



Cultural Industries and Development:

**A Qualitative Study of Actors within Puebla's Cultural Industries, rooted in
UNESCO's Pluralistic Valuation of 'Culture'
with an Emphasis on the Development Potential**

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This Master's Thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

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Abstract

Activity in the cultural industries accounts for a great deal of the global GDP. The role of cultural industries in a development context has gained much attention during the past decades. International bodies like UNESCO are especially emphasizing the importance of the cultural industries, as they have the potential of generating employment and welfare – but also because cultural expression and activity is something of intrinsic value and essential for human development beyond economic terms; it defines who we are and conveys existential attributes such as *identity*, *heritage* and *meaning*. This paper seeks to investigate certain linkages within the cycle of activities that is the ‘cultural industries’.

A fieldwork was carried out in the city of Puebla, Mexico, with the aim of looking into the relationships between producers of cultural goods and the agencies charged with governance of cultural services. The main objectives were stated as to 1) investigate how efforts regarding governance of cultural industries may bring about development, and 2) consider possible tensions that might serve as obstacles in order to carry out efficient and beneficial cultural policies. In order to approach these objectives, a qualitative research design was elaborated and data was drawn from the various interviews with artists and representatives of agencies.

While UNESCO brings the legitimacy of bringing ‘culture’ in on the development arena, complementary research on the field is employed so as to identify possible connections between findings and theory. The findings reveal that Puebla is a city with continuous cultural activity at many levels, embracing a vast array of different artistic expressions. The analytical discussion draws possible parallels between findings and theory and sheds light on possible tensions in the relationship between ‘artists’ and ‘institutions’, ‘culture’ and ‘industry’.

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I acknowledge that I am accountable for faults and errors in this research and that the material within this paper does not refer to others or in any other way use the work of others without stating it. Hence, it is confirmed that all references are provided in the bibliography. All informants have consented to appear in the publication of this material.

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1 INTRODUCTION

It is well established that the cultural industries account for a great deal of the overall global economy. The emphasis on cultural industries in a development context is gaining continuous attention among cultural policy makers and urban strategy planners at both international and national levels.

This paper aims to assess certain relationships within the cultural industries in Puebla (Mexico), emphasizing on artists producing cultural output, and agencies whose tasks are to facilitate production and distribution of mentioned cultural output. It is the interplay and activities between the producers of cultural content, the agencies charged with governance within the cultural sector, and the public who consumes the products that form the ‘cultural industries’. This cycle of activities is referred to as the ‘cultural cycle’ and it is argued that further exploration of the links in the cycle is necessary so as to gain a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics and possible tensions present in the cultural industries in a development perspective. It is argued that cultural products may behave differently than other commercial products, as the primary function is to convey and produce *meaning*. Hence, this research grants that there is another dimension of development, reaching beyond development in terms of economy, thus somewhat challenging the traditional ‘development’ terminology employed in this Master’s course. However, it is not within this paper’s scope to elaborate on the ideological or philosophical discourse of ‘development’.

UNESCO clearly pronounces that cultural expressions (here, embodied in cultural industries), in addition to be a major economic potential and contributor, possess intrinsic values essential for human welfare and development. UNESCO emphasizes that in a time of ever more global uncertainty, the focus on investments in *human creativity* is becoming increasingly important.

The paper consists of six parts. 1) The introduction presents the purpose of this study, the study context, objectives and a general introduction to the ‘cultural industries’-term. 2) The second chapter is dedicated to the presentation of relevant literature and framework(s) that form the basis for the analysis of the findings. 3) The chapter on method presents in detail the methodological approaches employed in the process of data collection and analysis, issues of validity and epistemological

concerns, and possible constraints and limitations regarding the paper's *modus operandi* 4) The findings derive from two sets of informants: artists/producers of cultural output, and the agencies/institutions with governing positions within the cultural industries in Puebla. Chapter 5) seeks to analyze the findings in the light of the presented theory, in order to assess the research topic and thus its objectives, hence identify emerging issues relevant for this, and potential further research on the field, while in chapter 6) presents a summary of the paper and final remarks. The next paragraph seeks to illuminate the connection between 'culture' and 'value', essential in relation to this research topic.

1.1 The Value of Culture

The task of simply defining culture is not an easy one, as the term can be affiliated with countless contexts. This paper is built upon an assumption that 'culture' is a highly treasured asset that is an essential component to development. This paragraph seeks to bring forth some of the principal relationships between *culture* and *value*, thus contextualizing 'culture' as it is interpreted in this study.

Tomlinson (1999) conveys that before the time of globalization, there were well defined culturally sustaining connections, between geographical place and cultural experience, constituting communities' *cultural identity*. Such an identity was something people 'had' as an undisturbed existential possession, an inheritance and continuity with the past. Cultural identity, like language, is not only a description of cultural belonging, but also a sort of collective treasure.

Sen (2000) expresses that cultural matters are integral parts of the lives we lead, and in order to enhance living standards, it is not possible to ignore the world of culture, the fundamental component, indispensable in the pursuit of cohesion and peace.

The connections between culture, identity and heritage, conveyed in existential intrinsic value are reflected in UNESCO's philosophy and principles, regarding development as a process that improves the freedom of the people involved to pursue whatever they have reason to value. It is not only due to lack essential goods and services, but also lack of opportunities to choose a more satisfied and valuable existence.

1.2 Research Objectives

This paper has stated two research objectives, exploring issues of *management* and *development* in relation to cultural industries.

Objective 1) Investigate how efforts regarding governance of cultural industries may bring about development

Research questions related to Objective 1)

- To what extent do agencies provide the elements necessary for the realization of cultural productions?
- Do the findings suggest any efforts benefiting artists/producers?
- What efforts may be undertaken in order to facilitate production and promotion of cultural industries?
- To what extent do agencies encourage to cultural activities / engage to participation in the cultural industries?
- Do artists/producers perceive agencies'/institutions' efforts as useful and beneficial?

Objective 2) Consider possible tensions that might serve as obstacles in order to carry out efficient and beneficial cultural policies

Research questions related to Objective 2)

- Are there possible tensions between *a)* the preservation and protection of 'culture' (conveyed and embodied in 'cultural industries'), as defended and promoted by the UNESCO principles and *b)* the idea of commercializing 'culture' as a way of economic development?
- Could it be that contradictions in the interpretation of the 'culture' and 'industry' terms inhibit cultural industries' full development potential?

1.3 Purpose of Study

The primary concern of this study is about the role of cultural industries in relation to development, stating the main objectives as to 1) investigate how efforts regarding governance of cultural industries may bring about development (in a broad sense), 2) consider possible tensions that might serve as obstacles in order to carry out efficient

and beneficial cultural policies. In shorter words: to examine the interplay between cultural goods and services (contextualized and defined in chapter 2) in a development context. In order to approach the objectives, the evaluation and decision in this paper is that an examination of different actors in the cultural industries is appropriate, so as to achieve satisfactory data to be analyzed within relevant theoretical frameworks. These ‘actors’ may roughly be divided into two categories: governing cultural agencies/institutions and artists/producers.

As for a theoretical base, the study employs a sort of split structure. Placing UNESCO as the superior organ in terms of defining ‘culture’ in a development context, this study is thus based on certain assumptions: UNESCO defines culture as intrinsically valuable, and further that the participation in- and expression through cultural activity are core fundamentals on the global development agenda. It has been within the study’s interest to locate relevant literature and research believed to illuminate various aspects relevant to main objective, hence forming a stronger theoretical basis than if only the UNESCO framework was to be employed. In the reports utilized in this paper, UNESCO acknowledges that its frameworks, as for the time being, do best serve as guidelines for further elaboration and evolution of the development discourse. UNESCO, along with the vast majority of the selected literature, recognizes that there are several reasons for inquiring into the research of cultural industries and development, as there are yet many uncovered aspects, conceptual gaps and obscured paths to be discovered and elaborated on. The various selected literature all have, to some extent, different backgrounds in for instance, study context, primary focus, presumptions and assumptions. This paper does not suggest the theories have to be assumed applicable in any given study context – such an approach would be preposterous and far-fetched. Nevertheless, the literature shares what is believed to be valuable common denominators that will serve as beneficial in an analysis.

Summarized, UNESCO, as the superior definitional organ, provides this paper some crucial assets: legitimacy for performing a research based on arts-focused cultural industries (UNESCO states that the arts are the fundament of creativity), an expanded and pluralistic development approach, reaching beyond measuring results only through an economic lens, but also recognizing that human welfare and development is dependent on both having access to consume and produce ‘cultural

output'. This is, according to UNESCO's principles, essential. It is believed that bringing *a)* data from the findings, *b)* UNESCO's take on cultural industries and development, and *c)* additional research on the field together into an analysis, is performed in an adequate manner if such an analysis is undertaken in the light of linkages UNESCO defines as crucial. These linkages are presented as the 'culture cycle' and are the connections of the following stages: *creation and production, dissemination, exhibition / reception / transmission, consumption / participation*. According to UNESCO, emphasizing on these linkages and the interplay among them provides a better basis for an understanding of the cycle of activities that form the cultural industries.

1.4 Cultural Industries

By stating the purpose of the study, a definition of the employed term 'cultural industries' is required. Historically, the term "cultural industry" is connected with the Frankfurt School of sociology, rooted in the criticism of the economization of art by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer. It was originally used to describe the art and cultural goods that can be multiplied industrially. The term has been used in a critical manner to describe the conflicting opposition of culture and economy. It was widely used in the critique against the perceived limitations of modern life (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt 2005, Throsby 2010, Pratt 2005, Lawrence and Phillips 2002, Garnham 2005). From the term first emerged in the first half of the 20th century, and until present times, it has been used in endless discussions about the role of the 'cultural industries' as an agent for both social and economic development, as well as the 'cultural industries' (through activities of cultural expression), as a right with intrinsic values. UNESCO started emphasizing on the cultural industries in the late 1970s and early 1980s and placed the issue of political and economic control of the technological and industrial production of culture central to the question of cultural development, especially in developing countries. Hence, there is a direct line between UNESCO's early analysis of cultural industries and ongoing debates regarding the notion of "cultural rights" and the protection of cultural diversity (UNESCO 2005). Galloway and Dunlop (2007) stress that there are two factors defining the distinctiveness of cultural products, one political/ideological, the other, economic.

UNESCO (2005) defines cultural industries as industries that produce tangible or intangible artistic and creative output, with the potential of job and wealth creation and income generation through use of cultural assets and production of knowledge based goods and services. UNESCO includes 'cultural industries' in a wider 'cultural expressions'-term, and clearly states the importance of cultural industries, not only as a promoter of development in terms of economics, but as a crucial factor in all human life as they represent *identity*, *heritage* and provide a sense of *existential meaning*. Piedras (2004, 2010) defines cultural industries as the industries that produce, distribute and commercialize cultural goods and services - which, through their qualities, use or purpose, embody cultural expressions - independent of the value they may possess. Hesmondhalgh (2002) defines cultural industries as those industries that produce and circulate texts that contribute to create and disseminate meaning in society ('texts' defined in the broad sense as referring to written, verbal, audio-visual and material products, thus, the production of social meaning). Pratt (2005) defines the cultural industries as activities that have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the general exploitation of intellectual property.

The common denominator of cultural industries is that they all use creativity and cultural knowledge to produce products and services with social and cultural meaning, with the opportunity to generate employment and welfare.

There is no universal definition as cultural formations are situated in spaces and times; the answer must be locally, culturally and politically defined (Pratt 2005). In the literature on the field, the term 'cultural industries' is often aligned with the term 'creative industries'; there is, as discussed in chapter 5, little clarity about these terms and little appreciation or official explanation of the difference between the two (Galloway and Dunlop 2007, O'Connor 2007). However, within the presented definitions above, there are visible common denominators, all of which can be summarized in O'Connor's (2006, 1999) definition of what have been called the 'traditional arts' within the 'classical' cultural industries: visual art, crafts, theatre, music theatre, concerts and performance, literature, museums and galleries; in other words all those activities that have been eligible for public funding as 'art'. As it is

necessary to operate with a certain definitional framework, this view is correspondent with the UNESCO view of what is regarded as ‘cultural industries’. Nevertheless, with regard to conceptual issues, it is important to mention that the cultural and creative industries phenomenon is still in the process of being defined and conceptualized (UNESCO 2009b, Galloway and Dunlop 2007, Pratt 2005, O’Connor 2006).

1.5 Study Context: Puebla (Mexico)

Mexico is a melting pot where indigenous and Spanish, ancient and modern meet. Mexico is developed and developing, caught between the Old and the New World, and was not only the site of the most important of all the Spanish vice-regal capitals during the Latin American colonial period, but also prior to that it was the site of two of the three major Latin American indigenous civilizations: the Maya and the Aztec. Culture is an extremely complicated concept, and one could hardly find a richer and more controversial terrain than Mexico's in which to explore the factors that have made the country such a rich terrain in which to explore the operations of culture, the factors that have made Mexicans so conscious of their culture and made matters related to it so politically charged. What most divides Mexicans today is not so much ethnic lines or systems of belief but, rather, disparities in such material areas as income and education; hence, exploration of the possible links between the cultural industries and development is both highly relevant and important (Standish 2004).

Mexico is the 14th largest country in the world with a population of 114 million people (11th, ranked by the world’s countries’ populations) according to the 2012 CIA (CIA World Factbook) census. To say that Mexico is a country with profound cultural roots, a rich cultural heritage and diversity, would be an understatement. Traditional and cultural expressions are present in everyday life: from music, folklore, art, costumes, food and celebrations, from pre-Hispanic to post colonial and contemporary. In terms of economy, Mexico is a rich country regarding GDP (measured to \$1,155,316,052,667 in 2011, ranked 13th, nominal and 11th, PPP, according to the World Bank, 2011). However, the country suffers from a great share of people living in poverty. It is a country with vast differences regarding wealth, living standards and allocation of resources. Mexico is home of both the richest and the poorest - from 94% of the population in the state of Chiapas living on the poverty

line (Piedras 2006) to the world's richest man three years in a row (according to Forbes, 2012), telemogul Carlos Slim. A great number of its inhabitants are involved in the informal sector, many of which engaged in the cultural industries (Piedras 2010, Standish 2004).

As in many Mexican regions, Puebla's main capital is culture (Piedras 2010). Approximately 7% of all generated values in Puebla come from cultural activities (Piedras 2010). Puebla is listed as a cultural site in the UNESCO World Heritage List (2010) as from 1987. The city and municipality of Puebla is the capital of the state, bearing the same name. The city's population is about 1.5 million. Traditional industry accounts for about eighty percent of the economy and is mostly based on the outskirts of the city as well as in some surrounding municipalities. Main products include basic metals, chemicals, electrical items and textiles. Some agriculture still takes place in the municipality but environmental degradation and the growth of the city is making this a smaller sector of the economy. Poverty is present, especially in the outskirts and pueblos (villages) outside of the main center. Puebla's historic center is filled with churches, monasteries and mansions. In spite of the many commercial centers that exist in Puebla today, the Zócalo (main plaza/square) remains the cultural, political and religious center of the city. The Zócalo is also the main place for major events and celebrations and is one, if not the main tourist attraction the historical center. The center houses a vast amount of museums, theaters, galleries, universities, colleges, and pre-Hispanic sights and ruins. Puebla is also well known for having the origin to many of Mexico's traditional dishes, as for instance the chocolate flavored chili sauce 'mole poblano', the traditional sweet 'camote', the cemita-sandwich and chiles en nogada, to mention but a few. Also, a certain style of pottery, tavalera, is one of the trademarks of the city. The Barrio de Artista (the artist's quarter) is, as the name suggests, an important cultural sight. Here you find gallery and studios side by side, covering a whole neighborhood. In this particular neighborhood there is also a great density of cafés where local musicians, folkloric dance groups, performance artists, etc., perform frequently. There is great awareness of the shadow/informal/illegal economic activities within the Mexican cultural sector. Such activities are without doubt great part of the cultural industries' economic sphere (Piedras 2010, Standish 2004).

1.6 Mexico Political Structure

An introduction to the political system in Mexico is appropriate as most of the agencies/institutions interviewed are within the governmental system and hierarchy.

The Mexican presidential system has strong and independent executive, legislative and judicial branches and is based on a presidential system set up by the Mexican 1917 Constitution. The system of government establishes three levels of government: the *Federal Union*, the *State Governments* and the *Municipal Governments*. All Mexican states are divided into municipalities. Each municipality is administratively autonomous; citizens elect a municipal president who heads an *ayuntamiento* or municipal council, responsible for providing all the public services for their constituents.

The president of the republic is elected for a six-year term. There is no second turn. The Chamber of Deputies has 500 members, elected for a three-year term; 300 elected by simple majority in single-member districts, and 200 elected by proportional representation in five 40-member regional districts. The Senate has 128 members, elected for a six-year term. Each state elects three senators, and in addition 32 are elected by proportional representation on a single nation list. Re-election for consecutive terms is prohibited for all federal deputies and senators. Legislators can be elected to the other chamber when their term expires, and they can be re-elected to the same chamber after sitting out a term. Parties may form total or partial coalitions for electoral purposes, running the same candidate in some districts or sharing proportional representation lists. If parties form a coalition to elect the president, then they must form a coalition for all the Chamber of Deputies and Senate contests as well. Mexico is a federation integrated by 31 States and a Federal District. Each State elects its own governor and legislature. Municipal authorities are chosen at the local level. The election dates are established by State legislation (Edmonds-Poli and Shirk 2012).

1.7 Chapter Summary

Chapter 1 started with an introduction to the research field, 'cultural industries and development', stressing the importance of the linkage between the two terms, before a wider contextualization of the 'culture'-term was given. Further, the purpose of this study was presented, stating that there is a need for a better understanding of

mentioned linkages and suggests that 'culture' has many dimensions in which results can be measured through different means. The chapter then brings forth a preparation of the 'cultural industries'-term and ends by presenting the study context.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Given the introduction to the research field and study context in the chapter above, chapter 2 contains the theoretical framework. UNESCO serves as the superior definitional organ while the other utilized literature place the UNESCO guidelines into a broader perspective.

As stated initially, the analysis of the findings provided in this paper is primarily based on the UNESCO conviction that *culture* is a crucial agent in terms of bringing about both economic and social development. However, so as to approach this in a satisfactory manner, in addition to the UNESCO approach - to integrate *culture* in development policy, previous research on the field will play a role in the analysis process in order to provide an adequate breadth of theoretical material.

The first part of this chapter addresses UNESCO's emphasis on the importance of *culture* in development policy, which in this context focuses on *cultural activities, goods and services*, i.e. the cycle that is the "cultural industries". UNESCO (2009) separates between cultural *goods* and cultural *services*: while the former can be described as products with an artistic and cultural output, the latter focuses on the administration, facilitation, promotion and distribution of products (cultural goods). Thus, *artists/producers* are affiliated with 'goods', while *institutions/agencies* with 'services', all of which participate as actors in cultural activities. These factors differentiate *cultural goods* from the wider set of creative industries and have important consequences for public policy towards the cultural industries. Lawrence and Phillips (2002) say that cultural products are goods and services that are valued for their *meaning*; they are valued because the consumer can interpret them in a way that is valued by the consumer him or herself. Cultural products are consumed in an act of interpretation rather than being employed in some practical way to solve some practical problem. This is a view that is also shared by UNESCO and expressed by a number of the authors in the reviewed literature (among them, Pratt 2005, Hesmondhalgh 2002, Piedras 2004, 2010).

UNESCO provides a framework that suggests the adaptation of measures aimed at the promotion and nurturing of the cultural industries and articulates (and validates) the global culture and world creative industries meta-themes (Evans 2009). An aspect of key-approaches is chronologically presented by relevant reports on the issues of culture and development, starting with the 1995 report 'Our Creative

Diversity'. The end of the first part of the chapter will also include previous research' viewpoints consistent with this paper's –and UNESCO's perception and definition of cultural industries.

The second part of the chapter illuminates critical aspects on the UNESCO concept of culture and the culture-term in relation to policy making, as it suggests that there is a definitional problem that may serve as an obstacle for a sane integration of *culture* in the development discourse. This chapter will also present literature illuminating possible intrinsic tensions in the *cultural industry*-term itself, and between *cultural economy* and the *cultural sector*.

2.1 Operational Definition

It is necessary to somewhat narrow down the sectorial breadth of the 'culture' and thus the 'cultural industries'-term in order to be able to provide an analysis as consistent as possible in accordance to the following frameworks presented and with the objective of this paper. It has already been clarified that the aim is to assess the *cultural industries* and how these may contribute to *development* in a given context (Puebla, Mexico). It may be argued that all and services have a *cultural dimension* (Lawrence and Phillips 2002, Pratt 2002, Baudrillard 1983, Evans 2009). However, it is necessary to differentiate between cultural products that are consumed in different ways; failing to do so reduces the ability to observe, understand, and theorize about management in cultural industries (Lawrence and Phillips 2002). The paper 'Framework for Cultural Statistics' (UNESCO 2009) provides an operational definition derived from a general definition of culture, earlier provided by UNESCO. In an attempt to pragmatically define 'culture', such a definition is based on the representation of culture by *domains* in order to facilitate and enable the assessment of cultural activities, goods and services: the 'Framework for Cultural Statistics' supports Throsby's (2001) statement that cultural goods and services have to do with *artistic, aesthetic, symbolic and spiritual values*. The characteristics of cultural goods and services differ from other products because their system of valorization is linked to its appreciation or pleasure. This view corresponds with the one of Lawrence and Phillips (2002), who claim that products of *traditional* industries, unlike the products of *cultural* industries, are not consumed symbolically but rather materially; their usefulness does not depend on their meaning. *Cultural services* do, according to the

framework, not represent material cultural goods themselves, but facilitate their production and distribution. For instance, cultural services include licensing activities, audio-visual distribution activities, promotion of performing arts and cultural events, as well as cultural information services, and the preservation of books, recordings and artifacts (in libraries, documentation centers, and museums). *Cultural activities* embody or convey cultural expressions, irrespective of the commercial value they may have. These activities may be an end themselves, or they may contribute to the production of cultural goods and services.

As the research topic states, one of the focal areas in this paper is towards the *actors* within the cultural industries. By ‘actors’, it is implied that these are individuals who actively work in the cultural sector. However, this paper focuses on two categories of such actors: on the one hand, cultural agencies and/or institutions accountable for the governance of cultural industries (as mentioned, related to *cultural services*), and on the other hand, individuals (i.e. artists and/or producers) producing artistic and cultural output referred to as *cultural goods*. There is no attempt to provide an academic definition of either agencies/institutions or artists/producers, as this is assumed to be self-explanatory in the current context.

2.2 The Culture Cycle

Acknowledging that UNESCO is the provider of the parent framework on ‘culture and development’ employed in this paper, it is of high relevance to present UNESCO’s *culture cycle* (UNESCO 2009). The cycle illustrates and emphasizes some core stages/linkages in the process of producing, disseminating, receiving and understanding cultural expressions (i.e., cultural industries). These linkages are to a great extent reflected in *objective 1* in this paper. The model is flexible and recognizes that because of the nature of different expressions, some stages may prove more important than others, depending on the expression (i.e., artistic discipline). The culture cycle suggests that there is a great deal of stakeholders from both market and non-market sectors involved in the value chain of cultural expressions that form the cultural products of which this paper speaks. The linkages are directly connected with the cultural industries, hence, a presentation of the cycle is not only appropriate, but essential in order to further elaborate on existing theoretical material related to cultural industries and development within the rather broad and pluralistic definitions

provided by UNESCO, and presented and employed in this paper. These include creators, producers, distributors, public institutions, professional organizations, etc. The linkages emphasized in the culture cycle are the following:

Creation and production: while ‘creation’ relates to the inventiveness, exploration and conception of the content that form the raw material for cultural industries, ‘production’ is about is the assembly of all the elements (supplies, equipment) necessary for the realization (materialization) of cultural expressions.

Dissemination; refers to bringing cultural expressions to the public in terms of delivery and commercialization (concert, festivals, etc.).

Exhibition/reception/transmission refers to audience-oriented activities that facilitate understanding of a cultural work or the marketing methods used to build audience, such as documentation of a cultural work, media exposure and advertising.

Consumption/participation is the audience or general public using cultural products and participating in cultural experiences, including practicing as amateurs. It is assumed that a harmonic interplay among these stages is essential in order to achieve desired development with ‘cultural industries’ as a vehicle.

2.3 Our Creative Diversity

‘Our Creative Diversity’ (UNESCO 1995) was published in 1995 and put together by the UNESCO World Commission on Culture and Development, after an initiative at the twenty-sixth session in the UNESCO General Conference to “*establish an independent World Commission on Culture and Development comprising women and men drawn from all regions and eminent in diverse disciplines, to prepare a World Report on Culture and Development and proposals for both urgent and long-term action to meet cultural needs in the context of development*”. The report initially brings forth the issue that there is a need to transcend economics, without abandoning it, and that to bring cultural insight into the broader development strategies, is the next crucial step in rethinking development. The report focuses on many aspects in regard to development in the light of culture and creativity (such as gender equality, indigenous rights, environmental sustainability), and advocates a pluralist approach to the term ‘culture’. However, reading the report in the light of the objectives of this paper (acknowledging the limitation of its scope), the linkage that will be particularly focused on is the one between *cultural industries* and *development*.

‘Our Creative Diversity’ raises some core questions regarded as essential in order to approach the complex issue of integrating culture in an international development agenda: *What are the cultural and socio-cultural factors that affect development? What is the cultural impact of social and economic development? How are cultures and models of development related to one another? How can valuable elements of a traditional culture be combined with modernization? What are the cultural dimensions of individual and collective wellbeing?*

The report desires to serve as an “international agenda”, able to provide a permanent vehicle for the exploration and clarification of key issues regarding culture and development and should be policy-oriented. According to ‘Our Creative Diversity’, an international consensus on good practice regarding culture and development is achievable, as the task of rethinking current approaches are being carried significant steps further.

Poverty of a life, if regarding development as a process that improves the freedom of the people involved to pursue whatever they have reason to value, is not only due to lack essential goods and services, but also lack of opportunities to choose a more satisfied and valuable existence.

The report stresses the importance of pluralist values in governance, and states that every community has its cultural and spiritual affiliations reaching back symbolically to the dawn of time, and it must be in a position to honor them. These cultural patterns define individual and group identity and communicate a ‘language’ shared by members of a society, which reaches beyond everyday speech. ‘Our Creative Diversity’ claims that in an *‘infinite world of questioning and doubt’*, it is becoming ever more necessary to cultivate human creativity. It further states that the arts deserve recognition as the representative of the concept of creativity itself and that in a world of commoditized culture, creativity is too often taken for granted or dismissed. The support of new, emerging, experimental art forms and expressions is an investment in human development.

As a response to an ever more centralized government worldwide, the report suggests that delegation of certain functions downward could improve contentious issues and that there is a need to better explore delegation of authority and decentralization. It is also stressed that there is a special need to protect young people against exploitation and neglect; how to raise economic inclusion, civic and cultural

participation and how society can respond to their aspirations, give them jobs and a sense of meaning.

The ‘Our Creative Diversity’-report passes much of the responsibility to cities’ cultural institutions and call for them to broaden their roles. These need to represent the knowledge, experience and practices for all those who contribute to the human dimension of the city. It also says that government intervention has to be less direct, that it should play a more of a facilitating role and also correct some of the distorting effects of free market mechanisms.

A claim from the report is that, as in the social and educational areas, not all (cultural) activities can be expected to survive without public support; market processes may fail to deliver a socially optimal level of goods and services and that it is often not understood that cultural support in a market system corrects market failure and is consistent with the pursuit of economic efficiency.

2.4 Convention on Cultural Diversity

The UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity (2005) emphasizes that cultural activities, goods and services have both an economic and cultural nature as they represent *values, identities and meanings* and must hence not be treated as solely having commercial value. Further, the report states its objectives as to reaffirm the importance of the link between culture and development for all countries, and to promote respect for the diversity of cultural expressions and raise awareness of its value at local, national and international levels. The report claims that the promotion, maintenance and protection of cultural diversity are essentials for sustainable development and benefit present and future generations.

Cultural diversity is manifested through, not only expression of human heritage, but also through diverse modes of artistic creation, production and distribution. Such cultural expressions, that result from the creativity of societies, groups and individuals, and that have cultural content, are by UNESCO defined as the “cultural industries”: cultural activities, goods and services that embody or convey cultural expression, without regard to the commercial value they may possess.

The framework provided in the report suggests adaptation of measures aimed at protecting and promoting the diversity of cultural expressions, and may include “*measures aimed at providing domestic independent cultural industries and activities*”

in the informal sector effective access to the means of production, dissemination and distribution of cultural activities, goods and services” and “measures aimed at nurturing and supporting artists and others involved in the creation of cultural expressions”.

As an intensive in order to strengthen the cultural industries, the report also emphasizes the importance of enabling the emergence of viable local and regional markets, the capacity-building, experience and expertise, as well as strategic management capacities, policy development and implementation and promotion and distribution of cultural expressions.

2.5 Culture for Development Indicator Suite

The UNESCO Culture for Development Indicator Suite (2011) is offering a learning and advocacy tool illustrating *how* culture contributes to poverty reduction and economic growth. Recognizing that there is some conceptual ambiguity surrounding the definitions of “culture” and “development”, the Indicator Suite focuses on the most prominent assets of both terms that illuminate the linkages between culture and development.

The Indicator Suite focuses on three key axes of culture: 1) Culture as a sector of economic activity; 2) Culture as a set of resources that adds value to development interventions and increases their impact; 3) Culture as a sustainable framework for social cohesion and peace, essential to human development. Hence, culture plays both an instrumental and constructive role in development.

The cultural sector as defined in the Indicator Suite refers to individuals, organizations and activities *“involved in creating, producing and distributing goods and services in areas such as publishing, performing arts, audiovisual, crafts or design”.*

An Indicator Suite is a collection of indicators from different dimensions brought together thematically in order to provide a better understanding of a policy area where the outcomes are of an abstract character, difficult to measure or with incomplete data. The Indicator Suite acknowledges that available data may be fragmented or limited but that important relationships may emerge when brought together. The Indicator Suite does not seek to produce policy guidelines or recommendations; the purpose is to illuminate the value of culture in a development

process. The UNESCO Indicator Suite for Development recognizes that this is only the first step in a long process in integrating culture in national development strategies.

2.6 UNESCO Summary

In the above paragraphs it has been established that culture plays both an instrumental and constructive role in development. Cultural goods and services have to do with artistic, aesthetic, symbolic and spiritual values. Goods produced within the cultural industries, as opposed to products manufactured in traditional industries, are primarily consumed because of their *meaning*. The purpose of cultural services is to facilitate the production and distribution of cultural products, i.e. 'cultural goods'. Cultural industries are understood as a cycle of cultural activities capable of generating value. As a means to better understand the complex and dynamic nature of cultural industries, it is proposed that the exploration of certain linkages and stages in the process of producing, disseminating, receiving and understanding cultural industries (creation and production, dissemination, exhibition / reception / transmission, consumption / participation). Even though there is a great emphasis on the need to transcend economics without abandoning it, there is at the same time a strong recognition of cultural industries' role as a great incentive for economic development and the need to better understand the linkages in order to sanely integrate culture on the international development agenda. 'Poverty of life' is not limited to the lack of basic goods and services, but also about opportunities, choice and freedom to cultural expression, hence, the importance of *cultural industries* is absolute, as the consumption of cultural goods defines who we, as human beings, are. Engaging young people in cultural industries can be regarded as an incentive for both human/social, and economic development, as it provides a sense of meaning and an income/job. It is suggested that cities must take responsibility and that governments ought to serve as facilitators rather than intervening directly. Also, they should enable the emergence of local and regional markets, capacity building and promotion and distribution of cultural expressions. When assessing cultural industries relations, available data may be fragmented or limited, but important relationships may emerge when brought together.

2.7 Relevant Previous Research

The reason for combining theory with base in both UNESCO's principles and guidelines and theory from other scholars, is suggested to form a more robust theoretical base for further analysis of data. Hence, it could thus be argued that employing complementary literature puts UNESCO policy in a broader perspective while at the same time allowing for more case specific theories to be tested.

Galloway and Dunlop (2007) point out that there are currently few real theoretical or policy models available, hence there must be a strong theoretical basis for any definition used for public policy purposes, as this has important consequences for how these industries are measured and the type of interventions adopted.

Galloway and Dunlop recognize that the role of cultural policy is to ensure democracy and freedom of expression, including local, regional and national identities, regardless whether they play a commercial role on the market. Nevertheless, placing cultural activities within the existing creative industries/knowledge economy framework buries this vital cultural policy objective, and misses the point about the important public benefits provided by culture in terms of humanistic values so essential to social development. Galloway and Dunlop stress that there is a sharp conflict between the view on cultural production as just one type of creativity, and the alternative view that culture and cultural products are something distinctive; whatever group of people within society is under discussion, producing culture is essentially about generating and communicating some type of meaning.

Evans (2009) presents a general strategy rationale behind cultural policy, based on an extensive survey correspondent with the culture view advocated by UNESCO. The categories are listed according to the dominance of the respective objectives. The prime measure is *economic development/employment*, followed by *infrastructure, regeneration, education & training, tourism/events, city branding, social/access, amenity, heritage*. The categories are featured from most to least in terms of reasons and benefits claimed for creative industry policies.

Pratt (2005) stresses the importance of drawing into a new conception of governance that acknowledges the existence of the market, but is actively involved in the shaping of that market; if else cultural policy is to become obsolete and irrelevant and that all those involved in governance process will need to develop a deeper understanding of the nature of organization of the production and reproduction of

cultural activities. Cultural policy should involve the discussion of what the market is failing to do and focus on what can be done by other means; through an open and democratic form of decision-making, which in turn will shift away from a simple subsidy-focus to a more broadly formulated support for culture. Pratt further sketches out three discourses deployed in cultural policy making. The first is the *economic* discourse: considering the trade of cultural commodities (as if they were any other), and evaluating their direct or indirect impacts on the economy. Pratt claims that policy makers may seek to promote or channel investments if they are perceived to produce benefits in excess of the administrative costs. An extension of this logic will, according to Pratt, sustain a support for the cultural activities if they produce social or political benefits. Within the economic discourse, Pratt argues there also is an issue of public goods (a good that if consumed by one can be consumed by all others for no extra cost), and claims that it is not likely that any individual is capable of providing such a service, thus it is logical to provide it collectively. However, the discussion of what is of value, i.e. worth supporting and promoting, obscures how decision-making takes place. Pratt presents the second discursive position as the *ideological/political*, claiming this is perhaps the oldest established position. There is a 'humanist aspect', articulating that culture is civilizing and uplifting – an 'aesthetic aspect', suggesting that the creation and appreciation of artistic expressions will draw the subject closer to transcendent values (hence directly connected with mentioned humanist aspect). The third discursive position is the *social*. Pratt claims that an alternate emphasis of the ideological role of the state is to view cultural policy as an arm of welfare policy, providing free services, thus making the role of state integral, rather than an addition.

According to Briassoulis (1999), informal activities may coordinate among themselves, although this is opportunistically and without a visible plan. Briassoulis also claims that the size of the informal sector is difficult to assess because numerous and multifarious activities have to be accounted for and because several techniques and measures of economic activity can be used that may produce widely differing results.

This view is supported by Hesmondhalgh (2002), who claims that the distinctive thing about cultural industries is that it is difficult to control the production process itself and the focus is therefore primarily on the administration and the circulation of products. However, in regard to 'cultural industries', Hesmondhalgh

points to advertising and marketing, broadcasting, film industries, Internet industry, music industries as *core* cultural industries, while characterizing the arts within cultural industries as ‘peripheral’, employing semi-industrial or non-industrial methods of production in the production of (symbolic) meaning. This suggests that some products and disciplines under the very broad ‘cultural industries’-definition, may be evaluated on different premises than others, as their serving purpose is to be consumed in order to fill a non-material rather than a material function.

OECD (2005) defines two main strategies for cultural industries in urban development:

A) Regard cultural industries as an aspect of strategy to develop a place or a city into an attractive place in which to live and also visit. Cultural industries contribute to increasing the attractiveness of a place and hence their financial basis lies primarily in local consumption (with low costs and low risks: restaurants, hotels, cafés, etc.). However, this is a relatively limited strategy with a customer base reliant upon locals and tourists and the market could also prove to depend on a high season (seasonal).

B) Developing production environments for culture based production for markets outside, ideally a global market. This may have large value creation potential because it is generally based on a mass production and intensive global marketing. Further, the OECD report suggests that the economic significance of cultural industries in specific places is often overstated; the main focus for the creative worker is the production of ‘texts’, not mass- or reproduction. The cultural worker seeks autonomy and the result of the production process is generally not anticipated and is difficult to manage. In addition, the consumer is unpredictable and unreliable. It is impossible to ensure against a product not hitting the market.

Lysgård (2012) points out that there is a tendency shift, from implementing and administering cultural policies from a higher state lever to a more development oriented role where cities and regions must take responsibility for their own development in competition with other regions. However, he suggests that *culture* as a political strategy has filled a hole in western urban development thinking and that the potential of growth may not be as great as the public debate and research has suggested. He questions whether urban development through development in cultural industries is an appropriate approach.

Lawrence and Phillips (2002) argue that managing in cultural industries not is about efficiently producing a product, but about creating and maintaining an organization that can produce and sell *meaning*. However, according to Lawrence and Phillips, it is difficult to create an organization capable of managing the symbolic aspect of the product in a way that is sustainable and valued by consumers in a long-term aspect.

Jessop (1998) makes the distinction between the institutions and agencies charged with governing (government), and the modes and ways of governing (governance). He defines the latter as the coordination of different institutional orders (economic, political, legal, scientific, or educational systems) each of which has its own complex operational logic such that it is impossible to exercise effective control of its development from outside that system. Jessop claims that markets, states and government all fail; but that the alternative of substituting one institution with another, which he says is a common response, is not the only one possible. He further argues that the relative changes of states, markets and societies cannot be simply managed with one overall structure.

Sternal (2003) stresses that in order to carry out and implement cultural policies successfully, commitment and skills are indispensable, as managers of cultural institutions in the public sector are expected to work towards the goals determined in the policies statements. At all levels, from national to local, there should not only be an interest, but an obligation to ensure that the people in charge of elaborating the policies are well educated and trained.

Provided that the intention of a 'cultural quarter' is to create a cluster of cultural and creative activities (Evans 2009, McCarthy 2005), it is hereby argued that Barrio del Artista to a great extent falls under this definition. In relation to 'cultural quarters', Evans (2009) argues that the site of production is important for the cultural industries, as location affects tourism and thus possible increased economic activity in the sector. The cultural quarters serve as arenas of social reproduction and commodification. It is possible to link these two assets; commodification and social reproduction, directly to UNESCO's development focus, touching the development term in both an economic and social dimension.

2.8 Critique of the UNESCO Concept of Culture

Hylland-Eriksen (in Cowan, Dembour and Wilson, 2001) stresses that many liberal critics, in a 'culture for development' context, depict the problem, as being one of "right versus culture", while the concern "right to culture" is stronger according to UNESCO. This is a present tension emphasized in previously executed research on the field, and will be illuminated further in chapter 5.

Hylland-Eriksen claims that there is a possible contradiction between the two approaches and although UNESCO emphasizes the value of cultural diversity, it appears rather an aesthetic value rather than a moral one.

Hylland-Eriksen acknowledges that a large number of writings by the UNESCO have made important contributions to international debated about equal cultural rights.

Nevertheless, it cannot be claimed that all the writings share a common perspective on culture, relativism and rights, although a few publications stand out as implicit or explicit policy documents. Hylland-Eriksen mentions the 'Our Creative Diversity'-report (1995) as one of these few publications. However, according to Hylland-Eriksen, the report offers little way of actual policy recommendations as it is difficult to summarize, it introduces issues that require real intellectual engagement and it demands a "*talent for double and triplethink to see it as a coherent piece of work*". One of the most prominent shortcomings is that the conclusions are very generally phrased and that the report as a whole glosses over fundamental problems and fails to address politically unpredictable issues.

Hylland-Eriksen claims that to simply state that one is favorable to cultural rights is not sufficient, as it is not self-evident what the term means or articulates with individual human rights. It is also unfortunate that many who finally have started to acknowledge the importance of the cultural dimension in development, are operating imprecisely with a concept of culture so unison and comprehensive that it becomes meaningless and inoperative.

As a final remark, Hylland-Eriksen suggests that instead of invoking culture, if it is talk about, for instance, local arts, then it is possible to address this as 'local arts', without covering it up in a deceptive blanket of culture; accuracy is more likely to be gained, and unintended side-effects would be avoided if precise terms replaced the all-encompassing culture concept.

Such a critique suggests that there may be present tensions in the commodification of cultural products versus the preservation of culture and cultural expressions due to culture's intrinsic values and inviolable rights. Many scholars have focused on various tensions that may inhibit full integration of culture development, some of which will be presented in the next paragraph and discussed in chapter 5.

2.9 Tensions

When talking about an industry in a traditional sense, one normally thinks of a particular form or branch of economic or commercial activity, such as for instance the *car industry* or the *tourist industry*. With such a starting point, it is fair to say that the 'industry' label is applicable also when talking of cultural products, as it already is established and acknowledged that such products count for a significant part of the overall economy. However, it is argued in this paper, that there are possible complications if 'culture' is to be treated on the premises of the traditional industry-term, due to the very complex and multifaceted dimensions of 'culture'.

Pratt (2010) points to some of the core issues that he claims constitute the loose and often contradictory vocabulary of the cultural industries discourse: Creativity has a humanistic root in the valuing of individual creativity and humanity but the recent years it has been increasingly stronger linked to economic innovation and competitiveness. Creativity is thus commonly viewed as a key economic characteristic. Pratt claims that the two, creativity and humanity, loosely coupled, make a strong underpinning for creativity as a universal positive goal. As for another issue, Pratt argues there is an idea – that the cultural (or creative) economy is more inclusive in the sense of representing non-capitalistic values, which Pratt calls a “humanistic counter-balance to economic accumulation”: this is the field seen in the discussion of nurturing neighborhoods and create social cohesion through joint endeavor of cultural projects. Also, Pratt highlights a notion that runs counter to the latter, which focuses on producing the 'best' or 'most outstanding' creative or cultural output. This view is commonly considered as elitist, and is self-serving and non-instrumental. Pratt further argues that it is problematic to seek to read off a policy and policy effect due to the complex shifting matrix of justification and realities: objectives are unclear, undefined, processes not isolated, and relationship between causes and effects not established. Pratt claims policy transfer commonly is an

exercise in wishful thinking rather than practice: it may be assuring to copy existing policy text, but it is doom to failure, knowing that the same policies produce different effects and impacts under various institutional and social, cultural and economic contextual situations.

Evans (2009) says that there are often evident tensions between city-regional authorities who promote creative and knowledge city status through economic-led cultural policy and local authorities and municipalities who are wedded to cultural development and access objectives for their arts and cultural policy and programs. A prominent focus of policy makers is, according to Pratt, social inclusion through participation via involvement in cultural activities. Approaches of this kind commonly focus on small-scale projects with the purpose of enhancing social tensions and thus improve welfare to people. Pratt says there is evidence that such projects are effective on their own terms and argues that all policies should have clear and discrete objectives and that they should be evaluated on those terms. Pratt argues that all policies should have clear and discrete objectives and that they should be evaluated on those terms. In some cases the differences within the cultural industries are as different as one industry to another.

As Lawrence and Phillips (2002) suggest, there may be tensions between different 'categories' within the cultural industries regarding commercialization, as the promoter, for different reasons, may perceive some as more valuable. According to Bourdieu (1984) the institutional logics of cultural production and commerce are radically different. This may create serious tensions for those who try to blend them without allowing either to completely dominate the relationship. This, as also pointed out by Adorno (1991:87) who claims such an example illustrates the long lasting conflict between artists active in the culture industry – and those who control it.

UNESCO (1995, 2005) stresses a need to transcend economics, without abandoning it – alongside with an integration of *culture* in the international development discourse. According to UNESCO, the *arts* deserve recognition as the concept of creativity. UNESCO is regarding cultural expression as a human right with intrinsic value and at the same time acknowledges that the cultural industry is a major economic contribution to societies, with the potential of promoting and creating wealth and development. It is thus fair to raise the question whether a superior policy

goal would be the integration of cultural industries focus towards a market, for the sake of generating economic resources and thus enhance living standards – or, would it be the protection and promotion of cultural activities and expressions due to their inviolable rights and intrinsic values? The upper statement expresses a wish to integrate ‘culture’ in development on both market premises *and* on the premises that cultural activities, i.e., *cultural industries*, are of congenital value.

Many previous research reports and literature on the field suggest there is a tension within the term “cultural industries” itself, as its nature is so extremely complex and manifold (Pratt 2008, 2010, Galloway and Dunlop 2007). The handling of ‘culture’ in a both economical and industrial context is a relatively new thought, with many gaps and obstacles in order to reach a better understanding of the interplay between the various/numberless components.

The UNESCO Indicator Suite builds on the same principle: culture as a sector for economic activity, and, culture as a sustainable framework for social cohesion, essential to human development. However, as for activities accounted as ‘cultural industries’, the report define these as activities ‘*involved in creating, producing and distributing goods and services in areas such as publishing, performing arts, audiovisual, crafts or design*’, with no further distinctions.

Another notion is the historical aspect of the term. A common critique is that there has been an evident lack of coherence in elaboration of the term “cultural industries”, since when it first was coined by Horkheimer and Adorno (the ‘Culture Industry’), rebranded by the UK government (1997) as “creative industries” in order to distance itself from a term already very politicized, however, with no explicit change in definition (Garnham 2005, Evans 2009, Galloway and Dunlop 2007). The literature on the field uses the two terms almost interchangeably and it is evident that potential different characteristics in the definitions of *cultural* and *creative* industries could be obscuring and complicate the initial intentions (Lawrence and Phillips 2002).

2.10 Chapter Summary

The second chapter demonstrated the literature that has been selected and evaluated as relevant for this research. The theoretical framework takes starting point in UNESCO’s guidelines and principles of ‘cultural rights’ (UNESCO 1995), a principle from which encouragement to elaborate cultural policies springs out. As a supplement

to UNESCO-reports, other literature and theory on cultural industries and development has been used: not as an *alternative* to UNESCO, but rather so as to contextualize and specify theoretical standpoints in the light of the extensive UNESCO culture philosophy. The chapter also presents critical takes on UNESCO's concept of culture. The last part of the chapter illuminates aspects that may be perceived as tensions among the employed sets of terminologies. The next chapter, 3, will explain in detail the methodological approach that was employed in order to collect and analyze the data collected from the fieldwork.

3 METHOD

In the evaluation of a methodological approach, this paper has concluded that, due to the nature of the presented objectives, a *qualitative* research approach is appropriate as key words regarding an analysis are *perception* and *understanding* rather than assessing quantifiable numeric results. This chapter will state the research aim and objectives (as described in detail in 1.2), then, after a brief presentation of the research's preface, the attributes that make up for a sane and coherent qualitative research approach employed in this paper, will be presented. The chapter ends by acknowledging potential methodological challenges and limitations in the research process.

3.1 Research Process

The research was undertaken by interviewing representatives of culture-promoting agencies/institutions in the city of Puebla and artists/producers within the cultural industries in metropolitan Puebla. The emerged data was processed into an analysis, built on the value-principles of 'culture', provided by UNESCO. The research combined previously conducted work on the field of management of cultural industries in relation to development, in order to elaborate the theoretical framework explained in the previous chapter.

3.2 Preface

The initial intention of the fieldwork was to investigate the relationship between Puebla's Secretary of Culture, and artists/producers within the city's cultural industries. As state elections in Mexico are held every 3 years, it would assumingly be of great interest to investigate the level of continuity/follow-up and execution of the Secretary's cultural policies directed at performers in the cultural industries within the city and how these impact with development. The time for the research was set to a period of 4 months, from December 2010 to March 2011. I do have very good knowledge of the city. I studied there as an exchange student in 2007, and have visited the city at several occasions, thus having spent two years in a total amount of time.

However, having dealt with the Secretary of Culture at previous occasions

(Bachelor's degree, 2006) made me confident that I would face no severe complications or obstacles scheduling interviews. Nevertheless, once in Mexico, I quickly learned that it was decided to take the Secretary of Culture out of action (as the first in Mexico), in order to replace it by autonomous councils and smaller agencies in order to fill its role. Nevertheless, I did not consider this a crucial problem for the research, although some adjustments and measures needed to take place. Due to the rather generous time scope of the fieldwork, I had the time to rethink the approach. I decided to conduct the study in a somewhat different manner, so, rather than focusing on only one agency/institution (the Secretary of Culture), I chose to map several different cultural agencies/institutions whose pronounced goals are to develop and promote the cultural industries in Puebla. The interview guide needed to be somewhat revised, but by adjustments rather than major changes.

3.3 Design: Qualitative Research

This study draws its empirical data from a qualitative methodological approach. The analysis of qualitative research bridges the gap between raw data and results, interpretation and synthesis of organized data. Qualitative research methods are based on scientific rationale for systematic and reflexive knowledge. The process will be available for inspection and challenge and the results will have transferability beyond the local study context (Bryman 2008). Qualitative studies should be judged by its scientific quality and it is therefore of utmost importance to thoroughly prepare and reflect upon what would be the most suitable research design for the particular study. However, one should acknowledge that the researcher might need to reconsider or modify any design decision during the study in response to new developments or to changes in some other aspect of the design (Maxwell 1998). As mentioned, certain modifications proved necessary.

The nature of the perceived connection between theory and research implied by the research question (as well as epistemological and ontological considerations) is influential choosing a research design. Hence, the qualitative research in this paper took an inductive approach in which theory was generated from research, as opposed to the deductive approach of quantitative research, in which research is used to test theory. Rather than collecting 'hard' data and

statistics in order to perform a quantitative analysis, the information was provided through interviews, thus allowing multifold angles of analysis.

3.4 Semi-structured Interviews

The study was carried out by collecting data through interviews conducted in a semi-structured manner. Semi-structured interviews involve using a list of more or less specific topics to be covered and the reason for choosing a semi-structured approach is justified by the fact that it gives interviewees a great deal of leeway in how to reply (Bryman 2008). This is believed to be beneficial in this particular research as freedom allowed in the interviewees responses should allow for answers of greater depth and for the development of the discussion onto points not previously anticipated (Bryman 2008). As Ritchie & Lewis (2005) claim, the in-depth interview is intended to combine structure with flexibility. Due to the anticipated nature of the research topic, a great deal of flexibility in structure was desired.

3.5 Recording and Transcribing

All the interviews were recorded on tape and notes were written during the interviews. One of the advantages of using a tape recorder is that it prevents loss of potential vital data. However, as Bryman (2003) points out, the process of transcribing interviews tends to be rather time consuming: an estimate is that one hour of recorded interviews will take about 5-6 hours to transcribe. In practice, this estimate was proven to coincide with the actual circumstances.

3.6 Sampling

The selection of a study sample is important since it is rarely practical or efficient to study whole populations. As qualitative studies aim to provide a broader understanding of complex social issues, they are most useful for answering questions of a humanistic character such as 'how?' and 'why?' where quantitative studies tend to focus on more mechanistic 'what?' questions (Marshall 1996).

Rather than focusing on only one group of performers within the cultural

industries, this research addresses artists/producers representing different artistic disciplines. This is purposeful, as it actively selects the (presumably) most productive sample to answer the research question in accordance to the research objectives. The various agencies/institutions subject for interviews were also carefully selected after a period of investigation and mapping on the research locality. The literature refers to this as 'judgment sampling' (Bryman 2008, Marshall 1996).

A sample of five agencies/institutions in positions of management and promotional work within the cultural industries sector were chosen. Since the total of cultural industries-promoting institutions in Puebla is limited, this was necessarily a convenience sample, though there was an element of a judgment approach, since efforts were made to ensure that participants came from a range of administrative background within the cultural industries field. The second stage involved in-depth interviews with eight practicing/performing artists/producers within the cultural industries in the urban zone of Puebla. The aim was to develop an understanding and an interpretative framework of the process of interaction between agencies/institutions and artists/producers. As new themes stopped emerging, an adequate/acceptable framework was thus constructed. A large sample size decreases the chance of a random sampling error; nevertheless, the sampling error is inversely proportional to the square root of the sample size, there is usually little to be gained from studying very large samples. Quantitative researchers often fail to understand the usefulness of studying small samples (Marshall 1996) and there is no correct answer to what is the optimal sample size in any research, be it quantitative or qualitative; in qualitative research (Bryman 2008), the *researcher* is the instrument (Patton 2001), and it is thus the researcher who has to evaluate what is an appropriate sample size within the frames and scope of the study.

It may be advantageous to study a broad range of subjects and subjects who have specific experiences or special expertise. Interviewees may be able to recommend useful potential candidates for study (Bryman 2008, 1994, Maxwell 1998). This technique, referred to as 'snowball sampling' proved useful in the data collecting process, both for selecting samples/interviewees from both artists/producers and agencies/institutions.

3.7 Data Analysis

The data/information emerged from the various interviews forms the basis for analysis and discussion. The interviews have been divided into two blocks: cultural agencies/institutions and artists/producers within the cultural industries. The cultural institutions in were selected, based on the criteria that they were within the scope of the cultural industries-focus as advocated in this paper. A research was performed in order to identify assumingly appropriate agencies/institutions as subjects for investigation: asking around, tips from friends, searching the Internet. The same was required when selecting artists/producers; that their performing and work is within the scope of the cultural industries defined and focused on in this paper. There has been a focus on selecting performers who represent a relatively wide scope of the cultural industries in Puebla, rather than focusing on one specific discipline. The argument for this approach is that it is more likely to provide a more holistic image of the cultural industries in Puebla, as this paper recognizes the pluralistic dimension of culture. This will be elaborated and clarified further. Chapter 4 is appointed to the presentation of the various findings from both agencies/institutions and artists/producers. As emerging themes are identified, these will be analyzed and discussed in the light of the provided theoretical takes and analytical frameworks, presented in chapter 2.

3.8 Validity

Validity determines how well the research instruments measures the research object. Assessing validity differs in qualitative and quantitative studies, as the background for analysis of empirical data is of different natures. The terms as defined in quantitative terms may not apply to the qualitative research paradigm (Golafshani 2003, Bryman 2008). The question of *replicability* becomes less relevant in qualitative research than in quantitative, since depth, credibility and transferability provide the lenses of assessing the findings of qualitative research (Winter 2000, Hoepf 1997). Qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings (Patton 2001). As opposed to quantitative researchers who seek causal determination, prediction, and generalization of findings, qualitative researchers seek instead illumination,

understanding, and extrapolation to similar situations (Hoepfl, 1997, Bryman 2008). Reliability and validity are treated separately in quantitative studies. However, these terms are not viewed separately in qualitative research. According to Stenbacka, (2001) the concept of reliability could even prove misleading in qualitative research, because if a qualitative study is discussed with reliability as a criterion, the consequence is rather that the study is no good. Since there can be no validity without reliability, a demonstration of former is sufficient to establish the latter (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Patton (2001) states, however, that the researcher should bear both reliability and validity in mind while designing, analyzing findings and judging the quality of the study. Otherwise, *“how can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences that the research findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to?”*

This research is based on the assumption grounded in one of UNESCO’s main philosophic pillars, that the promotion, preservation and protection of cultural expressions, is a human right, essential to a holistic and integrated development. The direct connection between culture and hence the derivations ‘cultural expressions’ and further ‘cultural industries’ is already discussed, thus, legitimacy of assessing the conditions under which artists/producers within the cultural industries, is suggested.

Already having stated (with wide support in the reviewed literature) that the field of cultural industries and the relation to development is yet to be further explored, it is fair to argue that the analytical approach in relation to findings, research topic and objectives may be interpreted in an exploratory manner. Not necessarily advocating being an instrument for decision-making itself, exploratory research can provide significant insight into a given situation (Bankes 1993). It is argued that exploratory research seeks to find out how people get along in the setting under question, what meanings they give to their actions, and what issues concern them (Schutt 1996).

3.9 Epistemological Concerns

Epistemological issues concern the question of what is, or should be, regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline and also about how knowledge can be acquired (Bryman 2008, Martinsen 2000). Traditionally in philosophy the basic

epistemological questions have been concerned with the origin of knowledge, however, social science, the hovering question is “*why do we do what we do*”? (Soini et al 2011). Epistemology refers to *how we know* and the relationship between *the knower and the known* (Maxwell 1998). The above paragraphs in this chapter explain how data/knowledge for analysis was collected and achieved and conclusively, this paper will illuminate potential consistency and dissonance along the trail of this paper’s knowledge generation.

3.10 Limitations

One possible hindrance of qualitative approaches to analysis is that their findings may not be extended to wider populations with the same degree of certainty that quantitative analyses can. This is because the findings of the research are not tested to discover whether they are statistically significant or due to coincidence (Bryman 2008).

A possible constraint in this research is concerning the selection of informants. Given that the agencies/institutions are represented by individuals, their responses may possibly deviate, to some extent, from the agency’s/institution’s stated visions and purposes, as they necessarily will be somewhat colored by subjectivity. In other words: it is not given that personal beliefs of such a representative coincide 100% with the interests of the selected agency or institution.

It should be acknowledged that a qualitative research approach never will be able to operate with complete and utter objectivity, as the research always will be affected by the researcher’s preferences to a certain extent (Kirk and Miller 1986).

3.11 Chapter Summary

In the current chapter, the methodological approach to this research has been presented. It is argued that a *qualitative research design* was the most appropriate design for the purpose of this paper. Given the research topic, objectives and questions, it further was established that a *semi-structured interview* approach would be the most beneficial in order to collect the desired data to be analyzed. The issue of validity and knowledge-generation is discussed before the chapter concludes by recognizing potential limitations of the employed method.

4 FINDINGS

The findings form the empirical base for analysis and discussion in this paper. The information and data was collected from interviews, as described in the above chapter on methodological approach. Each interview was recorded and transcribed, then written into coherent texts. Empirical material will be drawn from these texts as they are written and presented in the following chapter. The rationale behind selecting both *institutions/agencies* and *artists/producers* as subjects for interviews reflects the objective: to assess how/whether cultural industries in Puebla contribute to development. To approach this, it has been the researcher's evaluation that it would be most beneficial to combine interviews from both institutions and artists/producers, so as to cover as many aspects as possible, within the boundaries of this paper and its context. This is undertaken in order to provide an adequate basis for material that will be discussed in the light of the theoretical / analytical framework, as presented in Z.Z.

For the sake of clarity, '*cultural institutions*' are (in this context) agencies that deliberately work with the integration of *cultural industries* in development policy in Puebla. Differences/breadth within these institutions are desirable, so as to approach the parent research question: "*do cultural industries in Puebla contribute to development*", in the most satisfactory manner possible.

Artists/producers are individuals who produce cultural merchandise, tangible or intangible. Some artists may be part of a larger ensemble, but as stated initially, the focus is mainly on *individuals*' perception of-, and their role within the cultural industries. When selecting artists/producers, it has been of the researcher's interest to identify appropriate artists performing within the scope of the 'cultural industries'. As for the artists/producers, it has been desired to locate individuals representing a variety in cultural products. This is because such a variety is striking, even though they are all labeled by the collective 'cultural industries' term that is subject for examination in this paper. It was intended to interview artists who express seriousness and dedication to their respective disciplines, and have been active in the cultural industries for some time. The various disciplines cover different components/categories within the cultural industries – these are: painting (traditional and contemporary), illustration, handcrafting (artisan work), sculpting, talavera and theater (performing and directing). In this paper, the terms 'producer' and 'artist' will

be used interchangeable. It is not this paper's mandate to discuss a possible distinction between the two terms.

In the sub chapter 4.2 are the findings from interviews with cultural institutions, while 4.3 are the findings from artists/producers within the cultural industries. As for the institutions, all are to some extent governmental, with one exception, the ECCAVAC University. However, the selected institutions are all relevant for this research, as they all are within the 'cultural industries'-term defined in 1.4, and self proclaimed agents of development through promotion and facilitation of cultural industries and activities in metropolitan Puebla. A short presentation of the institutions' position will be provided.

4.1 Agencies/Institutions: A Brief Presentation

The following is a brief presentation of the cultural institutions that were selected for interviews. Even though this paper's focus is not on political structures per se, such a presentation is nevertheless appropriate, as the different institutions/agencies are positioned at different levels within the political hierarchy, presented in 1.5, on Mexico's political structure. (Additional contact information about the agencies and the scheduled interviews is to be found in the *appendix*).

State Council of Culture and Arts (Consejo Estatal para la Cultura y las Artes / CECA)

CECA was founded/initiated after the state elections of February 2011 as an alternative to the discontinued Secretary of Culture. It is integrated in the Puebla government budget and cooperates with the national Council of Culture and Arts. CECA's focal areas are visual arts, cinematography, dance, literature, music and theater.

Workshop for Artistic Initiation (Talleres de Iniciación Artística / TIA)

TIA is a directorate that was, until February 2011, under the Secretary of Culture in Puebla. It is now a decentralized unit, waiting to be formally institutionalized. TIA's primary focus is towards arranging artistic workshops for youth. TIA arranges and organizes workshops in visual arts, photography, dance and music. In addition to

artistic disciplines, TIA also arrange workshops for chess and Náhuatl (indigenous language, especially widespread in Puebla).

Municipal Institute for Arts and Culture in Puebla (Instituto Municipal de las Artes y la Cultura de Puebla / IMACP)

IMACP is a governmental agency on municipal level, whose work is focused on the development, promotion and preservation of culture and art forms in Puebla, especially concerned with the city's cultural prosperity and heritage. This is manifested through various programs directed by IMACP, with arrangements such as for instance various arrangements and events, festivals and markets.

Institute of Craftsmanship and Popular Industries (Instituto de Artesanías e Industrias Populares / IAIP)

IAIP is a directorate under the Secretary of Finances and also affiliated with the Secretary of Rural Development. IAIP works with artisans (traditional handcrafters) with the aim of improving conditions for these in terms of production means and revenue.

Cultural Space of Film and Visual Arts (Espacio Cultural de Cine y Artes Visuales en Puebla / ECCAVAC)

ECCAVAC is a private university that represents cinematography and visual arts. The university offers degrees in art direction and works to promote films and expositions. The goal is to be an instrument for artists to reach a larger audience, and it is a particular focus on artists that have not been followed up by the state or municipality. ECCAVAC works with artists from many disciplines, such as painters, poets, photographers, dance- and theater groups and artisans, among others.

4.2 Findings: Agencies/Institutions

The following chapter lists the findings emerged from interviews with selected agencies/institutions. The present texts are written into coherent texts, based on the transcriptions and recordings from the interview sessions.

State Council of Culture and Arts (w/Omar Tejeda Lezama, Managing Director)

The Council was founded after the state elections of February 2011 as an alternative to the Secretary of Culture. The goal is to establish an autonomous council with a greater extent of direct involvement in cultural activities in the metropolitan zone - administer own resources and create and stimulate to a self-sustaining economy for the artists/producers. The council will work to provide necessary equipment to workshops (machines, furniture, equipment, etc.) and support artists' projects within different artistic expressions and disciplines. Many such tasks will be delegated to other official agencies with focus on specific groups. IAIP is a typical agency that have been provided such a role, with a great deal of autonomy, thus enabled to affect decision making within their sphere. For instance, the people working in this particular agency have achieved a great deal of knowledge applicable to the management of this particular sector within the boundaries of the cultural industries. It is also desirable to improve cultural activities in the centrum and make them more accessible for a wider audience. The council is integrated in the Puebla government budget and cooperates with the national Council of Culture and Arts in order to apply for more resources for the cultural community in Puebla.

In relation to cultural industries, the Council's focus is towards artistic disciplines, such as visual arts, theatre, dance, music, traditional handcrafting, literature, cultural journalism, filmmaking, installations, performing arts. Given the short time since it was put into practice, the Council is yet to elaborate and implement the desired cultural programs. Programs as such will be designed and directed towards both groups and individual artists, preferably with an entrepreneurial plan and a vision. The goal is to help artists to achieve a self-sustaining independent economy based on their production.

Lezama says that events and celebrations in the city center increase activity and provide jobs for both administration/staff and artists.

The state supports and provides some spaces for artists for work and display their products. These are places with a steady demand, such as photography libraries, cinematheques and museums, Lezama explains. Such spaces, in addition to providing spaces where artists can work, they also provide work for staff (administrations and maintenance).

As a way for artists to get acknowledged and supported, there are summons/conferences/meetings at state level for contemporary art, where the artists can present their works to a committee evaluate these. This gives them both an economic and artistic recognition. It is important for the artists that there already are established scenes and happenings that attract people.

The Council is planning to implement a contest where artists may present a proposal (that should be of high quality, have a cultural and social impact, and emerge as viable) and receive a monthly support (a 10 months engagement). The program was active under the Secretary of Culture and has proven to provide good results. The program is temporarily down due to the transition phase. Lezama admits that the situation regarding the transition phase at the moment is kind of complex, and that there have been some hold-ups in cultural programs.

As ‘the Secretary of Culture’, there has been some collaboration with the Barrio del Artista regarding markets, fairs, festivals and expositions/exhibitions. However, Barrio del Arista operates as an independent organization and there is no formal connection. Nevertheless, it is a place with great potential. Lezama says it is within the council’s plan to collaborate with IMACP, and that the two institutions have many common denominators. IMACP is already well established and has a good network – both IMACP and CECA are governmental institutions (respectively at municipal and state level), and collaboration would be beneficial for all parts, Lezama claims.

CECA is planning for a program in order to make citizen participation more present. 50 members of the civil society, active in cultural matters, will be appointed to feature in a ‘citizen cultural chamber’. These will be able to take decisions regarding certain cultural activities and aim to represent specter as broad as possible regarding Puebla’s cultural industries. He mentions that previously, under the Secretary of Culture, resources were managed by the Secretary of Finances and were not directed towards, for instance, workshops. One of the CECA’s functions will be to decrease the distance between administration and artists/producers. There are now more spaces available for cultural projects. Lezama expresses a wish to make the cultural industry a stronger unit.

Lezama emphasizes that cultural industries must be an *industry* in order to be able to generate own resources. Investing in the cultural industries also brings positive

side effects – not only economically but also culturally. It promotes development. However, because of the country's current situation with the massive drug-war, maintaining a consistent political communication at all levels is challenging.

Workshop for Artistic Initiation (w/Lourdes Álvarez, Managing Director)

The cultural industries are important since culture has a fundamental role in society. It is especially important among children and youth, as it is a healthy alternative to other not so healthy activities (crime).

TIA was, before the change of government, a part of the Secretary of Culture but is now to be a decentralized organism without the dependence to the Secretary. TIA does not formally have any coordination with other cultural institutions in Puebla but does at times cooperate with federal, state and municipal agencies. TIA is in charge of 70 workshop – twice the number as the year before. Álvarez says she hopes that there will be established even more workshops, as soon as things start running. The workshops offer classes in music, dance, theater, painting, photography and various handcrafting. Most of the people running the workshops do it as a full time job. These are contracted by TIA. In order to run a shop, at least 10 students must be inscribed. 'Maestros' are hired/contracted on a quarterly basis (every 4th month).

Despite being an autonomous council, TIA does not possess judicial power – which is in the hands of the Secretary. However, Álvarez says that due to the recent political change, this is a transition phase and that the council hopes soon to be formally institutionalized and thus be given greater autonomous power (e.g. by administer/redistribute tax incomes from the sector). The formation of the council is, according to Álvarez, a good thing; with increased autonomy, it should be easier to reinvest the economic resources generated from the cultural industries, in the very same sector.

The market for the cultural services and activities offered is good, and TIA wishes to 'boost' it even more. Earlier, it was often a question about lack of spaces. This situation is much better today, and the prospect is to initiate workshops in more remote locations/municipalities too.

In terms of support, Álvarez says that last year (2010), 200 scholarships were granted. Due to the transition and recent change of government, there has been a gap in the continuity of these programs, but that the arrangements hopefully will be back

on track within short time. Regarding promotion of the workshops, Álvarez says that this is something that is not very much prioritized, but that there is a wish to improve this.

Municipal Institute of Arts and Culture in Puebla (w/Rafael Guerrero, Assistant Director of Culture and Heritage)

IMACP is a now decentralized governmental agency with great autonomy, taking proper decisions and administering resources. The focus is to promote and preserve culture and art forms in the city and promote cultural development.

Puebla is a city with a strong cultural heritage that has developed a good infrastructure regarding museums and galleries, especially within the last decade. It is a greater focus now than before on training of artists and formation of artistic groups. There are several educational institutions offering academic degrees in music. The preceding (state) government desired greater awareness around the cultural industries and how these promote development in the city. We know that culture, alongside with social development is important and that Puebla is a city that attracts much tourism – national and international. In economic terms, the cultural industry in Puebla is as important as Volkswagen (big factory in Puebla).

It is a steady demand for musical events (referring to brass ensembles performing traditional marches and folklore). However, it seems like activities such as theatre and dance have some difficulties establishing a steady audience. In visual arts, there has been a development, compared to 10 years ago. There are some weaknesses regarding infrastructure, but the Puebla has a constant audience, and comparing with other Mexican cities, Guerrero says he believes that Puebla is one of the cities that has undergone the greatest development and change in regard to cultural industries.

As an incentive for directly creating employment, IMACP engages in hiring artists as teacher for workshops (initiated by IMACP). There are programs for the development of cultural industries where IMACP works with artists who may propose projects; the projects are evaluated and the ones with the greatest potential impact are chosen to receive an economic aid and training in order to develop and manage independently. Many do not have the skill and knowledge about how to promote themselves and their products. Many ought to be able to live solely from what they produce (cultural products) but many do also have alternate sources of income.

However, Guerrero says, that the primary focus of IMACP is to get the citizens of Puebla engaged in cultural activities, and make Puebla an attractive scene for cultural activities to thrive.

Many of the contracted artists for various events are recognized both nationally and internationally. One of IMACP's tasks is to serve as a promoter for Puebla, using the many present cultural expressions to show its beauty, Guerrero says. It is important to raise people's awareness of their cultural wealth and prosperity, and it is already known that cultural industries are great contributors to economic development (referring to the 'Gran Visión Cultural'-report).

Institute of Craftsmanship and Popular Industries (w/María Luísa Curras Santos, Head of Promotion and Commercialization)

Santos explains that when there are governmental changes, this does not necessarily affect the work of the institution (IAIP). Initiated projects, which have proven to provide good results are carried on, and even though the governmental administration is undergoing changes, the staff of the directives and institutions sustain. The changes for IAIP in this regard, are not radical, and Santos says she has not experienced any hold ups in programs or activities due to such changes.

Traditional artisan work is important for various reasons. It provides employment to many people. IAIP has over 16.000 inscribed artisans with whom they work. Often, whole families are included. This kind of cultural production is particularly important because it symbolized *identity*.

IAIP's main focus on supporting artisans is basically through providing necessary material and tools, and give training and insight in how to commercialize and make oneself available on a market. Also, IAIP helps artisans with practical matters, such as paperwork and permits, organizing markets. IAIP also buys merchandise directly from artisans, which they distribute through shops (administered by IAIP). The support of artisans from the IAIP is of a very practical character, with the focus of helping the involved to become 'self-sustainable'.

As for communication with the Secretaries, Santos says that IAIP works with various; the Secretary of Economic Development, The Secretary of Rural Development and the Secretary of Culture. In addition to working with artisans in the mere city center, IAIP does also work with artisans from outside the city (the

countryside / rural Puebla). Working with these people, the collaboration with the Secretary of Rural Development is more important than the Secretary of Culture, while the Secretary of Culture has been more important when working in the city.

IAIP assesses where it is beneficial to arrange or participate in markets for artisan products. Not receiving any form for direct governmental support in order to arrange markets, IAIP does at times apply for resources from others – if the projects are beneficial to the keeper of the resources.

Santos says that the sector needs a lot of support. Many of the involved live in poverty. It is a need for public policies within the cultural policies that are directed towards the artisan sector in order to provide better opportunities at a commercial level. For some, it is a problem registering at IAIP, as they do not speak Spanish – or are analphabets.

Santos says that things really have improved, compared to 5 years ago. The IAIP was initiated in 2006. Before, there was no institute, but a ‘culture house’ (Casa de Cultura) in charge of the facilitation for artisans. It was very different from today’s IAIP. There were less staff and administration, almost no programs and few resources. The structure today is better, with specific focal areas and more resources and programs.

As a potential threat for the artisans, Santos mentions the ever-increasing industrialization and globalization, with more and more products on the cultural market being ‘made in China’ and sold for a significantly lower price than an original product. It may prove important to raise the consciousness around the production process for people to increase the understanding of how much effort is put into a finished product.

Institute of Craftsmanship and Popular Industries (w/Emilie Marión Danièle Sabot, Head of Artisanal Research)

IAIP performs fieldwork within the artisan (traditional handcraft) sector of the cultural industries in Puebla. IAIP investigates what has to be done in order to develop existing programs, looking at artists’ productive process and the conditions under which they live. There are many programs that focus on ‘self-help’, training in order to make them capable to operate independently and make a livelihood through their products. IAIP sends professional crews to the locations where artisans work to

help them with the production process – become more efficient, and help them to increase revenues – become more commercial. IAIP finds strategic places for selling products, arranges markets and fairs and also administer shops around the city, distributing the artisans' products. There are also programs for providing necessary material such as ovens and tools. Assisting in practical matters such as permissions and other paperwork is an important part of IAIP's work as some are analphabets and others do not even speak Spanish very well.

IAIP coordinates and organizes activities, communicates with other communities and often brings artisans to cultural events.

Artisan work / handcrafting, which is a great part of cultural industries is important because it concerns a lot of people in Puebla. The knowledge and tradition is often passed on from generation to generation. It also includes many people from outside the center and represents Puebla's identity.

Sabot says that there are shops under development, and it appears that they attract customers, both local and tourists.

IAIP has over 16.000 inscribed artisans in their register. For some, this (artisan work/handcrafting) is their primary source of income, while for others it is a supplementary income. Many live outside the urban zone and work in the agriculture. A workshop often includes whole families, Sabot says, and adds that for each workshop, one can usually multiply the number of involved people with four. Often, families are sharing a workshop.

This is a part of the cultural industries that requires a lot of support. Many of the people working within the sector are poor and marginalized. Sabot says that it is necessary to improve public policies and focus more directly on artisans in order to improve their living standards. Few have a fiscal figure, no formal economy. The communication between administration and artisans is better today than it was when IAIP was founded 5 years ago, with more staff and with an increase of resources and programs. It is also planes, Sabot says, to develop the space for artisans in the IAIP building, in order to house more artisans and improve the technological conditions.

Cultural Space of Film and Visual Arts (w/Moisés Ramos Rodriguez, General Manager)

ECCA VAC is a private university that represents cinematography and visual arts. ECCA VAC offers *licenciaturas* (4 years higher education) with the aim of educating art directors. ECCA VAC works with various artists in Puebla and along with being an educational institution, the university also has a vision of being a vehicle of promotion for artists in the cultural industries, by ECCA VAC defined as artistic disciplines such as painters, poets, filmmakers, photographers, actors and artisans. The vision is to be an instrument for artists to reach a larger audience in Puebla. There is a particular focus on artists that can offer an alternative culture and that have not been followed up and supported by the state or municipal government. ECCA VAC has 3 exposition halls at its disposal and does not charge artists for displaying their works. Rodriguez says that most of the promotion of events and expositions takes place through social medias; Facebook, Twitter, ECCA VAC's and other web sites. This approach has shown to reduce costs significantly. Being aware that not everybody is at the same 'interactive' level, ECCA VAC does also employ medias such as radio, newspaper and television as a tool for promotion.

About the current situation with the Secretary of Culture being divided into smaller units (councils), Rodriguez says that he believes it is a step in the wrong direction. The transformation has been ongoing for about 2 months with the consequence that many cultural activities have had an involuntarily holdup. Mexico is a republic formed by many states. The maximum power in each state is in the hands of the secretaries. These ought to show a greater concern about the citizens and clearly state their purposes and visions. A council will never have the same power as a secretary; they will always depend on the executive power of the state. It is strange, Rodriguez remarks, that Puebla was the first state in Mexico to establish a secretary of culture – and the first one in the nation to abolish it. There has been a problem in the way things have been managed. What apparently is about to happen now is that the old secretary of culture is about to become a part of the secretary of public education. It will still possess legislative and executive power, but in place of being a secretary focused on cultural matters, the secretary will now be in charge of culture, education – and sports, which is an odd combination. There is a bureaucratic thought of increased efficiency and immediate results. This view is not beneficial for cultural

activities. The formation of councils will not result in less bureaucracy: it will become a council who has to apply and negotiate with another council, which in their turn has a head of power in the secretary.

About the demand for cultural products, Rodriguez says that he believes that the cultural industries (despite the ongoing economic crises and unstable political situation with the war on drugs) will prevail. These are products that people will always both produce and consume. Puebla is a city with a strong cultural identity and roots. Historically, it has been as important as Mexico City, both in terms of economy and culture. It is a university city with a rather young population – a big audience with both consumers and producers of different art forms. However, Rodriguez says, the situation for artists is tough. There is not sufficient funding/economic support to education or art. Wages are low and it is expensive to buy necessary equipment. It is hard to make a product and actually results in an economic surplus. It is also necessary with an affluent public. The artists may need another approach and primarily realize that the average man does not have 10.000 pesos (several months pay for many) for a piece of art.

Rodriguez claims that Mexico has one of the world's best constitutions – on paper, that is. Laws and policies are very favorable to culture and cultural industries. The problem is that they are not being followed up. Mexico would be *the* best country if politicians and authorities prioritized culture and cultural practices. It is an obstacle that very few actually are aware of the political and governmental structures. Nevertheless, it is important that artists maintain their production while they explore the market for its opportunities. One cannot sit down and expect the state to take you under its wing. Albeit, the state should open the public domain more towards cultural industries, but individuals and groups should not be *dependent* on the state. The people themselves have a responsibility to fill a potential cultural void/gap.

4.3 Findings: Artists/Producers

The following chapter lists the findings emerged from interviews with selected artists/producers. The present texts are written into coherent texts, based on the transcriptions and recordings from the interview sessions. Additional information about the interviewees and the scheduled interviews can be found in the *appendix*.

Alberto Gómez Sánchez (Painter)

Barrio del Artista is a district/part of town with a high concentration of galleries, workshops and cafés. Barrio del Artista was founded in 1940 after a group of painters mobilized and claimed their demand to the municipality for a ‘bohemian space’ for artistic expressions to thrive. This part of the city is a cornerstone regarding tourism in metropolitan Puebla. President of the Barrio, Alberto Gómez Sánchez explains that workshop and gallery owners in Barrio del Artista only pay a symbolic fee – in return they are responsible for the maintenance of the place and offer lectures and workshops to the public. It is the president’s obligation to maintain the relations between the affected people here in Barrio del Artista and the (municipal) government. The Barrio administers two exposition halls and has a treasure’s office. Barrio del Artista defines themselves/itself as a ‘civil association’.

Sánchez has been an active painter in the community for over 25 years. As president for the community, Sánchez says he is in charge for the communication and directing the functions of the place. There are about 40 active artists with their respective galleries and workshops in Barrio del Artista. Sánchez says that during his time as president, there has been some contact with the Secretary of Culture, basically regarding publicity around expositions. Sánchez explains that Barrio del Artista is an autonomous organization but that they at times have asked for support in order to facilitate certain events. However, such support has not been great. Sánchez says that as a way of promoting artist from Barrio del Artista, some have gotten to expose their works in the halls of the Secretary.

Barrio del Artista, with its ‘plazuela’, is a well-suited place for arranging events. At times, festivals and events are arranged by the municipal government, which means more activity and thus more opportunities for the artists. More people frequenting the Barrio means increased sales. According to Sánchez, the customers are both Mexicans (locals and tourists) and international tourists. Sánchez says his work is of a more traditional character, while many of his colleges are more into contemporary art – which seems to attract more foreigners. It is an even flow of visitant throughout the year. However, in times of national vacations, more people come to visit (for instance around Christmas, Easter and New Year’s).

Sánchez has dedicated his life to painting and this is his livelihood. In order to be successful he believes it has a lot to do with your own relations and contacts – the

places where you display your work and, obviously, that it is of high quality. It is important to make a name for one self.

Sánchez expresses that the community will work towards a better communication with the government/municipality in terms of promotion; more people ought to get to know Barrio del Artista and it could attract even more tourists and visitors; among all the events arranged in Puebla, and all publications concerning tourism, it should include Barrio del Artista more. It is not very much mentioned, Sánchez claims. However, he also says it is much up to themselves and that they must get better to express needs in order to receive support.

During his 25 years as a painter in Barrio del Artista, Sánchez says that he personally has not noticed significant changes whenever a political shift takes place (every 6 years). He is under the impression that the intention always is to keep supporting Barrio del Artista.

Luzanne Gonzáles (Painter)

Gonzáles (64) has for her disposal a little gallery/workshop in Barrio del Artista. She says that the reason for why she became a painter had to do with her personality and that it is what satisfies her and fills her with joy. She sells paintings, but says it is not primarily for the money. In addition to selling her own produced paintings, Gonzáles buy paintings from others, which she sells from her gallery.

Regarding support, she says the community benefit from the fact that they do not pay income taxes from the revenue they make as artists in Barrio del Artista and that the rent they pay for the galleries are manageable, rather symbolic. However, she says that in terms of direct promotion of the community and its artists, it could have been done a lot more.

González sells, in addition to Mexican customers, to people from all over the world. She mentions United States, Germany, Czech Republic, Brazil and Argentina as the respective countries of some of her latest customers. Barrio del Artista houses many cultural events, especially within dance and music; this means more activity in the neighborhood. She says that many of the artists in the community are full time dedicated artists, but that she herself also has another job.

Gonzáles says she feels the community is doing an important social labor. Many offer workshops and various classes and this involves many young people.

Luis Ojeda (Sculptor)

Luis Ojeda is a sculptor whose workshop is located in Barrio del Artista. He has been active in the shop for 26 years and took it over after his father, who also was a sculptor. Ojeda says that the demand for such products he produces was considerably better before and that the whole Barrio del Aritsta has experienced a decline.

About the activity in Barrio del Artista, Ojeda says there are expositions about every second week, in the hall that the community has at their disposal. Sometimes artists from other states are invited to display their works. These are activities organized internally by the community, and put into action by the president. Various cultural events and arrangements are scheduled by the local government – the Secretary of Culture and of Tourism, who use the plazuela as an arena. Asking if increased activity due to such events affects sales, Ojeda says that the effect is small, that the people attracted basically come to attend the arrangement. Ojeda is not aware of any direct form for collaboration between the community and the secretaries.

Ojeda says that the customers normally are locals, people from Puebla. Although, many foreigners, especially Europeans, compliment the handcrafted sculptures and say machinery basically has taken over such production in their countries. Nevertheless, the sculptures are voluminous and heavy; hence it is obviously hard to sell to tourists.

As for support from local governments, Ojeda says that there is actually very little of this. The only direct form of support he reckons to have received was that the local government used to pay for the electricity consumption of the Barrio. This support, however, was removed some 15 years ago, Ojeda says. He also emphasized the need for better promotion of both Bariro del Artista and the artists who work there: the products only stay within the Barrio, and it would be necessary with promotional assistance to reach a broader public – in other states and countries. Ojeda says that there is really no support from local governments today, and for him it is hard to make the ends meet.

Tirso Castañeda (Painter & illustrator)

Castañeda (42) is a painter and illustrator. He explains that he got involved in the arts, not for the money, but because of a personal attraction towards it, knowing early that

art was his direction. Castañeda is born in Puebla. After having discovered the world of painting, he wanted to pursue an education in arts, but only two schools in Puebla offered degrees; UDLA, private and reputed to be the most expensive in Puebla and a public university. Castañeda says in order for art to be an industry, it is necessary with galleries.

Castañeda started to work in the neighboring state, Oaxaca, and claims the atmosphere, mentality and attitude among artists differs a lot there, compared to Puebla. It is in general a greater production. In Puebla one may find a lot of baroque and church art. Many people specialize in this, as they assume that this is what sells. There is a lot of plagiarism and replicas. Castañeda believes the *poblano* may have an identity issue; many people seem almost embarrassed of their pre-Hispanic roots and wish to identify themselves as descendants of the Spaniards. The power has traditionally been in the hands of descendants of Europeans and in the later years (from the 1930's), Lebanese. The previous governor was even made fun of for being of indigenous descent. Castañeda says it is very different in Oaxaca, where people proudly speak their respective native dialects and where pre-Hispanic expressions come through in the products.

According to Castañeda, it is evident that the previous government, which was run by The Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional, PRI), is more focused on supporting the cultural industries, while The National Action Party (Partido Acción Nacional, PAN) has never had a particular focus on arts and the cultural industries. Puebla has, so to speak, always been a PAN-city and the development of the cultural industries is slow. The public is not pushing and demanding enough. Castañeda also says that the people making claims for better cultural policies are often the very same people criticizing the system and that giving these people more power and impact could be regarded as a threat for PAN. PRI, unlike PAN, has always had programs and representatives for everybody's interests.

Castañeda says that during his time as an artist, he has received some scholarships. These were managed on a federal level and are, according to Castañeda, very competitive and not very much encouraging. Often, there were people with no artistic competence deciding which artists were worth support. This can be quite devastating for young artists who time after time face rejection. Anyway, in the international competitions, the winners were usually artist from the Distrito Federal

(Mexico City). In order for such competition to be fruitful, it was necessary with an extensive decentralization and increased autonomy for every state. This is actually getting better and instead of advertising competitions on federal level, with no clear profile, many states today manage different scholarships for different disciplines; painting, illustrating, theatre, music, dance, journalism, media, sculpting, and so on. After this, there has been an increase in the number of people entering the competitions. Castañeda says that he is aware of artists that live on scholarships and financial support, and not necessarily of what they produce.

Castañeda brings up the difference between Puebla and Oaxaca and says when he lived and worked in the latter, he was an attractive resource for the secretary of culture there. Working as an art promoter, he received various scholarships in order to carry out his work. Unfortunately, many artists disappear due to the formalities and academia/bureaucracy in the cultural industries.

Castañeda claims that there are indeed good artists in Puebla, but many do not know how to ‘run a business’. He says that when he decided that he wanted to live from his painting, he realized that he had to get to know how to move/sell his products. As far as Castañeda knows, no such training programs for artists exist - on how to promote and sell their works. The municipality may offer you a space for exposition, but that is about it. It is important to get in to acknowledged and recognized galleries. That gives legitimacy and a market price. However, Castañeda says for him, in Puebla it probably would be difficult to live only from his production; it seems that people in Puebla is under the impression that gallery art is only something that is on display and not for sale. Asking about his take on “Barrio del Artista”, Castañeda responds that it is indeed a pretty place but that its principal function is being a pretty face along the Puebla tourist route.

Peter Muessig (Painter & illustrator)

Muessig (42) is a painter and illustrator from Germany who has lived and worked in Puebla 2002. Muessig says it is hard to unite the cultural industries in order to improve conditions for artists. The reason, Muessig says, is that the arts market is almost non-existing; if the intention was to make much money, Muessig says he might as well could have been making t-shirts, for instance, something available for as many as possible. The climate for vending and trading art is friendlier in other

states, Muessig claims. He compares with Oaxaca and Veracruz, states in which he has worked, and says that as an artist, you are met with more curiosity and interest. He has been planning to move but for the time being, he has certain obligations in Puebla.

People's economy is affected by the recession and unfortunately, it seems like it is an ongoing tendency. Muessig says he has had some relations with private initiatives regarding economic support for his workshops.

Muessig mentions that he has experienced differences in attitude towards the cultural industries, depending on the ruling party. As an example, he mentions an episode in 2006, when government changed from PRI to PAN: until 2006, museum entrance fees were about 5 pesos for students and teacher and 15 pesos for others. Shortly, after the entry of PAN, prices were multiplied by 3 to 4. It is evident, Muessig claims, that PRI is more focused on cultural issues than PAN.

As for offers to artists by the official/municipality/state, Muessig says that there are certain initiatives when it comes to providing spaces for expositions. This goes for most art forms, such as visual, scenic, music, etc. However, they may to some extent offer a place, but that is about it.

About his perception of Barrio del Artista, Muessig says that it is basically a concept for tourists. The art produced there is art that is supposed to represent Puebla. Barrio del Artista has the same function as, say, Montmartre in Paris or the piazza in Verona. Of the people working in Barrio del Artista, many are senior citizens and what they do in their community is pretty far away from anything else. It is indeed a place with much potential.

Muessig claims the replacement of the Secretary of Culture in favor of a Council of Culture and Arts will not affect artists like himself, as these instances focus basically on promotion of the state, and as for supporting galleries, this is mostly limited to institutions like the Amparo museum (Amparo is one of Mexico's most important historical museums, with collections of pre-Hispanic, colonial and modern art).

Diana Zamora Muñoz (Theater performer/director)

Muñoz (26) is from Puebla, has been doing theatre and dance for over 15 years and has a degree in 'Dramatic arts' (Arte dramático) from UNAM (Universidad Nacional

Autónoma de México, Mexico City). She started the theater group 'Aterarte' together with 2 companions. The development of the group has been great, counting 15 members today, and with a proper space to rehearse. In addition to running her theater group, she also works as an instructor, both in acting and dancing. Muñoz says she works with youth, ranging from pre-scholar to university. She gives classes at 7 different locations and estimates the number of students to be around 60. The demand for her services is, according to Muñoz, good. The engagement among students is great, and many wish to enter the acting classes / courses.

Puebla is a city that functions pretty well, in terms of cultural activities. The city has diversity in artistic expressions. However, Muñoz claims it is a 'mental deficit' among authorities regarding the view on cultural industries. As an artist, you end up giving a lot more than what you get in return. Muñoz says she is not speaking of the economic aspect, and claims art and money do not get particularly well along. Nevertheless, it seems like the circulation of economic means in cultural industries is improving. The municipality is covering services to a greater extend than before, although they normally just cover the 'neck', whilst it is up the artists to provide the 'body'. Muñoz says that all in all, she is not complaining; because of the lack of support, artists have had to push themselves harder, which in its turn can be stimulating.

Muñoz is aware that the Secretary of Culture is going through a transformation phase, being incorporated in the Secretary of Public Education. She doubts whether this is a change for the better, as there are few people in charge of such a vast area.

Neither her nor the group has received any direct economic or material support. However, the municipal government has helped out providing, that is; authorizing spaces for rent, both for 'Alterarte' and another theater group of which Muñoz is a member. The latter group, she says, is well established with over 30 years of activity in Puebla and a tremendous network. With this group, she has traveled to places such as France, Cuba and USA. Communication between theater groups is made through the Internet, and there is a culture for exchange among the groups. Invitations go both ways. The exchanges are undertaken by the initiatives of the groups, with no involvement from the municipal government.

Muñoz claims it is a typical pattern that support to artistic projects are limited to facilitation of spaces. There *are* scholarships and support programs, but these are limited to projects that have to do with *Puebla*. It's a good arrangement, which supports projects with a monthly 4000 pesos for one year.

At times, there are things happening that make you think, “this is a good initiative” - but there is a lack of continuity, and economic support is marginal. Her impression is that the local government does try and have an intention of supporting the cultural industries. An obstacle is, however, that the people in charge are often far away from the reality of the artists. Few do actually have a tradition of being participants in the cultural industries, and they do simply not know how to pragmatically approach a beneficial cultural policy. At least, when PRI was in charge, there was a clear pronounced interest in the cultural industries. Even though things were not perfect under PRI, Muñoz claims that the more rightwing-oriented PAN never has had a focus on culture.

Muñoz is convinced that the necessary resources indeed do exist and refers to an article in the newspaper saying that there are planned means for the development of the infrastructure of the theaters. One must only hope that these means will be directed to *real* theater, and *not* to the numberless soap operas and their “actors”. It is a substantial problem; many prefer low culture soap series instead of real life theater. If you say to people in Puebla that you are an actor, they are most likely to ask you: “Oh, in which soap opera have you acted”?

Pedro Ochoa Alvarado, artisan, IAIP

Alvarado has been working as a wood carver with the IAIP for 9 years. He is one of about 30 artisans having their workshop inside the IAIP. The artisanal activities represented here are pottery, oil painting, textile printing, jewelry and embroidery, to name a few.

Alvarado says that one thing really missing for the artisans to have a proper place to display their works. The current places serves, but has little capacity and is not very visible for people.

Alvarado says that sales have plummeted the recent years, without having an explanation why. The number of artisans with their workshop and vending place in

the IAIP building has almost halved during the recent year. There is, according to Alvarado, an urgent need for more promotion contests, exhibitions and fairs. The head of the IAIP has assured Alvarado and the artisans that there are new projects being planned and that these will be better than the previous ones – but there is no information about when these projects will be initiated and implemented.

Alvarado says that there has been a conflict between the local government and the IAIP, with the government demanding more activity and more sales directly from the IAIP.

Raúl Reyes, clay molder

Reyes works at a talavera workshop in the Historic Center. *Talavera* is a type of pottery and authentic talavera only comes from the state of Puebla, Reyes explains. It is a tradition that goes back to the 16th century, and the same production methods are employed today as they were then. Talavera is one of the most recognizable expressions of *poblano* traditional art. A large number of the buildings in the Historic Center are covered in talavera tiles.

Reyes learned the art of talavera from his father, who also was a clay molder. The workshop is part of a chain of 5, which also serve as retail locations. Reyes says these are the principal authorized talavera workshops, and that there are about 20 in total in the city. The owner of the chain is supported with means to maintain the workshops, and upgrades and reparations are undertaken if requested. Many tourist shops sell cheap, imitated talavera, but real talavera must fill official criteria to be classified as authentic, and the state of Puebla has even passed a law in order to protect the industry, Reyes says.

The workshop houses 5 painters, 1 molder and 2 sculptors. Reyes says the workshop has many visitors. The Secretary of Tourism arranges tours for tourist groups, from which the workshop charges a fee, and many wish to buy a piece of authentic talavera. The workshop ships worldwide, and Reyes can tell that the customers are almost exclusively foreigners, mostly North Americans or Europeans. Reyes himself and the other workers work full time and Reyes says he is content with his profession and that the demand is steady and income is good.

4.4 Chapter Summary

Chapter 4 contains the findings derived from the fieldwork. As previously mentioned, the emphasis has been on both artists/producers and representatives from agencies/institutions in the cultural industries in Puebla. The findings, as they are written and presented, form the basis for the analysis that will evaluate the current findings through the lens of the theoretical framework, presented in chapter 2.

5 ANALYTICAL DISCUSSION

This chapter seeks to raise attention to the research questions stated under the objectives (described in 1.2) by surveying the findings in the above chapter through the lens of the presented literature. The aim is to illuminate and discuss issues and suggest possible patterns revealed in, and derived from the findings. Due to the nature of the data, it has been evaluated that this analysis will be written as one coherent piece of text, rather than thematically sketching up various issues. Nevertheless, the analysis will concentrate on the research objectives, as presented in this paper. However, it is recognized that some overlapping between different aspects may occur. The analytical structure is somewhat dual, meaning that the research questions stated in *objective 1* coincide with the UNESCO ‘cultural cycle’ (described in 3.2). As encouraged by UNESCO, the linkages within the cycle will be explored and thus allude to *objective 2*, emphasizing on possible tensions and obstacles in the integration of cultural industries as a development vehicle.

The first research objective in this paper is to assess efforts from governing agencies and institutions in Puebla’s cultural industries, and how such efforts may promote development. In order to approach *objective 1*, core issues related to UNESCO’s cultural cycle have been selected as to investigate the objective: the extent to which agencies provide elements necessary for the realization of cultural productions; efforts that may be undertaken in order to facilitate production and promotion; the ways agencies/institutions engage people to participate in cultural industries; whether artists perceive efforts as useful and beneficial.

“The people engaged in the cultural industries have an important role in society, because the consumption of cultural products is essential to who we are and the values we represent”

-Lourdes Álvarez (Managing Director, Workshop for Artistic Initiation)

There is a unison agreement among the representatives from the various agencies/institutions on the importance of the cultural industries in Puebla, that it is an industry that includes many people and promotes development. Although differing in focus, there is a common perception among the representatives from the agencies/institutions on what is regarded as ‘cultural industries’. The specter/array of

the cultural industries embraced by these institutions has a clear aspect of artistic expression tagged to them. In an attempt to narrow it down, the principal disciplines can be summarized as: visual arts, theater and performance, music, film and photography, traditional handcrafting. This view on cultural industries as activities like the ones mentioned above do also, to a great extent, coincide with cultural industries activities and disciplines illuminated and defined in chapter 3.

During the fieldwork, it was early identified that due to the state-governmental change during the period of research, many of the established mechanisms and activities from the agencies/institutions have experienced a hold-up in continuity of certain activities: Lezama (CECA), Álvarez (TIA), and Rodríguez (ECCAVAC) explicitly express this. CECA and TIA have both previously been directed under the former Secretary of Culture. Rodríguez refers to a rather severe setback in activities in the center arranged by the Secretary of Culture. However, as opposed to this, both Santos and Sabot (IAIP) express that neither has experienced any significant hold-ups in continuity due to any political changes during IAIP's five operative years. Curiously, IAIP has never been part of the Secretary of Culture, even though strongly affiliated with the 'cultural industries'-definition emphasized in this paper: IAIP was initiated by the Secretary of Finances and has worked closer with the Secretary for Rural Development, rather than with the Secretary of Culture. This suggests that there may be more pragmatic approach to the cultural production managed by IAIP in terms of a direct economic focus, and is coherent with Evans' (2009) general strategy rationale, stating the prime objective to cultural policy as to ensure employment and thus stimulate economic individual stability. Nevertheless, regarding importance of the cultural industries, both Sabot and Santos claim that two of the main virtues of supporting the sector are rooted in existential values regarding representation of *identity* and *heritage*, i.e. core-values identified by UNESCO, assumingly essential for human development. It may also be argued as Pratt (2005) stresses, that IAIP's approach to governance embraces a conception that recognizes - and actively involves in the market: beyond assistance in practical and formal matters, IAIP serves as a direct distributor of the goods produced by artisans with whom they are affiliated, thus having a direct impact on artists'/producers' economic situation. If this is to be evaluated as a positive effect, one can draw parallels to the UNESCO (1995) proposition that governance in cultural industries may benefit from smaller units with

an appropriate focal point corresponding with the artistic discipline and cultural expression.

In terms of providing employment, it is a positive notion that the number of TIA workshops has doubled in one year (with prospects of establishing even more, according to Álvarez). This indicates that there is a certain/sufficient demand among the public for these kinds of cultural services (music, dance, theater, painting, photography and various handcrafting), underpinned by what Santos (IAIP) says about how projects that show good results are continued, regardless of the political party in charge. Lezama (CECA) says it is important to establish scenes for various disciplines and promote these so people know the offer exists. As an observation in relation to this, the three artists in 'Barrio del Artists' (Ojeda, González and Sánchez) claim that there is little active promotion about the work of the artists in 'Barrio del Artists', the location itself or the cultural services they provide in terms of free various classes and workshops. It is stressed in the 'culture cycle' (UNESCO 2009), that an emphasis on encouraging to participation in cultural industries may bring about positive side effects at multiple levels. In a sense, TIA accounts for many of the stages of the culture cycle: offering an established arena for the creation of cultural products, enabling production, promoting and making cultural services accessible to the public, including amateurs and non-professionals. TIA's services, as TIA's name implies (workshop for artistic initiation), does apparently have the focus on *engaging* youth to *initiate* in cultural activities; this is an approach and a focus quite different from the one of, for instance, IAIP. Both institutions undoubtedly aim at contributing to development of the cultural sector. However, IAIP's focus is towards facilitating and training regarding production, with the goal of improving performers' (and potentially whole families') economic situation, i.e. capacity-building in order to be able to lead one's life through own production, and on own premises. This exemplifies that investing in cultural industries/activities may both have an economic as well as a social development aspect; TIA's work, in the light of social development, may be especially important as it offers cultural services that might not be accessible to the public otherwise, thus offering an instrument capable of providing both employment *and* a sense of *meaning*, stressed by UNESCO as an essential component of fully integrated development. A plausible positive side effect is the discovering of talents who in their turn may use their skills for making a livelihood.

Guerrero (IMACP) emphasizes that during the recent decade has been a greater focus on *training* of individual performers and groups, as a part of integrating cultural industries and development (training in order to make production more efficient and become oriented towards a market). Evans (2009) stresses that ‘training’ in this sense, is one prime measure in terms of elaborating beneficial cultural industry policies.

Both Rodriguez (ECCAVAC) and Lezama (CECA) express a concern about the current political climate in Mexico in general. Copious incentives are directed at the war on narcotics, which as for today affects every Mexican state, so to speak. Rodriguez also says that if participation from the civil society is to get higher, it is necessary with a better understanding of the political system. The rigid bureaucratic model scares many away from political participation. The IMACP proposition of forming a citizen council could therefore be embraced as an incentive to shorten the distance between the government and the public, as it is pronounced that the aim is to represent as many interests as possible. Evans (2009) mentions ‘accessibility’ as one of the crucial assets when working to integrate culture and development. In this respect, the IAIP agenda is of a noticeable character, although in this context at micro level. Both Sabot and Santos explain that the facilitation for artists/producers in order to overcome bureaucratic barriers ranks high on institution’s agenda.

“That is exactly what it has to be: an industry, in order to generate own resources which in turn promotes wealth and development”

-Omar Tejada Lezama (Managing Director, State Council of Culture and Arts)

Guerrero (IMACP) and Lezama (CECA) bring up that there has been an improvement regarding infrastructure in the cultural industries, especially during the last decade. Guerrero mentions that *music* in Puebla is one of the cultural activities that seem to have gained both a steady audience and increased interests in participation. However, theater and performance have not, according to Guerrero, managed to establish the same steady demand among the public. Even though expressing that there has been an improvement, Guerrero says there are still shortcomings regarding infrastructure in the cultural landscape. According to Evans (2009), a solid infrastructure allowing flow of activities is among the prime measures assessing the relation between culture and development. Guerrero mentions that the

previous government, PRI, had an explicit focus on supporting the cultural infrastructure, but that priorities are somehow different under PAN. It is a traceable attitude among the artists/producers that PRI government is genuinely more focused on cultural issues. Nevertheless, there is a traceable perception of misbelief regarding political climate, pronounced by both representatives for agencies/institutions (Rodriguez, ECCAVAC, Lezama, CECA) and the artists/producers (Castañeda, Muñoz, Muessig). The former are especially concerned about the tense situation regarding the ongoing ‘war on narcotics’, that the political focus on culture and development is not being prioritized. Rodriguez also mentions that after the transformation and disappearance of the Secretary of Culture, few people have become in charge of a vast area, covering *education, sports and culture*. Rodriguez questions the competence of the administration and claims that many people high in the system have little real-life experience and knowledge of fundamental dynamics in the cultural industries. This is a perception also expressed by Muñoz and Castañeda, who claim that there might be a *will*, but lack of competence. Such claims shed light on Sternal’s (2003) emphasis on commitment and skill as indispensable assets for managers of cultural institutions and that education and training, combined with genuine commitment is essential. However, it should be mentioned that Rodriguez, even though a representative from a cultural agency/institution, is not enrolled in the governmental structure (as ECCAVAC is a private university).

In an attempt to interpret Hylland-Eriksen’s (in Cowan, Dembour and Wilson, 2001) critical take on UNESCO’s culture definition, it may be suggested that the visions and goals are based on how UNESCO believe people *should act* and *ought to be*. Over-generalizing assumptions as such may obscure policy goals, and supports Hylland-Eriksen claim that more accuracy is more plausible in reaching goals, if, for instance, ‘local arts’ is addressed and referred to as ‘local arts’, rather than being put in the same category as another genre/artistic expression within the cultural industries. This leads to one issue identified as a possible tension in the whole discourse about the role of culture in relation to development. It is widely acknowledged that treating cultural products only as commodities with commercial value may reduce possible positive impacts created by the cultural industries sector (Pratt 2005). However, UNESCO (2011) defines three axes of the cultural industries: culture as a sector for

economic activity, culture as a set of resources adding value to development interventions and increases their impact, and culture as a sustainable framework for social cohesion and peace, essential to human development. Hence, according to UNESCO, culture plays both an instrumental and constructive role in development. It is suggested by this paper that such a triangulation in values may lead to contradictions in a thought policy setting. Guidelines may interfere with nature of the different products, as it is not granted that a product that happens to fall under a definition of ‘cultural products’, ever was thought to convey meaning, but to earn money – and vice versa.

In terms of supporting artists/producers, Lezama (CECA) says that one of the main incentives directed to individual artists is the provision of necessary equipment to workshops initiated by governmental cultural agencies. Lezama expresses that there are programs on the planning stage, both directed at individual artists and groups. CECA is, according to Lezama, mainly filling the tasks of the previous Secretary of Culture, and will be in charge of delegating proposed programs to the appropriate directorates. Lezama mentions IAIP as one of these, with whom CECA is directly affiliated. Lezama claims IAIP is given a great deal of responsibility and autonomy in decision and policy-making and that the administration is highly skilled in the execution of their tasks and have achieved a great deal of knowledge applicable to the management of this particular sector within the boundaries of the cultural industries. Indications suggest that IAIP is capable of delivering beneficial services for the individuals who depend on them. Hence, such an example can be aligned with UNESCO’s (1995) proposal, that units working for the facilitation may possess the potential of promoting social as well as economic incentives. However, Ojeda (artisan inscribed in IAIP) expresses a wish to increase both promotion of the artisans, and more accessible spaces to expose and vend products.

Muñoz (as well as Castañeda, Muessig, Ojeda) comment that it possible to get help from agencies/institutions in order to acquire a space for expositions and rehearsal. However, apart from that, little actual facilitation is provided, according to mentioned informants, hence there may be a shortage in noticeable linkages in the ‘culture cycle’ (UNESCO 2010) and unfulfilled criteria in accordance to Evans’ measures.

Among the cultural products conveyed by the respective artists/producers focused on in this paper, there is one particular product that stands out: talavera. The characteristic pottery style is present everywhere in Puebla. Clay molder Reyes says the shop he works in, has continuous contact with the Secretary of Tourism who arrange tours in the shop. This illuminates two of Evans (2009) measures, which can be incorporated in UNESCO's 'culture cycle': tourism and city branding, which in turn suggests a positive linkage between the two (city branding in the sense of talavera being requested by tourists and massively promoted by the Secretary of Tourism as a *poblano* heritage).

Lysgård (2012) postulates that cities must take responsibility for their own development in competition with other regions, which is also a point made important by UNESCO (1995, 2010, 2009). However, he further, he claims that potential of growth may not be as great as the public debate and research has suggested. It has been mentioned in this paper, that different theoretical takes have different backgrounds. This is the case of Lysgård's context, as the article focuses on one city in particular, in a western context. Nevertheless, as long as this is made clear, it is further argued that applying theory from different context may actually prove beneficial, as other aspects of a development process may be revealed.

Jessop (1998) stresses that due to some systems complex operation logic, it is impossible to exercise full control from outside that system, and that societies cannot be managed with one overall structure. If regarding the cycle of cultural activities, i.e. the cultural industries as a system as such, this could in turn imply tensions in governance of 'cultural industries', if interpreting *cultural industries* as 'societies'.

5.1 Chapter Summary

Chapter five has provided an analytical discussion of the findings, drawing on data collected in various interviews. The data has been theorized over through the lens of the provided literature, from both UNESCO and complementary authors. This has revealed many possible connections. However, due to the design and scope of the study, it is not within this paper's mandate to seek bombastic conclusions. The next chapter will, nevertheless, summarize and add a set of final remarks to this research.

6 FINAL REMARKS

This paper has been a study of different actors within the cultural industries in Puebla, Mexico. The aim has been to investigate aspects with potential development impacts. As the research implies to shed light on development through activities in the cultural industries, this leads to one of the cornerstones in this research: the principle of *culture* as an asset with intrinsic value, essential for human development. This view is a pillar in UNESCO's philosophy, within which this paper seeks legitimacy in order to approach and interpret 'development' somewhat alternately in relation to the study profile of this Master's course.

The following is a brief summary of the research: This paper started with an introduction to the research field of 'cultural industries and development'. Introductory, the importance of the linkage between the two terms was stressed before providing a wider contextualization of the 'culture'-term. Presenting the purpose of this study, it was stated that there is a need for a better understanding of mentioned linkages and suggests that 'culture' has many dimensions in which results can be measured through different means. The chapter then brings forth a preparation of the 'cultural industries'-term and ends by presenting the study context. Second chapter contains the literature that has been selected and evaluated as relevant for this research. The parent theoretical framework takes starting point in UNESCO's guidelines and principles of 'cultural rights' (UNESCO 1995), a principle from which encouragement to elaborate cultural policies springs out. Along with UNESCO-reports, other literature and theory on cultural industries and development has been used. The purpose is not to provide an *alternative* to UNESCO, but rather so as to contextualize and specify theoretical standpoints in the light of the extensive UNESCO culture philosophy. The chapter also presents critical takes on UNESCO's concept of culture, while last part illuminates aspects that may be perceived as tensions among the employed sets of terminologies. The third chapter explains in detail the methodological approach that was employed in order to collect and analyze the data collected from the fieldwork. It is argued that a *qualitative research design* was the most appropriate design for the purpose of this paper. Given the research topic, objectives and questions, it further was established that a *semi-structured interview* approach would be the most beneficial in order to collect the desired data to be analyzed. The issue of validity and knowledge-generation is discussed before the

chapter concludes by recognizing potential limitations of the employed method. The following chapter, 4, contains the findings derived from the fieldwork. As previously mentioned, the emphasis has been on both artists/producers and representatives from agencies/institutions in the cultural industries in Puebla. The findings, as they are written and presented, form the basis for the analysis that will evaluate the current findings through the lens of the theoretical framework, presented in chapter 2. The fifth chapter provides the analysis of findings, employing data collected in various interviews against the provided literature.

This paper has aimed at looking into relationships between artists and agencies within the cultural industries in Puebla. The research has experienced that the ‘cultural industries’ (and as mentioned, often aligned with the ‘creative industries’) embrace a next to infinite number of expressions and disciplines. Hence this paper dares to suggest it may prove difficult to categorize various expressions, i.e. whether they are ‘cultural’ or not, in terms of implementing them in cultural policies.

The cultural industries are acknowledged to be vehicles for development in a broad sense. The consumption of cultural expressions is an essential component to the lives we lead. Nevertheless, in order to approach and understand the full potential, the knowledge of a wide range of scientific disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, philosophy, economics, cultural studies (to name only but a few), needs to be combined in the pursuit of a deeper understanding of cultural industries and development. However, this is a challenging task, especially provided that ‘culture’ is dynamic and always undergoing changes.

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Appendix

AGENCIES // INSTITUTIONS

State Council for Culture and Arts

Consejo Estatal para la Cultura y las Artes, CECA

Date for the interview 04/02/11 (2/4-2011).

Location: Main office (3 Oriente, #209, Centro Histórico)

Scheduled: presenting at the office, introducing the errand, making an appointment.

Interview form: Semi-structured w/interview guide

Represented by: Managing Director Omar Tejeda Lezama.

Lezama has his bachelor's degree in *Communication* from the university IBERO in Puebla and a Master's degree in *Communication and Education* from Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.

Questions asked:

- What do you regard as 'cultural industries'?
- Is there a common vision for the cultural industries?
- What is the importance of supporting the cultural industries in Puebla?
- How do you contribute in order to creating employment?
- Do you cooperate with other institutions?
- How is the market for 'cultural products' in Puebla?
- Are there scholarships for artists?
- Who is likely to receive support?
- Who makes these decisions?
- How is contact with artistic community?
- How will Council be as an alternative to Secretary?
- What is the prospect of Puebla's cultural industries?

Workshop for Artistic Initiation

Talleres de Iniciación Artística

Date for interview: 04/07/11

Location: Main office (7 Oriente #2, Centro Histórico)

Interview form: Semi-structured w/interview guide

Scheduled: presenting at the office, introducing the errand, making an appointment.

Represented by: Managing Director, Lourdes Álvarez

Questions asked:

- What is the importance of Puebla's cultural industries?
- Consequence of 'secession' from Secretary of Culture?
- Do you cooperate with any other cultural institutions in Puebla?
- How many workshops are you in charge of?
- Do people live from their work in the shops?
- Do people running the shops receive financial support?
- Does TIA administer and distribute resources?
- How is the market for cultural products in Puebla?
- Do you promote the workshops / artists?

Municipal Institute for Art and Culture in Puebla

Instituto Municipal de Arte y Cultura de Puebla, IMACP)

Date of interview: 04/10/11 (10/4-2011)

Location: Main office (3 Norte #3, Centro Histórico)

Interview form: Semi-structured w/interview guide

Scheduled: presenting at the office, introducing the errand, making an appointment.

Represented by: Rafael Navarro Guerrero, Assistant Director of Cultural and Heritage Promotion

Questions asked:

- How is the cultural life in Puebla?
- What does IMACP do?
- How is the market for cultural products in Puebla?
- Are you coordinated with other cultural institutions?
- Are there incentives in order to help performers in the CIs become self-sustainable?
- Do performers have alternate sources of income?

Institute of Craftsmanship and Popular Industries, IAIP

Date: 04/10/11

Location: Administration building (Palafox y Mendoza 607, Centro Histórico)

Interview form: Semi-structured w/interview guide

Scheduled: presenting at the office, introducing the errand, making an appointment.

Represented by: María Luísa Curras Santos, Head of Promotion and Commercialization, IAIP

Questions asked:

- Is the institution's work affected by changes in government?
- What is the importance of the Cultural Industries?
- In what way do you support artisans?
- How many artisans do you work with?
- What is your relation to the Secretaries?
- What are the obstacles when promoting artisans?
- How is communication with the involved?
- How do you perceive the future for the artisans and IAIP?

(Institute of Craftsmanship and Popular Industries, IAIP)

Date: 04/10/11

Location: Administration building (Palafox y Mendoza 607, Centro Histórico)

Interview form: Semi-structured w/interview guide

Scheduled: presenting at the office, introducing the errand, making an appointment.

Represented by: Emilie Marión Danièle Sabot, Head of Artisanal Research

Questions asked:

- What do you do to improve economic conditions for the artists you work with?
- Why are cultural industries in Puebla important?
- How is the market – the demand for the products you represent?
- How many do you work with?
- What about promotion of artists?
- How is communication between artists and administration?
- How do you perceive the cultural industries in Puebla?

(Cultural Space for Film and Visual Arts, ECCAVAC)

Date: 04/13/11

Location: University building (8 Oriente #401, Centro Histórico)

Interview form: Semi-structured w/interview guide

Scheduled: presenting at the office, introducing the errand, making an appointment.

Represented by: General Manager Moisés Ramos Rodriguez

Questions asked:

- What is the function of ECCAVAC?
- How do you promote activities?
- Resources?
- Connection with other institutions?
- Perception of the dissolving of the Secretary of Culture?
- How is the demand for products from the cultural industry?
- How is the situation for today's artists?

ARTISTS

Alberto Gómez Sánchez

Work: Painter and President in Barrio del Artista

Date for the interview: 02/22/11

Location: Sánchez' gallery, Barrio del Artista

Scheduled: Wandering around in Barrio del Artista, approaching, chatting, asking for an interview.

Interview form: Semi-structured w/interview guide

Questions asked:

- What is Barrio del Artista?
- Function as president?
- Experiences regarding relation to government?
- Promotion and support of Barrio del Artista?
- Events in Barrio del Artista?
- Who consumes/buys the products?

- High season?
- Making a living?
- Could communication with government improve?
- Perception of cultural industries in Puebla?

Luzanne Gonzáles

Work: Painter in Barrio del Artista

Date for the interview: 02/22/11

Location: Gonzáles' gallery, Barrio del Artista

Scheduled: Presenting the errand, asking for an interview

Interview form: Semi-structured w/interview guide

Questions asked:

- How did you get involved in painting?
- You produce own paintings?
- Any kind of official support and promotion?
- Customer base?
- Principal income?
- Perception of the cultural industry in Puebla

Luís Ojada

Work: Sculptor and painter, Barrio del Artista

Date for the interview: 02/22/11

Location: Ojada's workshop

Scheduled: Asking for an interview

Interview form: Semi-structured w/interview guide

Questions asked:

- How is the demand for your products?
- Do you, personally, receive any support from the local government?
- Does increased activity due to events affect sales?
- To whom do you sell your products?
- Could anything be done in order to improve conditions for artists such as yourself?

Tirsso Castañeda

Work: Painter and illustrator, artistic coordinator BUAP (university).

Date for the interview: 02/18/11

Location: Café Las Brujas, Centro Histórico

Scheduled: Introduced by common friends

Interview form: Semi-structured w/interview guide

Questions asked:

- What is your work?
- What is done to promote cultural industries in Puebla?
- Politics and cultural industry?
- Have you received support?
- Relation to institutions?
- Market for cultural industries?

Peter Muessig

Work: Painter and illustrator

Date for the interview: 02/20/11

Location: Café Profética, Centro Histórico

Scheduled: Introduced by common friends

Interview form: Semi-structured w/interview guide

Questions asked:

- Your perception on the cultural industries in Puebla?
- Contact with cultural institutions during your time as an artist in Puebla?
- Have you experienced differences in cultural policies?
- How could conditions improve for artists?

Diana Zamora Muñoz

Work: Actress, dancer, instructor and director of the theater group “Alterarte”

Date for the interview: 03/01/11

Location: Café la Profética, Centro Histórico

Scheduled: Acquaintances from years back

Interview form: Semi-structured w/interview guide

Questions asked:

- What does your work consist of?
- What is your perception of the cultural industries in Puebla?
- Have you received any kind of support?
- How can artist do to improve conditions?
- How is the demand for your services?

Agencies/Institutions Web:

ECCAVAC <http://eccavac.wordpress.com/>

IAIP <http://www.iaip.pue.gob.mx/>

IMACP http://pueblacapital.gob.mx/wb/pue/instituto_municipal_de_arte_y_cultura
<http://imacp.wordpress.com/>

TIA <http://www.talleres.puebla.gob.mx/>

CECA http://sic.conaculta.gob.mx/ficha.php?table=institucion_cultural&table_id=26

All audio was recorded and notes were made during the sessions. The interviews were undertaken in Spanish and later transcribed and translated into English.