidies and incentives for creative production development.

The above-mentioned trends are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, the very reality of the region has led to the diversification of different types of subsidy, and insofar as Latin American societies do not have highly-developed markets for the consumption of local cultural production, an integrated approach makes sense. Other relevant aspects regarding public financing are:

- With decentralization, local governments increasingly become the executors of these policies with the advantage that management at this level facilitates the integration of objectives within a policy framework that promotes cultural industries and new economies, citizenship and social cohesion.

- There has been greater specialization in the use of fiscal incentives and mechanisms to promote public-private joint ventures.

- Another trend worth mentioning is the strengthening of monitoring, transparency and evaluation procedures.

Examples

Many countries in the region have established funding agencies, such as: the Argentine National Fund for the Arts (1958), the National Cultural Programme of the Mexican National Fund for Culture and the Arts (FONCA) (1989), the Mexican Fund for the Promotion of Cultural Projects and Transformations (1993), and the Mexico-US Fund for Culture (1991).[20] Guatemala created the Promotion of Cultural Decentralization Fund (ADESCA) in 1996 and Costa Rica launched the National Programme for Performing Arts Development (PROARTES) in 2007. Another form of allocation is the transference of funds to non-profit and semi-public organizations, as in El Salvador's CONCULTURA Programme of Funding Transfers to Non-governmental Cultural Organizations (cooperatives and associations of artisans, popular artists, writers, authors, librarians, archivists, etc.) and to Committees of Support to Houses of Culture.

Two landmark cases regarding fiscal incentive funds are Chile's Law of Donations for Cultural Purposes or 'Valdés Law' (1990) and Brazil's 'Rouanet Law' (1991), which took effect in 1994 in conjunction with the Audiovisual Support Law (1993). In Brazil, federal precedent spurred the creation of a number of fiscal incentive laws at the state level, which also permitted joint funding schemes through matching grants. The state versions introduced important nuances that enhanced the effectiveness of the incentives. A good example is the state of Minas Gerais's 'Robin Hood Law' that redistributes public funds in ways that benefit poorer municipalities so long as they demonstrate effective policies to protect natural and cultural heritage.

Another noteworthy case is the Metropolitan Fund for the Development of Culture, Arts and Science of the Cultural Fund of Buenos Aires – a municipal initiative created in 2004 that uses subsidies for projects by artists, researchers, and third-sector entrepreneurs and associations. Its portfolio of subsidies includes design, publishing, music recording, audiovisual projects, support for international fairs and competitions, acquisition of publication rights, investments to increase production capacity, and development of joint projects. In its first year, the Fund allotted US$4,312,411 across 440 subsidies.

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[20] The Fund was transformed into the US-Mexico Foundation for Culture, Inc. in 2004, but continues to pursue the same mission: 'to enrich the cultural interchange and collaboration between Mexico and the United States, promoting and supporting creative dialogue between the artistic and cultural communities of both countries'.

3. Dissemination and distribution of cultural activities, goods and services

3.1. Cultural micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs), catalysts of diversity

Cultural MSMEs are considered a prerequisite for ensuring cultural diversity (Gettino). They represent 93% of economically active cultural enterprises in Brazil and 95% in Mexico. However, their size and economy of scale results in lack of the resources necessary to attain visibility in an ever-more concentrated context.

This problem is not exclusive to cultural MSMEs, and is the reason behind the formulation of public policies in other sectors: industrial cluster associations that enhance the competitiveness of small firms by promoting peer-to-peer collaboration for development of markets.

There are various examples of policies spearheaded by different sectors to promote the diversity of cultural expressions through associative strategies. Many of these policies strategically integrate new technologies with networking to develop alternative forms of distribution that enable dissemination to niche markets, non-mainstream forms of expression, or those forms created by minority communities or groups.

In very small economies of scale and internal markets, local initiatives may link with export processes in order to achieve sustainability. This example goes beyond the Article and its conception of state policies to promote cultural diversity 'within their territories' insofar as 'export' can be a condition of survival for local cultural expressions.

> **Examples**
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> The Permanent Exhibition of Costa Rican Publications in San José came into existence as a response to the lack of distribution for a significant part of national publishing activity aimed at small-scale markets. It grew out of the reinstatement of the Publishing System for Scientific Research Diffusion (SIEDIN) of the University of Costa Rica – the largest public higher education institution in the country. While undertaking a diagnostic study for the creation of a bookstore to sell its publications, SIEDIN found that although national titles exceeded 2,300 (not counting textbooks) the best-stocked bookstore held fewer than 350 titles – only 7% of available supply.[21] SIEDIN placed less emphasis on sales of its own catalogue and instead emphasized the exhibition and marketing of national publications in all formats. Implementation of this initiative revealed that Costa Rican titles actually total more than 5,000. After three years the programme became self-sustaining, and between 2002 and 2007 it increased its sales by 500%; it now has a list of more than 300 editors and independent authors who provide publications. The initiative maintains a portal supported by the National Bank of Costa Rica, which sells the publications throughout the world.

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[21] This information was generated in 2001 as part of the analysis of the context required by the initiative.

C. Conclusions

1. General comments

Cultural policies to promote diversity of cultural expressions today must deal with numerous factors and needs, some of which concern the right of all groups to their forms of expression, and others strictly with business feasibility and the possibility of marketing on a global scale. These different factors may be difficult to reconcile but they are complementary as none can survive and be managed without referring to or involving the other.

From the perspective of production development, it is frequently stated that cultural expressions need to find their market in order to survive, but it is also the case that the sacrificing of cultural content with little market value lowers the value of cultural production overall. From the perspective of rights to and processes of identity construction, culture generates services that cannot be governed exclusively by the market, especially in view of the marginality of subaltern groups. Nevertheless, it is almost impossible to think of cultural practices and consumption today without involving the market in some way.

Considering the dual nature of cultural expressions, a duality specifically recognized by the Convention, we should keep in mind that:

- Inequality is the key inhibitor of the coexistence of diversity, and this cannot be denied. A space of real consensus and integration cannot be achieved without substantially bettering the citizenship and socio-economic condition of the most vulnerable groups. Difference, inequality and exclusion constitute a vicious circle that has to be addressed systemically in rules and regulations, representation, participation, access and investment. It is not possible to move forward in one aspect without concurrent progress in the others.

- Contemporary societies show an increasing panoply of historical distinctions – ethnicity, religion, education, gender, and so on – that deepen the complexity of globalizing forces and the inequity of the international order. While each of these factors may be understood separately, they are articulated in conditions of exclusion that take specific forms in each region, country and locality.

- In a world ruled by the market where access to almost any service is commodified, material survival trumps all else and can overshadow the abandonment of essential needs of symbolic reproduction. The market can exert an overwhelming and structuring force on cultural processes.

This reality is especially evident in the least-developed and most peripheral places. It should not be ignored in analysis of the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, and the challenge posed by Article 7. Acknowledging it and acting to reverse it is necessary for its proper application in Latin America, and also in other developing regions and countries.

2. Recommendations to the Convention's stakeholders (Member States, Organs of the Convention, civil society)

Focusing on Convention stakeholders leads to the following general recommendations:

- A real effort to implement international agreements requires binding policies. We should work toward increasing commitments preferably with well-defined and quantifiable objectives, as in the campaign to address climate change or to adhere to the Millennium Development Goals. Such goals could be oriented towards developing specific policy instruments, investment funds, quotas allowing for adequate representation of certain groups and content, and ways of redistributing the wealth generated in some sectors and contexts in favour of less industrial, more artisanal modes of production or small economies of scale, and so on.

- Insist on the development and harmonization of indicators and the collection of quantitative and qualitative statistics (not only general information but also data disaggregated by type of production, audiences, participation, etc.) that permits the making of informed decisions and giving preference to participation in complex contexts.

- Greater research, analysis and exploration of coordination among public institutions, private actors, civil society, and agencies that monitor trends and the consequences of different models of public-private partnerships.

- Systematize and improve the implementation of fiscal policies, incentives, direct and indirect subsidies and credits throughout the production chain of the various subsectors. Implement policies on the basis of accurate identification of structural characteristics and distinguishing features accounting for competitiveness among nations.

- Rethink policies in accordance with the new contexts and realities, particularly the new services that each sector requires in its evolution, and the democratic distribution of public cultural investment throughout a nation's territory.

- Promote the integration of sub-regional markets and the relations among them.

- Reinforce the skills of cultural agents, particularly those relating to management at all levels of the production chain. Secure sufficient specialization in more complex and dynamic issues such as intellectual property rights, trade, and so on.

- Acknowledge and understand the new roles of the State, particularly those that reinforce it. Although the State's role as endower of legitimacy has waned as it is no longer the sole or majority ruler over the most important spaces of distribution, validation and prestige, it must strengthen its capacity to mediate and regulate diverse interests and promote and invest in dialogue between economic and cultural actors. As in the case of environmental protection, the State needs to play the principal role in ensuring the sustainability of cultural resources over the long term. It must ensure that its actions on behalf of production harmonize with the objectives of cohesion, coexistence and the exercise of rights necessary for the well-being of societies.

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