Néstor García Canclini and cultural policy in Latin America

Bruno Peron Loureiro

Department of Film, Media and Cultural Studies

Birkbeck College, University of London

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Arts Management, October 2014

Supervisor: Dr Lorraine Lim

Co-supervisor: Dr Tim Markham

Examiner: Dr Carla Figueira

Examiner: Dr Mark Dinneen

Néstor García Canclini and cultural policy in Latin America

Bruno Peron Loureiro

Department of Film, Media and Cultural Studies

Birkbeck College, University of London

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Arts Management, October 2014

Supervisor: Dr Lorraine Lim

Co-supervisor: Dr Tim Markham

Examiner: Dr Carla Figueira

Examiner: Dr Mark Dinneen

I, **Bruno Peron Loureiro**, declare that the work presented in the thesis *Néstor García Canclini and cultural policy in Latin America* is my own.

_____

ABSTRACT

Néstor García Canclini and cultural policy in Latin America

Bruno Peron Loureiro

Abstract

This thesis examines Néstor García Canclini´s relationships with various non-academic institutions in Latin America (focusing on Mexico) during the 1990s and the 2000s. It emphasises the shortage of communication between scholars and non-academic policy-making institutions through its study of García Canclini´s cultural policy activism. By investigating García Canclini's activities with various Latin American non-academic institutions (and particularly those from Mexico), this thesis argues that he not only conceptualises and proposes cultural policy; he also conducts cultural policy. Through his discussion of cultural issues with bureaucrats, legislators, policy-makers, politicians, private managers and newspaper editors, this thesis evaluates his most important engagements to present how cultural policy can move from being an institutionally-oriented instrument to an intellectually-oriented operation.

This thesis raises key theoretical debates such as the role of intellectuals in Latin America, cultural policy institutional development, cultural spaces, national development, urban studies, the cultural industries, globalisation and identities, and the multiplicity of cultural policy-makers. In addition, analyses of García Canclini´s academic and conceptual developments as well as a study of the extensive networks he formed beyond academia show how he utilised his extra-academic activities in Latin America to encourage cultural issues through his cultural policy activism. This thesis concludes that García Canclini broke university boundaries through his cultural policy operation without ever speaking from a position other than that of an academic.

Keywords

Néstor García Canclini; cultural policy; Latin America; institutions

To my grandfather José Loureiro Botas Neto (†), for his lessons for life.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Studying Latin America involves understanding cultural encounters, combinations and exchanges between different people that converge to form identities and nationalities. Darcy Ribeiro´s[1] thoughts on Brazil as a new civilisation and José Vasconcelos´s[2] on the creation of a universal race are examples of work that address the aforementioned issues. Indeed, debates about modernisation and paths of modernity have peculiarities in Latin America. While its policy-makers hesitate on whether they should prioritise indigenous traditions, African heritage or European ideas in building modern nations, there is little disagreement on the need to understand local and national phenomena within a global perspective. For this reason, Latin America connects with other regions (but especially North America and Western Europe) in international relations and this interplay determines some of its key cultural issues and modernisation processes.

Latin America is an extensive region in the American continent comprising eighteen countries which were at one point of time or another under French, Portuguese or Spanish colonisation: Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, French Guyana and Venezuela. Although it is also possible to include in Latin America certain countries from the Caribbean islands such as Cuba, Haiti and Dominican Republic, this work generally refers to the continental ones mentioned above to convey a clear idea of what Latin America is in terms of its territory. It is also important to emphasise that this thesis employs authors and makes analyses of certain aspects and processes which concern especially Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and Chile. Furthermore, at the beginning of both sections 'Key historical issues of cultural policy in Latin America' and 'Key current issues of cultural policy in Latin America', I outline Latin America in a particular way regarding both its geographical spaces (which I just mentioned in this paragraph) and ideological spaces (anthropology, coloniality and modernity).

The development of institutions that consolidate Latin America´s multiple modernities is not excluded from modernisation processes, although many of Latin America´s institutional developments are not in accordance with the majority of its

---

[1] His key book in this matter is RIBEIRO, Darcy. *The Brazilian people: The formation and meaning of*
[2] VASCONCELOS, José. *The cosmic race: A bilingual edition*. Translated and annotated by Didier T. Jaén. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

people´s[3] culture and education. Yet the ideas that emerge in Latin America to improve the majority of people´s life quality, the feasibility of social change, the efficiency of the state and the result of public policies have been associated with the role of intellectuals in this region. Many of their concerns have been to think of the formation of identities and nationalities. Although policy-makers rarely consider intellectuals´ opinions to formulate public policies in Latin America, intellectuals have considerably attempted to reconcile the theoretical language of academia with policy-makers´ pragmatic one.

The focus of my thesis is the work of Néstor Raúl García Canclini, a Latin American intellectual who challenges, through his relationships with a variety of non-academic institutions, the understanding of cultural policy as an institutionally-oriented instrument. In my thesis, I will show how he champions cultural policy as an intellectually-oriented operation[4] for promoting cultural issues in Latin America´s policies. This thesis challenges the institutionally-oriented idea of cultural policy and demonstrates how it is possible for an intellectual to conduct cultural policy as an implicit and unconventional political operation. In particular, I trace García Canclini´s key concepts, developments and ideas to show how he does so. My examination of his relationships with non-academic institutions (in Latin America broadly speaking, but with a focus on Mexican institutions) will provide an understanding on why it is possible to support such a view on him.

García Canclini began his academic journey as a philosopher first in his home country of Argentina and then in France. He has subsequently held and been awarded various roles and titles due to his prolific institutional activities since his exile in

---

[3] The expression 'the majority of people' refers to numerous people in general without my intention of being specific about any social group (e.g. by mentioning classes and communities) or derogatory as other terms such as 'common folks' and 'ordinary people' might suggest. The terms 'the majority of people' and 'underprivileged people' (later I will discuss the latter) have been chosen as both these terms allow for me to express my own particular ideas. These terms do not correspond necessarily to the terms García Canclini employs in his publications. The terms of his writings such as (and especially) 'the popular classes' and 'public interest' will deserve particular explanations in this thesis for the purpose of clarity. I address 'the majority of people' and not 'everybody' for the practical reason that I cannot deem ideas and proposals to be universally accepted and relevant. Consequently, I consider 'the majority of people' as a more flexible and inclusive expression than 'the popular classes', although the latter is used in reference to particular circumstances and publications. The inclusive aspect of 'the majority of people' is more feasible than the selectivity of other terms when addressing ideas of culture and policy for cultural issues. Thus, my option for using 'the majority of people' in my analyses rather implies an inclusive predisposition than a conceptual limit. This footnote has explained in which cases I use 'the majority of people' to discuss Latin America. Although I eventually refer to 'the popular classes', this term will be discussed in my thesis in relation to García Canclini's publications of the 1970s and early 1980s.

[4] This idea will be presented later in this 'Introduction' and in the section entitled 'Modes of an intellectually-oriented cultural policy operation' in chapter 1.

Mexico[5], where he arrived on 20 August 1976. In Mexico, he became an anthropologist, a 'social anthropologist'[6], a sociologist, an 'expert in cultural policies'[7], and an 'essay writer and critic'[8]. He has also been described as 'specialist in the study of cultural phenomena related to mass communication'[9], 'specialist in cultural phenomena in the context of globalisation'[10], 'curator'[11], lecturer, professor, researcher, theorist and writer. In Latin America, only renowned intellectuals have had access to cultural policy-making institutions where their ideas are seldom influential. Within such a context, this thesis is concerned with the lack of communication between scholars and non-academic policy-making institutions. Thus it examines the role of García Canclini as an intellectual in Latin America, although the Appendix I indicates that his activities transcend the boundaries of this region. Some of the concerns addressed in this thesis include the incompatibility between the long-term value-oriented goals as espoused by academics and the short-term results required from policy-makers working for government. For this reason, this thesis focuses on how cultural policy develops for García Canclini through analyses of his ideas and academic career over several decades.

García Canclini's work inspires me for the following reasons: first, he possesses an unconventional gaze at cultural policy issues; second, his activism strongly advocates cultural issues; and, third, his networks with people from diverse backgrounds are broad. Lastly, he supports the majority of people as deserving more attention in any policy, and his policy ideas do not only imply interpretation but also act as calls to action.

García Canclini approaches institutions from many ideological backgrounds to debate culture and to share his thoughts on cultural issues with them. His understanding of cultural policy, therefore, changes in accordance with the context to which it applies. An institution can be a large and important organisation from the sectors of education (a

---

[5] Chapter 2 will give suitable attention to the educational and political contexts of García Canclini´s academic developments in Argentina (that is, before and during the Argentine dictatorship) and later in Mexico where he went as an exile.

[6] RICARDO, Jorge. Valoran de Ferrari lucha iconográfica. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 2 August 2008. TBM. From now on, TBM means Translated By Me, according to my own Style Guide.

[7] HAW, Dora Luz. Distinguen obra sobre Sor Juana. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 7 October 2010. TBM.

[8] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Frida y la industrialización de la cultura: Los límites del prestigio. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 19 August 2007. TBM.

[9] SEVILLA, María Eugenia. Urgen a redefinir 'industria cultural'. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 6 September 2006. TBM.

[10] SEVILLA, María Eugenia. Estudian conflictos culturales. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 22 June 2007. TBM.

[11] REDACCIÓN. Viajan a China 450 fotos mexicanas. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 3 October 2007. TBM.

university) and finance (a bank), or it can refer to even larger and less tangible ones such as governments, families and religions. This thesis identifies different types of non-academic institutions to examine the activities García Canclini has with their support and how an interaction with these institutions results in major shifts in his cultural policy ideas and proposals. The institutions that I examine in this thesis include governments (Mexican government, intergovernmental organisations), the market (private companies, industries of culture and communication) and non-governmental institutions (foundations, charity, and nonprofit entities). Despite his ideological disagreement with some institutions (especially those from the private sector), he discusses certain cultural issues with an implicit preference for the role of the state in cultural policy.[12] Furthermore, I note that academics and policy-makers have preferred to speak of integration[13] instead of unity when they refer to Latin America´s co-operation[14] in international relations.[15]

García Canclini formulates policies for co-operation, co-production[16], integration, culture and development[17], cultural spaces and networks that involve complex articulations between the state, the market and society in three different regions: Latin America, North America and Europe. In his article *Why legislate for the*

---

[12] The many cultural policy-makers (and García Canclini´s implicit preference for the state) will be discussed in the section 'From national development to the multiple policy-makers' of chapter 4.

[13] I understand integration as a process that results from the combination between two or more parts or things (e.g. people, societies, organisations, states) so that their actions become more effective. It is a way of pooling resources and strengths to improve efficiency in certain procedures and tasks (e.g. a commerce increase in an international organisation such as the Common Market of the South).

[14] Co-operation is the act whereby people work together or respond favourably to what others ask them to do in certain situations. However, the explanation that best conveys the meaning of co-operation in international relations refers to a moment in which the parts (e.g. organisations, states) work together to achieve similar ends (e.g. disarmament, poverty reduction, development).

[15] These notions (e.g. integration, co-operation, co-production) are related in Latin America´s academia when García Canclini affirms that 'we have gone beyond a very ingenuous and convenient conception of unity to another of integration, and now we speak of co-operation, which is a familiar word of diplomacy, in very specific terms of co-production and co-distribution, which are concepts that correspond to problems and programmes that are achievable or possible.' (pp. 324–325. TBM.). GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Necesidad de ciudadanías globalizadas. In: BUSTAMANTE, Enrique (Ed.). *La cooperación cultura-comunicación en Iberoamérica*. Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID), Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación, 2008.

[16] A co-production happens when two or more organisations or people work together to create a film, a television programme, or any another good or service that is usually related to the cultural industries.

[17] The link between culture and development, on the one hand, attracts policy-makers' attention to the assets of culture to generating results in the economy in terms of employment, growth, income and other indicators of development. On the other, the relation between culture and development is susceptible, in my view, to criticism about the instrumental uses of cultural policy. Yúdice and Miller deem the 'international movement' of culture and development as 'a concern with development that does not put communities at risk (culturally or ecologically) but contributes to the economy'. YÚDICE, George; MILLER, Toby. *Cultural policy*. London: SAGE Publications, 2002. Quotations are from p. 66.

cultural industries, he reflects on integration: 'Legislation about the cultural industries should articulate national measures with supranational agreements, above all in the circuits of countries with which we have strategic sociocultural relationships (Latin America, North America and Europe).'[18] This explains his work with a variety of non-academic institutions and his bold appeal for the re-formulation of policies that would make Latin America more competitive in the twenty-first century.[19] Cultural policy for him is not only a set of plans for museum exhibitions or music festivals but rather a process for wider cultural, political and social transformations in Latin America.

García Canclini is as much concerned with understanding the attributes and the roles of those who possess and exert institutional power as he is with approaching them to discuss cultural issues. This thesis intends to demonstrate how he tries to convince policy-makers that culture really matters. One of his most important achievements in this respect is that he adapts the notion of culture from its solely symbolic relevance to an element that influences various policy areas. However, his enthusiasm does not lessen uncertainties on how to promote sociocultural change; in the same chapter of his book *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*[20] in which he defines culture, García Canclini claims that there is an obstacle to the sociocultural transformations for the popular classes[21]: 'increased practice and intellectual openness to critical thinking

---

[18] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. ¿Por qué legislar sobre industrias culturales?. **Nueva Sociedad**, Caracas, n. 175, September–October 2001. The quotation is from para. 4 of the section 'What the laws cannot do' ('Lo que las leyes no pueden hacer'). TBM.

[19] See the section 'Policies for the promotion of Latin America´s cultural spaces' of chapter 3 about this point.

[20] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. This book is the translation of *Las culturas populares en el capitalismo* (1982). A thorough analysis of how García Canclini discusses cultural policy in this book will be given in chapter 2.

[21] Chapters 1 and 2 will show that García Canclini utilises the term 'the popular classes' in Latin America to refer to a large number of people who are excluded, marginalised or do not have all the basic infrastructures that would allow them to enjoy a good life quality and be well-educated. What distinguishes 'the popular classes' from 'underprivileged people' is the academic regard that the former has received so that they could be studied in terms of their position within hierarchic, oppresive and unequal relations of power. The popular classes do not only refer to a large number of people as it can be inferred by the term 'popular' (from the word 'povo' in Portuguese or 'pueblo' in Spanish, meaning people in general without distinctions), but it constitutes, for García Canclini, a group of people who appropriate material and intangible goods in such a way as to reveal inequalities and subalternities in any society. So it is not about the number of people that the term implies (in this case, I would not be speaking of the majority of people), but their condition in an unfair balance of power. In addition, there are particular biases and circumstances involved in the production of theory related to the notion of 'the popular classes', such as the dichotomies between hegemony and subalternity, domination and subordination, high and low, manipulator and manipulated, which do not allow me to convey the terms 'the popular classes' and 'underprivileged people' with the same meaning in my thesis. At the beginning of the section 'Modes of an intellectually-oriented cultural policy operation' of chapter 1, I will establish differences between the terms 'the popular classes' and 'popular culture'. Chapter 1 will also examine the

do not automatically lead to freedom from the centripetal and self-justifying tendency of all cultural systems'[22]. This quotation suggests that the very idea of culture needs to change so that it is able to include the popular classes. Although culture complies with a purpose of human liberation[23] in his 1970s writings, he later adopts different perspectives of culture to accomplish his political goals. In short, García Canclini´s ideas of cultural policy change according to his understanding of the uses of culture.

During the late 1980s and virtually throughout the 1990s and the 2000s, García Canclini approaches and works with a variety of bureaucrats, legislators, politicians, private managers, newspaper editors and other professionals from non-academic policy-making institutions in Latin America. I pose two chief research questions: How does García Canclini create channels, expand possibilities and improve dialogues between academia and non-academic institutions in Latin America? What role does cultural policy play in the way he encourages debates about cultural issues in such institutions? However, and because issues involving him and cultural policy are fundamental in my thesis, these two main research questions generate sub-sets of research questions: Does García Canclini obtain in his career any advantages from such institutional relationships? What are the most notable difficulties he has faced in approaching such a variety of institutions? Why is his role as an intellectual relevant in the Latin American context and not only for that of Mexico? Why is his network so broad as to include artists, legislators and politicians? How much has his view about culture changed over time? Does he need to adapt his language and methods to reach audiences beyond academia? Why is cultural policy such an important issue in his development as an academic? Do his relations with institutions impose any kind of constraint in his ideas about culture? And how does he link his academic ideas about culture with politics?

Cultural policy is typically the instrument of a political manoeuvre, such as that of raising the audiences of a museum exhibition and of a music festival. In this work, however, I understand cultural policy particularly as an operation for political activism. I especially refer to that of García Canclini´s encouragement of cultural issues in non-academic institutions and in institutions which do not formulate explicit cultural

---

concept of 'popular culture', which assists the understanding of the notion of 'the popular classes'. Finally, chapter 2 elaborates on the circumstances in which the notion of 'the popular classes' is created on certain key discussions of it for my argument, and also on their cultural expressions known as 'popular culture'.

[22] Ibid. p. 16.

[23] Chapter 2 will clarify this point by showing how García Canclini promoted the popular classes´ liberation through artistic practices in Latin America.

policy.[24] Although he maintains his position as an academic in all the institutions he has relationships with (e.g. banks, foundations, federal governments, international organisations), my pivotal argument is that he not only discusses, proposes and suggests cultural policy – he also conducts cultural policy, but as an implicit and unconventional political operation carried on by an intellectual. By doing so, he displaces the prevailing modes of cultural policy-making and transforms cultural policy into an operation for promoting the importance of cultural issues in various non-academic institutions in Latin America. The effects of this process are evident in the extensive intellectual networks[25] and practices that García Canclini establishes in institutions from different ideological backgrounds in Latin American countries such as Mexico and Argentina. Nevertheless, he states that 'culture has more to do with networks than institutions'[26]. In my view, this quotation reiterates García Canclini´s readiness to promote cultural issues through his dialogue with a variety of policy-makers. The networks he forms are as relevant as the diverse institutions he approaches.

In this way, García Canclini is an intellectual authority[27] because he is a renowned Latin American academic. He has a symbiotic relationship with policy-making institutions through their mutual need to reproduce their ideas about cultural issues and cultural policy. García Canclini obtains institutional support for many of his scholarly activities while the institutions need his academic support to legitimise and reproduce their cultural policy. The particular aspect of García Canclini´s cultural policy

---

[24] The Argentine researcher Laura Maccioni understands that cultural issues are intricately related to political ones. A remark she makes in this respect is that 'political interventions in culture now constitute a form of taking position in politics as well; in this sense, cultural policies should be valued as *metapolitics*' (pp. 190–191. TBM.) [Emphasis original]. MACCIONI, Laura. Valoración de la democracia y resignificación de "política" y "cultura". In: MATO, Daniel (Ed.). *Estudios y otras prácticas intelectuales latinoamericanas en cultura y poder*. Caracas: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO) y CEAP, FACES, Universidad Central de Venezuela, 2002.

[25] For a conceptual explanation of intellectual networks from the perspective of the Chilean sociologist Eduardo Devés-Valdés, refer to the section 'Modes of an intellectually-oriented cultural policy operation' of chapter 1.

[26] JIMÉNEZ, Lucina. La política cultural, un tema emergente. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 3 March 2006. Available at <http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/cultura/47909.html>. Accessed on 18 February 2014. Jiménez transcribed, in para. 1 of the section 'A secretariat of culture and communications' ('Una secretaría de cultura y comunicaciones') of her newspaper op-ed article, the sentence she heard from García Canclini. TBM.

[27] According to the sociologist Frank Furedi´s reflections on intellectuals, they tend to see themselves from the position of a particular identity (e.g. black people, feminists, Jews) instead of discussing supposedly universal ideas; for this reason, he believes that 'intellectual authority does not rest on the ability to represent the truth but on the capacity to affirm the identity of a particular group or specialism' (p. 175). In this respect, I am using Furedi´s ideas on intellectual authority to convey my own point that García Canclini represents a Latin American intellectual who specialises in cultural issues. FUREDI, Frank. Afterword: The downsizing of intellectual authority. In: CUMMINGS, Dolan (Ed.). *The changing role of the public intellectual*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

operation thrives when he is in symbiosis with non-academic institutions and this leads to unexpected results in terms of how he conducts cultural policy. Two aspects are relevant in this reproduction of ideas and practices. On the one hand, institutions invite him because of his international prestige as a Latin American expert in culture. The institutions´ anticipated return from his participation is scientific support for their agendas, bulletins, documents and policies about culture. On the other hand, García Canclini purposefully approaches institutions to encourage (although not always explicitly) their policy-makers to recognise the importance of cultural issues for sociopolitical change in Latin America. This is how I argue in this thesis that García Canclini conducts cultural policy, even though this often happens within appropriations of culture for other policy goals. Furthermore, his academic activities obtain support through such relationships in the form of grants for research projects, sponsors for publications, opportunities for dialogue and meetings, and publicity.

Therefore, García Canclini establishes two kinds of relationships with institutions: one is that he has many of his lectures, meetings and publications funded and promoted by non-academic institutions; the other is that he also speaks to policy-makers to incite political actions and decisions related to cultural issues.[28] Although a renowned expert in culture is usually expected to assist the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the same is expected of Mexican scholars for the National Council for Culture and the Arts (Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, CONACULTA) in Mexico (Eduardo Nivón, Lourdes Arizpe and Lucina Jiménez have done so in Mexico), it is uncommon for an academic to have as many non-academic institutional relationships as García Canclini. It therefore seems that he has an inclination for academic persuasion.[29] Such an inclination for persuasion is not just about doing what is necessary to reproduce practices in academia (e.g. getting help with events, meetings, publications and research projects). It is also about transcending what is expected from a scholar's activities, for example by having a direct and deliberate participation in activities of local and national governments.

As this thesis focuses on García Canclini´s role as an intellectual[30] in Latin America, it is important to understand the nuances of his cultural policy ideas and the variety of his institutional relationships. Intellectuals who have their activities funded or

---

[28] Chapter 4 will provide examples of the two kinds of García Canclini´s extra-academic activities.

[29] See the section 'Academic rhetoric and cultural policy-making practicality' of chapter 4.

[30] The section 'Modes of an intellectually-oriented cultural policy operation' of chapter 1 will further analyse the broad role of (public) intellectuals but particularly the role of intellectuals in Latin America.

promoted by non-academic institutions in Latin America usually raise their reputation. Part of my argument is that, once García Canclini obtains certain academic recognition in Latin America, non-academic institutions take him as an important reference (that is, they invite him for interviews and to write reports) on topics such as cultural policy and Latin American culture. While the previous paragraphs have outlined the main reasons that inspired me to conduct the research for this thesis, the following ones provide the main objectives of each of the chapters of this thesis and the links between them.

The main link between the four chapters of this thesis is that they all show how García Canclini is a Latin American intellectual who has transformed cultural policy from an institutionally-oriented instrument into an intellectually-oriented operation.

Chapter 1 provides the theoretical background to the main concepts this thesis analyses and it outlines my theoretical position on these ideas: intellectuals, culture, cultural policy and particularities of the historical and contemporary issues of cultural policy in Latin America. The first part examines the main theoretical influences on García Canclini's understanding of culture while the second part is grounded in an evaluation of Latin America´s cultural policy institutional developments. These notions support the secondary debates that emerge throughout the thesis such as those concerning popular culture[31], the cultural industries and cultural spaces. Chapter 1 provides a context on which to discuss the issues of intellectuals, culture and cultural policy so as to allow for an investigation of how García Canlini develops his ideas on cultural policy. Its main conclusions point to García Canclini´s later efforts to challenge the institutional aspects of the notion of cultural policy in Latin America.

Chapter 2 traces García Canclini's academic and conceptual developments from the 1960s to the early 1980s. It focuses on the political circumstances in Argentina when he mentions cultural policy for the first time in the late 1970s[32]. One of the key arguments of chapter 2 is that cultural policy becomes one of his most important research topics during the first few years of his exile in Mexico. As soon as he migrates to Mexico late in the 1970s, he changes disciplines and becomes interested in researching different aspects of Latin American societies. This is also a period when he

---

[31] In this work, the term 'popular culture' is used in a different sense from that of 'the popular classes', as has been earlier defined in this 'Introduction'. The main difference between these two terms for the purpose of clarity is that one is cause ('the popular classes') while the other is effect ('popular culture'). However, further differences between both terms will be properly clarified later in chapters 1 and 2.

[32] Chapter 2 will show that García Canclini mentioned cultural policy for the first time in a book which was published in 1977 during the first years of his exile in Mexico but was actually written earlier in Argentina.

strongly supports the popular classes´ cultural expressions. These analyses culminate in the conclusion that García Canclini's early thoughts on cultural policy incline towards an interpretation of cultural policy as an institutionally-oriented instrument.

The main concern of chapter 3 is an examination of the developments of García Canclini´s cultural policy ideas from the 1980s to the 2000s. The most important aspect of this phase of the investigation is that he finds a way to establish links between rhetoric and practicality[33]; in order to do so, he develops his ideas and proposals to suit practical actions and policies of non-academic institutions. For this reason, an argument that permeates the chapter is that his cultural policy ideas are linked to uses of policy for a wide variety of political goals (e.g. access, citizenship, human rights, integration). Chapter 3 analyses these developments in relation to the discussions of three main topics: urban studies, the cultural industries and globalisation in Latin America. Its conclusions point to him being more inclined to extra-academic activities than earlier in his career. This is what the last chapter of this thesis would explore.

While chapters 2 and 3 trace the emergence and developments of García Canclini's cultural policy ideas and proposals from the late 1970s until the 2000s, chapter 4 demonstrates how he conducts cultural policy an intellectually-oriented operation in his manifold institutional participations[34]. It becomes clear that he does not occupy political positions to put his activism into practice. Chapter 4 shows that García Canclini looks not only into certain cultural interactions (e.g. global trade, international migration, supranational integration, new digital technologies), but also at policy-makers from transnational companies, international organisations and the media. It matters less in this chapter what the content of his cultural policy is than the nature of his relationships with non-academic institutions. Thus chapter 4 is mostly concerned with three aspects of García Canclini´s relationships with non-academic institutions in Latin America (with a focus on Mexico): 1) the type of institutions García Canclini has relations with (I will refer to institutions in general, so not only to governmental ones); 2) how he does it (the different types of practices and not only those which are explicitly conducted as cultural policy); and 3) when he does it and with whom (networks between García Canclini and professionals from different areas). The facts that support the

---

[33] See further about this point in 'Institutions and practices of Latin America´s cultural policy' of chapter 4.

[34] As chapter 4 does not discuss these various institutional participations exhaustively (because it covers only what is needed to demonstrate the key argument of this thesis), Appendix I provides more specific information about many other institutions (including those outside Latin America) with which García Canclini had relationships.

arguments of chapter 4 come from newspaper articles, documents, bulletins, reports and websites from the relevant institutions, and academic interviews and publications. Chapter 4 results in my evaluations of García Canclini´s relationships with non-academic institutions in which he devises ways of doing politics in Latin America.

After achieving the objectives of each of the four chapters, the conclusions of this work are twofold. One is that García Canclini conditions his cultural policies to suit institutional needs so that he could take from them the means he requires to increase his resources as a scholar (e.g. grants, meetings, publications, sponsors, notoriety) in exchange for giving these institutions legitimacy for policy-making on culture. This happens because of his renowned academic expertise in Latin America. Another is that he develops an astute strategy to gain access to a wide array of institutions to propagate his ideas and proposals about cultural issues. I posit this second perspective in my thesis because of García Canclini´s attempts to call policy-makers´ attention to the importance of culture in many instances of Latin America´s policy-making.

I base my analyses for these ideas on how García Canclini diversifies his institutional relationships. He does not approach only institutions for which cultural issues are relevant, neither does he concentrate his extra-academic activities on governmental bodies or institutions that have a strong influence on cultural policy issues. It is fundamental in my analyses (as the next section 'Methodology' will demonstrate) that I emphasise the wide range of professionals involved in García Canclini's networks. He understands how to allow academia and policy to converge while keeping, at the same time, both a purposeful proximity to and a professional distance from them. This indication relates to the problem raised at the beginning of this introduction: the lack of communication between scholars and non-academic policy-making institutions. In other words, this thesis will show the ways in which García Canclini has extensive relationships with non-academic institutions, and at the same time does not get close enough to them to be considered a co-opted intellectual.

Academics and policy-makers usually discuss four main topics when they address issues of cultural policy in Latin America: the first is the use of foreign models for managing cultural and political institutions[35]; the second is the degree of

---

[35] A deeper analysis of contrasts in cultural policy institutional models between countries does not fit the purposes of this thesis. In short, whereas Latin America´s cultural policy considers the state as the legitimate guarantor of public interest, cultural policy institutions in the United States decentralise such a role from the state. In this way, private, nonprofit and other non-state institutions in the United States deliberate on issues of public interest with as much impact as the state has in Latin America. However, chapter 1 will show that the French model is the key model for cultural policy institutions I refer to.

institutional development of cultural activities, but especially those that occur within government; the third concerns the viability of proposals for centralisation and decentralisation of cultural policy measures; and the fourth refers to the debate about the differences between management institutions that either follow the logic of the state (e.g. the support of collective interest) or the market (e.g. raise in profits). Heritage, the cultural industries, international co-operation, globalisation and national development are some of the other key issues that usually inspire cultural policy debates in Latin America.

This thesis devotes a considerable part of its first chapter on exploring the dilemmas faced by institutions as they develop and formulate cultural policies in Latin America. In this introduction, however, I elucidate certain cultural policy aspects that will enable me to explain my particular interpretation of García Canclini´s relationships with institutions. This is due to my understanding of intellectual actions (in relation to García Canclini in particular) as practices aimed at sociocultural changes comparable to those managed as cultural policies. Thus, as I clarified earlier in this introduction, my point is to show how cultural policy becomes for García Canclini an intellectually-oriented operation for promoting the importance of cultural issues in various non-academic institutions in Latin America instead of being only a conventional and institutionally-oriented instrument. Herein lie some of the main contributions of this thesis to García Canclini´s intellectual history and to cultural policy studies.

Cultural policy, in recent years, has obtained considerable relevance in Latin America´s academia, private sector and government as analysts, policy-makers and politicians have highlighted cultural issues as indispensable to political and social transformations. Most academic and op-ed reviews about García Canclini focus on what he writes about certain topics (e.g. hybridisation, modernity, globalisation, the cultural industries, integration), but this thesis scrutinises how he approaches, discusses and suggests cultural policy. Such a perspective thus fills a gap in the knowledge available about him. As policy-making is usually a task performed by institutions, it is necessary to demonstrate how an individual can be capable of conducting policy without the backing of an institution. However, aspects of the policy-making process are also important, so it is necessary to note that policy is not merely a plan, a set of rules or a

decision by an institution. Policy needs to be understood as a process and an awareness of the complexity of such process forms the core of this thesis.[36]

As the policy process is too complex to be considered in its entirety and much of it is not within the scope of this work, there are therefore two essential aspects to consider here: the part of the process I am looking at, and the policy-makers involved in my interpretation of cultural policy. With regard to the first aspect, I will examine in my thesis the policy-making process; this means that I will not evaluate the effects of cultural policies on any institution. Regarding the second, this thesis does not approach policy exclusively as that made by the state. This particular understanding of policy-makers provides the foundations for this thesis to argue in favour of García Canclini´s intellectually-oriented cultural policy operation as a stage of the cultural policy process. It provides a distinctive view on García Canclini that has not been studied before.

The research that leads to this thesis reveals the role of intellectuals who investigate the intricate webs of culture and politics in Latin America. Thus the findings of this thesis have some particularly important implications: it encourages research on intellectuals in Latin America and on the role that they have to establish connections between academic institutions and also non-academic ones; it discusses how academic activities have the potential to cause an impact beyond university; it provides an emphasis on politics that broadens the possibilities for cultural analyses; it diversifies forms of activism in Latin America which are related to sociocultural changes that originate in an unconventional view about cultural policy; and it elucidates the role of various institutions in considering cultural issues in their policies in Latin America. This thesis highlights institutional developments of Latin America´s particular modernities.

---

[36] SHARKANSKY, Ira. *Public administration: Policy-making in government agencies*. 2nd Edition. Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1972. Ira Sharkansky is Professor of public administration. Although writing from a different academic context (the Middle East) from those of Western Europe and Latin America, his understanding of policy is suitable for the purposes of this introduction because of the clear and conventional way that he approaches policy as being a governmental instrument. Sharkansky notes ambiguities in the term policy, stating that it 'can refer to a proposal, an ongoing program, the goals of a program, or the impact of a program upon the social problems that are its target' (p. 3). Sharkansky´s ideas also indicate that governmental institutions are usually those which formulate policy in terms of a course of action.

METHODOLOGY

This section outlines the materials, procedure and structure I will adopt to conduct the research in this thesis. The first aspect to highlight is that the theoretical debates I raise in my thesis are mostly related to the authors who have influenced García Canclini, and to those whom he quotes in his work or who he works with (for tracing these, I used Eduardo Devés-Valdés's notion of 'intellectual networks'[37]). Three aspects regarding my method for the examination of García Canclini's relationships with non-academic institutions guide my thesis: institutions (which), practices (how) and networks (with whom)[38].

It is relevant to emphasise in this 'Methodology' section that each chapter contains four methodological stages. Chapter 1 provides a theoretical background to intellectuals, culture, cultural policy, and historical and current issues regarding cultural policy institutional development in Latin America. Chapter 2 outlines the emergence of García Canclini´s interpretation of cultural policy showing how his ideas changed as his career developed within a Latin American context. Chapter 3 examines the developments of his latest ideas about and proposals for cultural policy. Chapter 4 employs an analytical-argumentative method to examine García Canclini´s relationships with non-academic institutions in Latin America (with a focus on Mexico), and demonstrates his implicit political operation (as I understand them) through institutions, practices, networks and exchanges of cultural issues in Latin America.

The structure of this thesis ranges from a theoretical perspective of cultural policy (as chapters 1 and 2 discuss) to a practical one (as chapters 3 and 4 propose): it argues, for instance, that a cultural policy for the liberation of the popular classes[39] becomes for García Canclini a cultural policy for the promotion of the Latin American

---

[37] DEVÉS-VALDÉS, Eduardo. *Redes intelectuales en América Latina: Hacia la constitución de una comunidad internacional*. Santiago de Chile: Colección Idea, Segunda Época, Instituto de Estudios Avanzados of the Universidad Santiago de Chile, 2007. Devés-Valdés defines an 'intellectual network' as 'a group of people who are dedicated to the production and the diffusion of knowledge, and who engage in dialogue during their professional activities over time' (p. 30). TBM. For further ideas about this notion, refer to the section 'Modes of an intellectually-oriented cultural policy operation' in chapter 1.

[38] Both the 'Introduction' and chapter 1 have the purpose of giving the reader respectively a general introduction to the topic and a theoretical background to the key concepts I approach in my thesis, including those of 'institutions', 'practices' and 'networks'. The term 'institution' can be read as a synonym of 'organisation' for the purposes of this thesis, although it expands to be something equivalent to established and prevalent social rules that structure social interactions; 'practices' address actions that intellectuals are likely to conduct and not only their ideas and thoughts; and 'networks' are as quoted.

[39] The term 'popular classes' has been defined earlier in the Introduction section.

people's participation in the global economy. I show in the sequence of chapters that he is a scholar who engages in dialogue mostly with academic institutions during the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s; however, he starts to discuss cultural issues and policy as he approaches various non-academic institutions from the late 1980s onwards in his role as an academic. The leading purpose of this thesis is to convey a particular understanding of cultural policy as an implicit political operation by which García Canclini attempts to enhance channels between academia and non-academic institutions in Latin America.

García Canclini's interest in non-academic institutions grew considerably from the late 1980s as his research topics changed during his academic development. To explore this, the sequence of four chapters finishes in chapter 4 with an investigation of the most relevant practical aspects of his cultural policy activism in Latin America. However, I examine these institutions separately and in different parts of chapter 4: first, I investigate certain Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Venezuela) and then Mexico in particular. Such a division encourages an analysis of the most relevant relationships García Canclini had with non-academic institutions during the 1990s and 2000s instead of merely mentioning most of them. This option does not propose any privileged position for analysis, but it does highlight the multiplicity of García Canclini´s research agenda in terms of his cultural policy interpretation, which changes according to the extra-academic activities that he undertakes. Another reason for this analytical division is that many topics guide the investigation of each group of institutions (e.g. institutional models for culture, national development, regional integration and trade blocs, spaces of co-operation and of co-production) and of how the different sections within the chapters of this thesis analyse such variety of topics in order to validate the hypotheses for this thesis.

I should clarify, in addition to this, that the selection of material sources I used for this research highlights the diversity of García Canclini´s networks outside academia. During a period of eighteen months compiling information about García Canclini's institutional relationships, I perused articles from nine newspapers: Clarín (Argentina), El País (Spain), El Universal (Mexico), La Jornada (Mexico), La Nación (Argentina), Milenio (Mexico), O Estado de São Paulo (Brazil), Página 12 (Argentina) and Reforma (Mexico). The nine newspapers were chosen as they possess the largest circulation and readership in the two countries of Argentina and Mexico; two countries that are directly related to García Canclini's life and career while a couple of other

newspapers from Brazil and Spain also provide me with some relevant facts about him. These newspapers provide greater coverage than any other newspapers on García Canclini's activities. They are fundamental to tracing García Canclini's extra-academic activities while their websites have also provided auxiliary information for this work. One of these newspapers (Reforma, from Mexico) required me to subscribe for its online version so that I could have access to its content while I had e-mail contact with journalists from others to obtain articles available only in their old database.

There are some aspects of the history and policies of the non-academic institutions García Canclini approaches that are relevant for this work because of the cultural policy background they occasionally have, however, these have not been included in this thesis. This thesis is less interested in the ideas that García Canclini expresses in his lectures and more interested in the examination of some of his main topics in relation to the most relevant non-academic institutions with which he has relationships. His ideas emerge during the phases shown in chapters 2 and 3, in which I trace his key conceptual developments (as explained earlier in the 'Introduction'). By defining such a methodological framework, this thesis is able to find a balance between exploring a handful of non-academic institutions in detail instead of providing an exhaustive list of them (as the Appendix I contains).

Two challenges affect the choices and developments of my research methodology: one is the interdisciplinary nature of this work that keeps me from adopting determined positions within disciplines such as anthropology, sociology and international relations; the other is the unpredictability of intellectuals in terms of their behaviours, thoughts and interactions. In spite of these, my thesis intends to make contributions particularly to three different areas: intellectual history, cultural policy studies and Latin American studies. García Canclini has a respectable and strong reputation in Latin America (and beyond) and his work is widely read by scholars and students from many disciplines. The knowledge that this thesis generates intends to reduce gaps in matters such as the lack of communication between academia and other institutions, and to move a bit deeper on issues such as the role of intellectuals and their networks.

This thesis is a development of certain ideas I raise at the end of my master's thesis *Néstor García Canclini and the interpretation of Latin America* (*Néstor García*

Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina[40]). For this reason, the two interviews (one conducted in March 2008 and the other in February 2009[41]) that I conducted with García Canclini while I lived in Mexico City are helpful for me to trace, for this doctoral thesis, some of the circumstances of his life and career that matter for my current work. I am thinking especially of his exile in Mexico, his educational opportunities in another academic discipline and the networks he formed with other Latin American thinkers. However, a third interview with him would not have been necessary as I was able to obtain most of my research material from newspaper articles and other sources such as online documents and websites of international organisations. Consequently, inviting García Canclini for another interview would not add significantly to the knowledge that I have obtained from reading his books and reviews on him. As my thesis does not focus on the effects and receptiveness of García Canclini's approaches to institutions, it was not relevant to conduct further interviews with him. In addition, an examination of his effects and receptiveness would lie beyond the scope of this thesis, as the key purpose of this thesis is a focus on the type of institutions (which), the nature of his activities (how) and the various networks he forms (with whom). Thus, this doctoral thesis required different sources of materials from those I would have obtained in interviews.

My thesis argues that García Canclini finds in cultural policy not only a topic for academic study but also a way for doing politics (activism) in Latin America. He is not a policy-maker in the conventional sense (of preparing a plan of actions), but he is one who conducts cultural policy as an implicit political operation. However, I preferably write on García Canclini as one who conducts cultural policy and not one who does it. I also adopt the expression 'cultural policy operation' instead of 'cultural policy-making', 'instrument' or 'manoeuvre' when I refer to García Canclini, thus avoiding confusion for the reader in establishing differences between my argument about García Canclini and the activities of a conventional policy-maker.

---

[40] PERON LOUREIRO, Bruno. *Néstor García Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina*. Thesis presented at the FFyL/UNAM to obtain the degree of MPhil in Latin American Studies (Maestro en Estudios Latinoamericanos), Mexico City, 25 September 2009.

[41] I already published the two interviews as appendices in my master's thesis. I also had informal conversations and interviews years ago, between early 2007 and mid-2009, with many of García Canclini's academic colleagues (e.g. Eduardo Nivón, Raúl Nieto, Rosalía Winocur) and other scholars (e.g. André Dorcé, Daniel Mato, George Yúdice, Renato Ortiz) who had some affinity with García Canclini and link to his work. All these conversations were fertile and enriched my knowledge about García Canclini, but the ideas they inspired me satisfied the needs of my research for the master's thesis.

To express it in a different way, García Canclini conducts cultural policy without the backing of an institution. He keeps a distance from political positions. He establishes relationships with various institutions as an academic even if some of these relations suggest that he serves as a manager, for example when he co-ordinates the Consultative Council of the Mexican Association for the Right to Information (Asociación Mexicana de Derecho a la Información, AMEDI) between 2009 and 2011. It is the expansion, flexibility and openness of the notion of cultural policy in my argument that permits such an alternative interpretation to that which practitioners conventionally accept in terms of the formal instrumentality of cultural policy.

I thus analyse a wide range of examples of García Canclini's activities with non-academic institutions. There is no aim to provide an exhaustive list, even though the Appendix I results in a very detailed and extensive material resource for this thesis. At the same time, I admit that I would not argue that any other academic who approaches an institution would be conducting cultural policy in a similar intellectually-oriented way as I propose García Canclini does. Being an activist is not equivalent to a policy-maker. My point about García Canclini is that he does not have the support of any institution when he addresses certain cultural issues that might encourage policy-makers to reconsider their decisions, guidelines and ideas. There are certain conditions of his life and work that create the circumstances for me to advocate such an argument.

At this point, I will refer to García Canclini's conceptualisations of culture and cultural policy and to the inspirations given by his understanding of the relevance of changes in institutions and practices. It is inherent in his notion of culture that meanings do not only reproduce in society as an effect of a set of phenomena, but that these meanings can also change.[42] Cultural policy, in turn, refers to a group of actions and plans that guide society's symbolic development, even though the change resulting from this might be long-term and difficult to measure. The development of García Canclini's cultural policy ideas, thus, creates an environment in which he breaks down academic borders and reaches out to institutions for which cultural issues are secondary and unimportant. I argue that his political operation does not only imply change, but it is also an organised and systematic way of approaching institutions to discuss cultural issues.

---

[42] Later, in the section 'Common inspirations for an inclusive definition of culture' of chapter 1, I will demonstrate that an insight of García Canclini's definition of culture is indispensable to my argument.

My thesis contextualises García Canclini's life and work in relation to Latin America's cultural and political challenges. García Canclini is lecturing, researching and writing productively in Mexico and other countries. I do not ignore the possibility that he might disagree with my stance on him in this thesis. However, it is also relevant to point out that I avoid making particular judgements of his political position, even though some of his writings, interviews and institutional approaches allow me to make theoretical analyses that are important for my thesis.

The most notable limitations of my thesis are: showing García Canclini's circumstances of education and exile; following the links between culture and politics in his development; bringing debates more directly related to his cultural policy ideas; giving attention to his ideas related to change and transformation; focusing on García Canclini's institutional relations during the 1990s and 2000s; and tracing his relations with institutions and networks from Latin America (especially Mexico). The following chapters include quotations and theoretical analyses that indicate García Canclini has been concerned with how excluded, marginalised and underprivileged people[43] can access the arts (during the 1970s), sell their handicrafts in cities (in the early 1980s), improve their participation in heritage (in the late 1980s), and even enjoy the benefits of globalisation (during the 1990s). I will also show García Canclini's preference for the expression 'public interest'[44] in many of his publications and the ways that he normally addresses collectivities, majorities and minorities.

---

[43] The idea of 'underprivileged people' contrasts with that of the elite because the first group of people notably comprises those who are poor, marginalised and not well educated. The expression 'underprivileged people' represents a fewer number than that of 'the majority of people' in any given group. Consequently, this thesis refers to 'underprivileged people' as those people who live in urban areas and who differ radically in their education, incomes and opportunities from the minority of well educated and wealthy people. Thus, 'underprivileged people' can be understood as a synonym of lower classes or as a group of people with fewer economic, educational and social opportunities than the elite. However, the expression 'underprivileged people' is not a synonym of 'the popular classes' because there are particular circumstances involved in the creation of the latter concept, as chapters 1 and 2 will discuss.

[44] I employ the expression 'public interest' as synonym of those things that concern the collective, the largest number of people in any given society. It refers to a large number of people in general who live in a certain area, country or region. I use this term with the intention of not being specific about any social group in spite of the particular developments that people have in their educational levels, incomes and opportunities. Such use converges with the idea of 'the majority of people' in the sense of both being very inclusive notions; however, a footnote in the 'Introduction' has explained how 'the majority of people' differs from 'public interest'. These terms do not convey merely a variation of the number of people (a few, a lot or most of them), but they also have to do with the conditions in which the terms are created and the circumstances for which they provide a meaning. Chapter 3 will explain further the conditions in which the notion of 'public' arises, which is more related to an opposition to 'private' and can be even deemed (but not in this thesis) as synonym of state matters. I avoided the definite article 'the' (as in 'the public interest') so as not to confuse it with the interest of the audience, the spectator or anything alike.

It is equally relevant to clarify the boundaries that this thesis does not intend to exceed. My intention in this thesis is to investigate García Canclini's role as an intellectual in Latin America, but with a focus on Mexico (where he resides and has his most fertile extra-academic activities). It is also to demonstrate that networking, participation and variety of his institutional approaches are what actually allow me to contextualise his mostly subtle cultural policy operation in Latin America. Due to this focus, there are two areas that I will not be examining in my thesis. The first is García Canclini's activities with private organisations or governmental bodies only and the second is why I have not focused on a deeper analysis of García Canclini's relations with Mexican institutions so as to be able to determine his effects and influences on cultural policy. Indeed, some of these alternatives would give me space for further research and publications. I have not examined García Canclini's activites with private organisations or governmental bodies as most of García Canclini´s non-academic relationships have to do with lectures and publications. Analysing these activities with particular references to thes fore-mentioned types of organisations would not allow me to demonstrate my argument of his intellectually-oriented cultural policy operation in Latin America.

I have also not conducted a focused analysis on García Canclini's effects and influence on cultural policy in Mexican institutions as such an approach merely seeks to find out whether these institutions effectively adopted his ideas or not. This is not a focus of my thesis where I seek to highlight policy-making, which is a particular stage of the policy process, but not the consequences of his policy ideas. Nevertheless, while I argue that many of García Canclini´s extra-academic activities increase discussions on cultural issues in Latin America, it is not possible in the scope of this thesis to examine how institutions have employed his intellectual authority. I propose in my thesis to show how García Canclini works as a subtle cultural policy operator for a variety of non-academic institutions and not as an institutional and conventional policy-maker.

I have thus made the following decisions regarding my research methodology. One of them is investigating a specific stage of cultural policy (taking into account that policy involves stages such as planning, monitoring and evaluating), where I do not evaluate cultural policy results, but only the stage of the policy process that I name policy-making. Another is that this work does not assess whether non-academic institutions apply García Canclini´s ideas about cultural issues (policy effectiveness, for political scientists) or not, as stated in the previous paragraph. Finally, the third is that I

focus on Latin American institutions – especially those from Mexico – instead of writing about the relationships that García Canclini has with institutions from outside the region such as those from Spain and the United States, which the Appendix I records.

This section has marked out the materials, procedure, structure and limitations of this thesis. The next chapter will outline a conceptual background to the two most important notions (culture and cultural policy) to which this work adheres.

CHAPTER 1

A conceptual background to culture and cultural policy

Introduction

Chapter 1 outlines conceptual aspects of culture and cultural policy to explore García Canclini´s intellectually-oriented cultural policy operation. This chapter is divided into two parts: the first examines certain theoretical interpretations of the role of intellectuals and their concern with politics, García Canclini´s understanding of culture (especially his theoretical antecedents for this) and the origin of cultural policy in France (which I argue that influenced Latin American developments in cultural issues); the second reveals key historical problems with the development of cultural policy in Latin America and shows that its central cultural policy issues cannot be dealt with outside the scope of international relations where it resides. The analyses I propose throughout this chapter use a range of literature drawn from various sources, although the main concern of the section about culture is tracing the influences on García Canclini.

I explain the links of the first part of chapter 1 with the aims of this thesis and how I make it cohesive for the argument that permeates this thesis. The first part, not by chance, broadens my analyses and the debates of three fundamental notions in this thesis: intellectuals, culture and cultural policy. It does include a few authors who have not influenced García Canclini directly, but are useful to support my arguments and limitations regarding these controversial, open and wide issues. However, my broader analyses are more noticeable when I discuss the notions of intellectuals and cultural policy. On the one hand, this is because García Canclini has not made of intellectuals his research topic; on the other, most of this thesis focuses on his cultural policy ideas. The first part of chapter 1 includes bibliographical references from García Canclini´s book *Transforming Modernity: Popular Culture in Mexico*[45] (1993), which is the English version of his *Las culturas populares en el capitalismo* (1982); these references show how his ideas on culture developed in his research. The section 'Covert and implicit political meanings of cultural policy' cites a wider bibliography to convey two key arguments: one is that cultural policy has political intentions which are not explicitly stated in governmental documents and reports; the other is the influence of

---

[45] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. This book will be henceforth referred to only as *Transforming modernity*.

French cultural policy in Latin America. The purpose of it is to show that cultural policy is conventionally understood as an administrative and formal instrument that García Canclini would challenge to operate in an intellectual way in Latin America. My idea that cultural policy can also be an implicit political operation follows from the point that I develop in this section regarding its covert and implicit political meanings.

The second part of chapter 1 discusses two pivotal aspects of cultural policy in Latin America: first, that this region´s historical and current particularities will determine the pathway of its cultural policy institutional development; and, second, that an important feature of García Canclini´s political proposal refers to the consolidation of spaces for integration and to the role of government in the promotion of the cultural industries in Latin America´s international relations.

However, before scrutinising such issues of culture and cultural policy in this chapter, it is essential to clarify the relationship between intellectuals (García Canclini in particular) and cultural policy-making in Latin America. It has to be noted that, in general, this thesis does not focus on the relationship between intellectuals and policy; instead, it investigates the transformation of institutionally-oriented cultural policy-making into an intellectually-oriented cultural policy operation. The demonstration of this process does not discuss policy engagements and outcomes in detail, but rather traces García Canclini´s intellectual networks in a variety of Latin American institutions (as chapter 4 will emphasise) that enable the aforementioned cultural policy operation to exist. Chapters 2 and 3 will show how cultural policy emerges, adapts, develops and transforms within García Canclini´s academic development. Although it is easier to argue that García Canclini is a public intellectual in Mexico because of his reputation and his presence in the media, this thesis attempts to indicate an alternative mode of cultural policy that operates through his intellectual networks and his various institutional approaches. Having clarified the main objectives of chapter 1, the next section examines the role of intellectuals in Latin America´s cultural policy.

1.1. An approach to intellectuals, culture and cultural policy

1.1.1. Modes of an intellectually-oriented cultural policy operation

For Raymond Williams, intellectuals are widely understood as 'people who do certain kinds of intellectual work and especially the most general kinds'[46] as he points out there have been historical variations in the terminology employed to refer to them (intelligence, intellectualism, intelligentsia). However, the role of intellectuals in sociocultural change is not consensual among thinkers. This is so because, for Antonio Gramsci, it is not enough for intellectuals to know; they must also feel and understand.[47] In Gramsci´s examination of culture, he stated that culture 'teaches that reality does not exist on its own, in and for itself, but only in an historical relationship with the men who modify it'[48]. Not less important in this account is that, by referring to popular culture in terms of the beliefs of the popular classes, he sees culture as a new philosophy and a new common sense that arose from their ways of thinking[49]. He lamented the insufficiency and restriction of the content of popular culture in the school programmes because they do not consider the needs of the popular classes[50]. Thus Gramsci hoped that intellectuals would be more considerate of the popular classes by feeling and understanding their cultural and social needs, that is, to be less elitist and more open-minded; otherwise, intellectuals would merely be maintaining the *status quo* instead of promoting sociocultural change. This section does not repeat what others have written on the etymological aspects of the word intellectual and does not specify the variations of the usage of this term in many different countries, but it does propose a reflection on the role of intellectuals in Latin America. It seems that the role of intellectuals is clear for some yet bewildering for others.

Although intellectuals act according to the particular environment and social context in which they live[51], many characteristics have been given to them: they have polemical (often challenging and provocative) ideas, they do some kind of intervention

---

[46] WILLIAMS, Raymond. *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society*. London: Fontana Press, 1976. p. 170.

[47] GRAMSCI, Antonio. *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971. p. 767.

[48] Ibid. p. 660.

[49] GRAMSCI, Antonio. op. cit. pp. 775–776.

[50] Ibid. p. 729.

[51] The activities of intellectuals vary between countries, for instance. While it has been stated that intellectuals in France originated in the Dreyfus affair in 1894, some might argue that intellectuals in England, differently from France, emerged from universities. For this second position, see JENNINGS, Jeremy. Deaths of the intellectual: A comparative autopsy. In: SMALL, Helen (Ed.). *The public intellectual*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002. pp. 123–124. Particularities of intellectuals in Latin America will be shown ahead in this same section.

in public spaces, they mediate between conflicting parts, they pursue an ethical action[52], they have legitimacy to reproduce or create knowledge, they engage in society in a way that historically differs from a lettered person or a philosopher[53], they communicate values from the cultural to the political ambits[54], they have an appeal to collectivities (e.g. by using the collective subject 'we' instead of 'I' or by writing in a more accessible language), and they address wider audiences than those expected in their professional activities (e.g. a teacher speaking to students). Some of the key concerns about the role of intellectuals regard the nature, content and objective of the mental abilities of this group of people. Intellectuals are vulnerable to becoming one of several things: those 'who claim the monopoly of thought about the social world'[55] (Bourdieu), those who have the social function of being traditional or organic intellectuals despite the potential of all humans of becoming intellectuals[56] (Gramsci), or those who 'challenge and defeat both an imposed silence and the normalized quiet of unseen power wherever and whenever possible'[57] (Said). The thoughts of these three authors (Bourdieu, Gramsci and Said) on intellectuals´ social role refer respectively to criticisms of arrogance, functional-historical class representation and power subversion. One point they do agree on is that intellectuals must be political. A common attribute of an intellectual, it seems, is someone who discusses, in one way or another, things of public interest. The reflections proposed by these three authors are useful for establishing connections between ideas and politics.

---

[52] CURY, Maria Zilda Ferreira. Intelectuais em cena. In: CURY, Maria Zilda Ferreira; WALTY, Ivete Lara Camargos (Eds.). *Intelectuais e vida pública: Migrações e mediações*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2008. p. 14.

[53] SILVA, Augusto Santos. Podemos dispensar os intelectuais?. In: MARGATO, Isabel; GOMES, Renato Cordeiro (Eds.). *O papel do intelectual hoje*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2004. p. 39.

[54] Ibid. p. 39.

[55] BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Sociology in question*. Translated by Richard Nice. London: SAGE Publications, 1993. p. 37. Bourdieu explains his criticism of intellectuals in two interviews published in *Sociology in question*.

[56] GRAMSCI, Antonio. *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971. On pp. 134, 135, 138 and 141 in chapter 1 ('The intellectuals'), Gramsci referred to traditional intellectuals as those who usually exert professional activities within literature and science, whereas organic intellectuals are less known as intellectuals in their occupations yet they fulfil a specific organising function and represent the interests of a particular social class. He also clarified, on p. 140, that every human is a potential intellectual, but few have the social function of being an intellectual.

[57] SAID, Edward W. The public role of writers and intellectuals. In: SMALL, Helen (Ed.). *The public intellectual*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002. p. 31.

Jeremy Ahearne[58] and Oliver Bennett[59], although speaking of this topic in relation to France and England respectively, agree that an intellectual should transcend one´s own interests. In the same way that another section ('Covert and implicit political meanings of cultural policy') of this chapter will argue that the French cultural policy model influenced Latin America, some of Ahearne´s ideas concerning public intellectuals in France are applicable within the Latin American context. The most relevant aspect in Ahearne´s approach to intellectuals for my argument is how an intellectual can have surreptitious political goals. For Ahearne, intellectuals´ influence in policy-making 'can best be appreciated in terms of a dispersed and long-term framework'[60] and they 'may sometimes affect decisions and agendas directly, but will more often exert effects in a more subterranean and diffuse manner.'[61] Bennett, for whom an intellectual is 'a repository of moral authority'[62], is aware that, 'despite the deeply contested status of the intellectual in England, it is difficult to see how cultural policy can be understood without examining the ways in which intellectuals have been so strongly implicated in it.'[63]

Although not necessarily influencing governmental decisions, every academic is a public intellectual because they deliver lectures, speak in conferences and publish articles. Although this section discusses the role of intellectuals and the so-called public intellectuals, these terms are vague for exploring my key argument because they can broadly refer to academics, artists, writers, musicians, etc. For this reason, this section will discuss an alternative idea of intellectual networks in Latin America. The remaining paragraphs of this section will show that these networks are consolidated through institutions. In fact, this thesis demonstrates how an intellectual (García Canclini) can practise politics as an academic while avoiding policy-related decision-making. Two aspects demand clarification here: one outlines some particularities of Latin America and the other refers to certain intrinsic features of the role of intellectuals in this region.

---

[58] AHEARNE, Jeremy. *Intellectuals, culture and public policy in France: Approaches from the left.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010.

[59] BENNETT, Oliver. Intellectuals, romantics and cultural policy. **International Journal of Cultural Policy**, v. 12, n. 2, Taylor & Francis, pp. 117–134, 2006.

[60] AHEARNE, Jeremy. *Intellectuals, culture and public policy in France: Approaches from the left.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010. p. 32.

[61] Ibid. p. 49.

[62] BENNETT, Oliver. Intellectuals, romantics and cultural policy. **International Journal of Cultural Policy**, v. 12, n. 2, Taylor & Francis, pp. 117–134, 2006. p. 120.

[63] Ibid. p. 119.

Regarding the first aspect: intellectuals need to consider the diverse roots (Indigenous, African and European) that formed Latin America and – not less important – the multiple paths of its modernities[64], the history of unstable political processes (revolutions[65], authoritarian regimes[66], re-democratisations[67]), and the debate between the state and the market that permeates their activities. For the second aspect: Latin America´s intellectuals have been historically involved in the definitions and representations of Latin America´s identities[68]; they are often engaged in power and are influential in it, even if they do not become experts[69]; they also have the function of guiding the majority of people, many of whom, in Latin America´s very unequal societies, endure ignorance and marginalisation; they often hesitate on how to cope with globalisation and on what model of integration suits better. I would add that intellectuals need institutional endorsement in Latin America if they wish to have any public impact; this means that the institution that supports one´s ideas matters. A scholar´s proposal has hardly any policy relevance in Latin America if one´s image is not constructed, encouraged and publicised by institutions outside academia. To provide examples, the media consecrate intellectuals (artists, musicians and writers) while organisations sponsor meetings between experts to gain certain legitimacy for their policies.

This thesis considers García Canclini as an intellectual who sits halfway between his role as an academic developing his theories on culture and as a public

---

[64] The emergence, transformation and consolidation of Latin America´s heterogeneous modernities will be given due attention in chapters 2 and 3 (for example the concept of 'hybrid cultures' in chapter 3). In the meantime, this section informs that Latin American intellectuals constantly influence (speaking either directly or indirectly to decision-makers) Latin America´s process of modernisation to guide or legitimise its multiple paths towards modernity.

[65] Mexico (1910), Cuba (1959) and Nicaragua (1979) underwent revolutionary processes.

[66] The following countries are a few examples of those that experienced authoritarian regimes in the second half of the twentieth century in Latin America: Argentina (1976–1983), Bolivia (1964–1982), Brazil (1964–1985), Chile (1973–1990) and Peru (1968–1980). Some of these also had other military periods. Chapter 2 will show that the political context in Mexico notably differed from other Latin American countries in the twentieth century.

[67] The national political contexts of Latin America result from the re-democratisation of its societies after the fall of its dictatorships during the 1980s. Latin American intellectuals esteem the challenges of re-democratisation.

[68] AGGIO, Alberto; PINHEIRO, Marcos Sorrilha. Os intelectuais e as representações da identidade latino-americana. **Dimensões: Revista de História da UFES (Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo)**, Vitória, UFES, v. 29, pp. 22–49, 2012. The Brazilian historians Alberto Aggio and Marcos Pinheiro understand that there has existed historically 'the centrality of intellectuals in relation to the theme of Latin American identity' (p. 24). TBM.

[69] This is precisely the issue which the Argentine literary critic Beatriz Sarlo is concerned with when she refers to the growth of experts (*expertos*) – who she claims are less committed with political and social transformations – and the decreasing number of intellectuals. See the last chapter ('Intellectuals') of her book SARLO, Beatriz. *Scenes from postmodern life*. Translated by Jon Beasley-Murray. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

figure with practical affinities with policy-makers from many non-academic institutions. He knows how prudent an intellectual should be: 'In exceptional cases, an intellectual is permitted to participate in mass communication, or in "extrauniversity" fields such as public policy, but on the condition that he or she not transfer to the intellectual field – let us say to his or her books – the spectacular style of the media or the passion of political struggle.'[70] García Canclini's position contrasts with Gramsci´s concern with intellectuals who do not feel and understand people´s needs, as shown in the first paragraph of this section. An intellectual, for Gramsci, should be passionate and deeply involved with social and cultural matters by struggling enthusiastically for the interests of people in need. It can be deduced from García Canclini's words, however, that an intellectual should be aware of the conditions of the position from which one is speaking (his mention of books suggests the role of a writer or even that of an academic) so as to avoid, as in the examples he gives, the spectacle of the media and the fervour of politics. There is communication between different fields, although each complies with a different logic. Even though García Canclini´s ideas echo beyond academia (e.g. in Mexico´s Chamber of Deputies and Senate of the Republic), the sociocultural change (e.g. liberation of the popular classes and brotherhood in Latin America´s integration) propounded in his work is rhetorical. This thesis shows that his oscillation between the theoretical and the practical realms substantiates a political operation. So chapter 1 will analyse concepts and processes related to culture and cultural policy. It will highlight how García Canclini´s theoretical ideas differ from the practicality of his institutional approaches. I will argue that there is a cultural policy shift from institutionally-oriented instrument to intellectually-oriented operation.[71] This work therefore considers an alternative mode of cultural policy-making; this is, that García Canclini not only discusses, proposes and suggests cultural-policy – he conducts cultural policy as an implicit and unconventional political operation.

García Canclini´s relationships with institutions were diverse and included obtaining sponsorship for academic conferences from international organisations and speaking at the rostrum of the Mexican parliament about a proposal of a law for

---

[70] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Hybrid cultures: Strategies for entering and leaving modernity.* Translated by Christopher L. Chiappari and Silvia L. López. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. p. 271.

[71] The definitions of cultural policy given by García Canclini himself (his definition will be shown in chapter 3) and by UNESCO (this institution´s definition appears in chapter 1) underpin my argument.

culture.[72] The content of his activities was also manifold (e.g. he discussed topics such as heritage and museums, the cultural effects of regional integration, the cultural aspects of Mexico´s foreign policy, and young people´s use of new technologies). Leaving it at this, though, would reduce the main argument of this thesis to saying that he is a public intellectual who bridged academia and policy.[73] Therefore, it is necessary for me to discuss in detail in the course of this and of the following chapters what cultural policy is and how it develops in Latin America to show how García Canclini fulfils a more complex role as an intellectual.

As culture has been secondary to governmental policy-making (in terms of the economy and security) in Latin America, García Canclini encouraged culture to a position of relevance while he performed his academic responsibilities in a variety of Latin American institutions. He did so by extending networks (on national and international levels), building spaces (adopting the notions of cultural spaces and supranational public spaces), forging practices (tracing the latest cultural contexts and processes which are objects of policy) and enlarging possibilities (suggesting cultural policy-makers other than the state). Thus, cultural policy-making is construed in this thesis as something other than an action which results from a document, report or strategy plan. The Chilean sociologist Eduardo Devés-Valdés´s notion of intellectual networks[74] in Latin America is helpful in building this argument about García Canclini. Collaboration and institutions are the two most important elements in Devés-Valdés´s analysis of intellectuals; for him, the activities of intellectuals in Latin America are boosted when they form networks. The intellectual networks have particularly become 'a theoretical construct which is systematically used for understanding the intellectual evolution of the continent, including its relationships with other regions of the world'[75].

---

[72] Chapter 4 will provide further information about these activities.

[73] BURNS, Rob; WILL, Wilfried van der. Intellectuals as cultural agenda-setters in the Federal Republic. **International Journal of Cultural Policy**, v. 12, n. 3, Francis & Taylor, pp. 291–322, 2006. My argument differs from that of Burns and Will (who are lecturers in German Studies in English universities) because the 'intellectual as practitioner of cultural policy' (p. 318), for them, means somebody who does cultural policy when he or she occupies political positions. They argue that the German Hilmar Hoffmann is an example of this kind of intellectual because, among holding other positions in Germany´s public policy, he was responsible for the German Foreign Office´s cultural policy. García Canclini has never been a policy-maker in this sense, although he contributed to cultural policy reports such as UNESCO´s 1998 World Culture Report by writing one of its policy-oriented articles.

[74] I remind the reader that I made my first reference in this thesis to Eduardo Devés-Valdés's concept of 'intellectual networks' earlier in the 'Methodology' section.

[75] DEVÉS-VALDÉS, Eduardo. *Redes intelectuales en América Latina: Hacia la constitución de una comunidad internacional*. Santiago de Chile: Colección Idea, Segunda Época, Instituto de Estudios Avanzados of the Universidad Santiago de Chile, 2007. p. 29. TBM.

Devés-Valdés understands that 'academics tend frequently to transcend themselves so as to influence the polis (although not necessarily on the national level)'[76]. His thoughts on intellectual networks indicate the need to contextualise the notion of public intellectuals.

Ahearne´s ideas about public intellectuals enlighten some of García Canclini´s activities in Mexico, where he clearly tries to influence decision-making at times (as chapter 4 will explore). This is because an important point from Ahearne´s perspective is that public intellectuals 'bring a broader historico-cultural frame of reference to bear on given political problems and issues'[77]. However, most of García Canclini´s relationships with institutions (in Mexico and in such countries as Argentina, Brazil and Colombia) indicate that his cultural policy operation follows a different logic (spotlighted in the first part of chapter 4), which is an argument that Devés Valdés´s understanding of intellectual networks supports. This thesis is less concerned with the problem of how an intellectual (namely an academic) can formulate policy and more with how one can exert power in an unconventional way (apart from political mandates) through an intellectually-oriented cultural policy operation. Thus, this work highlights policy-making instead of policy outcomes. But, at this point of the analysis, it is necessary to scrutinise some conceptual frameworks of culture and those of cultural policy to explore such a particular position on intellectuals and policy-making further.

1.1.2. Common inspirations for an inclusive definition of culture

Culture can be interpreted as the cultivation of elite forms of living and taste, which Bourdieu suggested to be elements of social distinctions[78], or as a synonym for civilisation. The English sociologist John Brookshire Thompson – although he seems to be more concerned with ideology (and its presence in the media) than culture – traced the history of the ideological content of culture as it was expressed in the sense of civilisation in the late nineteenth century English and French societies. Here 'the uses of

---

[76] Ibid. p. 31. TBM. I kept the word 'polis' as it originally appears in the original quotation, even though this is not the best term here because it is a political concept that refers to the city-state in the ancient Greece.

[77] AHEARNE, Jeremy. *Intellectuals, culture and public policy in France: Approaches from the left.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010. p. 34.

[78] BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste.* Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984. Bourdieu´s research shows that taste reinforces the division between social classes. It seems that distinction, for Bourdieu, is a need only of the elites and not of underprivileged people, who rarely try to distinguish themselves from other people through their customs.

the words "culture" and "civilization" overlapped: both terms were used increasingly to describe a general process of human development, of becoming "cultivated" or "civilized".'[79] Thompson added that the term culture understood as civilisation was used 'to describe a progressive process of human development, a movement towards refinement and order and away from barbarism and savagery'[80]. Referring to an earlier period than Thompson did, Raymond Williams noted the early uses of the Latin term *cultura* to mean the cultivation and 'the tending of something, basically crops or animals'[81]. Nevertheless, both Thompson and Williams suggest that certain groups of people have been marginalised in widely accepted notions of culture. Therefore, divergences in the meanings of culture and the exclusion of certain groups allow for academic examination of such issues. This section discusses an understanding of culture that incorporates the conditions which are experienced by underprivileged people.

By addressing the research topic yet, at the same time, recognising this is just one possible interpretation, this section looks at a particular conception of culture in reference to power relations, class divisions, social inequalities and hierarchies in contemporary societies. It proposes a reflection on how the pressure and the struggle of underprivileged people against the reproduction of elitist conceptions of culture can reduce these social contrasts. In this context, García Canclini significantly contributes to this debate because culture is, for him, something broader and more meaningful than a) ideological state apparatuses and instruments of mass control (as Louis Althusser proposes in his essay *Ideology and ideological state apparatuses*[82]), b) anything related to symbolic production and social distinction (thinking of the ideas Pierre Bourdieu develops in his books *The field of cultural production: Essays on art and literature*[83] and *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*[84]), c) dominations and

---

[79] THOMPSON, John B. *Ideology and modern culture: Critical social theory in the era of mass communication*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1990. p. 124.

[80] Ibid. p. 124.

[81] WILLIAMS, Raymond. *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society*. London: Fontana Press, 1976. p. 87.

[82] ALTHUSSER, Louis. Ideology and ideological state apparatuses. In: ALTHUSSER, Louis. *Lenin and philosophy and other essays*. Translated from French by Ben Brewster. London and New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971.

[83] BOURDIEU, Pierre. *The field of cultural production: Essays on art and literature*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1993.

[84] BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984.

polarisations (following Antonio Gramsci's terms in his *Prison notebooks*[85]), and d) historical-material conditions that make culture and economy indissociable (I am considering *The German ideology*[86] written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels). Most of the authors who are discussed in this section directly influenced García Canclini´s definition of culture. I highlight next the contributions of two French social scientists.

Pierre Bourdieu (I have made references above of his key books[87]) and Claude Lévi-Strauss (especially his books *The savage mind*[88] and *Structural anthropology*[89]) influenced García Canclini´s thinking in their respective disciplines of sociology and anthropology. Bourdieu conducted research on the reproduction of social order through arts consumption and urban educational systems, whereas Lévi-Strauss conducted ethnological and empirical research activities based on the European conception of primitive and savage social organisations.[90] Bourdieu traced the exogenous factors which determine and shape social relationships through his social theorisation work while Lévi-Strauss inquired about the unconscious elements of social interactions from an anthropological perspective. What they have in common is an attempt to systematise their theoretical understanding of society. I add to my account that Lévi-Strauss devised an anthropological perspective of how to comprehend society by structuring it into models which, in turn, led to his empirical social interpretation of kinship relations and language. These models helped him to understand social structure but not empirical

[85] GRAMSCI, Antonio. *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971.

[86] MARX, Karl; ENGELS, Friedrich. 2nd Edition. *The German ideology*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1974.

[87] I bring up in the previous paragraph two of Bourdieu's books that are the most influential on García Canclini. Two others also deserve mention: *Sociology in question* and *Reproduction in education, society in culture* (Bourdieu co-authored this latter book with Jean-Claude Passeron). The full references are: BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Sociology in question*. Translated by Richard Nice. London: SAGE Publications, 1993. And BOURDIEU, Pierre; PASSERON, Jean-Claude. *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. Translated from the French by Richard Nice. 2nd Edition. London: Sage Publications, 1990.

[88] LÉVI-STRAUSS, Claude. *The savage mind*. Translated by George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd. London: The Garden City Press Limited, 1966.

[89] LÉVI-STRAUSS, Claude. *Structural anthropology*. Translated from French by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1968.

[90] LÉVI-STRAUSS, Claude. *The savage mind*. Translated by George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd. London: The Garden City Press Limited, 1966. Before García Canclini wrote on the popular, he had made a cultural analysis of the primitive. Lévi-Strauss´s thoughts were influential on García Canclini in their attempts to prove that there are no superior or inferior, higher or lower cultures. Lévi-Strauss suggested the relativity of culture: 'When we make the mistake of thinking that the Savage is governed solely by organic or economic needs, we forget that he levels the same reproach at us, and that to him his own desire for knowledge seems more balanced than ours.' (p. 3) Therefore, García Canclini noted that, for Lévi-Strauss, even the most primitive cultures are logical and structured, and that they are not inferior in scientific development to European ones despite the fact that non-Western cultures followed different paths of evolution.

reality because 'what is true of *process* is not so true of *structure*'[91]. From another angle, Bourdieu examined how domination becomes objectively impelling in societies and how the dominant cultures are reproduced in the French educational system; he was in search of 'the external imperatives defining its function of legitimating the established order'[92]. Bourdieu argued that this process happens in a way which does not necessarily depend on the will of the players who are directly involved in the social relations.

García Canclini assimilated these ideas and he soon defined culture after analysing certain antecedents which he claims are not independent from cultural production. Two of these are the economic conditions and the class divisions of modern societies; the relationship of these two factors on culture can be seen in this quote where he writes: 'All cultures, however simple they might be, are structured and have coherence and meaning within themselves.'[93] The only time he defined culture (in chapter 1 – 'Definition of the popular: Romanticism, positivism, and the Gramscian tendency' – in his book *Transforming modernity*) coincided with the period when he conducted research on popular expressions (the popular arts[94] in Argentina at the beginning of the 1970s and then popular culture in Mexico at the end of the 1970s). However, it is relevant to emphasise that he does not define culture at any other moment of his academic career; furthermore, culture for him changes from being an instrument for the subversion of the popular classes (as a reaction to domination, hierarchies and oppression) to being one for their constant negotiation with capitalism, modernity and globalisation, as chapter 3 will indicate. Contributions from Bourdieu, Lévi-Strauss and Marx influenced García Canclini as the following excerpt suggests:

> The critique of the scientific and political value of anthropology´s contribution will lead us to link the concept of culture to those of production, superstructure, ideology,

---

[91] LÉVI-STRAUSS, Claude. *Structural anthropology*. Translated from French by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1968. p. 16. [Emphasis original]. Lévi-Strauss´s most relevant contribution to this section is in the chapter XV ('Social structure') of his book.

[92] BOURDIEU, Pierre; PASSERON, Jean-Claude. *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. Translated from the French by Richard Nice. 2nd Edition. London: Sage Publications, 1990. p. 199.

[93] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. p. 2.

[94] I have made a few uses of the term 'popular arts' throughout this thesis with the purpose of being specific about the concepts and ideas that García Canclini discussed in his book *Folk art and society in Latin America* (*Arte popular y sociedad en América Latina. Mexico City: Editorial Grijalbo, 1977.*). In all cases, I either refer to his ideas about 'popular arts' or make a quotation of his work. He basically refers to his research on the arts as these are produced by 'the popular classes' in Latin America.

hegemony, and social classes, as developed by Marxism. We will thus characterize culture as a particular type of production, whose objective is to understand, reproduce, and transform the social structure and to struggle for hegemony.[95]

A few pages after stating this in his book *Transforming modernity*, García Canclini defined culture as

the production of phenomena that contribute, through symbolic representation or reelaboration of material structures, to understand, reproduce, or transform the social system, in other words, all practices and institutions involved in the administration, renewal, and restructuring of meaning.[96]

Following this definition of culture, I adopt the position that culture is a human attribute which enables the material and symbolic reproduction or transformation of institutions and of individual and social practices. Wondering why certain cultural expressions are disdained, misrepresented or even deemed as subordinate, García Canclini examined anthropological, philosophical and sociological notions of culture within Latin America´s specific modernities[97]. García Canclini´s work, especially during the 1970s and early 1980s, indicate that he could not accept that the elite excluded underprivileged people's ways of living and thinking from economic and social developments. In fact, he would not be satisfied until he could explain why their cultures were underrated; moreover, he later raised the political role of the popular classes´ cultures in society. One of García Canclini´s closest colleagues, the Mexican anthropologist Eduardo Nivón Bolán, more recently suspected that 'a great proportion of García Canclini´s discomfort with the attention given to popular cultures was due to the disdainful sense of its relationship with modernity'[98]. By this statement, Nivón Bolán suggested that the cultures that the lowest social classes produce should not be excluded from the usual discourses and practices of modernity that separate the traditional and modern, popular and elite, low and cultivated. As the influences on

---

[95] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. p. 1.

[96] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. p. 10.

[97] Aspects of Latin America´s specific modernities such as its hybrid cultures will be discussed further in chapter 3.

[98] Eduardo Nivón Bolán. Presentación: Una vida de trabajo, disciplina y arte. In: NIVÓN BOLÁN, Eduardo (Ed.). *Voces híbridas: Reflexiones en torno a la obra de García Canclini*. Mexico City: Siglo XXI Editores, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Unidad Iztapalapa, División de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, 2012. pp. 17–18. TBM.

García Canclini suggest, culture for him relates to a position or a relation that changes constantly in time.

García Canclini soon developed a theoretical political position whereby he understood the popular classes as a group of people representing a social class which had the chance to resist the objective and unconscious forces that reproduce dominations, distinctions, hierarchies, and the conditions of inequality and abandonment to which such classes are subjected. However, his hope regarding such political perspective on the popular classes is not expected to be solely understood as a mere theoretical wish – which would be thus disconnected from praxis – to change their historical conditions. In addition to this, Marxism is more noticeable and more relevant in García Canclini´s work early in his career, although he was more concerned with the social contradictions in the concept of culture than with its historical development.

Hence the main issue in García Canclini´s definition of culture is the awareness of the position of popular culture in modern societies. However, the use of the term popular is rarely discerning and historically based. It is helpful though that García Canclini considers popular culture deductively from a broader theoretical problem to the narrower Latin American case, which led him to interpret hybrid cultures[99] as the combination of opposing types (popular/elite; traditional/modern). García Canclini, who earlier read Marx to improve his knowledge about popular culture, acknowledged the negotiating countermeasure coming from the popular classes and the intricate relationship between culture and power in Latin America[100]. Nevertheless, caution must be taken with García Canclini´s account of popular culture because he refers to concepts which have been used in many different theoretical debates such as those on ideology and historical materialism.

For this reason, this section elucidates a very brief discussion on ideology before developing key ideas on popular culture. Regarding the notion of ideology, García Canclini was influenced by Althusser[101], who emphasised certain cultural aspects which

---

[99] See chapter 3 for further information on hybrid cultures.

[100] I find support to this idea in the relationship that Daniel Mato establishes between culture and power in Latin America in a context in which extra-academic activities (e.g. the approach to social movements) have been devalued in the region due to the demands of productivity and peer-reviewed publications which are made to researchers. MATO, Daniel. Estudios y otras prácticas intelectuales latinoamericanas en cultura y poder. In: MATO, Daniel (Ed.). *Estudios y otras prácticas intelectuales latinoamericanas en cultura y poder*. Caracas: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO) y CEAP, FACES, Universidad Central de Venezuela, 2002.

[101] ALTHUSSER, Louis. Ideology and ideological state apparatuses. In: ALTHUSSER, Louis. *Lenin and philosophy and other essays*. Translated from French by Ben Brewster. London and New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971.

are implicit in Marx´s work. Althusser found some of the ideological apparatuses of the state in institutions such as the school, the church and the army. He argued that class struggles had to be understood in relation to ideology where the subordination of the certain people's workforce to a dominant social class can be seen via the means of production. Althusser was also concerned with 'the existence of the necessity of the reproduction of the material conditions of production'[102]. In fact, Althusser´s perspective indicates how institutions reproduce ideologies that reflect the modes of economic production. That Althusser and Marx considered the historical determinants and the contextualisation of the reproduction of certain social practices is what matters to García Canclini´s understanding of culture.

These theoretical antecedents influenced García Canclini´s definition of culture, which draws on the development of capitalism and shows how specific social relations determine the position of each cultural form (as a subordinated or as a dominant one). Due to this viewpoint, modernity provides an interpretation of culture that re-locates the power of underprivileged people in their struggle against the ruling groups. Aware of this, García Canclini searched for a definition of culture while the main authors who influenced his ideas on culture focused on understanding the meanings and effects of ideology in the material conditions of cultural formation and reproduction. The difference between García Canclini and the Marxist authors he read is that he based his understanding of material conditions on rather more notable inequalities and other social disadvantages in Latin American societies. To think of popular culture, during the 1970s and 1980s, meant to consider the reproduction of the social classes which did not possess the instruments of production (in Marx´s terms of base and superstructure). I add to my analysis that these underprivileged people were also subordinated to the dominant classes through the reproduction of ideologies. Ideology works then as a symbolic point of balance in society´s relations of power. This is the part of my analysis of the influences on García Canclini to which Marx makes further contributions.

Marx´s[103] interpretation of culture can be deduced from his writings on the ideological aspects of capitalism. Culture is not explicitly discussed by him; instead, it can be inferred as the reproduction of the labour conditions/relations within the

---

[102] ALTHUSSER, Louis. Ideology and ideological state apparatuses. In: ALTHUSSER, Louis. *Lenin and philosophy and other essays*. Translated from French by Ben Brewster. London and New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971. p. 130.

[103] The book he wrote with Friedrich Engels discusses such ideological aspects of capitalism. See MARX, Karl; ENGELS, Friedrich. 2nd Edition. *The German ideology*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1974.

capitalist mode of production. The ruling classes and the subordinated classes are represented by their particular and exclusive ideas. Marx and Engels, in the chapter 'The real basis of ideology'[104] of their book *The German ideology*, clarified that the development of big factories in avant-garde industrialist countries such as England and France created a homogenising tendency in the development of capitalism in the West: it established class relations based on labour conditions and private properties, and it attenuated particularities of other nationalities in the world. Marx and Engels were thinking in terms of an opposition between possessing (or not) the means of production and the sale of labour force. This section makes reference to this view because there is a later understanding of popular culture grounded in a Marxist perspective of the relationship between social classes.

García Canclini also employed the Marxist theory on historical materialism to understand popular culture and the formation of social exclusions, hierarchies and inequalities. In addition, Gramsci is quoted in García Canclini´s reflections on ethnocentrism and cultural relativism in *Transforming modernity*. They both wonder about the possibility of a universal convergence of cultures when the problem of social inequalities is reduced. Gramsci is influential in García Canclini´s thinking in terms of modern social formations. Besides, Gramsci´s viewpoint on the disconnection between intellectuals and the conditions of popular classes (as shown in the first paragraph of the previous section on intellectuals) is an antecedent to the ongoing interpretation that popular culture has been susceptible to discredit from the ruling classes.

Whereas popular culture is often generalised as everything which is not elitist or which does not fit specific official discourses (given by the state, the media, etc.), some scholars identify a few social groups they consider as belonging to the popular classes. Two of these academics deserve attention: the Brazilian philosopher Marilena Chauí[105] and the Brazilian sociologist Renato Ortiz[106]. Chauí writes about *boias-frias*, black people, prostitutes, homosexuals, women victimised by rape and torture, and petty criminals; these social groups, from her point of view, are examples of people from the

---

[104] MARX, Karl; ENGELS, Friedrich. 2nd Edition. *The German ideology*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1974.

[105] Chauí discusses ideas about Latin America's popular classes and popular culture in her article CHAUÍ, Marilena. Cultura e democracia. **Crítica y Emancipación: Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales**, Buenos Aires, CLACSO, v. 1, n. 1, pp. 53–76, June 2008.

[106] See the article ORTIZ, Renato. Notas históricas sobre el concepto de cultura popular. Translated from Portuguese to Spanish by Walter Neira Bronttis. **Diálogos de la comunicación**, Review of the Federación Latinoamericana de Facultades de Comunicación Social, n. 23, 1989.

popular classes. In her view, the hierarchical relations in Brazilian society result in a myriad of instances of cultural and social violence; she expresses this idea by comparing what the law means for wealthy people and the popular classes: the first group understands the law as a privilege while the popular classes see it as repression.[107] In a different way, Ortiz acknowledges that popular culture has lately become an object of scientific research and that, in Latin America, the study of popular culture considers this notion as a necessary part of the formation of national identity.[108] Both Chauí and Ortiz agree that the popular classes deserve attention from the state, especially in relation to its discourses upon social equity; therefore, the authors focus not only on the theoretical aspects of the popular but also on appreciating the political demands of a few people belonging to the popular classes and their need for social recognition.

An examination of popular culture in Latin America cannot neglect that the debate on popular culture surfaced with notable contrasts between Latin America, on one side, and the United States and most of the Western European countries on the other. The concern in Latin America was with the inclusion of the disadvantaged social classes into the discourses, spaces and venues controlled by the hegemonic classes, whereas in the United States the popular cannot be understood independently of the media and their standardisation processes. Regarding both forms of interpretation of popular culture, the popular classes in Latin America have never allowed their voices to be completely silenced, even in the circumstances they have been mediated by the apparatuses of mass communication (radio, satellite, computer, etc.).

Also related to the perspective on the popular classes developed in this section is John Fiske´s contribution to the debate on popular culture. Despite Fiske´s academic development in England, Australia and the United States, and his interest in media studies, his approach to popular culture is similar to Gramsci´s hegemonic and subaltern oppositions. Both Fiske and Gramsci are grounded in a critique of capitalist societies. Fiske is the motivation for linking the ideas proposed in this section about the definition of culture with the different meanings that popular culture might assume in the media contexts. Fiske posited that 'popular culture is made by various formations of subordinated or disempowered people out of the resources, both discursive and material,

---

[107] CHAUÍ, Marilena. Cultura e democracia. **Crítica y Emancipación: Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales**, Buenos Aires, CLACSO, v. 1, n. 1, pp. 53–76, June 2008. pp. 70–71.

[108] ORTIZ, Renato. Notas históricas sobre el concepto de cultura popular. Translated from Portuguese to Spanish by Walter Neira Bronttis. **Diálogos de la comunicación**, Review of the Federación Latinoamericana de Facultades de Comunicación Social, n. 23, 1989.

that are provided by the social system that disempowers them. It is therefore contradictory and conflictual to its core.'[109] One of his most important premises is that popular culture becomes popular when the cultures of the subordinate social classes situate themselves in the marketplace; until then, they are just oral and subordinated expressions of evasion and resistance. Fiske added that 'the electronic media become popular to the extent that they distance themselves from the literate and approximate the oral'[110]. For this reason, thinking of popular culture in relation to the media suggests another conception of social classes insofar as hierarchies and inequalities reproduce somewhere else. Some cultural expressions are minimally adapted to be considered popular culture, although, in certain contexts, this process standardises taste; the theoretical horizon of the 'micro-level cultures'[111] can also be interpreted as those cultures expressed by a high number of people instead of those from underprivileged people only. Although Fiske´s ideas do not influence García Canclini (at least not in the contents of *Transforming modernity* and for his definition of culture), they are helpful in reinforcing and clarifying my point about popular culture in this section.

Conceptual references about culture require a theoretical way of reasoning which ranges from spiritual intuition to material captivity in order to avoid the risk of appropriation of one of the multiple meanings that culture has. Consequently, the construction of the argument here is not possible without capturing a few tangible aspects of culture, one of which is that the production of meaning is closely related to society´s material conditions and organisation. The theoretical support to do this certainly cannot be that culture is a loose entity, but it can be that the need for a definition of culture is somehow grounded in the popular classes´ cultural marginalisations, economic inequalities and social struggles for inclusion. This point reiterates the inextricable political role that culture plays. Fiske elucidated this thought by arguing, in his book *Reading the popular*, that popular culture 'is made from within and below, not imposed from without or above as mass cultural theorists would have it.'[112] He added: 'There is always an element of popular culture that lies outside social control, that escapes or opposes hegemonic forces.'[113] This reinforces the argument that

---

[109] FISKE, John. *Reading the popular*. London: Routledge, 1989. pp. 1–2.

[110] Ibid. p. 195.

[111] Ibid. p. 193.

[112] FISKE, John. *Reading the popular*. London: Routledge, 1989. p. 2.

[113] Ibid. p. 2.

there is an indissoluble bond between culture and communication[114] within cultural policy analysis which assimilates the demands from the popular classes because there is an underlying resistance in popular culture´s intrinsic need to subtly communicate. García Canclini´s belligerent notion of culture (as struggles between classes and groups) would change into a negotiating one (e.g. the ideas of hybrid cultures and interculturality).[115] In the meantime, he discretely refrained from reconceptualising culture in his subsequent publications.

This section has argued that culture not only represents a social formation but it essentially also has the potential to transform social conditions. It is crucial in García Canclini´s work during the late 1970s and the 1980s that the popular classes are usually the protagonists of social changes while the elite strives to keep its domination, ethnocentrism and pre-eminence in relation to the other social classes, divisions and groups. It can be stated that, within this cultural battlefield of unequal societies, the popular classes´ cultures transcend their representation and channel their energies into action. In the last chapter of *Transforming modernity*, García Canclini stated that 'a cultural policy that seeks to serve the popular classes must start with an unexpected answer to the following question: What needs to be protected, crafts or artisans?'[116] Handicrafts in Mexico inspire García Canclini´s reflections on cultural policy for the popular classes. The attention turns next to the notion of cultural policy.

1.1.3. Covert and implicit political meanings of cultural policy

While the previous section concentrated on the crucial influences García Canclini had to formulate his particular conception of culture, this one broadens the notion of cultural policy by discussing multiple uses of this term in many different contexts. An argument which guides the current section is that each cultural policy has a covert and implicit political meaning behind the overtly explicit political message. A consequence of this is

---

[114] ZALLO EGUEZABAL, Ramón. *Estructuras de la comunicación y de la cultura: Políticas para la era digital*. Barcelona: Gedisa Editorial, 2011. This idea is supported by the Spanish scholar Ramón Zallo, who affirmed, in the 'Nota' of page 12, that the central thesis of his book is that 'culture gives meaning to communication'; later, on page 43 of his book, he added that 'culture keeps some complex relations with communication itself'. TBM. Also relevant to this argument is MARTÍN-BARBERO, Jesús. Medios y culturas en el espacio latinoamericano. **Iberoamericana: América Latina – España – Portugal**, Madrid, v. 2, n. 6, pp. 89–106, June 2002. Jesús Martín-Barbero argued that cultural policy, at least since the 1980s, necessarily includes the audiovisual industries of the media. On page 89, he clarified that technology plays a significant role in the link that is established between culture and communication.

[115] Chapter 3 will examine these major changes in García Canclini´s ideas on culture.

[116] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. p. 111.

that institutions make the latter work, whereas the contents of the former are barely known.

When García Canclini wonders, at the end of *Transforming modernity*, whether handicrafts or the artisans should be protected by cultural policy, he actually questions the reasons for (and eventually the lack of) governmental attitudes and strategies towards cultural issues. He is searching for an answer to why people – more specifically those belonging to the popular classes – are addressed inadequately and insufficiently by cultural policy; his concern is that all the state does is formulate cultural policy ascribing to the cultural industries a decisive role in their official discourses such as those of access and democratisation[117]. Thus, cultural policy turns out to be another mechanism for the management of a perennial model of dominations, inequalities and subordinations (as the previous section has shown in relation to notions of culture). However, the term cultural policy appeared later to refer to a governmental instrument to channel actions and strategies for cultural issues. Two aspects directly relate to cultural policy: its institutional development and its relationship with cities.

Cultural policy has not been created exclusively to guide, control, organise or promote the standards of cultural phenomena because cultural issues have been objects within policy much earlier than the coinage of cultural policy and the start of its institutional usage.[118] During the second half of the twentieth century, the cultural aspects that mattered for public management were singled out because of the need to develop cultural policy institutions and to define its objects clearly. The main issues regarding cultural policy always seem related to what should or should not be considered objects of cultural policy, the cultural policy institutional models, the centralisation and decentralisation of decision-making, public or private sponsorship of culture, and access to and diffusion of culture. Cultural policy as a specific policy sector develops with ensuing urbanisation and raises the need to manage symbolic urban

---

[117] I point out the difference between democracy as a political regime and democratisation as the access to something such as cultural goods and services. To avoid mistakes in the use of these terms, another distinction between them has been made from the perspective of political thought in SCRUTON, Roger. *A dictionary of political thought*. London: Pan Books, 1983. Scruton defines democracy as follows: 'Literally, government by the people as a whole (Greek: *demos*) rather than by any section, class or interest within it.' (pp. 115–116) And he defines democratisation as follows: 'The introduction of features of collective choice into institutions and associations which are not themselves parts of government' (p. 118). However, chapter 2 is an exception because it mentions re-democratisation in Argentina in the sense of a return to the political regime of democracy after the fall of dictatorship.

[118] AHEARNE, Jeremy. Cultural policy explicit and implicit: A distinction and some uses. **International Journal of Cultural Policy**, Taylor & Francis, v. 15, n. 2, pp. 141–153, May 2009. See Ahearne´s ideas on pp. 143 and 147.

challenges; cultural policy is consequently rooted in the development of urban landscapes insofar as it includes the issues of citizenship, diversity, access, inclusion, democratisation and preservation. No matter how influenced cultural policy is by heritage and tradition, it usually results from a systematic attitude towards and a planned set of actions for organising symbolic phenomena in cities. This first chapter highlights the institutional development of cultural policy in Latin America, but it does so by emphasising that cultural policy is actually not a new issue and it can convey implicit messages. The references in this paragraph to certain particular issues such as diversity, access and preservation does not mean that they are profoundly discussed in this thesis, but that there are ongoing debates about cultural policy developments, objects and procedures in many countries all around the world and that these are a few of the most common topics. I am actually moving from general ideas about cultural policy (including particular issues related to it such as access, diversity and preservation) to the aspects that matter for my investigation. It is fundamental, in my analysis in this chapter, to show that the conventional notion of cultural policy as an institutionally-oriented instrument to achieve results such as access, diversity and preservation contains gaps in terms of its covert and implicit political meanings.

Cultural policy formulation often involves a theoretical support for practical actions, strategies and outcomes. The Spanish sociologist José Vidal-Beneyto did so in the early 1980s by developing a European conceptual background to cultural policy. His thought was that cultural phenomena were much more in evidence in everyday life and in government in the early 1980s than they were a few decades earlier. He proposed that culture was intrinsically related to power and, more precisely, the power of the state. This perspective can be understood 'as <<politics>> – the what and the who of its players and their exercise –, and as <<policy>> – the what and the how of its practice –, which are held by a unique protagonist: the state.'[119] However, he recognised the need to consider the state as only one of the possible cultural policy-makers. It can be deduced from his article *Towards a theoretical ground of cultural policy* (*Hacia una fundamentación teórica de la política cultural*, 1981) that cultural policy reflects the political atmosphere of an epoch and that it is essential to assess cultural policy by understanding other policy sectors. In addition to these theoretical aspects, cultural

---

[119] VIDAL-BENEYTO, José. Hacia una fundamentación teórica de la política cultural. **Reis: Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas**, Madrid, n. 16, pp. 123–134, 1981. p. 125. TBM.

policy has certain particularities when it comes to the terms it involves and to discussing, for instance, either the use of cultural industries or creative industries.

As an example of these terminological differences, the Australian media Professor Terry Flew explains the use of the phrase creative industries instead of the cultural industries by suggesting that the term creative industries has an address and a date of birth. He clarifies that the Labour Party government of Tony Blair in the United Kingdom coined it in 1997 'to develop new policies for industries associated with the arts, media, design and digital content'[120]. However, Flew was aware that one of the main criticisms of the term creative industries is that creativity is not exclusive to the cultural sectors. Flew´s main point concerns what can be included or not in the creative industries; hence, computers, software and other information technologies might play an important role in cultural policy. However, I use cultural policy for my thesis despite these terminological differences. Due to my definition of culture, which encompasses a broader range of cultural objects (and not only the creative industries), it makes more sense to use cultural industries rather than creative industries in my thesis. I find this clarification important because I have done my doctoral thesis in England and the term 'creative industries' highlights the current contentious debate taking place within academic discourse in the United Kingdom over this term. I will also show later by quotations and analyses that the author I investigate in this thesis uses the term 'cultural' rather than 'creative' in his cultural policy ideas.

The idea in France that the state has a central role in the management and sponsorship of cultural production, knowledge and the arts comes from institutional formations that happened much earlier than its Ministry of Cultural Affairs (Ministère des Affaires Culturelles). This institution was created in February 1959 by the French president Charles de Gaulle and, since then, has had many different names such as Ministry of Culture and Environment (Ministère de la Culture et de l'Environnement) and Ministry of Culture and Communication (Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication).[121] One of the earliest French cultural policies (but not referred to as cultural policy at that time) is royal patronage in sixteenth-century France, according to

---

[120] FLEW, Terry. *The creative industries: Culture and policy*. London: SAGE Publications, 2012. p. 3.

[121] MINISTÈRE de la Culture et de la Communication. *L`histoire du ministère*, n.d. Available at <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Ministere/L-histoire-du-ministere>. Accessed on 1 May 2013.

Jean-Cédric Delvainquière.[122] The French national cultural management model would be emulated after 1959 by many countries worldwide in continents such as Europe, Africa and America, where their policy-makers believe in the nineteenth-century French values of civilisation and progress and in France´s institutional developments during the twentieth century.

When France formulated cultural policy during the 1960s to protect its national identity against the overflow of foreign cultural products, the minister André Malraux headed the French Ministry of Cultural Affairs. One of its most important ministers for policies in this issue is Jack Lang, who was concerned, during the 1980s and early 1990s, with protecting the French national identity against the cultural industries (mostly films) coming from the United States´s emergence as a world superpower after the Second World War.[123]

Foreshadowing the worldwide development of cultural policy, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)[124] gave its first definition of cultural policy during a meeting held in Monaco in December 1967, which resulted in the publication *Cultural policy: A preliminary study* in 1969. UNESCO stated that cultural policy is 'the sum total of the conscious and deliberate usages, action or lack of action in a society, aimed at meeting certain cultural needs through the optimum utilisation of all the physical and human resources available to that society at a given time'[125]. It can be argued, though, that the gap of thirty years that it took UNESCO to define what culture was shows an early reluctance to attempt such a definition. One of the earliest reports it published on culture and cultural policy is the Intergovernmental Conference on Institutional, Administrative and Financial Aspects of Cultural Policies, which emerged from a meeting held in Venice between 24 August and 2 September 1970. This was 'the first governmental-level meeting to be held on a world

---

[122] DELVAINQUIÈRE, Jean-Cédric. Country Profile France December 2007. In: COMPENDIUM of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe. Brussels: Council of Europe, ERICarts, 12th edition 2011. Available at <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/down/france_122007.pdf>. Accessed on 1 May 2013. p. F2.

[123] MILLER, Toby. The crime of Monsieur Lang: GATT, the screen and the new international division of cultural labour. In: MORAN, Albert (Ed.). *Film policy: International, national and regional perspectives*. London: Routledge, 1996. p. 75.

[124] UNESCO was founded in November 1945 shortly after the Second World War as a branch of the United Nations; the latter is – despite the very restricted number of countries which belong to its Security Council – the largest (with over 190 member states) intergovernmental organisation in the world.

[125] UNESCO. *Cultural policy: A preliminary study*. Studies and Documents on Cultural Policies series, published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, Paris, 1969. Available at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0000/000011/001173eo.pdf>. Accessed on 8 April 2013. p. 10.

scale to discuss matters relating to culture'[126]. Debates, on this occasion, were related to seminal issues such as budgeting, institutional development and management of cultural policy for the political goals of cultural development and international cultural co-operation. This 1970 report states that the ideology of *laissez-faire* is not suitable to tackle problems related to culture and cultural policy.[127] It can perhaps be argued that governmental cultural policy originates, therefore, in UNESCO.

In fact, UNESCO´s cultural policy ranges from the pretentious global mission the French Ministry of Culture and Communication established 'to make accessible to the highest number of people the major works of humanity, and first those of France'[128], to the applicability of the two World Culture Reports: *Culture, creativity and markets* (published in 1998) and *Cultural diversity, conflict and pluralism* (published in 2000). France´s cultural policy model has been applied in other countries (part two of this chapter shows this in relation to Latin America) despite its questionable effectiveness elsewhere. An example of the influence of France´s cultural policy model can be seen via the Panamanian National Institute of Culture (Instituto Nacional de Cultura), which is located in the French Square (Plaza de Francia) in front of the French Embassy in Panama City´s historical centre. Due to how France manages its multicultural prototype of civilisation[129], it is hard to understand why its cultural policy model, which does not enforce UNESCO´s basic recommendations such as respect for diversity, should be taken as a paradigm in the intercultural tropics of Latin America (chapter 3 will provide further information about interculturality in Latin America). The polemical case of the bill against wearing full-face veils in France is an example of a contradiction in the French discourse for diversity.[130] I would add that there have been problematic misunderstandings between the French people (and the Western values and policies that they support) and immigrants (especially those who migrate from countries where Islam

---

[126] UNESCO. *Intergovernmental Conference on Institutional, Administrative and Financial Aspects of Cultural Policies*. Final Report of the meeting held in Venice, 24 August – 2 September 1970. Available at <http://ocpa.irmo.hr/resources/docs/Report_Venice_CulPol-en.pdf>. Accessed on 14 May 2013. p. 7.

[127] Ibid. p. 10.

[128] MINISTÈRE de la Culture et de la Communication. *Le Ministère*, n.d. Available at <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Ministere/Le-ministere>. Accessed on 1 May 2013. TBM.

[129] Two important aspects are implied in the expression 'multicultural prototype of civilisation': one is that France has adopted a multicultural – instead of an intercultural – model of cultural policy development; the other is that the French civilisation is supposedly an example that other countries (e.g. those from Latin America) should follow.

[130] BBC NEWS. French MPs vote to ban Islamic full veil in public, **BBC News Europe**, 13 July 2010. Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10611398>. Accessed on 8 May 2013. Although the discussion was not held in the French Ministry of Culture, the debate is intrinsically related to a cultural policy issue.

is the predominant religion) when it comes to issues such as freedom of speech and multicultural diversities.

This contradiction reflects a historical misunderstanding of culture as synonym of civilisation. Two of the arguments that the French anthropologist and sociologist Denys Cuche developed in his approach to the notion of culture in the social sciences corroborate this point. One is that at the beginning of the sixteenth century culture 'no longer means a state (of the cultivated thing), but an action, that is, the fact of cultivating the land'[131]. Another is that, in the shift from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, the French concept of culture changed to mean unity of humankind and to convey a universalist way of thinking insofar as 'culture, in its collective sense, is, first of all, the "culture of humanity".'[132] Furthermore, in chapter 5 ('Social hierarchies and cultural hierarchies') of his book *The notion of culture in social sciences* (*A noção de cultura nas ciências sociais*, 1999), Cuche realises that popular culture is not always struggling against or reacting to the dominant groups. In fact, the Council of Europe´s document *In from the margins* (1997) – which emphasises the uses of policy in the European continent – suggests that the contrast between dominant classes and marginalised ones works similarly for Europe. It means that cultural inequalities do not exist only in the so-named underdeveloped countries because, in Europe (where there is a large number of so-called developed countries), policies do not necessarily offer opportunities for all people from the lowest social classes to bolster their skills and intelligence. 'In other words, human intelligence is our most valuable raw material, and indeed the one most readily available in Europe. Unfortunately it is not sufficiently exploited by the leaders of our economic and social life.'[133] The Council of Europe´s report *In from the margins* defined cultural policy as 'the overall framework of public measures in the cultural field'[134]; the expression 'public measures' is notable in this definition of cultural policy because it emphasises the relevance of the state in cultural

---

[131] CUCHE, Denys. *A noção de cultura nas ciências sociais*. Translated from French to Portuguese by Viviane Ribeiro. Bauru: Editora da Universidade do Sagrado Coração (EDUSC), 1999. p. 19. TBM. Because this book does not have an English version, I translated the relevant quotes from its Portuguese edition to English.

[132] Ibid. p. 30. TBM.

[133] COUNCIL of Europe. *In from the margins: A contribution to the debate on culture and development in Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, The European Task Force on Culture and Development, 1997. p. 49. The Council of Europe is an international organisation which was founded in 1949; it comprises all European countries and is independent of the European Union.

[134] Ibid. p. 33 in the footnote.

policy-making. Both the Council of Europe and UNESCO emphasise the role of governments in their definitions of culture.

Even though this section concentrates on cultural policy as formulated by governments, it is worth mentioning that the scholars Toby Miller and George Yúdice seek transformations of the social order through cultural policy which is grounded in the historical and political study of social movements. Their proposal then is 'to articulate knowledge with progressive social change, with social movements as primary *loci* of power, authorization, and responsibility'[135]. They 'suggest a space of intervention'[136] that situates research on cultural issues within the more institutional and practical perspective of cultural policy and they do this to promote sociocultural transformations. Their dissatisfaction with the commodification of culture follows their concern with cultural policy not being used in favour of the needs and the demands of the majority of people. Miller and Yúdice suggest that social movements can be successful only if they make their claims through institutions and negotiate with decision-makers working in governmental positions. However, their argument overlooks that the relationship between social movements and governments might not always satisfy their expected demands. This happened when the Landless Workers´ Movement (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem-Terra) in Brazil worked closely with the Workers´ Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores) government and yet the struggles for land reform subsequently reached a standstill. Thus a weak point of their interpretation of the political role of the Latin American social movements is that the authors neglect that such social movements are vulnerable to co-optation by government.

While many bureaucrats and private managers strive to attract further attention to cultural issues, uses of culture distract their institutional efforts because the meanings of culture are suppressed. The policy-makers who are more concerned with the appropriations of culture claim that they need to prioritise certain concrete and short-term governmental measures such as economic growth. Thus cultural policy-makers are often unaware of the covert and implicit political meanings which underlie their activities and their proposals. They are motivated, in their policy-making duties, to explore the potentials of human intelligence – for example in any of the cultural industries – independently of the conceptual inquiry covered herein. Proof of this is the

---

[135] YÚDICE, George; MILLER, Toby. *Cultural policy*. London: SAGE Publications, 2002. p. 3. [Emphasis original].

[136] Ibid. p. 33.

reticence on the websites of governmental institutions regarding a definition of culture; it is very common for such websites to address other policy areas, but they do not conceptualise culture. In fact, institutions have been much more reticent about defining culture than they are about determining their policy areas and, sometimes, their understanding of cultural policy. This kind of indecision makes, in my view, the role of García Canclini as an expert in cultural issues much stronger and more convincing when he approaches institutions. This is because of the need of institutions of an intellectual authority who can speak of certain topics that have just recently been included in their policy agendas. Such institutional curiosity opens possibilities for García Canclini to link culture with other policy issues (e.g. development, environment, the media, technology) and to conduct his cultural policy operation in Latin America. However, Jim McGuigan, in his book *Rethinking cultural policy* (2004), regretted that 'the term "culture" has become so widely used, referring to a range of such different practices, that it has, in certain respects, been drained of meaning.'[137] McGuigan criticised in it the instrumentalist view of culture and tried to conceptualise culture and cultural policy. Therefore, for those who are rather concerned with 'either high culture or everyday culture in the anthropological sense'[138], culture as an asset for major political transformations may regretfully be far from policy-makers´ priorities.

It will be further analysed in the next section that French cultural policy institutions can be understood as being influential on Latin America´s cultural policy institutions. Instead of giving endowments for the arts and the humanities as in the United States, many Latin American countries have adopted the French model of Ministry in the management of their cultural issues. Decentralisation and diversity, for instance, also become a concern of the Ministry of Culture (Ministério da Cultura) in Brazil, Ministry of Culture (Ministerio de Cultura) in Colombia and Ministry of Culture (Ministerio de Cultura) in Peru. However, the development of Latin America´s cultural policy institutions shows that cultural policy is not only an abstraction for channelling cultural issues in their conventional, dominating and elitist forms but also an instrument for building different societies where underprivileged people and the cultures they express finally become visible. A testimony to this is that there are particularities in Latin America´s modernities, which will be shown in some of its major aspects in the

---

[137] MCGUIGAN, Jim. *Rethinking cultural policy*. Berkshire, England: Open University Press, 2004. p. 5.

[138] YÚDICE, George. *The expediency of culture: Uses of culture in the global era*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003. p. 4.

next part of this chapter but mostly in chapter 3. All these thoughts spark the discussion about the key historical issues and the current state of cultural policy in Latin America.

1.2. Major issues in Latin America regarding cultural policy

1.2.1. Key historical issues of cultural policy in Latin America

This section examines certain historical particularities of the development of cultural policy in Latin America to provide a context in which to understand the region´s main institutional developments of cultural policy and, later, García Canclini´s intellectually-oriented cultural policy operation. Tracing some of the historical phases of cultural policy in Latin America – which this section and the next one frame in terms of space – is essential to understanding such a shift.

The Americas have developed with sharp asymmetries in their distribution of power and trade relations insofar as one can comprehend the meanings of North America and Latin America only in the relationship of these regions with the world. This is how García Canclini interpreted Latin America´s identity in his book *Latin Americans seeking a place in this century* (*Latinoamericanos buscando lugar en este siglo*, 2002), in which he argued that Latin America is not complete in its own geographical territory[139]. Thus, Latin America – for outlining a specific space – cannot be understood merely as a geographical region from the Argentine Patagonia to the highly guarded and extensive border between Mexico and the United States; instead, I break certain limits by arguing that Latin America is chiefly an idea that comes from colonialism and the ideology of coloniality.

The Argentine scholar Walter Mignolo made a historical-structural interpretation of Latin America as an idea derived from modernity and not a pre-existing cartographic entity. Against the perspective on culture noted in the previous sections of this chapter whereby the hegemonic offers opposition to the popular cultures, Mignolo found a dialectical relationship between modernity and coloniality that evades 'the fact that in Indigenous cosmology, nature and humanity do not necessarily oppose each other, and "civilization" is nothing more than a European self-description of its role in history. For

---

[139] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Latinoamericanos buscando lugar en este siglo*. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2002. For him, 'Latin America´s current condition overflows its own territory' (p. 12. TBM.). As an example, Latin American migrants listen to radio stations and watch television programmes that are broadcast in their native languages, send money to their families in their home countries, and keep their typical eating habits.

the Indigenous, oppositions can co-exist without negation.'[140] In addition to this, Mignolo proposed the reinvention of Latin America´s educational system not to remain subordinated to European modernity. This suggests a way for Latin America to become modern without being colonial. The starting point for sociocultural change is that the Latin American citizens (especially the youth and its decision-makers) suppress coloniality via education. This statement takes into account that the Americas and particularly Latin America constitute 'a semantic construction with enormous political, economic, epistemic, and ethical consequences arising from the omission of Indigenous conceptualizations of Anáhuac, Tawantinsuyu, Abya-Yala, and other ideas of space'[141]. As a result, Mignolo raises a new consciousness of Latin America´s position in international relations. Mignolo proposes that the values of Latin America's indigenous people (particularly the Andean Civilisations and the Mayas) challenge European modernity by the former's practices of constructive and harmonious interactions between humans and nature. A consequence of this – as it can be deduced – would be Latin America's disconnection from European modernity so that Latin America would represent in the world a civilisation (or a group of them) that would not be merely a transplantation of Europe. Despite his contribution for amplifying the understanding of Latin America, the aforementioned geographical boundaries of Latin America might well suffice to examine the major issues in the region regarding its cultural policy.

Some efforts to challenge Latin America´s sharp inequalities go against the discourses of Panamericanismo and Iberoamericanismo. The idea of Panamericanismo[142] comes from the Monroe Doctrine (1823), which protected the American continent from European intervention by claiming that the Americas belonged to the North Americans. In practice, the United States intended to influence as many nations as possible throughout the continent. Panamericanismo was conveyed in a different way by the Latin American independence movements, which preferred, instead, the term Latinoamericanismo or Bolivarismo (in which integration covers only the Hispanic American countries). There was an attempt to institutionalise

---

[140] MIGNOLO, Walter. *The idea of Latin America*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005. p. xvii, Preface.

[141] Ibid. p. 151.

[142] MARTÍNEZ, Ricardo A. *El panamericanismo, doctrina y práctica imperialista: Las relaciones interamericanas desde Bolívar hasta Eisenhower*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Aluminé, 1957. Martínez distinguishes between Bolívar´s Panamericanismo and that which was sustained by the United States because 'Panamericanism was created to suit the Yankee imperialism with the complicity of the reactionary governments of Latin America.' (p. 153. TBM).

Latinoamericanismo during the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama (Congreso Anfictiónico de Panamá, 1826)[143]. Iberoamericanismo, for its part, is a more recent ideology that promotes the consolidation of a cultural, economic and political area between Portugal, Spain and their former colonies in Latin America. In fact, it is a European (Iberian Peninsula) form of resistance to the United States´s influence in Latin America since the first half of the nineteenth century; ever since, there has been an endless struggle between discourses and ideologies. Such context of international disputes have led authors to situate the role of Latin America within these historical relations.

Following this historical account, comparisons have been made which exalt the United States in relation to Latin America´s economic developments (e.g. the Chilean historian Claudio Véliz), but others which disparage the United States in relation to Latin America (e.g. the Uruguayan writer José Enrique Rodó). Véliz raised some aspects of the ideological contrast between Latin America and the United States. He depicted and compared the historical roots of these regions in a careful way so as not 'to ignore the origin of the New World and its dominant cultural transplants when endeavoring to understand why their respective economic achievements differ so markedly'[144]. From a literary and contrasting perspective to Véliz´s, Rodó showed criticism throughout his essay *Ariel* (1900) of the North Americans´ (but he deliberately excluded Canadians and Mexicans) greed to obtain material goods. Rodó further expressed his disappointment with the North Americans by saying that 'today, they manifestly yearn for the primacy of the universal culture, the direction of the ideas, and they consider themselves the creators of a kind of civilisation which will prevail'[145]. The relevant aspect for this section is that Rodó in his *Ariel* was trying to situate Latin America in opposition to the material conditions of industrial societies, especially that represented by the United States and more specifically the materialism of its society.

---

[143] For further information about the Congreso Anfictiónico de Panamá (1826), see BELUCHE, Olmedo. *Notes extracted from the text 'La unidad latinoamericana: ¿Utopía bolivariana o posibilidad real?'*, Biblioteca Ayacucho, Caracas, 1 June 2012. Available at <http://bibliotecayacucho.gob.ve/fba/index.php?id=21&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=1532&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=2&cHash=6a1c818917>. Accessed on 24 May 2013. The meetings of the Congreso Anfictiónico de Panamá were held between 22 June 1826 and 15 July 1826 in Panama City with the objective of creating a broad and inclusive political confederation of Latin American countries. The ambition of the ideologues of this integration project was to consolidate the Great Nation immediately after Latin America´s political independence from Europe.

[144] VÉLIZ, Claudio. *The new world of the gothic fox: Culture and economy in English and Spanish America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994. p. 21.

[145] RODÓ, José Enrique. *Ariel*. 10th Edition. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 2005. p. 47. TBM.

These interpretations (made by Véliz and Rodó) of the ideological influences in the Americas indicate that Latin America should do something different from North America along its path towards modernity; nonetheless, not all of Latin America´s early proposals unfolded as expected. Cultural policy has traditionally emerged from educational institutions in Latin American countries, although the discourses for regional integration, which emanate from the times of the colonial emancipation leaders (Bernardo O`Higgins, Francisco de Miranda, José Artigas, José Martí, Simón Bolívar, etc.), have justified policy proposals that employ culture directly or indirectly on the regional, continental and international levels. Indeed, the Mexican cultural manager Lucina Jiménez traces the origin of cultural policy in Mexico to its people´s fight for national independence from Spanish colonisation.[146] In the last decades of the twentieth century, specific cultural institutions have been created (Councils, Divisions, Ministries and Secretariats) and they have been given a small budget to serve this demand for situating culture outside other policy areas (e.g. economy). There has been a frequent and intense exchange of ideas and proposals among policy-makers from many countries and this is how cultural issues have ended up with their own specific institutions. However, I note that Western European institutional models are more influential than any other in Latin America's cultural policy development. International organisations such as the Organisation of Iberian American States for Education, Science and Culture (its original acronym is OEI) and UNESCO have generated fruitful spaces of intercontinental dialogue from which Latin America's governmental policy-makers obtain ideas to create and develop cultural policy institutions in Latin American countries.

The Chilean sociologist Manuel Antonio Garretón advocates a model of cultural administration that views culture as a specific sector for public policies such as ones on the economy, education and science.[147] For this reason, Garretón disapproves of the mere instrumental appropriation of culture for other purposes or of cultural policy´s subordination to other sectors of development. His criticism was accurate as, since then,

---

[146] JIMÉNEZ, Lucina. Políticas culturales en México: Una encrucijada por descifrar. In: RUBIM, Antônio Albino Canelas; BAYARDO, Rubens (Eds.). *Políticas culturais na Ibero-América*. Salvador, Bahia: EDUFBA, Coleção Cult, 2008. p. 202. Mexicans struggled for their independence from September 1810 until September 1821.

[147] GARRETÓN, Manuel Antonio. *Políticas, financiamiento e industrias culturales en América Latina y el Caribe. Una síntesis*. Santiago, Chile, Document of Work FLACSO, Programa Chile, Serie Educación y Cultura, n. 46, May 1994. This document was prepared for the Secretaría Ejecutiva of the World Commission on Culture and Development (UNESCO) in February 1993 and was reviewed by Lida Berardi.

numerous Latin American countries have created culture specific institutions. For example, the Brazilian Ministry of Culture (Ministério da Cultura) emerged in 1985 from a division of the former Ministry of Education and Culture (Ministério da Educação e Cultura). At the beginning of the 1990s Garretón became more aware of the importance of cultural policy institutions when the state had its functions reduced by minimum-state policies[148] and when integration organisations (such as the Common Market of the South and its specialised organisation named MERCOSUR Cultural[149]) first mentioned culture in their goals for Latin America. He added that culture is usually the most affected sector during economic and social crises because this is when governments tend to reduce their budgets for culture to compensate for their losses in other areas. In the op-ed article *Cultural policies and integration* (*Políticas culturales e integración*, 1994) on the impacts of cultural industries such as film and publishing houses on Mexican society, García Canclini proposed a review of Mexico´s cultural policy in relation to new challenges from integration and to Mexican identities, which 'have been formed and renewed less in relation to the local traditions'[150] than to global processes because of the 'predominance of the audiovisual and electronic cultures'[151]. For him, governments and international organisations should 'both deconstruct the identification of the state with a fundamentalist and insular conception of the nation, and avoid its rupture into a cannibal fight of private interests'[152]. Thus, he proposed a reform of the state in Latin America: instead of being reduced to minimum functions, the state should be transformed to limit abuses of the free market and to work for the collective and democratic demands of the majority of people.

---

[148] In my work, the terms minimum-state ideologies and minimum-state policies refer to the political debate of the role, efficiency and limit of the state and the market in the development of Latin American countries. The main argument of those who are against minimum-state ideologies/policies is that the state defends and promotes the collective interest (e.g. to improve labour conditions, to increase general access to health services) while the market (constituted by the private sector) is after profitable activities. It is common among leftist intellectuals in Latin America to show strong criticism of minimum-state policies (especially of privatisation reforms and the model of *concesiones*, that is, public services which were previously under the responsibility of the state but are temporarily managed by private companies in the market) that were established in this region during the 1980s and 1990s. Some of the key presidents of such policies are Augusto Pinochet in Chile, Alberto Fujimori in Peru, Carlos Menem in Argentina, Fernando Henrique Cardoso in Brazil and Carlos Salinas de Gortari in Mexico.

[149] MERCOSUR Cultural is a specialised organisation which was created in 1998 within the Common Market of the South for the discussion of cultural issues (especially aiming at co-operation, development and reduction of poverty). Available at <http://www.cultura.gob.ar/acciones/mercosur-cultural/>. Accessed on 12 March 2014.

[150] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturales e integración. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 20 November 1994. TBM.

[151] Ibid. TBM.

[152] Ibid. TBM.

Together with this debate, an account of the political transformations of the state cannot be made without discussing identity in Latin America. This is because the state (as well as the media) is one of the main policy-makers in forging national identities in the region. García Canclini understands that cultural policy can empower the popular classes not only as consumers but also as producers; for him, cultural policy can also help the popular classes in their interaction with hegemonic cultures and Eurocentric discourses. In Marxist terms, it can be argued that cultural policy results from the need to balance power between those who have and command the means of cultural, educational, economic and political development and those who do not. One example of this, which will be further discussed in chapter 2, is the transformation of the ethnic into the representative (*lo típico*) that follows the contrast between traditional (of Indigenous people) and modern cultural practices.

For García Canclini, popular culture is an intrinsic aspect of cultural policy-making. He first defined cultural policy[153] during the 1970s by looking into more sustainable cultural policy-making for the collective interest, that is, one that undergoes changes of those in power and is formulated not only by the state but also by other policy-makers; however, his view differed from UNESCO because this institution proposed more immediate and short-range governmental solutions to problems of collective interest. Eduardo Nivón, the Mexican expert in cultural policy, agrees that García Canclini conceived of cultural policy in relation to hegemony and included policy-makers other than the state in Latin America´s cultural policy-making. Furthermore, Nivón emphasised 'García Canclini´s effort to overcome the administrative, diplomatic and legalistic vision of the way UNESCO developed, over almost ten years, its cultural policies'.[154] This point builds on my main argument because Nivón sustained the idea that cultural policy meant for García Canclini something more than a set of planned governmental actions.

---

[153] García Canclini defined cultural policy as 'the set of interventions undertaken by the state, civil institutions and community groups which are organised to guide symbolic development, satisfy the cultural needs of the population and obtain consensus for a type of order or social transformation'. GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturales y crisis de desarrollo: Un balance latinoamericano. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Políticas culturales en América Latina*. Mexico City: Grijalbo, 1987. p. 26. TBM.

[154] Eduardo Nivón Bolán. Néstor García Canclini y las políticas culturales. In: NIVÓN BOLÁN, Eduardo (Ed.). *Voces híbridas: Reflexiones en torno a la obra de García Canclini*. Mexico City: Siglo XXI Editores, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Unidad Iztapalapa, División de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, 2012. p. 39. TBM.

In my opinion, Latin American state managers are much more reluctant to define culture than cultural policy. I would add that an important feature of the development of Latin America´s cultural policy institutions is its policy-makers´ open-mindedness in accepting suggestions from the old centres of power (particularly from countries such as France and Spain) while shunning its neighbours. The main example of this is that Latin American cultural policy-makers tend to assimilate virtually all the recommendations from UNESCO´s conventions, meetings and reports. Thus, they adapt their policies to what this institution suggests instead of refusing 'the reproduction of coloniality by the Creole elite'[155], as Mignolo put it, understood here as the Latin American privileged social classes. That Latin American cultural policy-makers have employed exogenous methods (e.g. satellite accounts of culture) and recommendations (e.g. UNESCO´s reports) for their national policy-making reduces their ethnic and regional diversity to a blend of homogeneities. García Canclini´s concern with the transformation of the ethnic into the national/typical[156] in his book *Transforming modernity* should not be neglected here. His thoughts emphasise that cultural policy in Latin America has given little benefit to the popular classes in terms of their sociocultural inclusion and it has not put them at the forefront as it should do. One of the few exceptions to this is the Brazilian Célio Turino´s cultural policy project Culture Spot (Ponto de Cultura).[157] His ideas for this have been adopted by governmental policy-makers in Brazil´s municipal Secretariats of Culture (Secretarias de Cultura) who give popular cultures a pivotal role instead of merely including these into a system of hierarchical cultures.

Due to the problems of political instability in Latin America, the region lacks the appropriate institutional infrastructure to adopt these cultural policy institutional developments. I am thinking particularly about the developments which are discussed during UNESCO's conventions and meetings, and about those which result from the reports written by experts who are invited by this organisation. The Argentine Rubens Bayardo stated that the rise of the importance of culture in public decision-making and the creation of cultural policy institutions are usually associated with the re-democratisation of Latin American societies, many of which underwent bloody, censoring and cruel dictatorships during the second half of the twentieth century. He emphasised that the return to democracy in Latin American countries allowed for 'a

---

[155] MIGNOLO, Walter. *The idea of Latin America*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005. p. 129.

[156] See further in the section 'The role of artisans and transformations of popular culture' of chapter 2.

[157] TURINO, Célio. *Ponto de cultura: O Brasil de baixo para cima*. 2nd Edition. São Paulo: Anita Garibaldi, 2010.

strong appeal to the culture that facilitated the recovery of their sociability, public space, freedoms and human rights'[158]. Ministries and Secretariats of Culture were created in Latin America after its re-democratisation; however, underprivileged people still did not obtain any substantial attention in decision-making and policies from most of these standardised cultural policy institutions (most of them according to the French model). Political culture is also an obstacle for the success of cultural policy institutions in Latin America because this region´s political culture is not favourable to institutional reforms, especially those which affect the labour stability of bureaucrats. As an example, the fact that the Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) ruled Mexico for seventy-one years indicates that political reform (thus change) is not the Mexican revolution´s legacy[159]. A possible explanation for this is that state employees (bureaucrats, technocrats, assistants, etc.) fear they could lose their jobs if their institutions undergo deep changes.

Latin America´s cultural policy changed much between the region´s independence movements in the early nineteenth century and the development of cultural policy institutions in the late twentieth century: from pursuing integration, that is, an impetus for regionalism which is not always referred to as a cultural issue, culture itself became an object of governmental concern through public policy and a product of commercial exchange through the cultural industries. Another important aspect in the debate on cultural policy institutional development in Latin America relates to the fact that there is no consensus on who or what institution is the most appropriate cultural policy-maker. There is a polarisation between two groups: those who see the state as the only legitimate policy-maker (e.g. Antônio Albino Rubim, Manuel Antonio Garretón and Rubens Bayardo) and those who admit that the market and nongovernmental organisations are respectively the most suitable entity and policy-makers to encourage development and promote public interest (e.g. José Carlos Durand, Leonardo Brant, Ipojuca Pontes, José Joaquín Brunner and George Yúdice).

---

[158] BAYARDO, Rubens. Políticas culturales en la Argentina. In: RUBIM, Antônio Albino Canelas; BAYARDO, Rubens (Eds.). *Políticas culturais na Ibero-América*. Salvador: EDUFBA, Coleção Cult, 2008. p. 26. TBM. In this publication, Bayardo gave a historical overview of the development of cultural institutions in Argentina.

[159] The Mexican revolution forced the ruler Porfirio Díaz out of power in 1910 and lasted many years until the end of the 1920s. Its main achievement was to guarantee social rights, especially those of the working classes.

The Rouanet Law[160] (Lei Rouanet), which was established in Brazil in December 1991, is an example of a measure that suits this second group. Private companies became, under the auspices of this law, sponsors of cultural activities and projects. This law enables these sponsors to deduct part of their income taxes (up to 6% for individuals and 4% for corporate bodies) to fund cultural producers, which they do through a formal request to the Brazilian Ministry of Culture. However, the withdrawal of the state in decision-making for culture (although the state continues to fund it in an indirect way) prompted criticisms that private companies are investing in their branding and marketing, but not in things of public interest[161]. Such critics, in my view, prefer a few bureaucrats to guide cultural issues in their offices instead of a larger number of people doing so in many different private companies, as regards the Rouanet Law.

A related concern (regarding those who support a stronger role for the state´s cultural policy) is that cultural managers (particularly Ministers and Secretaries of Culture) often play the role of treasurers in Latin America. This happens because they formulate some of their policies after negotiating with certain private cultural producers who lobby state cultural policy-makers for particular interests. As an example of this, representatives of the Brazilian Association of the Textile Industry (Associação Brasileira da Indústria Têxtil e de Confecção) met with Henilton Menezes – Ministry of Culture´s Secretary of Cultural Encouragement – in São Paulo in January 2013 to discuss tax incentives through the Lei Rouanet.[162] The main argument of the businessmen who attended this meeting is that fashion is an important cultural sector which deserves financial aid from the government. This implies that, through a direct relationship between private enterprisers and state managers, such tax incentives have mostly satisfied powerful business people. This phenomenon often generates an inversion of commitments: the state favours concealed private interests while a few committed private companies and societal entities satisfy demands of public interest at their own expense. Culture has historically been the policy sector where this well-known tension between the private and the public is evident, problematic and

---

[160] Information about the Rouanet Law, which is formally known as Lei Federal de Incentivo à Cultura, is available at <http://www.brasil.gov.br/sobre/cultura/Regulamentacao-e-incentivo/lei-rouanet>. Accessed on 22 March 2013.

[161] RUBIM, Antônio Albino Canelas. Políticas culturais do governo Lula/Gil: Desafios e enfrentamentos. In: RUBIM, Antônio Albino Canelas; BAYARDO, Rubens (Eds.). *Políticas culturais na Ibero-América*. Salvador, Bahia: EDUFBA, Coleção Cult, 2008. p. 53.

[162] BORRALHO, Caroline. *MinC realiza mais um encontro com a moda*. Brasília: Ministério da Cultura, 21 January 2013. Available at <http://www2.cultura.gov.br/site/2013/01/21/minc-realiza-mais-um-encontro-com-a-moda/>. Accessed on 12 March 2014.

stigmatised (e.g. in the debate on the legislation of cultural incentives which has just been shown).

Inherent in this tension is the fact that Latin America's state decision-makers have formulated cultural policy as a way of promoting other interests such as economic development, identity and integration and not for the sole purpose of promoting culture itself. Such policy development results from the debate on whether culture should remain only as an aspect of other policy sectors (e.g. economy, education, tourism) or become a specific policy object. In other continents, it is valuable to point out that artistic activities have allowed the elderly to socialise in England, industries have reinvented urban landscapes in Southeast Asia, and new technologies have promoted social inclusion in poor neighbourhoods in the United States. In spite of this brief intercontinental comparison, my focus is on Latin America and there would not be sufficient space here to analyse examples from different regions and continents of how culture has been used as a means for promoting other interests. The main issue, at this point of my analysis, is about how culture would become a specific policy object.

UNESCO is a protagonist of the promotion of cultural issues as a particular sphere of policy in Latin America. Two meetings (which soon resulted in official reports made on these) held in this region and sponsored by UNESCO promoted the development of cultural policy in Latin America: the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean (Bogotá, Colombia, 1978) and the World Conference on Cultural Policies (Mexico City, Mexico, 1982). The capital of Colombia, Bogotá, hosted one of the earliest Latin American meetings sponsored by UNESCO to discuss cultural policy. Cultural identity, the cultural dimension of development, and international co-operation were the main issues raised during this January 1978 meeting.[163] The 1982 meeting differs from that of 1978 by advocating a perspective of complementarity of policy sectors instead of the individualisation of them, with culture playing an important role in policy-making. For example, the Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies supported 'complementary policies in the fields of culture, education, science and communication'[164]. The 1982 report reiterates many of

---

[163] UNESCO. *Conferencia Intergubernamental sobre Políticas Culturales en América Latina y el Caribe*. Final Report of the Meeting held in Bogotá on 10–20 January 1978 and published in Paris, CC/MD/39, July 1978. Available at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000974/097476sb.pdf>. Accessed on 24 May 2013.

[164] UNESCO. *Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies*. Report of the World Conference on Cultural Policies held in Mexico City between 26 July 1982 and 6 August 1982. Available at <http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/12762/11295421661mexico_en.pdf/mexico_en.pdf>. Accessed on 20 May 2013. p. 4.

the ideas discussed in the 1978 meeting such as cultural identity, culture as a dimension of development, culture and communication, and international co-operation. It seems that, from this time onwards, decision-makers from different countries started to determine what the object of cultural policy should be. In effect, Latin America´s decision-makers faced the challenge of developing its cultural policy institutions and, at the same time, thinking of and proposing ways for autonomously managing such development.

Latin America´s relationship with the world raises another issue in the discussion of autonomy in the development of this region´s cultural policy. It has happened through international relations that are tainted by 'unequal partners'[165] (as García Canclini called it) and bonds of dependency[166] (as Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto theorised). These three authors are concerned with inequalities in Latin America. In García Canclini´s article *Unequal partners*, he considered the unequal relationships that Latin America establishes in its international relations with more developed and more powerful countries. In turn and slightly differently from Mignolo´s view that Latin America is a geography of coloniality, Cardoso and Faletto propose a centre/periphery interpretation whereby Latin America is situated in a peripheric region (which means subordination) to the most developed capitalist societies that are at the centre (that is, in a place of control) of the international market. Latin America´s position as a space of resistance to central, dominating and hegemonic countries can be deduced from Mignolo´s proposal for educational de-colonisation and Cardoso and Faletto´s advocacy of Latin America´s autonomous industrialisation. The colonial relationship between European and Latin American countries has now shifted to one

---

[165] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Unequal partners*. Paris: The UNESCO Courier; Culture and Development: A life worth living, September 1996.

[166] See CARDOSO, Fernando Henrique; FALETTO, Enzo. *Dependency and development in Latin America*. Translated by Marjory Mattingly Urquidi. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979. At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, a group of scholars created dependency theory as a critical response to the policies adopted by Latin American governments to develop their countries and industrialise their economies (according to structural economics, as the paragraph which this footnote corresponds to will explain); ideologues of dependency theory claimed that such policies were not considerate of certain political and social aspects of international relations. So dependency theory offers a sociological perspective on Latin America´s economic issues whereby the economies of the so-named dependent countries can only be understood in relation to the economies of more powerful countries. An additional aspect to consider in this interpretation of dependency is that, although this thesis adheres to Cardoso´s and Faletto´s conception of Latin America´s dependency, there are other theorists who differ in their analyses and who have not been given especial attention in this thesis such as Ruy Mauro Marini, Theotônio dos Santos and Vânia Bambirra. One example of a difference between them is that Marini proposed that the dependent countries would only overcome their underdevelopment if they adopted socialist forms of government while Cardoso believed in capitalist reforms for such an end.

that is economically based. Dependency theory is a critical response to structural economics[167], which attempts to overcome this subordination of Latin American economics to their European counterparts. This shift to structural economics originated in the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC[168]), which was created for autonomous debates on development. Nevertheless, dependency theory for Cardoso and Faletto is stronger than ECLAC´s economics-based interpretation because 'ECLA economic theories and critiques were not based on an analysis of social process, did not call attention to imperialist relationships among countries, and did not take into account the asymmetric relations between classes'[169]. For Claudio Véliz, the effects of economic dependency due to 'a regime of international competition'[170] has resulted in the situation where 'Latin America will always be disadvantaged and doomed to backwardness and misery'[171].

Despite the imposed models of development on Latin America, this region has experienced surprising institutional advancements in cultural policy issues. The effectiveness of cultural policy based on European models is questioned in Latin America because the cultural formation of this region unfolded unexpectedly (from the viewpoint of Eurocentric cultural management) to generate a particular modernity which has to be examined in relation to the current ways in which cultural policy is discussed. In other words, the natural process of convergence of different ethnic groups

---

[167] Structural economics (which is the most appropriate English translation of the Spanish term *desarrollismo*) is an economic theory which was created in Latin America during the 1950s to provide the understanding that the so-named peripheric countries (regarding their economic and political relationship with the central ones) should industrialise. A premise of this theory is that economies based on agriculture could not compete with industrial ones. For the ideologues of this theory, who worked mostly for the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), only an active state and a solid policy for industrialisation would bring improvements to these peripheric countries. At the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, policies related to structural economics were applied by Latin American presidents such as Arturo Frondizi in Argentina and Juscelino Kubitschek in Brazil.

[168] The Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) was created in Santiago (Chile) in February 1948 as a United Nations institution. On 27 July 1984, it changed its name to the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) to acknowledge inclusion of the Caribbean countries. This change, however, was not reflected in the Spanish acronym CEPAL, though. Available at <http://www.eclac.cl/cgi-bin/getprod.asp?xml=/noticias/paginas/0/21710/P21710.xml&xsl=/tpl-i/p18f-st.xsl&base=/tpl-i/top-bottom.xsl>. Accessed on 12 March 2014.

[169] CARDOSO, Fernando Henrique; FALETTO, Enzo. *Dependency and development in Latin America*. Translated by Marjory Mattingly Urquidi. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979. Preface, p. viii. Note that the authors refer to ECLA without the Caribbean countries because their work was published prior to 1984.

[170] VÉLIZ, Claudio. *The new world of the gothic fox: Culture and economy in English and Spanish America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994. p. 188 of chapter 8 ('The culture of the Latin American economy').

[171] Ibid. p. 188.

from three continents (Gilberto Freyre[172]) and of a universal race[173] (José Vasconcelos) happened in a way that means multicultural perspectives are ineffective for explaining what is actually hybrid[174] and intercultural in Latin America. The appropriation of linguistic terms and eating habits of indigenous and afro-descendants by urban dwellers in Brazil, Cuba and Colombia also contradicts discourses from certain official institutions which claim legitimacy to talk on the majority of people´s behalf. Deserving similar attention is the controversial issue of political culture, which Raymundo Faoro demonstrated a thorough understanding of when he made a critique of the Brazilian *patrimonialismo*[175] in his book *The owners of power* (*Os donos do poder*, 1958). The aforementioned historical issues indicate that cultural policy in Latin America is intimately linked to Europe´s agenda.

Coloniality has resulted in European influence on issues such as commerce, slavery and territories beyond their geographical boundaries. An underlying aspect of their project of modernity refers to increasing dependence (even after the acclaimed success of Latin America´s movements for its political independence in the early nineteenth century) and inequality all over the world through colonialism and, later, coloniality, as Mignolo argued. This chapter has shown that cultural policy institutions in Latin America have somehow managed to satisfy such a project of modernity by imitating models from France and complying with UNESCO´s recommendations. While this section has made a historical analysis of cultural policy institutional development in Latin America, the next one examines current policy-makers´ efforts to better its position in an inextricably globalised world.

1.2.2. Key current issues of cultural policy in Latin America

---

[172] FREYRE, Gilberto. *The masters and the slaves [Casa-grande & senzala]: A study in the development of Brazilian civilization*. New York: Knopf, 1946.

[173] VASCONCELOS, José. *The cosmic race: A bilingual edition*. Translated and annotated by Didier T. Jaén. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. Both Freyre and Vasconcelos do not understand the ethnic particularities in Latin America based on the European conceptions of black, white and yellow ethnic groups.

[174] See the section 'Hybrid cultures and cultural transformations in Latin America' of chapter 3.

[175] FAORO, Raymundo. *Os donos do poder: Formação do patronato político brasileiro*. 3rd Edition. São Paulo: Globo, 2001. *Patrimonalismo* is the political culture which results from a practice held during Brazil´s colonial period when public matters (those which concern the state) were not usually distinguished from private ones.

This section traces certain intellectual networks[176] (which are formed by intellectuals who produce knowledge through affinity and constant dialogue between them) and institutional practices[177] (which disseminate knowledge through discourses that are socially legitimised) to examine some current issues of Latin America´s cultural policy institutional development. It does so by summarising key cultural policy topics which will be further discussed in the subsequent chapters. The most relevant point of this section to my central argument is that the latest cultural policy subjects of García Canclini´s academic agenda indicate the significance of intellectual networks and institutional practices in his cultural policy ideas and proposals. To put it in other words, cultural policy thus becomes an operation that suits other purposes which it originally did not have. For this reason and to follow the argument of this thesis, my approach to cultural policy differs from other theoretical perspectives on this subject.

One of these, despite its academic contribution and merit, is Jim McGuigan´s 'critical and reflexive cultural policy analysis'[178]. In his theoretical understanding, he regards knowledge and research on cultural policy as the result of the academic relationship between culture and power; however, McGuigan´s analysis is not suitable to convey my argument due to his negligence of intellectual networks and of institutional aspects of cultural policy. Furthermore, this section frames Latin America as a geographical space and an ideological space. The Brazilian geographer Milton Santos supports the first interpretation of space while Walter Mignolo does so with the second. Santos argues that spaces do not merely constitute a territorial edge; he means that the geographical notion of space cannot do without its anthropological aspects. This is clear when he compares landscape with space: 'The landscape is, then, a material system and is, in this condition, relatively immutable; the space, in turn, is a system of values, which transforms permanently.'[179] The following excerpt emphasises Santos´s suggestion of a specific method to situate space: 'An ontological concern and an

---

[176] DEVÉS-VALDÉS, Eduardo. *Redes intelectuales en América Latina: Hacia la constitución de una comunidad internacional*. Santiago, Chile: Colección Idea, Segunda Época, Instituto de Estudios Avanzados of the Universidad Santiago de Chile, 2007. The intellectual networks have been defined in the section 'Modes of an intellectually-oriented cultural policy operation' of this chapter. They are not a new phenomenon for social scientists because they can be traced back to many decades ago and in different countries according to Devés-Valdés, who focuses on intellectual networks in Latin America and starts his interpretation of them from Rodó´s book *Ariel* (1900).

[177] Chapter 4 will deal with institutional practices in a more contextualised and detailed way.

[178] MCGUIGAN, Jim. *Rethinking cultural policy*. Berkshire, England: Open University Press, 2004. p. 3.

[179] SANTOS, Milton. *A natureza do espaço: Técnica e tempo, razão e emoção*. 4th Edition. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2006. p. 67 from chapter 3 ('O espaço geográfico: Um híbrido'). TBM.

interpretive effort *from within* are indispensable because they contribute to identifying the nature of the space and the categories of study which enable us to analyse it correctly.'[180] Indeed, Santos enriches such an approach to Latin America as a geographical space because he transcends territorial boundaries which are inherent in such space.

The current issues on the debate on cultural policy in Latin America are related to this region obtaining a better position in international relations (the cultural industries, regional spaces of integration, intercultural dialogue, co-operation between countries, culture and development, etc.) than to answering the historical[181] demand for improving its cultural institutions. In effect, cultural policy has been used as one more political instrument for encouraging Latin America's development as a competitive region, although not in the traditional sense of conserving old buildings and promoting events related to the elite and the fine arts[182]. Nevertheless, discourses for continental integration (Panamericanismo, Latinoamericanismo and Bolivarismo) in all sectors transform into the cultural policy project of Latin American cultural spaces that are mediated by consumerism[183], the cultural industries[184] and cultural development[185].

---

[180] Ibid. p. 10 from the 'Introduction' of Santos's book. TBM. [Emphasis original].

[181] The section 'Latin American urban studies and cultural policies for heritage' in chapter 3 will demonstrate that the notion of heritage is deeply implied in the historical aspects of the development of cultural policy in Latin America.

[182] MARTÍN-BARBERO, Jesús. Medios y culturas en el espacio latinoamericano. **Iberoamericana: América Latina – España – Portugal**, Madrid, v. 2, n. 6, pp. 89–106, June 2002. Jesús Martín-Barbero denounces the retrograde role the state has played in preserving Latin American heritage sites and its elite arts instead of turning its attention to the impact of the audiovisual industries on cultural policy. (p. 103).

[183] YÚDICE. George. From hybridity to policy: For a purposeful cultural studies. Translator´s introduction to the book. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Consumers and citizens: Globalization and multicultural conflicts*. Translated by George Yúdice. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001. Yúdice showed García Canclini´s political proposal for Latin America´s regional integration: 'García Canclini´s objective is to create a supranational cultural space that may be beyond the parameters of the hegemonic at the same time that it is not outside of contemporary capitalism, global yet strategically rooted in the local. To this end, García Canclini´s political strategy in *Consumers and citizens* is to view consumption as "means of thinking" that creates new ways of being citizens.' (pp. xxxiii–xxxiv). In spite of this interpretation, later in chapter 3, the section 'Citizenship via consumption in Latin America´s development' will explain why consumption differs from consumerism.

[184] YÚDICE, George. La reconfiguración de políticas culturales y mercados culturales en los noventa y siglo XXI en América Latina. **Revista Iberoamericana**, Pittsburgh, v. 67, n. 197, pp. 639–659, October– December 2001. Representative of the relationship between Latin America and the United States is the formation of oligopolies in the music industry, to which George Yúdice gives especial attention. The state is no longer the main promoter of culture; instead, private companies and their cultural industries take on this role to constitute 'the transnational and merged character of these companies' (p. 650. TBM.).

[185] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Ibero-América 2002: Propostas para o desenvolvimento cultural. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Culturas da Ibero-América: Diagnósticos e propostas para seu desenvolvimento cultural*. Translated from Spanish to Portuguese by Ana Venite. São Paulo: Moderna, 2003. Although García Canclini frequently refers to Latin America´s cultural development in this

During the 1990s and 2000s, the fact that García Canclini has a particular engagement when he establishes links between academia and other institutions in many Latin American countries (as chapter 4 will show extensively) is vital for deepening the understanding of the current issues of cultural policy in Latin America. In a similar way, the ambiguities in Latin America´s cultural policy lie in its policy-makers´ indecision about considering culture either as an economic resource for the development of industries (having the United States as a model) or as an anthropological asset that fills the gaps of development (having Spain as a model). When García Canclini wrote the section 'New cultural policy horizons'[186] in the introduction of his book *Globalising cultures* (*Culturas en globalización*, 1996), his two main arguments were that cultural policy is no longer limited to the national border (that is, now it is a transnational phenomenon) and that Latin American decision-makers in the cultural sector need to reconsider the region´s relationship with the United States and Europe. However, García Canclini often criticises the North American cultural management models and suggests the European ones in his writings; he does so in the hope that ideas from Europe will mitigate 'our fragility and our vulnerability to the world market changes, to the technological innovations and to the supranational integration.'[187] This shows that it has been important to analyse influences on Latin America's international relations.

Whereas the United States has obtained an advanced level of cultural industrialisation and, for some, epitomises an efficient model of cultural policy that other countries should adopt, García Canclini and most of the Spanish intellectuals with whom he converses agree that Latin America´s cultural policy should flourish within an Iberian American cultural space. García Canclini is also aware that 'if there is an Iberian American space, it is, above all, an audiovisual space'[188], that is, one that includes

---

publication, his ideas more often concern the relationship between culture and development since the 1990s, as chapter 3 will demonstrate.

[186] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Introducción. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Culturas en globalización: América Latina – Europa – Estados Unidos: Libre comércio e integración*. Caracas, Venezuela: Seminario de Estudios de la Cultura (CNCA), Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO), Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1996. pp. 7–9.

[187] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturales e integración norteamericana: Una perspectiva desde México. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Culturas en globalización: América Latina – Europa – Estados Unidos: Libre comércio e integración*. Caracas, Venezuela: Seminario de Estudios de la Cultura (CNCA), Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO), Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1996. p. 38. TBM.

[188] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Cooperación, diálogo: ¿Son las palabras más apropiadas?*. V Campus Euro-americano de Cooperação Cultural, Almada, Portugal, 2007. Available at <http://www.redculturalmercosur.org/docs/Garcia-Canclini.pdf>. Accessed on 18 October 2007. p. 7. TBM.

media issues. Therefore this thesis also discusses the media as well as other policy-makers (e.g. community groups, consumer organisations) and objects (e.g. digital convergence, trend-setting, youth cultures) that are not usually covered in cultural policy analyses, proposals and research. This reinforces the bond between culture and communication which has been established in the section 'Common inspirations for an inclusive definition of culture'.

The notion of an Iberian American cultural space is relevant in García Canclini´s intellectual networks. Shortly before the publication of the book *The co-operation culture-communication in Iberian America* (*La cooperación cultura-comunicación en Iberoamérica*, 2008), for which the Spanish scholar Enrique Bustamante was editor, García Canclini debated with Spanish intellectuals on co-operation for culture, communication and development in the Iberian American space. Bustamante himself, his academic network and the institutions which sponsored their research invited a few of the main Latin American experts in culture such as García Canclini[189], Jesús Martín-Barbero[190], Martín Hopenhayn[191], Octavio Getino[192], Renato Ortiz[193] and Raúl Trejo[194] to contribute to Bustamante´s book. Also, the sponsorship for its publication came not from academic institutions but from the Spanish Agency for International Development Co-operation (Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo,

---

[189] Two of García Canclini´s publications discuss topics related to co-operation for culture, communication and development in the Iberian American space. The first is GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Cooperación, diálogo: ¿Son las palabras más apropiadas?*. V Campus Euro-americano de Cooperação Cultural, Almada, Portugal, 2007. Available at <http://www.redculturalmercosur.org/docs/Garcia-Canclini.pdf>. Accessed on 18 October 2007. The second is GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Ibero-América 2002: Propostas para o desenvolvimento cultural. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Culturas da Ibero-América: Diagnósticos e propostas para seu desenvolvimento cultural*. Translated from Spanish to Portuguese by Ana Venite. São Paulo: Moderna, 2003.

[190] Jesús Martín-Barbero is a Spanish and naturalised Colombian expert in culture, communication and the media. Some of his books are *Procesos de comunicación y matrices de cultura* (1988), *Televisión y melodrama* (1992), *Communication, culture and hegemony: From the media to mediations* (1993) and *La educacion desde la comunicacion* (2002).

[191] Martín Hopenhayn is a Chilean researcher in Social Development who worked for the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) in Santiago, Chile. One of his most relevant books is *No apocalypse, no integration: Modernism and postmodernism in Latin America* (2001).

[192] Octavio Getino is an Argentine film director. His most important cultural policy book is GETINO, Octavio. *Las industrias culturales en la Argentina: Dimensión económica y políticas públicas*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Colihue, 1995. On page 349 of the chapter 'Políticas públicas y legislación', Getino blamed the Argentine state for its lack of vision and strategy to improve the international competitiveness of Argentina´s cultural industries.

[193] Renato Ortiz is a Brazilian sociologist of culture who wrote the books *A moderna tradição brasileira* (1988), *Mundialização e cultura* (1994) and *Mundialização: Saberes e crenças* (2006).

[194] Raúl Trejo Delarbre is a Mexican sociologist and newspaper columnist. One of his books is *La sociedad de la información y sus laberintos* (2006).

AECID) and the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of Co-operation (Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación). The book *The co-operation culture-communication in Iberian America* is also part of AECID´s Collection Culture and Development. This Iberian American network is an example of people who are not doing research for the sake of research but for influencing decision-makers within culture and communication. Bustamante is aware of a difficulty, though: 'The ensuing problem will be how to obtain enough strength to pressure the governments and the states, through the social players who are influential in cultural policy-making, so that they can efficiently put into practice a process of new international co-operation in culture-communication which, I believe, has already begun.'[195] In one of Pensar Iberoamérica´s publications – in which Iberoamericanismo is also implied –, the Argentine scholar Rubens Bayardo supports co-operation between Latin America and Europe, but he recommends this from the perspective of the former and without prejudices coming from the more developed countries; Bayardo´s contention in this respect is that 'the Latin American presence in the world cannot be mediated only by the European Union´s bridge.'[196] This is an alternative view to the one García Canclini proposes in relation to Latin America's approach to European ideas and models.

The Spanish ideologues of the Iberian American cultural space have offered an alternative to Latin America´s relationships with the United States. The main point of the proposal for the Iberian American cultural space is that the Latin American countries have more in common with Portugal and Spain (an Iberian heritage) than with the United States. The most evident aspect of this interaction between Latin American and Iberian countries is the unity of their two languages. In this case, I argue that language is the point of departure for establishing other relations in terms of investments and migrations. Yet Europe is a small space with many linguistic divisions while Latin America comprises a large territory with a few shared languages.

---

[195] BUSTAMANTE, Enrique. Tendiendo puentes. In: BUSTAMANTE, Enrique (Ed.). *La cooperación cultura-comunicación en Iberoamérica*. Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID), Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación, 2008. The quote was taken from p. 323 of chapter 6 ('Conclusiones y propuestas: Cooperación cultural y comunicativa para la era digital'). TBM.

[196] BAYARDO, Rubens. Consideraciones para la cooperación euroamericana en investigación cultural desde una perspectiva latinoamericana. **Pensar Iberoamérica – Revista de Cultura**, Madrid, n. 7, September–December 2004. Available at <http://www.oei.es/pensariberoamerica/ric07a06.htm>. Accessed on 27 May 2013. para. 9. TBM.

It is a contrast to this space that García Canclini emphasises, in his article *Tales of United States – Latin America interaction*[197], the interaction of ideas, misunderstandings and prejudices between Mexico and the United States instead of discussing their increasing commercial bonds. His argument indicates that the relationship between Mexico and the United States has been tense because of mutual incomprehensions and problems such as drug trafficking and illegal migration; he tries to show that the interests Latin America has in the United States are different from those the North Americans have in the Latin Americans. This is where the ideologies of Panamericanismo and Iberoamericanismo conflict. However, uncertainties affect Latin America´s regional cultural policy because of its countries´ disintegration and their historical difficulty to negotiate and compete by forming stable political blocs in the international arena. This comprises emerging cultural spaces, strategic geopolitical areas and powerful trade groups (to mention a few: European Union, European Economic Area, Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation, North American Free Trade Agreement, etc.). This section has demonstrated that topics of international relations are paramount to understanding the key current issues of cultural policy in Latin America.

The problem is that Latin America´s governments have sought to improve and then prioritise consumerism rather than citizenship in Latin America´s cultural policy. Meanwhile, García Canclini states in his book *Consumers and citizens*[198] that Latin Americans have been taught to be consumers of the twenty-first century but citizens of the eighteenth. His criticism refers respectively to the improvement of consumerism in Latin America but the backwardness of its people´s awareness of their rights and duties; an example of this is Brazilians´ high illiteracy rate of 9.9%[199] as it became one of the world´s biggest economies. In *Consumers and citizens*, García Canclini indicates that the state is one of the policy-makers that promote things of public interest in consumerist societies whereby the role of the state decreases and the importance of the

---

[197] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Tales of United States – Latin America interaction. In: MENDES, Cândido; RODRÍGUEZ LARRETA, Enrique (Eds.). *Media and social perception*. Rio de Janeiro: UNESCO, ISSC, EDUCAM, 1999. He wrote this article for the Conference of the Agenda of the Millennium, which was held in Rio de Janeiro and sponsored by UNESCO.

[198] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Consumers and citizens: Globalization and multicultural conflicts*. Translated by George Yúdice. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001. Paraphrase taken from p. 25 of the introduction. His book *Consumidores y ciudadanos* was originally published in Spanish in 1995.

[199] Information available at <http://seriesestatisticas.ibge.gov.br/series.aspx?vcodigo=PD366&t=taxa-analfabetismo-pessoas-15-anos-mais>. Accessed on 24 September 2013. The Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios, which was solicited by the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE), indicated this number in 2008.

cultural industries increases. His main concern is that the United States´s cultural production (film, music, etc.) has flooded Latin America´s market, which consequently became overdeveloped in consumption; this means that Latin Americans buy much more imported commodities than they export. George Yúdice declares that the book *Consumers and citizens* 'includes a range of specific policy recommendations for a Latin American cultural space that can hold its own against the juggernaut of Hollywood and "Americanism" more generally'[200]. Later in Yúdice´s Translator´s introduction to *Consumers and citizens*, he reiterates this idea by saying that 'García Canclini advocates rethinking politics in relation to consumption, although not necessarily the U.S. model. […] Consumption, then, has to be rethought in relation to the culture industries. But in Latin America, this means confronting the problem of "Americanization".'[201] Indeed, some time afterwards in March 2013, the Brazilian president Dilma Rousseff created the Plan of Action for Consumption and Citizenship[202] (Plano de Ação para Consumo e Cidadania), whereby her government intended to prioritise the protection of Brazilians in their consumer relations (e.g. how to spend more money on general goods) at the expense of their citizen relations (e.g. how to be informed of their rights). Brazil is competitive (e.g. its agribusiness exports achieved new records in 2012 and 2013[203]) in the world market and performs satisfactorily with regards to matters of internal consumer relations (e.g. by increasing bank loans to promote internal consumption) without giving suitable opportunities to its small entrepreneurs and young learners for improving their citizen formation (e.g. how they are informed of their rights and duties). Most of them have difficulties in opening and keeping small businesses and face challenges to access public and free education. The point I am trying to make is that consumerism, Americanisation and the challenges of citizenship are additional aspects in my argument that Latin American cultural policy does not faithfully represent the majority of people´s cultural needs.

---

[200] YÚDICE. George. From hybridity to policy: For a purposeful cultural studies. Translator´s introduction to the book. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Consumers and citizens: Globalization and multicultural conflicts*. Translated by George Yúdice. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001. p. x.

[201] Ibid. p. xxxiv.

[202] CRUZ, Luciene. Governo federal lança Plano Nacional de Consumo e Cidadania. **Agência Brasil**, Brasília, 15 March 2013. Available at <http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/noticia/2013-03-15/governo-federal-lanca-plano-nacional-de-consumo-e-cidadania>. Accessed on 8 May 2013.

[203] BRANCO, Mariana. Exportações na safra 2012/2013 somam US$ 100,61 bilhões e batem recorde. **Agência Brasil**, Brasília, 8 July 2013. Available at <http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/noticia/2013-07-08/exportacoes-na-safra-20122013-somam-us-10061-bilhoes-e-batem-recorde>. Accessed on 18 November 2013.

A related issue is that a number of Latin American cultural policy experts and decision-makers neglect the concepts of culture and those particular ideological goals for which their policy actions should strive. Instead of considering Latin America´s particularities, some of them reproduce UNESCO´s views and recommendations no matter how disadvantaged their countries are with regards to international relations. In this context, intellectuals may be given an opportunity to raise their academic capital as advisors of institutions from the so-named developed countries while plans of action are adopted in their home countries. The Final Report of the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development, which resulted from an event held in Stockholm on 30 March–2 April 1998, reiterates that UNESCO´s documents and meetings do not only fulfil a global formality but also intend to influence decisions made in various countries. Cultural policy is thus subsumed into governmental development strategies. An example of this is Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva´s Programme of Government (2007–2010), which was prepared for the candidacy of his re-election as Brazil´s president in 2006; it includes culture as part of its development programme by putting 'culture, communication, science and technology as instruments for development and for democracy.'[204] One of the purposes of the Stockholm conference was to discuss cultural policy from an intergovernmental perspective – which differs from isolated measures taken by multiple states – and to propose an Action Plan for developing countries. In fact, participants of the session Improving Research for Cultural Policy (France) raised the issue that the Conference´s Action Plan should give priority to developing countries because they 'were only just beginning to formulate their cultural policies and they were badly in need of information, studies and research'[205]. Stockholm´s Action Plan is thus more ambitious than Mexico City´s MONDIACULT 1982 meeting. One of the very few sessions in Stockholm dedicated to Latin America ('Building the multicultural societies of the 21st century') reported that there has been 'a hybridation of patterns of legitimacy that brings about confusions, instability and political opportunism. Political culture, cultural identity and citizenship nowadays make for a renewed tension in Latin America.'[206] Besides, it can be argued that, when policies for development are

---

[204] LULA Presidente, *Programa de Governo (2007–2010)*, Partido dos Trabalhadores. Available at <http://www.fpabramo.org.br/uploads/Programa_de_governo_2007-2010.pdf>. Accessed on 24 September 2013. p. 11. TBM.

[205] UNESCO. *Final Report of the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development*. The Conference was held in Stockholm, Sweden (30 March–2 April 1998), and the Report was published in Paris, CLT-98/Conf.210/CLD.19, on 31 August 1998. p. 38.

[206] Ibid. p. 48.

discussed, these official reports usually refer to Africa, Asia and Latin America; a European or North American country is rarely addressed within a policy for development. It suggests that policy-makers who write these official reports suppose that the second group of countries is fully developed. Once again, topics of international relations have been fundamental in discussing key current cultural policy issues.

Despite Latin America´s historical difficulty in refining its strategic approach to the global arena via a regional cultural policy, emulation is its most common tool to highlight its own identities through others´ bureaucratic and political accomplishments. The improvement of Latin America´s relationship with the world has also been proposed by ECLAC´s structural economics[207], which was strongly debated by its bureaucrats and academics during the 1950s and 1960s. García Canclini is one of the intellectuals who have spoken from institutional standpoints (as chapter 4 will later examine and show), which do not always converge with academic criticism. For this reason, he can be situated among the group of Latin American intellectuals who do not come from a confrontational and endogenous Latin Americanist position because he and some of his colleagues (e.g. Eduardo Nivón, George Yúdice, Martín-Barbero) maintain that Latin America is a coherent entity, strategic region and geocultural space which should accept opportunities for dialogue and negotiation in international relations. I reinforce this point with García Canclini's idea that Latin America is not complete[208] in its own territory because of Latin American migrants and cultural producers who live abroad, in particular in the south of the United States and in Western European capitals. This specific effect of globalisation is thus considered in García Canclini's idea of what Latin America means in the twenty-first century in terms of relating territorial limits to the discussion of identities. It transforms a geographical space into a trans-territorial idea. Therefore, he is vulnerable to being criticised for neglecting intellectuals such as Leopoldo Zea in Mexico, Augusto Salazar Bondy in Peru, Fausto Reinaga in Bolivia and Darcy Ribeiro in Brazil, who have a contrasting Latin Americanist view.

Two examples of intellectuals who were influenced by Marx´s economic, political and philosophical ideas and who believed in the emancipation of Latin

---

[207] For an account of the relationship between structural economics (which is the English translation of the term *desarrollismo* as this chapter has already shown) and modernisation in Latin America, see MORANDÉ, Pedro. *Cultura y modernización en América Latina: Ensayo sociológico acerca de la crisis del desarrollismo y de su superación*. Santiago, Chile: Instituto de Sociología, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 1984.

[208] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Latinoamericanos buscando lugar en este siglo*. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2002. p. 19.

Americans are Fausto Reinaga and García Canclini. The former is a Bolivian Indianista[209] who had employed Marx´s ideas but, later in his activism, he relegated them in favour of a radical indigenous revolution (*revolución amáutica*[210]) to counteract the influence of Europe and the United States. García Canclini, in turn, abandoned his early radicalism (the next chapter will show that his ideas were rather revolutionary and a bit radical during the 1970s) and followed a conciliatory path between Latin America and the countries deemed as central, developed and industrialised. I do not intend to anticipate here the discussion that I conduct in chapters 3 and 4; however, and to provide examples, García Canclini does not miss the opportunities to establish certain relationships with institutions which are, broadly, objects of his criticism such as banks (e.g. Inter-American Development Bank) and private foundations (e.g. The Rockefeller Foundation, Telefónica Foundation) from Europe and the United States. Reinaga and García Canclini differ sharply in their references to sociocultural change and in their interpretations of political radicalism in Latin America. García Canclini´s conceptual development is paradigmatic for understanding the key current issues of cultural policy in Latin America because he has an encompassing view of culture (this chapter has shown how he includes the majority of people) and of cultural policy (not only cultural topics are implied in his cultural policy); most of the concepts that he creates, refuses, reproduces and even improves revolve around culture and cultural policy.

As a matter of fact, very few intellectuals – and I emphasise here the importance of García Canclini – have clarified culture conceptually and comprehensively in their activities and have proposed cultural policy systematically in terms of its institutional suitability. For this reason, García Canclini´s work is one of the main theoretical references in Latin America for cultural issues and cultural policy studies. When he publishes his *Hybrid cultures*[211], in which he argues that Latin America´s modernities emerge as something different from modern Europe and hence need new theoretical analyses, he catches the attention of academics from regions other than Latin America

---

[209] The main difference between Indianismo and Indigenismo is that the former gives voice to the indigenous communities themselves to express their demands through their ethnic and social movements while the latter formulates policies for the indigenous people according to how state managers understand indigenous claims. In other words, Indianismo is when the demand comes from the indigenous people while Indigenismo is from the state.

[210] REINAGA, Fausto. *La revolución india*. La Paz: Ediciones Partido Indio Boliviano, 1970. Fausto Reinaga supported the idea that the Indigenous Revolution is the only way to free the indigenous people from oppression.

[211] The title of this book in Spanish is *Culturas híbridas* and it was first published in 1990.

(especially those working in Spain and the United States). Since then, he has obtained increasing support from diverse institutions[212] to discuss cultural policy.

This chapter has given a conceptual background for an understanding of intellectuals, culture and cultural policy as well as historical and current issues of the institutional development of cultural policy in Latin America. The relevant phases of García Canclini´s cultural policy ideas will be presented and discussed in chapters 2 and 3. I do not intend to give a biographical account of or cover every concept he wrote about during his academic career, but I do investigate how cultural policy (as a concept and as a practice) changes during his theoretical development and what the main reasons for these changes are. The transitions from the discussions of policy for the popular arts at the beginning of his career in the 1970s to policy for the industries of culture and communication during the 1980s, and to policy for co-operation and regional integration between countries from Latin America and Europe during the 1990s will form the base of my examination and analysis in the next chapters.

Cultural policy interested García Canclini because of his concern with underprivileged people at a time when he saw how they struggled against their counterparts in elitist positions. Later, his cultural policy becomes an operation for improving the role of culture in national development and for promoting the international insertion of Latin American societies. He was concerned with how cultural expressions could bring economic and political benefits and yet at the same time result in stereotypes of the region. He thus advocates changes to reduce old prejudices and to comply with a globalised world. It has been argued that his proposal for Latin America was more radical[213], however. These changes in his perspectives on this and on issues of culture and cultural policy would occur during the 1980s, when he approaches an increasing and assorted number of institutions; many of which have nothing to do with academia and very little to do with cultural policy-making. This is the platform for discussing García Canclini´s early academic and conceptual developments.

---

[212] The nature and variety of these institutional supports will be shown and discussed in chapter 4.

[213] That García Canclini mitigates his radicalism and turns his attention towards reformist political measures has also been pointed out by two scholars speaking respectively from the United States and Canada: John Beverley and Alan O`Connor. Cf. the book BEVERLEY, John. *Subalternity and representation: Arguments in cultural theo*ry. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999. And see the article O`CONNOR, Alan. Consumers and citizens: On Néstor García Canclini. **Pretexts: Literary and Cultural Studies**, Taylor & Francis, v. 12, n. 1, pp. 105–122, 2003.

CHAPTER 2

From philosophy at home to anthropology in exile

Introduction

This chapter shows how García Canclini´s academic activities in Argentina as a philosopher (where he conducted research through literature reviews, interviews and teachings) and his first years as an exile in Mexico (where he did field research) encouraged him to study culture and increased his interest in cultural policy. It traces García Canclini´s academic and conceptual development from the 1960s to the early 1980s in order to identify the point at which he started to write about cultural policy, and provides the main reasons for his growing interest in this area. It does so by reviewing his books and key scientific articles from the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s. During this period of his academic career, he published the books *Cortázar: A poetic anthropology* (*Cortázar: Una antropología poética*, 1968), *Folk art and society in Latin America* (*Arte popular y sociedad en América Latina*, 1977), *Symbolic production* (*La producción simbólica*, 1979) and *Transforming modernity*[214] (*Las culturas populares en el capitalismo*, 1982). An underlying objective of this chapter is that most of García Canclini´s institutional relationships during the mentioned period were with universities and research bodies.

The first part of chapter 2 ('Academic qualifications in philosophy before the exile') focuses on García Canclini´s early interest in anthropology (despite his degrees in philosophy), the interdisciplinary nature of his writings and the analysis of reception in his work. It will show how he wrote about culture before he properly used the term 'culture' when he suggested how art could be used for social transformations. An important point about my analysis is to highlight how this academic activity resulted from his interest in the popular classes through research on the avant-garde arts in Argentina in the 1970s. In this moment, he addressed the arts as a means for sociocultural transformation (especially social justice) in Latin America and he suggested that the popular classes should practice the arts in pursuit of such an aim. In addition to this, he argues that Argentina had a short but constructive economic

---

[214] Differently from the previous three references in brackets, this book has an English version. Also, as clarified in chapter 1, *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico* has been referred to only as *Transforming modernity*.

modernisation[215] which resulted from the effects of structural economics[216] during the 1960s; however, it will be seen below that the late 1970s Argentine governments and the ensuing *neoconservadurismo*[217] of the dictatorship constricted the support for social science research that existed during the 1960s.

The second part ('Acclimatisation of the *epistemological migrant* in Mexico') provides some reasons why García Canclini did not return to Argentina after the fall of its dictatorship in the early 1980s. It argues that, unlike Argentina, Mexico had institutional stability and offered generous governmental finance for the arts, cultures and sciences during the 1970s and 1980s. Furthermore, the main theoretical sources of García Canclini´s work deserve attention in this chapter for identifying his early interest in cultural issues and especially the topics that led to his first cultural policy proposal. It demonstrates that Bourdieu, Gramsci and Marx were the main influences on García Canclini, who absorbed ideas from them such as the concepts of field, hegemony and historical-material conditions of phenomena respectively. Finally, this chapter investigates the role of artisans in cultural policy and their relationship with the market, since this indicates the moment when García Canclini embraced the notion of cultural policy.

2.1. Academic qualifications in philosophy before the exile

After García Canclini completed his degree as *bachiller* at the National College of La Plata, Argentina, in 1956, he started an undergraduate degree in law and worked in tribunals for a living. He declared in a biographical video that his interest in law resulted from his father´s insistence on him choosing a career that would not make him vulnerable to 'dying from hunger'[218], but he did not complete his studies in this discipline. He pursued an academic career as soon as he obtained the title Philosophy

---

[215] The section 'Socioeconomic circumstances for symbolic production' will provide evidence for this point.

[216] A definition and a brief historical account of structural economics (whose Spanish term is *desarrollismo*) has been given in the section 'Key historical issues of cultural policy in Latin America' of chapter 1.

[217] The ideology of *neoconservadurismo* will be given due attention in the section 'Censorship of intellectuals and of institutions in Argentina'. Such ideology supports the reproduction of the Argentine military regime´s political culture (censorship, repression and reduction of rights) in a variety of institutions (including academic ones).

[218] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Vida y Obra (1/2). Produced by TVAL Producciones for Canal 22 (Mexico) and Canal Encuentro (Argentina) and published on YouTube on 9 March 2011 by CaelRevolution. Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zy6cb3Q9xO4>. Accessed on 14 January 2012. TBM.

Lecturer (Profesor de Filosofía)[219] from the Faculty of Humanities at the National University of La Plata, Argentina, on 21 December 1964.[220] His first publications would highlight his understandings of cultural issues from a multidisciplinary perspective.

In 1968 García Canclini published his first book *Cortázar: A poetic anthropology*, which focused on the Argentine writer Julio Cortázar´s work[221]. The originality of this book is indicated in its subtitle *A poetic anthropology* insofar as he offered a particular anthropological interpretation of Cortázar´s literature. García Canclini produced this while he was teaching the subject *Philosophy of history* at the National University of La Plata. In the book, he suggested that Cortázar´s ideas would be more than the latter expected from his own publications; indeed, Cortázar´s literature turned out to be an important anthropological revelation. In *Cortázar: A poetic anthropology*, García Canclini described some of Cortázar´s characters from an anthropological perspective. In doing this, he explored human nature through the relationship between rationality and intuition; he analysed the substitution of the religious by the poetic attitude; and he gave his account of loneliness from a poetic outlook. In the book, García Canclini attempted to complement his philosophical knowledge of human beings with Cortázar´s literary ideas that insinuated an alternative way of searching for the essence of man. As an example of this, he stated that 'to the same degree philosophy captures the human essence through concepts, poetic penetration frees this same essence through images'[222]. Thus, García Canclini discovered some revelations about human existence in Cortázar´s literature:

> Cortázar is interested in the absolute in relation to mankind and in ethical dilemmas. Thus, beyond deducing an ethics and a metaphysics, I see an anthropology in the nucleus of his work. For challenging the unauthentic and sustaining that authenticity – the plain human existence – his work is consumed in a permanent exodus, that is, in

---

[219] Within a Latin American context, a Profesor of a specific academic subject is someone who is teaching at a college, an institute, a school or a university. Unlike it is in Europe, in Latin America the term is not employed to refer to someone in a senior academic position.

[220] García Canclini started his academic career in the early 1960s when he taught several subjects or academic courses: *History of contemporary philosophy*, *Philosophy of sciences*, *Philosophical anthropology*, *Introduction to philosophy*, *Psychology* (understood here as a subject or a module), *Philosophy of religion*, *Philosophy of history* and *Philosophy and aesthetics*. These initial academic activities took place in institutions which developed mostly in La Plata and Buenos Aires. TBM.

[221] Julio Cortázar was a renowned Argentine writer because of the impact he had on the Latin American literary boom during the 1960s and 1970s; among other things that increased his reputation, Cortázar universalised his writing style when he innovated narratives and short stories without denying his cultural roots.

[222] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Cortázar: Una antropología poética*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Nova, 1968. p. 27. TBM.

the search, in the tireless creation, and in an honest and deep relationship with the other. It does more than indicating a route and formulating an ethics: it means answering questions about the essence of mankind.
[…]
Cortázar knows that if mankind does not have its existence legitimised *a priori*, literature – human work – will not get rid of its contingency. It is not possible to live truly without questioning what it consists of or writing without interrogating literature.[223]

Raúl Castagnino, director of the Library of Art and Science of the Expression, observed that García Canclini´s first book contains 'a new interdisciplinary procedure, where the confluence of literature and the philosophy of culture generates a hybrid – the poetic anthropology –, which is a variant of literary criticism'[224]. Castagnino added that García Canclini´s early interest and work in anthropology was a parallel activity to what he did for a living: teaching philosophy to high school and undergraduate students in Argentina. García Canclini´s interest in anthropology was not stimulated by undertaking a scientific activity, however. Castagnino attests that 'García Canclini made some literary criticism of Cortázar´s intellectual creation from the angle of the former´s curiosity as Professor of philosophy and a researcher of anthropological issues'[225].

García Canclini´s new way of examining literature would also be highlighted by the Chilean reviewer Miguel Alvarado Borgoño in the article *Cortázar as a literary anthropologist: Readings of Cortázar, a poetic anthropology* (*Cortázar como antropólogo literato: Lecturas de Cortázar, una antropología poética*, 2009). In this publication, he states that García Canclini has inspired a 'Latin American possibility of a theory which is authentically situated regarding culture'[226] through 'the first systematic attempt to understand this text from an interdisciplinary anthropological point of view'[227]. For Alvarado Borgoño, García Canclini´s particular interpretation within literary anthropology allowed him to raise an interdisciplinary debate that literary theorists have recently paid more attention to. According to Alvarado Borgoño, García Canclini interprets Cortázar´s literature in a way that shows how it is 'from the symbolic

---

[223] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Cortázar: Una antropología poética*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Nova, 1968. pp. 18 and 87. TBM.

[224] CASTAGNINO, Raúl H. Posibilidad de una antropología poética. Preface to: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Cortázar: Una antropología poética*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Nova, 1968. p. 14. TBM.

[225] CASTAGNINO, Raúl H. Posibilidad de una antropología poética. Preface to: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Cortázar: Una antropología poética*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Nova, 1968. p. 8. TBM.

[226] ALVARADO BORGOÑO, Miguel. Cortázar como antropólogo literato: Lecturas de Cortázar, una antropología poética. **Nueva Revista del Pacífico**, Valparaíso, Chile, n. 54, 2009. p. 10. TBM.

[227] Ibid. p. 10. TBM.

that the human being must be invented or rather re-invented, rebuilt'[228]. García Canclini has written interdisciplinary essays since his book on Cortázar, in which there is a connection between literature, philosophy and anthropology. The interdisciplinary nature of his research (e.g. between anthropology and social science and between communication and social science) soon influenced his development as a scholar.

A new influence on García Canclini´s work would emerge in 1969, when he went to Paris for two years to undertake the subjects required for his doctoral studies. In France, he attended two seminars – *Theories of discourse* and *The critiques of phenomenology (Piaget, Foucault and Derrida)* – taught by the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur, who supervised his research project. The disciplinary training required for this course and the research he undertook about the French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty led to García Canclini obtaining a doctoral degree on 5 June 1978 from the Paris-X University (Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense). This occurred just a few years after he had earned a PhD in philosophy on 28 April 1975 from the University of La Plata with his thesis *Epistemology and history: The dialectic between subject and structures in Merleau-Ponty* (*Epistemología e historia: La dialéctica entre sujeto y estructuras en Merleau-Ponty*).[229]

For his thesis, García Canclini investigated epistemology and history in Merleau-Ponty´s work. It was common for graduate students in this period to focus on Merleau-Ponty´s theorisation of corporeal experience, as well as how this might underpin the experience of less tangible entities such as the mind or soul. For Merleau-Ponty, the main concern of this perspective are the ways in which individuals experience their surroundings, and how they come to experience objects and the connections between them in a similarly instinctive way.[230] García Canclini writes that in *The structure of behaviour* this leads Merleau-Ponty 'to redefine the notion of objectivity, its relations with the subjective, and the articulation between structure and

---

[228] Ibid. p. 2. TBM.

[229] Biographical information available at the link 'Semblanza' on García Canclini´s official website <http://nestorgarciacanclini.net>. Accessed on 16 April 2012.

[230] Merleau-Ponty´s ideas on structures of consciousness influenced García Canclini because of Merleau-Ponty´s concern with the externalisation of human behaviour in relation to nature. Indeed, Merleau-Ponty understands behaviour (but especially the intrinsic links between consciousness and nature) as an objective structure. For him, nature is 'a multiplicity of events external to each other and bound together by relations of causality' (p. 3). Later in his book *The structure of behavior*, he argued that 'behavior is not a thing, but neither is it an idea. [...] behavior is a form.' (p. 127) In spite of this, it is likely that Merleau-Ponty also interested García Canclini because Merleau-Ponty regards historical aspects much more than he does with the study of an abstract consciousness. MERLEAU-PONTY, Maurice. *The structure of behavior*. Translated by Alden L. Fisher. Boston: Beacon Press, 1967.

meaning in the diverse levels of human behaviour'[231]. Within the broader context of French academia at the time, it is also likely that García Canclini was aware of Merleau-Ponty´s position in relation to ongoing debates about the applicability of Marxist philosophy and political theory. This can be seen in García Canclini's writing where he highlights the 'intimate dependence of philosophy on the empirical and theoretical material of sciences'[232] and argues that 'the structural knowledge of reality, although it is superior to every empiricism of causality, depends on the recognition that our original relations with the world derive from our experiences'[233]. This entails wider debates in the philosophy of social science which are ongoing in this subject but are beyond the scope of this thesis.

García Canclini´s first book presents a literary analysis of Cortázar, whereas his thesis about Merleau-Ponty examines aspects related to the social sciences. From his beginnings in law he moved to philosophy and then developed his career in anthropology, a discipline which interested him before he went to Mexico. Looking at his first book (literature and anthropology) on Cortázar and then at his thesis (philosophy and anthropology) on Merleau-Ponty, this section has shown that García Canclini sought methodological resources in diverse disciplines while being a philosopher of formation and drawing ideas from anthropology. He established relationships between supposedly disconnected spheres of knowledge and posed research questions about complex cultural interactions which could not be understood from specific disciplines. Nevertheless, García Canclini´s academic development within philosophy was about to end because his interest in anthropology would become his principal focus in Mexico. A reversal in Argentina´s democratisation with the rise of authoritarian regimes is one of the reasons for this change of circumstances. The following section examines the impact of this shift on his life.

2.1.1. Censorship of intellectuals and of institutions in Argentina

---

[231] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Crítica de la razón cientificista, epistemología e historia en Merleau-Ponty. **Revista de Psicología**, La Plata, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, National University of La Plata, v. 6, pp. 33–50, 1973. Quote from para. 4 of the section 'Refutación del empirismo en la psicología' available at <http://www.fuentesmemoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/art_revistas/pr.895/pr.895.pdf>. Accessed on 22 April 2012. TBM.

[232] Ibid. p. 1. TBM.

[233] Ibid. p. 7. TBM.

On 24 March 1976 Jorge Rafael Videla, Emilio Eduardo Massera and Orlando Ramón Agosti initiated a Process of National Reorganisation (Proceso de Reorganización Nacional), overthrowing the constitutional government of María Estela Martínez de Perón and establishing a military dictatorship in Argentina that was to continue until 10 December 1983. During this period, many Argentine intellectuals (artists, writers, scientists, trade unionists and other professionals) left the country because the military censored the arts and the media (press, radio and television), persecuted activists and reformers and curtailed the freedom of certain institutions. The Argentine scholar Hilda López Laval adds to this account by noting that the ideological plan of the dictatorship spread throughout Argentina in a way that 'all the country´s task forces have been taken control of to such a degree that its cultural apparatus was dismantled'[234]. Indeed, García Canclini deplored the fact that 'terror, disappearances and homicides had become a habit, a daily mode of "doing politics", of living'[235]. During this period, guerrillas and left-wing movements in Argentina were concentrated in La Plata, which is a small town where García Canclini lived before his exile.

The bureaucracy developed by the military juntas represented an attempt to 'reorganise all social spaces, from the moral space of the family to political, media and academic institutions'[236]; certain Argentine institutions and cultural practices were therefore vulnerable to censorship. The period of military dictatorship in Argentina (1976–1983) began later than it did in other Latin American countries such as Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, and it did not last as long as many of these. However, the legacy of *neoconservadurismo* that resulted from Argentina´s dictatorship after this country´s re-democratisation also contributed to García Canclini´s dissatisfaction. This is because *neoconservadurismo* lasts much longer than the political regime (beyond the end of the dictatorship) and impedes subsequent moves towards democratisation, such as compliance with international human rights charters.[237]

---

[234] LÓPEZ LAVAL, Hilda. *Autoritarismo y cultura: Argentina, 1976–1983*. Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos, 1995. p. 8. TBM.

[235] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Cultura e política na Argentina: A reconstrução da democracia. Translation from Spanish to Portuguese by Maria Lúcia Montes. **Novos Estudos Cebrap**, São Paulo, n. 14, pp. 52–61, February 1986. p. 53. TBM.

[236] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Cultura e política na Argentina: A reconstrução da democracia. Translation from Spanish to Portuguese by Maria Lúcia Montes. **Novos Estudos Cebrap**, São Paulo, n. 14, pp. 52–61, February 1986. p. 54. García Canclini uses the term *neoconservadurismo* in his article. TBM.

[237] NORDEN, Deborah L. *Military rebellion in Argentina: Between coups and consolidation*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996. For example, the Argentine armed forces were concerned

Before the armed forces took power in Argentina (March 1976), García Canclini had conducted some research at the University of Buenos Aires and the Torcuato Di Tella Institute, 'the two institutions which helped mostly to combine economic modernisation with scientific work in the social sciences'[238]. The University of Buenos Aires encouraged social science research in Argentina which no other institution did in this period, and the Torcuato Di Tella Institute promoted diverse avant-garde artistic expressions (in music, theatre and the visual arts) during its existence between 1958 and 1970. On their closure on political grounds, García Canclini emigrated with thousands of other Argentine intellectuals; he became an *Argenmex*[239] when he arrived in Mexico on 20 August 1976. In his words, the Argentines who went to Mexico left a 'cosmopolitan provincialism, a municipal conception of history'[240]; he critically refers to the fact that Argentina echoed the development of Europe and the United States in their ethnic policies (of racial segregation instead of integration), political culture and methods of economic modernisation. While further development of the effects of Argentina´s dictatorship is not within the scope of this work, it is relevant to note that these migrants found different conditions in Mexico. The section 'Educational and political contexts in Mexico for the exiles' will give attention to this, but first the next section evaluates García Canclini´s writing on the liberation of the popular classes through the arts and indicates how cultural policy appeared in his academic agenda before his exile.

2.1.2. The avant-garde arts and the popular classes´ liberation

Prior to emigrating, García Canclini had begun to write about the development of artistic avant-garde movements in the capitalist modernisation programmes rolled out in Argentina during the 1960s and early 1970s. The research[241] he undertook during these

---

with 'the possibility that the universities could be used to disseminate what the military interpreted as subversive ideologies' (p. 54).

[238] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *La producción simbólica: Teoría y método en sociología del arte*. 7th Edition. Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2001. p. 105. TBM.

[239] The term *Argenmex* is often used by Argentine intellectuals who went into exile in Mexico during the dictatorship. Such expression results from the situation of being Argentine and Mexican at the same time while living in Mexico.

[240] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Cultura e política na Argentina: A reconstrução da democracia. Translation from Spanish to Portuguese by Maria Lúcia Montes. **Novos Estudos Cebrap**, São Paulo, n. 14, pp. 52–61, February 1986. p. 60. TBM.

[241] During 1972 and 1973, García Canclini obtained a grant from the Commission of Scientific Research (Comisión de Investigación Científica) at the National University of La Plata, Argentina, to undertake group research on *The construction of scientific models for the analysis of art: A especial study of the*

years in his home country was published months later in his book *Folk art and society in Latin America* while he was in exile. His arrival in Mexico did not change any of his arguments because he researched for and wrote this book in Argentina. His main objectives in this 1977 publication were to argue that the social function of art has changed, and to criticise elitist conceptions of the arts through an analysis of cinema, posters, television, figurative arts and theatre. In summary, his evaluation focuses on 'the recent experiences of popular art in Latin America'[242]. In his analysis, García Canclini´s arguments concern wide-ranging topics such as colonisation, cultural domination, migration, uses of the media[243], and the commercial relations of artistic objects and practices. He examined the 'relationships between the artistic practice and the economic basis'[244] of these topics while evaluating sociocultural transformations in a comparative way throughout Latin America (emphasising Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Mexico). For García Canclini, the arts not only reproduce social dominations and hierarchies in the sense of Gramsci but they also can be harnessed in pursuit of popular consciousness-raising, freedom of expression and political self-determination. Although he was aware that artistic activities were being disseminated to people belonging to the broadest social strata, in *Folk art and society in Latin America* he focused on the phases of production and circulation of artistic objects in order to understand the formation of hierarchies in the reproduction of cultures (education, habits, lifestyles, etc.) in Latin American societies. Two of the examples he provided concern an artist´s need for a venue to exhibit his/her work and for a sponsor of his/her artistic project.

In *Folk art and society in Latin America*, García Canclini observed substantial transformations in the arts which were motivated by 'new artistic trends'[245] and 'other

---

psychoanalytic model (*La construcción de modelos científicos para el análisis del arte: Estudio especial del modelo psicoanalítico*). Between 1974 and 1975, while he taught *Philosophy and aesthetics* (*Filosofía y estética*) in the Faculty of Fine Arts (Facultad de Bellas Artes) at the National University of La Plata, he researched how Latin American artists and audiences communicate in cinema, figurative arts, music, literature, theatre and other cultural forms. Then, for almost a year from July 1975, he researched the *Artistic avant-garde and economic development in Argentina* (*Vanguardias artísticas y desarrollo económico en la Argentina*), which the Institute of Social Sciences from Buenos Aires sponsored. He concluded this research in June 1976. Biographical information available at the link 'Semblanza' on García Canclini´s official website <http://nestorgarciacanclini.net>. Accessed on 25 January 2012.

[242] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Arte popular y sociedad en América Latina*. Mexico City: Editorial Grijalbo, 1977. p. 9. TBM.

[243] García Canclini refers to the media using the Spanish terms *medios* and *medios de comunicación*.

[244] Ibid. p. 36. TBM.

[245] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Arte popular y sociedad en América Latina*. Mexico City: Editorial Grijalbo, 1977. p. 10. TBM.

systems of signs'[246]. He argued that art 'is thus no longer conceived of only as a differentiated field of social activity as it is also a way to practise culture.'[247] Thus, García Canclini´s overarching concern here is with the relationship between the artistic field and broader social processes, for example the deleterious effect of dictatorship on the development of Latin American cinema. His political desire to transform society requires, first, a change in the conception of the arts to provide an alternative means for its expression and to accept the participation of the spectator. As a result, García Canclini ascribes to the arts the power to bring about social change which is beneficial to underprivileged people based on the assertion that 'the basic characteristic of the dominant culture is to deliver a false, impracticable and replaceable image of social relations'[248]. Meanwhile, García Canclini also studied the socioeconomic phase of consumption and the players involved in it, which most analysts and scholars had neglected in their research. He proposed that art is a historical player in the transformation of social relations: 'What distinguishes the arts from other modes of transformation is that they seek to change reality – at least since the avant-garde arts of the nineteenth century – in part to participate in the march of history and in part for the simple pleasure of invention.'[249] This debate on the social role of the arts is wide-ranging; to give an example, the arts managers John Knell and Matthew Taylor, although they focused on community arts, stated that arts organisations should be encouraged 'to build new relationships between communities and artists living in these'[250] and to 'build new audiences.'[251] They added the important point that art 'helps us to re-imagine the good life in the good society. The idea of the good life and enhanced citizenship must include challenge and edge. Active citizens are difficult, demanding, and idealistic. We must never lose a willingness to fund art that is too.'[252]

Folk art and society in Latin America contains García Canclini´s first attempt to discuss the notion of the popular as represented in the avant-garde arts. He argues throughout this book that demands from the popular classes weaken the elitist arts and

---

[246] Ibid. p. 11. TBM.

[247] Ibid. p. 275. TBM.

[248] Ibid. pp. 259–260. TBM.

[249] Ibid. pp. 52–53. TBM.

[250] KNELL, John; TAYLOR, Matthew. *Arts funding, austerity and the big society*. London: RSA, 2011. p. 31.

[251] Ibid. p. 31.

[252] Ibid. pp. 36–37.

that such popular classes achieve legitimacy through their wide participation. He also questions the autonomy of the arts as claimed by the avant-garde movements; for him, even though the elite expects the arts to be autonomous, socioeconomic factors constrain the development of the arts. Therefore, García Canclini was concerned with factors that influence an artist, for example 'the socio-cultural system in which I was formed, the class which I belong to'[253], although he believed in the transformation of society through liberation. García Canclini often discussed the conditions from which an 'art of liberation'[254] is possible and highlighted in *Folk art and society in Latin America* the demands from the popular classes[255] for their own artistic expressions. This is a political view that highlights the possibility for the emancipation of the popular classes. García Canclini, then, suggests pathways for reducing or eradicating the domination of the elite arts over the popular arts. It is, more precisely, in Part III ('Proposals for a contemporary popular art') of the book where he proposed that the arts are an instrument for the emancipation of the popular classes. Here, he analyses how the popular classes conduct artistic activities and experience the arts. From being an instrument that reproduces the social hierarchies, the arts became one that raises the political consciousness of the popular classes in Latin American societies.

In contrast to García Canclini, the Brazilian educator and writer Paulo Freire understood liberation as an ambition which can emerge only from the oppressed people and not the oppressors. Whereas García Canclini relied on the goodwill of the hegemonic classes to promote changes that favour underprivileged people (for example by supporting the avant-garde artists´ promotion of popular culture), Freire proposed an alternative *modus operandi*. For Freire, such social transformation benefits the poor and the oppressed people only if these encourage the desired change themselves, especially if they wish to change the conditions in which the oppression happens.[256] The difference here is that Freire viewed popular culture not as an opposition to the hegemonic culture as García Canclini put it, but as a means for the oppressed people to become politically conscious of their need for freedom. Having stated this, avant-garde artists might not

---

[253] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Arte popular y sociedad en América Latina*. Mexico City: Editorial Grijalbo, 1977. p. 126. TBM.

[254] Ibid. p. 92. TBM.

[255] I clarified the use of the term 'the popular classes' in the general 'Introduction'.

[256] FREIRE, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. London: Penguin, 1996. Freire formulated in this book an educational method for the oppressed people (with their popular cultures) to learn and teach with liberty. He argued that these people have the capacity to change their own condition of being oppressed but also how the oppressor operates.

emancipate the popular classes no matter how innovative the former are. Moreover, García Canclini´s idea of democratisation is that the arts can be produced, distributed and consumed outside elitist circles. It means that the popular classes and their cultures can be liberated within the arts. These thoughts indicate changes in attitude towards the social function of the arts, that is, that the popular classes can create and use the arts to fight against hierarchies, inequalities and oppressions.

Despite this, García Canclini does not provide a convincing answer to why the popular classes should conduct the liberation process through the same mechanisms that the elite employed to dominate, that is, by using the arts instead of creating their alternative means of expression. The conditions for this are that an 'art of liberation needs an aesthetics that does not contradict it'[257], although García Canclini concedes the need for the 'transference to the popular classes of the means to produce it and enjoy it'[258]. A film about liberation, for instance, is not the traditional means for the expression of the popular and may suggest an elitist reading of the poor and of the working classes. Even if somebody belonging to the popular classes had the chance to produce a film, the access to what this person produces would still be restricted by those people who influence the phases of distribution and consumption of artistic work; in other words, certain venues might avoid the screening of their film. García Canclini knew what his first cultural policy formulations should give attention to: underprivileged people, who should enjoy and participate in artistic production, distribution and consumption, which had previously been restricted to the elite. The idea of democratisation as a political project once again emerges here. Not less important is that García Canclini does not differ much from Raymond Williams´s deep concern with the poorest British social classes in the essay 'Culture is ordinary'[259]. They both focused their attention on the promotion of underprivileged people's interests and needs. García Canclini first mentioned cultural policy in relation to the needs of the popular classes in the late 1970s, although he did not understand policy yet as a clear, coherent and systematic proposal to tackle their historical inequalities and marginalisation.

---

[257] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Arte popular y sociedad en América Latina*. Mexico City: Editorial Grijalbo, 1977. p. 14. TBM.

[258] Ibid. p. 263. TBM. The Spanish word *pueblo* has been translated to 'the popular classes' instead of 'the people'.

[259] WILLIAMS, Raymond. Culture is ordinary. In: GRAY, Ann; MCGUIGAN, Jim (Eds.). *Studying culture: An introductory reader*. London: Edward Arnold Editor, 1993. For Williams, culture 'is both the most ordinary common meanings and the finest individual meanings' (p. 6). Culture therefore cannot exclude any social group.

In the third part ('Proposals for a contemporary popular art') of *Folk art and society in Latin America*, García Canclini wrote of how the relationship between artistic and political practices can encourage a process of liberation and the cultivation of a political consciousness in the popular classes, although he thought that this is more likely in socialism. García Canclini explicitly referred to the development of the popular arts in the transition from capitalism to socialism, although he actually meant the use of socialist strategies in artistic practices instead of a systemic change. He affirmed: 'What justifies the figurative arts, what turns it into a necessary activity is, in a socialist country, the constitution of a new visual space in which the life which has been set free can finally grow; within a liberation process, this means generating images that help the identification and development of political consciousness.'[260]

The value of the book *Folk art and society in Latin America* may be, first, the setting of the debate on aesthetics within the methodological development of social sciences, and, second, the definition of actions for the liberation of the popular classes. García Canclini argues that liberation can occur through democratisation, even though he occasionally mentions that a complete liberation can only be achieved in a socialist society. Likewise, he has been interested, at least since the publication of *Folk art and society in Latin America*, in decentralising power in the production, distribution and consumption of the arts from the elite and the dominant groups. In the first part ('Theory of art and social sciences') of this book, García Canclini first mentions cultural policy in the formulation of 'effectively popular cultural policies'[261]. In the second part ('From the fine arts to the crisis of the avant-garde'), he inquires about the construction of popular art and obstacles to a democratic cultural policy: 'how could one carry on an effective and sustainable work in countries where economic difficulties, besides obstructing a democratic and progressive cultural policy, deepen ideological archaism and political reppression?'[262]. García Canclini also mentions cultural policy in relation to the social function of artists in this part of the book. He provides an analysis of the implications of the economic dependency of Latin American countries and the inconsistency of 'the autonomy of the arts, the subjectivity of artists and the disinterest

---

[260] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Arte popular y sociedad en América Latina*. Mexico City: Editorial Grijalbo, 1977. p. 207. TBM.

[261] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Arte popular y sociedad en América Latina*. Mexico City: Editorial Grijalbo, 1977. p. 77. TBM.

[262] Ibid. p. 167. TBM.

of the audiences'[263] because of socioeconomic factors that influence these relationships. Indeed García Canclini is thinking of the popular classes in terms of 'the more generalised conception between artists and historians about the crisis of their own task: the one which insists in considering this to be absolutely autonomous and believes that the best cultural policy is that which frees the social function of the artists in favour of each subjectivity.'[264]

Policy, nevertheless, is not yet the focus of García Canclini´s analyses. The term popular appeared in *Folk art and society in Latin America* when he argued that the avant-garde arts have changed the social function of the arts (by no longer dedicating artistic work to an idealised beauty) and have stimulated political awareness in the urban working classes. His view is that democratic societies can be achieved in Latin America only if the popular classes engage in the arts and expand its audience instead of only consuming the fine arts. For example, when a figurative artist or a musician changes venues for an exhibition of their works from a gallery or a theatre to a square or the street, a different audience is invited to access their artistic production. For this reason, García Canclini understands by democratisation that the popular classes should participate more actively in the arts and not necessarily take political power through revolution. In the ideal situation that he proposes, the arts are socialised and the elitist aesthetics democratised because of, for instance, the popular classes´ control of the means of artistic production and consumption. Eventually avant-garde artists might support the popular classes´ interests and objectives and promote a broader participation in the creation of artistic works. These examples help us understand how García Canclini´s early thoughts on the democratisation of the arts indicate why he later analysed cultural policy by considering the demands and needs of the popular classes.

García Canclini did not emphasise policy for the arts or culture before he deepened his understanding of production, although he was aware that the instances of distribution and consumption complete the socioeconomic process. However, the issues related to Latin America´s economic dependency and the internal conditions that would allow the prosperity or the hindrance of the arts depend on the phases of production. Yet it is worth noting that Marx developed concepts such as economic exploitation, social classes and surplus value to understand production.

---

[263] Ibid. p. 122. TBM.

[264] Ibid. p. 122. TBM.

Although in *Folk art and society in Latin America* García Canclini referred to democratisation, participation, the popular, revolution, production and policy, he did not define these terms in this book. Rather, he was interested in the political aspects of artistic practice. Also, he had not done field research while he lived in Argentina, where he finished his *Folk art and society in Latin America*; he wrote this book drawing mostly on literature reviews and his teaching experiences before he published it in Mexico. In spite of his contribution to the debate on the social function of the arts and the liberation of the popular classes, he did not want to publish this book during the military dictatorship in Argentina. While this section has shown how García Canclini first mentioned cultural policy by writing of the popular classes in his book *Folk art and society in Latin America*, the next section examines the contributions he provides in his book *Symbolic production* and how this influences his ideas on policy.

2.1.3. Socioeconomic circumstances for symbolic production

García Canclini´s academic interests did not move directly from philosophy to anthropology. In Argentina, García Canclini employed methodologies from disciplines such as philosophy, psychology (and psychoanalysis) and sociology in order to undertake academic activities during the 1960s and 1970s. From his early publications, he has established relationships between arts/culture and other topics, and between epistemology and social processes. In this context, he wrote the book *Folk art and society in Latin America* in Argentina but published it in Mexico, whereas he started to write *Symbolic production* in Argentina but declared that he could finish its content only in Mexico as his interest had turned to anthropology:

> The second period of my academic formation occurred in Mexico when I started to work within anthropology. I had already done some field research in Argentina, but it was mostly through interviews and what we might call the sociology of the arts. Its result was the book *Symbolic production*, which resulted from a research activity on the relationships between the artistic avant-garde and the economic development in Argentina during the 1960s, especially about the Di Tella Institute. Afterwards, when I came to Mexico, I finished this book. [...][265]

---

[265] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Interview conducted by Bruno Peron Loureiro in the home office of Néstor García Canclini, Mexico City, 28 March 2008. In: PERON LOUREIRO, Bruno. *Néstor García Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina*. Thesis presented to obtain the degree of MPhil in Latin American Studies (Maestro en Estudios Latinoamericanos), Mexico City, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Anexo I, September 2009. TBM.

Symbolic production is a continuation of *Folk art and society in Latin America* insofar as the arts are still García Canclini´s object of analysis; however, in the former and mostly in its chapter 4 ('Symbolic strategies of structural economics'), he presents empirical arguments about the 'correlation between socio-economic development and the artistic avant-garde in Argentina during the period 1960–1970'[266]. In *Symbolic production* García Canclini demonstrates a much more explicit grasp of Marxist theory because he concentrated, to give an example, in chapter 3 ('Theory of the superstructure and analysis of the artistic process') on fusing the material conditions with the spiritual processes of the arts. He applies such theoretical instruments of structure and superstructure to the arts before he proceeds to write the next chapter, which utilises empirical research about economic development and the Argentine avant-garde. He discusses dependency as this happened during the 1960s even though he barely mentions the popular in *Symbolic production*. In this publication, he presents photographs of artistic exhibitions about what he considers avant-garde expressions in Argentina during the 1960s. The figurative arts constitute the main examples that he provided in both books. As no other city than Buenos Aires had been considered in the few research works about avant-garde and economic development in Argentina, García Canclini interviewed artists, analysed documents and studied exhibitions from the Argentine countryside, such as the cities of La Plata and Rosario. One of his hypotheses regarding the sociological discussion of the arts is that the economic development of Argentina had something to reveal about the production, distribution and consumption of the arts. He considered policy recommendations from ECLAC such as that of favouring an import substitution industrialisation in order to balance the terms of trade. García Canclini recalled that this phase of economic development is named structural economics – in fact, he used the term *desarrollismo*[267] in Spanish – and was not only pertinent to Argentina but rather common in Latin America during those early years. He added that structural economics represented a scheme of the bourgeois and the elite to make their countries 'grow economically through an autonomous development, which was in reality a new mode of integration of the national capitals into the monopolic

---

[266] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *La producción simbólica: Teoría y método en sociología del arte.* 7th Edition. Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2001. p. 34. TBM.

[267] The section 'Key historical issues of cultural policy in Latin America' of chapter 1 explained *desarrollismo*.

phase of capitalist exchange'[268]. One of the positive effects of governmental policies based on structural economics is that the avant-garde arts prospered in Argentina. García Canclini went on to argue that the materials and techniques used in the artistic objects, because of the socioeconomic development of the period in Argentina on which his research is based, generated 'different conceptions about the function of the works of art (art directions, ecological art) and new attitudes towards materials'[269].

In fact, structural economics represented macroeconomic improvements for Argentina while its policies indirectly supported cultural modernisation during the 1960s. In *Symbolic production*, García Canclini establishes a relationship between the internal development of capitalism in Argentina and the socioeconomic conditionings of the arts. His hypothesis is that there is 'an organic correlation between structural economic positions and the aesthetic ideology of the avant-garde, and also between industrial development and the creation of better material and cultural conditions for artistic experimentation'[270]. National avant-garde groups guided this model of modernity in the arts; García Canclini recognised that 'it is mainly the contemporary avant-garde that wishes to make of the arts a place to invent ourselves and to imagine unexpected forms of our existence.'[271] He also stated that structural economics situated Latin America´s artistic development in relation to cultural activities that were being produced in developed countries, especially in its former metropolises.

García Canclini is frequently looking, in his early publications, into symbolic practices that could be considered political instruments for sociocultural transformations in Latin America such as art for the popular classes´ liberation. It is not enough for him, ultimately, to *sociologizar* (in reference to method) the arts because it can belong to the entire society only if there is an action to *socializar* (in reference to access) its content. The word *sociologizar* implies development of the arts as an object of scientific study while *socializar* means here the popularisation of arts consumption. For this reason, he mitigates the prejudice that the arts can be only a bourgeois activity. Furthermore, García Canclini pointed out that there is no scientific method that precisely understands the arts in their capacity 'to consider, together with the real things, its unexpected

---

[268] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *La producción simbólica: Teoría y método en sociología del arte*. op. cit. p. 102. TBM.

[269] Ibid. p. 109. TBM.

[270] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *La producción simbólica: Teoría y método en sociología del arte*. 7th Edition. Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2001. pp. 35–36. TBM.

[271] Ibid. p. 149. TBM.

transformations'[272] and as a place where 'the utopia, the unreal, the still not real, are cultivated more constantly'[273]. Hence, the arts, for García Canclini, inspire political idealisations and possibilities for everyone; by contrast, politics, which is the conventional activity of public action, promotes calculated transformations in society.

Indeed, structure and process are central and complementary in García Canclini´s analyses of the arts. Even though he employs these theoretical tools, he strives to create new concepts that helped him understand the processes of symbolic production. The common denominator for García Canclini´s interpretation of symbolic processes is that there is always a factor which does not intrinsically belong to the players involved in a certain phase of a sociocultural process (be it in the production, distribution or reception of an artistic work). He analyses both the economic/material and the social conditions of cultural production in order to develop a more complex and encompassing model that aids him in the interpretation of symbolic processes.

In *Symbolic production*, García Canclini searches for a 'sociological knowledge of the arts'[274] by situating aesthetic structures within social processes. The influence of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu is evident when García Canclini refers to the accumulation and renewal of the symbolic capital before criticising economic development based on the process of import substitution industrialisation in Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s. For Bourdieu, the symbolic capital of different players, which is 'commonly called prestige, reputation, fame, etc.'[275], is 'the recognition, institutionalized or not, that they receive from a group'[276]. The symbolic capital is just one of the varieties of capitals, though. Despite Bourdieu´s influence over García Canclini´s reflections on the arts in terms of fields, García Canclini also utilises Marx´s historical materialism to undertake a sociological analysis of the arts. In other words, there are other aspects to consider for understanding the structure of the artistic field – namely its material organisation and ideological process – and it being a context for the production of artistic work. Applying certain key concepts from Marxism and other methods from the social sciences, García Canclini establishes a relationship

---

[272] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *La producción simbólica: Teoría y método en sociología del arte*. 7th Edition. Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2001. p. 151. TBM.

[273] Ibid. p. 149. TBM.

[274] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *La producción simbólica: Teoría y método en sociología del arte*. 7th Edition. Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2001. p. 47. TBM.

[275] BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Language and symbolic power*. Translated by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1991. p. 230.

[276] Ibid. p. 72.

between superstructure and structure in the social production of symbolic capital. In a broad sense, García Canclini uses Marx´s interpretive oppositions between those who own the means of production and those who sell their labour forces. Superstructure and structure are respectively implied here, although García Canclini at times prefers Bourdieu´s notions of symbolic capital and field in *Symbolic production*. A possible reason for this is that Bourdieu criticises the vulnerability of Marx´s social theory – especially his theory of classes – to being reduced to the economic field:

> The failings of the Marxist theory of class, above all its inability to explain the set of objectively observed differences, result from the fact that, by reducing the social world to the economic field alone, it is condemned to define social position with reference solely to the position within the relations of economic production. It thus ignores the positions occupied in the different fields and sub-fields, particularly in the relations of cultural production, as well as all those oppositions which structure the social field and which are not reducible to the opposition between the owners and non-owners of the means of economic production. Marx imagines the social world as one-dimensional, as simply organized around the opposition between two blocs (one of the main questions thus becomes that of the *boundary* between these two blocs, with all the ensuing questions – which are endlessly debated – about the 'labour aristocracy', the 'embourgeoisement' of the working-class, etc.).[277]

Bourdieu theorised about fields (including politics, philosophy, religion, etc.) whose 'laws of functioning'[278] are invariable and do not depend on the 'characteristics of their occupants'[279]. For Bourdieu, each field has specific properties which cannot be reduced to the same characteristics of another field because they function according to 'the immanent laws of the field, the stakes, and so on'[280] and to 'specific properties that are peculiar to that field'[281]. Another implication of Bourdieu´s notion of field is that the codes and practices of each one are not vulnerable to being translated to other fields because there are autonomous logics that make the fields function. For Bourdieu, additionally, every field determines the behaviour of what is contained within its borders. He depicts, in *The field of cultural production* (1993), the hierarchies and

---

[277] BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Language and symbolic power*. Translated by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1991. pp. 244–245.

[278] BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Sociology in question*. Translated by Richard Nice. London: SAGE Publications, 1993. p. 72 from chapter 9 ('Some properties of fields').

[279] Ibid. p. 72.

[280] Ibid. p. 72.

[281] Ibid. p. 72.

relations of power in a figure in which the 'field of class relations'[282] contains the 'field of power'[283], which in turn involves the 'literary and artistic field'[284]. Further, for Bourdieu, the degree of autonomy of this field of art and literature corresponds to how far it 'fulfills its own logic as a field'[285] and deals with the 'dominant principle of hierarchisation'[286].

García Canclini's transition from philosophy to anthropology happened gradually through engaging with Bourdieu's sociology of culture, in particular Bourdieu's research methods concerning the arts, education and culture. For example, both Bourdieu and García Canclini would study museum audiences and photographs in their social science research. García Canclini wrote a long introduction ('Pierre Bourdieu´s sociology of culture') to Bourdieu´s book *Sociology and culture* (*Sociología y cultura*, 1990), which is the Spanish translation of *Questions of sociology* (*Questions de sociologie*, 1984); in it, he explains Bourdieu´s contribution to sociology of culture. In an interview I conducted in March 2008[287], García Canclini affirmed he had made a few suggestions for Bourdieu´s book and discussed some of its theoretical aspects. On the same occasion, García Canclini also claimed he was responsible for making Bourdieu widely read in the Hispanic world, which happened only after the publication of *Sociology and culture* by Grijalbo in 1990. García Canclini found in Bourdieu an important source of concepts and methodologies that later would be useful for his own work; for example, Bourdieu employed metaphors in academic writing.[288] García

---

[282] BOURDIEU, Pierre. *The field of cultural production: Essays on art and literature*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1993. p. 38 from chapter 1 ('The field of cultural production, or: The economic world reversed').

[283] Ibid. p. 38.

[284] Ibid. p. 38.

[285] Ibid. p. 39.

[286] Ibid. p. 39.

[287] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Interview conducted by Bruno Peron Loureiro in the home office of Néstor García Canclini, Mexico City, 28 March 2008. In: PERON LOUREIRO, Bruno. *Néstor García Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina*. Thesis presented to obtain the degree of MPhil in Latin American Studies (Maestro en Estudios Latinoamericanos), Mexico City, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Anexo I, September 2009.

[288] Bourdieu is influential in García Canclini´s work not only because of their option for studying aspects of artistic/cultural consumption/diffusion instead of their production. Bourdieu´s book *Acts of resistance* – which is a compilation of his essays and interviews mainly from the 1990s and which is perhaps the book where his political views are the strongest – shows that this intellectual also proposed some ideas and notions which are widely present in García Canclini´s work. I consider especially the references that Bourdieu made in his book to the relevance of the state (pp. 2 and 40), public interest (pp. 2, 8 and 109), supranationality (p. 105), his criticism of minimum-state policies (pp. 29, 34 and 94), and to the role of artists, writers and social scientists in public life (pp. 9, 27 and 77). Regarding this last aspect, it is relevant to point out for the purposes of this thesis that Bourdieu supports the reinforcement of links

Canclini clarified that Bourdieu rarely mentioned culture and this term did not usually constitute the pivot of his analysis but a means for obtaining scientific knowledge on a different subject. Bourdieu posed research questions about neglected aspects of symbolic processes and these inquiries resulted in important macro-social conclusions and theories. Furthermore, García Canclini stated in his introduction that Bourdieu assessed certain aspects of symbolic practices that Marx had neglected in his economic theory, although Bourdieu did it in a complementary and constructive way. Bourdieu´s ideas differ from Marx´s insofar as Bourdieu focuses on consumption practices, power relations and symbolic processes of social reproduction in institutions while the latter analyses the modes of production, class struggle and labour force in capitalism. Premises from both intellectuals underpin García Canclini´s arguments in *Symbolic production*.

Although García Canclini might suggest that he concentrates his interpretation on the essence or the individuality of human beings, he has a clear position on the inseparability of this from the structural conditionings in society such as economic development, social classes and trade relations. Three aspects of artistic processes concern him: that artistic production is usually evaluated in its 'mercantile subordination'[289] (that is, how profitable a work of art is and how numerous its audience is); that an object of art is nothing unless it is experienced by a viewer; and that few artists can rely on their artistic practice for a living. Despite the emphasis on production in the book´s title *Symbolic production*, García Canclini included, for example, distribution and reception when he considered the complexity of socioeconomic processes. I reiterate that his early anthropological interest grew while he used methodologies from other disciplines.

Indeed, various points in *Symbolic production* corroborate García Canclini´s interest in anthropology. In this book, he argues that the arts are determined by social and material conditions while, in *Folk art and society in Latin America*, he addresses art via liberation of the popular classes and the democratisation of artistic practices. What both these books share is his concern with the economic and social circumstances in which artists produce (by mentioning, for example, governmental sponsorships for the

---

between academia and activism, or that between research activity and public life. The following chapters of this thesis will show how García Canclini attempted to do so in many ways. BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Acts of resistance: Against the new myths of our time*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 1998.

[289] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *La producción simbólica: Teoría y método en sociología del arte*. 7th Edition. Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2001. p. 75. TBM.

arts). In *Symbolic production*, he focuses on the improvement of the working conditions of avant-garde artists (the private Di Tella Institute was regarded as the main promoter of the modernisation of materials and procedures of artistic production in Argentina), while in *Folk art and society in Latin America* he looks further into the popular arts in Latin America (naming cases where these are representative) and into the avant-garde artists that promote the liberation of the popular classes. In both publications, however, García Canclini employed his incipient anthropology skills to examine carefully the moment of perception/reception of artistic/cultural products in different social classes.

García Canclini´s anthropological analyses usually transcend anthropology´s conventional research methodologies; that is, he does not speak solely from this discipline and he often identifies issues that anthropologists did not consider. As an example of this, he raised the point that every cultural process is conditioned by the dependence between the socioeconomic moments of production, distribution and consumption. The indissociability between these three phases or of elements understood as being of different nature such as his views on the articulation between structure and superstructure is suggested by the following quote: 'The possibility to *differentiate* methodologically between the real and the ideal should not induce us to *dissociate* them ontologically.'[290] In *Symbolic production*, where the notion of popular is temporarily put aside in his analysis, García Canclini was not yet interested in the anthropological aspects of human interactions but in investigating the macro-social features of the Argentine experience of structural economics that, had it not been for the dictatorship and censorship, would have generated further improvements for the artistic sector. He was also concerned with people in their position as audiences/consumers of artistic works. This happens because García Canclini was inspired in his early publications by Bourdieu to study culture indirectly as both of them analysed certain processes that are essentially cultural without mentioning the term 'culture'. Moreover, García Canclini further embraces anthropology by changing research methods to examine his objects of study; he does so without completely abandoning philosophy.

One reason García Canclini had to transcend the methods of philosophy is because its 'ontological reflection which is segregated from social knowledge'[291] is insufficient to understand the artistic field. He added: 'Due to sociology and

---

[290] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *La producción simbólica: Teoría y método en sociología del arte*. 7th Edition. Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2001. p. 88. TBM. [Emphasis original].

[291] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *La producción simbólica: Teoría y método en sociología del arte*. 7th Edition. Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2001. p. 138. TBM.

anthropology we know that there are not unmodifiable properties in the symbolic phenomena, nor permanent faculties of a supposed human nature, and that the symbolic field is formed in the system of relations of production, circulation and consumption of each society.'[292] At this point, García Canclini´s understanding of culture is permeated by the concepts of artistic field, symbolic capital, structure, superstructure and others for which Bourdieu and Marx laid the foundations. Anthropology is referred to much less frequently than sociology in García Canclini´s early work, except in *Cortázar: A poetic anthropology*. His interest turned from philosophy to anthropology as he migrated to another country as an exile, but he did so by using methods of sociology to analyse folk art and society (*arte popular y sociedad*) and symbolic production (*producción simbólica*) in the wider context of Latin America. Until the publication of his book *Symbolic production*, he had not given due attention to culture (by explicitly mentioning it) and to cultural policy; actually, the use of these terms became evident in his early 1980s´ work. García Canclini had referred to his research objects by using the terms art (*arte*), sign (*signo*), symbol (*símbolo*), human essence (*esencia humana*) and human activity (*actividad humana*) before he adopted culture (*cultura*) and, later, cultural industry (*industria cultural*).

The content of *Symbolic production* indicates that García Canclini initially evaluated the conditions of the production of culture, which is only one moment of the socioeconomic cycle that moves between production, distribution and consumption. In his view about the production of culture, García Canclini was also very critical of the hegemonic conceptions in the arts and the subordination of the popular classes to the elitist cultures. His interpretation ranged, during the 1970s, from the socioeconomic circumstances (e.g. Argentina´s macro-economic conditions) of artistic development to the implications of capitalism in the cultural expressions of Latin America´s popular classes. This moment of his career inspires further thoughts of discourses (e.g. democratisation) that emanate from progressive capitalist societies. Once again, when García Canclini discusses a change in the social function of the arts, he tries to address the importance of culture as something more than beauty and more than an ideal expression of spirit. Thus, the arts and culture suggest a political move beyond theoretical formulations. However, Argentina was merely the cradle for his forthcoming academic development.

---

[292] Ibid. p. 138. TBM.

2.2. Acclimatisation of the *epistemological migrant* in Mexico

García Canclini arrived as an exile in Mexico when he was only thirty-six years old. This country soon had an impact on him with its many diverse indigenous groups, which total around fifty-six. Moreover, Mexico had traces of pre-Columbian practices and was more politically stable than Argentina, so its rural and urban areas constituted a rich environment for anthropological research. I would also argue that his departure from the less ethnically diverse Argentina as a philosopher with interests in human behaviour to his later work as an anthropologist who experienced new academic inspirations determined the pathway of his career in Mexico. García Canclini called himself an *epistemological migrant*[293] because of the change of disciplinary activity; at that time, anthropology was less developed as a discipline in Argentina than in Mexico. However, he never completely quit philosophy, as he has held membership of the Centre of Philosophical Studies of the Argentine National Academy of Sciences since May 1975 and the Mexican Philosophical Association since April 1977.[294] García Canclini referred to three periods which summarise the experience of being an exile from Argentina in Mexico and declared how he became an anthropologist:

> a) from a society with a short and careless history to another with a dense history which emerges everywhere; b) from a society with aspirations to be entirely Western, white and homogeneous to another which is multi-ethnic; c) finally, I will talk about an issue which is difficult to deal with and which foreigners in Mexico talk a lot about, although very little has been written on it: what we think and feel about the diverse modes of situating ourselves in the conflicts.
> […]
> This experience becomes even more complicated if, as happened to me, one becomes an anthropologist, confines oneself in the territories of *purépechas* (an indigenous group) to do field research and follows one´s students up to Oaxaca´s and Chiapas´s mountain ranges, to the territories of hybridation on the border with the United States.[295]

---

[293] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Argentinos en México: Una visión antropológica. In: YANKELEVICH, Pablo (Ed.). *En México entre exilios: Una experiencia de sudamericanos*. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés, 1998. The expression *migrante epistemológico* appears on p. 62, it translates as *epistemological migrant* and it means that García Canclini migrated from Argentina to Mexico and moved from philosophy to anthropology.

[294] Information about his membership in this two institutions is available at the link 'Semblanza' on García Canclini´s official website <http://nestorgarciacanclini.net>. Accessed on 15 November 2013.

[295] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Argentinos en México: Una visión antropológica. In: YANKELEVICH, Pablo (Ed.). *En México entre exilios: Una experiencia de sudamericanos*. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés, 1998. The two excerpts of this quote have been taken respectively from pp. 55 and 60. TBM.

After García Canclini successfully went through a public competition (*concurso*) for a vacancy as lecturer, he was admitted on 1 October 1976 to the National School of Anthropology and History (ENAH) as Senior Lecturer (Profesor Titular) to teach the subjects *Methodology of the social sciences* and *Social classes* in the Bachelor degree in social anthropology.[296] Near the end of 1976, he taught two seminars at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM): one was *Epistemology of the social sciences* for the PhD programme in economics (from October 1976 to January 1977); the other was *Sociology of the arts and contemporary aesthetics* in the Institute of Aesthetic Research (from November to December 1976). His career soon prospered in Mexico. While he taught at ENAH and had a few other short experiences lecturing at UNAM, he undertook field research[297] in the state of Michoacán, where he had contact with the traditions of artisans, peasants and indigenous people through his own ethnographic[298] research methods. Most of these work experiences suggest that his academic development in Mexico happened within the discipline of anthropology.[299] These were the first professional opportunities García Canclini had in Mexico.

García Canclini´s position as an exiled intellectual led him to declare that he had made affectionate relationships within his new family and with friends in Mexico; during this time, his experiences in field research as an expatriate and his lack of acquaintances in La Plata kept him from returning to Argentina after the fall of the dictatorship, although he constantly travelled to Buenos Aires in later years.[300] Despite longing for his family and his homeland, and adapting to a new working environment, his reception in Mexico was warm. The philosophers Jaime Labastida and Adolfo

---

[296] Two months later, he was approved in another *concurso* and he became Full-time Lecturer and Researcher (Profesor-Investigador de Tiempo Completo) in the same institution to direct the research workshop *Handicrafts and social classes in Mexico*. He was also promoted to Coordinator of *Methodology of the social sciences*.

[297] See chapter 3 ('Fieldwork') of the book ERIKSEN, Thomas Hylland. *What is anthropology?*. London: Pluto Press, 2004. Thomas H. Eriksen states that fieldwork, analysis and description are the most important elements in the anthropological methods. For the analysis about García Canclini made in the paragraph which this footnote refers to, field research is argued to be intimately related to ways of producing knowledge within anthropology.

[298] Ethnography is the use of qualitative research methods that describe human behaviour or the culture of a society through details: customs, languages, races, rituals, ceremonies, religions, etc. Its methods usually result from people who have lived in a certain society, but anthropologists have employed them without such long-time experiences.

[299] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Vida y Obra (1/2), produced by TVAL Producciones for Canal 22 (Mexico) and Canal Encuentro (Argentina), published in YouTube on 9 March 2011, by CaelRevolution. Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zy6cb3Q9xO4>. Accessed on 14 January 2012.

[300] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Vida y Obra (2/2), produced by TVAL Producciones for Canal 22 (Mexico) and Canal Encuentro (Argentina), published in YouTube on 9 March 2011, by CaelRevolution. Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=990k278xJ5Y>. Accessed on 14 January 2012.

Sánchez Vázquez offered him the opportunity to lecture in the Faculty of Philosophy and Literature (Facultad de Filosofía y Letras) at UNAM and publish his books *Folk art and society in Latin America* and *Symbolic production*. At UNAM, García Canclini taught, after having been approved by an official *concurso* as Career Senior Lecturer (Profesor Titular de Carrera) on 1 April 1977, the disciplines *Methods of the social sciences*, *Contemporary aesthetics* and *Philosophy and literature*. Later, García Canclini taught as Lecturer and Researcher (Profesor-Investigador) of the master's programme in social anthropology at ENAH from 1 April 1980 to 15 April 1991. In fact, he lectured at ENAH for a few more months even after he had been approved to work at the Metropolitan Autonomous University, Iztapalapa, in Mexico City. Therefore, I underline that, during his exile in Mexico, he finally decided to pursue research and teaching activities in anthropology.

The previous paragraphs have shown the professional circumstances García Canclini found in exile. In a complementary way, the next section indicates how the Mexican educational and political contexts also encouraged him to become an *epistemological migrant*.

2.2.1. Educational and political contexts in Mexico for the exiles

Before tracing García Canclini´s developments at the end of the 1970s, the following paragraphs contextualise his new educational and political circumstances in Mexico. While his academic development was hindered in Argentina, Mexico offered him suitable educational and political conditions for it to prosper. As a newly created institution that was open to young professionals, even if they were not Mexican citizens, the Department of Anthropology at the Metropolitan Autonomous University, Iztapalapa, gave García Canclini a promising environment to develop his academic career as an anthropologist despite his degree as a philosopher. He started to work, during October 1990, at this institution as a Full-time Lecturer and Researcher (Profesor-Investigador de Tiempo Completo).

The history of the Metropolitan Autonomous University relates to the need to create a new superior educational institution to answer the rising demand for access to public universities in Mexico City, which were overcrowded in the early 1970s. In May 1973, the engineer Víctor Bravo Ahúja, then Secretary of Public Education (Secretario de Educación Pública), was aware of the need to build another public university. On 10 August 1973, the Mexican president Luis Echeverría Álvarez submitted a law proposal

to the Senate of the Republic for the creation of the Metropolitan Autonomous University, an 'autonomous and decentralised organism'[301]. In 1973, García Canclini compared the shifts of democratic governments in Argentina (as its presidents held power for a very short time during this period) to the stability in which president Luis Echeverría Álvarez promoted artists and academics in Mexico´s diplomacy; Echeverría Álvarez thus obtained a reputation as an influential politician.[302] The size of Mexico´s public universities increased approximately threefold during the first half of the 1970s while lecturers and administrative employees experienced a high level of satisfaction with their wages and working conditions.[303] However, there were serious problems in the following decade because of budget cuts due to the state reducing expenses.[304]

García Canclini´s criticism of the Mexican government emerged as he obtained his second nationality late in 2000[305] as Article 33 from the Mexican Constitution[306], which prohibits foreigners from interfering in national politics, no longer applied to him. The Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional, PRI) had ruled Mexico for seventy-one years and kept the country away from the wave of dictatorships that flooded many countries in Latin America. At the same time that

---

[301] UAM: Presente y pasado. *¿Por qué una nueva universidad?*. Available at <http://www.uam.mx/sah/pre-pa/tema01/indice-t01.html>. Accessed on 15 January 2012. This website offers a historical reference to a newspaper article about the difficulty both the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) and the National Pedagogic Institute (IPN) had to admit, during the 1970s, a higher number of students who applied to study *licenciatura* (which is similar to bachelor) degrees than the number of vacancies they had available. TBM.

[302] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Argentinos en México: Una visión antropológica. In: YANKELEVICH, Pablo (Ed.). *En México entre exilios: Una experiencia de sudamericanos*. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés, 1998. p. 60.

[303] EHRLICH QUINTERO, Patricia. Los siguientes 15 años de la UAM. **Reencuentro: Análisis de problemas universitarios**, Mexico City, UAM-Xochimilco, n. 56, pp. 142–144, 30 December 2009. Although Patricia Ehrlich Quintero lectures in the Department of Education and Communication at UAM-Xochimilco, her concern refers to all campuses of the Metropolitan Autonomous University.

[304] Ibid. Ideas for this sentence were also inspired by Patricia Ehrlich Quintero´s article.

[305] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Interview conducted by Bruno Peron Loureiro in the home office of Néstor García Canclini, Mexico City, 27 February 2009. In: PERON LOUREIRO, Bruno. *Néstor García Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina*. Thesis presented to obtain the degree of MPhil in Latin American Studies (Maestro en Estudios Latinoamericanos), Mexico City, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Anexo II, September 2009. During this interview, he revealed to me that he obtained Mexican citizenship in 2000.

[306] CONSTITUCIÓN Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos. Diario Oficial de la Federación, Mexico, 5 February 1917. Available at <http://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/pdf/1.pdf>. Accessed on 31 January 2012. The Article 33, in chapter 3 ('De los extranjeros'), page 28, indicates: 'Article 33. Foreign people are those who do not have the qualities which are described in article 30 of the Constitution; even under this condition, they will have the human rights and guarantees that this Constitution attributed to them. […] The Executive branch of the Union, through a previous meeting, is eligible to expel foreign people from the Mexican national territory based on the law which will regulate this administrative procedure and which will determine the place and time that the detainment lasts. […] Foreigners cannot, in any circumstance, get involved with political issues in Mexico.' TBM.

García Canclini took Mexican citizenship, president Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, who was affiliated to the PRI, was finally succeeded by Vicente Fox Quesada and the National Action Party (Partido de la Acción Nacional, PAN). This Party beat the left-wing Party of the Democratic Revolution (Partido de la Revolución Democrática, PRD), to which García Canclini has offered overt support. One proof of his preference for this political party is that he was among a group of over a hundred intellectuals who signed a protest letter in the newspaper El Universal entitled *Let us change Mexico with Marcelo Ebrard* (*Cambiemos el rumbo de México con Marcelo Ebrard*) at the beginning of November 2011. On this occasion, he supported the candidature to Mexico´s presidency of Marcelo Ebrard Casaubón, who had been Mexico City´s Head of Government (Jefe de Gobierno del Distrito Federal) from December 2006 and affiliated to PRD.[307]

Some Mexican intellectuals do openly criticise the PRI. The Mexican writer Carlos Monsiváis expressed a bitter critique of the PRI in Mexico and characterised it as not being 'susceptible to democratic amendments'[308] because historically it has reduced alternatives and oppositions to its policies. He added that 'its control was absolute'[309] and that it had tendencies towards 'totalitarian power'[310] and 'praise of impunity'[311]. Indeed, the succession of PRI by PAN is deemed as decentralisation of power. To a certain extent, García Canclini was not in opposition to PRI, but this was because of the auspicious and stable conditions he found in Mexico that allowed him to develop his academic career – not for fear of being expelled from the country. This political stability he found in Mexico had a social price, though. Its political system, during the period of seventy-one years when PRI ruled the country, has been depicted by analysts as 'a semi-authoritarian, one-party dominant'[312] entity. Additionally, García Canclini recalls that

---

[307] ARISTA, Lidia. Intelectuales apoyan candidatura de Ebrard. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 3 November 2011. Available at <http://www.eluniversaldf.mx/cuauhtemoc/nota37162.html>. Accessed on 30 January 2012.

[308] MONSIVÁIS, Carlos. La era del PRI y sus deudos. **Letras Libres**, Mexico City, n. 20, August 2000. Available at <http://www.letraslibres.com/revista/convivio/la-era-del-pri-y-sus-deudos>. Accessed on 29 January 2012. p. 17. TBM.

[309] Ibid. p. 17. TBM.

[310] Ibid. p. 17. TBM.

[311] Ibid. p. 20. TBM. Even though the expression 'praise of impunity' sounds awkward, this is a faithful translation of the original Spanish 'el culto a la impunidad' which the author employed to criticise practices of PRI.

[312] CAMP, Roderic Ai. *The metamorphosis of leadership in a democratic Mexico*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Quote from p. 4. Roderic Ai Camp named the political period between 1935 and 1988 in Mexico as the 'predemocratic era' (Luis Echeverría Álvarez, José López Portillo and Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado were the three last presidents of this 'predemocratic era') and referred to the

the Argentines were surprised by the Mexican repression of the students´ movement in Tlatelolco in 1968 insofar as their reference to the involvement of the youth at that time was the students´ outburst (in the form of protests, occupations, strikes, etc.) in May of that same year in Paris.[313]

Whereas this section has provided the educational and political contexts of García Canclini´s arrival as an exile in Mexico, the following points out how his rigorous interpretation of popular culture increases his interest in cultural policy. It does so by emphasising the relevance of the first book that he wrote entirely in Mexico as an anthropologist at the end of the 1970s.

2.2.2. The role of artisans and transformations of popular culture

García Canclini theorised about the *socialización* of the arts during the 1970s and the democratisation of cultures in the 1980s. In an interview in March 2008, he described the transition of his academic activities from Argentina to Mexico and explained how this occurred:

> […] I had a certain theoretical background in anthropology and had lectured in *Philosophical anthropology* at the University of La Plata, but I did not have any experience in field research. My first field work was in Mexico when I undertook a research activity at the School of Anthropology and travelled to Michoacán with my students to study transformations in handicrafts and popular festivals, about which I soon wrote the book *Transforming modernity*. But here I studied anthropology in a different way. Mostly I taught courses related to the anthropology of culture and read authors whom I had never known, from the international bibliography and especially from the enormous production of Mexican anthropology. So, this was, in a certain way, the third period of my formation. The first was in Argentina, the second in Paris, and the third here in Mexico, and all were in different disciplines. In Mexico, I also opened myself more to studies on communication and cultural policy, which made me associate anthropology with sociology and with studies in communication.[314]

From 1977 to 1980, García Canclini undertook the research project *Handicrafts and popular celebrations in Mexico* (*Artesanías y fiestas populares en México*) while he

other periods as the 'democratic transition' (1988–2000) and the 'democratic period' (which has run since 2000). This information is on p. 6 of the 'Introduction' of Camp's book.

[313] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Argentinos en México: Una visión antropológica. In: YANKELEVICH, Pablo (Ed.). *En México entre exilios: Una experiencia de sudamericanos*. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés, 1998. pp. 58–59.

[314] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Interview conducted by Bruno Peron Loureiro in the home office of Néstor García Canclini, Mexico City, 28 March 2008. In: PERON LOUREIRO, Bruno. *Néstor García Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina*. Thesis presented to obtain the degree of MPhil in Latin American Studies (Maestro en Estudios Latinoamericanos), Mexico City, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Anexo I, September 2009. TBM.

taught at ENAH. The final report of this research contained the seeds that García Canclini was sowing for *Transforming modernity*, where he finally embraces the concept of the popular. His research, funding for which came from ENAH, compares three *pueblos*[315] (Pátzcuaro, Patamban and Ocumicho) in the Mexican state of Michoacán. During this research activity, García Canclini argues that capitalism is at the forefront of his cultural analysis of handicrafts (*artesanías*), rhythms (*danzas*) and celebrations (*fiestas*) of the indigenous people in Mexico, whereas in *Symbolic production* he reinforces his argument that a cultural product is not independent of the historical and social conditions in which it circulates and is consumed. His interest shifted from avant-garde artists in Argentina, who usually exhibit their works in galleries and other elitist venues, to artisans in Mexico, who make pottery in their villages to be sold in cities to tourists who are ignorant about what these objects mean for the indigenous producers. Thus he moves from those who sympathise with popular culture to those who produce it themselves. In *Symbolic production*, he read or heard about popular arts (through literature reviews and interviews) while, in *Transforming modernity*, he experienced it (by doing field research). One of the most significant outcomes of such field research work is that García Canclini had certain ethnic aspects revealed to him in his early field research activities in Mexico; it can thus be argued that he studied popular culture in a way that he had not experienced in Argentina.

At the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, García Canclini turned his attention from Latin America´s socioeconomic structure to the processes that Mexico´s traditional cultures were going through in their exposure to capitalism. One example of this is how the market transforms the ethnic into the typical (and the national); that is, capitalism involves a process whereby crafts are produced, distributed and consumed regardless of whether or not the final product identifies with its original social function.[316] In other words, the social function of handmade objects changes whenever they are under the influence of the market; this results from the fact that they are removed from the indigenous people´s practical and ceremonial uses to become, as an example, sumptuous and aesthetic products that decorate the walls of tourists´

---

[315] The most appropriate translation of the Spanish term *pueblo* in this sense is village or small town.

[316] PIETRI, Anne Lise. La artesanía: Un factor de integración del medio rural. In: RESTREPO, Iván (Ed.). *Conflicto entre ciudad y campo en América Latina*. Mexico City: Editorial Nueva Imagen, 1980. Despite difficulty in conceptualising *artesanía* (handicraft), Pietri proposes a taxonomy of handicrafts (by the type of handmade products, the way these are prepared, and the organisation of labour) and argues that these integrate rural areas into capitalism and the city. Pietri´s article indicates that it is hard to understand non-capitalist practices of *artesanía*.

residences. Nevertheless, a related problem to which García Canclini does not offer a satisfactory solution concerns how the particularities of the ethnic can be expressed without being vulnerable to capitalist standardisation. The solution to this might be even more complex if the production of commercial craftsmanship begins in indigenous communities (by adopting new materials and learning new techniques) before their products are sold in the city. The material once again conditions the spiritual in the transformations of popular culture.

There is a transition from a self-sufficient economy to another of competitive trade. As long as the indigenous communities were self-sufficient – in terms of 'a subsistence economy, centered around the household, governed by the logic of use value'[317] – they could live without the need to exchange their work in capitalism. To interpret this transition, García Canclini develops in *Transforming modernity* some of the ideas he proposed in *Symbolic production* which concern structures in the capitalist mode of production, but he includes transnational processes in his analysis this time. Capitalism, however, is not only responsible for negative processes such as the imposition of standard cultural forms; for García Canclini, it also integrates different ways of life and generates a new system for the coexistence of cultures. For this reason, his attention turned at the end of the 1970s to how capitalism controls the entire socioeconomic process of production, distribution and reception. Alternatively, the Mexican sociologist Armando Bartra is much more concerned with denouncing the capitalist exploitation of the peasants´ workforce in his book *The exploitation of the peasants´ labour by capital* (*La explotación del trabajo campesino por el capital*, 1979) than García Canclini is. In other words, not only do meanings change in capitalism as García Canclini notes, but also labour, price and value of crafts, according to Bartra´s more systematic and thorough Marxist evaluation of the peasants´ trade exchange. The contrast between them is that García Canclini has a more positive view of popular culture whereby the indigenous people finally have the chance to make a living by selling their handicrafts in the market. Perhaps the only convergence between them concerns Bartra´s argument that 'the peasant´s product which the capitalist market incorporates is transformed into a commodity that is indistinguishable from the rest of the known capitalist products and so it is marked as such by its price of production.'[318]

---

[317] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. p. 100.

[318] BARTRA, Armando. *La explotación del trabajo campesino por el capital*. Mexico City: Editorial Macehual, 1979. p. 86. TBM.

García Canclini was concerned with the artistic field in *Symbolic production*, but in *Transforming modernity* he focused on the popular classes[319], popular culture and the popularity of traditional cultures; he analysed all of these in interaction with capitalism. In the first paragraph of the Preface of *Transforming modernity*, he questioned what popular culture is; he also noted that the notion of the popular requires a more complex analysis based on the socioeconomic processes of production, distribution and consumption. This requires an examination of how its circulation and reception condition production. He criticised two approaches to popular culture: that of the *románticos* (who isolate the supposed essence[320] of the popular classes) and that of the market (which can value only how profitable the popular can be). He called the *románticos* those intellectuals (perhaps Guillermo Bonfil Batalla[321] is one of them) who intended to preserve Latin American traditional cultures by separating them from foreign ones; so the idea of essence of the popular classes can be understood as an instrument of political struggle. García Canclini stressed that the identity of the popular does not have intrinsic properties because 'it comes into being as a result of the interaction of social relations'[322]; he added that the popular results from 'conflicts between social classes and the conditions of exploitation under which those sectors produce and consume'.[323] In the chapter 'The interpenetration of cultures and the definition of popular', he explained his hesitation to define the popular because 'it is use, not origin, the position and capacity to arouse popular acts and representations that confer that quality.'[324] However, he attempted to explain the popular in the chapter 'Definition of the popular: Romanticism, positivism, and the Gramscian tendency':

> Popular cultures (rather than popular culture) are formed through a process of unequal appropriation of the economic and cultural property of a nation or ethnic group by some of its subordinate sectors, and through both a symbolic and real understanding,

---

[319] He uses the Spanish term *pueblo* in his book.

[320] The word essence has been used in the sense of protecting the basic or most important qualities of people.

[321] Guillermo Bonfil Batalla is the Mexican anthropologist who wrote the book *México profundo*, where he claimed the indigenous roots of Mexico´s national culture instead of the openness of this country to foreign cultures.

[322] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. p. 21.

[323] Ibid. p. 24.

[324] Ibid. p. 106.

reproduction, and transformation of general as well as particular living and working conditions.[325]

García Canclini attempts in *Transforming modernity* to interpret the 'intercultural conflicts under capitalist modernization'[326], the 'clash between the old culture and the contemporary redefinition of functions'[327], the 'interdependence between the material and the symbolic'[328] and the 'dissolution of the ethnic into the national'[329] in Mexico. García Canclini started to discuss interculturality[330] in this book by studying the interactions of popular and elite cultures. In the late 1970s, he concluded that the subaltern social groups should struggle within the capitalist system to overcome their disadvantaged position in it. It can be deduced from his ideas at that time that the popular classes might achieve political goals if they acted under such capitalist circumstances to subvert their social inequalities. García Canclini is interested in the transformations of the popular in capitalism, although the popular can be understood as the traditional or the industrialised in different circumstances.

García Canclini conceded that the subjects in *Transforming modernity* and its methodology situate the book 'somewhere between the realms of anthropology and sociology'[331], although this position also generates 'political and philosophical reflections on culture'[332]. Two shifts are notable in his academic activities during the late 1970s: one is that he moves from a deductive to an inductive research method, and the other is that culture appears in his analysis as an explicit object of study. I would add that the theoretical influences he had for writing *Transforming modernity* considerably shaped his perspective on culture and cultural policy during the subsequent decade. This chapter has shown earlier that García Canclini was influenced by Bourdieu´s proposal of symbolic fields and Lévi-Strauss´s starting point being in 'structure, not the

---

[325] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. p. 21.

[326] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. Preface. p. ix.

[327] Ibid. Preface. p. ix.

[328] Ibid. p. 57.

[329] Ibid. p. 65.

[330] The section 'Latin American identities in the perceptions of globalisation' of chapter 3 will explore further the notion of interculturality in García Canclini´s work.

[331] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. Preface. p. x.

[332] Ibid. Preface. p. x.

individual'[333]. These two French intellectuals´ social interpretations made García Canclini deepen his thoughts on Latin American societies to the degree of recognising the transformation of inequality into difference; afterwards, García Canclini´s theoretical proposal moved from a situation of irreconcilable conflict (for example that between hegemonic and subaltern social classes) to another in which there is mutual understanding (for example that which relates to intercultural relations). In this negotiable context, García Canclini is aware that, even in 'a utopian state, when inequalities die out, a noncontradictory diversity of languages, customs, and cultures will remain.'[334] Furthermore, Marx´s theory of ideology, which 'links cultural processes to social conditions of production'[335], is essential in García Canclini´s interpretation. In addition to this, Gramsci is introduced into García Canclini´s arguments about socioeconomic development in the analysis of production in which culture is 'a means for social reproduction and struggle for hegemony'[336], according to the latter. However, the understanding of intercultural conflicts requires a deeper connection between knowledges and methods than the analytical instruments provided by Marx and Gramsci´s 'laconic intuitions from prison'[337]. Marx concentrated his efforts on the ideologies of the dominant classes and the economic aspects of society while Gramsci encouraged the popular classes to challenge their subaltern political and social position. Indeed García Canclini used relevant concepts from Gramsci´s work in the interpretation of popular culture; the following paragraph elaborates on this.

Gramsci explains that hegemony is a mechanism 'which the dominant group exercises throughout society'[338]; he adds that the positions intellectuals occupy in the state – being its 'functionaries'[339] in a 'political society'[340] – determine hegemony. In his *Prison notebooks*, which he wrote between 1929 and 1935, Gramsci argues that the ruling classes have a prestigious function in producing ideologies and material conditions to dominate the popular classes. For Gramsci, the ruling classes direct

---

[333] Ibid. p. 7.

[334] Ibid. p. 9.

[335] Ibid. p. 10.

[336] Ibid. p. 14.

[337] Ibid. p. 25.

[338] GRAMSCI, Antonio. *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971. p. 12.

[339] Ibid. p. 12.

[340] Ibid. p. 12.

society through hegemony while the synonyms for the non-hegemonic classes are subordinate, subaltern and instrumental. García Canclini criticises these oppositions (e.g. hegemonic and non-hegemonic) as though modern societies had evolved to a degree in which hegemony no longer applies. Hegemony exists, however, even in democratic regimes, where politicians claim to represent their people. At this point, García Canclini´s support for the liberation of the popular classes as expressed in *Folk art and society in Latin America* is weakened because he does not clarify who gets liberated and from what. In fact, the examination of popular culture will later become clearer as this section clarifies Gramsci´s most influential concepts on García Canclini´s work.

While Marx and Althusser focused on dominant ideologies, Gramsci raised a discussion about the subversion of the popular classes in hierarchical societies in which one class dominates another. García Canclini intervened by arguing that social classes (and the cultures they represent) cannot be either hegemonic or subaltern. In fact, the meaning of popular culture has been susceptible to misunderstanding due to the representation of class struggles either by the hegemonic or the subaltern; to avoid this, García Canclini advocated the inclusion of 'other cultural interactions, especially the processes of consumption and the forms of communication and organisation which are peculiar to the popular classes'[341]. By adopting this alternative perspective on popular culture, García Canclini did not mean that domination had ended or that subalternity no longer existed; instead, he was advocating an approach to the interactions between these conflicting social groups. Since the mid-1980s, he has argued that there is no point in giving further explanations of popular culture; the main reason for this is that the concept of popular culture became entangled with the notions that once opposed it such as the cult, the elite and the hegemonic. Both Gramsci´s and Bourdieu´s conceptual paradigms, according to García Canclini in his article (*Gramsci and Bourdieu* (*Gramsci con Bourdieu*, 1984), consider consumption and political actions in an effort to understand recent popular movements. Consequently, García Canclini embraced cultural policy studies as he developed his career in anthropology and increased his interest in Bourdieu´s work. After being questioned about the relevance of doing research on urban cultural consumption in Latin America, he declared:

---

[341] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Gramsci con Bourdieu: Hegemonía, consumo y nuevas formas de organización popular. **Nueva Sociedad**, Buenos Aires, n. 71, pp. 69–78, March–April 1984. p. 71. TBM.

I have a different point of view, which is mainly justified by the way I asked questions about consumption. These questions had to do with anthropological issues because I started to be concerned with cultural policies, with how cultural supply takes place in Mexico, with how certain forms of selection, of discrimination, of differentiation and of inequality are established, and with how symbolic distinction is built from Bourdieu´s perspective, through cultural policies. But I did not find any material that clarifies what happens in the reception of these cultural policies, in consumption itself or in the policies of appropriation and reception as we refer to these processes today; so, what does happen to people when they are affected by cultural policies or when they are indifferent to cultural policies and to actions of the media?[342]

Consumption and production are closely related. The transformations García Canclini proposes this time suggest that capitalism underlies the shaping of identities; for him, political struggle does not build a socialist society but instead it encourages greater participation of underprivileged people and their cultures in the capitalist mode of production. *Transforming modernity* also suggests that democratisation does not depend on the producers only; the intermediaries between the artisan and the consumer, and the shops that sell *Mexican curiosities* are examples of such practices. It can be deduced that popular cultures have once again been displaced from their role as protagonists because the market determines what should be distributed and consumed from what artisans produce. García Canclini supports the integration of these traditional cultures with the national market; this in turn commits to international capitalism. Even though the place of the elite and the dominant is more diffuse within the capitalist mode of production, García Canclini extends his idea of the emancipation of the popular as he expressed it in *Folk art and society in Latin America*. He does so when he refers to the construction of 'a counterhegemonic culture'[343], the taking over of the means of production and distribution and, most of all, the indigenous people´s appropriation of 'the symbolic meaning of their work'[344]. He proposed a re-orientation of the popular:

As regards innovations in design, presentation, and distribution of their products, it will be up to artisans, dancers, and Indian cultural workers to decide which changes should be endorsed and which ones clash with their own interests. A popular culture will emerge in proportion to the degree to which urban and rural popular classes play

[342] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Cierre. Diálogo entre Néstor García Canclini y Claudio Lomnitz: La antropología en América Latina. In: NIVÓN BOLÁN, Eduardo (Ed.). *Voces híbridas: Reflexiones en torno a la obra de García Canclini*. Mexico City: Siglo XXI Editores, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Iztapalapa, División de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, 2012. p. 243. TBM.

[343] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. p. 84.

[344] Ibid. p. 84.

such a key role: a culture that will emerge democratically from the critical reconstruction of lived experience.[345]

In *Transforming modernity*, García Canclini analyses the relationships between the traditional cultures in the rural areas and the modern attractions of the cities. One of them is the possibility of producing handicrafts in large amounts to sell in the urban markets to tourists who have no idea what these objects mean in the indigenous communities in which they are produced. However, implicit messages travel from one social system to another, resulting in the gradual disappearance of the 'communal ownership'[346] of land and the practical functions that handicrafts had in their communities of origin. Capitalism, meanwhile, attracts the traditional cultural practices to the modern exchange of commodities on a transnational scale. This is naturally the point from which the cultures of the popular classes undergo standardisation that leads to the emergence of the concept of popularity, which refers to the ratings which the media and their advertisers are so much concerned with. The research opportunity García Canclini had in Michoacán, therefore, offered him a preview of much more intricate processes in the interaction between traditional cultures and capitalism.

2.2.3. Politics of the popular and formulations of cultural policy

It has been shown that García Canclini was influenced by French scholars (mostly anthropologists, philosophers and sociologists) who examined human behaviour and contributed to the study of cultural reception. During the 1980s, when the media[347] were one of the few industries that succeeded amid a widespread debt crisis (a period which is known as the 'lost decade'[348]) in Latin America, he focused on the state´s conceptions

---

[345] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. p. 85.

[346] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. p. 55.

[347] MARTÍN-BARBERO, Jesús. La comunicación, centro de la modernidad: Una peculiar relación en América Latina. **Revista Telos**, Madrid, Electronic publication, n. 36, December 1993–February 1994. In the first section of this article, where Martín-Barbero favours the centrality of communication, he argued that the industries of the media received much higher investments in comparison to the other industries during the 1980s in Latin America. He gave a few examples such as the increase in the number of television channels, Brazil´s and Mexico´s acquisition of their own broadcasting satellites, and the spread of the use of television by subscription.

[348] The 1980s are considered the 'lost decade' ('década perdida') for Latin America´s economic development due to a widespread decrease in economic growth, higher inflation followed by wages´ devaluation, deceleration of industrial production and reduction of employment. However, this negative economic diagnosis is incompatible with the political improvements of some of its countries such as re-democratisation after their dictatorships.

of the popular classes´ identities. In this period, he investigated the national-popular in Latin America to understand popular struggles and formulate cultural policies for an alternative model of society in which the popular classes could express their demands. As a result, cultural policy only became a pivotal topic for his political analysis when he wrote *Transforming modernity*. In his article *Cultural policies in Latin America* (*Políticas culturais na América Latina*, 1983), García Canclini started to situate policies in a national context and in doing so he looked into how the popular could build other national identities in Latin American countries. However, his vocabulary still relied on terms such as 'class struggle'[349], 'questioning of the current order'[350], 'monopolic organisation of the economy'[351], 'international development of capital'[352] and 'subordination to the higher order of the metropolis'[353]. For the construction of popular policies, he suggested that:

> It is fundamental that this dynamic, historical and grounded conception of culture guides the construction of a popular politics. This is due to the fact that the state, in the most optimistic possibilities, is concerned with *recovering* the popular classes´ culture to consecrate it in museums and luxury books; in turn, the media are dedicated to *diffusing* elite culture to the popular classes, or to manipulating the popular classes´ interests and tastes to make them suitable for profitability. Only the popular organisations can *distribute* the means of cultural production not by recovering it, but by *demanding* their own expressions, not by diffusing elite culture, but by *appropriating themselves critically* of the best of such cultural production for their objectives.[354]

García Canclini advocated the progressive democratisation of the media and of institutions, and the reorganisation of relationships between meaning and power. His political proposal for Latin American societies imply resentment against the military *coups d`état* in its countries. This might explain why his politics of the popular would concentrate on democratisation, diversity and respect of differences, whereas his cultural policy would consider the beneficial democratic developments of the Latin

---

[349] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturais na América Latina. Translation from Spanish to Portuguese by Wanda Caldeira Brant. **Novos Estudos Cebrap**, São Paulo, v. 2, n. 2, pp. 39–51, July 1983. p. 50. TBM.

[350] Ibid. p. 50. TBM.

[351] Ibid. p. 44. TBM.

[352] Ibid. p. 44. TBM.

[353] Ibid. p. 44. TBM.

[354] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturais na América Latina. Translation from Spanish to Portuguese by Wanda Caldeira Brant. **Novos Estudos Cebrap**, São Paulo, v. 2, n. 2, pp. 39–51, July 1983. p. 48. TBM. [Emphasis original].

American societies after the fall of its authoritarian regimes. Politics and policy respectively represent for him utopian purpose and feasible action. García Canclini also suggested that culture homogenises in international exchanges, for example when 'the arts from New York resembles that from Lima, from Buenos Aires, from Tokyo'[355]. Homogenisation, García Canclini stated, comes from the transformation of the exotic millennial traditions from *estados*[356] (Michoacán, Veracruz, etc.) into regular touristic products that refer, consequently, to the political unity of the Mexican nation.[357] Homogenisation, in these cases, does not mean that such processes involving cultural identities would generate replicas of, for instance, objects of art throughout the world. It rather refers to a tendency towards standardisation of forms and uses that globalisation encourages, but that is reconditioned according to each particular circumstance. Yet speaking of homogenisation has an interpretive effect that simplifies complex understandings of this subject. The next chapter elaborates on the interaction between tradition and modernity in Latin America, and on how globalisation is a process that should not be blamed for the advantages of certain agents that are more visible within it. It cannot go without saying, however, that the cultures of underprivileged people tend to be underestimated in such interactions and they lack predominance.

García Canclini suggests, at the end of the section 'Cultural policies and self-management: Basis and contradictions' of *Transforming modernity*, actions for the promotion of the popular classes in Mexico. He addresses the popular not as a mere set of objects (e.g. indigenous handicrafts and celebrations), but as a position and an action which are constantly changed by social circumstances. García Canclini mentions in the earlier chapter 'Between the boutique and the museum' that a museum is more suitable for the reproduction of traditional cultures than a shop because the former does not establish prices for the exhibition, although most museums pursue the logic of 'simple collecting or the aesthetic exhibition of items'[358]. García Canclini criticises the Mexican government´s policies such as those formulated by the National Fund for the

---

[355] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturais na América Latina. Translation from Spanish to Portuguese by Wanda Caldeira Brant. **Novos Estudos Cebrap**, São Paulo, v. 2, n. 2, pp. 39–51, July 1983. p. 44. TBM.

[356] *Estado* is the political administrative unit into which Mexico is divided. Other countries adopt different names for this such as *provincia* in Argentina, *departamento* in Bolivia and county in England.

[357] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturais na América Latina. op. cit. Ideas were taken from p. 45.

[358] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. p. 80.

Development of Arts and Crafts (FONART), which try to turn indigenous handicrafts into authentic objects for sale in specific shops. One reason for his criticism is that indigenous products end up being as commercial as any others sold in the city. Policies for popular culture, according to García Canclini, should not oscillate between conservatism and technocracy: the first 'sees only the cultural, or purely aesthetic, question and devotes itself to safeguarding traditions and to preserving the designs, techniques, and the social relations with which Indians once identified themselves'[359], whereas the second 'proposes modernizing the production and design of crafts, or simply abolishing them and incorporating Indians into industrial production'[360]. He admits that both practices have resulted in catastrophic consequences for Mexico´s cultural traditions. Consequently, he formulates policies that situate artisans somewhere between the preservation of their cultural traditions and their incorporation into the market. For García Canclini, 'artisans, dancers, and other workers in popular culture'[361] should play a vital role in Latin America´s cultural policy.

Then, for the first time in *Transforming modernity*, García Canclini referred to the general aims (*deber ser*) of cultural policies, for example when he questioned whether artisans or handicrafts should be protected.[362] A popular cultural policy, for García Canclini, should consider the pivotal role of the producers and their relationships with national and transnational institutions that are 'capable of multiplying their strength and lending their gains a dimension appropriate to the multinational programs of capitalism.'[363] But he was not convinced that this ideal situation would ever occur outside a democratic regime and a democratised society. Also, he argues that popular culture cannot be reduced to an alleged basic or most important quality but has to be evaluated in relation (of assimilation or reaction) to hegemonic culture; thus, he does not understand hegemony and counter-hegemony independently. However, a possible consequence of this cultural policy echoes Gramsci´s interpretation of counter-hegemony in the triumph of the popular classes in their struggle against inequalities and oppression.

---

[359] Ibid. p. 109.

[360] Ibid. p. 109.

[361] Ibid. p. 111.

[362] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. The last bit of this sentence was paraphrased from p. 111.

[363] Ibid. p. 113.

This chapter has shown that García Canclini moved on from the arts to discuss culture during the 1970s. Later, during the 1980s, he frequently used the word culture in his work. This is the context in which García Canclini attempted, for the first time, to address the importance of practices and institutions. It is here that he defined culture as 'the production of phenomena that contribute, through symbolic representation or reelaboration of material structures, to understand, reproduce, or transform the social system, in other words, all practices and institutions involved in the administration, renewal, and restructuring of meaning.'[364] An important aspect of this definition is that culture has the capacity to transform its own social conditions. Because of his academic activities and interests, García Canclini finally assumed his new long-term position as an anthropologist. But an even more important activity happened during the period his interest in cultural policy grew. From 1980 to 1984, he was Director of the Centre of Documentation and Research (Centro de Documentación e Investigación) of the National Institute of Fine Arts (Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, INBA).[365] The position he held at INBA (that is, outside the university) indicates his first cultural policy operation because he started to create political pressure. This point about cultural policy will be further discussed in the following chapters of this thesis.

Chapter 2 indicated that, during the 1970s, García Canclini became interested in cultural policy while he studied the popular classes, the art of liberation, symbolic production and Mexican handicrafts. It added to the central argument of this thesis by giving the antecedents of García Canclini´s earliest works on culture and cultural policy so that the subsequent chapters follow on from his latest thoughts on these issues in Latin America. Having clarified this, the next chapter examines the main shifts in García Canclini´s ideas on cultural policy during the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. The following topics will be addressed in chapter 3, first, in relation to the main shifts of García Canclini´s ideas in cultural policy taking into account the particularities of Latin America´s modernities and, secondly, to the relevance of the notions of cultural spaces and public spaces that would support the idea of cultural policy as an intellectually-oriented operation.

---

[364] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. p. 10.

[365] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Interview conducted by Bruno Peron Loureiro in the home office of Néstor García Canclini, Mexico City, 27 February 2009. In: PERON LOUREIRO, Bruno. *Néstor García Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina*. Thesis presented to obtain the degree of MPhil in Latin American Studies (Maestro en Estudios Latinoamericanos), Mexico City, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Anexo II, September 2009. He gave me this information about his position in INBA during this interview.

CHAPTER 3

Developments of García Canclini´s cultural policy

Introduction

Chapter 3 traces the most important developments in García Canclini´s cultural policy in relation to three topics that were deemed to have an impact on Latin America from the 1980s to the 2000s. These are the study of large cities and some of their cultural transformations, the growth of the national and international cultural industries, and the effect of globalisation on the emergence of integration spaces. My choice of these three topics for this chapter is based on their predominance in García Canclini's research agenda about cultural policy issues in the period above. Besides, such topics indicate how his notion of cultural policy becomes larger and more flexible, for example when he studies aspects of international relations. Thus I have support to contextualise Latin America instead of only Mexico. Likewise, during the period just emphasised in this paragraph, García Canclini more often discusses cultural policy issues in comparison with his research agenda earlier and even more recently in the twenty-first century. Until the late 1970s, García Canclini was mostly concerned with conceptual aspects of culture and cultural policy while, during the 1980s, his ideas on cultural policy become more purposeful and pragmatic. Moving along the same line is the fact that he also reaches a much larger audience than he used to in his earliest publications.

However, the recurrence of issues such as national development[366], regional integration and those of policy-making surrounding the media accounts for the difficulty in drawing a clear boundary between the central ideas that underpin García Canclini´s cultural policy developments; this explains why I highlight some topics to better demonstrate how certain issues (e.g. national development) continue or change according to his cultural policy ideas. These objectives will be pursued by combining a

---

[366] There are two highly debated concepts inherent in national development: the first is development (which is usually related to economic growth, although some interpreters also take into consideration cultural and social aspects) and the second is nation (which is an advanced community of organised people). For the purpose of this thesis, though, national development is understood as a sustained programme of governmental measures to improve the cultural, economic and social conditions of a country. National development, although it refers to a specific country, is not isolated from international relations; for Manfred Bienefeld, it does never occur independently of an international context, where the circumstances 'define both constraints and opportunities for the various protagonists.' (p. 25). BIENEFELD, Manfred A. The international context for national development strategies: Constraints and opportunities in a changing world. In: BIENEFELD, Manfred; GODFREY, Martin (Eds.). *The struggle for development: National strategies in an international context*. New York: John Wiley & Sons Limited, 1982.

contextual interpretation of these three topics with García Canclini´s conceptual developments from the 1980s to the 2000s. In doing so, I will be able to underline the way García Canclini conveys the political role of culture in Latin America through his cultural policy ideas. While chapter 2 provided the Latin American context in which García Canclini became interested in cultural policy during the 1970s and in the early 1980s, it is fundamental to consider in chapter 3 how he conducts cultural policy as an operation (thus cultural policy is not only as a governmental instrument) which would culminate, as argued in the general 'Introduction' to this thesis and in chapter 1, in his intellectually-oriented cultural policy operation in the following decades.

In terms of García Canclini´s cultural policy developments, the first part ('Urban studies and cultural transformations in Latin America') of this chapter demonstrates how his research interests changed from an analysis of production to that of reception/consumption as he embarked on urban studies during the 1980s. Due to the particularities of Latin America´s modernities (e.g. its 'hybrid cultures'[367]), this part shows that García Canclini no longer used independent/opposing categories such as local/global, that he left popular culture[368] aside to discuss museum audiences and media spectators, and that he questioned state policy for heritage in Latin America. The relevance of investigating certain aspects of these changes is that they would be long-lasting in his later approach to cultural policy.

The second part ('Policies for the growth of Latin America´s cultural industries') focuses on the increasing role of the cultural industries as a necessary aspect of cultural policy proposals in Latin America since the 1990s. It argues that not only does García Canclini write on cultural reception but this time he links consumption with ideas of citizenship and national development[369] on an international scale. Soon his arguments would enlarge to include the discussion on the role of the state and international organisations for the promotion of regional and intercontinental cultural spaces, in

---

[367] The section 'Hybrid cultures and cultural transformations in Latin America' explains this concept.

[368] This development in his ideas would create a shift in focus from his earlier research on artisans, indigenous people and peasants (as chapter 2 has demonstrated) to slumdwellers and urban workers and later young people – who are protagonists of the latest digital technologies – living in urban areas (as will be presented along chapter 3).

[369] In *Latin Americans seeking a place in this century*, García Canclini uses the adjective endogenous (*endógeno*) before the nouns development and production. However, I distinguish endogenous development (a form of inner resistance to outer economic pressures which cares about people) from national development (the main effects of a country´s economic policies). These terms should not be understood as synonyms because they generate different debates and multiple interpretations. For UNESCO, endogenous development is a proposal from the end of the 1970s that includes citizens´ participation in policy-making and in development. See UNESCO. *The theory and practice of endogenous development: Guideline document*, Paris, SHS-85/CONF.708/1, November 1985. pp. 19–20.

which culture intertwines with economy. This implies that cultural policy perpetuated García Canclini´s activism in Latin America despite the fact that his proposals for radical transformation (e.g. emancipation of the popular classes as shown in chapter 2) later change into acclaimed discourses of development (e.g. international exchange of the cultural industries and citizens who consume goods and services from the cultural industries, as this part of chapter 3 will demonstrate).

Finally, the third part ('The impact of globalisation in the spaces of Latin America') highlights how ideas on globalisation impact upon the developments of García Canclini´s cultural policy when he addresses Latin America´s identities (not from a monolithic perspective), interculturality (by arguing that there are no oppositions such as local/global) and public spaces[370]. It does so by showing that García Canclini becomes more accessible to the majority of people with his essay writing style. Consequently, it indicates that his notion of public spaces is a pretext that allows him to introduce his own engagement as an intellectual into Latin America´s public spaces[371], as chapter 4 will later explore. Therefore the third part draws on the developments of his cultural policy ideas to argue how such an institutionally-oriented instrument finally becomes an intellectually-oriented operation.

3.1. Urban studies and cultural transformations in Latin America

3.1.1. Latin American urban studies and cultural policies for heritage

This section explores specific aspects of Latin American urban studies, heritage and cultural transformations since the late 1980s in order to demonstrate their influence in García Canclini´s cultural policy. Through an examination of the 1980s, I will show how he finally embraced cultural policy studies. This section highlights how he

---

[370] Even though the expressions public space and public sphere are synonyms in this work, my arguments use the term public space, except in a few cases where sphere is quoted such as in Jim McGuigan´s and John Keane´s works.

[371] In the relationship the Colombian anthropologist Ana María Ochoa Gautier established between academia, cultural policy and society in her article, she was concerned with how an intellectual could move beyond academia without losing one´s criticism of society. She was aware, when discussing some intellectuals´ ideas for social transformations, that they play 'a crucial role by putting in movement (and by emphasising contradictions) the idea of culture as an area of intervention in social transformations' (p. 221). For her, cultural policy 'is particularly located in the crossroad between theoretical transformations and changes in the public space' (p. 214); in other words, 'the tension in the modes of defining the notion itself of cultural policy translates into concrete struggles in the public sphere' (p. 217). OCHOA GAUTIER, Ana María. Políticas culturales, academia y sociedad. In: MATO, Daniel (Ed.). *Estudios y otras prácticas intelectuales latinoamericanas en cultura y poder*. Caracas: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO) y CEAP, FACES, Universidad Central de Venezuela, 2002. TBM.

extended his intellectual networks through a newly created study group. García Canclini taught throughout the 1980s at the National School of Anthropology and History (ENAH), where, in 1989, he formed the Urban Culture Study Group (Grupo de Estudios sobre Cultura Urbana). A few months later in October 1990, he transferred this Study Group to UAM-Iztapalapa, where he has since been based. The Study Group was created to examine the diverse aspects of Mexico City´s contemporary urban cultures and was inspired by the television reporter who flies in a helicopter over its urban areas every morning and narrates the supposedly *ensemble vision* (*visión de conjunto*[372]). The early research of this Study Group resulted in García Canclini´s policy formulations for big Latin American cities such as (and especially for these) Mexico City, São Paulo and Buenos Aires. He was confronted with a double challenge from the beginning of the group´s activities: one was the choice of large and overcrowded cities as the objects of study due to their innumerable problems; the other was how cultural policies should be configured for the management of the aforementioned urban areas.

For the purpose of examining changes in García Canclini´s cultural policy for urban phenomena, it also is significant to point out that his focus moved from the urban in Argentina (the avant-garde arts, the working classes) to the rural in Mexico (indigenous people and peasants) by the end of the 1970s yet returned to the urban during the 1980s. García Canclini was so concerned with production during the 1970s that he initially focused his research on what avant-garde artists produced in Argentina, and then on pottery, celebrations and other indigenous activities from rural areas that could be commodified and sold in Mexico´s city markets. Later, during the second half of the 1990s, García Canclini´s research concentrated on how urban dwellers (workers, commuters, migrants, etc.) experienced the city.[373] The importance of establishing this comparison along decades is that the research he did during the 1990s and the 2000s

---

[372] The main idea of the *ensemble vision* lies in the supposed role of the media to inform their audiences and spectators of things that happen (and at the same time) in distant parts of a large city; in an opposite way, it relies on the impossibility of having such a broad vision when somebody merely moves by car or on a bus around the city. García Canclini expressed this idea in at least two of his articles: 1) GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Ciudad invisible, ciudad vigilada. **La Jornada Semanal**, Mexico City, 18 May 1997. In this publication, he used the expressions 'the possibility of experiencing the city as a whole' (para. 1) and 'a megacity seen as a whole' (para. 1) in the section 'The city imagined by the media'. And 2) GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. México 2010: Una ciudad que improvisa su globalización. **Alteridades**, Mexico City, UAM-Iztapalapa, v. 13, n. 26, pp. 7–14, July–December 2003. In this second publication, he used the terms 'the image of the whole' (p. 10) and 'an ensemble vision' (p. 10). TBM.

[373] Two important publications point this: 1) GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Las cuatro ciudades de México. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Cultura y comunicación en la ciudad de México*. v. 1 (out of 2 Volumes). Mexico City: Grijalbo, UAM-Iztapalapa, 1998. And 2) GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Cidades e cidadãos imaginados pelos meios de comunicação. **Opinião Pública**, Campinas, v. 8, n. 1, pp. 40–53, 2002.

focused on citizens in urban areas in a way that differed from his earlier topics on ethnic groups from Mexican villages (*pueblos*).

García Canclini´s most relevant change of perspective, however, would be from production to consumption. This shift was not on his own initiative. In 1985, a small number of Latin American researchers formed a Work Group in the heart of the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, CLACSO[374]) to widen their studies on cultural consumption so as to include research from other cities such as Bogotá, Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile and São Paulo.[375] Although García Canclini´s participation in this Work Group did not last many years, the publication of his book *The cultural consumption in Mexico* (*El consumo cultural en México*, 1993) eight years later would confirm that his change of perspective from production to consumption was not just a temporary academic phase.[376] He decided to study a series of urban phenomena while he had an academic position at ENAH. In this context, his interest in consumption/reception is an important development in his subsequent policy formulations.

García Canclini was aware that production is only one phase of a larger sociocultural process because production depends on the other phases of circulation and reception[377]. However, it is only during the 1980s that his concern with consumption became relevant in the complex links between the local and the global, the rural and the urban, the traditional and the modern. The most noticeable transition is that García Canclini soon dismissed these oppositions, including Gramsci´s reflections on the hegemonic and the subaltern classes. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Gramsci expressed his concern with urban expansion, labour exploitation and the persistence of a

---

[374] CLACSO is a non-governmental international institution that was created in 1967 and has formal relations of consultation with UNESCO. It establishes dialogues with research centres and undergraduate and postgraduate programmes in social sciences in 25 countries (including the United States and those in Europe and the Caribbean).

[375] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Interview conducted by Bruno Peron Loureiro in the home office of Néstor García Canclini, Mexico City, 27 February 2009. In: PERON LOUREIRO, Bruno. *Néstor García Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina*. Thesis presented to obtain the degree of MPhil in Latin American Studies (Maestro en Estudios Latinoamericanos), Mexico City, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Anexo II, September 2009. During this interview, he revealed to me that the members of CLACSO´s research group on cultural policy conducted research for some time, but later they started only to exchange their academic experiences in a less formal way.

[376] The section 'Citizenship via consumption in Latin America´s development' will later demonstrate that his ideas on consumption would not only remain but they would also be influential in his cultural policy during the 1990s.

[377] The basic assumption of this sentence is that there can be no production if there is no circulation/distribution and consumption/reception. Every phase (e.g. either production or consumption) of a process is necessary for a cycle.

colonial model of national development which benefited industrialised countries to the detriment of others. He added that the rural workers who migrate to cities 'see their own countries systematically despoiled of their natural resources, i.e. of the necessary conditions for their own autonomous development'[378]. Regardless of the complexity that sociocultural processes in Latin America have undergone recently, it is useful to draw on Gramsci´s early views on urban changes to analyse next how such transformations demanded a suitable cultural policy in Latin America.

García Canclini and the Mexican anthropologist Patricia Safa Barraza argued that urban transformations (population increase, migration, etc.) in Mexico, which occurred during 'the almost seven decades of institutional continuity in Mexico'[379] (when there was a 'democratising, distributive and pluralist project in the Mexican national policies before the monetarist surge'[380]), have important implications for cultural practices. They contribute in this respect by developing a history of the 1980s Mexican debt crisis and an evaluation of its symbolic effects as they compare some of the policies that generated sociocultural transformations in Mexico. In the previous decade, García Canclini had pointed out some of the sociocultural effects of structural economics (*desarrollismo*[381]) in democratic Argentina; during the 1980s, he raised his concerns with the growing influence of the minimum-state policies of *monetarismo*[382]. Political stability in Mexico meant that 'the post-revolutionary state developed a cultural policy which partially combined elite with popular cultures, national with local cultures, modernity with traditions'[383] so that the state could skilfully manage the

---

[378] GRAMSCI, Antonio. *Selections from political writings (1910–1920)*. Selected and edited by Quintin Hoare. Translated by John Mathews. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1977. p. 302. Gramsci´s point of view has some similarities to that which was discussed within the dependency theory and which was shown in chapter 1.

[379] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; SAFA BARRAZA, Patricia. Políticas culturales y sociedad civil en México. In: CALDERÓN, Fernando; DOS SANTOS, Mario R. (Eds.). *¿Hacia un nuevo orden estatal en América Latina?*. Volume 7: Innovación cultural y actores socio-culturales. Buenos Aires: Biblioteca de Ciencias Sociales, Project UNDP-UNESCO-CLACSO, RLA-86/001, September 1989. p. 165. TBM.

[380] Ibid. pp. 199–200. TBM.

[381] Please refer to the section 'Key historical issues of cultural policy in Latin America' in chapter 1 where I explained the meaning of *desarrollismo* and the use of the English term structural economics.

[382] *Monetarismo* is a market-oriented ideology while *desarrollismo* usually refers to policies from the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) in the 1960s. In a similar way as García Canclini does, the economist Claudio Katz understands *monetarismo* as a minimum-state ideology which opposes national industrialisation. He explains that Brazil, even though it is Latin America´s most industrialised country, has lost its agricultural and industrial competitiveness because of 'the tensions between monetarist orthodoxy and industrialist proposals' (p. 719). KATZ, Claudio. Los atolladeros de la economía latinoamericana. **Serviço Social & Sociedade**, São Paulo, n. 112, pp. 711–728, October–December 2012. TBM.

[383] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; SAFA BARRAZA, Patricia. op. cit. p. 166. TBM.

conflicting interactions between social classes and groups. García Canclini and Barraza argued that Mexico´s economic policies during its political stability underpinned positive transformations in culture and education. They affirmed that 'from the perspective of the state, wealth increase gave it the opportunity to improve the population´s quality of life and incorporate the middle classes further into the market, education and national politics'[384]. This diagnosis of Mexico´s post-revolutionary period (that is, from 1910) inspired them to discuss the reduction of teachers´ wages, school dropout, precariousness of dwellings and low growth of the Mexican economy during the 1980s. In other words, they wanted to find out why Mexico´s development had more recently reached a standstill. Even though the national economic and political contexts matter in García Canclini´s analyses, cities have now become one of his most important objects of study and of cultural policy.

In addition to this, culture would be brought as an object of policy only as long as it aided development, especially after the 1980s´ debt crisis[385] in the re-democratised Latin America. In fact, García Canclini did not think of culture only in terms of artistic objects in a museum, classical music and historical buildings. Often through the discourse of culture and development, states and international organisations[386] have referred to culture as a factor that promotes economic development.[387] García Canclini recognised the importance of international meetings to discuss culture – especially those

---

[384] Ibid. p. 174. TBM.

[385] See further about Mexico´s debt crisis in the next paragraph, but in terms of Latin America´s 'lost decade'.

[386] See, for example, references to culture as a sector that, instead of acting as a resource, is 'seen as one requiring resources' (p. 31) and, for this reason, is 'usually sidelined in economic and trade policies' (p. 31). ORGANISATION of American States. *Study for Theme 1: 'Culture as an engine for economic growth, employment and development'*. This Study was commissioned by the Unit for Social Development and Education of the Organisation of American States with the intent of supporting the discussions on Theme 1 at the II Inter-American Meeting of Ministers and Highest Appropriate Authorities of Culture, Inter-American Council for Integral Development (CIDI). The document was prepared by Javier Machicado. Washington, D.C., 2004.

[387] Two points of view about this topic deserve attention here: one is from the economist Amartya Sen and the other is from the psychologist Germán Rey. Amartya Sen states that the amplification of human beings´ capacities is important in the process of development to the degree that culture can reach both an intrinsic and an instrumental level. SEN, Amartya. Teorías del desarrollo a principios del siglo XXI. In: EMMERIJ, Louis; NÚÑEZ DEL ARCO, José (Comps.). *El desarrollo económico y social en los umbrales del siglo XXI*. Washington, D.C.: Inter-American development Bank, 1998. pp. 600–601. In turn, one of Germán Rey´s arguments (as seen on p. 15) is that development turned from economic to social and then to cultural aspects. Rey, who mentioned the co-operation plans offered by Iberian countries to Latin America, proposes the formulation of policies that embrace the economy, cultural identities and an 'intercultural conversation' (p. 37. TBM). REY, Germán. *Industrias culturales, creatividad y desarrollo*. Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID), Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación, 2009. This publication is a result of the Director Plan 2009–2012 of AECID to improve the understanding and practice of culture and development in Spain and its former colonies.

co-ordinated by UNESCO – because he expected bureaucrats and politicians to take seriously the role of culture in development. But he regretted that 'politicians usually suppose that society faces some urgent problems, especially in times of austerity'[388], suggesting that politicians give priority to solving economic issues before cultural ones.

Cultural policy for urban issues necessarily entails both national and international aspects. Culture had not previously been a priority in policies for national development, although García Canclini recognised that politicians had turned their attention to cultural issues because of the crisis that led to the lost decade (*década perdida*[389]) in Latin America. García Canclini believed that cultural policies had become important for politicians so that they could find a solution to this debt crisis. His book *Cultural policies in Latin America* (*Políticas culturales en América Latina*, 1987) unveils the sudden shift of policy-makers´ attention to the relationship between culture and policies for development in Latin America; furthermore, in this region, cultural policy finally started to be addressed not only as an academic issue but also as a responsibility of the state.

Cultural topics have consequently been included in Latin America´s agendas of development. The 1980s in particular saw an increase in how the state and international organisations promoted events, debates and publications about the importance of culture for the economy and politics. However, García Canclini criticised the emptiness and superficiality of political speeches regarding culture while he referred to culture as a means to development[390] after the foreign debt crisis. In addition to this position, new elements have been added to cultural policy analysis, such as the transnationalisation of culture and the spread/control of information. For García Canclini, these are new aspects to be considered in cultural policy along with a re-interpretation on the role of the state. He argued that policies for popular culture had to be re-formulated after political re-democratisation in Latin America. He was still concerned with how the

---

[388] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturales y crisis de desarrollo: Un balance latinoamericano. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Políticas culturales en América Latina*. Mexico City: Grijalbo, 1987. p. 13. TBM.

[389] The section 'Politics of the popular and formulations of cultural policy' of chapter 2 explained the meaning of 'lost decade' for an understanding of how the Latin American economic development had an impact on its cultural policy.

[390] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Últimas noticias del desarrollo cultural. **Anales de la Educación Común**, La Plata, Argentina, n. 3, pp. 28–33, April 2006. pp. 32–33. García Canclini argued that the association between culture and economy or between culture and development brings a dissociation of culture from the 'classic approach of humanistic studies about culture' (p. 32. TBM.) of something to be preserved from the past (heritage, languages, monuments, traditions, etc.) to be finally deemed as an asset for the future in terms of aspirations, changes and plans.

'effective needs of the popular classes'[391] could be addressed in national policies for culture and how cultural issues encouraged a new way of conducting politics (it is possible to exemplify this by looking at how citizens have considered polemical issues during elections[392]).

Amid the debate on the relationship between culture and development, topics regarding heritage finally caught the attention of social scientists in cultural policy in Latin America[393]. Heritage was seen as a lever between things of the past and changes (through cultural policy) for the future. García Canclini´s concern with heritage policy is that it encapsulates the essence of national identity[394]; and his interpretation of this is that an effectively democratic policy should consider heritage (*patrimonio*) in relation to 'Argentines more than to "the Argentine"'[395]. This means that heritage is not a single conception of the national; instead, it suggests that there are diverse ways of understanding Argentine national identities. García Canclini was concerned with how cultural issues influenced the state´s conception of national development in Latin America. So he criticised the state´s attempt to define a national identity by saying that the 'misty world of the spirit'[396] (a term he used for culture) had been considered, during the 1980s, to comprehend and change 'the macro-social processes and the complex structure of national development'[397] and to define national identities. It means for him that culture has a relationship not only with identities but also development.

---

[391] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturales y crisis de desarrollo: Un balance latinoamericano. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Políticas culturales en América Latina*. Mexico City: Grijalbo, 1987. p. 54. TBM.

[392] Candidates to the state´s representative positions in Latin America have been questioned by journalists and even by other citizens about topics such as abortion, homosexuality, affirmative action policies, etc.

[393] Two articles support my claim; in the respective order, one is from a Brazilian anthropologist and the other is from a Mexican sociologist: 1) ARANTES, Antônio Augusto. O patrimônio cultural e seus usos: A dimensão urbana. **Habitus**, Goiânia, v. 4, n.1, pp. 425–435, January–June 2006. And 2) GIMÉNEZ, Gilberto. Patrimonio e identidad frente a la globalización. **Cuadernos del Patrimonio Cultural y Turismo**, Mexico, v. 13, pp. 177–182, 2005.

[394] See further elaboration on Latin America´s national and international identities in relation to globalisation later in the section 'Latin American identities in the perceptions of globalisation'.

[395] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. La política cultural en países en vías de subdesarrollo. In: CEBALLOS, Rita (Ed.). *Antropología y políticas culturales: Patrimonio e identidad*. Buenos Aires: Dirección Nacional del Registro Oficial, 1989. p. 7. TBM. The title of García Canclini´s essay 'The cultural policy in countries which are underdeveloping' is provocative as it suggested that Latin America had moved towards underdevelopment. This viewpoint results from an interpretation of culture through the socioeconomic conditionings of Latin America´s dependence on other regions, economic and industrial modernisation, and the improvement of the internal consumption market.

[396] Ibid. p. 24. TBM. This expression means culture, which was a nebulous area for policy intervention.

[397] Ibid. p. 8. TBM.

Indeed there were problems in the way state managers were dealing with the relationship between heritage and national development in Latin America. One of García Canclini´s reasons for disapproving of the state´s cultural policies in this region is its archaic focus on 'reducing heritage to something that needs to be conserved and transformed in a monument or a museum object; for this reason, its field resembles that of restorers, archaeologists and specialists in museums, that is, professionals who look into the past'[398]. His major concern at this point is that, while the state protects the past, private companies explore the future through enterprise and have been the most effective modernisers in Latin America. García Canclini's stance contains a progressive view on the role of private companies as institutions that move forward while the state remains backward. Private companies that offer goods and services related to communication and information technologies (e.g. broadband Internet, television channels) have allowed for huge steps to be taken in the modernisation of Latin American countries. Thus, the controversial debate on the comparative efficiency of the state and the market remains. Such a view on these effective modernisers actually intends to criticise the slow pace of state bureaucrats and decision-makers who have not followed (either by ignorance or convenience) the key sociocultural transformations that demand other policies. Private companies, in turn, have propelled modernisation in Latin America, even though many of them are monopolistic and defend foreign interests (as multinationals do). For García Canclini, heritage also reproduces social inequalities due to elitist conceptions of what certain state managers understand by heritage in Latin America; as such he proposes having cultural policies for a general and inclusive development of Latin American societies, where heritage is a 'mixture of a truncated modernity with heterogeneous traditions'[399]. He criticises the 'archaic definition'[400] of culture in relation to heritage (*patrimonio*) and national being[401] (*ser nacional*).

Further issues constitute the debate on heritage during the 1980s. García Canclini argued in his article *Who does use heritage?: Cultural policies and social participation* (*¿Quiénes usan el patrimonio?: Políticas culturales y participación*

---

[398] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. La política cultural en países en vías de subdesarrollo. In: CEBALLOS, Rita (Ed.). *Antropología y políticas culturales: Patrimonio e identidad*. Buenos Aires: Dirección Nacional del Registro Oficial, 1989. p. 9. TBM.

[399] Ibid. p. 24. TBM. This can be understood as a conception of heritage that includes aspects of living in urban areas, but, at the same time, it does not dismiss, for example, certain assimilated Indigenous traditions into the nationality.

[400] Ibid. p. 11. TBM.

[401] National being can be understood in this context as synonym of national identity.

social, 1987) that – and here he recalled his criticism of Gramsci – structural inequalities are not simply a matter of opposition between the hegemonic and the subordinate cultures. Instead of disagreements, he focused on the cultural combinations and intersections[402] that constitute heritage and link cultures in such particular ways in Latin America. He was especially interested in the crossroads and intertwinings of cultures. Furthermore, he reiterated in the same article that an effective policy for heritage depends on attention to consumption: 'those who receive something'[403], 'the users'[404], 'the public of museums and archaeological sites, dwellers of historic centres, audiences of educational and diffusion programmes'[405]. This corroborates that García Canclini´s cultural policy focus turned to cultural reception during the late 1980s.

It has been argued that García Canclini´s interpretation of heritage in Latin America does not involve disconnected and independent cultural processes; rather, he thinks of 'the free-flowing communication and the consequent hybridisation processes in which tastes and behaviours are now constituted'[406]. Further, García Canclini suggests that the transnational restructuring of culture does not completely hamper the employment of Gramscian oppositions and the search for national identity, but it does situate these concepts 'in another account, which is multi-focal and hybrid'[407]. This indicates an important shift from what he had earlier proposed in his work: the notion of transformation, which is ubiquitous in his publications, is expressed as the commodification of the ethnic in *Transforming modernity* while it becomes

---

[402] García Canclini is not convinced that cultural phenomena in Latin America can be easily explained by making clear divisions between traditional and modern, low and high, subaltern and hegemonic, etc. The notions of cultural combinations and intersections are helpful not only to think of the attractions and contacts between different cultural forms but also of the way these combine and mix to generate new cultural forms (from ethnic miscegenation to political culture issues like citizenship) in Latin America. García Canclini's interpretation of hybridity in Latin America, for instance, made him widely read in English-speaking countries by scholars who study issues of hybridity and identity. The next section will discuss his concept of hybridity and explain its relevance to his cultural policy ideas.

[403] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. ¿Quiénes usan el patrimonio?: Políticas culturales y participación social. **Antropología**, Mexico City, Official Bulletin from INAH, Electronic version, pp. 11–24, July–October 1987. para. 7 of the chapter 'Why preserve it?' ('¿Para qué preservarlo?'). TBM.

[404] Ibid. para. 8 of the chapter 'Why preserve it?'. TBM.

[405] Ibid. para. 9 of the chapter 'Why preserve it?'. TBM.

[406] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Cultura y nación: Para qué no nos sirve ya Gramsci. **Nueva Sociedad**, Buenos Aires, n. 115, pp. 98–103, September–October 1991. para. 11 from section 'Gramsci in the 1990s' ('Gramsci en los '90'). TBM.

[407] Ibid. para. 1 from section 'Gramsci´s inquiries in neoliberal times' ('Las preguntas gramscianas en tiempos neoliberales'). TBM. Certain metaphoric uses of the terms 'multi-focal' (think of a camera when it captures an image) and 'hybrid' (think of mixed breeding) are constant in García Canclini's work. They usually refer to concepts and processes that deserve further study and that the author understands in a particular way. Heritage in Latin America is an example of such complex matters that García Canclini suggests should be studied from another perspective. The next section further explains 'hybrid' forms.

hybridisation and reconversion later in *Hybrid cultures: Strategies for entering and leaving modernity*[408] (*Culturas híbridas: Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad*, 1990). His thoughts on Gramsci´s ideas show that the relationship between the hegemonic and the subaltern is, meanwhile, not about domination of one social class by another. García Canclini´s concept of 'hybrid cultures'[409] reinforces his position on this subject.

3.1.2. Hybrid cultures and cultural transformations in Latin America

This section traces the developments of García Canclini´s cultural policy ideas during the late 1980s by analysing the importance of his concept of hybridisation for understanding Latin America´s modernities. In doing so, it reveals that he emphasised particularities of its modernities in his search for the political role of culture in Latin America. In addition to this, the section shows that changes in García Canclini´s research methods would be influential on his cultural policy ideas; for instance, he avoided the use of dichotomies (e.g. local/global, traditional/modern) and focused his attention on reception of cultural processes (e.g. museum audiences). These shifts would be decisive in determining the way that García Canclini not only delved into cultural transformations and wrote about the political role of culture through Latin American urban studies but also how he would soon conduct cultural policy in Latin America.

Hybridisation is a key notion in this transition. In the 2005 English edition of the book *Hybrid cultures*, he defined hybridisation as 'sociocultural processes in which discrete structures or practices, previously existing in separate form, are combined to generate new structures, objects, and practices'[410]. *Hybrid cultures* returns to many topics that García Canclini approached in his earlier writings – for example, the autonomy of the artistic field, the unequal appropriation and reproduction of symbolic goods (both theoretical aspects were inspired by Bourdieu); hegemonies and subalternities (whose ideas were influenced by Gramsci); the concentration of technological resources in a few private groups of the media; and the place of the popular and the traditional in cultural reception, heritage, national development and modernisation.

---

[408] This book will be henceforth referred to only as *Hybrid cultures*.

[409] Please refer to the next section for an analysis of the concept of 'hybrid cultures'.

[410] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Hybrid cultures: Strategies for entering and leaving modernity*. Translated by Christopher L. Chiappari and Silvia L. López. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. p. XXV.

By the beginning of the 1990s, García Canclini became a familiar figure in the English language North American academic circuit of readings, debates and reviews. Yúdice said this admission occurred because the former proposed a perspective for understanding identities that 'straddle borders, whether geopolitical, cultural, or epistemological'[411] in the book *Hybrid cultures* while scholars from Europe and the United States had been discussing 'flexible and multiple identities'[412] since the beginning of the 1980s. That García Canclini did not speak and write well in English and always felt more comfortable lecturing in Spanish did not matter as his main work was then gradually being translated into English.[413] His ideas such as 'multiple timing heterogeneities'[414] (or the effect of Latin America´s uneven modernisation), cultural de-territorialisation and intersections between the popular, the massive and the elite in Latin American modernities are concepts that confer on *Hybrid cultures* the status of academic intermediary between the intellectual production in Latin America and that of other regions.

Certain theoretical aspects of *Hybrid cultures* deserve attention in order to establish why García Canclini´s cultural policy remains inclusive of the majority of people´s needs in spite of the change of his research circumstances and topics. In *Hybrid cultures*, he criticised certain dichotomies (e.g. between hegemonic and subaltern, elite and popular, modern and traditional, global and local, foreign and native, etc.) that he had unequivocally adhered to in *Transforming modernity*. Consequently, García Canclini´s proposal of hybridisation in general concerns the interactions, intersections and intercultural exchanges between these supposed oppositions, which he

---

[411] YÚDICE. George. From hybridity to policy: For a purposeful cultural studies. Translator´s introduction to the book. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Consumers and citizens: Globalization and multicultural conflicts*. Translated by George Yúdice. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001. p. XI. George Yúdice is a North American scholar of Cultural Studies and Literature.

[412] Ibid. p. XI.

[413] Lidia Lozano translated the earlier *Las culturas populares en el capitalismo* (1982) to English as *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico* by the University of Texas Press in 1993 while García Canclini had already published *Culturas híbridas*, which soon received a translation to English by the University of Minnesota Press in October 1995. The translation of *Las culturas populares en el capitalismo* suppressed the term *capitalismo* from the title and added *Mexico* because of a difference in the experience of modernity between the United States and that of Latin America, where debates about modernisation persist. Another reason for this is that Anglo-Saxon societies confuse the popular with the massive. These terminological adaptations were required by his work to be intelligible to Europe and North America, although his reputation mostly derives from the impact of *Hybrid cultures*.

[414] García Canclini develops the concept of multiple timing heterogeneities (*heterogeneidad multitemporal*) in *Hybrid cultures*. By this he basically means the coexistence (instead of the suppression) of oppositions such as traditional and modern, local and global, popular and elite, rural and urban, in Latin America´s particular modernities.

argues do not explain the complexity of the latest (that is, the end of the 1980s) cultural processes and transformations in Latin America´s truncated modernities. That the modern has reproduced itself in negotiation with or by recovering the traditional in this region while there is an obsession for – although at times condescension to – innovation has been argued by García Canclini to be a reciprocally necessary relationship.[415] Hence, it is not possible to understand the complexity of Latin American societies by searching solely for their ethnic roots; instead, one needs to scrutinise the processes that underpin their sociocultural transformations and 'reconversions'[416]. García Canclini proposed this latter concept to explain a complex articulation between tradition and modernity whereby culture ceases to be only traditional yet never becomes completely modern. He defined 'cultural reconversions'[417] as 'hybrid transformations generated by the horizontal coexistence of a number of symbolic systems'[418]. García Canclini says more about the effects of modernisation in the region, though. Latin America´s modernities, for him, have specificities in the sense that 'high, popular, and mass art nourish each other reciprocally'[419].

The concept of hybridisation can be understood in Latin America either as the co-existence/juxtaposition of traditional and modern cultures or as the blend between cultures from different periods that generates hybrid forms. For example, the Aztec ruins of the Templo Mayor share the same 'multiple timing heterogeneities' in architecture with the Spanish Catedral Metropolitana in Mexico City´s Zócalo. However, the latter definition is more pertinent to Latin America due to its blend between cultures that forms multitemporal heterogeneities. Inter-racial mixing (*mestizaje*) is more prevalent in Latin America because of its history of colonialism and forced migration due to slavery than it is in Europe and North America. There have been strong tendencies in Latin America to renegotiate the relationships between its traditions and modernities so that the former survives after it transforms into an asset for

---

[415] This is one of the key ideas of his book *Transforming modernity*, as shown in the section 'Politics of the popular and formulations of cultural policy' of chapter 2. That Mexico´s indigenous communities have used mobile phones and have sold their handicrafts through the Internet are examples for my point in this sentence.

[416] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Cultural reconversion. Translated by Holly Staver. In: YÚDICE, George; FRANCO, Jean; FLORES, Juan (Eds.). *On edge: The crisis of contemporary Latin American culture*. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992. García Canclini discusses 'cultural reconversion' in this essay.

[417] See the following information in the same sentence and its corresponding footnote.

[418] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Cultural reconversion. op. cit. p. 32.

[419] Ibid. p. 32.

capitalism. Hence the relationship between the state and heritage necessarily becomes relevant once more.

García Canclini referred to traditions as the expression of rural indigenous cultures (handicrafts and celebrations) in *Transforming modernity* but sees tradition as urban expressions of heritage in *Hybrid cultures*. He is reluctant to accept certain state policies for culture because having only a tangible notion of heritage (that is, caring about old buildings and monuments) does not regulate the role of the media[420] in cultural transformations. However, he does not see as negative the transformations implied by modernisation – for this term does not mean suppression; instead, he proposes modernisation as an opportunity for self-affirmation, reproduction, survival and even income for improving the quality of life of the majority of people in Latin America. In the years preceding the publication of *Hybrid cultures*, urban studies dominated García Canclini´s research agenda instead of artisans from the Mexican villages (*pueblos*) and other rural topics; however, modernisation outside the city is still important for his interpretation of hybridisation, which can be argued to be an older phenomenon in Latin America. The difference is that hybridisation gives Latin America certain specificities that other regions do not experience in their modernisation such as the political cultures of *compadrazgo*[421] and *favor*[422]. Moreover, hybridisation varies

---

[420] Not less important for the understanding of García Canclini´s cultural policy development at the end of the 1980s is that there has been a change in the cultural consumption habits of urban dwellers, especially those from low to middle social classes. Instead of going to a movie theatre or a music show, García Canclini argues that families have preferred to buy cultural apparatuses (*aparatos culturales* such as television, radio, videocassette recorder, compact disc player and others available since the 1980s) and consume culture from home by using electronic equipments. Such influences of the media are not argued to be a recent phenomenon, but García Canclini focuses on these to evaluate cultural reception and political participation in Mexico. At this point, it is relevant to remember that chapter 2 showed García Canclini´s concern with censorship of the media during Argentina´s dictatorship in the late 1970s and then the chapter revisited his earliest ideas on the media since his book *Folk art and society in Latin America*.

[421] The term *compadrazgo* (which derives from *compadres* and translates as godparents) means the predominance of auxiliary, flexible and interpersonal relations over the bureaucratic and impersonal ones that are regulated by law and rules. *Compadrazgo* entails an institutional relationship between good friends and family members and it is well-known in Mexico. I experienced this, for example, when I went to Mexico's National Institute of Migration to renew my visa. I was instructed by the reception officer to queue and wait for my turn after many other foreigners before I could present my documents. In the meantime, I noted that a person wearing a suit (whom I would guess to be a lawyer) bypassed everyone in the queue, shook hands with the helpdesk officer ahead of me, exchanged a few words of friendship with him, and left him a pile of documents to check as quickly as possible belonging, as I supposed, to his clients. *Compadrazgo* has been used in different ways in diverse Iberian and Latin American countries.

[422] *Favor* refers to an expectation of mutual help and return between acquainted people. I can give a few examples of *favor* in Brasil. One concerns Prohibition (*Lei Seca*, existing since June 2008), where nobody is allowed to drive after drinking more than a very tiny amount of alcohol. Instead of enforcing the law, however, certain policemen have been bribed by bar owners not to check their customers by the *bafômetro* (a sort of gadget for examining breath) in the surroundings of their bars so as not to harm their businesses. Another example is that politicians interfere in bureaucratic procedures to obtain advantages

insofar as this process usually has unpredictable consequences, that is, there is uncertainty about its effects and how cultural policy should regulate such hybrid forms.

Also relevant for tracing the developments of García Canclini´s cultural policy is that the idea of popular culture is discussed in *Hybrid cultures* in a different way. The media´s role stimulates García Canclini´s reflections on popular culture; this is so because the traditional actors usually associated with the popular – indigenous people, peasants, working classes – have been depicted through discourses, images and other representations in modern societies. In *Hybrid cultures,* he still focuses on the popular, however diffuse this concept is in modern societies, and on the debate about how the popular classes access modernity without losing their traditions. In the same book, García Canclini concludes that the popular cannot reproduce outside of modernity and its institutions. He proposes that the best strategy for preserving popular cultures and traditions is by their interaction with modernity instead of isolated self-affirmation.[423] Culture results in a myriad of resources, according to García Canclini, that generate hybrid identities, democratise a society and redefine the popular in capitalism. His ideas on policies for popular culture in *Hybrid cultures* warrant further consideration next.

Democratic institutions are deemed by García Canclini to be a better solution for a more representative participation of popular culture than revolution; the way to ensure fair representation would be through the re-formulation of cultural policies. An additional – and somewhat different – strategy for such democratic routes of popular culture is García Canclini´s proposal to reduce dominations, hierarchies and prejudices by blurring the opposing lines from which an idea of popular culture is constructed. He pursues in *Hybrid cultures* a similar political goal for the promotion of Latin America´s popular classes to the one he establishes in his book *Folk art and society in Latin America* through liberation[424], although in *Hybrid cultures* he accepts modern capitalist practices that reduce sharp distinctions between opposing cultural sources (e.g. popular and elite, subaltern and cultured). Nonetheless, García Canclini relegated the popular to study topics such as audiences and spectators. Consequently, the notion of popular erodes at this point when he oscillates between the scientific study of the popular classes

---

for their voters. Some people get beds and treatments in public hospitals, for instance, before others who have to wait for months as a normal procedure because they do not know any influential person with whom to exchange *favores*. For historical references about *favor* in Brazil, see HOLANDA, Sérgio Buarque de. *Raízes do Brasil*. 26th Edition. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995. Holanda mentions the existence of *favores* between friends and relatives in Brazilian public institutions. p. 136.

[423] Chapter 2 showed that García Canclini supports a similar idea in his book *Transforming modernity*.

[424] As argued in the section 'The avant-garde arts and the popular classes´ liberation' of chapter 2.

(and also the popular cultures that originate in them) and a more general concern with the majority of people as an object of policy. In the chapter 'The staging of the popular' from *Hybrid cultures*, García Canclini reiterated that popular culture is not exclusive of the popular classes: 'it is possible to think that the popular is constituted in hybrid and complex processes, using as signs of identification elements originating from diverse classes and nations'[425]. His view that there is no essential characteristic in popular culture encouraged him to propose the concept of hybridisation, which accepts even fewer essences. He would further develop these ideas by the end of the 1980s.

Another relevant component of García Canclini´s arguments in *Hybrid cultures* concerns cultural reception or consumption in the Latin American experience of modernity 'from the perspective of museum visitors, readers, and spectators'[426]. García Canclini´s research on cultural reception and the social function of museums shows that 'reflection on the place of museums in heritage policy can serve to help us find explanations for our deficient cultural development and our peculiar inscription in Western modernity'[427]. He regretted that these policies have so far kept most museums from attracting audiences because they do not have an effective strategy in combining heritage with modernisation in Latin America. He suggested that policies should celebrate modernity as an extension of heritage in museums, where their exhibitions (and the traditions that are addressed through them) depend on the viewer to give them meaning. This does not imply that traditions are dissolved, but that the popular, the primitive and the pre-modern arts are reorganised to be exhibited in museums. The analysis of these public venues that are dedicated to the past thus gives coherence to García Canclini´s concept of hybridisation. He was still looking at processes taking place in the venues of artistic/cultural exhibitions and the educational level of the audience/consumers they attract between the middle of the 1970s and the end of the 1980s. Essential to his cultural policy is how he developed his ideas on reception.

More important than hybridisation is García Canclini´s proposal of understanding the effects of cultural reception regarding monuments, museums, graffiti, comic books and other urban expressions of heritage and tradition. He was concerned

---

[425] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Hybrid cultures: Strategies for entering and leaving modernity*. Translated by Christopher L. Chiappari and Silvia L. López. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. p. 157.

[426] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Hybrid cultures: Strategies for entering and leaving modernity*. Translated by Christopher L. Chiappari and Silvia L. López. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. p. 66.

[427] Ibid. p. 116.

with how signs of the past engage – or hybridise – with modern buildings, practices and ways of life. This perspective might be useful in fulfilling the needs of the majority of people and their cultures as well as in directing development by means of the interactions that prevent conflict by generating hybrid forms. Latin America´s modernities result from a blend of traditional practices and modern projects that has led to intercultural experiences in political culture (paternalism[428] against democracy), economic development (self-sufficient communal property of land against intensive production for export) and artistic movements (high rates of illiteracy against avant-garde modernist movements from the elites), and others. Furthermore, in the chapter 'Artists, middlemen, and the public' from the English edition of *Hybrid cultures*, García Canclini reiterates the importance of consumption in cultural policy and affirms that the latter has been in Mexico 'a deliberate project by the rulers, exercised through conflicts and struggles, transactions, and sociocultural agreements'[429]. In short, he does not dismiss the fact that consumption is associated with hierarchy in Mexico.

In *Hybrid cultures´s* final chapter, which is purported to be an 'Exit' from modernity, García Canclini concluded that a satisfactory way to modernise Latin America and improve its democracy is through 'the nonsubstantialist reconstruction of a social critique and the questioning of technocratic neoliberalism´s claims to become the dogma of modernity'[430]. This entails the promotion of social research which considers the contribution of cultural diversity to nationality and the relevance of the state in Latin America´s modernisation. He lamented, on the one hand, the complacency of the state in the spread of discrimination and inequalities, and, on the other, the absence of state regulation on the arts and communications. These have been left as industries restricted to privileged people of society. His book also suggests that policies for culture cannot be formulated independently of what happens in other sectors such as the economy, where Latin America´s 'socioeconomic modernization is so unequal'[431].

---

[428] Paternalism can be understood as a political vertical practice or system in which one (e.g. an individual, a private company, the state) rules other people (e.g. subordinates, employees) in a way that the ruler makes decisions to these people in a fatherly manner without giving these other people liberty of choice, rights and responsibilities. This practice or system can take place, for example, in a community, a country or a private company.

[429] Ibid. p. 103.

[430] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Hybrid cultures: Strategies for entering and leaving modernity.* Translated by Christopher L. Chiappari and Silvia L. López. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. p. 281. García Canclini reiterated his dissatisfaction with essentialist ideas on identities and with market-oriented ideologies.

[431] Ibid. p. 43. Modernisation with a 'z' has been kept as in the original.

This is how cultural policy became more relevant for the sociocultural transformations García Canclini was discussing from his early writings on the avant-garde arts, the popular arts and the economic development in Argentina in the late 1970s. He changed his focus from sociocultural processes during the 1970s to national development during the 1980s; he was inspired to write about policy for popular culture and then for 'hybrid cultures'[432] not only by the ethnic diversity and surroundings of Mexico but also by its political conditions. Rural areas and the Mexican ethnicities that sparked his early field research became less relevant than conducting academic activities about urban cultures (as he explained that 'urban expansion is one of the causes that intensified cultural hybridization'[433]). The topic of modernisation is presented throughout *Hybrid cultures* as the most important concern for cultural policy-makers and for García Canclini´s interpretation of Latin America´s cultural transformations. He ends *Hybrid cultures* by emphasising the role of the state and its ability to promote public interest. Instead of the argument about the avant-garde artistic exhibitions that occasionally supported the popular classes´ interests in *Folk art and society in Latin America*, García Canclini later favoured the state as the most appropriate source of collective decisions in Latin America to promote the interests of the majority of people so as to increase their participation (rather than their representation as previously) in national culture. García Canclini´s clear position about the state emerged precisely at the time his criticism of and dissatisfaction with the market´s ideologies became fierce. He considers other policy-makers[434] than the state during the 1990s.

At the same time that *Hybrid cultures* was being written, García Canclini started to advise policy-makers on the formulation of cultural policy in Latin America (as chapter 4 will indicate). Although this development takes place more frequently during the 1990s, he showed signs of being more critical of the policies that concentrated on

---

[432] Nearly two decades after the publication of *Hybrid cultures*, García Canclini still received invitations to talk about the notions of hybridisation and hybrid cultures. A more recent example of this is when he uttered the long Ponencia Magistral (which translates as the most important lecture) about *Current forms of hybridisation in the arts and in literature* (*Formas actuales de la hibridación en las artes y en la literatura*) in the context of the XII Congreso Estudiantil de Crítica e Investigación Literarias at UAM-Iztapalapa, Auditorio Sandoval Vallarta, on 28 June 2011. In spite of this, later he preferred to use interculturality (*interculturalidad*) in his publications and talks because this term addresses the complexity of cultural contacts, interactions and transformations in Latin America.

[433] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Hybrid cultures: Strategies for entering and leaving modernity*. Translated by Christopher L. Chiappari and Silvia L. López. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. p. 207.

[434] See further about this in the section 'From national development to the multiple policy-makers' of chapter 4.

the fine arts, historical buildings and anachronistic understandings of heritage. Furthermore, García Canclini studied Latin America´s processes that are not usually considered from the standpoint of a particular academic discipline. The next phase in his cultural policy development would become more complex because he started to understand the growth and the role of the cultural industries (especially the media) in national development and to associate consumption with citizenship (and with the notion of shared spaces). Additionally, his research focus turned to partnerships between actors in diverse backgrounds (the state and the market, the state and society, etc.), to the diagnosis that culture can form part of profitable transnational industries, and to other topics that would require new cultural policy perspectives.

3.2. Policies for the growth of Latin America´s cultural industries

3.2.1. Citizenship via consumption in Latin America´s development

Amid the growth of the cultural industries in Latin America, this section demonstrates how García Canclini´s thoughts on the relationship between consumption and citizenship in this region influenced his ideas on cultural policy during the 1990s. Yúdice affirmed, in the Translator´s introduction[435] to *Consumers and citizens: Multicultural conflicts of globalisation*[436] (*Consumidores y ciudadanos: Conflictos multiculturales de la globalización*, 1995), there was a shift during the 1990s in cultural studies´ practices in which García Canclini purposefully started to explore policies so as to promote Latin America´s cultural industries; García Canclini expected improvements in the region´s conditions that would allow it to engage more competitively in international commerce. At the time he wrote *Consumers and citizens*, García Canclini seemed to be more concerned with the United States´s overwhelming influence over Latin America. Soon he would acknowledge a decentralising trend in international relations and a rising number of multilateral projects between Latin America and the European Union (mostly with Spain[437]).

---

[435] YÚDICE. George. From hybridity to policy: For a purposeful cultural studies. Translator´s introduction to the book. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Consumers and citizens: Globalization and multicultural conflicts*. Translated by George Yúdice. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001. Yúdice wrote the Translator´s introduction to and he also translated *Consumers and citizens*, which was published in English in 2001.

[436] This book will be henceforth referred to only as *Consumers and citizens*.

[437] A detailed list of projects which concern my topic is given in the Appendix I. However, I recognise here the merit of projects funded in Latin America by institutions such as Spanish Agency for International Development Co-operation (Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el

At first, García Canclini was slightly concerned with this trend, although he saw Latin America´s relationship with Europe less negatively than its relationship with the United States. He stated that 'we Latin Americans presumably learned to be citizens through our relationship to Europe; our relationship to the United States will, however, reduce us to consumers.'[438] He posited that the European values of citizenship that help Latin America´s institutional development were suffocated by the influence of the United States. This is because issues of citizenship were prominent in García Canclini´s academic agenda in the mid-1990s as Latin America looked at the United States´s model of consumption and cultural industries. The ongoing concern with the cultural industries and regional integration in García Canclini´s work reveals a degree of resistance against the influence of the United States´s market over less developed countries, although powerful Latin American private corporations such as Televisa and Globo emerged to compete beyond national boundaries. Nevertheless, García Canclini´s anti-Americanism[439] does not mean that he rejected the United States´s cultural industries as totally harmful for Latin America´s development. He analysed the implications of hybridisation, modernisation and integration in Latin America while there was a change of political dependency from Western Europe to economic control from the United States. The United States has, for instance, disseminated its audiovisual industries and established trade agreements[440] with Latin American countries.

The above concern implies that cultural issues are inseparable from the economy, politics and other fields of action. Meanwhile, García Canclini approached

---

Desarrollo, AECID, Madrid), Organisation of Iberian American States for Education, Science and Culture (Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura, OEI, Madrid), and Telefonica Foundation (Fundación Telefónica, Madrid).

[438] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Consumers and citizens: Globalization and multicultural conflicts*. Translated by George Yúdice. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001. p. 4, Preface.

[439] In 1996, García Canclini's anti-American stance was highlighted in a lecture he gave at the House of the Americas (Casa de América, Madrid, Spain) where he criticised North Americanisation (*norteamericanización*) and the United States´s cultural domination. REFORMA. En Líneas. Cuestiona García Canclini la llamada 'norteamericanización'. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 24 May 1996. In 2003, he reiterated his discomfort with certain aspects of the United States by publishing the text 'Intercultural misunderstandings in the border Mexico-United States' ('Malentendidos interculturales en la frontera México-Estados Unidos') in José Luis García and Ascensión Barañano´s *Cultures in contact: Encounters and mismatches* (*Culturas en contacto: Encuentros y desencuentros*, Madrid: Secretaría General Técnica, pp. 111–128, 2003.), which was funded by the Technical General Secretariat, a Spanish institution belonging to Madrid´s Ministry of the Interior (Ministerio del Interior).

[440] The United States has established bilateral free trade agreements with Latin American countries such as Mexico, Chile, Colombia and Peru. These treaties result from the failure of the Free Trade Area of the Americas in 2005. Before 2005, the United States´s government proposed a continental integration based on free trade.

non-academic institutions more often to address culture as an object of public debate and policy-making.[441] His interest in Latin America´s international integration corroborates this. During 1990 and 1991, García Canclini and Gilberto Guevara Niebla, a Mexican expert in education, studied the possible long-term impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)[442] on Mexican culture and education. This activity led to the book *Education and culture in face of the Free Trade Agreement* (*La educación y la cultura ante el Tratado de Libre Comercio*, 1992), in which they served as editors. In this publication, García Canclini criticised policies that lead to privatisation and reduce state apparatuses by arguing that those policies 'tend to intensify the mercantile aspects of cultural goods'[443]. In the chapter 'The cultural industries' ('Las industrias culturales') from the same book, García Canclini evaluated the audiovisual and publishing industries in Mexico. These and a few other cultural industries are some of the main case studies which his publications, until early in the twenty-first century, would focus on.

However, García Canclini´s increasing interest in the cultural industries indicates another way of doing politics in Latin America in relation to his previous ideas on the liberation of the popular cultures. Adorno and Horkheimer, in their seminal book *Dialectic of enlightenment*[444] (1947), coined the term cultural industry by sharing a pessimistic view on the transformation of culture into a product like any other in the market. By viewing the cultural industries as an obstacle for people's emancipation, Adorno affirmed later that the cultural industries hinder 'the emancipation for which human beings are as ripe as the productive forces of the epoch permit.'[445] When García Canclini proposed cultural policy for the cultural industries, he neglected how 'culture – produced in a series, industrially, to the greatest number – is seen not as an instrument

---

[441] Between May and September 1990, García Canclini gave the lecture *Urban cultures: Knowledge and policies* (*Culturas urbanas: Conocimiento y políticas*) at the General Agency of Popular Cultures (Dirección General de Culturas Populares) of the Secretariat of Public Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública) in Mexico City. Information available at the link 'Semblanza' on García Canclini´s official website <http://nestorgarciacanclini.net>. Accessed on 27 January 2014.

[442] This trade agreement has operated since 1 January 1994 between Canada, the United States and Mexico.

[443] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Prehistoria económica y cultural del Tratado de Libre Comercio. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; GUEVARA NIEBLA, Gilberto (Eds.). *La educación y la cultura ante el Tratado de Libre Comercio*. Mexico City: Nueva Imagen, 1992. p. 12. TBM.

[444] ADORNO, Theodor; HORKHEIMER, Max. *Dialectic of enlightenment*. London: Allen Lane, 1973. The first edition of this book dates back from 1947.

[445] ADORNO, Theodor. Culture industry reconsidered. In: ADORNO, Theodor. *The culture industry: Selected essays on mass culture*. Edited and introduced by J. M. Bernstein. London and New York: Routledge, 1991. p. 106.

of free expression, criticism and knowledge, but as a product exchangeable by money and which must be consumed as anything else is consumed.'[446] García Canclini´s concern with the cultural industries emerged concurrently with French Minister Jack Lang´s re-drawing of cultural policy in France towards the 'reinforcement of the various direct and indirect funding mechanisms aimed at the "cultural industries" – that is, the sectors of cultural production operating largely or entirely on a commercial, profit-making basis.'[447] García Canclini´s perspective on the cultural industries shows that, in a way or another, he acquiesced to the capitalist system and started to imagine strategies for Latin America´s assimilation into it.

The book *Education and culture in face of the Free Trade Agreement* merges content from *Hybrid cultures* with that of *Consumers and citizens* at the same time that García Canclini became more interested in the political aspects of Latin America´s societies of hybrid forms. His reflections on the cultural and educational implications of the free trade agreement between Canada, the United States and Mexico would lead to an increasing concern with citizenship and other political issues. *Consumers and citizens* is a watershed in García Canclini´s work because he paid keen attention to the sociocultural transformations in the years preceding its publication and thus captured the emergence of a different 'cultural mode of doing politics'[448] which demands 'other kinds of cultural policies'[449]. He also recognised a 'shift from the people to civil society'[450] and a 'shift in the locations where citizenship is practiced'[451]; this happened in association with consumption and the growing power of transnational corporations to

---

[446] COELHO NETTO, José Teixeira. *O que é indústria cultural*. 35th Edition. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1993. pp. 6–7. TBM. Teixeira Coelho is a Brazilian expert in cultural policy and cultural issues.

[447] ELING, Kim. *The politics of cultural policy in France*. Basingstoke, England: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999. p. 8. [Emphasis original]. In this quotation, Kim Eling defines the cultural industries.

[448] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Consumers and citizens: Globalization and multicultural conflicts*. Translated by George Yúdice. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001. p. 28.

[449] Ibid. p. 28.

[450] Ibid. p. 28. García Canclini was thinking of how to link studies on cultural issues with certain advancements and transformations related to habits, laws and procedures in urban areas. Because he used to write on 'the popular classes', 'indigenous people' and 'artisans', many of them who resided in rural areas, now he is looking at the conceptual challenges that speaking of 'citizens' and of 'civil society' bring to researchers.

[451] Ibid. p. 28. Because García Canclini changes his analysis from rural to urban areas (although there can be citizens living anywhere in a country), he refers to the more recent accounts that the media (e.g. radio, television, Internet) give of society. By assuming that these phenomena are much more prevalent and up-to-date in cities, García Canclini understands that there are new environments of citizenship such as the radio polls with their listeners and the television coverage of facts in places of the city where a commuter would not normally go to. Citizenship is thus not only the awareness of having rights and duties, but also the level of interactions between people and how they have communicated and obtained information.

the detriment of the state. The growth of the cultural industries in Latin America and its free trade integration with other regions required alternative cultural policies for the changes in the way people know about their roles and responsibilities of being citizens. Thus he proposed research topics that associated consumption with citizenship, such as the question of who was now responsible for providing citizenship information, what rights people had and who represented their interests, and how citizens could claim political participation through the media.

García Canclini´s concern is that being a citizen means knowing the rights of being a consumer[452] instead of being familiar with the mechanisms of democratic political representation. This idea led to the creation of institutions such as the Foundation for the Protection and Defense of Consumers (Fundação de Proteção e Defesa do Consumidor, PROCON) in Brazil and the Office of the Federal Prosecutor for the Consumer (Procuraduría Federal del Consumidor, PROFECO) in Mexico. From 2005 to 2007[453], García Canclini was a member of PROFECO´s Advisory Council of Consumption (Consejo Consultivo del Consumo), where he conducted studies about audiovisual consumption and discussed topics related to the media with representatives of consumer organisations and other researchers. This approach to PROFECO as a consultant demonstrates that he was moving beyond theoretical debates on cultural policy[454].

García Canclini´s ideas on the relationship between consumption and citizenship soon developed into another publication. In his essay 'Cultural policies from the perspective of consumers and citizenship' ('Políticas culturales desde la perspectiva del consumidor y la ciudadanía'[455], 2000), he looked into how habits are formed in cultural consumption and how the media conduct surveys about this specific phase of sociocultural transformation in Latin America. Whereas one might interpret some of these modern habits as a mere change of venue for cultural consumption (that is, people now watch films and browse digital information on their domestic electronic screens),

---

[452] Chapter 1 mentioned the promotion of consumption during the Workers´ Party´s Presidency in Brazil.

[453] Information available at <http://www.profeco.gob.mx/educ_div/IC05-07.pdf>. Accessed on 12 September 2013.

[454] Chapter 4 examines many cases of García Canclini´s activities with non-academic institutions in Latin America.

[455] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturales desde la perspectiva del consumidor y la ciudadanía. In: JASSO, Rosa Martha (Ed.). *Cultura y desarrollo: Una visión plural*. Mexico City: Instituto de Cultura de la Ciudad de México, 2000. Statistics were valuable for the research that led to his ideas in this essay.

García Canclini realised that something more revealing in their lifestyles was happening in these indoor habits that changed the relationship between consuming (which he defines as the 'set of sociocultural processes in which the appropriation of goods and messages takes place'[456]) and being citizens. This explains why he advocated during the 1990s the need to investigate the effects of cultural consumption on citizenship; by studying these aspects in view of the growth of the cultural industries, he hoped that institutions in charge of cultural policy would be able to create another model of society where people are aware of their rights and duties.

In *Consumers and citizens*, García Canclini noted that people were changing their places of meeting and interaction, as the new habits of watching movies demonstrated.[457] As he observed such changes of habits and of the spaces where people interact, he proposed a way of thinking about citizenship. Therefore, he was trying to understand how the media have become the new arenas of political action[458], which happens less through local community groups, political parties and unions. This displacement prompted him to reconsider the role of the state in Latin America, which had shrunk in favour of the market and of the ideologies of privatisation. This indicates that, in the context of 'transference of political staging to the electronic media'[459] in which there is 'theatrical action'[460], García Canclini decisively reinforced his opinion of the state. For him, 'the goal is not to reinstal the proprietary state, but to rethink the role

---

[456] Ibid. p. 76. TBM.

[457] One of such changes in habits regards viewers´ preference to rent films from videoclubs and watch them at home. He concluded this after doing extensive research. In 1994, García Canclini co-ordinated a research project about cinema and television in Mexico, as requested by the Instituto Mexicano de Cinematografía (IMCINE), and had the support of documents, statistics and field work from Mexico City, Guadalajara, Merida and Tijuana. This research project culminated in the book *The new spectators: Cinema, television and video in Mexico* (*Los nuevos espectadores: Cine, televisión y video en México*, 1994), in which he worked as editor. Available at the link 'Semblanza' on García Canclini´s official website <http://nestorgarciacanclini.net>. Accessed on 16 June 2012.

[458] See SILVA, Josimar Gonçalves da. A mídia na construção e destruição da imagem: O caso Collor de Melo. **Revista Senso Comum**, Goiânia, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais-UFG, n. 2, p. 88–106, 2012. This article examines the circumstances in which Fernando Collor de Melo, who was an unknown political figure in Brazilian public life, emerged rapidly as President by the force of the media and was later impeached by these same means. The media became a new space for people´s participation in politics and of important political deliberations.

[459] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Consumers and citizens: Globalization and multicultural conflicts*. Translated by George Yúdice. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001. p. 117. The media have assumed political functions (e.g. being influential during elections) that had been almost exclusive attributes of other institutions (e.g. political parties).

[460] Ibid. p. 117. The terms 'staging' and 'theatrical action' refer to representations of cultural processes.

of the state as an arbiter or guardian against subordinating collective needs for information, recreation, and innovation to the profit motive'[461].

Nonetheless, state policies have not followed such changes in political action. For instance, cultural policy in Latin America disregards the media, which, at least since the 1960s, have defined 'new sites of consumption where the aesthetic foundations of citizenship take shape'[462]. In this account, Yúdice found in García Canclini someone who offered a proposal for Latin America towards a 'regional federalism'[463] that eschews the North American model of free trade and opposes the paternalist state. They both agree that the political notions of citizenship, democracy and public space have yet to be re-thought of in terms of global processes, habits of consumption, the cultural industries and collaboration among diverse actors. Thus, they tried to extinguish the negative connotation of the term consumption so as not to confuse it with consumerism. Yúdice also favoured the promotion of 'citizenship actions'[464] beyond the academic circles in which scholars commonly exert their activities; in this matter, he proposed that they should speak to electronic and printed media, governmental and foreign policy forums[465]. Besides linking consumption with citizenship, García Canclini promoted Latin America´s sociocultural transformations within the frame of international regional integration.

Whereas this section has shown that García Canclini´s ideas expanded to discuss Latin America´s cultural industries on a transnational scale, international relations are, in the next section, of intrinsic interest. It will establish a relationship between the emergence of Latin America´s cultural spaces (which will be understood from the point of view of history and as a political proposal) and the growth of its national and international cultural industries.

3.2.2. Policies for the promotion of Latin America´s cultural spaces

The national and international cultural industries grew considerably in Latin America during the 1990s and such growth highlighted the need to reconsider the role of certain

---

[461] Ibid. p. 133.

[462] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Consumers and citizens: Globalization and multicultural conflicts.* Translated by George Yúdice. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001. p. 151.

[463] YÚDICE, George. Civil society, consumption, and governmentality in an age of global restructuring. An introduction. **Social Text**, Durham, Duke University Press, v. 14, n. 4, pp. 1–25, Winter 1995. p. 18.

[464] Ibid. p. 22.

[465] Ibid. p. 22.

policy-makers (especially the state and the media´s oligopolies) and that of cultural policy. García Canclini´s cultural policy ideas focused, at this point, on the examination of Latin America´s international exchange of its cultural and media industries. In this context, this section shows how García Canclini´s ideas about cultural policy point to the emergence of cultural spaces in Latin America as it situates itself within a context of world competition in the cultural industries. He expressed his concern in *Why legislate for the cultural industries? (¿Por qué legislar sobre industrias culturales?*, 2001) that the growth of Latin America´s cultural industries was being generated mostly by profitable transnational enterprises rather than policy-makers that promote public interest at the national level.[466] Following this dissatisfaction, he was aware that an increase in consumption together with a decrease in production results in *unequal partners*[467] in commercial exchanges between Latin America and more industrialised countries. Therefore, one of the essential messages in his article *Why legislate for the cultural industries* and in his book *Latin Americans seeking a place in this century* (*Latinoamericanos buscando lugar en este siglo*, 2002) is that it is not enough to produce culture extensively because such an increase in its production would only be successful if it is followed by better circulation and consumption of its contents. A film, for instance, can be produced massively, but the prosperity of the film industry depends on the distribution of such films and on people who watch them. As an example of this lack of balance, there has been a reduction in the number and profits of national industries in Brazil during the 2000s while its federal government fostered policies for the consumption of commodities through bank loans and payment in instalments.[468] During the 1990s, transnationalisation as a prerequisite for the survival of Latin America´s cultural industries in the global era was almost a consensual idea for analysts.[469]

---

[466] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. ¿Por qué legislar sobre industrias culturales?. **Nueva Sociedad**, Caracas, n. 175, September–October 2001.

[467] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Unequal partners. **The UNESCO Courier**, Paris, Culture and development: A life worth living, September 1996.

[468] INSTITUTO Teotônio Vilela. Enfraquecimento da indústria torna Brasil menor. **Brasil Real – Cartas de Conjuntura ITV**, Brasília, n. 81, August 2011. See, in this article, a point of view criticising the deindustrialisation of Brazilian economy and the encouragement of consumption by the Workers´ Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores).

[469] It is possible to draw references of articles from authors who wrote about the transnationalisation of Latin America´s cultural industries such as George Yúdice (*The reconfiguration of cultural policies and cultural markets in the 1990s and in the twenty-first century in Latin America*, 2001), Jesús Martín-Barbero (*The transformations of the cultural map: A vision from Latin America*, 1999) and Renato Ortiz (*Globalisation, modernity and culture*, n.d.).

García Canclini was concerned in his article *Cultural policy options in the context of globalisation* (*Opciones de políticas culturales en el marco de la globalización*, 1998) that 'further commerce within the countries of Latin America and between these and metropolises from other regions is promoted while Latin America produces fewer books, films and compact discs.'[470] Despite this decline in production, he does not advocate protectionist measures for developing countries; instead, he proposes that the re-formulation of their policies should situate their cultural industries more competitively in globalisation. The economy of culture is once again an important aspect in García Canclini´s conception of how national development should be undertaken in Latin America. I understand that, at this point, national development prevailed over the discourse of Latin America´s integration, that is, each country of the region was improving its own conditions for transnationalisation. Within this discussion of the cultural industries and of the link between culture and economy, García Canclini gave special attention to Latin American cultural space in chapter 4 ('Economy and culture: The Latin American common space') of *Latin Americans seeking a place in this century*.[471] His main argument at the beginning of the twenty-first century is that Latin Americans should better the position of their cultural industries in the world because they share things such as languages and colonial histories[472]. Therefore, Latin America´s cultural spaces have both historical aspects and idealistic motives.

There are similarities between the Latin American cultural spaces and the bloc of the Portuguese-speaking countries. I refer to the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*[473]). This organisation has been created to promote many aspects of development. One is that its member-countries make airport procedures for Portuguese-speaking travellers more efficient and faster. It

---

[470] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Opciones de políticas culturales en el marco de la globalización. In: UNESCO. *Informe Mundial sobre la Cultura*. Paris: UNESCO, 1998. p. 249. TBM.

[471] García Canclini mentioned the notion of Latin American cultural space for the first time in his book *The cultural industries in the Latin American integration* (*Las industrias culturales en la integración latinoamericana*, 1999) and he discussed this idea again in *Imagined globalization* and in *Latin Americans seeking a place in this century*.

[472] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Latinoamericanos buscando lugar en este siglo*. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2002. At the beginning of the section 'The current construction of the Latin American people' on pages 68 and 69, García Canclini described the main roots of their cultural formation and gave the main recent influences in their identities.

[473] This organisation exists formally since July 1996 and includes the following countries with more than 230 million people: Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, São Tomé and Príncipe, East Timor, and more recently Equatorial Guinea has joined the group. The historical information about this organisation given on its website emphasises that its member-countries do not only share a language, but also expectations and visions regarding democracy, development and peace in international relations. Available at <http://www.cplp.org/id-2752.aspx>. Accessed on 23 January 2015.

is a linguistic space of Portuguese-speaking countries that stretches the entire globe and reaches out to countries in Africa and Asia. Such space, which was created with the consent of Portugal's former colonies, reinforces the relevance of Portuguese language in the world. If the intention of such blocs (I refer to the Latin American cultural space and to the Community of Portuguese Language Countries) was to create a bloc against others (e.g. against the francophone countries), it would be valid to consider that, for the United States political scientist Samuel Huntington[474] and since the early 1990s, the evolution and expansion of civilisations with stronger identities would result in conflicting world politics. In his short analysis of Latin America, Huntington notes that language generates 'subcivilizational differences'[475] in an alternative way to the proposal of cultural spaces, that could lead to the disintegration of the region. Soon, there would be a risk that 'Latin American civilization could merge into and become one subvariant of a three-pronged Western civilization'[476]. He gives the example of the large, populated and wealthy Brazil which, if its citizens spoke Spanish instead of Portuguese, would very likely possess all the conditions to become Latin America's leader. The similarities between the Portuguese and Spanish languages constitute, from the perspective of a cultural space, a basis for integration. The fact that Portuguese is a different language and is only spoken in one Latin American country is, for Huntington, reason for disintegration at the level of a civilisation. The first (cultural space) is a constructive space while the second (Huntington's idea of civilisation) is a conflicting space; the first signifies a space of sharing while the second implies a space of struggle; finally, the first conciliates differences while the second transforms them into a motive for war. Nevertheless, I do not think that a shared language (as the proposal of Latin American cultural spaces envisages) means the same civilisation (in the way that Huntington proposes). There are considerable differences, for instance, in the histories of the Portuguese-language countries and of how they have been formed that allow me to trace similar colonial matrices leading to diverse civilisations.

---

[474] HUNTINGTON, Samuel P. *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. London: The Free Press, 2002. Before he developed his ideas into this book, Huntington wrote the article *The clash of civilizations*, which was first published in 1993 and raised many debates in international relations. Cultural space and civilisation are two different concepts that imply cohesion, integration and politics. Because cultural space has deserved further investigation in this section, I note that Huntington's idea of civilisation seems to be even broader than that of cultural space insofar as he subsumes 'culture and cultural identities, which at the broadest level are civilization identities' (p. 20), into civilisations. Later on, he reiterates that 'civilizations have provided the broadest identifications for people' (p. 40).

[475] Ibid. p. 136.

[476] Ibid. p. 136.

It is actually in the essay 'Cultural policies: From the national identities to the Latin American space' ('Políticas culturales: De las identidades nacionales al espacio latinoamericano'), which García Canclini wrote in the late 1990s, that he links national development on an international scale and the notion of Latin America as an integrated cultural region. Proposals of cultural policy this time focused on Latin America´s integration and between this and other regions. This idea was further developed in the book *Latin Americans seeking a place in this century*, which shows a conceptual development from spaces of integration that Latin America can form for the interpretation of its identities[477]. In both cases, spaces and identities are collectively imagined as objects of policy. The issues of cultural spaces, identities, citizenship, integration, the cultural industries, the market, the media and public interest became paramount in this phase of his cultural policies during which he recognised that transnational policy-makers (e.g. some private companies of Internet businesses and the media) handle certain issues more effectively than the state. García Canclini admitted that 'corporate intervention and transnationalisation are happening more in mass communication and in computing (that is, even earlier than privatisations) than in heritage and the elite arts, which are a few that the state considers to be of its competence.'[478] García Canclini analyses processes of the aforementioned cultural phenomena to propose cultural policy for Latin America during the 1990s.

Two issues should be considered within this analysis of cultural policy: one is about who the policy-makers involved in these processes are and the other is where these processes culminate. García Canclini consequently focused his analysis on integrations promoted by policy-makers other than those from the state. These spaces emerge mostly from commercial integration agreements based on shared cultural backgrounds and on the role of the media. Due to the difficulty in reaching a consensus between Latin America´s governments for a common political purpose, the discourse of Latin American cultural spaces at least legitimises an increase of trade exchange. For the first time in his work, García Canclini mentioned an idea of Latin American cultural spaces in which there is 'a more or less common history in Latin America which allows

---

[477] For a discussion of Latin America´s identities in globalisation, see the next section.

[478] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturales: De las identidades nacionales al espacio latinoamericano. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; MONETA, Carlos Juan (Eds.). *Las industrias culturales en la integración latinoamericana*. Buenos Aires: Eudeba, SELA, 1999. pp. 34. TBM.

us to speak of a Latin American cultural space in which multiple identities co-exist'[479]. He was broadly thinking of the way common features of 'the indigenous, the afro-American, the European, the *latinidad*, the *tropicalidad*, etc., sometimes converge and in other cases distance from each other'[480].

Soon the enthusiasm about interpreting Latin America´s modernities through its cultural spaces became greater for García Canclini and other scholars as well. Garretón worked as editor of the book *The Latin American cultural space: Bases for a cultural policy of integration* (*El espacio cultural latinoamericano: Bases para una política cultural de integración*, 2003), in which a group of scholars (including García Canclini) proposed that Latin American countries should share their cultural heritage and rival other relative spaces such as the Arab and the European[481]. The key idea in this book is that 'the world, in this century, will not constitute itself around the geo-political nor the geo-economic, but mostly around its geo-cultural'[482] aspects. The antecedent of this argument is that, in Garretón´s book *The submerged face of the iceberg* (*La faz sumergida del iceberg*, 1994), he had situated global processes historically because the 'political worlds'[483] turn into 'geo-economic worlds'[484] and later into 'geo-cultural worlds'[485]. As a result, the notion of space solely as a geographical territory[486] does not

---

[479] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturales: De las identidades nacionales al espacio latinoamericano. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; MONETA, Carlos Juan (Eds.). *Las industrias culturales en la integración latinoamericana*. Buenos Aires: Eudeba, SELA, 1999. pp. 42–43. TBM.

[480] Ibid. p. 43. TBM. I kept the original words *latinidad* and *tropicalidad* because of the lack of a suitable translation to English.

[481] SASSATELLI, Monica. *Becoming Europeans: Cultural identity and cultural policies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. For the sociologist Monica Sassatelli, there is 'an underlying but consistent attempt to build a European cultural space in terms of a profound, if ill-defined, new sociocultural reality' (p. 57). In chapter 2 ('European cultural policies'), she is in search of a coherent European identity for a European cultural space.

[482] GARRETÓN, Manuel Antonio (Ed.). *El espacio cultural latinoamericano: Bases para una política cultural de integración*. Santiago, Chile: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003. (With the co-authorship of Jesús Martín-Barbero, Marcelo Cavarozzi, Néstor García Canclini, Guadalupe Ruiz-Giménez, Rodolfo Stavenhagen). p. 14. TBM.

[483] GARRETÓN, Manuel Antonio. *La faz sumergida del iceberg: Estudios sobre la transformación cultural*. Santiago, Chile: Edición CESOC, LOM Ediciones, 1994. p. 7. TBM.

[484] Ibid. p. 7. TBM.

[485] Ibid. p. 7. TBM.

[486] BRENNER, Neil. Beyond State-Centrism? Space, territoriality, and geographical scale in globalization studies. **Theory and Society**, v. 28, pp. 39–78, 1999. The concept of space is somewhat controversial, as chapter 1 showed by quoting Milton Santos´s geographical ideas. More pertinent to my approach in chapter 3 is that of Neil Brenner, a Professor of urban theory. He seeks historical elements (within studies about globalisation and space) that shape territoriality beyond the state. Thus his notion of space transcends the geographical limits which are constituted by the state. From his own words, he supports 'the need for new modes of analysis that do not naturalize state territoriality and its associated, Cartesian image of space as a static, bounded block.' (p. 40)

provide a complete account of the de-territorialisation of identities, that is, of how these become susceptible to being applied in different contexts. The authors who wrote *The Latin American cultural space* added, because they focused on the construction of Latin American cultural spaces, that cultural policy-making should be conditioned to these territorial and non-territorial aspects which refer to 'a simultaneously virtual and real, material and intangible, territorial and extra-territorial process'[487]. The pivotal aspect of cultural spaces, from this perspective, is a notion of space that is built on common historical processes which 'include the physical-territorial, the non-territorial and also virtual communication'[488]. For this reason, the proposal for Latin American cultural spaces is a different way of addressing old-fashioned models of its integration; this time, the instrument for such a proposal is cultural policy.

In the same vein, Spanish academics and policy-makers avoided marginalisation from the Latin American cultural spaces´ strategic area by suggesting that the Iberian peninsula should be included in the share of histories and values in Iberian American cultural spaces. Some European countries were investing heavily in Latin America; Spain was one of the most active of these, especially in its cultural activities and industries. A few examples are the policies of the Organisation of Iberian American States for Education, Science and Culture (OEI), Casa de España (as it exists in Buenos Aires and Mexico City), Ibermedia Programme (that promotes co-operation in the film industries), Telefónica Foundation and the diverse seminars that invite participants from all over Latin America to discuss Iberian American cultural spaces. A dilemma remains, however, over whether Iberian American cultural spaces are an ideology of co-operation[489] between Iberian countries (Portugal and Spain) and Latin America or of political recovery. The latter can be interpreted as an attempt to reduce other countries´ influence in Latin America. García Canclini does not support a perspective of self-contained Latin American cultural spaces, which for him stretches to wider spaces that also include its relationship with the United States and Europe. He claimed that the

---

[487] GARRETÓN, Manuel Antonio (Ed.). *El espacio cultural latinoamericano: Bases para una política cultural de integración.* Santiago, Chile: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003. (With the co-authorship of Jesús Martín-Barbero, Marcelo Cavarozzi, Néstor García Canclini, Guadalupe Ruiz-Giménez, Rodolfo Stavenhagen). p. 309. TBM.

[488] Ibid. p. 35. TBM.

[489] At the end of 2002, García Canclini made a few remarks for the newspaper Reforma about his book *Iberian America 2002* (*Iberoamérica 2002*) such as why Latin America should strengthen its relationship with Europe. Sources: 1) ALVAREZ, Carmen. Ven en la cultura motor de desarrollo. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 12 December 2002. And 2) RUBIO, Carlos. Ven gran desinterés en industria cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 17 February 2003.

common space of the Latin Americans should also be thought of 'as a *Euro-American space* and as an *inter-American space*'[490].

In the book *Cultures from Iberian America: Diagnoses and proposals for their cultural development*[491] (*Culturas da Ibero-América: Diagnósticos e propostas para seu desenvolvimento cultural*, 2003), funded by OEI, García Canclini argues that cultural spaces widen and comprise Spain, Portugal and Latin American migrants in many parts of Europe and the United States. García Canclini's introduction to *Cultures from Iberian America* questions whether a shared development is possible in Iberian American cultural spaces and in what ways. He supports this possibility within a historical and non-essentialist perspective of a multicultural integration. In fact, the idea of these common spaces was taken more seriously by García Canclini at the beginning of the twenty-first century as he felt that Latin America´s development would grow through the international exchange of its cultural industries. The rhetoric of integration that scholars, bureaucrats and politicians employ initially suggests a change of images and stereotypes of Latin American countries to consolidate a space of reciprocal knowledge. For García Canclini, Spain benefited from Iberoamericanismo by investing in Latin America´s banking, oil, communication and publishing houses. A more recent event on 16 April 2012 that challenges this proposal, however, was the nationalisation of Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales (YPF), which had been controlled by the Spanish company Repsol since 1999 in Argentina.[492] This event raised Latin Americans´ suspicion of Iberoamericanismo in Latin America´s spaces because such Spanish interests (e.g. mostly investments and profits) do not necessarily converge with those from Latin Americans (e.g. creating a common space of cultural exchange and migrations). By proposing these spaces, García Canclini reinforces his ideas that the economic conditions of a country influence its cultural issues[493] and cultural policy. In

---

[490] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Imagined globalization*. Translated by George Yúdice. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014. p. 74. [Emphasis original]. He was thinking, for instance, of inter-continental migrations and the international range of Latin America´s cultural industries.

[491] This book will be henceforth referred to only as *Cultures from Iberian America*.

[492] PEREGIL, Francisco. Argentina expropia a Repsol su filial YPF. **El País**, Madrid, 17 April 2012. Available at <http://economia.elpais.com/economia/2012/04/16/actualidad/1334590509_507539.html>. Accessed on 26 August 2013.

[493] Chapter 2 raised this idea regarding Argentina´s economic development and the promotion of its avant-garde artists during the 1960s and 1970s. Early in chapter 3, it has also been demonstrated that Mexico´s economic development during the 1980s provoked an urban expansion that led to changes in cultural habits.

spite of this, he does 'not propose that culture can solve the difficulties which the economy cannot cope with'[494].

Although a prosperous economy is more likely than any other to encourage cultural policy, this quotation implies that culture is not a panacea for all problems; besides, it needs to be addressed as something much wider than a means for the economy. Technological improvements of the cultural industries usually support such broad understanding of culture. The Peruvian sociologist and journalist Rafael Roncagliolo is chiefly concerned with the technological intermediaries (e.g. cable or aerial television, phone lines) through which cultural spaces are created, named and transformed in Latin America. Roncagliolo argued that these spaces should be built with more democracy and participation, but added that 'technologies are only the material and instrumental basis of communication'[495].

In agreement with García Canclini´s ideas, Martín-Barbero´s major contribution to the concept of Latin American cultural spaces is that they cannot neglect the media and audiovisual industries because these have facilitated a variety of political interactions[496]; in other words, Martín-Barbero is looking at how the cultural industries mediate political discourses and actions instead of raising citizens´ political consciousness in Latin America.[497] Consequently, cultural policy necessarily involves processes of communication and their new conditions in Latin America, although the media are not a new topic in the academic debate about cultural identity. Alternatively, the United States political scientist Benedict Anderson[498] states, in his book *Imagined communities*, that nationalisms have been forged within belligerent, capitalist and emotional conditions in Europe. However, the feeling of belonging to a nation can be an obstacle to recognising habits and other things that different nations share in the notion

---

[494] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Ibero-América 2002: Propostas para o desenvolvimento cultural. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Culturas da Ibero-América: Diagnósticos e propostas para seu desenvolvimento cultural*. Translated from Spanish to Portuguese by Ana Venite. São Paulo: Moderna, 2003. p. 391. TBM.

[495] RONCAGLIOLO, Rafael. *Problemas de la integración cultural: América Latina*. Buenos Aires: Grupo Editorial Norma, 2003. p. 58, chapter 2 ('The cultural spaces and their *onomástica*'). TBM.

[496] MARTÍN-BARBERO, Jesús. Medios y culturas en el espacio latinoamericano. **Iberoamericana: América Latina – España – Portugal**, Madrid, v. 2, n. 6, pp. 89–106, June 2002. p. 89.

[497] Ibid. p. 94.

[498] In his own terms, Benedict Anderson explains that a *community* exists because, 'regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship' (p. 7). And it is *imagined* because 'the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.' (p. 6). ANDERSON, Benedict. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. 2nd Edition. London and New York: Verso, 1991.

of Latin America's cultural spaces. Such an international space in which its citizens combine things they have in common into values for agreement, interaction and mutual development proposes an enlargement of the idea of nation and nationality, contrary to the sentiments that nationalisms encourage in the world. In the context of growth of the cultural industries, García Canclini committed to re-evaluating integration.

García Canclini´s research interests during the second half of the 1990s concerned cultural policies that frame regional integration processes – in Latin America and between Latin America and other regions – and the role of international institutions. As an example of this, between 1997 and 1998, the Latin American and Caribbean Economic System (Sistema Económico Latinoamericano y del Caribe, SELA), which is an international organisation headquartered in Venezuela, invited him to co-ordinate a research activity about the cultural industries in Latin America (but looking at many of its countries).[499] Meanwhile, García Canclini's advisory activities in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) resulted in the 1998[500] and 2000[501] World Culture Reports, which were intended to be a biennial compilation of articles written by renowned specialists in culture from all over the world in an attempt to formulate a universalist view of culture and cultural policy. In fact, globalisation would soon cause an impact in his evaluation of Latin America´s integration.

3.3. The impact of globalisation in the spaces of Latin America

3.3.1. Latin American identities in the perceptions of globalisation

This section examines how topics related to globalisation, identities and cultural intersections in Latin America (and in its international relations) influenced García Canclini´s cultural policy ideas. In the book *Imagined globalization*[502] (*La globalización*

---

[499] García Canclini describes this activity in his online extensive curriculum vitae. Information available at <http://nestorgarciacanclini.net/index.php/curriculum-vitae-extenso>. Accessed on 3 February 2013.

[500] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Opciones de políticas culturales en el marco de la globalización. In: UNESCO. *Informe Mundial sobre la Cultura*. Paris: UNESCO, 1998. He wrote this essay for UNESCO´s 1998 World Culture Report. According to García Canclini, cultural policy should transcend national boundaries and promote new forms of co-operation. Also, there is insufficient information about the development of the cultural sector in Latin American countries and this explains the lack or the anachronism of policies regarding its regulation.

[501] García Canclini and Lourdes Arizpe are the two Mexican advisors who were given special acknowledgements for their participation in the Scientific Committee which guided the 2000 World Culture Report. See UNESCO. *World Culture Report: Cultural diversity, conflict and pluralism*, Paris, Acknowledgements (Special thanks to), 2000.

[502] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Imagined globalization*. Translated by George Yúdice. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014.

imaginada, 1999), García Canclini applies his interpretation of culture and cultural policy to the large-scale processes of globalisation. However, he was still concerned with sociocultural processes at the end of the 1990s because at this point he looks into the contradictions of Latin America´s modernisation and how its identities are moulded. While studying globalisation, García Canclini searches for an explanation of why the option for self-sufficient national economies is not an ideal solution in this deindustrialised region. In *Imagined globalization*, he proposes cultural policies that manage imaginary aspects in cities (that is, in relation to the ideas that inhabitants have of the cities in which they reside). Thus he clarifies: 'Every cultural policy is a policy that works with imaginaries that make us believe we are alike.'[503] Although García Canclini and Anderson[504] (certain ideas of nation and nationalism of this author have been discussed two paragraphs earlier) emphasise different objects (the former looks at globalisation while the latter does it with community), it is interesting to note that they level their analyses at ideas and imaginations of how certain concepts and processes emerge and develop. It can be deduced from their work that people experience the effects of globalisation and of communities (that create nations and nationalisms), but they also imagine their conditions, possibilities and limits.

Imagined globalization is a set of García Canclini´s essays which propose that Latin America should integrate into global cultural and economic exchanges of identities and commodities. García Canclini argues in *Imagined globalization* that globalisation generates inequalities in spite of its multiple paths. To paraphrase his terminology, globalisation is *circular*[505] for some yet it is *tangential*[506] for others. The former category refers to the experience of entrepreneurs, business people, financiers and some politicians; the latter is represented by the majority of people who do not possess the same privileges of the first group and therefore obtain superficial benefits from global processes. One key idea in García Canclini´s book is that the global does not mean opposition to the local but the encounter, interaction and conflict of cultures in international relations. Instead of the view that globalisation dissipates the national and

---

[503] Ibid. p. 77.

[504] ANDERSON, Benedict. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* 2nd Edition. London and New York: Verso, 1991.

[505] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Imagined globalization.* Translated by George Yúdice. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014. The words *circular* and *tangential* were taken from p. xxxix of García Canclini´s introduction ('Culture and politics in the imaginaries of globalization'). [Emphasis original].

[506] Ibid. p. xxxix. [Emphasis original].

diminishes the size of the state, he proposed that Latin America was situated between the 'promises of global cosmopolitanism and the loss of the national projects'[507]. Globalisation sparked his interest in the interaction between Latin America, the United States and Europe via industries of culture and communication.[508]

Consequently, understanding globalisation requires considering elements other than national identities and physical borders. García Canclini employed narratives and metaphors of globalisation to explain, for example, the effect of the Americanisation of Latin America and the reverse Latinisation of the United States. Yet, this conception of global processes as encounters and exchanges has political implications. While García Canclini was concerned with Latin America´s connection with Europe in *Consumers and citizens* in terms of citizenship, this time he became interested in Latin America´s relationship with the United States through the media and their exchange of the cultural industries. García Canclini reflected on citizenship via consumption in *Consumers and citizens*, whereas in *Imagined globalization* he regretted that millions of Latin American migrants work illegally in the United States and cannot enjoy their rights until they get their proper documents.

In *Imagined globalization*, García Canclini is committed to reflecting on policies of identity for Latin America where its local and national cultures globalise (e.g. how Latin American stereotypes appear to the world, how much its cultural industries circulate). Studying identities in globalisation became more important for him than citizenship via consumption insofar as, 'for millions of people today, identity is an international coproduction'[509]. Consequently, international organisations have played an important role in the management of the cultural and economic exchanges that globalisation has implied. Although far from being a negative process, globalisation entails for García Canclini the need to create policies for interculturality so as to improve the conditions that link Latin America to other regions of the world. This is

---

[507] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Reconstruir políticas de inclusão na América Latina. In: UNESCO. *Políticas culturais para o desenvolvimento: Uma base de dados para a cultura*. Brasília: UNESCO Brasil, 2003. p. 28. TBM.

[508] The main reason García Canclini gave further attention to cultural policy in *Imagined globalization* – he dedicated Part III ('Policies for interculturality') to this topic – in relation to his first books is that the state was neglecting strategic sectors of development in Latin America such as its cultural industries and the media, as the previous part ('Policies for the growth of Latin America´s cultural industries') of this chapter has shown.

[509] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Imagined globalization*. Translated by George Yúdice. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014. p. 96.

why he does not believe that Latin America´s national development faces only two contrasting options: globalisation or the defence of identity[510].

In fact, not every culture has globalised and become accessible to a wider audience of the cultural industries that eventually transform local and national identities into 'international-popular culture'[511] (employing here Brazilian sociologist Renato Ortiz´s notion). García Canclini seems to be aware of this restriction no matter how inclusive his policies for interculturality are, although many of these have been directed not at affirming ethnic or local cultures but at fostering their global interactions. The engagement of local cultures through the globalised cultural industries occurs with contradictions and displacements such as the efforts in translating discourses of multiculturality[512] into something more complex termed interculturality[513].

García Canclini argued that 'interculturality is the most insightful object of study and is also the most questioning of the ethnocentric or disciplinary pseudo-certainties'[514] in globalisation. In addition to one of the most important shifts in García Canclini´s perspective referred to earlier as his epistemological turn from philosophy to anthropology, he proposes in *Different, unequal and disconnected people: Maps of interculturality*[515] (*Diferentes, desiguales y desconectados: Mapas de la interculturalidad*, 2004) another disciplinary approach to anthropology whereby 'the efforts to redefine anthropology go through a theoretical-practical review of the notions of otherness, difference, inequality, disconnection and, in short, the concept of

---

[510] Ibid. p. 28.

[511] ORTIZ, Renato. *Mundialização e cultura*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1994. Ortiz sustains the concept of 'international-popular culture' in chapter 4 ('Uma cultura internacional-popular'). TBM.

[512] MARTÍN-BARBERO, Jesús; OCHOA GAUTIER, Ana María. Políticas de multiculturalidad y desubicaciones de lo popular. In: MATO, Daniel (Ed.). *Cultura, política y sociedad: Perspectivas latinoamericanas*. Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2005. Martín-Barbero and Ochoa Gautier explain the idea of multiculturality as 'the configuration of societies in which the dynamics of the economy and the world-culture mobilise not only the heterogeneity of the groups and its adequacy to the pressures of the global, but also the coexistence inside the same society of very diverse codes and narratives.' (Electronic version, section 'The return of the cultural issue', para. 6.). TBM.

[513] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. De la diversidad a la interculturalidad. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Conflictos interculturales*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2011. García Canclini compares the uses of *multiculturalidad* and *interculturalidad* in this way: 'Both terms imply two modes of production of the social: *multiculturalidad* supposes acceptance of the heterogeneous; *interculturalidad* implies that the different meet in the same world and should live together in relationships of negotiation, conflict and reciprocal lendings.' (p. 106.). TBM. [Emphasis original].

[514] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Diferentes, desiguais e desconectados: Mapas da interculturalidade*. Translation from Spanish to Portuguese by Luiz Sérgio Henriques. Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ, 2005. p. 128. TBM. García Canclini calls 'disciplinary pseudo-certainties' certain scientific axioms which are vulnerable to being changed.

[515] This book will be henceforth referred to only as *Different, unequal and disconnected people*.

interculturality'[516]. In fact, he previously defended the value of field research in the early 1980s when he published *Transforming modernity* whereas he questioned the limits of this research method during the 2000s by stating that 'empirical proof is insufficient to clarify theoretical uncertainties'[517]. García Canclini found in intercultural relationships an antidote to the political conflicts that alleviate the condition of being *different, unequal and disconnected people*[518]. Furthermore, intercultural relations indicated to him a recent phase of hybridisation and modernisation because 'processes of interculturality started to be recognised in economic systems, in the globalised businesses, in the media and in the international political relations'[519]. Consequently, a cultural policy which considers the transition from a context of diversity and inequality to that of cultural intersections 'makes us consider that interculturality today requires policies for living together, citizenship and human rights on a transnational scale, policies which are capable of managing the conflicts, the economic and symbolic remittances which go from one country to another.'[520] García Canclini´s research topics range from processes such as heritage, hybridisation and modernisation in the late 1980s to his criticism of the essence of identities and to global cultural intersections in the late 1990s.

García Canclini´s book *Imagined globalization* attempts to demystify globalisation and capture its specificities in Latin America while the main hypothesis of his book *Latin Americans seeking a place in this century* is that Latin Americans globalise as 'cultural producers, migrants and debtors'[521]. From one set of essays to another, he shows how processes of globalisation lead to the re-formulation of national and regional identities. Yet the main concern of *Latin Americans seeking a place in this century* is to overcome monolithic views of Latin American identities to discuss the movement and flexibility of the elements which concern Latin America. Such a

---

[516] Ibid. p. 142. TBM.

[517] Ibid. p. 142. TBM. García Canclini indicates changes in anthropologists´ work methods.

[518] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Diferentes, desiguais e desconectados: Mapas da interculturalidade*. Translation from Spanish to Portuguese by Luiz Sérgio Henriques. Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ, 2005. The whole sentence which this phrase in italics refers to combines with the English translation of the title of this book that is also in italics.

[519] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. De la diversidad a la interculturalidad. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Conflictos interculturales*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2011. p. 104. TBM.

[520] Ibid. p. 111. TBM.

[521] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Latinoamericanos buscando lugar en este siglo*. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2002. p. 12. TBM. In this quotation, García Canclini did not convey his ideas on Latin America´s cultural producers in the sense of the cultural industries but in that of all humans´ attribute of producing culture and expressing their identities.

perspective on the region´s identities and international relations, however, does not imply that García Canclini opposes globalisation, but it does show his dissatisfaction with the formulations of cultural policies that have not considered the range of benefits which result from global cultural exchanges. Subsequently, cultural policy for him now refers to the context in which, 'instead of capturing a self-contained Latin American identity, we wish to find out how the new and the old processes crisscross'[522]. International migration makes this task even harder as Latin Americans who work in Europe and those who consume audiovisual products (films, music, television programmes, etc.) designed for their *latino* communities in the United States have also constituted what García Canclini understood as 'diasporic communities'[523] of Latin American identities. In this account, he consequently dismissed the notion of territoriality (similarly, Renato Ortiz writes on *des-territorialização*[524]) to evaluate the current cultural processes in Latin America, where identities transcend borders and result from complex interactions between Latin America and the rest of the world.

García Canclini´s arguments suggest that he is less interested in Latin America´s identities than in its position in international relations. Identities can only be evaluated, in effect, as a dynamic construction of self in relation to others[525]; for this interpretation of identities in which national development is also considered, he proposed policies that connect the local cultural industries to international markets. Latin Americans´ search for a place in the twenty-first century can be interpreted, therefore, in various ways. It can be a proposal to strengthen regional integration (e.g. the Common Market of the South), to encourage production of national industries instead of consumption of foreign audiovisual products, to struggle for insertion within globalised markets and not isolationism, and to reform their belated policies for culture and communication with all

---

[522] Ibid. p. 20. TBM.

[523] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Imagined globalization*. Translated by George Yúdice. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014. p. 163. Although García Canclini used the expression 'diasporic communities' in his book, other authors usually employ this expression to refer to a large group of people who migrate from the same region because of a natural disaster or of political reasons.

[524] ORTIZ, Renato. *Um outro território: Ensaios sobre a mundialização*. 3rd Edition. São Paulo: Olho d`Água, 2005. Renato Ortiz is more concerned with the territorial relations of culture than García Canclini is.

[525] Similar otherness views for the interpretation of identity can be consulted, although with variations, in SAID, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books, 1991. And in HALL, Stuart. Introduction: Who needs 'identity'?. In: HALL, Stuart; DU GAY, Paul (Eds). *Questions of cultural identity*. London: SAGE Publications, 1996.

the latest technologies[526] that provide support in the transformation of their identities. For this reason, García Canclini questions whether 'our cultural policies will insist on walking through land routes or will pass through paved roads which are the international communication highways'[527]. Thus the state has a pivotal role to play in García Canclini´s political proposal. He also reflects on how deeply nationals of Latin American countries feel they belong to a region and the role of the economy – especially the economy of culture[528] – in his evaluation on how to generate wealth and change Latin America´s image in the world. His interest in the economy of culture grew as he understood that a promising strategy for the region would be further production and circulation of its cultural industries to generate earnings for its countries.

Latin Americans seeking a place in this century incorporates the bulk of García Canclini´s theoretical antecedents – including his concepts, ideas and proposals – and conveys a clear political position about Latin America.[529] Its pessimistic essays indicate that there is certainty about Latin America´s shared past of exploitation and political instability but uncertainty regarding its future of regional integration; at the beginning of the twenty-first century, he considers possibilities for Latin America´s cultural integration in order to obtain benefits in globalisation. Politics and policy are the pivotal aspects of García Canclini´s arguments in this book as he names a handful of institutions and policy-makers who have the capacity to persuade and he encouraged the formation of cultural spaces[530]. He was likewise motivated to transcend his role in academia when proposing actions for culture. Yúdice emphasised, in the essay 'From

---

[526] Regarding this topic, see the book of WINOCUR, Rosalía. *Robinson Crusoe ya tiene celular: La conexión como espacio de control de la incertidumbre*. Mexico City: Siglo XXI, UAM-Iztapalapa, 2009. Instead of focusing on the technical uses of new technologies, the Argentine (living in Mexico) anthropologist Rosalía Winocur identified a 'new symbolic function' (p. 13. TBM.) that results from young people´s strategies to deal with digital technologies (especially computers, the Internet and mobile phones).

[527] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Identidad cultural frente a los procesos de globalización y regionalización: México y el Tratado de Libre Comercio de América del Norte. In: MONETA, Carlos Juan; QUENAN, Carlos (Comps.). *Las reglas del juego: América Latina, globalización y regionalismo*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Corregidor, 1994. p. 179. TBM.

[528] The book *The cultural industries and Mexico´s development* (*Las industrias culturales y el desarrollo de México*, 2006) – which García Canclini co-authored with the Mexican economist Ernesto Piedras Feria – results from a collaboration between FLACSO-Mexico and the Mexican Dirección General de Asuntos Culturales of the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, SRE). In this publication, he unexpectedly skips from both philosophy and anthropology to discuss economic notions such as the cultural industries, growth and value.

[529] PERON LOUREIRO, Bruno. *Néstor García Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina*. Thesis presented at the FFyL/UNAM to obtain the degree of MPhil in Latin American Studies (Maestro en Estudios Latinoamericanos), Mexico City, 25 September 2009. Chapter 3 of this 2009 thesis discusses political aspects of the book *Latin Americans seeking a place in this century*.

[530] As argued in the previous section 'Policies for the promotion of Latin America´s cultural spaces'.

hybridity to policy', that García Canclini changed his research interests by diverting his attention from scholarly concepts to policy-making. Because of this academic shift, one of his strategies is to render cultural policy more intelligible to policy-makers and laymen. He has done so by making his essay-writing accessible and by providing day-to-day examples of his personal experiences which can be related to his research subjects.

Indeed, one of García Canclini´s considerable changes in *Latin Americans seeking a place in this century* in comparison to his previous publications is that he adjusts his literary style to be more accessible to non-academic readers. The Argentine specialist in literature Liliana Weinberg[531] affirmed that an essay is a literary style that supports the transition from the strictly literary field to cultural, ideological and political debates. García Canclini writes in the form of essays, which are characterised by their fluidity, incompleteness and malleability, even when he intends to communicate results of scientific research. Consequently, García Canclini´s writing is more accessible to general readers, who might be either experts in the subject or non-professionals, and it reaches a broader audience than the academic works of his counterparts whose texts contain more-intricate jargon. Besides, a possible reason why García Canclini combined concepts and metaphors in his essays lies in the inclination to persuade[532], be attractive and elegant in communicating his ideas. He declared, during an academic ceremony, that 'between the language of the social sciences, which refers to the concepts and the method, and that of the essay (the narrative and the metaphor)'[533], he keeps the 'wish to obtain certain persuasion, attraction and elegance in communication'[534]. Due to García Canclini´s previous cultural policy ideas and to his increasing interest in Latin America´s international relations, globalisation issues remained a concern for him. But soon he would attempt to find out how public spaces could be enlarged as an effect of global processes.

3.3.2. Cultural policy for the consolidation of wider public spaces

---

[531] WEINBERG, Liliana. *Pensar el ensayo*. Mexico City: Siglo XXI, 2007. p. 115.

[532] The section 'Academic rhetoric and cultural policy-making practicality' of chapter 4 elaborates on this topic.

[533] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Conference on the occasion of receiving the title of Doctor Honoris Causa from the Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla. **Cuadernos del Honorable Consejo Universitario**, Puebla, Mexico, Serie Reconocimientos y Méritos, n. 43, pp. 23–42, November 2005. p. 27. TBM.

[534] Ibid. p. 27. TBM.

García Canclini transcended the critical textual activism propounded by intellectuals such as Jim McGuigan[535] and Tony Bennett[536], even though these authors attempted to challenge the theoretical boundaries of their cultural politics discipline towards a more engaged and practical cultural policy. García Canclini´s personal and professional circumstances in Mexico (as shown in chapter 2) are different from McGuigan and Bennett whose work was based on their academic experiences in England. This contrast between García Canclini and the duo of McGuigan/Bennett reflects some effects of practical policy-making which McGuigan and Bennett both suggested in their textual activism but did not consolidate further. In analysing such political implications of cultural issues, this section establishes a relationship between García Canclini´s understanding of public spaces[537] and his cultural policy ideas.

When García Canclini published his essay 'Economy and culture: The Latin countries in the transnational public sphere' ('Economía y cultura: Los países latinos en la esfera pública transnacional'[538]) in 2001, he studied the relationship between culture and economy on an intercontinental level. He was looking at the connection of Latin America´s institutions that promoted cultural production and consumption with their

---

[535] MCGUIGAN, Jim. *Culture and the public sphere*. London: Routledge, 1996. There are many possibilities, according to McGuigan, for engaging intellectuals in public matters because the 'public sphere is fragmented and, at best, multiple and diverse in its manifestations' (p. 4). He added to this account on public space that policy-oriented critical thinking needs 'to take the actual and potential operations of the public sphere seriously because that is the meeting place, albeit beleaguered, of the lifeworld and critical reason.' (p. 188)

[536] BENNETT, Tony. Intellectuals, culture, policy: The technical, the practical, and the critical. In: BENNETT, Tony. *Critical trajectories: Culture, society, intellectuals*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2007. Perhaps because Bennett advised governmental organisations such as the Council of Europe and UNESCO, he has a more pragmatic understanding than McGuigan of how an intellectual can be both critical and practical without polarising any of these functions in either academia or government. He said that 'there is no cognitive or, indeed, ethical gulf separating intellectuals working in government and industry centers of cultural management from those working in universities. There are, to be sure, different pressures, exigencies, and priorities bearing on these different contexts.' (p. 150)

[537] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. No hay una idea de futuro en los políticos. Interview given to Héctor Pavón. **Clarín**, Buenos Aires, Revista Ñ, 29 April 2006. Available at <http://edant.clarin.com/suplementos/cultura/2006/04/29/u-01186154.htm>. Accessed on 27 February 2014. García Canclini was questioned, during this interview given to a newspaper, whether policy-makers pay attention to Latin American intellectuals. In his words, there is 'a long tradition of the intellectuals´ presence in public space' (para. 6). He added that such participation happens especially through 'a free-flowing circulation between academia and journalism, and in some cases with audiovisual media such as radio and television.' (para. 6). TBM.

[538] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Economía y cultura: Los países latinos en la esfera pública transnacional. In: *Colloque International Trois espaces linguistiques face aux défis de la mondialisaton*. Paris: Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, Secretaría de Cooperación Iberoamericana, Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos, Unión Latina, 20–21 March 2001. Available at <http://www.campus-oei.org/tres_espacios/icoloquio11.htm>. Accessed on 24 September 2012. Note that by 'Latin' he did not mean only the Latin American countries, but he also included those with Latin origins such as France, Portugal and Spain.

counterparts from other regions of the world. Although at the beginning of the twenty-first century he returned to three topics (audiences of cultural reception, endogenous production of the cultural industries, and the media), he became much more interested in cultural policy as this was devised by international organisations. Thus, this academic interest encouraged him to understand sociocultural processes by analysing international economic exchanges and by adopting the notion of (international, transnational and even supranational) public spaces.

In my view, cultural spaces involve a wider perspective (an alliance between many countries) than that required by public spaces (which can take place in cities). García Canclini´s understanding is that '*the public is the imaginary place where we wish we could avoid or control the risk that everything is permitted*'[539]. He adds that 'we need to occupy this place where God is absent and where what is left of the family and of the nation-state is not enough to establish rules for living together.'[540] This section emphasises another key García Canclini´s cultural policy development: the impulse in his activism when he moved from the conception of cultural spaces (Latin America´s common histories, ideas and values) to his interpretation of public spaces ('the space which allows us to meet others without destroying ourselves'[541]). Therefore, it is important to note that there is a contrast in the topics that interest García Canclini. While he previously focused on a set of cultural policies that could provide more citizens with access to an activity, a benefit or a venue, on this occasion he investigates an issue that generates an opposite problem of inclusion, that is, every citizen engages in a way or another in a variety of public spaces.

Additionally, a new challenge brought by García Canclini´s 'The reinvention of the public in the urban videoculture', which is a chapter of the book *Reopening public spaces: Cultural policies and citizenship*[542] (*Reabrir espacios públicos: Políticas culturales y ciudadanía*, 2004), is how to situate citizens in the many urban forms of public spaces and, more specifically, in the tangible (advertisements, architecture,

---

[539] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. La reinvención de lo público en la videocultura urbana. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Reabrir espacios públicos: Políticas culturales y ciudadanía*. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés, UAM, 2004. p. 210. TBM. [Emphasis original].

[540] Ibid. p. 210. TBM.

[541] Ibid. p. 230. TBM.

[542] This book will be henceforth referred to only as *Reopening public spaces*. It resulted from research made by a group of scholars from Mexico, Brazil, Peru, Germany, Spain and Italy in specific periods during the five years that preceded its publication and who were associated with the Urban Culture Study Programme.

graffiti) and intangible (radio, television, Internet) dimensions of videoculture (*videocultura*). There is a change of perspective: instead of symbols, García Canclini talks about rituals (*ritualidad*) which are encouraged by actors such as advertisers and the media. Rather than his 1970s concern with symbolic production or his early 1980s focus on rural producers´ handicrafts, the issue now becomes the reception of these urban rituals. Thus, public spaces are configured for citizens through the instruments of videoculture (e.g. radio, television) and through the urban areas where they live or pass daily. This is also a pretext for improving democratic policies in the Latin American countries, in which their citizens do not know their rights properly and should participate more in modernisation. The intricate and mutual relationships between citizenship and public spaces can be understood in different ways. These include the radio as a public space for practising citizenship (Winocur[543]), newspapers´ discourses and their regular information about big cities (Aguilar Díaz[544]), and the physical uses (e.g. ghettos, shopping centres) of urban areas as public spaces as they are commonly understood (Borja[545]).

Whereas García Canclini was concerned with international migration and the insufficiencies of Latin America´s cultural industries production in *Latin Americans seeking a place in this century*, he looked in his essay 'The reinvention of the public in the urban videoculture'[546] into the role of large cities in re-inventing public spaces through citizens who feel that they do not need to leave home to enjoy modernity. Indeed, while particularities of Latin America´s modernities still inspired him, something else had caught his attention. Indigenous people, peasants, and even the cultural aspects that hinder modernisation in Latin America he discussed during the 1980s, were put aside because he became interested in the various forms of urban illiteracy, that is, in the position of those who did not know how to use these

---

[543] WINOCUR, Rosalía. *Ciudadanos mediáticos: La construcción de lo público en la radio*. Barcelona: Editorial Gedisa, 2002. Winocur investigates, in her book *The media citizens* (and in many articles), how the radio plays the role of an intermediary between citizenship and public spaces in Latin Americans´ daily and domestic lives. This book highlights the need to undertake further research on objects other than the television in media studies.

[544] AGUILAR DÍAZ, Miguel Ángel. Espacio público y prensa urbana en la Ciudad de México. **Perfiles Latinoamericanos**, Mexico City, v. 5, n. 9, pp. 47–72, December 1996.

[545] BORJA, Jordi. Ciudadanía y espacio público. **Ambiente y Desarrollo**, Bogotá, v. 14, n. 3, pp. 13–22, September 1998.

[546] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. La reinvención de lo público en la videocultura urbana. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Reabrir espacios públicos: Políticas culturales y ciudadanía*. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés, UAM, 2004.

technologies yet.[547] Likewise, he begins to discuss 'massive consumption'[548] more often and he employs the term 'supranational networks'[549] to refer to the internationalisation of urban processes, even though the majority of people refrained from the traditional uses of public spaces. That people now prefer to chat on the Internet instead of meeting in a square is an example of how a traditional use of such spaces is left behind. He moved from the notion of multiple timing heterogeneities in *Hybrid cultures* to the discourses of diversity (*diversidad*) and plurality (*pluralidad*) during the 2000s.

The impact of globalisation broadened García Canclini´s interpretation of sociocultural phenomena and processes, including cultural production and its reception, the cultural industries, citizenship, cultural spaces, identities and public spaces. García Canclini´s interpretation of public spaces was influenced by the politologist John Keane´s terminology.[550] Keane spoke of the 'micro-public'[551] sphere, which represents the roots of public life in the city, the 'meso-public'[552], in which people interact in the context of the nation-state, and the 'macro-public'[553], which involves processes on the global and supranational level and has actors such as the transnational news agencies and the enterprises that produce television programmes. Four years after Keane´s publication, García Canclini wrote in *Urban imaginaries* (*Imaginarios urbanos*, 2010) that 'the multinational dimension of problems such as environmental contamination, drug-trafficking and technological and cultural innovations require that citizens obtain information which transcends the local or national spaces.' [554] By such words, it is clear

---

[547] For example, García Canclini organised the artistic exhibition Extranjerías in Buenos Aires and Mexico City, where artists from diverse backgrounds gave their views about the topic through painting, figurative art, video and other methods. The central idea of this activity, for García Canclini, is that it is not necessary to migrate to be a foreigner. His main inspiration was the uses of advanced technologies by consumers from different ages. He is particularly concerned with how the experience suggested by Extranjerías contrasts between young people and adults. VENTURA, Abida. Una nueva experiencia de las Extranjerías. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 27 January 2012. Available at <http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/cultura/67646.html>. Accessed on 30 January 2012.

[548] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. La antropología en México y la cuestión urbana. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *La antropología urbana en México*. Mexico City: CONACULTA, FCE, UAM, 2005. p. 12. TBM.

[549] Ibid. p. 14. TBM.

[550] García Canclini has quoted John Keane´s ideas on public spaces (stated as spheres) since the end of the 1990s.

[551] KEANE, John. Structural transformations of the public sphere. **The Communication Review**, San Diego, v. 1, n. 1, pp. 1–22, 1995. p. 8.

[552] Ibid. p. 8.

[553] Ibid. pp. 8–9.

[554] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Imaginarios urbanos*. 4th Edition. Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 2010. p. 50. TBM.

that García Canclini was aware of a wider dimension of public spaces. He envisaged that 'cultural policies should propose suitable actions to what we could call the *supranational public sphere.*'[555]

García Canclini´s proposal for this public space is supported by Costa Rican analyst of international relations Jaime Delgado Rojas´s research about supranationality in Latin America. Delgado Rojas argued that there are traces of this mechanism in the official agreements of diverse integration processes in Latin America; for him, supranationality implies that the sovereignty of the state is transferable to a higher entity because of their mechanisms of 'binding attributions'[556] and 'community law'[557]. He showed that the constitutions of Colombia and Venezuela have the clearest and the most explicit mechanisms in favour of supranationality, whereas there are textual restrictions in those of Brazil and Uruguay that hinder the transference of sovereignty from the state to international organisations.[558] For this reason, the Common Market of the South is not an example of a supranational organisation.[559] Despite this, Delgado Rojas positively evaluated Latin American experiences of integration, which he claimed to be productive in terms of supranationality, shared laws and the particularities of the region; he recognised that success was being achieved in Latin America´s integration much faster and after facing greater difficulties than it did in Europe, where the building of supranationality has older antecedents.[560]

García Canclini based his ideas on the European Union model to propose supranational public spaces in Latin America, where it is a 'necessary utopia'[561]. He supported certain processes in Latin America that tend to consolidate supranationality. A few examples are co-production in filmmaking and in other areas, protests for human

---

[555] Ibid. pp. 50–51. TBM. [Emphasis original].

[556] DELGADO ROJAS, Jaime. *Construcciones supranacionales e integración regional latinoamericana.* San José, Costa Rica: Editorial UCR, 2009. p. 133. TBM.

[557] Ibid. p. 135. TBM.

[558] Delgado Rojas examines these countries in his chapter 5 ('South America: Integration and supranationality').

[559] Most of them are actually intergovernmental organisations such as Organisation of American States (OAS), Latin American and Caribbean Economic System (Sistema Económico Latinoamericano y del Caribe, SELA), Convenio Andrés Bello (CAB) and MERCOSUR itself.

[560] DELGADO ROJAS, Jaime. op. cit. p. 191.

[561] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Interview conducted by Bruno Peron Loureiro in the home office of Néstor García Canclini, Mexico City, 27 February 2009. In: PERON LOUREIRO, Bruno. *Néstor García Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina.* Thesis presented to obtain the degree of MPhil in Latin American Studies (Maestro en Estudios Latinoamericanos), Mexico City, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Anexo II, September 2009. TBM.

rights, and international movements (of indigenous people, the youth and women). García Canclini is inclined towards the European experience of regional integration; for instance, he proposed cinema programmes of co-production and distribution 'for a continental Latin American production, more in keeping with the European model, which has a realistic vision'[562]. García Canclini, nonetheless, did not try to define the concept of supranational public spaces, although he used it to analyse a few examples on the protection of human rights and the international movements of complementarity and solidarity. It can be deduced from García Canclini´s ideas on supranational public spaces that the supranational experiences of the European Union´s mechanisms of integration, which were complemented by the Schengen agreement[563], should be widely applied to Latin America with only minor adaptations. In his article *On sociologically barely identified objects* (*Sobre objetos sociológicamente poco identificados*, 2008), García Canclini used the term 'worldwide public sphere'[564], which requires specific political conditions. However, he is aware that many governments control the content of the Internet[565] to suit their interests while transnational companies such as Exxon Mobil and Microsoft censor or alter information on electronic encyclopedias so as not to unveil problems related to the environment or human rights.[566] Thus it becomes clear that globalisation had an impact on the notion of public spaces in international relations.

This section has proposed a debate on definitions, expansions and limits of public spaces for tracing the developments of García Canclini´s cultural policy. It matters less to him who does cultural policy than what its contents should convey to promote Latin America´s integration and the consolidation of its spaces in a globalised

---

[562] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Consumers and citizens: Globalization and multicultural conflicts*. Translated by George Yúdice. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001. p. 106.

[563] The Schengen agreement, which was signed in June 1985, stated that persons can move freely in Europe where there is a 'single external border'. The European Union incorporated the Schengen agreement in the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 and has made some improvements since its creation in 1993 by the Maastricht Treaty aiming at improving its supranational integration. Available at <http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/free_movement_of_persons_asylum_immigration/l33020_en.htm>. Accessed on 6 March 2014.

[564] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Sobre objetos sociológicamente poco identificados. **Revista Española de Sociología**, Madrid, n. 9, pp. 45–60, 2008. The term *esfera pública mundial* appears on p. 58. TBM.

[565] WATTS, Jonathan. Brazil demands explanation from US over NSA spying. **The Guardian**, London, 8 July 2013. Available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/08/brazil-demands-explanation-nsa-spying>. Accessed on 26 August 2013. García Canclini did not mention this, but, in a more recent diplomatic scandal, the United States has been accused of spying on the Brazilian government´s confidential information.

[566] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Sobre objetos sociológicamente poco identificados. **Revista Española de Sociología**, Madrid, n. 9, pp. 45–60, 2008. References about Exxon Mobil and Microsoft were taken from p. 58.

epoch. Thus it has been argued that García Canclini becomes more involved with social transformations and intellectual networks when he discusses, proposes and suggests cultural policy. Chapter 3 analysed the most important continuities and shifts in García Canclini´s cultural policy from the 1980s to the 2000s, whereas the next chapter will examine his activities with non-academic institutions in Latin America (broadly but especially in Mexico) in relation to key topics of the region´s cultural policy.

CHAPTER 4

García Canclini and Latin American institutions

Introduction

Chapter 4 examines García Canclini´s relationships with Latin American non-academic institutions (with a predominant focus on Mexico) to highlight his cultural policy operation. It argues that he uses cultural policy as an intellectually-oriented operation to engage in dialogue (as a well known academic in Latin America) with a wide number of policy-makers from Latin America´s non-academic institutions. His work with institutions in Mexico provides clear cases for my argument. What these institutions provide García Canclini for his academic activities (e.g. grants, lectures, meetings, publications of articles and books, research projects) are more extensively analysed than how he, in a reciprocal interaction, helped these institutions reproduce their cultural policy ideas and practices.[567] I explore his diverse networking and the ways he encourages debates on cultural issues, but I do not analyse the effects of his activities in institutions and of his suggestions for cultural policy. I reiterate here that he not only discusses, proposes and suggests cultural policy – he conducts cultural policy, but as an implicit and unconventional political operation carried on by an intellectual.

This chapter is divided into two parts which investigate cultural policy issues respectively in relation to Latin America (broadly speaking) and then with a noticeable focus on Mexico's institutions. The first part initially establishes a link between academic rhetoric and cultural policy-making in Latin America. It shows García Canclini´s dissatisfaction with the dearth of communication between academic thinking and non-academic policy-making institutions; in doing so, the first part sets out the environment in which he conducts cultural policy as an operation for improving such communications. It emphasises García Canclini´s connections with a variety of institutions from different Latin American countries by analysing examples of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Venezuela. In examining these Latin American institutions, I will argue that the diversity of García Canclini´s networking suggests that participation and variety matter most in his cultural policy operation. By examining topics such as national development in Latin American countries and the multiplicity of

---

[567] Details of my methodological approach to such interactions between García Canclini and Latin American institutions and of the scope of the hypotheses have been given partly in the 'Introduction' of this thesis, but fundamentally and mostly in its 'Methodology' section. In addition to this, an extensive list of García Canclini´s relationships has been compiled in Appendix I.

policy-makers in the region, the first part shows that García Canclini engages with many different institutions, although only in a few cases does he discuss cultural policy. Without getting distracted by exhaustive accounts of who the policy-makers are, I focus on members and professionals of governmental administrative bodies, political parties, international organisations, private companies and nonprofit associations.

This is also pertinent to the second part (with its focus on Mexico) of this chapter, which examines the particularities of Consejo[568] and other models in the institutional development of Mexico´s cultural policy. This part analyses certain aspects of García Canclini's key relationships with Mexican non-academic institutions and it does so according to the investigation of different topics (e.g. reform of the media legislation, promotion of Mexican cultures abroad). It also proposes that cultural policy practices are widespread in many different Mexican institutions for which cultural issues are not a priority. I argue to clarify this point that, in the cases explored in this part, García Canclini encourages debates and ideas on cultural issues in institutions that explicitly do cultural policy and others that do it in an indirect way.[569] Part of the argument in the second part is to demonstrate that, via multiple Mexican institutions and their policy-makers, García Canclini tries to link scholarly activities with policy. Whether he is an effective intellectual or not is an inquiry that is outside the scope of this thesis.

As I explore broad and multiple cases in this chapter, my point about networking, participation and variety becomes more tenable when I investigate García Canclini's extra-academic activities with the following institutions: Itaú Cultural Monitoring (Brazil), Latin American and Caribbean Economic System (Venezuela), television channel Canal 22 (Mexico), Mexico's Chamber of Deputies, Mexico City's Government, Party of the Democratic Revolution (Mexico), Mexico's Secretariat of Foreign Affairs and Mexico's Senate of the Republic. I remind the reader that the limits and objects of my investigation, in this chapter, are within the type of institutions García

---

[568] This chapter understands a Consejo to be an administrative entity of government. Its particularities in Latin America will be discussed in this chapter. An equivalent word for Consejo in English is Council, although their administrative functioning and structure are not necessarily the same in different countries. So, whereas Consejo refers to Mexico´s most important cultural policy model, CONACULTA is a particular cultural policy institution that is structured administratively as a Consejo in Mexico. CONACULTA stands for Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, which translates into English as National Council for Culture and the Arts.

[569] AHEARNE, Jeremy. Cultural policy explicit and implicit: A distinction and some uses. **International Journal of Cultural Policy**, Taylor & Francis, v. 15, n. 2, pp. 141–153, May 2009. Ahearne prefers the division of cultural policy into '*explicit*' or '*nominal*', on one side, and '*implicit*' or '*effective*', on the other. p. 143.

Canclini has relations with (which), the nature of his activities (how) and the various networks he forms (with whom). However, the analyses I make of his activities with Mexico's governmental institutions – particularly when I examine institutions for which cultural policy is an implicit and secondary issue – are stronger than others. As I stated in the 'Introduction' to this thesis, I will demonstrate in the following paragraphs how García Canclini tries to convince policy-makers that culture really matters.

4.1. Institutions and practices of Latin America´s cultural policy

4.1.1. Academic rhetoric and cultural policy-making practicality

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, García Canclini does not abandon his previous concepts, ideas and research methods. However, his stance against the autonomy of the fields of art and culture coincides with his stronger opinion of culture as a means to achieve other purposes in many public policy areas such as economy and education. He refrains from using Bourdieu´s notion of field autonomy. In the chapter 'Cultural fields or markets?' ('¿Campos culturales o mercados?') of his book *Readers, spectators and Internet browsers* (*Lectores, espectadores e internautas*[570], 2007), García Canclini clarifies that Bourdieu´s concept of field is no longer useful to explain certain twenty-first century cultural phenomena. This is because 'the tendency to commercialise cultural production, massively diffuse art and literature, and offer cultural goods through many means simultaneously (for instance, films which are broadcast not only in cinema theatres but also on television and video recorders), hinders the autonomy of cultural fields'[571]. Whereas García Canclini´s ideas on the arts were that these were supplementary to political functions, García Canclini now believes the arts occupy a place vacated by politics in societies that are highly influenced by the media. He has thus changed his view on the role of the arts. When García Canclini proposes sociocultural transformations through the arts in his book *Art beyond itself*[572]

---

[570] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Lectores, espectadores e internautas*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2007.

[571] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Lectores, espectadores e internautas*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2007. pp. 27–28. TBM. His criticism of field autonomy is also present in his article GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Sobre objetos sociológicamente poco identificados. **Revista Española de Sociología**, Madrid, n. 9, pp. 45–60, 2008.

[572] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Art beyond itself: Anthropology for a society without a story line*. Translated by David Frye. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2014. This is the translation of GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *La sociedad sin relato: Antropología y estética de la inminencia*. Buenos Aires: Katz Editores, 2010.

(2010), he suggests that creativity[573] is an intrinsic aspect of the postautonomous[574] field of the arts. His interpretation moved from the popular arts to the mass-produced arts, but recently he has become interested in how the artistic field intertwines with the *mediaciones*[575] – to borrow a term used by Jesús Martín-Barbero – of television, radio and publishing industries (newspapers and magazines). Indeed, culture and art are two different concepts as chapters 1 and 2 discussed respectively through the broadness of the debates on culture in terms of its relations of power and the aesthetic nature of those on art. In my understanding of García Canclini's phases, art means dealing with creativity and politics in a more discrete and subtle way than culture. Speaking about art, moreover, coincides with the moments in which García Canclini, initially, had scant political involvements in Argentina before his exile and, lately, has refrained from political issues in Mexico. As demonstrated in chapter 1, the broadness of the concepts of culture means that it is difficult precisely to define the cultural field. It follows that García Canclini now has a more flexible vision of culture because he dismisses Bourdieu´s notion of field and he denies the autonomy of cultural fields to examine the latest cultural phenomena. Soon he would propose a reflection on the 'scenes, surroundings and circuits'[576] of culture; at the same time, his writing becomes less technical as he – as I understand it – expects to reach more readers[577]. This involves a

---

[573] García Canclini does not use the expression 'creative industries' in his work; instead, he usually refers to the 'cultural industries', although on a few occasions during the 2000s he also used the term 'creativity'. He did this in his books *The cultural industries and Mexico´s development* and *Art beyond itself*, and in his lecture *Policies for the cultural creativity* (*Políticas para la creatividad cultural*) at UNESCO´s Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Stockholm between 30 March and 2 April 1998. For the Australian scholar Terry Flew, the term 'creative industries' originated in the United Kingdom during the 1990s as a concept that involves the role of digital, media and software technologies. See p. 9 from chapter 1 ('Origins of creative industries policy') of FLEW, Terry. *The creative industries: Culture and policy*. London: SAGE Publications, 2012.

[574] García Canclini suggests that the idea of postautonomy of the artistic field is an alternative understanding (but also a critical one) to that which had been proposed by Bourdieu´s notion of autonomy of the fields (of art, culture, literature, etc.). Therefore, when García Canclini uses the prefix 'post' before 'autonomy', he supposes it is possible to reconceptualise Bourdieu´s notion of field.

[575] MARTÍN-BARBERO, Jesús. *Communication, culture and hegemony*. London: SAGE Publictions, 1992. In this book (originally: *De los medios a las mediaciones: Comunicación, cultura y hegemonía*. Bogotá: Convenio Andrés Bello, 2003.), Martín-Barbero conceptualises *mediaciones* to understand the new forms of social interaction, the reconciliation between conflicting social classes, and the adjustment between popular cultures and mass-produced cultures.

[576] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Lecture presented at the Congress of Communication and Social Science in Latin America (COMCIS 2011), La Plata, Argentina, Facultad de Periodismo y Comunicación Social, Universidad Nacional de la Plata (FPyCS/UNLP), 1 September 2011. Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KDI5tAcVrcU>. Accessed on 23 January 2012. TBM. This is an expression García Canclini proposed as an alternative to Bourdieu´s notion of field autonomy and postautonomy.

[577] García Canclini´s book *Readers, spectators and Internet browsers* is a clear example of this. It was written in the form of a dictionary with his interpretation of terms in sections named 'Filmgoers and

reflection on the relationship between academic rhetoric and cultural policy-making practicality. It is precisely such an argument that this section will elucidate.

García Canclini´s criticism of the autonomy of the field of culture presents a problem: it might suit instrumentalist policy-makers who do not consider culture an actual policy-making object. Thus, García Canclini holds a double-edged sword. One side is that a specific governmental institution for culture is unnecessary because it does not claim autonomy and its creation leads to a budgetary cut in other sectors (health, dwelling, security, etc.) that public managers – especially in the context of a worldwide financial crisis – usually consider more important. The other side is that the instrumental uses of culture as additions to other policy sectors might relegate culture to a secondary position.[578] In this sense, his criticism of Bourdieu´s notion of fields (particularly the cultural field) overlooks positive outcomes. This is because culture as an autonomous field would be a precedent for encouraging, for example, the creation of a Ministry (or a Secretariat) of Culture and specific policies that promote cultural issues. García Canclini is aware of these possibilities in spite of his position on fields. This can be seen in the support he gave in a newspaper[579] for the creation of a Secretariat of Culture and Communication (Secretaría de Cultura y Comunicación) in Mexico that would replace its National Council for Culture and the Arts (Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, CONACULTA). However clarifying for my point here, the second part of this chapter will explore García Canclini's relationships with Mexican institutions.

Before García Canclini developed his ideas on the postautonomy of the field of culture, he had reiterated in *Different, unequal and disconnected people*[580] (2004) his

---

video-watchers' ('Cinéfilos y videófilos'), "Digital convergence' ('Convergencia digital'), 'Interactivity' ('Interactividad') and 'Zapping'. Not only did his writing become more accessible to general readers, but he also approached further day-to-day activities and habits such as the cultural implications of checking the time either on a wristwatch or on a mobile phone.

[578] Eleonora Belfiore makes a similar claim regarding uses of art for neighbourhood renewal and social inclusion in the United Kingdom and more broadly in Europe. BELFIORE, Eleonora. Art as a means of alleviating social exclusion: Does it really work?. A critique of instrumental cultural policies and social impact studies in the UK. **International Journal of Cultural Policy**, v. 8, n. 1, Taylor & Francis, pp. 91–106, 2002. p. 104.

[579] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Retos culturales para un sexenio. **Reforma**, Mexico City, Opinión, 25 June 2006. Without getting into the discussion of whether a Secretaría is better than a Consejo as an administrative entity, it has been suggested to be so by García Canclini because of the higher status that a Secretaría has in Mexico in terms of autonomy of decisions and the amount of money it obtains from the Mexican state.

[580] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Diferentes, desiguais e desconectados: Mapas da interculturalidade*. Translation from Spanish to Portuguese by Luiz Sérgio Henriques. Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 2005. The terms 'different' (*diferentes*), 'unequal' (*desiguales*) and 'disconnected' (*desconectados*) as they appear in the title of this book were inspired respectively by García Canclini´s studies in anthropology, sociology and communication.

interest in processes (e.g. hybridisation, modernisation, transnationalisation) instead of configurations (e.g. the essence of Latin America´s identity, the traditional cultures). This supports my argument that he developed his academic rhetoric from his conceptualisations on the complexity of cultural phenomena. He would soon have his credibility raised in non-academic institutions as an expert in cultural issues. Because García Canclini keeps his theoretical analysis on how popular culture is an integral part of complex intercultural forms, *Different, unequal and disconnected people* (2004) highlights that his ideas shift from the popular classes´ affirmation of their own traditions to the younger generations´ relationship with technological innovations. He emphasises that both groups are objects of a cultural policy that helps their development at different moments of Latin America´s sociocultural transformations. When he questions whether the young people are either informed or entertained[581], he understands that there are gaps and handicaps that should be addressed by the state´s cultural policy.

However, changes in García Canclini´s cultural policy ideas allow one to trace his uses of academic rhetoric for practical purposes. His position in *The cultural industries and Mexico´s development* (2006) is quite different from his previous publications. During the 2000s, he assesses business agreements, shows statistics of the cultural industries and questions the inefficiency of laws for the media. He transcends both philosophy and anthropology in order to discuss economic notions such as growth, value and statistics for the cultural industries. Further, concepts such as identities and public space, which once sufficed to explain phenomena on the national frame, now explain the contradictions of globalisation, international trade exchanges and transnational sociocultural processes. García Canclini embraces the economy of culture by using his cumulative knowledge about cultural reception, the cultural industries, national development, Latin American cultural spaces, the role of the state, citizenship, digital convergence and the media. He discusses all these concepts in short essays in the chapter 'The new sociocultural scene' of *The cultural industries and Mexico´s development* (2006), in which he shows the importance of culture for economic development. He is thinking of these issues with respect to policy-making.

Whereas in *Transforming modernity* (1982) García Canclini was concerned with the effects of the transformation of indigenous celebrations (*fiestas*) and handicrafts in

---

[581] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. ¿Por qué legislar sobre industrias culturales?. **Nueva Sociedad**, Caracas, n. 175, September–October 2001. para. 12 from the section 'Explaining who made the Sistine Chapel and Titanic' ('Aclarar quiénes hicieron la Capilla Sixtina y Titanic') of his article.

capitalism, in *The cultural industries and Mexico´s development* (2006) he becomes interested in 'how to combine the mercantile value with the symbolic value that impact upon how goods and information represent community traditions and social identity practices'[582]. From one book to the other, his analysis shifts from the ethnic aspects of modernisation that might result in the development of traditional communities (peasants, indigenous people) to elements of the economy of culture that he claims generate national development through Mexican traditions. What I am attempting to explain here, therefore, is that the suppression of traditional identities is no longer an issue for him in the context of international disputes over the market because his anthropological perspective was relegated so that he could think as an investor.

García Canclini is constantly in search of efficient theoretical tools for understanding different sociocultural contexts in Latin America. In the chapter 'The new sociocultural scene' from *The cultural industries and Mexico´s development* (2006), he turns his attention to technological innovations in Mexico to explain the latest habits of consumption whereby electronic equipments (e.g. computer, mobile phone, television) promote the public spaces in which citizenship is staged. This is so because, as explained in chapter 3, such technology has pushed interactions between people from a public square, for example, to the Internet; and yet, Internet users have met in social networks – understood here as new public spaces – to promote political action (e.g. demonstrations). Likewise, that García Canclini emphasises cultural habits instead of cultural consumption means that his analysis does not end when someone merely visits a museum or goes to the movies. He also studies cultural habits when he argues that digital convergence has allowed a single piece of electronic equipment such as mobile phones and laptops for multiple uses. Such shifts in habits were earlier depicted to be from urban spaces to home consumption, but now it is from a multiplicity of devices to one that does everything its user needs to feel connected (e.g. listening to MP3 and browsing the Internet on a mobile phone).[583] Thus, cultural habits do not only refer to abstract and aesthetic phenomena but also reveal the potential for political activities. In this way, García Canclini makes associations between digital convergence

---

[582] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; PIEDRAS FERIA, Ernesto. *Las industrias culturales y el desarrollo de México*. Mexico City: FLACSO, Siglo XXI, SRE, 2006. This quote was taken from p. 20 of the chapter I ('The new sociocultural scene') ('La nueva escena sociocultural'), which was written by García Canclini. TBM.

[583] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Lectores, espectadores e internautas*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2007. The chapters 'Digital convergence' ('Convergencia digital') and 'Interactivity' ('Interactividad') elaborate on this topic.

and national development, youth habits and modernisation, cinema audiences and global relations of power in a manner that attracts policy-makers´ attention in Latin America.

In both *The cultural industries and Mexico´s development* (2006) and *Readers, spectators and Internet browsers* (2007), the convergence and intensification of consumption habits are presented as consequence of the trade exchange that becomes more complex and that involves various international policy-makers. García Canclini searches for elements in Latin America´s economy that would situate its countries more competitively in the world; for this, he suggests that cultural policy needs to catch up with the advanced technologies of the media even more as these have been the trendsetters of the digital era. Interactivity in such technologies, he argues, is an aspect of the media that governmental policy neglects. One of the state´s tasks is to recognise that 'neither the current habits of the readers-spectators-Internet browsers, nor the fusion of companies which previously produced each kind of products separately, allow us to imagine texts, images and their digitalisation as separate islands anymore'[584]. These topics have been useful to demonstrate that García Canclini would not be satisfied only with practising his academic rhetoric, but that he would approach other institutions and aim at more practical relations that would enable them to exchange certain ideas.

Policy-making, for García Canclini, is a bridge between theory and practice[585], rhetoric and practicality. He skilfully introduces academic topics into a variety of non-academic institutions by showing everyday examples, case studies and statistics; he avoids technical expressions and makes his work more attractive to general readers, that is, not only cultivated and specialised ones. While García Canclini starts to discuss topics in a way that would have been unimaginable in his writings during the 1970s, he becomes interested during the 1990s in reaching different and wider audiences, speaking about more practical cultural issues, and even merging analyses from unrelated

---

[584] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Lectores, espectadores e internautas*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2007. p. 50. TBM.

[585] MATO, Daniel. Para além da academia: Práticas intelectuais latino-americanas em cultura e poder. In: GOMES, Renato Cordeiro; MARGATO, Izabel (Eds.). *O papel do intelectual hoje.* Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2004. Mato questions the de-legitimising tendency of 'extra-academic intellectual practices' (p. 82) in Latin America´s academia when he formulates his notion of 'intellectual practices in culture and power' (p. 94). The idea of what an intellectual is, for Mato, depends on the hegemony of the academic institutions and that of the publishing industries (p. 79). As an example of this, he refers to the exclusion of certain 'intellectual practices' (p. 79) because the notion of intellectual is usually linked to that of research in Latin America (p. 80). Therefore, Mato is concerned with the 'dissociation of the academic intellectual practices from their relations with the extra-academic social actors' (pp. 81–82). TBM.

disciplines. This thesis has shown examples of how he links anthropology with economics for the sake of academic rhetoric.

García Canclini´s publications mix interdisciplinary research with a rhetoric – which is usually emphasised at the end of his essays – that interests policy-makers. Further, the academic reputation of his ideas and proposals about cultural issues suits the needs of policy-makers in their non-academic institutions. Some policy-makers would only agree to include cultural issues in their debates and deliberations if they were convinced that cultural issues affect, for example, education and employment rates. However, such rhetoric is also a combination of utopia and political action; for instance, the last line of the chapter 'Who speaks and in which place: Simulated subjects' ('Quem fala e em qual lugar: Sujeitos simulados') of *Different, unequal and disconnected people* (2004) has the rhetoric to 'convert the conditionings into opportunities to exert citizenship'[586]. Such academic rhetoric is common in his work during the 1990s and 2000s while policy-makers were discussing topics such as citizenship, democratisation and regional integration. Moreover, García Canclini believes that his position as a social scientist should transcend academia and consider policy in Latin America: 'A possible task of the social scientists is to share their knowledge about the region´s diversity and unity because their ideas contribute to policy-making.'[587]

Non-academic institutions are not only preoccupied with promoting advanced debates on cultural policy but they also seek (as when they rely on García Canclini´s assistance and participation) to have their discourses on culture and development[588],

---

[586] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Diferentes, desiguais e desconectados: Mapas da interculturalidade*. Translation from Spanish to Portuguese by Luiz Sérgio Henriques. Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 2005. p. 208. TBM.

[587] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Diferentes, desiguais e desconectados: Mapas da interculturalidade*. Translation from Spanish to Portuguese by Luiz Sérgio Henriques. Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 2005. p. 180. TBM.

[588] As an example, two meetings at the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) are noteworthy to show García Canclini´s approach to policy-makers in cultural institutions regarding culture and development: 1) Encuentros October 2001–April 2002, Number 43, between Camilo Herrera, García Canclini and Ronald Inglehart. In this opportunity, García Canclini presented the lecture *Culture industries and the development crisis in Latin America* (*Las industrias culturales en la crisis del desarrollo en América Latina*) in the series about *Culture and Development: The cultural industries in Latin America´s crisis of development* (*Cultura y Desarrollo: Las industrias culturales en la crisis del desarrollo de América Latina*). The event was held in collaboration with the Organisation of American States (OAS) and IDB´s Cultural Center on 8 April 2002 in Washington D.C.; and 2) Encuentros February 2005, Number 53, between Enrique Valentín Iglesias, García Canclini and Gilberto Gil. García Canclini presented the lecture *We all have culture: Who can develop it?* (*Todos tienen cultura: ¿Quiénes pueden desarrollarla?*) as a member of the Panel on Culture and Socio-Economic Development for the Inauguration of Enrique Valentín Iglesias Conference Centre at IDB in Washington, D.C., on 24 February 2005. Both meetings were part of the Culture and Development Series co-ordinated by the IDB for debates between specialists.

culture and righs[589], culture and environment[590], culture and peace, culture and statistics[591], etc., and their decisions legitimised by a renowned academic or a group of them. This legitimising process takes place when researchers offer their scientific knowledge to corroborate policy documents that otherwise would be merely based on bureaucrats´ managerial expertise. Their common motivation is the reproduction of practices through cultural policy. In this way, García Canclini enhances his prestige as an academic (by obtaining funds, grants, spaces for dialogue, notoriety, etc.) while the institutions have their decisions and prescriptions for culture authenticated by him. Therefore both sides often obtain advantages from this reciprocity.

No less important is the fact that García Canclini´s relationships with diverse institutions have encouraged him, in one way or another, to pursue an economics-based, instrumental and internationalist view of culture. There might be an explanation for his

---

The Encuentros Series had its first edition published in March 1993 when the Chilean novelist José Donoso was invited for a lecture in the event titled *Houses, voices and language in Latin America*. Earlier, in 1992, the IDB Cultural Center-CCN had been created by Enrique Valentín Iglesias – who is president of the Inter-American Development Bank – and its aim was to address culture as 'an integral component of development' (IDB Cultural Center. *2005 Annual Report*. Washington, D.C., Information Bulletin, n. 86, 2005. p. 1). It has, since then, promoted a myriad of artistic events, lectures and meetings throughout the American continent. Four sources indicate this: 1) IDB. *Cultural Center Lecture: Dr. Néstor García Canclini, Argentina*. Washington, D.C., IDB, 8 April 2002. 2) IDB. *Art news: April–May 2002*. Washington, D.C., 1 May 2002. 3) IDB. *Cultural Center Seminar: Culture and Development, Region*. IDB, Washington, D.C., 24 February 2005. And 4) IDB Cultural Center. *2007 Annual Report*. Washington, D.C., Information Bulletin n. 100, 2007.

[589] Associations also seem to be established between culture and rights. For example, García Canclini, Eduardo Galeano (Uruguayan writer), Pablo González Casanova (Mexican sociologist), Rodolfo Stavenhagen (Mexican sociologist) and other renowned intellectuals gave Keynote Lectures (Conferencias Magistrales) during the Latin American and Caribbean Conference on Social Sciences (Conferencia Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Ciencias Sociales), which was sponsored by the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, CLACSO) and UNESCO on 6–9 November 2012 in Mexico City. This event focused on human rights and sustainability. García Canclini and Julio Carranza (from UNESCO-Montevideo) co-ordinated the debate Maps of Interculturality (Mapas de la Interculturalidad) on 7 November 2012. Sources: 1) UNESCO. *The state of the social sciences in Latin America & the Caribbean*. November 2012. And 2) UNESCO. *Concluye la Conferencia Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Ciencias Sociales celebrada en México*. 13 November 2012.

[590] As proof of this, García Canclini´s academic work was mentioned many times in the document *Culture counts: Financing, resources and the economics of culture in sustainable development*, which was published in February 2000 in Washington, D.C. This document resulted from the Proceedings of the Conference held in Florence, Italy, on 4–7 October 1999 and was co-sponsored by Italy´s Government, UNESCO and the World Bank.

[591] In relation to culture and statistics, UNESCO invited artists, experts and statisticians to undertake analyses, regional reports and studies for the project of the World Commission on Culture and Development called Our Creative Diversity. For UNESCO´s Our Creative Diversity, García Canclini debated with Soledad Loaeza, Homero Aridjis, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Lourdes Arizpe (Assistant Director-General for Culture at UNESCO) and Ana Isabel Prera Flores (she was Federico Mayor Zaragoza´s representative in this debate. Federico was Director-General of UNESCO from 1987 to 1999.). The World Commission on Culture and Development, which was created between 1992 and 1995, prepared the document Our Creative Diversity and presented it on 18 September 1997 at El Colegio de México. REFORMA. Replantean el concepto de desarrollo. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 18 September 1997.

approach to such institutions that implies that, 'even without abandoning Western epistemologies, sociology of science has shown that we scientists know the real not as it is by itself; neither are we informed of the study results in an unequivocal and transparent way'[592]. Here, García Canclini is admitting that social research is not self-sufficient and infallible as it requires supplementary activities beyond academia. He adds that 'our research procedures and the jargon in which we communicate them are embedded in social systems, which generate, in the first place, academic competition for recognition, and then networks – open or subtle – with the power of politicians, laboratories, sponsors, industries and other extra-scientific actors'[593].

Since García Canclini wrote his book *Consumers and citizens* (1995), his cultural policy has focused on more practical issues for national development. In *Introduction: Anthropology and cultural research* (*Introducción: Antropología y estudios culturales*, 1993), García Canclini posits that 'we should also take into account that we Latin American researchers combine our academic research with journalism, political and social activism, or consultancies to governmental organisations which enable more dynamic relationships between knowledge and action'[594]. Indeed, his cultural policy ideas and formulations have been attractive to bureaucrats, legislators, newspaper editors, politicians and television hosts. This is because he has had a rhetorical academic approach to cultural issues combined with certain practical suggestions such as the need to create cultural statistics and to promote the cultural industries. This section, then, has shown that García Canclini interests various non-academic institutions and also that his ideas on cultural issues become attractive to them. The next section examines some of García Canclini´s relationships with such institutions in Latin America; it does so by exploring the link between national development and the multiplicity of policy-makers in Latin America.

4.1.2. From national development to the multiple policy-makers

This section analyses certain historical conditions of Latin America which led to debates about its national development, its regional integration, its relations with the world

---

[592] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Lecture he gave when he was awarded the title of Doctor Honoris Causa from the Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla. **Cuadernos del Honorable Consejo Universitario**, Puebla, Mexico, Serie Reconocimientos y Méritos, n. 43, pp. 23–42, November 2005. p. 33. TBM.

[593] Ibid. p. 33. TBM.

[594] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Introducción: Antropología y estudios culturales. **Alteridades**, Mexico City, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, v. 3, n. 5, pp. 5–8, 1993. Quote from pp. 5–6. TBM.

through the cultural industries and its multiple cultural policy-makers. My argument is that García Canclini´s political operation in terms of cultural policy occurs not only in his theoretical formulations but also in his practical involvements with institutions.

Chapter 3 showed that García Canclini praised the policies of structural economics (*desarrollismo*) but condemned those of monetarism (*monetarismo*) regardless of the Latin American country from which they originated. In his view, the former backed the development of the avant-garde arts in Argentina and of popular culture in Mexico while the latter tried to transform everything into a commodity and was usually related to dictatorship and minimal-state policies. Nonetheless, the main difference between these two ideologies for García Canclini is the presence of the state in structural economics and its absence in monetarism. From the mid-1940s until the early 1970s, the structuralist thinkers (most of whom were economists and sociologists) were based in the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) in Santiago, Chile, where they examined the issues of industrialised centres and agrarian peripheries in international relations. They emphasised that the ideology of structural economics 'has a certain keynesian flavour as it entailed a major increase in government expenditure for development purposes but it went even further as it regarded the state as the crucial agent for economic, social and political change'[595]. García Canclini has supported the idea of the state having a strong role in cultural policy and in political change since his early writings (as shown in chapter 2), although his ideas have become less radical and more reformist since the mid-1980s (as discussed in chapter 3). Despite this, one reform that would be antithetical to him is the assumption that the reduction of the state makes the economy work better. Yúdice and Miller[596] criticise the state politics they termed developmentalism by unsuitably employing García Canclini´s diagnosis that Latin Americans are underdeveloped in media production but overdeveloped in the consumption of media products. In fact, García Canclini was optimistic about the work of developmentalist intellectuals and of state policy-makers. He blames a model of modernisation for the severe inequalities in wealth distribution in Latin America instead of developmentalism and globalisation.

---

[595] KAY, Cristóbal. *Latin American theories of development and underdevelopment*. London: Routledge, 1989. p. 28.

[596] YÚDICE, George; MILLER, Toby. *Cultural policy*. London: SAGE Publications, 2002. p. 168 from chapter 5 ('Transnational cultural policy'). They referred to 'developmentalism' instead of 'structural economics'.

In spite of García Canclini´s historical approval of structural economics during the 1960s, there have been new challenges for national development in Latin America since the 1980s that he does not believe that privatisations should be a part of nor does he wish them to be so.[597] However, Garía Canclini considers other policy-makers (especially private companies and nonprofit associations) that pursue the collective interest. He does not usually address cultural policy as an exclusive practice of the state. Chapters 2 and 3 showed that García Canclini has supported the multiplicity of cultural policy-makers since his first writings on the topic during the late 1970s, when he defined cultural policy. He also advocates a stronger role for the state in Latin America and the making of important policies at the supranational level. Organisations such as ECLAC, the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR), and the Latin American and Caribbean Economic System (Sistema Económico Latinoamericano y del Caribe, SELA, Venezuela) have become more relevant for him in policy-making. Normally the institutional development of culture in forms such as Councils (or Consejo, as it is in Mexico), Ministries and national plans is first suggested at the international level, before it is implemented at national level where it is assimilated by the state.[598] The scholar Antônio Albino Canelas Rubim and his co-authors of 'Cultural policies and exchange and co-operation networks in the Iberian American field'[599] identify the origins of cultural policy institutions (such as Ministries and Secretariats) and their national plans in Latin American countries as a consequence of the development of international organisations specialising in this area. Such influence thus suggests 'an element of pressure in the process of institutional development of cultural management within the state'[600].

Latin America has particular cases of this because its cultural policy institutions were created after Ministries of Culture and Education were split in two, so its

---

[597] García Canclini demonstrates such criticism against privatisations in Latin America in this sentence: 'After selling our oil, energy, banks, telephones and airlines, what resources are left to rebuild that which was emptied by privatisations?' (para. 3. TBM.). GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Preguntas sobre el futuro del latinoamericanismo. **Revista TodaVía**, Buenos Aires, Fundación Osde, n. 4, April 2003. Available at <http://www.revistatodavia.com.ar/todavia04/notas/garcia%20canclini/txtcanclini.html>. Accessed on 27 March 2014.

[598] Chapter 1 indicated this in relation to UNESCO´s reports and those from other international organisations.

[599] RUBIM, Antônio Albino Canelas; PITOMBO, Mariella; RUBIM, Iuri Oliveira. Políticas e redes de intercâmbio e cooperação em cultura no âmbito ibero-americano. In: CONVENIO Andrés Bello. *Siete cátedras para la integración*. Bogotá, Colombia: Convenio Andrés Bello, Publication of the Series La Universidad y los Procesos de Integración Social, pp. 129–170, March 2005.

[600] Ibid. p. 6. TBM.

governments tended to manage culture separately from education – as it did in Brazil – and from other sectors to which culture is historically linked. The Brazilian Ministry of Culture (Ministério da Cultura, MinC, Brazil) was created on 15 March 1985 by a presidential decree[601], although it shrank during the short period between April 1990 and November 1992 to a Secretariat of Culture that was dependent on the Presidency of the Republic.[602] Likewise, cultural issues are discussed in regional integration processes in Latin America (e.g. ALBA Cultural, MERCOSUR Cultural[603]).

It is worth mentioning in relation to such references to Brazil´s cultural policy institutions that García Canclini presented the lecture *Social networks, Internet and digital culture* (*Redes sociais, Internet e cultura digital*) at the French Alliance Auditorium (Auditório da Aliança Francesa) in São Paulo to open the seminar programme Production, Distribution and Cultural Consumption: Cultural Industry in the Twenty-first Century. The event was held on 10 September 2010 and was sponsored by the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning (Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, belonging to one of the country's most prestigious universities) at the City School (Escola da Cidade) and by the Brazilian Ministry of Culture.[604] This is just one example of the wide relationships that García Canclini has with Latin American non-academic institutions. It is notable how the Ministry of Culture is funding, in this case, an academic event for discussing some of the latest phenomena (e.g. social networks) that cultural policy should – according to scholars like García Canclini – encompass.

Other activities of García Canclini in Latin America will be mentioned next to examine his non-academic involvements. It is important to remind the reader that this chapter looks into the variety of institutions and practices García Canclini was involved

---

[601] The decree 91.144 that formalised the Ministry in 1985 is available at <http://www2.cultura.gov.br/site/wp-content/uploads/2007/09/decreto-criacao-minc.pdf>. Accessed on 18 October 2013.

[602] Historical information about Brazil´s Ministry of Culture is available at <http://www.cultura.gov.br/site/o-ministerio/historico-do-ministerio-da-cultura/>. Accessed on 18 October 2013.

[603] ALBA Cultural was established in February 2008 as a Proyecto Grannacional (which has no equivalent term in English, but might read as a Project for a Great Nation) as part of the Bolivarian Alternative for the Peoples of Our America. Its members are Bolivia, Cuba, Nicaragua, Venezuela and the Caribbean island Dominica. Further information is available at <http://www.albacultural.org/que-es-alba-cultural>. Accessed on 26 October 2013. In turn, MERCOSUR Cultural was created from the Memorandum of Agreement (Memorandum de Entendimiento) that was signed in Buenos Aires on 15 March 1995 during the First Specialised Meeting about Culture of the Common Market of the South. Available at <http://www.mercosur.int/msweb/normas/normas_web/decisiones/es/dec_011_096_.pdf>. Accessed on 26 October 2013.

[604] O ESTADO de São Paulo. Palestra sobre redes sociais. **O Estado de São Paulo**, São Paulo, 10 September 2010.

with and not the effects of his activities in Latin America. An example of this is that he was invited in July 2000 to participate in Argentina´s Council[605] of Culture of the Nation (Consejo de Cultura de la Nación) to discuss cultural policy and reflect on issues of culture and communication with Argentine politicians.[606] On 27 September 2000, he presented the lecture *What do the cultural industries give to and ask from cultural management?* (*¿Qué dan y qué piden las industrias culturales a la gestión cultural?*) during the International Seminar about Globalisation and Cultural Management (Globalización y Gestión Cultural) in Buenos Aires, which was sponsored by Argentina´s Secretariat of Culture and Communication (Secretaría de Cultura y Comunicación, Argentina). The opening talk of this event was given by the Argentine Secretary of Culture and Communication Darío Lopérfido and involved Luis Alberto Quevedo, George Yúdice and García Canclini. This seminar corroborates that García Canclini does not speak only to academics, but is trying to reach policy-makers. He is networking with other academics and with policy-makers from Argentina's Council of Culture of the Nation and its Secretariat of Culture and Communication. This event was supported by the National Institute of Cultural Management (Instituto Nacional de Administración Cultural), the Secretariat of Culture and Communication, and the United States Embassy in Buenos Aires, and it was broadcast on Canal 7 (an Argentine public television channel).[607] There are so many listeners to what García Canclini has to say about cultural issues. Further to this, for a few weeks in April 2001 García Canclini taught the postgraduate course *Culture and communication management* (*Gestión en cultura y comunicación*), which was sponsored by the Secretariat of Culture and Communication in Argentina.[608] More recently, on 7 November 2005, he participated in the debate The Argentine Culture Seen from Abroad (La Cultura Argentina Vista desde Afuera) with José Nun – who was Secretary of Culture of the Nation – at the National Museum of Fine Arts (Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes) in Buenos Aires.[609] These

---

[605] Council, in this case, means a group of people who had meetings in Argentina to discuss its governmental cultural policies. It thus differs from Mexico´s Consejo because it is not a governmental administrative body. Mexico has its Consejo for artistic and cultural policy-making and Argentina has a Secretaría for similar issues.

[606] Two articles from the Argentine newspaper La Nación provide information about the Council of Culture of the Nation: 1) LA NACIÓN. Breves. **La Nación**, Buenos Aires, 8 July 2000. And 2): LA NACIÓN. Un consejo de intelectuales debatirá las políticas culturales del Gobierno. **La Nación**, Buenos Aires, 11 July 2000.

[607] CLARÍN. Cultura: Breves. Punto y coma. **Clarín**, Buenos Aires, 24 September 2000.

[608] REINOSO, Susana. El multimedios ya gastó de más. **La Nación**, Buenos Aires, 8 April 2001.

[609] LA NACIÓN. Agenda cultural. **La Nación**, Buenos Aires, 7 November 2005.

examples of García Canclini´s activities with non-academic institutions suggest that not only is he concerned with cultural issues as an academic (as the previous chapters emphasise) but he also tries to advocate engagement with them in policy contexts.

Further engagements of García Canclini in South American institutions deserve to be noted. One such activity is the publication of the article *Diversity and rights in global interculturality* (*Diversidade e direitos na interculturalidade global*[610]) in Revista Observatório Itaú Cultural[611]. In it, García Canclini reflects: 'Perhaps the subjects of diversity, development and human rights may sound attractive for the new generations if we are capable of imagining culture as something more than a commercial porfolio from Google, five or six publishing houses and two or three recording companies, interrupted by the appearance of clandestine videos on the screens of YouTube.'[612] This quotation has a political implication. García Canclini is using a space for publication that is provided by an institution linked to a private bank to criticise monopolistic practices and to propose a more diverse perspective of cultural issues. Similarly worthy of attention is the fact that, for the journal edition where García Canclini published his article *Diversity and rights in global interculturality*, Itaú Cultural Monitoring (Observatório Itaú Cultural, Brazil) worked in collaboration with two other Brazilian institutions: Monitoring of Cultural Diversity (Observatório da Diversidade Cultural) and Secretariat of Citizenship and Cultural Diversity (Secretaria da Cidadania e da Diversidade Cultural). I would emphasise that the Secretariat of Citizenship and Cultural Diversity is part of Brazil´s Ministry of Culture. Even García Canclini is not fully aware of the consequences that his ideas might have, but, for my analysis, this is an example of how a policy institution supports a publication in which García Canclini delivers his proposals on cultural issues. As seen in chapter 3, his work suggests that Latin America´s images that circulate the world through the media amount to a reduced representation of the diversity of Latin American identities.

However, García Canclini´s activities with non-academic institutions in Venezuela differ from those he has in Brazil; the main difference rests on the type of

---

[610] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Diversidade e direitos na interculturalidade global. **Revista Observatório Itaú Cultural**, São Paulo, Itaú Cultural, n. 8, pp. 143–152, April–July 2009.

[611] Information about Itaú Cultural Monitoring is available at <http://novo.itaucultural.org.br/conheca/observatorio-itau-cultural/>. Accessed on 12 February 2014. 'Revista' is the Portuguese word for 'journal'. This journal belongs to Itaú Cultural Monitoring, which is a programme that was created in 2006 by the Brazilian private bank Itaú for the promotion of lectures, meetings and publications that involve experts in cultural management, cultural policies and economy.

[612] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Diversidade e direitos na interculturalidade global. op. cit. p. 151. TBM.

institutions involved in such activities. More precisely, I refer to the fact that he advised the Latin American and Caribbean Economic System (Sistema Económico Latinoamericano y del Caribe, SELA), which is an intergovernmental organisation headquartered in Caracas, Venezuela, on issues regarding culture and development. García Canclini was invited by this institution to co-ordinate, during 1997 and 1998, a research activity about the cultural industries in Latin America.[613] The results of this research activity culminated in a book for which García Canclini and the Argentine economist Carlos Juan Moneta worked as editors: *The cultural industries in the Latin American integration*[614] (1999). In addition, SELA, the Andrés Bello Organisation (Convenio Andrés Bello, CAB, which is an institution headquartered in Bogotá, Colombia) and UNESCO funded García Canclini´s visit to Argentina in July 1998 when he attended the meeting The Cultural Industries and Latin American Integration (Industrias Culturales e Integración Latinoamericana) in Buenos Aires.[615] SELA is an international organisation with policy-makers who are fundamentally concerned with the role of the state in Latin America's economic development. Chapter 3 has shown that García Canclini has an academic interest in the topics of culture as a means to achieve development, integration and the cultural industries. It has also discussed how these issues culminate in the proposal of Latin American cultural spaces for which García Canclini, Manuel Antonio Garretón and other Latin American thinkers make a great contribution. That García Canclini has the chance, by the end of the 1990s, to express his ideas to such policy-makers from SELA means, in my view, that there have been attempts to improve dialogue between academia and other institutions.

Additionally, García Canclini´s urban studies research obtained support from different international organisations. In 1999, the Andrés Bello Organisation funded the research sub-project *Urban cultures in Latin America and Spain from their social imaginaries* (*Culturas urbanas en América Latina y España desde sus imaginarios sociales*), which is part of the project *Policies and economy* (*Políticas y economía*). This in-depth research sub-project involved two activities: one was about urban cultures and co-ordinated by the Colombian philosopher Armando Silva; the other focused on uses

---

[613] García Canclini describes this activity in his online extensive curriculum vitae. Information available at <http://nestorgarciacanclini.net/index.php/curriculum-vitae-extenso>. Accessed on 3 February 2013.

[614] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; MONETA, Carlos Juan (Eds.). *Las industrias culturales en la integración latinoamericana*. Buenos Aires: Eudeba, SELA, 1999.

[615] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Industrias culturales y globalización: Procesos de desarrollo e integración en América Latina. **Estudios Internacionales**, Santiago de Chile, Instituto de Estudios Internacionales, Universidad de Chile, v. 33, n. 129, pp. 90–111, 2000. This information is on page 108.

of the media and was headed by García Canclini. This is an example of another Latin American international organisation giving financial support to academic activities. The goals of these activities were to discover the cultural processes and urban forms that exist in Latin America so as to study the habits of people who dwell in thirteen capitals of Iberian American countries (Asunción, Barcelona, Bogotá, Buenos Aires, Caracas, Mexico City, La Paz, Lima, Montevideo, Panamá, Quito, São Paulo and Santiago de Chile). These international research activities lasted from 1999 until 2003 and had the additional objective of influencing local governments for Latin America´s integration.[616] Whether there have been limitations or not in García Canclini's relationships and their effects, it is fundamental for me that the voices of scholars reach beyond academia and make possible a broad networking with policy-makers from international organisations. Furthermore, during an event held between 9 and 12 September 2003 in the branch of the Bank of Brazil Cultural Centre (Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil, CCBB, Brazil) in Brasília, García Canclini gave the lecture *Reconstructed and reinvented large cities* (*Megalópolis desconstruidas y reinventadas*) for the symposium The Invention of Cities in Latin America (A Invenção das Cidades na América Latina).[617] During this lecture, García Canclini focused his interpretation on the role of informal urban workers to understand processes related to the transformations of Latin American cities. This is an example of an academic event held at a space offered by one of Brazil's largest banks. As shown in chapter 3, his cultural policy ideas developed from 'Urban studies and cultural transformations in Latin America' to formulating 'Policies for the growth of Latin America´s cultural industries'. He was certainly aware that multiple policy-makers promote Latin America´s cultural industries in its international relations.

It is important to bear in mind that every cultural policy presupposes the existence of concrete policy-makers, according to the Spanish cultural manager and scholar Alfons Martinell in his article *The cultural policy-makers in face of the new challenges of cultural management* (*Los agentes culturales ante los nuevos retos de la*

---

[616] Two sources indicate this: 1) CONVENIO Andrés Bello. *Cultura, la llave maestra de la integración*. Primer Encuentro Internacional La Cultura como Factor de Desarrollo e Integración Regional, Buenos Aires, Museo de Arte Latinoamericano de Buenos Aires, 20–21 May 2002. And 2): UNIVERSIDAD Internacional de Andalucía. *Armando Silva: Bogotá imaginada: De la ciudad de la arquitectura a la urbe de sus culturas ciudadanas*. **Arte y Pensamiento**, Baeza, Spain, Universidad Internacional de Andalucía, n.d. Available at <http://ayp.unia.es/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=396>. Accessed on 18 October 2013.

[617] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Megalópolis desconstruidas y reinventadas*. Brasília: Annals of the symposium The Invention of Cities in Latin America (A Invenção das Cidades na América Latina), 2003.

gestión cultural[618]). In this article, he discusses how far each cultural policy-maker can reach. He divides these into three main groups: Public Management, Private Institutions and Third Sector. These groups have nonetheless made associations and partnerships that situate themselves somewhere between these three separate groups. Regarding Public Management, Garretón[619] and the Brazilian sociologist Carlos Alberto Dória[620] share the opinion – although the latter´s is more radical – that the state should not intervene in the meanings of culture. García Canclini does not indicate what the most suitable policy-maker for Latin America´s national development is or should be, although he suggests a predilection for the state[621] and he supports policy-making from international intergovernmental organisations. He advocates, in one of UNESCO´s publications[622], the establishment of multiple policy-makers who promote the diversity of identities in a democratic environment. In García Canclini´s words, the 'new role of the state and of international organisations (UNESCO, OAS, SELA, ALADI, etc.) would consist in re-constructing the public space, which can be understood as collective and multicultural'.[623] By this statement he means that in such space 'the diverse cultural

---

[618] MARTINELL, Alfons. Los agentes culturales ante los nuevos retos de la gestión cultural. **Revista Iberoamericana de Educación**, Madrid, OEI: 50 Años de Cooperación, n. 20, May–August 1999. Available at <http://www.rieoei.org/rie20a09.htm>. Accessed on 30 January 2013.

[619] GARRETÓN, Manuel Antonio. *La faz sumergida del iceberg: Estudios sobre la transformación cultural*. Santiago, Chile: Edición CESOC, LOM Ediciones, 1994. Garretón advocated an 'institutional and organic place' (p. 141. TBM.) for culture in terms of its institutional development to the degree that Economy, Education and Labour have their own Ministries where enterprisers, teachers and workers can pursue their interests.

[620] DÓRIA, Carlos Alberto. *Os federais da cultura*. São Paulo: Biruta, 2003. Dória does not acquiesce to the fact that a select group of state managers determine the meaning of culture and guide the cultural agenda in Brazil.

[621] In many of García Canclini´s writings, he has a strong appeal for what the state should do for culture in Latin America. He does not believe that any other policy-maker (e.g. private companies) can pursue public interest better than the state does. For example, he posited in *Consumers and citizens*: 'The real challenge is to revitalize the state as the representative of the public interest, as the arbiter or guarantor that will not allow the collective need for information, recreation, and innovation to be subordinated to commercial profitability.' (p. 155). GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Consumers and citizens: Globalization and multicultural conflicts*. Translated by George Yúdice. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001. The word 'revitalize' with a 'z' (differently from the United Kingdom´s spelling) has been used as it appears in the original quotation.

[622] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. La integración en un contexto pluriétnico y pluricultural. In: *La integración en América Latina. Visión Latinoamericana 2000*. Paris: UNESCO Editions, 1995. pp. 199–215. This publication results from a paper García Canclini presented at the Forum Iberian American Vision 2000 (Forum Visión Iberoamericana 2000) sponsored by UNESCO in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, on 16–18 March 1994. This meeting had the objective of preparing documents for the summit of Iberian American presidents that would occur in June 1994 in the same city. The aforementioned Forum indicates the degree to which some experts in culture have been called by international organisations to shed light and influence intergovernmental debates and policies.

[623] Ibid. p. 213. TBM.

policy-makers (the state, private companies and independent groups) could negotiate agreements that develop public interest and pluri-cultural ways of living together'[624].

Nonetheless, there is no agreement on the role of the state in Latin America. This is a point Eduardo Nivón demonstrates by identifying two major problems in the development of international co-operation which concern the transformation of policy-makers´ political role from subjects (*sujetos*) to instruments (*instrumentos*) of co-operation. Nivón names such problems 'the poverty of its aspirations'[625] (those of international cultural co-operation in the Americas) and 'the excessive role of the state'[626] in the Latin American political debate. Because direct access to the bureaucratic and technical staff involved in policy-making is restricted, Nivón sustains that their work methodologies should change to make some improvements in cultural co-operation. Furthermore, Nivón praises how the pivotal role in cultural policy co-operation has shifted from the state to citizens and from consumption to citizens; therefore, this point concurs with García Canclini´s argument in *Consumers and citizens* (1995), although the latter criticises how citizenship has been degraded lately by negligence of the state (as shown in chapter 3). In short, topics of globalisation inspire both of these scholars to re-think the local (and its traditional cultures) in relation to international co-operation.

Issues regarding the policy-makers who manage the representations of Latin American identities deeply concern García Canclini. He investigates such issues by questioning, first, the economic policies which favour the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) with the United States and, secondly, the increasing presence of Spanish investments in Latin America. In a way, García Canclini is uncertain about whether he considers Spanish investments in Latin America a sign of progress or a threat. On the one hand, to name a few examples, institutions from the United States (e.g. IDB, OAS, World Bank) have argued for an economic strategy of development through the cultural industries and free trade agreements with Latin America. Spanish institutions (e.g. AECID, OEI), on the other, have suggested a political strategy of

---

[624] Ibid. p. 213. TBM.

[625] NIVÓN BOLÁN, Eduardo. La cooperación cultural como proceso de la globalización: Una visión desde América Latina. **Pensar Iberoamérica: Revista de Cultura**, Madrid, n. 0, February 2002. Available at <http://www.oei.es/pensariberoamerica/ric00a02.htm>. Accessed on 19 February 2014. para. 15. TBM. Eduardo Nivón wrote this article for a meeting at the Campus Euroamericano de Cooperación Cultural held in Barcelona on 4–8 October 2000. After a period in which Nivón and García Canclini have been colleagues, García Canclini invited Nivón to co-ordinate the Urban Culture Study Programme at UAM-Iztapalapa in 2006.

[626] Ibid. para. 10. TBM.

development through the discourses of Iberian American cultural spaces instead of Latin American cultural spaces. Despite García Canclini´s uncertainty, he makes connections between culture and the economy because he is interested in promoting increased availability and use of cultural statistics.[627] It is clear then, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, that García Canclini's research topics remain quite different from that of an orthodox anthropologist. Chapters 2 and 3 respectively argued that there are two main reasons for this: he focused on consumption rather than production during the 1970s and 1980s; and later, during the 1990s and 2000s, his interest in culture for culture´s sake decreases.

This point about culture for culture´s sake particularly deserves additional attention because it involves García Canclini´s relationships with UNESCO, his ideas about culture as a means for national development in Latin America, and because it supports my point about multiple policy-makers. Thus I would emphasise the fact that the relationship between culture and development is the main subject in some of García Canclini´s academic publications. For example, in 1993, he published the article *Multicultural policies as an integrated resource for the processes of development in Latin America* (*Las políticas multiculturales como un recurso integrado para los procesos de desarrollo en América Latina*[628]) with UNESCO´s support. Later, in 1995, he was mentioned in the document *Multiculturalism: A policy response to diversity*[629] for his contribution as a source of information. He gave a lecture during the event *The future of multi-cultural societies*[630] that UNESCO promoted at the World Commission

---

[627] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Reconstruir políticas de inclusão na América Latina. In: UNESCO. *Políticas culturais para o desenvolvimento: Uma base de dados para a cultura*. Brasília: UNESCO Brasil, 2003. p. 21. García Canclini wrote the opening text for a 2003 anthology called 'Cultural policies for development', which was introduced by the Brazilian Minister of Culture Gilberto Gil, edited by UNESCO´s office in Brasília (Brazil) and sponsored by the Division of Cultural Policies and Intercultural Dialogue, Culture and Development Section, from Paris. The book resulted from an International Seminar of the same name held in Recife (state of Pernambuco, Brazil) in August 2002. The key purposes of this International Seminar were to encourage policy-makers´ interest in culture and development and to promote the creation of a database for culture. This event also obtained support from the Institute of Applied Economic Research (Instituto de Pesquisas Econômicas Aplicadas, IPEA). García Canclini´s text is a summary of the ideas presented in his book *Latin Americans seeking a place in this century*.

[628] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Las políticas multiculturales como un recurso integrado para los procesos de desarrollo en América Latina*. Paris: UNESCO, SHS.93/CONF.009/2 - SHS.93/CONF.009/LD.1, 1993. This reference is quoted in the document UNESCO. *Bibliography for cultural policies and development - G - H - I*. Paris: UNESCO, 15 February 2004. Available at <http://portal.unesco.org/culture/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=18478&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html>. Accessed on 21 February 2014.

[629] MANAGEMENT of Social Transformations (MOST). *Multiculturalism: A policy response to diversity*. Paris: UNESCO, 1995.

[630] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *The future of multicultural societies*. Costa Rica: Third Meeting, UNESCO, CCD-III/94/REG/INF.8, 22–26 February 1994. This reference is quoted in the document

on Culture and Development in Costa Rica in February 1994. In fact, García Canclini's approaches to UNESCO evince that he is a Latin American reference in culture.

Such a brief account on the implications of the link between culture and development nevertheless gives an idea of how national development gradually changes in Latin America. This is because of the multiplicity of cultural policy-makers with which García Canclini was involved (in many degrees of proximity) and of their interests. The affinity between him and the institutions matters less than his effort to be persuasive, and this explains why he is willing to be involved with some private institutions he criticises in his work. He accuses them of trying to control society excessively through their power to communicate, inform and charm. An additional concern is that private institutions do not necessarily pursue public interest in their profitable activities. García Canclini affirms that foundations are usually after their clients´ loyalty, evasion of taxes and free publicity, but are rarely 'willing to participate in public plans for promoting culture and supporting creation and research'[631]. Despite García Canclini´s bitter criticism[632] of some private institutions and their foundations when these do not pursue public interest, Yúdice and Miller explain García Canclini´s negotiations with them: 'Anthropologists like Néstor García Canclini in Mexico make policy recommendations that avoid the production and reception parameters fostered by corporate interests'[633] and they hope that 'citizen and cultural rights'[634] will be 'respected over the interests of capital accumulation and traditional elites'[635].

UNESCO. *Bibliography for cultural policies and development - G - H - I*. Paris: UNESCO, 15 February 2004. Available at <http://portal.unesco.org/culture/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=18478&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html>. Accessed on 21 February 2014.

[631] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Canclini responde*. **YouTube**. García Canclini answers a question about foundations during a session of questions and answers on Mexico´s Municipal Institute of Culture (Instituto Municipal de Cultura). Paula Beaulieu forwarded this question from somebody in the audience. The video was published on YouTube on 11 May 2012. Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MUABxZqcVU0>. Accessed on 19 February 2014. This sentence appears at 1:02 / 1:31 of the video on YouTube. TBM.

[632] García Canclini does not criticise all private institutions and their foundations indiscriminately, but those he deems that have not pursued public interest, have become large enough to hold monopolistic practices and increase their power, and have not complied with basic rules of sustainability in their businesses. I have noticed, in his book *Latin American seeking a place in this century* (2002), that he speaks with criticism about the mergers of large companies of communication and information that offer services in Latin America such as Globo (Brazil), Telefónica (Spain), Televisa (Mexico) and Venevisión (Venezuela). He mentions these institutions respectively on pages 24, 48, 24 and 24. GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Latinoamericanos buscando lugar en este siglo*. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2002.

[633] YÚDICE, George; MILLER, Toby. *Cultural policy*. London: SAGE Publications, 2002. p. 32.

[634] Ibid. p. 32.

[635] Ibid. p. 32.

García Canclini realises that the state transfers power to policy-makers who act on a 'transnational level and do not convey the mark of their places of origin'[636] (he quotes in his publications, for example, policy-makers working for Benetton, CNN, Microsoft, MTV, Nike, Sony and Telefónica[637]), but he recognises that this is problematic because some of them are private corporations that neglect the collective interest (he uses the expression 'public interest' quite often, though). So he finds in meetings with bureaucrats, legislators and other cultural policy-makers suitable opportunities for putting his political proposals into practice. García Canclini made the following cultural policy suggestions for Latin America that do not require 'new institutional structures which are complex or heavy'[638] or 'budgetary excesses'[639]:

a) Creating the Latin American System of Cultural Information. Its principal function is to gather reliable data of all countries in the region which make a record of the development and the inclinations of their cultural investments (public and private), of their consumption (especially that of the cultural industries) and of their intercultural perceptions (images of the other countries of the region and of the Euro American and North American space). [...]

b) Promoting mechanisms that articulate the governmental, the private and other sectors in association. One of the objectives will be to facilitate the co-ordination of investments in each sector based on the diagnoses of the sociocultural needs of the population. These diagnoses will allow managers to analyse information about consumptions, cultural equipments and investments (that are available or potential ones) to expand endogenous cultural production.

c) Promoting studies that value the role of the cultural industries in development from the standpoint of a quantitative estimation of their contribution to employment, to exports and to other areas of socioeconomic development, as well as from the standpoint of a qualitative assessment of their contribution to the formation of a national and a Latin American citizenship.

d) Undertaking comparative studies of the funding mechanisms of culture in Latin American countries, the United States, Canada and Europe in order to find out and to show the most suitable modalities for the complementary use of public and private resources. [...]

e) Promoting the creation of national councils of the cultural industries which enable the participation of experts of each sector, of private companies, of universities, of the

---

[636] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Diferentes, desiguais e desconectados: Mapas da interculturalidade*. Translation from Spanish to Portuguese by Luiz Sérgio Henriques. Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 2005. p. 259. TBM.

[637] García Canclini mentions and discusses these private companies on pp. 51 and 94. GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Latinoamericanos buscando lugar en este siglo*. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2002.

[638] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Industrias culturales y globalización: Procesos de desarrollo e integración en América Latina. **Estudios Internacionales**, Santiago de Chile, Instituto de Estudios Internacionales, Universidad de Chile, v. 33, n. 129, pp. 90–111, 2000. p. 110. TBM.

[639] Ibid. p. 110. TBM.

public sector and of social movements with the aim to regulate the functioning of such industries.[640]

Having suggested these proposals, García Canclini recommends that cultural policy should provide a platform for the cultural industries to promote the national development of Latin American countries and their international co-operation. But this happens from the perspective of their dependence on the United States´s audiovisual production and on Spain´s editorial production.[641] García Canclini´s aforementioned activities and interests indicate that he wanted to situate Latin America more competitively and more visibly in international relations. Therefore he was thinking of complex cultural relationships that involve not only the state (and its bodies) but a large number of other policy-makers. While this section has examined some topics concerning Latin America, the next section discusses examples from Mexico.

4.2. The pervasiveness of cultural policy in Mexican institutions

This second part of the chapter argues that Mexico´s cultural policy pervades all its institutions, although some of them directly and explicitly refer to culture while others do not. This argument applies despite the development of cultural policy institutions in Mexico through the creation of the Mexican National Council for Culture and the Arts (CONACULTA) by presidential decree[642] in 1988 and the ensuing desire from policy-makers and the intellectual community for the autonomy of cultural decision-making. Culture is understood here as an important factor in Mexico´s national development because a broad range of its institutions have created special committees and work groups to discuss culture. While this section outlines the key argument of the second part (with its focus on Mexico), the next section shows that such committees and groups consider national identity in their policy-making and it argues that García Canclini engages in a variety of activities to promote cultural issues in Mexico. My thesis is

---

[640] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Industrias culturales y globalización: Procesos de desarrollo e integración en América Latina. **Estudios Internacionales**, Santiago de Chile, Instituto de Estudios Internacionales, Universidad de Chile, v. 33, n. 129, pp. 90–111, 2000. pp. 108–110. TBM.

[641] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Comentario crítico al libro *Industrias culturales*. In: ÁLVAREZ, Gabriel Omar (Ed.). *Indústrias culturais no Mercosul*. Brasília: Instituto Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais, 2003. p. 70. Film and publishing industries are some of the cultural industries which García Canclini deeply investigated.

[642] DIARIO Oficial de la Federación. Decreto de Creación del CONACULTA, which was signed by president Carlos Salinas de Gortari on 7 December 1988. CONACULTA was created as an 'administrative branch which is independent of the Secretariat of Public Education' (para. 3. TBM.). Information available at <http://www.conaculta.gob.mx/fundacion/>. Accessed on 30 March 2013.

reinforced in this part because it analyses which institutions, the how (the nature of García Canclini's practices) and with whom (the networks he gets involved with).

In Mexico, García Canclini is not regarded as a specialised professional or one who only writes about a handful of scientific topics for cultivated readers within academia. Instead, he is seen as an intellectual who willingly gives his opinion on cultural issues at various academic events. Thus his reputation in Mexico is comparable to that of Beatriz Sarlo[643] in Argentina and Nelly Richard[644] in Chile, who are influential intellectuals in theoretical debates on Latin American cultures. García Canclini has also been invited to deliver in the media and other institutions his ideas about cultural issues. I understand that non-academic institutions expect to share certain ideas and positions with the scholars who are invited for extra-academic activities.

One example of such expectation is García Canclini´s approaches to Mexico´s publicly funded television channel Canal 22. He had meetings with Jorge Volpi, who was Canal 22´s director, and accepted invitations to be interviewed on television. García Canclini also made a statement about the importance of having a 'defender of the reader and the spectator'[645] (who acts like an Ombudsman in certain contexts) and more specifically a Canal 22´s 'defender of the television spectator'[646] during an interview he gave to the Professor Jerónimo Repoll. So far, I have only mentioned García Canclini's relations with journalists and a television director. However, during this interview, García Canclini also praised the deputy Javier Corral´s Law Proposal for Telecommunications and Audiovisual Contents (Iniciativa de Ley de Telecomunicaciones y Contenidos Audiovisuales) to regulate the media in Mexico.[647]

---

[643] Beatriz Sarlo is an Argentine writer and cultural critic who taught Literature at the University of Buenos Aires and authored the books *La pasión y la excepción*, *Tiempo presente*, *Escenas de la vida posmoderna* and *La ciudad vista*. Having been influenced by intellectuals such as Raymond Williams, Richard Owen and Roland Barthes, she contributes regularly for newspapers with articles about cultural issues – which range from pop music, television and youth cultures to such habits as visiting shopping centres – and she directed the journal Punto de Vista.

[644] The naturalised Chilean (born in France) Nelly Richard is one of the most influential cultural theorists in Latin America. She writes widely about topics such as Chile´s redemocratisation, the arts, memory, cultural resistance and identities. She founded and directed the Revista de Crítica Cultural and is author of the books *La estratificación de los márgenes*, *Cultural residues: Chile in transition* and *The insubordination of signs: Political change, cultural transformation and poetics of the crisis (post-contemporary interventions)*.

[645] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Interview given to Jerónimo Repoll. Desigualdades, diferencias y desconexiones. Los retos de la comunicación y la democracia en América Latina. **Andamios: Revista de Investigación Social**, Mexico City, Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México, v. 7, n. 14, pp. 139–149, September–December 2010. p. 147. TBM.

[646] Ibid. p. 147. TBM.

[647] Ibid. Such information about the Law Proposal for Telecommunications and Audiovisual Contents is available on p. 147.

So García Canclini uses his opportunity on television to stimulate changes in the media's regulation. On a different occasion, García Canclini gave the Keynote Lecture in the International Meeting about Culture and the Media (Encuentro Internacional de Cultura y Medios), which was organised by Canal 22 to celebrate and reflect on the fifteen years of this television channel. Renowned experts in communication such as Román Gubern (a Spanish historian, specialist in mass-media issues and writer) participated in the event, which was held at the National Centre of the Arts (Centro Nacional de las Artes, CENART) between in June 2008.[648] These examples help me show that academic and policy logics interrelate. The relevance of these relationships for García Canclini´s intellectually-oriented cultural policy operation is that he encourages debates on cultural (and communication) issues in the Mexican media.

It becomes clear in this second part of the chapter that García Canclini has been closely involved in Mexico with various institutions in which their policy-makers, either directly or indirectly, discuss and deliberate on cultural issues. It is worth pointing out that the previous chapters have discussed relevant ideas and processes of the particularities of Mexico´s political history and the heterogeneity of its modernities for the purposes of this thesis. But this chapter investigates the multiplicity of institutions and of policy-makers that are concerned with cultural issues in Latin America, and analyses some of García Canclini's extensive participations. While chapter 1 discussed Latin America´s cultural policy institutional development[649], the next section examines particularities of Mexico´s cultural policy institutional models (especially its Consejo).

4.2.1. Consejo and cultural policy institutional models in Mexico

This section explores the context surrounding the creation of the National Council for Culture and the Arts (Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, CONACULTA) in December 1988[650]. I will highlight the links between the model of Consejo for Mexico´s cultural policy institutional development since December 1988 and García Canclini´s relationships with this and other cultural policy institutions in Mexico. My argument in

---

[648] Four different publications testify to this: 1) EL UNIVERSAL. Lamenta Volpi retraso en creación de Ley de Medios. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 28 May 2008. 2) PALAPA QUIJAS, Fabiola. Canal 22 impulsará nueva legislación de medios públicos, dice su director. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 29 May 2008. 3) HAW, Dora Luz. Piden diversidad en la TV pública. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 3 June 2008. And 4) EL UNIVERSAL. Pide Volpi que se realice una nueva legislación de medios. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 24 June 2008.

[649] Chapter 1 gave an important background of Latin America´s cultural policy institutional development.

[650] The document that created CONACULTA was quoted in a footnote a few paragraphs earlier.

this section is that there is an inextricable relationship between Mexico´s historical attributes of culture and the political role of culture in Mexico's cultural policy institutional development. However, this section argues that such interaction is often contradictory. On the one hand, newly created cultural policy institutions have taken into account Mexico´s cultural diversity, heritage and traditions; on the other, nevertheless, there have been disagreements in cultural policy institutions and between their cultural policy-makers over issues such as Mexico´s national identity.

Despite the attention that Mexico´s policy-makers give to its traditions, Mexico´s official discourses have downgraded José Vasconcelos´s proposal of Mexican identity as a mixed-race nation in the 1920s. This explains why Mexico´s policy-makers often pay more attention to ideas and proposals that come from abroad than to what Mexican intellectuals say about its culture and society. So Mexico became deeply receptive to transnational prescriptions for culture that come chiefly from UNESCO[651]. It should be mentioned that one of the consequences of this is the World Conference on Cultural Policies (MONDIACULT)[652] that was held in Mexico City on 6 August 1982. Ever since then, two processes have influenced Mexico´s cultural policy: one results from the minimal-state ideologies which encouraged the privatisation of public companies and services during Carlos Salinas de Gortari´s *sexenio*[653] (1988–1994); the other is that part of Mexico´s cultural policy institutional development was suggested from abroad and applied internally. It means that, as shown in chapter 1, international organisations (but chiefly the French cultural policy model) are influential in the practices and administrative structures of Mexico´s cultural policy.

By following this trend, Mexico neglected its indigenous diversity because it was under-represented in governmental policy during the twentieth century. As Mexico´s history of national losses (e.g. Mexico's war with the United States in the nineteenth century where the former lost half of its territory) elapses, the anthropologist Guillermo Bonfil Batalla criticises, in his book *Mexico profundo: Reclaiming a civilisation* (1987), the ideological and political suppression of the indigenous people. For Bonfil Batalla, the indigenous people were marginalised from Mexico´s national

---

[651] The section 'Key historical issues of cultural policy in Latin America' of chapter 1 discussed this point.

[652] UNESCO. *Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies*. Paris: UNESCO, 6 August 1982. Available at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0005/000546/054668mb.pdf>. Accessed on 30 March 2013.

[653] A *sexenio* is the six years period without extension during which a democratically elected president rules Mexico.

identities. He was clearly concerned about the loss of traditions and how such traditions constitute Mexican nationality. The preoccupation with cultural issues is not a new phenomenon in Mexico, although the development of them into a specific policy area did not occur until decades later and this was motivated chiefly for exogenous[654] political reasons. But this thesis does not extensively narrate the state´s purpose of creating the Mexican national identity during the twentieth century around the characters of *charro*[655] and *china poblana*[656] as Luis Felipe Crespo Oviedo[657] does.

As I have alluded to the early formation of national identities, I would emphasise that cultural management[658] institutions in Mexico have existed since the late 1930s. Both the National Institute of Anthropology and History (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, INAH) and the National Institute of Fine Arts (Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, INBA) were founded much earlier – in 1939 and 1946 respectively – than the named cultural policy institutions in Mexico. For the purposes of this chapter, I would point out that development and heritage issues inspired García Canclini´s approach to INAH, which happened mostly during the 1980s. He presented the lecture *The crisis of the cultural policies: From structural economics to monetarism* (*La crisis de las políticas culturales: Del desarrollismo al monetarismo*), which later became an article[659], during the First Symposium on Mexico´s Contemporary History 1940–1984 (Primer Simposio sobre la Historia Contemporánea de México 1940–1984) in Mexico City in 1986. INAH and the Secretariat of Public Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública, SEP) sponsored this event. In 1987, he published his article *Who*

---

[654] For an account of how Latin America´s political ideologies (e.g. development, modernity and progress) mirrored the ideologies that emerged and developed in Europe and particularly in the United States, see MORSE, Richard. *New World soundings: Culture and ideology in the Americas*. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

[655] A *charro* refers to the stereotype of the Mexican horseback cowboy who wears a hat (*sombrero*). It has particularities in comparison with a *ranchero* and a *vaquero* despite their link with the north of Mexico.

[656] The *china poblana* is a legend which characterises a traditional dressing style of Mexican women and is commonly related to the habits of the central (*poblano* means from Puebla) and southern regions of Mexico.

[657] CRESPO OVIEDO, Luis Felipe. Políticas culturales: Viejas tareas, nuevos paradigmas. **Derecho y Cultura**, Mexico City, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas-UNAM, n. 9, pp. 23–42, March–August 2003.

[658] I employ here the expression 'cultural management' because, during the 1930s and 1940s, it was not common in Mexico to speak of 'cultural policy' as it only started to be frequently used during the 1980s and 1990s.

[659] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. La crisis de las políticas culturales: Del desarrollismo al monetarismo. **Primer Simposio sobre Historia Contemporánea de México 1940–1984**, Mexico City, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1986. This article resulted from a symposium.

does use heritage?: Cultural policies and social participation[660]. Much later, in 2006, he gave the lecture *Cultural policy and heritage* (*Política cultural y patrimonio*) for the short-term course Management of Cultural Heritage (Curso de Actualización en Gestión del Patrimonio Cultural) that was offered by CONACULTA, INAH and UAM at the Mexican Templo Mayor. These experiences indicate that García Canclini made his first moves beyond academia through Mexican governmental institutions that were related to the arts and history. He networks with their policy-makers, first, on issues related to the material conditions of Mexico's development, cultural policy and heritage. By the end of the 1980s, García Canclini still had infrequent extra-academic activities, however.

Although García Canclini has stated[661] that he has never occupied any political position, he directed and was one of the founders of the INBA´s Centre of Documentation and Research (Centro de Documentación e Investigación) – which proposed policies for the figurative arts – from 1980 to 1984. During this experience, García Canclini worked with the ambassador Juan José Bremer, who was Director General of INBA from 1977 to 1981. García Canclini said these activities consisted of 'academic and cultural activism'[662]; he used such particular phrase to emphasise his position as an academic. This section of the chapter also reveals how he presses for political changes through his participation in governmental institutions, even if he does it as a scholar; that is, he has never admitted that he occupies any political position. My view is that, if García Canclini emphasised theoretical concepts and if he used jargons, his cultural policy[663] would not have the same impact as it does elsewhere to attract other audiences than lecturers, students and researchers. Such argument explains why this chapter discusses a multiplicity of policy-makers: it would not be possible to

---

[660] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. ¿Quiénes usan el patrimonio?: Políticas culturales y participación social. **Antropología**, Mexico City, INAH´s official bulletin, pp. 11–24, July–October 1987.

[661] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Interview conducted by Bruno Peron Loureiro in the home office of Néstor García Canclini, Mexico City, 27 February 2009. In: PERON LOUREIRO, Bruno. *Néstor García Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina*. Thesis presented to obtain the degree of MPhil in Latin American Studies (Maestro en Estudios Latinoamericanos), Mexico City, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Anexo II, September 2009. He made such an affirmation during this interview. On the same occasion, he confirmed that he offered his support to a few leftist political parties in Argentina and Mexico; examples of such support will be shown later in this chapter.

[662] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Interview conducted by Bruno Peron Loureiro in the home office of Néstor García Canclini, Mexico City, 28 March 2008. In: PERON LOUREIRO, Bruno. *Néstor García Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina*. Thesis presented to obtain the degree of MPhil in Latin American Studies (Maestro en Estudios Latinoamericanos), Mexico City, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Anexo I, September 2009. TBM.

[663] I refer to cultural policy in this sentence as the intellectually-oriented cultural policy, as I outlined in the sections 'Introduction' and 'Methodology' of this thesis.

demonstrate how García Canclini encourages debates and makes proposals on cultural issues by discussing only theoretical aspects of his cultural policy ideas.

The Mexican expert in international relations Fabiola Rodríguez Barba´s[664] account of the Mexican political context sets the scene for García Canclini´s extra-academic activities as she indicates that cultural policy emerged during president José López Portillo´s *sexenio* (1976–1982). Such emergence happened because of a growing interest in protecting and recognising Mexican diversity and plurality. Heritage thus returns as a cultural policy issue. Soon after this phase and during the 1980s, policies were made and consolidated to reinforce the role of the state to protect cultural and historical heritage. Rodríguez Barba reminds us that Mexico did not host the World Conference on Cultural Policies (MONDIACULT) casually in 1982; in the meantime, Mexico´s governmental cultural policies became aligned with UNESCO´s view of culture as a means to development. This aspect of cultural policy institutional development requires historical contextualisation in relation to CONACULTA and its role in the transformation of Mexican cultural policy.

CONACULTA – whose antecedent was the Sub-Secretariat of Culture (Subsecretaría de Cultura), which was subordinated to the Secretariat of Public Education – emerged when the Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido de la Revolución Institucional, PRI) was about to leave power. The creation of CONACULTA in December 1988 does not mean that this institution is equivalent to a Ministry/Secretariat of Culture. In Latin America, Mexico pioneered the institutional model of Consejo[665] in its national cultural management, which is meant to co-operate with any Secretaría; this is indeed what happened to Mexico´s Consejo in relation to the Secretariat of Public Education. The basic difference between a Consejo and a Secretaría is that the latter must report all its expenses, plans and programmes to the federal government while the former is directed by a higher institution in charge of the

---

[664] RODRÍGUEZ BARBA, Fabiola. Las políticas culturales del México contemporáneo en el contexto de la Convención sobre Diversidad Cultural de la UNESCO. **La Chronique des Amériques**, Montréal, Canada, Review of the Observatoire des Amériques, n. 11, June 2008. Because Rodríguez Barba claimed that Mexico needs more presence of the state than governmental policies for culture, she expressed a level of dissatisfaction with the lack of substantial change in the period from 2000 to 2008. This article approached cultural policies in Mexico roughly from 2000 to 2008, but it also included prospects of Calderón´s *sexenio* (2007–2012) because the article was published earlier in 2008.

[665] CONACULTA is referred to in this chapter as Consejo instead of its expression in English. This is because of my choice to convey the particularities of a 'consejo' in Mexico and to avoid confusion with the multiple uses of the word 'council' (as a group of people who meet to discuss an issue and not as a governmental entity). Although CONACULTA belongs to the Secretariat of Public Education, CONACULTA was created with autonomy to decide on issues regarding art and culture and to manage all other cultural institutions in Mexico.

specialised activities of the Consejo because it does not have ministerial status.[666] In this way, cultural policy institutional development in Mexico coincides with García Canclini´s academic agenda as culture became something valuable to which the Mexican national government finally turned its attention. Mexico´s cultural policy has been influenced by the subsequent involvement of the Mexican government in international co-operation programmes (e.g. for handicrafts, cinema, music). Such is the relevance of culture for its national identity that it can be argued that the exhibition *Mexico: Splendor of thirty centuries*[667] might have been one of very few opportunities for a United States´s citizen to see what Mexico exhibits of its own cultures without reproducing undesirable stereotypes of how others see Mexicans.

An important account of CONACULTA was written by the Mexican historian Rafael Tovar y de Teresa, who headed CONACULTA between 1992 and 2001[668], when Carlos Salinas de Gortari was about to finish his term as Mexico´s president. Tovar y de Teresa writes about topics such as how identity and institutions change in history, and he provides charts and other data ranging from 1989 to 1993 in his book *Modernisation and cultural policy: A vision of Mexico´s modernisation* (*Modernización y política cultural: Una visión de la modernización de México*, 1994). His views on cultural policy are particularly internationalist and his political position favours decentralisation in policy-making; he also looks into how Mexico should inform its cultural diversity to the United States and Europe instead of its Latin American neighbours. In addition to this, he has a practical view on the creation of institutions and the promotion of events. While García Canclini was writing *Hybrid cultures* to deliver his thoughts on certain aspects of Latin America´s modernity such as its cultural consumption and political culture, Tovar y de Teresa reminded us that CONACULTA was created in 1988 in response to a demand from cultural institutions not to be left behind in Mexico´s modernisation. Even though he does not explain what he means by modernisation, his

---

[666] CÁMARA de Diputados. Ley Orgánica de la Administración Pública Federal. New Law (Nueva Ley) that was published in the Diario Oficial de la Federación on 29 December 1976 and reformed on 26 December 2013. Available at <http://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/pdf/153.pdf>. Accessed on 28 March 2014. This document shows that the Secretariat of Public Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública, SEP) should be informed of decisions on cultural issues. See Artículo 32 Bis. on p. 21 and Artículo 38 on pp. 31–33.

[667] *Mexico: Splendor of thirty centuries* (*México: Esplendores de treinta siglos*) has been considered one of the most ambitious and renowned Mexican cultural exhibitions to be shown abroad. It was exhibited during the 1980s in many cities in the United States such as Los Angeles, San Antonio and New York. HERNER, Irene. 30 siglos de arte mexicano. **Nexos**, Mexico City, 1 December 1990. Available at <http://www.nexos.com.mx/?P=leerarticulo&Article=268379>. Accessed on 1 April 2013.

[668] Rafael Tovar y de Teresa is such an important political figure for cultural issues in Mexico that he returned to CONACULTA as its director under the presidency of Enrique Peña Nieto in 2012.

historical approach gives information of how modernisation indispensably involves cultural policy. He clarifies that 'the creation of the Consejo, and the definition and articulation of its actions and programmes, reflected the will that cultural institutions should not be relegated in the country´s modernisation'[669]. Tovar y de Teresa was truly aware that 'not only cultural policy unity was needed, but also the improvement of efficacy of many of our main cultural institutions and their management re-orientation.'[670]

Further aspects of Consejo deserve attention. Tovar y de Teresa tries to show that one of CONACULTA´s main objectives is to decentralise cultural decisions from Mexico City in order to preserve and diffuse Mexico´s cultural diversity, heritage and traditions. The fact that the words preservation and diffusion are ubiquitous in his book testifies to what he means by heritage and how this should be addressed by the Mexican state. It can be deduced from this analysis that CONACULTA fulfils the need to guide Mexico´s cultural development and to give coherence to the activities of other Mexican cultural policy institutions. CONACULTA´s purpose has been stated as being to decentralise cultural policy decisions in Mexico; however, its policy-makers have shaped cultural production, distribution and reception in such a way to ascertain that the other institutions´ notion of culture would not considerably differ and conflict with the conception of culture of the Mexican state. Thus such discourses in favour of cultural policy decentralisation do not correspond to reality because, as has been seen, multiple notions of culture would not be accepted in public cultural policy institutions.

This statement sets forth a discussion on whether other policy-makers have been capable of decentralising cultural decisions in Mexico or not, as alternative interpretations of Mexico´s cultural policy suggest. The French scholar Elodie Maria Bordat gives a historical account of Mexico´s cultural policy institutional development from the beginning of the nineteenth century. She argues that there is continuity between the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and the National Action Party (Partido de la Acción Nacional, PAN) in Mexico´s cultural policy; that is, PRI left Mexico´s presidency for PAN in 2000 when Vicente Fox came to power. However, the only thing that changed, from Bordat´s viewpoint, is that intellectuals wish the state should consider culture strategically in Mexico´s national development because cultural

---

[669] TOVAR Y DE TERESA, Rafael. *Modernización y política cultural: Una visión de la modernización de México*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994. p. 19. TBM.

[670] Ibid. p. 19. TBM.

issues have been discussed in many policy-making institutions. Bordat is conclusive about this point: 'As the state is no longer a prevalent interlocutor, peripheral organizations, such as the Institute of Culture in the states or the Congress' Commission of Culture, have become new important players in cultural policy.'[671]

Because this section focuses on the Consejo in Mexico´s cultural policy institutional development, the similarities of the programmes between one *sexenio* and another cannot be dismissed. The period covered by the book *1988–2012: Culture and transition* (*1988–2012: Cultura y transición*[672]), which was funded by Mexico´s Chamber of Deputies (Cámara de Diputados de México), is relevant here. Its co-editors Eduardo Cruz and Carlos Lara present a set of articles in which they examine the 24 years between 1988 and 2012, when 4 *sexenios* (two from PRI and two from PAN) ruled Mexico. The importance of the creation of CONACULTA is stressed in virtually every article and testimony of *Culture and transition*; almost all its articles highlight how CONACULTA raised the profile of the arts and cultural management in Mexico. Its authors discuss ideas about how to improve cultural policy in Mexico, but they admit that policy for cultural issues ends up operating according to an established set of principles, norms and values. On the one hand, their book addresses culture as one more instance where institutional reforms might put workers and unionists at risk of losing their jobs; on the other, there is an excessive concern with Mexico´s cultural policy institutional development, the centrality of cultural policy personalities and society´s lack of participation in cultural issues. An analysis of the model of the Consejo in Mexico – as this section has presented – leads to an examination of some of García Canclini´s relationships with this key cultural policy institution in Mexico.

García Canclini did not dismiss the opportunities CONACULTA gave him to express his ideas on cultural issues as CONACULTA is the main institutional reference for cultural managers and policy-makers in Mexico. For example, he presented the lecture *Cultural policies and North American integration: A perspective from Mexico* (*Políticas culturales e integración norteamericana: Una perspectiva desde México*) during the symposium Culture and Globalisation: Cultural Policies in Processes of

---

[671] BORDAT, Elodie Marie. Institutionalization and change in cultural policy: CONACULTA and cultural policy in Mexico (1988–2006). **International Journal of Cultural Policy**, Taylor & Francis, v. 19, n. 2, pp. 222–248, 2013. p. 242. In Bordat´s article, she used an extensive bibliography of Mexico´s cultural policy and she conducted some interviews with many French and Mexican experts in cultural policy.

[672] CRUZ VÁZQUEZ, Eduardo; LARA GONZÁLEZ, Carlos. (Eds.). *1988–2012: Cultura y transición*. Cuernavaca and Monterrey: Instituto de Cultura de Morelos, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, 2012.

Supranational Integration (Cultura y Globalización: Políticas Culturales en Procesos de Integración Supranacional). This event was co-ordinated by CONACULTA´s Seminar of Cultural Research (Seminario de Estudios de la Cultura), CLACSO and UAM-Iztapalapa, and it happened on 3–5 October 1994.[673] The topic of García Canclini´s lecture suggests that he was invited to speak about cultural issues and integration while CONACULTA promoted lectures and debates on Mexico´s international relations; this institution was interested in evaluating possible consequences of the Free Trade Agreement between Mexico, Canada and the United States in force since January 1994. It is also relevant that, later, in 2001, CONACULTA funded García Canclini to undertake research about the film industry in Mexico.[674] A few years later, in October 2005, while he was still studying topics related to the cultural industries, García Canclini gave the lecture *Why legislate for the cultural industries* (*Por qué legislar sobre industrias culturales*) at CONACULTA´s General Agency of Popular Cultures (Dirección General de Culturas Populares) in Mexico City. García Canclini would not keep a distance from certain academic activities being promoted and funded by Mexico's major cultural policy institution. Besides, renowned experts in cultural issues in Mexico usually have some kind of activity with CONACULTA. However, because dealing with cultural issues in proximity to CONACULTA sounds like an expected behaviour, these examples are not as strong as those I will analyse in the next section in institutions for which cultural policy issues are implicit and secondary. But, even in this situation, García Canclini does not miss the opportunities to express in which way he disagrees with CONACULTA's cultural policy and with untruths published by others.

Although García Canclini obtains support from CONACULTA for some of his academic activities (e.g. lectures, research), there are also misunderstandings concerning his policy proposals and suggestions. In García Canclini´s article *How to discuss the law without changing cultural policy?* (*¿Discutir la ley sin cambiar la política cultural?*[675]), he clarifies that he did not support certain proposals from CONACULTA as others claimed he had done. García Canclini mentions in this article two writers for whom he supposedly had given approval (*aprobación*, as stated by Luis

---

[673] This lecture refers to a chapter of his book GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Culturas en globalización: América Latina − Europa − Estados Unidos: Libre comercio e integración*. Caracas: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO), Editorial Nueva Sociedad, Seminario de Estudios de la Cultura (CNCA), 1996.

[674] HUERTA, César. Realizarán bitácora fílmica. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 1 June 2001.

[675] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. ¿Discutir la ley sin cambiar la política cultural?. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 18 November 2005.

Hernández Navarro) and support (*apoyo*, as written by Gilberto López y Rivas) to specific policies made by CONACULTA. On many occasions, García Canclini airs criticisms of CONACULTA. For example, he criticised CONACULTA during a meeting between six cultural policy experts at the International Book Fair (Feria Internacional del Libro) in Guadalajara in 2007 for the lack of efficient cultural policy and he regretted that the National Plan of Culture (Plan Nacional de Cultura) had still not been put into practice in Mexico.[676] Despite such critical remarks, García Canclini also offers his compliments to CONACULTA for its cultural policy proposals; for instance, he praised CONACULTA´s concern with cultural consumption and uses of culture in Mexico in an op-ed article he published in Reforma on 20 October 2008.[677] However, an exhaustive list of the circumstances in which García Canclini approaches CONACULTA does not need to be shown to follow the purposes of this work, although CONACULTA has the same cultural policy relevance for him in Mexico as UNESCO has in international relations. The topics of these approaches (cultural policy, the cultural industries, urban cultures, etc.) reflect CONACULTA´s national agenda and its key importance as a cultural policy-maker in Mexico.

It is also relevant to point out that CONACULTA co-ordinates smaller institutions that are in charge of radio [Mexican Institute of Radio (Instituto Mexicano de la Radio, IMER)], television [Mexican Institute of Television (Instituto Mexicano de la Televisión, IMEVISION)] and cinema [Mexican Institute of Cinema (Instituto Mexicano de Cinematografía, IMCINE)] in Mexico. Also, García Canclini was involved with IMCINE because of his research interest in consumption habits and in the Mexican film industry. On 9 May 1995, he presented at the National Film Archive (Cineteca Nacional) in Mexico City his book *The new spectators: Cinema, television and video in Mexico*, which focuses on changing consumption habits in relation to the Mexican film industry and which had the support of IMCINE.[678] Later, on 5 June 2001, he gave the talk *The media and cultural consumption speak* (*Hablan los medios y el consumo cultural*), which is about the role of audiences and the need to change legislation for the film industry in Mexico.[679] In fact, some other research activities

---

[676] Two sources: 1) BUCIO, Érika P. Critican falta de programa. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 1 December 2007. And 2) BLANCO, César. Se suben al ring a debatir plan cultural inexistente. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 2 December 2007.

[677] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Prevalece la incertidumbre. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 20 October 2008.

[678] REFORMA. Presentan 'Nuevos Espectadores'. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 10 May 1995.

[679] PEGUERO, Raquel. A debate, hoy, reglamento de cine. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 5 June 2001.

focusing on Mexico's film industry that García Canclini conducts have also obtained funds from IMCINE. I refer, for example, to the publication of his book *Current situation and perspectives of the film industry in Mexico and abroad* (*Situación actual y perspectivas de la industria cinematográfica en México y en el extranjero*) years later, in 2006; he published this book in co-authorship with the Mexican anthropologist Ana María Rosas Mantecón and the Mexican media expert Enrique Sánchez Ruiz. This book resulted from one of García Canclini´s research projects that obtained support from a non-academic institution and that focused on the Mexican film industry and urban cultures. However, García Canclini was probably not expecting any immediate and practical effect from the double-sided links he had with IMCINE, that is, one of speaking of cultural issues and another of receiving support from this institution for his lectures and research activities. In this sense, they both helped each other. Nevertheless, his limits are different from those shared by policy-makers because of his position as an academic. It is interesting to note that, especially during the 1990s and the 2000s, García Canclini's research activities reach out to non-academic institutions or are even funded by them. He is willing to improve channels and dialogues between academics and policy-makers, as the example of his work on Mexico's film industry has just shown. García Canclini's networking would get even broader and more venturesome for encouraging the relevance of cultural issues in a greater number of institutions.

García Canclini conducted activities that were motivated by other cultural policy institutions in Mexico City; his extensive research experience within UAM´s Urban Culture Study Programme provided the background for many of these activities. The main example of this is García Canclini's participation in a meeting in which its attendees discussed ways to build, imagine and think of cities. These academic debates were sponsored by Mexico City's Institute of Culture (Instituto de Cultura de la Ciudad de México) and held between 8–13 March 1999.[680] Soon he would discuss the link between culture and development[681] in his talk during the seminar *Culture and development* (*Cultura y desarrollo*) in September 1999 at the Museum of the City of Mexico (Museo de la Ciudad de México). Mexico City's Institute of Culture and UNESCO supported this event; the main topics discussed in it were cultural policy,

---

[680] ABELLEYRA, Angélica. Apocalipsis y utopía, esfuerzo por imaginar a la ciudad de México. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 17 January 1999.

[681] The section 'Academic rhetoric and cultural policy-making practicality' of this chapter argued how García Canclini discussed the link between culture and development in Latin American institutions and beyond them.

indigenous cultures and urban development.[682] García Canclini´s talk led to the publication of his essay 'Cultural policies from the perspective of consumers and citizenship'[683]. Also relevant for his local participations is that his book *Cultures from Iberian America* (2003) resulted from an event where scholars discussed cultural policy for development in two different cities: Mexico City (21–22 January 2002) and Rio de Janeiro (11–12 March 2002). *Cultures from Iberian America* was for García Canclini an important document to stimulate dialogue between policy-makers and their interest in cultural issues.[684] This demonstrates that García Canclini also encourages engagement with cultural issues even at the level of cities and local governments.

In January 2002, Mexico City saw the founding of a Secretariat of Culture, created to replace its Institute of Culture.[685] The Legislative Assembly of Mexico City (Asamblea Legislativa del Distrito Federal) set aside 2% of the city budget to fund culture. According to García Canclini, this money did not result in an increase in activities and programmes dedicated to Mexico City´s culture. In his view, therefore, this institutional development does not necessarily imply improvements in policies for such a sector. His explanation is that there is no point in raising the budget for culture if there is no strategic analysis of the performance of cultural production in the international markets.[686] I would emphasise two important events related to García Canclini´s relationship with Mexico City´s Secretariat of Culture. One is when he lectured about the development of democracy in Mexico during the event *Democracy in debate* (*La democracia a debate*) between 28–30 July 2004 at the Museum of the City of Mexico, which was sponsored by the recently created Mexico City´s Secretariat of

---

[682] Two sources: 1) AUDIFFRED, Miryam. Analizarán del DF su política cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 6 September 1999. And 2) HAW, Dora Luz. Compilan análisis sobre la cultura. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 28 June 2000.

[683] García Canclini´s essay was published in JASSO, Rosa Martha (Ed.). *Cultura y desarrollo: Una visión plural*. Mexico City: Instituto de Cultura de la Ciudad de México, Gobierno del Distrito Federal, 2000.

[684] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Culturas da Ibero-América: É possível um desenvolvimento compartilhado?. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Culturas da Ibero-América: Diagnósticos e propostas para seu desenvolvimento cultural*. Translated from Spanish to Portuguese by Ana Venite. São Paulo: Moderna, 2003. p. 17.

[685] DECRETO de Transformación de Instituto de Cultura de la Ciudad de México a Secretaría de Cultura del Distrito Federal. Gaceta Oficial del Distrito Federal, Mexico City, 31 January 2002. This is the decree that transformed Mexico City's Institute of Culture into Mexico City´s Secretariat of Culture. It was signed by Andrés Manuel López Obrador, who was then Mexico City´s Head of Government. Available at <http://sic.conaculta.gob.mx/documentos/663.pdf>. Accessed on 1 April 2013.

[686] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. ¿Síntomas o conflictos?: Políticas e investigaciones urbanas. **Alteridades**, Mexico City, v. 18, n. 36, pp. 13–22, 2008. pp. 14–15.

Culture.[687] Another event is when Elena Cepeda – who was then Mexico City´s Secretary of Culture – asked García Canclini (but also other experts in cultural issues such as Lucina Jiménez) about whom they thought should be named director of the Eastern Lighthouse (Faro de Oriente), which is a workshop that offers cultural activities.[688] In this case, lecturing gives way to an advisory role. This is a patent example of a policy-maker who invites an academic to make a suggestion for cultural issues. For political reasons, García Canclini´s nomination ended up being ignored.

This section has investigated the central role of CONACULTA and particularities of the model of the Consejo in Mexico´s cultural policy institutional development. It has also demonstrated how García Canclini encourages cultural issues in activities he had with Mexico´s cultural policy institutions. Yet the Latin American cultural policy debate still highlights the dilemma over subverting the structures of power or managing the system. Also, Mexican cultural policy-makers who work for the state seem to be concerned with the same issues as their predecessors and face barriers in changing the entrenched ways in which the government functions. Despite these difficulties, Mexico´s 'cultural policy tenets'[689] aim at preserving and diffusing its diversity and heritage, increasing people´s access to cultural events and venues, and promoting its cultural industries at home and abroad. The next section examines some non-academic institutions in Mexico for which cultural policy plays an implicit role.

4.2.2. Cultural policy as an implicit issue in Mexican institutions

This section examines activities that García Canclini engaged in with various Mexican institutions that are implicitly and indirectly in charge of culture and cultural policy issues (e.g. Chamber of Deputies, Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, Senate of the Republic, Office of the Federal Prosecutor for the Consumer). It argues that cultural policy pervades the debates, documents, interests and practices of such institutions. This section also demonstrates that García Canclini had many extra-academic activities in which he used his expertise in culture. He did so through a broad range of Mexican

---

[687] VARGAS, Ángel. Llama Semo a desarrollar una cultura democrática. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 27 July 2004.

[688] HAW, Dora Luz. Buscan director para el Faro. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 8 February 2007.

[689] CONACULTA defined eight 'Cultural policy tenets' in the link 'About CONACULTA' of the English version of its website: 1. Heritage and cultural diversity; 2. Cultural infrastructure; 3. National and international cultural promotion; 4. Public incentives for artistic creation and patronage; 5. Anthropological, historical, cultural, and artistic training and research; 6. Cultural recreation and reading; 7. Culture and tourism; and 8. The cultural industries. Available at <http://www.conaculta.gob.mx/ejes/#>. Accessed on 28 March 2014.

institutions for the sake of promoting culture. In fact, both he and the institutions he approaches obtain advantages from their mutual needs and interactions. Thus it is relevant to note the nature of his activities, how he encourages cultural issues, and the networking he consolidates with other thinkers and with many policy-makers.

García Canclini encourages debates about cultural issues in institutions for which culture had previously not played any significant role. In the meantime, their bureaucrats and policy-makers started to create and promote specific committees, lectures, meetings, seminars and work groups to discuss how culture might be employed to achieve the political ends to which they were committed.[690] On particular occasions, García Canclini is a consultant or a management guru in cultural issues for these institutions, that is, he makes analyses and gives his opinion about cultural topics. In the section 'From symptoms to conflicts' ('De los síntomas a los conflictos') of his article *Symptoms or conflicts?: Policies and urban research* (*¿Síntomas o conflictos?: Políticas e investigaciones urbanas*, 2008), García Canclini clarifies that

> in recent years part of our task as researchers has been to provide consultations and seminars to management organisations: we have conducted studies about audiences, consumption and cultural policies for Mexico City´s Government (Gobierno del Distrito Federal, GDF), for the Mexican Film Institute (IMCINE) and for CONACULTA; we have discussed their results during academic meetings and we have done the same in seminars with employees from CONACULTA, from Mexico City´s Secretariat of Culture and from Mexico City´s political units. […] We know that other research groups have faced similar difficulties to include their diagnoses and proposals in the public policies they formulate. Without a doubt, there are standards in our academic work and communication deficiencies when we position ourselves into the political field that make the transition from research to action harder.[691]

Despite García Canclini´s activities with various non-academic institutions, this quotation reiterates the difficulty in bridging the academic world (which implies events and tasks such as consultations, diagnoses, meetings, research groups and seminars) with that of policy-makers (who are in charge of management and political decisions). I will explain, in the following paragraphs, how García Canclini tries to do so, although the effects of such attempts are outside the scope of this thesis. This is because this

---

[690] When I argue that culture is a means for achieving political ends, the earlier section 'Academic rhetoric and cultural policy-making practicality' examined links which have been established between culture and development, culture and rights, culture and environment, culture and peace, culture and statistics, etc.

[691] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. ¿Síntomas o conflictos?: Políticas e investigaciones urbanas. **Alteridades**, Mexico City, v. 18, n. 36, pp. 13–22, 2008. p. 21. TBM. To provide a comparative example of what the translation 'political units' corresponds to, Mexico City is divided into 16 *delegaciones* while London has 32 boroughs.

work focuses on the changes of institutionally-oriented cultural policy and on how cultural policy becomes for García Canclini an intellectually-oriented operation.

Certain relationships García Canclini had with local governments (municipalities) in Mexico deserve an analysis. Two different types of activities indicate his approach to Mexico City´s Government, but they differ in that some are related to academic events and work while others are not. The academically oriented activities refer to the occasion when García Canclini debates with Humberto Musacchio (Mexican journalist specialising in cultural issues) and Carlos Martínez Assad (Mexican sociologist) about The Democratic Culture (La Cultura Democrática) during a conference that Mexico City´s Government ran on 18 July 2002 to commemorate Democracy Day (Día de la Democracia).[692] In this case, Mexico City's Government is interested in what a group of experts from different backgrounds (an anthropologist, a sociologist and a journalist) have to say about the link between culture and democracy in Mexico. Later, in April 2005, García Canclini expresses disapproval of the fact that both Mexico City´s Government and the Mexican Federal government rarely consider academic research in their public policy deliberations.[693] At this moment, García Canclini expects that policy-making institutions should at least give some attention to what scholars have to say and should not only fulfil formalities. However, he is aware that his extra-academic activities have limitations that would not exceed the interests and needs of non-academic institutions. In September 2008, García Canclini seized the opportunity to speak to TV UNAM´s programme called The Media and Remedies (Medios y Remedios), which was produced by Mexico City´s Secretariat of Education (Secretaría de Educación del Distrito Federal) in order to criticise the poor quality of private media in Mexico.[694] Every now and then, his interventions oscillate between proposal and criticism. Indeed these activities show that García Canclini is speaking about cultural issues to policy-makers and politicians; his networks are thus broadening beyond academia. On very few occasions, however, were his proposals taken up by policy-makers. It seems that his suggestions about cultural issues are usually successful when his ideas converge with those of the institutions he has relationships with; alternatively, his suggestions are not expected to have any short-term impact in Mexico.

---

[692] REFORMA. La cultura política. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 14 July 2002.

[693] RIVEROLL, Julieta. Desperdicia Gobierno investigación cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 1 April 2005.

[694] MORENO, Alejandro. Produce GDF video contra la tv privada. **Milenio**, Mexico City, 26 September 2008.

Below, this section will give examples of some Mexico City´s governmental institutions that clarify the point I am making in this paragraph.

García Canclini, Eduardo Nivón and Rossana Reguillo (a Mexican anthropologist specialising in urban studies) had a similar opportunity to speak of cultural issues outside academia. This occurred when they became members of the Academic Council (Consejo Académico) of Mexico City´s Cultural Foundation (Fundación Cultural de la Ciudad de México) during a short period of this institution´s brief existence.[695] In addition to this activity, García Canclini, Eduardo Nivón and Lucina Jiménez (Mexican anthropologist) have been consultants for the Professional Centre of Cultural Management (Centro de Profesionalización de la Gestión Cultural[696]) of Mexico City´s Secretariat of Culture since 2009. This is extremely important because it shows that García Canclini's activities reach out to professionals involved with Mexico City's cultural decision and management. He would instruct these professionals about cultural issues. Elsewhere, García Canclini is among the intellectuals who were invited in June 2009[697] by Marcelo Ebrard – then Mexico City´s Head of Government – to provide theoretical training to high-level public directors and managers at the Mexico City´s Public Management School (Escuela de Administración Pública del Distrito Federal[698]) on cultural issues. This has a very similar implication to García Canclini's extra-academic activities conducted in the Professional Centre, as discussed above. It has been argued that these relationships which García Canclini has had with Mexico City´s managers and policy-makers testify to his extra-academic activities in Mexican institutions. The next paragraphs present further analysis.

---

[695] Mexico City´s Cultural Foundation was created in January 2008 and ended its activities in March 2012; it obtained 80% of its funds from Mexico City´s Government – although its decisions were independent of government – and 20% from private companies which evaluated and supported cultural projects. Sources: 1) CEBALLOS, Miguel Ángel. Critican bases de Fundación Cultural del DF. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 27 February 2008. 2) RICARDO, Jorge. Tiene DF fundación cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 27 February 2008. 3) RICARDO, Jorge. Define perfil FCCM. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 29 February 2008. And 4) SÁNCHEZ, Luis Carlos. La capital cierra la Fundación Cultural de la Ciudad de México. **Excélsior**, Mexico City, 9 April 2012.

[696] HAW, Dora Luz. Impulsa el GDF gestión cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 2 July 2009. The Professional Centre of Cultural Management is located inside Mexico City´s Autonomous University (UACM).

[697] IBARRA, Mariel. Eleva Ebrard la vara para alta burocracia. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 9 June 2009.

[698] The School (Escuela), as it is known, was created in 2009 as part of Mexico City´s Government plans to improve the management skills of its bureaucrats and policy-makers. Training is given for those who occupy important political positions in Mexico City´s Government. The objectives of the School are available at <http://www.eap.df.gob.mx/index.php/2013-07-23-23-16-29/presentacion>. Accessed on 11 February 2014.

Although García Canclini was never affiliated to any political party, he gave support to some leftist parties in Mexico; however, such political endorsements exceed what is expected from research activities and his advisory role in cultural policy. His most evident support was for the Party of the Democratic Revolution (Partido de la Revolución Democrática, PRD). On 30 May 2006, García Canclini had the opportunity to discuss cultural issues with other people during the forum Identity and Culture: Towards a Cultural Policy of the State (Foro Identidad y Cultura: Hacia una Política Cultural de Estado[699]) in Mexico City. Their discussion focused on Point 14, which is an aspect dedicated to culture for Andrés Manuel López Obrador´s governmental programme as he was a candidate for Mexico´s presidency in 2006. I emphasise here that García Canclini publicly gives his opinion about an aspect of a political candidate's programme that involves cultural issues. Even more striking than this activity is that, during the forum, García Canclini also suggested the establishment of a Secretariat of Culture and Communication in Mexico[700]. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that almost ten years earlier, in 1997, the French Ministry of Culture (Ministère de la Culture) had its name changed to become the Ministry of Culture and Communication (Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication[701]). In fact, I argued in chapter 1 that the French cultural policy model influenced Latin America´s cultural policy institutional development. It should not go unnoticed that 2006 was a prolific year for García Canclini´s policy proposals in Mexico. He also suggested a museum for globalisation[702], although this museum has not yet been built and sounds like it is audacious as well. It seems that he was only trying to call policy-makers´ attention to certain cultural issues that were being neglected in Mexico´s heritage and national development.

García Canclini had even more direct, enthusiastic and surprising extra-academic activities when he put his name to (and co-ordinated) the protest letter *Let us*

---

[699] Two sources give further information about this forum and Point 14: 1) SEVILLA, María Eugenia. Respaldan a AMLO; reprochan tardanza. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 31 May 2006. And 2) MATEOS-VEGA, Mónica. Contrastante panorama en la oferta cultural de los candidatos, **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 1 July 2006.

[700] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Retos culturales para un sexenio. **Reforma**, Opinión, Mexico City, 25 June 2006.

[701] MINISTÈRE de la Culture et de la Communication. *L`histoire du ministère*, n.d. Available at <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Ministere/L-histoire-du-ministere>. Accessed on 11 February 2014.

[702] Two sources suggest García Canclini´s proposal for such an enterprise in Mexico: 1) FRIERA, Silvina. *Cambió la arquitectura corporativa*. **Página 12**, Buenos Aires, 30 August 2006. And 2) GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Museo para la globalización. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Lectores, espectadores e internautas*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2007.

change Mexico and support Marcelo Ebrard (*Cambiemos el rumbo de México con Marcelo Ebrard*) on 3 November 2011 that was published in two influential Mexican newspapers (El Universal and Milenio). Even though such letter does not intend to encourage cultural issues, it does indicate his support as a renowned academic and that of more than a hundred Mexican intellectuals for Mexico City´s Head of Government Marcelo Ebrard´s candidacy to the Mexican presidency in the July 2012 elections.[703] This fact shows that García Canclini´s activism[704] cannot be deemed to be only 'academic and cultural'[705]. Nevertheless, López Obrador ended up being nominated by his PRD to contest the election with PAN´s candidate Enrique Peña Nieto. It is interesting to note, in this case, that even a renowned group of academics did not have enough influence in the decision of the party to nominate Ebrard for the elections.

Despite these sporadic activities, García Canclini did not become regularly involved in politics as his counterparts the Mexican Lourdes Arizpe and the Paraguayan Ticio Escobar did. Arizpe was, between 1994 and 1998, Assistant Director-General for Culture at UNESCO and she was responsible for the group of experts who wrote its first World Culture Report *Our creative diversity*, which was published in 1996; Escobar was Secretary of Culture (Secretario de Cultura) in Paraguay during Fernando Lugo´s 2008–2013 presidency. I would emphasise the fact that these three cultural policy personalities have held academic positions.

Examples of institutions for this section do not end at this point, though. When García Canclini studied cinema and the film industry in Mexico, María Rojo – who was an actress and the president of the Culture Commission (Comisión de Cultura) at the Chamber of Deputies – invited him to give a lecture to this institution during the Forum

---

[703] The following three journalistic sources mention such letter: 1) ARISTA, Lidia. Intelectuales apoyan candidatura de Ebrard. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 3 November 2011. 2) MILENIO. Intelectuales publican desplegado en apoyo a Ebrard. **Milenio**, Mexico City, 3 November 2011. And 3) MILENIO. Lee aquí el desplegado completo de intelectuales que apoyan a Ebrard. **Milenio**, Mexico City, 3 November 2011.

[704] SZACKI, Jerzy. Intellectuals between politics and culture. In: MACLEAN, Ian; MONTEFIORE, Alan; WINCH, Peter (Ed.). *The political responsibility of intellectuals*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1990. It deserves to be noted here that, when Jerzy Szacki – a Professor of history of social thought – mentioned stereotypes of intellectuals in his article, he referred to 'a professor, writer or artist, who signs appeals, protests and manifestos, speaks his mind in public on every more or less important occasion, participates in congresses' (p. 232), among other aspects. An intellectual thus involves different roles.

[705] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Interview conducted by Bruno Peron Loureiro in the home office of Néstor García Canclini, Mexico City, 28 March 2008. In: PERON LOUREIRO, Bruno. *Néstor García Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina*. Thesis presented to obtain the degree of MPhil in Latin American Studies (Maestro en Estudios Latinoamericanos), Mexico City, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Anexo I, September 2009. TBM.

on The Cultural Industries (Foro de Industrias Culturales) held on 8–9 August 2000. It is interesting that his academic research about cinema and film brought him to the attention of an actress who was doing some work for Mexico's Chamber of Deputies, a high legislative institution. Although this activity sounds like just a lecture, García Canclini found an opportunity to link academia with a law institution in Mexico. The General Society of Mexico´s Writers (Sociedad General de Escritores de México, SOGEM) and the Culture Commission of the Chamber of Deputies funded his lecture. At this event, García Canclini gave the opening lecture on 8 August 2000 during the Forum on The Cultural Industries at the Chamber of Deputies. This was an opportunity to listen to the demands of each cultural sector and to present them to the bureaucrats who were in charge of Culture (Cultura) in the LVIII Legislatura of the Chamber of Deputies. Intellectuals met at this Forum to discuss the topic Reasons for Legislating about Cinema, Television and Music (Por Qué Legislar el Cine, la Televisión y la Música). Indeed, García Canclini was conducting certain research projects about these cultural industries (cinema, music and television) and it seems that he found an opportunity to share some results of his studies to audiences other than scholars. During this event, García Canclini supported changes in legislation for the cultural industries. Policy-making institutions were so interested in listening to what renowned academics like García Canclini had to say about cultural industries that, just to mention another institution, Mexico´s Senate of the Republic (Senado de la República de México) was discussing, at that time, a bill in favour of the Law of The Cultural Industries (Ley de Industrias Culturales).[706] In the lecture that García Canclini gave during this event, he encouraged national cultural production in Mexico, control of investments in Mexican culture, and the taking of supranational agreements into account by Mexican laws. This is clearly a proposal for some kind of change in policy and not only the delivery of García Canclini's research concepts, ideas and results on cultural issues as expected from an academic. Culture, indeed, really matters for industrialisation, investments and international agreements. He also suggested the creation of entities in Mexico´s government to investigate the funding, promotion, diffusion and reception of culture.[707]

---

[706] Sources: 1) RAVELO, Renato. Diputados y Sogem organizan foro sobre industrias culturales. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 2 August 2000. 2) EL UNIVERSAL. La tentación de cada día. **El Universal**, Especial, Mexico City, 8 August 2000. 3) GÁMEZ, Silvia Isabel. Urgen a legislar industria cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 9 August 2000. And 4) GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Legislar la cultura. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 10 September 2000.

[707] VALENZUELA, Angélica. Urge legislar sobre industrias culturales. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 11 August 2000. García Canclini´s suggestions are particularly mentioned in the section 'Encouraging

Despite García Canclini´s efforts in this respect to influence policy-makers´ decisions about cultural issues, his ideas would not change legislation relating to the cultural industries.

However, there is evidence that García Canclini and others such as the film director Víctor Ugalde influenced the development of a law proposal of the Chamber of Deputies for encouraging the Mexican cultural industries. Conclusions raised by these two experts in culture had a considerable impact on legislators´ decisions on the cultural industries in Mexico, according to the journalist Claudia Silva in her article *Intention to commercialise cultural production*[708]. An example of this is the reform of the Law for the Development of Competitiveness of the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise (Ley para el Desarrollo de la Competitividad de la Micro, Pequeña y Mediana Empresa).[709] In my view, García Canclini's ideas have a long-term relevance in encouraging debates on issues related to culture that are not easily quantified, but might lead to a change in attitudes.

Changes in legislation seem to intrigue García Canclini as he realises that deputies are giving attention to his ideas on cultural issues. When the journalist María Eugenia Sevilla interviewed him about the world movement against globalisation (named *globalifóbicos* in her publication), García Canclini stated that intellectuals´ critical thought should transcend academia and influence society through political action. One example that he provides is academics´ intervention in the debates on national legislation to support cultural diversity and to alert citizens to the concentration of power in a few businesses and private companies.[710] Having said that, García Canclini criticised the bill titled Law of Furtherance and Diffusion of Culture (Ley de Fomento y Difusión de la Cultura), which was discussed at the Chamber of Deputies on 13 October 2005. In his opinion, this law proposal would not bring any significant

---

production' ('Fomentar la producción') of Valenzuela´s article about the Forum on The Cultural Industries.

[708] SILVA, Claudia. Buscan comercializar producción cultural. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 18 May 2004.

[709] CÁMARA de Diputados. Decreto por el que se reforma la Ley para el Desarrollo de la Competitividad de la Micro, Pequeña y Mediana Empresa, Mexico City, Chamber of Deputies, 6 June 2006. Available at <http://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/ref/ldcmpme/LDCMPME_ref01_06jun06.pdf>. Accessed on 5 May 2014. Cultural goods have been included in this bill reform as a group of items which should receive governmental investments to improve the competitiveness of small and medium companies in Mexico.

[710] SEVILLA, María Eugenia. Critican papel de intelectuales. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 22 January 2005.

change to CONACULTA nor to cultural policy in Mexico.[711] This is a clear intervention of an academic who is dissatisfied with cultural legislation. García Canclini´s speech became so significant that later, in 2006, it was used by a deputy from the Chamber of Deputies to propose a bill for cultural issues. García Canclini reiterated his ideas during the context in which he criticised the 2007 Alumni Budget (Presupuesto de Egresos) in Mexico because for him it meant 'an important reduction of the resources for education and culture'[712]. Likewise, García Canclini had been said in an edition of Gaceta Parlamentaria[713] to have participated in a meeting at the Chamber of Deputies a few years earlier, on 17 August 2004, to discuss changes in Mexico´s higher education. I reinforce my argument that he has tried, in many ways, to link the ideas he has in his academic universe to the logics that guide policy-makers in non-academic institutions.

García Canclini had another extra-academic opportunity related to Mexico´s Chamber of Deputies when he met other researchers and cultural managers at the Green Hall (Salón Verde) of Mexico´s Chamber of Deputies on 1 March 2006. They attended the Dialogue for Culture: Past, Present and Future of Culture as State Policy in Mexico (Diálogo para la Cultura: Pasado, Presente y Futuro de la Cultura como Política de Estado en México) for discussing the future of cultural policy in Mexico.[714] This meeting is significant for the argument of this chapter because legislators heard, in the first instance, what specialists in cultural issues had to say about the challenges of Mexico´s cultural policy in order that the same legislators could propose laws relating to such issues. As stated by the journalist Dora Luz Haw, who wrote about the Dialogue for Culture meeting, specialists in cultural issues that attended this meeting agreed that it is 'vital to debate on topics such as reading habits, cultural consumption and indigenous languages'[715]. Whatever level of influence these intellectuals (identified by Haw as *académicos*, *expertos* and *especialistas*) had on policy-makers, it is relevant that academics were invited to deliver their ideas to a governmental administrative body.

---

[711] Two reports from different newspapers gave this information: 1) CRUZ VÁZQUEZ, Eduardo. La ley, para normalizar al Conaculta: Canclini. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 12 October 2005. And 2) JIMÉNEZ, Arturo. Mesa redonda en la Cámara para analizar la iniciativa de ley de cultura. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 13 October 2005.

[712] CÁMARA de Diputados. **Gaceta Parlamentaria**, Mexico City, Chamber of Deputies, v. 10, n. 2152, 14 December 2006. pp. 79–80. TBM.

[713] CÁMARA de Diputados. **Gaceta Parlamentaria**, Mexico City, Chamber of Deputies, n. 1620-I, 8 November 2004. p. 54.

[714] HAW, Dora Luz. Impulsan comisión que evalúe la cultura. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 9 March 2006.

[715] Ibid. para. 11 of Haw´s article. TBM.

García Canclini also had an indirect participation at the Chamber of Deputies because he was quoted many times in the Mexican social researcher Patricia Legarreta Haynes´s document *Cultura*[716], which she wrote for the Chamber of Deputies. Legarreta Haynes worked for the Centre of Social Studies and Public Opinion (Centro de Estudios Sociales y de Opinión Pública, CESOP) of the Chamber of Deputies and employed some of García Canclini´s ideas in her definitions of culture, culture and development, cultural policy in Latin America, the cultural industries, international agreements that imply culture, popular culture in Mexico, videoculture (*videocultura*) and the media. At the end of Legarreta Haynes´s document, García Canclini´s professional contacts within the area of Culture and his expertise in Cultural Policies and Globalisation (Políticas Culturales y Globalización) were included on a list of the names of many researchers whom Legarreta Haynes consulted for her document. Because variety is relevant in my analysis of institutions, it is also possible to interpret García Canclini´s indirect role in this Mexican legislative institution because his opinion about cultural and social development is quoted in a few pages of the Gaceta Parlamentaria.[717] Moreover, his book *Transforming modernity* and his ideas on the political function of culture to promote sociocultural transformations were also mentioned in the 26 April 2011 edition of Gaceta Parlamentaria.[718] These examples confirm my point that García Canclini became a reference in cultural issues in the Chamber of Deputies, and they also give further evidence to my argument of his intellectually-oriented cultural policy operation. Policy-makers from a Mexican legislative body are interested in his ideas on culture.

Such cases shed light on the way García Canclini encourages certain governmental institutions in Mexico to discuss cultural issues. Mexican foreign policy is another example of this. Mexico´s Secretariat of Foreign Affairs (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores de México, SRE) deserves particular attention for the role of this institution in promoting Mexican cultures abroad. García Canclini presented the lecture *Cultural policies, integration and globalisation* (*Políticas culturales, integración y globalización*) for the Master's Programme in Diplomatic Studies (Programa de Maestría en Estudios Diplomáticos) at SRE´s Matías Romero Institute of Diplomatic

---

[716] LEGARRETA HAYNES, Patricia. *Cultura*. Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Sociales y de Opinión Pública (CESOP), Chamber of Deputies, 17 April 2006.

[717] CÁMARA de Diputados. **Gaceta Parlamentaria**, Mexico City, Chamber of Deputies, n. 2997-V, 27 April 2010. See this reference in the note 4 on pages 35 and 36.

[718] CÁMARA de Diputados. **Gaceta Parlamentaria**, Mexico City, Chamber of Deputies, v. XIV, n. 3248-VI, 26 April 2011. This information appears on pages 101 and 117 of the edition´s final Notes ('Notas').

Studies (Instituto Matías Romero de Estudios Diplomáticos) on 27 February 1997. In this case, he is speaking about cultural issues to an audience of future diplomats, which has hugely different implications from delivering lectures to university students. Diplomats might change the way Mexico negotiates with other countries while students would most likely be satisfied if they are awarded good grades. Almost a year later, on 15 January 1998, García Canclini presented the lecture *Culture and globalisation* (*Cultura y globalización*) for the XI Licentiate in International Politics, Culture and International Relations (XI Diplomado en Política Internacional, Cultura y Relaciones Internacionales) at Mexico´s Secretariat of Foreign Affairs. My point is that his activities during these two lectures indicate that he also conducts cultural policy as a political operation in his extra-academic activities on behalf of Mexico´s Secretariat of Foreign Affairs. Even beyond the exchange of words with future diplomats is the fact that he is one of the few intellectuals who were invited to select what should be presented in Berlin of Mexico´s arts and culture during September and October 2002 for the Mexartes-Berlin festival. The event was sponsored by CONACULTA, INBA, SRE and the German Embassy in Mexico.[719] It is interesting to note how an Argentine immigrant specialising in cultural issues would increase his reputation in Mexico so much as to be invited by its foreign affairs' policy-makers to deliver his opinions.

Adding to this account is when, from December 2000 until January 2003, García Canclini headed the reflection group (*grupo de reflexión*) which discussed culture as an economic and political phenomenon in globalisation. In this group, he collaborated with Mexico's Secretariat of Foreign Affairs in producing the governmental strategy for the promotion of Mexico´s cultures and its images abroad.[720] A bit later, on 7 January 2004, García Canclini presented the lecture *Culture as instrument of foreign policy* (*La cultura como instrumento de política exterior*) at Panel 1 of the Fifteenth Ambassadors´ Meeting (Reunión de Embajadores) at SRE in Mexico City.[721] García Canclini, on this occasion, was sitting with ambassadors to discuss how Mexico should guide and express its cultural identities in international relations. During this event, García Canclini, Ricardo Pérez Monfort (a Mexican historian) and Alberto Ruy Sánchez (a

---

[719] SEVILLA, María Eugenia. Llevan arte sin clichés. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 5 September 2002.

[720] HERNÁNDEZ, Edgar Alejandro. Ve en intelectuales soldados sin fusil. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 7 January 2004. The title of Hernández´s newspaper article translates as *Intellectuals are seen as soldiers without a rifle*.

[721] NÚÑEZ, Ernesto. Llama Cancillería a reunión de Embajadores y Cónsules. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 7 January 2004.

Mexican writer) suggested a change in SRE´s definition of cultural policy to over two hundred ambassadors, consuls and bureaucrats. The main idea that these three intellectuals raised during the Fifteenth Ambassadors´ Meeting is that SRE´s cultural sector should consider the new uses of culture in digital media and do much more than exporting goods and services from traditional cultural industries in Mexico.[722] They expected to influence policy-makers. Such attempts, however, did not have immediate results, but at least provided policy-makers with new ideas to meditate on.

Almost three months later at SRE, García Canclini participated in the seminar *Cultural industries and sustainable development* (*Industrias culturales y desarrollo sustentable*), which lasted only a few days and ended on 2 April 2004. It had the aim of formulating a new cultural agenda to be presented during the Third Summit of Heads of State from Latin America, the Caribbean and the European Union (Tercera Cumbre de Jefes de Estado de América Latina, el Caribe y la Unión Europea) which took place in May 2004 in Guadalajara, the capital city of Jalisco in the centre-western region of Mexico.[723] The cultural industries and the images of Mexico abroad interested SRE so much that this institution became in 2006 one of the sponsors for the publication of the book *The cultural industries and Mexico´s development*.[724] More recently, García Canclini conducted activities related to Mexico´s foreign policy when he attended the Meeting between Intellectuals Mexico-Argentina (Encuentro de Intelectuales México-Argentina) at the Franz Mayer Museum. This event was promoted by Mexico´s SRE and Argentina´s Embassy in Mexico on 21 May 2011.[725] It is notable that García Canclini lately has had many opportunities to discuss some ideas and to make proposals about topics that, not long time ago, he only used to deal with academically. Some of these are the cultural industries, globalisation, integration, as chapter 3 indicated.

This section has shown that institutions from the executive and legislative branches of the Mexican state provide a context in which to examine García Canclini´s activities beyond academia. Another example is the Senate of the Republic, where García Canclini´s interventions have been mostly related to law proposals concerning

---

[722] HERNÁNDEZ, Edgar Alejandro. Piden a SRE redefinir concepto de cultura. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 8 January 2004.

[723] HERNÁNDEZ, Edgar Alejandro. Ven en la cultura fuente de riqueza. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 3 April 2004.

[724] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; PIEDRAS FERIA, Ernesto. *Las industrias culturales y el desarrollo de México*. Mexico City: FLACSO, Siglo XXI, SRE, 2006. Sections of this book were analysed in chapter 3.

[725] JIMÉNEZ, Arturo. Entre México y Argentina, mucha cooperación y poca coproducción. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 22 May 2011.

reforms in the Mexican media (as shown earlier in this section). García Canclini discussed 'the situation of the regulatory agencies, the public and community media, the programmes and rights of the audience, as well as oligopoly and competitiveness in the media market'[726] with Guillermo Mastrini (Argentina), Guillermo Orozco (Mexico), José Perla Anaya (Peru), Johannes Weberling (Germany), among others, during the international forum Reform of the Media: An Open Debate (Reforma de Medios: Un Debate Abierto). This meeting was held on 23–25 April 2008 and was sponsored by the Senate of the Republic, Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Mexican Association for the Right to Information (Asociación Mexicana de Derecho a la Información, AMEDI).[727] García Canclini was confident that his lectures would at least provoke reflections in policy-makers who would realise that the media's legislation needs to change in Mexico. Sponsorship from the Senate of the Republic indicates that this institution was interested in listening to what experts had to say about the media. His networking reaches Mexican and foreign experts in media and, once again, people working for a legislative institution. During an interview García Canclini gave to Jerónimo Repoll[728], the former said that AMEDI adhered to the deputy Javier Corral´s Law Proposal for Telecommunications and Audiovisual Contents[729]. It seems that García Canclini was striving to persuade policy-makers insofar as he also gave a keynote lecture about quality and diversity in the media during the National Meeting for Diversity and Quality in the Media (Encuentro Nacional por la Diversidad y la Calidad en los Medios de Comunicación), which AMEDI sponsored. The meeting took place in Mexico City´s Historic Centre between 5–6 April 2011.[730] He had earlier proposed in 2005 that certain key topics that are related to reform in Mexico´s Media Law (Ley de Medios) should be discussed. He was concerned with this reform in the media at the beginning of the twenty-first century and with how this would affect citizenship.[731] A particular aspect of

---

[726] SOSA, Gabriel. Telecom y medios. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 8 April 2008. para. 8. TBM.

[727] Four sources give information about this event: 1) REFORMA. La cultura política. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 20 April 2008. 2) REFORMA. La cultura política. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 20 April 2008. 3) GRANADOS CHAPA, Miguel Ángel. Plaza pública. Los motivos de Uribe. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 25 April 2008. And 4) REA, Daniela. Proponen observatorio para medios. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 26 April 2008.

[728] REPOLL, Jerónimo. Desigualdades, diferencias y desconexiones: Los retos de la comunicación y la democracia en América Latina. Interview given by Néstor García Canclini. **Andamios: Revista de Investigación Social**, Mexico City, UACM, v. 7, n. 14, pp. 139–149, September–December 2010.

[729] As published in **Gaceta Parlamentaria**, Mexico City, Chamber of Deputies, n. 2984-II, 8 April 2010.

[730] EL UNIVERSAL. Más calidad y diversidad en los medios de comunicación. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 12 April 2011.

[731] REFORMA. Proponen temas para el 2005. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 16 January 2005.

García Canclini´s relationship with AMEDI needs to be mentioned because he has had not only academic roles in this institution. In fact, he participated in AMEDI´s Consultative Council (Consejo Consultivo) early in 2007.[732] Later, from April 2009 to May 2011, García Canclini occupied an even more important position in this institution. He became the co-ordinator (*coordinador*) of AMEDI´s Consultative Council.[733]

García Canclini´s work with both AMEDI and the Office of the Federal Prosecutor for the Consumer (Procuraduría Federal del Consumidor, PROFECO) indicates that he was deeply interested in protecting Mexican consumers from the excesses of certain private companies and from the market´s instabilities. It is worth remembering at this point that García Canclini´s book *Consumers and citizens* contains proposals for improving consumer relations and for political change in Latin America.[734] According to the journalist Sergio Aguayo Quezada[735], García Canclini was one of the few well-qualified professionals who worked for PROFECO and were not vulnerable to losing their job positions because the Mexican government was reducing at that time its high expenditure on political institutions. García Canclini´s activities at PROFECO substantiate his previous research focus on audiences and consumption; he suggests practical ways of improving the relationship between consumers and private companies. The state, in this case, does not directly support public interest.

It should also be noted that García Canclini approached other institutions to conduct his academic activities such as Tijuana´s Cultural Centre (Centro Cultural Tijuana, CECUT), the Latin American Centre of Globalisation (Centro Latinoamericano de la Globalidad, CELAG), the National Fund for the Development of the Arts and Crafts (Fondo Nacional para el Fomento de las Artesanías, FONART), the Mexican Institute of Youth (Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud) and some museums in Mexico.[736] Despite the importance of each institution for the promotion of artistic and cultural

---

[732] CORRAL JURADO, Javier. Amedi. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 27 March 2007.

[733] Two journalistic sources have been consulted for this: 1) CORRAL JURADO, Javier. Amedi y la influenza mediática. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 5 May 2009. And 2) GRANADOS CHAPA, Miguel Ángel. Plaza pública. Las otras elecciones. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 25 May 2011.

[734] The section 'Citizenship via consumption in Latin America´s development' of chapter 3 clarified such a point.

[735] AGUAYO QUEZADA, Sergio. Tacos de lengua. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 17 January 2007. When the journalist Aguayo Quezada mentioned the increasing price of *tortilla* (a daily and pancake-like bread), it could be deduced from this and from his article that the basic needs of the Mexican population were not being satisfied at the moment because Mexico´s government had huge expenditures on its political institutions. Consequently, employees working in many governmental institutions in Mexico had their job positions threatened.

[736] Appendix I of this thesis can be consulted for further information.

issues, this section has limited the analysis of García Canclini´s approaches to a few of them. It has shown that he encouraged debates on culture beyond academia and even in institutions whose policy does not give any priority to cultural issues. Moreover, this chapter has emphasised his key extra-academic activities.

The analyses of García Canclini´s aforementioned extra-academic activities and of his institutional relationships have shown that his reputation as a cultural policy advisor in Latin American countries (but particularly in Mexico) improved in the context in which ethnographic research (e.g. on handicrafts, celebrations and rituals of the indigenous people in Mexico) became less relevant to him. He turned his academic attention, instead, to topics related to the media (and their management of images and representations of identities), national political institutions, international organisations (and their agreements, discourses, meetings and laws) and the increasing influence of private companies on public issues.

This last point follows on from the fact that influential businessmen negotiate with legislators and political leaders in Latin America and everywhere else. Proprietors of large private companies have had the power to make their demands directly to politicians; for example, the Mexican magnate Carlos Slim, who is the owner and shareholder of some of the biggest enterprises in Mexico and abroad, has done so in relation to public policies that affect a large number of people. For instance, Slim met Enrique Peña Nieto – the then governor of Estado de México who would later be elected as Mexico´s president for the *sexenio* that started in 2013 – and the Mexican president Felipe Calderón Hinojosa at the site of a public hydraulic construction that would prevent the population from being affected by floods in Ecatepec on Mexico City´s outskirts.[737] I would argue that, while García Canclini previously framed his cultural policies more consistently from a national and a territorial perspective, there has more recently been a quite different claim that private companies interfere more than the state in certain strategic issues, ventures and topics of development. These policy-makers often combine to form intricate networks that generate policies. As a result, cultural policy has been redirected to new global levels of interaction, and this is where García Canclini contributes to a new agenda of action for cultural issues. He has considered the roles that diverse institutions and their practices play. After all, García

---

[737] RAMOS, Jorge; SUBERZA, Ramos. Carlos Slim acompaña a Peña y Calderón en Ecatepec. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 7 July 2011.

Canclini proposes his cultural policies as options[738] as opposed to those offered as the only possible solutions. I note that García Canclini´s research still examined aspects of urban studies, the cultural industries and globalisation during the first decade of the twenty-first century, even though his interest in cultural policy waned.

It has been argued in previous chapters that García Canclini moves through phases of philosophical anthropology, then ethnographic anthropology and later urban anthropology. He would go through other phases. The first decade of the twenty-first century ends with him writing about an aesthetics of the imminence[739] and habits of young people in the digital era[740]. Thus his latest phase may well be classified as an anthropology of the uncertain. Across García Canclini´s career, he has gradually turned his attention from the past (Cortázar´s writings, indigenous traditions and heritage) to the future (aesthetics of the imminence and disbelief in cultural policy for the twenty-first century). The absence of policy content in García Canclini´s latest publications indicates that he has been less concerned with activism and politics in Latin America.

Such a sudden reduction of politics and cultural policy issues in García Canclini´s research agenda, however, is not completely unexpected as he previously wrote on utopian political proposals before he embarked on studying cultural policy.[741] This chapter has examined the distance between, on one side, academic talks, publications and research on culture and, on the other, policies from various Latin American institutions (especially those in Mexico) that might change and guide cultural

---

[738] García Canclini offered his cultural policies as options for policy-makers and general readers when he wrote articles and reports for international organisations, as exemplified by the publication titled *Cultural policy options in the context of globalisation*: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Opciones de políticas culturales en el marco de la globalización. In: UNESCO. *Informe mundial sobre la cultura*. Paris: UNESCO, 1998.

[739] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *La sociedad sin relato: Antropología y estética de la inminencia*. Buenos Aires: Katz Editores, 2010. His book *Art beyond itself* (which has this title in English, but is still being translated at this time) proposes the hypothesis of an aesthetics of the imminence, on which García Canclini elaborates by writing that 'art is the place of imminence. Its attraction partly proceeds from its announcement of something that might happen; art promises the meaning and modifies it with insinuations. It is not fatally committed to hard deeds. It leaves suspended what it says.' (p. 12. TBM.). It can be understood that an aesthetics of the imminence – which is expressed through artistic utopias – represents a means of escaping institutional failures and political frustrations. It has to be noted that García Canclini has lately depicted emancipation, which characterised his proposals for the arts in his work during the 1970s, to be an unachievable project. Thus, it is possible to argue that the content of *Art beyond itself* contradicts the political ideas and proposals of most of his work.

[740] GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Introducción. De la cultura postindustrial a las estrategias de los jóvenes. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; CRUCES, Francisco; CASTRO POZO, Maritza Urteaga (Eds.). *Jóvenes, culturas urbanas y redes digitales: Prácticas emergentes en las artes, las editoriales y la música*. Madrid: Fundación Telefónica, 2012. In this essay, García Canclini investigates young people´s uses of the latest technologies.

[741] Please remember that this point about his early academic activities has been argued in chapter 2.

issues. Therefore, García Canclini's ideas and activities oscillate in the way he attempts to improve communication between academia and non-academic institutions. Having this in mind, the next section contains the conclusions and evaluations of my research.

CONCLUSION

My thesis argues that García Canclini not only discusses and suggests cultural policy, but that he also conducts cultural policy through his extra-academic activities in Latin America. Therefore, García Canclini´s relationships with various institutions indicate that cultural policy becomes an intellectually-oriented operation for encouraging debates and proposals about cultural issues in Latin America during the 1990s and 2000s. Taken as it is, the understanding of cultural policy in this thesis has challenged the conventional notion of cultural policy as an instrument or a mechanism that follows a set of procedures (e.g. idea, formulation, systematisation, evaluation of effectiveness and of result). It has been argued throughout the thesis that an intellectually-oriented cultural policy is possible, although it examines only a stage of the policy process. That is, it highlights policy-making instead of the conception, the dissemination or the implementation. My approach to cultural policy as being more than an institutionally-oriented instrument or mechanism offers a particular understanding of the topic in the areas of intellectual history, cultural policy studies and Latin American studies.

One of the two chief research questions that I posed for this thesis was how García Canclini creates channels, expands possibilities and improves dialogues between academia and non-academic institutions in Latin America. My answer is that he combines his well-known reputation as an academic specialising in Latin American cultural issues with the fact that various institutions need an intellectual authority to legitimise their policy decisions. However, García Canclini conducts these reciprocal interactions in his own favour as a scholar (who obtains funds, grants, spaces and notoriety) and also, as I have argued, to promote cultural issues without losing his stance as an academic. The other chief research question was what role cultural policy plays in the way García Canclini encourages debates about cultural issues in such non-academic institutions. My answer is that García Canclini challenges the bureaucratic and instrumental notion of cultural policy as given by institutions to subtly transform it into an operation for his encouragement of cultural debates and issues beyond academia. I have been crucially investigating what happens to him as an intellectual and to the notion of cultural policy. This conclusion extends the answers I have just given to these two research questions, discusses my findings, and proposes future research that is beyond the scope of this thesis. It focuses on three topics to assess García Canclini´s work: the role of intellectuals in Latin America´s cultural policy debates, the promotion

of cultural issues in Latin American non-academic institutions, and the shortage of communication between scholars and policy-makers of such institutions in Latin America.

The structure of this thesis ranged from a theoretical perspective of cultural policy to a practical one: it argued that a cultural policy for the liberation of the popular classes becomes for García Canclini a cultural policy for the promotion of the majority of people in globalisation. I thus showed in the sequence of the four chapters of this thesis that García Canclini is a scholar who engages in dialogue mostly with academic institutions during the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s. From the late 1980s onwards, however, as an academic he would start raising issues surrounding culture and policy with non-academic institutions in Latin America. Likewise, the pivotal link between the four chapters has been how García Canclini´s ideas about cultural policy change from the late 1970s until the 2000s and the impact this has on him as an intellectual.

Chapter 1 provided a theoretical background to intellectuals, culture, cultural policy, and historical and current issues regarding cultural policy institutional development within Latin America. Chapter 2 outlined the emergence of García Canclini´s interpretation of cultural policy as his concepts and ideas change in the Latin American context. Chapter 3 examined the developments of his latest and most relevant cultural policy ideas and proposals. Finally, chapter 4 employed an analytical-argumentative method to examine García Canclini´s relationships with non-academic institutions, and demonstrated how he conducts cultural policy through networks, practices and uses of cultural policy in Latin America. The four chapters investigated and discussed a variety of issues ranging from: the popular classes and an inclusive definition of culture; artisans, indigenous people and popular culture; cultural processes in Latin America; and the multiple policy-makers for Latin America´s cultural policy.

Chapter 1 showed the key institutional developments of cultural policy in Latin America, with a focus on governmental developments. This would provide the following chapter a basis for understanding cultural policy institutionally. Chapter 2 indicated that cultural policy emerges in García Canclini as a form of politics for the promotion of the popular classes´ cultural expressions while chapter 3 demonstrated through certain theoretical analyses that he devises alternative ways of doing politics. He does so by combining academic rhetoric with institutional practicality. Therefore, chapters 2 and 3 argued that García Canclini does not deem cultural policy as merely a plan or a programme that governments expect to achieve in cultural issues.

The emphasis on García Canclini's activism and on his cultural policy operation in Latin America highlights how he becomes an authority of cultural issues for other academics and for many institutions. He avoids being controversial in his cultural policy operation, although chapter 1 raised a discussion on how intellectuals propose polemical issues or become involved in them. Thus, chapters 2 and 3 (which both scrutinised his academic and conceptual developments) argued that García Canclini considers his working conditions and his legal status in Mexico (where politics is constitutionally not allowed for foreigners) when he speaks of politics. Later, he also stops using terms and words such as 'class struggle' and 'revolution' and this has a strong influence on his ideas about cultural policy because this is no longer claimed as any instrument for radical change. Chapters 2 and 3 also clarified not only how cultural policy interests García Canclini but also the main shifts in his ideas on cultural policy from the late 1970s to the first decade of the 2000s. His exile in Mexico and the opportunities he embraces during this period as an academic allow him to look at cultural policy issues in a particular way without neglecting his political positions and proposals. The main contribution of chapter 3 is the enlargement of the notion of cultural policy beyond what is normally expected from it in terms of an institutional instrument or manoeuvre.

It is also essential in the analyses I made in chapter 3 that García Canclini´s habit of advocating public interest in Latin America explains my examination of his approach to policies beyond what academic activities conventionally undertake. His research methods have been less inductive lately than when he conducted ethnographic research about handicrafts and celebrations (*fiestas*) in the Mexican small villages (*provincias*). Chapter 3 showed that in *Hybrid cultures* he analyses the institutional instabilities that constitute Latin America´s contradictory modernities. Nonetheless, a criticism García Canclini is vulnerable to is that his political position is not always clear in his various academic publications, although his disapproval of the power multinational private companies have and of minimum-state policies has been harsh.

It follows from this that the conclusions of the first three chapters left chapter 4 with the task of emphasising how García Canclini uses his academic expertise and reputation to conduct an intellectually-oriented operation even in institutions for which cultural issues are not considered relevant. It became clear throughout chapter 4 that he strategically promotes his academic work in proximity to diverse non-academic institutions. Chapter 4 explored reasons he had for supporting political parties, for instance. It went beyond examining what he said and wrote about culture. Besides, a

shift of García Canclini´s policies for culture since the 1980s relates to the new forms of political confrontations that have been mediated by the media and their technologies. Indeed, it has been shown in this thesis that communication and digital media are part of García Canclini´s cultural policy. His relations with non-academic cultural policy-making institutions, therefore, are also a strategy to reduce the impact of these mediations by re-formulating cultural policy through intellectual networks. After studying García Canclini's work for so many years, the aspect that I consider most distinctive in him in comparison with other Latin American intellectuals is the great interest that non-academic institutions have in what he says about cultural issues, and his remarkable capacity to network with academics and other professionals (including artists, bureaucrats and politicians). It is worth emphasising, at this point, that García Canclini proposes confident and daring ideas within various disciplines (e.g. anthropology, sociology) for which he does not hold formal qualifications. The way he determined his academic career and forged transnational networks with many other thinkers is notable.

I understand criticism in academic work in three different ways: emphasising disagreements and addressing bad aspects; conveying judgements and opinions about the qualities of the person or thing being criticised; and having alternative views about similar topics. It is indeed hard to be critical by only remarking on the good qualities of an object of study, as some readers might conclude on my work in relation to García Canclini. I would state, though, that including comments about some of his controversial ideas (e.g. supranational integration) would be counterproductive to tracing García Canclini's development as an academic and his key thoughts on cultural policy. Instead, I have preferred to concentrate my criticism on the difficulties of conducting research on the role of intellectuals in Latin America. Thus, it is more pertinent for me to investigate the main influences certain authors (e.g. Althusser, Bourdieu, Lévi-Strauss, Martín-Barbero) – many of whom are French social scientists – have on García Canclini in spite of the similarities of certain topics as they were also being discussed by British authors like Raymond Williams (e.g. the popular classes, historical materialism), Stuart Hall (e.g. identities, interdisciplinary methods) and Jim McGuigan (e.g. culture and development, cultural policy, popular culture). I am critical also in the way that I outlined the limitations of this thesis and the things I did not intend to do. The selection of García Canclini's most important institutional approaches from the Appendix I list reinforces my point in this paragraph. Many of my criticisms

are not about García Canclini, but about the formal, instrumental and constrained developments and views of cultural policy in Latin America. Finally, I have made my best effort throughout this thesis to show, during its development, that there are alternative opinions about the topics that I have carefully analysed and discussed.

There are six aspects in which this thesis makes a clear contribution to knowledge, in particular the areas of intellectual history, cultural policy studies and Latin American studies. The first is that I make an insightful examination of the role of an intellectual (namely García Canclini) within the context of Latin America's international cultural relations. Nobody else has done this kind of work about him. The second concerns the role of intellectuals in Latin America: it is not about acting directly in politics (by being a politician or a policy-maker), but García Canclini's activism from an academic position in his relations with various institutions. The third is that I show there are difficulties in the communication between academics (lecturers, professors, researchers, etc.) and professionals from non-academic institutions (bureaucrats, legislators, politicians, private managers, etc.). The fourth is that I propose a more flexible and open notion of cultural policy as an intellectually-oriented operation for implicit political activism. The fifth is that, because García Canclini encourages cultural debates and issues in a variety of institutions, I discuss cultural policy in relation to many institutions, even those in which it is implicit and not relevant. The sixth refers to showing the importance of many types of institutions in Latin America and how cultural issues lie underneath their policies even if they are not their direct object.

García Canclini has improved his reputation as a scholar in Latin America due to his ability to combine methodologies for studying cultural topics and to adapt concepts from other authors (e.g. Bourdieu, Lévi-Strauss, Marx) to interpret Latin American processes. Through these efforts, García Canclini´s work has also become known outside Latin America, as his ideas on popular culture and hybridisation attest. García Canclini engages in various debates on cultural policy from the late 1970s until early in the twenty-first century; so this is one of the most important topics of his work. When heritage was an object of debate in Latin America, García Canclini questioned the outdated vision of the state. When some believed globalisation was a threat, he proposed that cultural policies should globalise local lifestyles. When an exit from the impasse between the state and the market was expected, he did not hesitate in defending the French model of cultural policy. Neither does he spare any effort when he intervenes in various institutions in Latin America in support of debates on cultural issues.

This thesis has shown that it is possible to think of cultural policy in an alternative way that implies a Latin American intellectual´s form of activism. My research has amplified the notion of cultural policy beyond its institutional boundaries, which extend, for example, as a decision of the state and as a practice of a private enterprise both aiming at cultural results. The arguments in favour of this thesis have not been given without any difficulty, for instance that the degree of planning and predictability of the consequences of García Canclini´s actions is smaller than that of conventional cultural policy. Yet many of his ideas, proposals and suggestions about cultural issues are long-term and do not only serve the country where he lives – Mexico – but also most of Latin America. So my view on García Canclini and cultural policy broadens horizons on the role of intellectuals in stimulating sociocultural debates and even change, as well as in shortening distances between academia and politics.

This thesis has reviewed ideas ranging from philosophical concepts and aesthetic notions to economic and political debates. It has also evaluated the main developments of García Canclini´s cultural policy ideas and proposals. It pointed how García Canclini attempts to encourage certain debates on cultural issues in non-academic policy-making institutions without occupying political positions, and provided reasons for how he does not become a resigned and co-opted intellectual in his extensive extra-academic activities. When I started the research for my thesis, I suspected that García Canclini had become co-opted into capitalism, into economic ideas in his cultural analyses and into dominant groups he criticises severely in his early publications. However, while I investigated his institutional relationships and his intellectual networks, I understood his role as an influential intellectual in Latin America. Instead of gaining support for my belief that he had acquiesced to the traps of *colonialidad* (using Walter Mignolo´s term), I realised that cultural policy became an operation for both his own benefit (as it has been shown in relation to obtaining funds for publications) and for him to promote cultural issues where these ideas obtained scant policy attention. In spite of all suspicions about García Canclini's extra-academic activities that I raised before I embarked on the development of this thesis, my research has demonstrated that he encourages cultural issues outside academia at the same time that he consolidates his position as an academic. One of such suspicions is that, indeed, his theoretical proposals become more conciliatory during the late 1980s than they used to be during the 1970s as he broadens and diversifies the ideas for cultural action in Latin America. However, this does not mean that García Canclini accepts the decisions made by the policy-makers

from the institutions that he approaches while he shares his thoughts on cultural issues with them in diverse ways (e.g. lectures, publications, training). As García Canclini does not work for the institutions he has relations with (e.g. when he lectures at Mexico's Chamber of Deputies), he does not represent their interests and, therefore, he ensures his critical and independent position as an academic. Such institutional relationships have a tremendous impact on his cultural policy ideas and proposals.

One of the questions I posed for this thesis is whether García Canclini is normally invited by non-academic institutions as a consultant or if he actively pursues these relationships as a form of political activism. I have no evidence of any other publication that looks at these aspects in García Canclini. Most reviewers are concerned with particular notions he develops such as popular culture, hybridisation and globalisation. Through my analysis, though, I have shown that he promotes cultural issues in Latin America through diverse extra-academic institutional activities. I have demonstrated in which ones, how and with whom he does so. However, after such a prolific career in academia and in other institutions, he is frequently called to participate in them and is also mentioned in newspaper articles and governmental documents. His acts of persuasion turn him into an oft-invited academic and an intellectual authority for governmental policies, especially with his expertise in culture and cultural policy. I observe that the media consecrate certain intellectuals specialising in various areas of knowledge in Latin America as the authorised voices for certain issues. For example, in Brazil the physician Dráuzio Varella gives advice on medical issues on television and the journalist Míriam Leitão writes op-ed articles about politics in newspapers. Debates on cultural issues also have their authorised voices because the media and other institutions promote certain personalities to speak on behalf of all other experts.

The 'Introduction' of this thesis outlined a symbiotic relationship between García Canclini and institutions; the findings of this thesis point to the growing need of non-academic institutions for scientific support to their decisions and reports. In addition, while this thesis does not evaluate the effects of García Canclini's approaches to institutions, I note that his ideas often authenticate decisions that institutions had already made. In these cases, they needed an intellectual authority in cultural issues like García Canclini to make their policies widely accepted. For this reason, García Canclini is invited many times to give his advice about Latin American culture to non-academic institutions because of his expertise in cultural issues. However, while García Canclini obtains funds and other opportunities for his academic activities, he is not always aware

of the uses of his ideas by such non-academic institutions; or perhaps he cares less about it. A similar situation occurs when an academic is quoted in others´ publications for research purposes that do not necessarily correspond to the beliefs, ethics and positions of the quoted author. While it has been argued that García Canclini has a variety of extra-academic activities with many non-academic institutions in Latin America and that his networking is broad and diverse, it was not possible for this thesis to examine how institutions have employed his intellectual authority.

However, this has not hindered my examination of García Canclini's cultural policy operation. I have been, in this thesis, especially interested in alternative forms of activism, that is, in how an intellectual can do politics in alternative and often subtle ways in Latin America. I found out, though, that each part (namely García Canclini and the non-academic institutions he develops activities in proximity to) wants some kind of return when they form relationships. They do not do it for the sake of culture, or for charity, or without any kind of interest. Besides, there are different logics guiding academics from those of other professionals. I also discovered that each professional (I am thinking of García Canclini as an academic, but also bureaucrats, legislators or newspaper editors), no matter what he or she does or says, is solely interested in occupying a function within the system without changing the status quo. However, I could deepen this point by establishing a difference between either performing obligations or tasks in a job placement or fulfilling duties and principles in a function.

Chapter 1 elucidated how thoughts about intellectuals (e.g. as advocates of public interest) do not correspond necessarily to the obligations or tasks that they end up performing. Furthermore, the analyses of chapter 4 clarify that there might even be incompatibilities between academia and non-academic institutions and that, frequently, professionals from the latter require scholars' support for certain decisions and ideas. The emergence of García Canclini's interest in cultural policy issues in relation to more radical and utopian proposals (as discussed in chapter 2) and, later, the development and suitability of his cultural policy ideas for a broad variety of topics and interests within a more conciliatory and pragmatic perspective (as shown in chapter 3) explain and support the findings I have discussed in these paragraphs. In a similar way, this thesis contributes with a thorough and methodical examination of García Canclini and his work by showing how a Latin American intellectual can be an important figure for social change. Likewise, it attempts to increase the relevance of academic work in other

spheres of activity (especially those that are unrelated to academia) and it results in a particular way of thinking about cultural policy issues in Latin America.

I argued in this thesis that García Canclini approaches many non-academic institutions but is rarely involved in explicitly stated policy processes because of his reluctance to step out of his academic position. On the one hand, he claims that his aversion to being directly involved in politics is because of his academic and cultural activism; on the other, I have shown that, with a few exceptions, he neither occupies any political position nor engages in policy-making (in terms of the actions and plans that policy-makers conventionally perform in institutions) as is normally expected of an influential intellectual. As it can be argued that the common feature of intellectuals lies in his or her relationship (excused, indirect or explicit) with politics, García Canclini has a particular role to fulfil as an intellectual in Latin America. This thesis concludes that, despite the variety of institutions he has relationships with and of the diversity of the activities he conducts, he always speaks from academia yet does not miss the opportunities to increase his reputation and to use the resources he has for research activities. Although this thesis has argued that García Canclini develops as an academic who specialises in cultural issues, he combines his cultural policy interests with political practices as he approaches a variety of institutions as a scholar. García Canclini´s activism resides in this interaction because he debates on cultural issues while he is justifiably concerned about keeping his position within academia. Thus this is a new way of thinking regarding García Canclini´s work and cultural policy issues.

Even though political and sociocultural changes are usually a threat to many lobbies and policy-makers see obstacles to promote public interest in Latin America, political activism finds many possibilities outside the domains of the state. It happens, for instance, in academic institutions and nonprofit associations. In this sense, rather than managing culture, García Canclini´s cultural policy activities insinuate how culture can change management. It is a political operation. This happens in the context in which cultural policy-making in Latin America rarely transcends the theatrical function of being a mere managerial manoeuvre instead of causing a rupture in the *status quo*. I could mention the example of the Brazilian singer Ana de Hollanda, who was Minister of Culture in Brazil between January 2011 and September 2012. She resigned after a defamation campaign from cultural entrepreneurs because she withdrew the Creative Commons seal of intellectual rights licence from the Ministry of Culture´s website.

It became clear that García Canclini has a normative, rhetorical and utopian appeal in his publications, regardless of the institutions that fund them. Instead of delving into the practical aspects of cultural action, in most of his lectures and writings he creates a conceptual and ethical perspective for cultural policy. In a similar way, his institutional relationships unveil the presence of the political in his work. Furthermore, policy processes necessarily entail power relations from which not even its agenda setting – which is also a political activity – escapes. This thesis has shown that García Canclini discusses topics that are evident in Latin American academic contexts from the 1970s until the 2000s. In the meantime, he does not miss the opportunities to convey a perspective which satisfies the interests of Latin America and of the sociocultural transformations he envisages through the promotion of cultural issues.

Such an engagement is implied in the fact that an intellectual in Latin America normally struggles against dependences, dominations and hierarchies. García Canclini´s work is permeated by his research in an area in which he does not hold a diploma, his taste for unsubordinated art and even his anti-American feelings. However, his activism finds a balance between the elites who do not accept inequity and underprivileged people who challenge hierarchies in Latin America. One of the difficulties García Canclíni faces, though, is that an intellectual who expresses himself or herself via institutions needs to be mindful of the need to follow conventions and show accountability. Hence scholars publish articles and struggle to obtain funds for their research activities, private companies pursue an increase in their profits, the state bureaucrats have to write documents and make public policy, and so on.

This thesis has examined García Canclini´s activities and concepts to determine the role of intellectuals in Latin America´s policy-making. Yet the accountability of those people on whose shoulders weigh the responsibility of taking up the role of an intellectual increases when they discuss cultural issues. This is due to the broad scope of the notion of culture and to its political messages, as this thesis pointed out. However, the conditions for freedom of thought and of expression do not necessarily increase in proportion to the examination of the role of intellectuals (that is, what an intellectual has to do). No wonder García Canclini is not so concerned with the metalinguistic reflections about the role of intellectuals in Latin America, except in a few quotations which this thesis highlighted. I have argued that a feature in García Canclini´s work is his desire to undertake academic research while speaking to general audiences and to policy-makers. His lectures and writings frequently begin with a reasoned question

about a topic that is seldom answered during the development of his arguments. It is therefore rather an element of persuasion than a guide to the work being presented.

García Canclini's desire to break conventions and speak to larger audiences converges with the multiplicity of cultural policy-makers that he works with. No less important than this is the fact that he is oriented towards policy-makers from the state, the market and society as supporters of the majority of people´s interests. García Canclini blurs, in this way, distinctions between the public and the private, the state and the market to the point that any policy-maker or institution may pursue public interest as something that is collective, shared and that brings benefits to most people. The main lesson for the purposes of this thesis that has been provided by García Canclini´s ideas is that every policy-maker who acts in society – independently of one´s institutional proposals – is able to formulate cultural policies as long as the common denominator refers to public interest. From the late 1980s, García Canclini has received many invitations to lecture and to publish articles that he dismisses the particularities of each institution. So he would agree to give a talk to a private institution, for example, even if he criticises its increasing profits. In his relationships with diverse non-academic institutions, he is not as concerned with definitions of culture and cultural policies as he is with engaging in intellectual networks to encourage debates on cultural issues. This enlarges possibilities for understanding cultural policy issues and intellectuals.

Contradictorily in a sense but strategically in another, García Canclini negotiates with certain objects of his criticism. The reason for his proximity to diverse institutions is their commitment to promote public interest even if, for example, private companies do not necessarily fulfil the needs of the majority of people. It has been extensively argued in this thesis that the centrality of people and citizens usually permeates García Canclini´s cultural policy analyses. Because of his perennial concern with the majority of people, he establishes a broader dialogue with the dominant classes, hegemonic discourses and powerful institutions. But this is not the only way of understanding his activism. It can also be interpreted that, although he does not favour private companies on any occasion, he articulates a strategy to encourage cultural issues in the activities he performs with institutions that he criticises in his academic work for having displaced the attributes of the state. He claims that the state should represent and serve the collective and general interests of society.

I would add that García Canclini´s surprising attitude is that he does not usually speak to institutions in a critical way as might be expected of intellectuals who disagree

with certain policies. Besides, García Canclini´s judgment on the absence of cultural policies is often more bitter than when he discusses the inconsistencies of existing policies for culture. García Canclini subtly penetrates the intricate webs of politics in Latin America. He is also an ingenious strategist due to the way he converts conflicting public spaces into places of negotiation in diverse institutions outside academia. This applies despite any criticisms he makes about the inconsistencies of cultural policies constructed by those who are responsible for the re-definition of such public spaces.

This thesis has shown that García Canclini engages in debates on national development, modernisation, urban studies, the cultural industries, globalisation and the suitability of local political cultures for the projects of modernity in Latin America. For this, he adapts multiple concepts and theories that emerged and developed in the heart of modern European societies and employs them in Latin American hybrid contexts. However, this thesis does not develop certain concepts it eventually refers to in the examination of García Canclini´s cultural policy. This is because of my point of showing how he encourages debates on cultural issues in Latin America by employing his skills for dealing with so many conceptual analyses, different disciplines and policy contexts. This is the case for the notions of globalisation and popular culture, which García Canclini analyses well in his work, but also for ideas on Iberian American cultural spaces and supranational public spaces. As this thesis contains many theoretical debates, one of the greatest concerns has been to reduce (and at the same time to criticise) the use of presuppositions in which theories are grounded so that it would be possible to formulate more advanced ideas.

García Canclini also continually engages in dialogue with a vast array of institutions no matter how aligned they are with minimum-state ideologies, privatisation and all the other ideas he criticises. However, he sets himself up in opposition to mainstream research methods and perspectives. For example, he thinks about consumption when most other social scientists are studying production; he suggests investigating urban phenomena while most anthropologists are searching for Latin American identities in indigenous people; and he establishes a number of debates with Western European and North American academics when some of his colleagues are against Eurocentric views and the hegemony of the English language. García Canclini can be considered a challenging, clever, efficient and groundbreaking intellectual because of the way he conducts and develops his academic and political objectives.

The research I conducted for this thesis has also highlighted two potential areas for further academic examination. The first is that I did not evaluate cultural policy results, but only the stage of the policy process which I named policy-making. The second is that this work did not assess whether non-academic institutions applied García Canclini´s ideas about cultural issues (what political scientists would describe as policy effectiveness). Consequently, future research to investigate these two areas in more depth has the potential to develop cultural policy research in Latin America. While there are considerable improvements in cultural policy institutional development in the region, I regret that the two policy stages known as implementation and outcome evaluation have received insufficient attention from academia and governments. This conclusion suggests unexplored research topics to consolidate cultural policy as a governmental instrument and to improve cultural policy studies as an academic area.

Likewise, this thesis opens up research possibilities regarding the role of intellectuals, the forms of activism and the enlargement of the notion of cultural policy in Latin America. The area that is open to future academic explorations results from the relationship between culture and politics, and from how culture cannot express itself without its political aspect neither is politics sustained without its cultural content. Not less important is the appeal to various institutions through which intellectuals channel their proposals for sociocultural change. So my research encourages other viewpoints on the role of intellectuals in activities that go beyond the work of investigating, teaching and writing. This thesis calls for a reflection on how García Canclini establishes connections between such different areas (e.g. university and government) without giving up his academic position. This thesis, although the focus has been on Latin America, implies new horizons for understanding the relationship between culture and politics elsewhere and through the action of intellectuals who are able to transform cultural policy into an inspiration for change.

I cannot conclude without mentioning the fact that a particular aspect of the research topic of this thesis was largely out of its scope. Namely, the inability of the findings in this to mitigate the lack of communication between scholars and policy-makers in Latin America. I refer to the fact that scholars and non-academic institutions have different professional duties no matter how often their interests converge. Therefore, academics propose cultural analyses in a different perspective from the way policy-makers formulate and envisage policies for cultural issues. Despite such disconnections between scholars and policy, this thesis has demonstrated that García

Canclini continues his commitment with academic work while he invents ways of advocating cultural issues in institutions that echo his activism in Latin America.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

GENERAL

ABELLEYRA, Angélica. Apocalipsis y utopía, esfuerzo por imaginar a la ciudad de México. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 17 January 1999.

ADORNO, Theodor. Culture industry reconsidered. In: ADORNO, Theodor. *The culture industry: Selected essays on mass culture*. Edited and introduced by J. M. Bernstein. London and New York: Routledge, 1991.

ADORNO, Theodor; HORKHEIMER, Max. *Dialectic of enlightenment*. London: Allen Lane, 1973.

AGGIO, Alberto; PINHEIRO, Marcos Sorrilha. Os intelectuais e as representações da identidade latino-americana. **Dimensões: Revista de História da UFES (Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo)**, Vitória, UFES, v. 29, pp. 22–49, 2012.

AGUAYO QUEZADA, Sergio. Tacos de lengua. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 17 January 2007.

AGUILAR DÍAZ, Miguel Ángel. Espacio público y prensa urbana en la Ciudad de México. **Perfiles Latinoamericanos**, Mexico City, v. 5, n. 9, pp. 47–72, December 1996.

AHEARNE, Jeremy. Cultural policy explicit and implicit: A distinction and some uses. **International Journal of Cultural Policy**, Taylor & Francis, v. 15, n. 2, pp. 141–153, May 2009.

AHEARNE, Jeremy. *Intellectuals, culture and public policy in France: Approaches from the left*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010.

ALTHUSSER, Louis. Ideology and ideological state apparatuses. In: ALTHUSSER, Louis. *Lenin and philosophy and other essays*. Translated from French by Ben Brewster. London and New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971.

ALVARADO BORGOÑO, Miguel. Cortázar como antropólogo literato: Lecturas de Cortázar, una antropología poética. **Nueva Revista del Pacífico**, Valparaíso, Chile, n. 54, 2009.

ALVAREZ, Carmen. Ven en la cultura motor de desarrollo. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 12 December 2002.

ANDERSON, Benedict. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. 2nd Edition. London and New York: Verso, 1991.

ARANTES, Antônio Augusto. O patrimônio cultural e seus usos: A dimensão urbana. **Habitus**, Goiânia, v. 4, n.1, pp. 425–435, January–June 2006.

ARISTA, Lidia. Intelectuales apoyan candidatura de Ebrard. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 3 November 2011. Available at <http://www.eluniversaldf.mx/cuauhtemoc/nota37162.html>. Accessed on 30 January 2012.

AUDIFFRED, Miryam. Analizarán del DF su política cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 6 September 1999.

BARTRA, Armando. *La explotación del trabajo campesino por el capital*. Mexico City: Editorial Macehual, 1979.

BAYARDO, Rubens. Consideraciones para la cooperación euroamericana en investigación cultural desde una perspectiva latinoamericana. **Pensar Iberoamérica – Revista de Cultura**, Madrid, n. 7, September–December 2004. Available at <http://www.oei.es/pensariberoamerica/ric07a06.htm>. Accessed on 27 May 2013.

BAYARDO, Rubens. Políticas culturales en la Argentina. In: RUBIM, Antônio Albino Canelas; BAYARDO, Rubens (Eds.). *Políticas culturais na Ibero-América*. Salvador: EDUFBA, Coleção Cult, 2008.

BBC NEWS. French MPs vote to ban Islamic full veil in public, **BBC News Europe**, 13 July 2010. Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10611398>. Accessed on 8 May 2013.

BELFIORE, Eleonora. Art as a means of alleviating social exclusion: Does it really work?. A critique of instrumental cultural policies and social impact studies in the UK. **International Journal of Cultural Policy**, v. 8, n. 1, Taylor & Francis, pp. 91–106, 2002.

BELUCHE, Olmedo. *Notes extracted from the text 'La unidad latinoamericana: ¿Utopía bolivariana o posibilidad real?'*, Biblioteca Ayacucho, Caracas, 1 June 2012. Available at <http://bibliotecayacucho.gob.ve/fba/index.php?id=21&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=1532&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=2&cHash=6a1c818917>. Accessed on 24 May 2013.

BENNETT, Oliver. Intellectuals, romantics and cultural policy. **International Journal of Cultural Policy**, v. 12, n. 2, Taylor & Francis, pp. 117–134, 2006.

BENNETT, Tony. Intellectuals, culture, policy: The technical, the practical, and the critical. In: BENNETT, Tony. *Critical trajectories: Culture, society, intellectuals*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

BEVERLEY, John. *Subalternity and representation: Arguments in cultural theo*ry. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999.

BIENEFELD, Manfred A. The international context for national development strategies: Constraints and opportunities in a changing world. In: BIENEFELD, Manfred; GODFREY, Martin (Eds.). *The struggle for development: National strategies in an international context*. New York: John Wiley & Sons Limited, 1982.

BLANCO, César. Se suben al ring a debatir plan cultural inexistente. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 2 December 2007.

BORDAT, Elodie Marie. Institutionalization and change in cultural policy: CONACULTA and cultural policy in Mexico (1988–2006). **International Journal of Cultural Policy**, Taylor & Francis, v. 19, n. 2, pp. 222–248, 2013.

BORJA, Jordi. Ciudadanía y espacio público. **Ambiente y Desarrollo**, Bogotá, v. 14, n. 3, pp. 13–22, September 1998.

BORRALHO, Caroline. *MinC realiza mais um encontro com a moda*. Brasília: Ministério da Cultura, 21 January 2013. Available at <http://www2.cultura.gov.br/site/2013/01/21/minc-realiza-mais-um-encontro-com-a-moda/>. Accessed on 12 March 2014.

BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Acts of resistance: Against the new myths of our time*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 1998.

BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984.

BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Language and symbolic power*. Translated by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1991.

BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Sociology in question*. Translated by Richard Nice. London: SAGE Publications, 1993.

BOURDIEU, Pierre. *The field of cultural production: Essays on art and literature*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1993.

BOURDIEU, Pierre; PASSERON, Jean-Claude. *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. Translated from the French by Richard Nice. 2nd Edition. London: Sage Publications, 1990.

BRANCO, Mariana. Exportações na safra 2012/2013 somam US$ 100,61 bilhões e batem recorde. **Agência Brasil**, Brasília, 8 July 2013. Available at <http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/noticia/2013-07-08/exportacoes-na-safra-20122013-somam-us-10061-bilhoes-e-batem-recorde>. Accessed on 18 November 2013.

BRENNER, Neil. Beyond State-Centrism? Space, territoriality, and geographical scale in globalization studies. **Theory and Society**, v. 28, pp. 39–78, 1999.

BUCIO, Érika P. Critican falta de programa. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 1 December 2007.

BURNS, Rob; WILL, Wilfried van der. Intellectuals as cultural agenda-setters in the Federal Republic. **International Journal of Cultural Policy**, v. 12, n. 3, Francis & Taylor, pp. 291–322, 2006.

BUSTAMANTE, Enrique. Tendiendo puentes. In: BUSTAMANTE, Enrique (Ed.). *La cooperación cultura-comunicación en Iberoamérica*. Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID), Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación, 2008.

CÁMARA de Diputados. Decreto por el que se reforma la Ley para el Desarrollo de la Competitividad de la Micro, Pequeña y Mediana Empresa, Mexico City, Chamber of Deputies, 6 June 2006. Available at <http://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/ref/ldcmpme/LDCMPME_ref01_06jun06.pdf>. Accessed on 5 May 2014.

CÁMARA de Diputados. **Gaceta Parlamentaria**, Mexico City, Chamber of Deputies, v. 10, n. 2152, 14 December 2006.

CÁMARA de Diputados. **Gaceta Parlamentaria**, Mexico City, Chamber of Deputies, n. 1620-I, 8 November 2004.

CÁMARA de Diputados. **Gaceta Parlamentaria**, Mexico City, Chamber of Deputies, n. 2997-V, 27 April 2010.

CÁMARA de Diputados. **Gaceta Parlamentaria**, Mexico City, Chamber of Deputies, v. XIV, n. 3248-VI, 26 April 2011.

CÁMARA de Diputados. Ley Orgánica de la Administración Pública Federal. New Law (Nueva Ley) that was published in the Diario Oficial de la Federación on 29 December 1976 and reformed on 26 December 2013. Available at <http://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/pdf/153.pdf>. Accessed on 28 March 2014.

CAMP, Roderic Ai. *The metamorphosis of leadership in a democratic Mexico*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

CARDOSO, Fernando Henrique; FALETTO, Enzo. *Dependency and development in Latin America*. Translated by Marjory Mattingly Urquidi. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979.

CASTAGNINO, Raúl H. Posibilidad de una antropología poética. Preface to: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Cortázar: Una antropología poética*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Nova, 1968.

CEBALLOS, Miguel Ángel. Critican bases de Fundación Cultural del DF. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 27 February 2008.

CHAUÍ, Marilena. Cultura e democracia. **Crítica y Emancipación: Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales**, Buenos Aires, CLACSO, v. 1, n. 1, pp. 53–76, June 2008.

CLARÍN. Cultura: Breves. Punto y coma. **Clarín**, Buenos Aires, 24 September 2000.

COELHO NETTO, José Teixeira. *O que é indústria cultural*. 35th Edition. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1993.

CONSTITUCIÓN Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos. Diario Oficial de la Federación, Mexico, 5 February 1917. Available at <http://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/pdf/1.pdf>. Accessed on 31 January 2012.

CONVENIO Andrés Bello. *Cultura, la llave maestra de la integración*. Primer Encuentro Internacional La Cultura como Factor de Desarrollo e Integración Regional, Buenos Aires, Museo de Arte Latinoamericano de Buenos Aires, 20–21 May 2002.

CORRAL JURADO, Javier. Amedi y la influenza mediática. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 5 May 2009.

CORRAL JURADO, Javier. Amedi. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 27 March 2007.

COUNCIL of Europe. *In from the margins: A contribution to the debate on culture and development in Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, The European Task Force on Culture and Development, 1997.

CRESPO OVIEDO, Luis Felipe. Políticas culturales: Viejas tareas, nuevos paradigmas. **Derecho y Cultura**, Mexico City, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas-UNAM, n. 9, pp. 23–42, March–August 2003.

CRUZ VÁZQUEZ, Eduardo. La ley, para normalizar al Conaculta: Canclini. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 12 October 2005.

CRUZ VÁZQUEZ, Eduardo; LARA GONZÁLEZ, Carlos. (Eds.). *1988–2012: Cultura y transición*. Cuernavaca and Monterrey: Instituto de Cultura de Morelos, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, 2012.

CRUZ, Luciene. Governo federal lança Plano Nacional de Consumo e Cidadania. **Agência Brasil**, Brasília, 15 March 2013. Available at

<http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/noticia/2013-03-15/governo-federal-lanca-plano-nacional-de-consumo-e-cidadania>. Accessed on 8 May 2013.

CUCHE, Denys. *A noção de cultura nas ciências sociais*. Translated from French to Portuguese by Viviane Ribeiro. Bauru: Editora da Universidade do Sagrado Coração (EDUSC), 1999.

CURY, Maria Zilda Ferreira. Intelectuais em cena. In: CURY, Maria Zilda Ferreira; WALTY, Ivete Lara Camargos (Eds.). *Intelectuais e vida pública: Migrações e mediações*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2008.

DECRETO de Transformación de Instituto de Cultura de la Ciudad de México a Secretaría de Cultura del Distrito Federal. Gaceta Oficial del Distrito Federal, Mexico City, 31 January 2002. This is the decree that transformed Mexico City's Institute of Culture into Mexico City´s Secretariat of Culture. It was signed by Andrés Manuel López Obrador, who was then Mexico City´s Head of Government. Available at <http://sic.conaculta.gob.mx/documentos/663.pdf>. Accessed on 1 April 2013.

DELGADO ROJAS, Jaime. *Construcciones supranacionales e integración regional latinoamericana*. San José, Costa Rica: Editorial UCR, 2009.

DELVAINQUIÈRE, Jean-Cédric. Country Profile France December 2007. In: COMPENDIUM of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe. Brussels: Council of Europe, ERICarts, 12th edition 2011. Available at <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/down/france_122007.pdf>. Accessed on 1 May 2013.

DEVÉS-VALDÉS, Eduardo. *Redes intelectuales en América Latina: Hacia la constitución de una comunidad internacional*. Santiago de Chile: Colección Idea, Segunda Época, Instituto de Estudios Avanzados of the Universidad Santiago de Chile, 2007.

DIARIO Oficial de la Federación. Decreto de Creación del CONACULTA, which was signed by president Carlos Salinas de Gortari on 7 December 1988. Information available at <http://www.conaculta.gob.mx/fundacion/>. Accessed on 30 March 2013.

DÓRIA, Carlos Alberto. *Os federais da cultura*. São Paulo: Biruta, 2003.

EHRLICH QUINTERO, Patricia. Los siguientes 15 años de la UAM. **Reencuentro: Análisis de problemas universitarios**, Mexico City, UAM-Xochimilco, n. 56, pp. 142–144, 30 December 2009.

EL UNIVERSAL. La tentación de cada día. **El Universal**, Especial, Mexico City, 8 August 2000.

EL UNIVERSAL. Lamenta Volpi retraso en creación de Ley de Medios. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 28 May 2008.

EL UNIVERSAL. Más calidad y diversidad en los medios de comunicación. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 12 April 2011.

EL UNIVERSAL. Pide Volpi que se realice una nueva legislación de medios. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 24 June 2008.

ELING, Kim. *The politics of cultural policy in France*. Basingstoke, England: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999.

ERIKSEN, Thomas Hylland. *What is anthropology?*. London: Pluto Press, 2004.

FAORO, Raymundo. *Os donos do poder: Formação do patronato político brasileiro*. 3rd Edition. São Paulo: Globo, 2001.

FISKE, John. *Reading the popular*. London: Routledge, 1989.

FLEW, Terry. *The creative industries: Culture and policy*. London: SAGE Publications, 2012.

FREIRE, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. London: Penguin, 1996.

FREYRE, Gilberto. *The masters and the slaves [Casa-grande & senzala]: A study in the development of Brazilian civilization*. New York: Knopf, 1946.

FRIERA, Silvina. *Cambió la arquitectura corporativa*. **Página 12**, Buenos Aires, 30 August 2006.

FUREDI, Frank. Afterword: The downsizing of intellectual authority. In: CUMMINGS, Dolan (Ed.). *The changing role of the public intellectual*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

GACETA Parlamentaria, Mexico City, Chamber of Deputies, n. 2984-II, 8 April 2010.

GÁMEZ, Silvia Isabel. Urgen a legislar industria cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 9 August 2000.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Cultura y comunicación en la ciudad de México*. v. 1 (out of 2 Volumes). Mexico City: Grijalbo, UAM-Iztapalapa, 1998.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Culturas en globalización: América Latina − Europa − Estados Unidos: Libre comercio e integración*. Caracas: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO), Editorial Nueva Sociedad, Seminario de Estudios de la Cultura (CNCA), 1996.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. ¿Discutir la ley sin cambiar la política cultural?. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 18 November 2005.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. ¿Por qué legislar sobre industrias culturales?. **Nueva Sociedad**, Caracas, n. 175, September–October 2001.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. ¿Quiénes usan el patrimonio?: Políticas culturales y participación social. **Antropología**, Mexico City, Official Bulletin from INAH, Electronic version, pp. 11–24, July–October 1987.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. ¿Síntomas o conflictos?: Políticas e investigaciones urbanas. **Alteridades**, Mexico City, v. 18, n. 36, pp. 13–22, 2008.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Argentinos en México: Una visión antropológica. In: YANKELEVICH, Pablo (Ed.). *En México entre exilios: Una experiencia de sudamericanos*. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés, 1998.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Art beyond itself: Anthropology for a society without a story line*. Translated by David Frye. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2014. This is the translation of GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *La sociedad sin relato: Antropología y estética de la inminencia*. Buenos Aires: Katz Editores, 2010.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Arte popular y sociedad en América Latina*. Mexico City: Editorial Grijalbo, 1977.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Canclini responde*. **YouTube**. García Canclini answers a question about foundations during a session of questions and answers on Mexico´s Municipal Institute of Culture (Instituto Municipal de Cultura). Paula Beaulieu forwarded this question from somebody in the audience. The video was published on YouTube on 11 May 2012. Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MUABxZqcVU0>. Accessed on 19 February 2014.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Cidades e cidadãos imaginados pelos meios de comunicação. **Opinião Pública**, Campinas, v. 8, n. 1, pp. 40–53, 2002.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Cierre. Diálogo entre Néstor García Canclini y Claudio Lomnitz: La antropología en América Latina. In: NIVÓN BOLÁN, Eduardo (Ed.). *Voces híbridas: Reflexiones en torno a la obra de García Canclini*. Mexico City: Siglo XXI Editores, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Iztapalapa, División de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, 2012.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Ciudad invisible, ciudad vigilada. **La Jornada Semanal**, Mexico City, 18 May 1997.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Comentario crítico al libro *Industrias culturales*. In: ÁLVAREZ, Gabriel Omar (Ed.). *Indústrias culturais no Mercosul*. Brasília: Instituto Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais, 2003.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Conference on the occasion of receiving the title of Doctor Honoris Causa from the Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla.

Cuadernos del Honorable Consejo Universitario, Puebla, Mexico, Serie Reconocimientos y Méritos, n. 43, pp. 23–42, November 2005.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Consumers and citizens: Globalization and multicultural conflicts*. Translated by George Yúdice. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Cooperación, diálogo: ¿Son las palabras más apropiadas?*. V Campus Euro-americano de Cooperação Cultural, Almada, Portugal, 2007. Available at <http://www.redculturalmercosur.org/docs/Garcia-Canclini.pdf>. Accessed on 18 October 2007.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Cortázar: Una antropología poética*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Nova, 1968.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Crítica de la razón cientificista, epistemología e historia en Merleau-Ponty. **Revista de Psicología**, La Plata, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, National University of La Plata, v. 6, pp. 33–50, 1973. Available   at <http://www.fuentesmemoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/art_revistas/pr.895/pr.895.pdf>. Accessed on 22 April 2012.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Cultura e política na Argentina: A reconstrução da democracia. Translation from Spanish to Portuguese by Maria Lúcia Montes. **Novos Estudos Cebrap**, São Paulo, n. 14, pp. 52–61, February 1986.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Cultura y nación: Para qué no nos sirve ya Gramsci. **Nueva Sociedad**, Buenos Aires, n. 115, pp. 98–103, September–October 1991.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Cultural reconversion. Translated by Holly Staver. In: YÚDICE, George; FRANCO, Jean; FLORES, Juan (Eds.). *On edge: The crisis of contemporary Latin American culture*. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Culturas da Ibero-América: É possível um desenvolvimento compartilhado?. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Culturas da Ibero-América: Diagnósticos e propostas para seu desenvolvimento cultural*. Translated from Spanish to Portuguese by Ana Venite. São Paulo: Moderna, 2003.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. De la diversidad a la interculturalidad. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Conflictos interculturales*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2011.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Diferentes, desiguais e desconectados: Mapas da interculturalidade*. Translation from Spanish to Portuguese by Luiz Sérgio Henriques. Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ, 2005.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Diversidade e direitos na interculturalidade global. **Revista Observatório Itaú Cultural**, São Paulo, Itaú Cultural, n. 8, pp. 143–152, April–July 2009.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Economía y cultura: Los países latinos en la esfera pública transnacional. In: *Colloque International Trois espaces linguistiques face aux défis de la mondialisaton*. Paris: Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, Secretaría de Cooperación Iberoamericana, Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos, Unión Latina, 20–21 March 2001. Available at <http://www.campus-oei.org/tres_espacios/icoloquio11.htm>. Accessed on 24 September 2012.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Frida y la industrialización de la cultura: Los límites del prestigio. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 19 August 2007.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Gramsci con Bourdieu: Hegemonía, consumo y nuevas formas de organización popular. **Nueva Sociedad**, Buenos Aires, n. 71, pp. 69–78, March–April 1984.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Hybrid cultures: Strategies for entering and leaving modernity*. Translated by Christopher L. Chiappari and Silvia L. López. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Ibero-América 2002: Propostas para o desenvolvimento cultural. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Culturas da Ibero-América: Diagnósticos e propostas para seu desenvolvimento cultural*. Translated from Spanish to Portuguese by Ana Venite. São Paulo: Moderna, 2003.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Identidad cultural frente a los procesos de globalización y regionalización: México y el Tratado de Libre Comercio de América del Norte. In: MONETA, Carlos Juan; QUENAN, Carlos (Comps.). *Las reglas del juego: América Latina, globalización y regionalismo*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Corregidor, 1994.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Imaginarios urbanos*. 4th Edition. Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 2010.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Imagined globalization*. Translated by George Yúdice. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Industrias culturales y globalización: Procesos de desarrollo e integración en América Latina. **Estudios Internacionales**, Santiago de

Chile, Instituto de Estudios Internacionales, Universidad de Chile, v. 33, n. 129, pp. 90–111, 2000.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Interview conducted by Bruno Peron Loureiro in the home office of Néstor García Canclini, Mexico City, 28 March 2008. In: PERON LOUREIRO, Bruno. *Néstor García Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina*. Thesis presented to obtain the degree of MPhil in Latin American Studies (Maestro en Estudios Latinoamericanos), Mexico City, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Anexo I, September 2009.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Interview conducted by Bruno Peron Loureiro in the home office of Néstor García Canclini, Mexico City, 27 February 2009. In: PERON LOUREIRO, Bruno. *Néstor García Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina*. Thesis presented to obtain the degree of MPhil in Latin American Studies (Maestro en Estudios Latinoamericanos), Mexico City, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Anexo II, September 2009.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Interview given to Jerónimo Repoll. Desigualdades, diferencias y desconexiones. Los retos de la comunicación y la democracia en América Latina. **Andamios: Revista de Investigación Social**, Mexico City, Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México, v. 7, n. 14, pp. 139–149, September–December 2010.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Introducción. De la cultura postindustrial a las estrategias de los jóvenes. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; CRUCES, Francisco; CASTRO POZO, Maritza Urteaga (Eds.). *Jóvenes, culturas urbanas y redes digitales: Prácticas emergentes en las artes, las editoriales y la música*. Madrid: Fundación Telefónica, 2012.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Introducción: Antropología y estudios culturales. **Alteridades**, Mexico City, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, v. 3, n. 5, pp. 5–8, 1993.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. La antropología en México y la cuestión urbana. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *La antropología urbana en México*. Mexico City: CONACULTA, FCE, UAM, 2005.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. La crisis de las políticas culturales: Del desarrollismo al monetarismo. **Primer Simposio sobre Historia Contemporánea de México 1940–1984**, Mexico City, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1986.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. La integración en un contexto pluriétnico y pluricultural. In: *La integración en América Latina. Visión Latinoamericana 2000*. Paris: UNESCO Editions, 1995.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. La política cultural en países en vías de subdesarrollo. In: CEBALLOS, Rita (Ed.). *Antropología y políticas culturales: Patrimonio e identidad*. Buenos Aires: Dirección Nacional del Registro Oficial, 1989.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *La producción simbólica: Teoría y método en sociología del arte*. 7th Edition. Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2001.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. La reinvención de lo público en la videocultura urbana. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Reabrir espacios públicos: Políticas culturales y ciudadanía*. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés, UAM, 2004.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *La sociedad sin relato: Antropología y estética de la inminencia*. Buenos Aires: Katz Editores, 2010.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Las cuatro ciudades de México. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Cultura y comunicación en la ciudad de México*. v. 1 (out of 2 Volumes). Mexico City: Grijalbo, UAM-Iztapalapa, 1998.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Las políticas multiculturales como un recurso integrado para los procesos de desarrollo en América Latina*. Paris: UNESCO, SHS.93/CONF.009/2 - SHS.93/CONF.009/LD.1, 1993. This reference is quoted in the document UNESCO. *Bibliography for cultural policies and development - G - H - I*. Paris: UNESCO, 15 February 2004. Available at <http://portal.unesco.org/culture/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=18478&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html>. Accessed on 21 February 2014.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Latinoamericanos buscando lugar en este siglo*. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2002.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Lectores, espectadores e internautas*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2007.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Lecture he gave when he was awarded the title of Doctor Honoris Causa from the Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla. **Cuadernos del Honorable Consejo Universitario**, Puebla, Mexico, Serie Reconocimientos y Méritos, n. 43, pp. 23–42, November 2005.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Lecture presented at the Congress of Communication and Social Science in Latin America (COMCIS 2011), La Plata, Argentina, Facultad de

Periodismo y Comunicación Social, Universidad Nacional de la Plata (FPyCS/UNLP), 1 September 2011. Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KDI5tAcVrcU>. Accessed on 23 January 2012.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Legislar la cultura. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 10 September 2000.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Malentendidos interculturales en la frontera México-Estados Unidos. In: GARCÍA, José Luis; BARAÑANO, Ascensión (Eds.). *Culturas en contacto: Encuentros y desencuentros*, Madrid: Secretaría General Técnica, pp. 111–128, 2003.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Megalópolis desconstruidas y reinventadas*. Brasília: Annals of the symposium The Invention of Cities in Latin America (A Invenção das Cidades na América Latina), 2003.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. México 2010: Una ciudad que improvisa su globalización. **Alteridades**, Mexico City, UAM-Iztapalapa, v. 13, n. 26, pp. 7–14, July–December 2003.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Museo para la globalización. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Lectores, espectadores e internautas*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2007.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Necesidad de ciudadanías globalizadas. In: BUSTAMANTE, Enrique (Ed.). *La cooperación cultura-comunicación en Iberoamérica*. Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID), Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación, 2008.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. No hay una idea de futuro en los políticos. Interview given to Héctor Pavón. **Clarín**, Buenos Aires, Revista Ñ, 29 April 2006. Available at <http://edant.clarin.com/suplementos/cultura/2006/04/29/u-01186154.htm>. Accessed on 27 February 2014.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Opciones de políticas culturales en el marco de la globalización. In: UNESCO. *Informe mundial sobre la cultura*. Paris: UNESCO, 1998.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturais na América Latina. Translation from Spanish to Portuguese by Wanda Caldeira Brant. **Novos Estudos Cebrap**, São Paulo, v. 2, n. 2, pp. 39–51, July 1983.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturales desde la perspectiva del consumidor y la ciudadanía. In: JASSO, Rosa Martha (Ed.). *Cultura y desarrollo: Una visión plural*. Mexico City: Instituto de Cultura de la Ciudad de México, 2000.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturales e integración norteamericana: Una perspectiva desde México. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Culturas en globalización: América Latina – Europa – Estados Unidos: Libre comércio e integración*. Caracas, Venezuela: Seminario de Estudios de la Cultura (CNCA), Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO), Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1996.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturales e integración. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 20 November 1994.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturales y crisis de desarrollo: Un balance latinoamericano. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Políticas culturales en América Latina*. Mexico City: Grijalbo, 1987.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Políticas culturales: De las identidades nacionales al espacio latinoamericano. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; MONETA, Carlos Juan (Eds.). *Las industrias culturales en la integración latinoamericana*. Buenos Aires: Eudeba, SELA, 1999.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Preguntas sobre el futuro del latinoamericanismo. **Revista TodaVía**, Buenos Aires, Fundación Osde, n. 4, April 2003. Available at <http://www.revistatodavia.com.ar/todavia04/notas/garcia%20canclini/txtcanclini.html >. Accessed on 27 March 2014.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Prehistoria económica y cultural del Tratado de Libre Comercio. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; GUEVARA NIEBLA, Gilberto (Eds.). *La educación y la cultura ante el Tratado de Libre Comercio*. Mexico City: Nueva Imagen, 1992.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Prevalece la incertidumbre. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 20 October 2008.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Reconstruir políticas de inclusão na América Latina. In: UNESCO. *Políticas culturais para o desenvolvimento: Uma base de dados para a cultura*. Brasília: UNESCO Brasil, 2003.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Retos culturales para un sexenio. **Reforma**, Mexico City, Opinión, 25 June 2006.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Sobre objetos sociológicamente poco identificados. **Revista Española de Sociología**, Madrid, n. 9, pp. 45–60, 2008.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Tales of United States – Latin America interaction. In: MENDES, Cândido; RODRÍGUEZ LARRETA, Enrique (Eds.). *Media and social perception*. Rio de Janeiro: UNESCO, ISSC, EDUCAM, 1999.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *The future of multicultural societies*. Costa Rica: Third Meeting, UNESCO, CCD-III/94/REG/INF.8, 22–26 February 1994. This reference is quoted in the document UNESCO. *Bibliography for cultural policies and development - G - H - I*. Paris: UNESCO, 15 February 2004. Available at <http://portal.unesco.org/culture/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=18478&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html>. Accessed on 21 February 2014.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Transforming modernity: Popular culture in Mexico*. Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Últimas noticias del desarrollo cultural. **Anales de la Educación Común**, La Plata, Argentina, n. 3, pp. 28–33, April 2006.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Unequal partners*. Paris: The UNESCO Courier; Culture and Development: A life worth living, September 1996.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Vida y Obra (1/2), produced by TVAL Producciones for Canal 22 (Mexico) and Canal Encuentro (Argentina), published in YouTube on 9 March 2011, by CaelRevolution. Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zy6cb3Q9xO4>. Accessed on 14 January 2012.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Vida y Obra (2/2), produced by TVAL Producciones for Canal 22 (Mexico) and Canal Encuentro (Argentina), published in YouTube on 9 March 2011, by CaelRevolution. Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=990k278xJ5Y>. Accessed on 14 January 2012.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; PIEDRAS FERIA, Ernesto. *Las industrias culturales y el desarrollo de México*. Mexico City: FLACSO, Siglo XXI, SRE, 2006.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; SAFA BARRAZA, Patricia. Políticas culturales y sociedad civil en México. In: CALDERÓN, Fernando; DOS SANTOS, Mario R. (Eds.). *¿Hacia un nuevo orden estatal en América Latina?*. Volume 7: Innovación cultural y actores socio-culturales. Buenos Aires: Biblioteca de Ciencias Sociales, Project UNDP-UNESCO-CLACSO, RLA-86/001, September 1989.

GARRETÓN, Manuel Antonio (Ed.). *El espacio cultural latinoamericano: Bases para una política cultural de integración*. Santiago, Chile: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003. (With the co-authorship of Jesús Martín-Barbero, Marcelo Cavarozzi, Néstor García Canclini, Guadalupe Ruiz-Giménez, Rodolfo Stavenhagen).

GARRETÓN, Manuel Antonio. *La faz sumergida del iceberg: Estudios sobre la transformación cultural*. Santiago, Chile: Edición CESOC, LOM Ediciones, 1994.

GARRETÓN, Manuel Antonio. *Políticas, financiamiento e industrias culturales en América Latina y el Caribe. Una síntesis*. Santiago, Chile, Document of Work FLACSO, Programa Chile, Serie Educación y Cultura, n. 46, May 1994. This document was prepared for the Secretaría Ejecutiva of the World Commission on Culture and Development (UNESCO) in February 1993 and was reviewed by Lida Berardi.

GETINO, Octavio. *Las industrias culturales en la Argentina: Dimensión económica y políticas públicas*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Colihue, 1995.

GIMÉNEZ, Gilberto. Patrimonio e identidad frente a la globalización. **Cuadernos del Patrimonio Cultural y Turismo**, Mexico, v. 13, pp. 177–182, 2005.

GRAMSCI, Antonio. *Selections from political writings (1910–1920)*. Selected and edited by Quintin Hoare. Translated by John Mathews. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1977.

GRAMSCI, Antonio. *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971.

GRANADOS CHAPA, Miguel Ángel. Plaza pública. Las otras elecciones. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 25 May 2011.

GRANADOS CHAPA, Miguel Ángel. Plaza pública. Los motivos de Uribe. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 25 April 2008.

HAW, Dora Luz. Buscan director para el Faro. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 8 February 2007.

HAW, Dora Luz. Compilan análisis sobre la cultura. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 28 June 2000.

HAW, Dora Luz. Distinguen obra sobre Sor Juana. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 7 October 2010.

HAW, Dora Luz. Impulsa el GDF gestión cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 2 July 2009.

HAW, Dora Luz. Impulsan comisión que evalúe la cultura. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 9 March 2006.

HAW, Dora Luz. Piden diversidad en la TV pública. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 3 June 2008.

HERNÁNDEZ, Edgar Alejandro. Piden a SRE redefinir concepto de cultura. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 8 January 2004.

HERNÁNDEZ, Edgar Alejandro. Ve en intelectuales soldados sin fusil. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 7 January 2004.

HERNÁNDEZ, Edgar Alejandro. Ven en la cultura fuente de riqueza. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 3 April 2004.

HERNER, Irene. 30 siglos de arte mexicano. **Nexos**, Mexico City, 1 December 1990. Available at <http://www.nexos.com.mx/?P=leerarticulo&Article=268379>. Accessed on 1 April 2013.

HOLANDA, Sérgio Buarque de. *Raízes do Brasil*. 26th Edition. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995.

HUERTA, César. Realizarán bitácora fílmica. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 1 June 2001.

IBARRA, Mariel. Eleva Ebrard la vara para alta burocracia. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 9 June 2009.

IDB Cultural Center. *2005 Annual Report*. Washington, D.C., Information Bulletin, n. 86, 2005.

IDB Cultural Center. *2007 Annual Report*. Washington, D.C., Information Bulletin n. 100, 2007.

IDB. *Art news: April–May 2002*. Washington, D.C., 1 May 2002.

IDB. *Cultural Center Lecture: Dr. Néstor García Canclini, Argentina*. Washington, D.C., IDB, 8 April 2002.

IDB. *Cultural Center Seminar: Culture and Development, Region*. IDB, Washington, D.C., 24 February 2005.

INSTITUTO Teotônio Vilela. Enfraquecimento da indústria torna Brasil menor. **Brasil Real – Cartas de Conjuntura ITV**, Brasília, n. 81, August 2011.

JASSO, Rosa Martha (Ed.). *Cultura y desarrollo: Una visión plural*. Mexico City: Instituto de Cultura de la Ciudad de México, Gobierno del Distrito Federal, 2000.

JENNINGS, Jeremy. Deaths of the intellectual: A comparative autopsy. In: SMALL, Helen (Ed.). *The public intellectual*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002.

JIMÉNEZ, Arturo. Entre México y Argentina, mucha cooperación y poca coproducción. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 22 May 2011.

JIMÉNEZ, Arturo. Mesa redonda en la Cámara para analizar la iniciativa de ley de cultura. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 13 October 2005.

JIMÉNEZ, Lucina. La política cultural, un tema emergente. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 3 March 2006. Available at <http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/cultura/47909.html>. Accessed on 18 February 2014.

JIMÉNEZ, Lucina. Políticas culturales en México: Una encrucijada por descifrar. In: RUBIM, Antônio Albino Canelas; BAYARDO, Rubens (Eds.). *Políticas culturais na Ibero-América*. Salvador, Bahia: EDUFBA, Coleção Cult, 2008.

KATZ, Claudio. Los atolladeros de la economía latinoamericana. **Serviço Social & Sociedade**, São Paulo, n. 112, pp. 711–728, October–December 2012.

KAY, Cristóbal. *Latin American theories of development and underdevelopment*. London: Routledge, 1989.

KEANE, John. Structural transformations of the public sphere. **The Communication Review**, San Diego, v. 1, n. 1, pp. 1–22, 1995.

KNELL, John; TAYLOR, Matthew. *Arts funding, austerity and the big society*. London: RSA, 2011.

LA NACIÓN. Agenda cultural. **La Nación**, Buenos Aires, 7 November 2005.

LA NACIÓN. Breves. **La Nación**, Buenos Aires, 8 July 2000.

LA NACIÓN. Un consejo de intelectuales debatirá las políticas culturales del Gobierno. **La Nación**, Buenos Aires, 11 July 2000.

LEGARRETA HAYNES, Patricia. *Cultura*. Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Sociales y de Opinión Pública (CESOP), Chamber of Deputies, 17 April 2006.

LÉVI-STRAUSS, Claude. *Structural anthropology*. Translated from French by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1968.

LÉVI-STRAUSS, Claude. *The savage mind*. Translated by George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd. London: The Garden City Press Limited, 1966.

LÓPEZ LAVAL, Hilda. *Autoritarismo y cultura: Argentina, 1976–1983*. Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos, 1995.

LULA Presidente, *Programa de Governo (2007–2010)*, Partido dos Trabalhadores. Available at <http://www.fpabramo.org.br/uploads/Programa_de_governo_2007-2010.pdf>. Accessed on 24 September 2013.

MACCIONI, Laura. Valoración de la democracia y resignificación de "política" y "cultura". In: MATO, Daniel (Ed.). *Estudios y otras prácticas intelectuales latinoamericanas en cultura y poder*. Caracas: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO) y CEAP, FACES, Universidad Central de Venezuela, 2002.

MANAGEMENT of Social Transformations (MOST). *Multiculturalism: A policy response to diversity*. Paris: UNESCO, 1995.

MARTÍN-BARBERO, Jesús. *Communication, culture and hegemony*. London: SAGE Publictions, 1992. Originally: *De los medios a las mediaciones: Comunicación, cultura y hegemonía*. Bogotá: Convenio Andrés Bello, 2003.

MARTÍN-BARBERO, Jesús. La comunicación, centro de la modernidad: Una peculiar relación en América Latina. **Revista Telos**, Madrid, Electronic publication, n. 36, December 1993–February 1994.

MARTÍN-BARBERO, Jesús. Medios y culturas en el espacio latinoamericano. **Iberoamericana: América Latina – España – Portugal**, Madrid, v. 2, n. 6, pp. 89–106, June 2002.

MARTÍN-BARBERO, Jesús; OCHOA GAUTIER, Ana María. Políticas de multiculturalidad y desubicaciones de lo popular. In: MATO, Daniel (Ed.). *Cultura, política y sociedad: Perspectivas latinoamericanas*. Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2005.

MARTINELL, Alfons. Los agentes culturales ante los nuevos retos de la gestión cultural. **Revista Iberoamericana de Educación**, Madrid, OEI: 50 Años de Cooperación, n. 20, May–August 1999. Available at <http://www.rieoei.org/rie20a09.htm>. Accessed on 30 January 2013.

MARTÍNEZ, Ricardo A. *El panamericanismo, doctrina y práctica imperialista: Las relaciones interamericanas desde Bolívar hasta Eisenhower*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Aluminé, 1957.

MARX, Karl; ENGELS, Friedrich. 2nd Edition. *The German ideology*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1974.

MATEOS-VEGA, Mónica. Contrastante panorama en la oferta cultural de los candidatos, **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 1 July 2006.

MATO, Daniel. Estudios y otras prácticas intelectuales latinoamericanas en cultura y poder. In: MATO, Daniel (Ed.). *Estudios y otras prácticas intelectuales latinoamericanas en cultura y poder*. Caracas: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO) y CEAP, FACES, Universidad Central de Venezuela, 2002.

MATO, Daniel. Para além da academia: Práticas intelectuais latino-americanas em cultura e poder. In: GOMES, Renato Cordeiro; MARGATO, Izabel (Eds.). *O papel do intelectual hoje*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2004.

MCGUIGAN, Jim. *Culture and the public sphere*. London: Routledge, 1996.

MCGUIGAN, Jim. *Rethinking cultural policy*. Berkshire, England: Open University Press, 2004.

MERLEAU-PONTY, Maurice. *The structure of behavior*. Translated by Alden L. Fisher. Boston: Beacon Press, 1967.

MIGNOLO, Walter. *The idea of Latin America*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.

MILENIO. Intelectuales publican desplegado en apoyo a Ebrard. **Milenio**, Mexico City, 3 November 2011.

MILENIO. Lee aquí el desplegado completo de intelectuales que apoyan a Ebrard. **Milenio**, Mexico City, 3 November 2011.

MILLER, Toby. The crime of Monsieur Lang: GATT, the screen and the new international division of cultural labour. In: MORAN, Albert (Ed.). *Film policy: International, national and regional perspectives*. London: Routledge, 1996.

MINISTÈRE de la Culture et de la Communication. *L`histoire du ministère*, n.d. Available at <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Ministere/L-histoire-du-ministere>. Accessed on 1 May 2013.

MINISTÈRE de la Culture et de la Communication. *Le Ministère*, n.d. Available at <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Ministere/Le-ministere>. Accessed on 1 May 2013.

MONSIVÁIS, Carlos. La era del PRI y sus deudos. **Letras Libres**, Mexico City, n. 20, August 2000. Available at <http://www.letraslibres.com/revista/convivio/la-era-del-pri-y-sus-deudos>. Accessed on 29 January 2012.

MORANDÉ, Pedro. *Cultura y modernización en América Latina: Ensayo sociológico acerca de la crisis del desarrollismo y de su superación*. Santiago, Chile: Instituto de Sociología, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 1984.

MORENO, Alejandro. Produce GDF video contra la tv privada. **Milenio**, Mexico City, 26 September 2008.

MORSE, Richard. *New World soundings: Culture and ideology in the Americas*. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

NIVÓN BOLÁN, Eduardo. La cooperación cultural como proceso de la globalización: Una visión desde América Latina. **Pensar Iberoamérica: Revista de Cultura**, Madrid, n. 0, February 2002. Available at <http://www.oei.es/pensariberoamerica/ric00a02.htm>. Accessed on 19 February 2014.

NIVÓN BOLÁN, Eduardo. Néstor García Canclini y las políticas culturales. In: NIVÓN BOLÁN, Eduardo (Ed.). *Voces híbridas: Reflexiones en torno a la obra de*

García Canclini. Mexico City: Siglo XXI Editores, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Unidad Iztapalapa, División de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, 2012.

NIVÓN BOLÁN, Eduardo. Presentación: Una vida de trabajo, disciplina y arte. In: NIVÓN BOLÁN, Eduardo (Ed.). *Voces híbridas: Reflexiones en torno a la obra de García Canclini*. Mexico City: Siglo XXI Editores, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Unidad Iztapalapa, División de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, 2012.

NORDEN, Deborah L. *Military rebellion in Argentina: Between coups and consolidation*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.

NÚÑEZ, Ernesto. Llama Cancillería a reunión de Embajadores y Cónsules. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 7 January 2004.

O ESTADO de São Paulo. Palestra sobre redes sociais. **O Estado de São Paulo**, São Paulo, 10 September 2010.

O`CONNOR, Alan. Consumers and citizens: On Néstor García Canclini. **Pretexts: Literary and Cultural Studies**, Taylor & Francis, v. 12, n. 1, pp. 105–122, 2003.

OCHOA GAUTIER, Ana María. Políticas culturales, academia y sociedad. In: MATO, Daniel (Ed.). *Estudios y otras prácticas intelectuales latinoamericanas en cultura y poder*. Caracas: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO) y CEAP, FACES, Universidad Central de Venezuela, 2002.

ORGANISATION of American States. *Study for Theme 1: 'Culture as an engine for economic growth, employment and development'*. This Study was commissioned by the Unit for Social Development and Education of the Organisation of American States with the intent of supporting the discussions on Theme 1 at the II Inter-American Meeting of Ministers and Highest Appropriate Authorities of Culture, Inter-American Council for Integral Development (CIDI). The document was prepared by Javier Machicado. Washington, D.C., 2004.

ORTIZ, Renato. *Mundialização e cultura*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1994.

ORTIZ, Renato. Notas históricas sobre el concepto de cultura popular. Translated from Portuguese to Spanish by Walter Neira Bronttis. **Diálogos de la comunicación**, Review of the Federación Latinoamericana de Facultades de Comunicación Social, n. 23, 1989.

ORTIZ, Renato. *Um outro território: Ensaios sobre a mundialização*. 3rd Edition. São Paulo: Olho d`Água, 2005.

PALAPA QUIJAS, Fabiola. Canal 22 impulsará nueva legislación de medios públicos, dice su director. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 29 May 2008.

PEGUERO, Raquel. A debate, hoy, reglamento de cine. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 5 June 2001.

PEREGIL, Francisco. Argentina expropia a Repsol su filial YPF. **El País**, Madrid, 17 April 2012. Available at <http://economia.elpais.com/economia/2012/04/16/actualidad/1334590509_507539.html>. Accessed on 26 August 2013.

PERON LOUREIRO, Bruno. *Néstor García Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina*. Thesis presented at the FFyL/UNAM to obtain the degree of MPhil in Latin American Studies (Maestro en Estudios Latinoamericanos), Mexico City, 25 September 2009.

PIETRI, Anne Lise. La artesanía: Un factor de integración del medio rural. In: RESTREPO, Iván (Ed.). *Conflicto entre ciudad y campo en América Latina*. Mexico City: Editorial Nueva Imagen, 1980.

RAMOS, Jorge; SUBERZA, Ramos. Carlos Slim acompaña a Peña y Calderón en Ecatepec. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 7 July 2011.

RAVELO, Renato. Diputados y Sogem organizan foro sobre industrias culturales. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 2 August 2000.

REA, Daniela. Proponen observatorio para medios. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 26 April 2008.

REDACCIÓN. Viajan a China 450 fotos mexicanas. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 3 October 2007.

REFORMA. En Líneas. Cuestiona García Canclini la llamada 'norteamericanización'. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 24 May 1996.

REFORMA. La cultura política. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 14 July 2002.

REFORMA. La cultura política. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 20 April 2008.

REFORMA. Presentan 'Nuevos Espectadores'. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 10 May 1995.

REFORMA. Proponen temas para el 2005. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 16 January 2005.

REFORMA. Replantean el concepto de desarrollo. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 18 September 1997.

REINAGA, Fausto. *La revolución india*. La Paz: Ediciones Partido Indio Boliviano, 1970.

REINOSO, Susana. El multimedios ya gastó de más. **La Nación**, Buenos Aires, 8 April 2001.

REPOLL, Jerónimo. Desigualdades, diferencias y desconexiones: Los retos de la comunicación y la democracia en América Latina. Interview given by Néstor García Canclini. **Andamios: Revista de Investigación Social**, Mexico City, UACM, v. 7, n. 14, pp. 139–149, September–December 2010.

REY, Germán. *Industrias culturales, creatividad y desarrollo*. Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID), Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación, 2009.

RIBEIRO, Darcy. *The Brazilian people: The formation and meaning of Brazil*. Translated by Gregory Rabassa. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2000.

RICARDO, Jorge. Define perfil FCCM. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 29 February 2008.

RICARDO, Jorge. Tiene DF fundación cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 27 February 2008.

RICARDO, Jorge. Valoran de Ferrari lucha iconográfica. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 2 August 2008.

RIVEROLL, Julieta. Desperdicia Gobierno investigación cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 1 April 2005.

RODÓ, José Enrique. *Ariel*. 10th Edition. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 2005.

RODRÍGUEZ BARBA, Fabiola. Las políticas culturales del México contemporáneo en el contexto de la Convención sobre Diversidad Cultural de la UNESCO. **La Chronique des Amériques**, Montréal, Canada, Review of the Observatoire des Amériques, n. 11, June 2008.

RONCAGLIOLO, Rafael. *Problemas de la integración cultural: América Latina*. Buenos Aires: Grupo Editorial Norma, 2003.

RUBIM, Antônio Albino Canelas. Políticas culturais do governo Lula/Gil: Desafios e enfrentamentos. In: RUBIM, Antônio Albino Canelas; BAYARDO, Rubens (Eds.). *Políticas culturais na Ibero-América*. Salvador, Bahia: EDUFBA, Coleção Cult, 2008.

RUBIM, Antônio Albino Canelas; PITOMBO, Mariella; RUBIM, Iuri Oliveira. Políticas e redes de intercâmbio e cooperação em cultura no âmbito ibero-americano. In: CONVENIO Andrés Bello. *Siete cátedras para la integración*. Bogotá, Colombia: Convenio Andrés Bello, Publication of the Series La Universidad y los Procesos de Integración Social, pp. 129–170, March 2005.

RUBIO, Carlos. Ven gran desinterés en industria cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 17 February 2003.

SAID, Edward W. The public role of writers and intellectuals. In: SMALL, Helen (Ed.). *The public intellectual*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002.

SAID, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books, 1991. And in HALL, Stuart. Introduction: Who needs 'identity'?. In: HALL, Stuart; DU GAY, Paul (Eds). *Questions of cultural identity*. London: SAGE Publications, 1996.

SÁNCHEZ, Luis Carlos. La capital cierra la Fundación Cultural de la Ciudad de México. **Excélsior**, Mexico City, 9 April 2012.

SANTOS, Milton. *A natureza do espaço: Técnica e tempo, razão e emoção*. 4th Edition. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2006.

SARLO, Beatriz. *Scenes from postmodern life*. Translated by Jon Beasley-Murray. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

SASSATELLI, Monica. *Becoming Europeans: Cultural identity and cultural policies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

SCRUTON, Roger. *A dictionary of political thought*. London: Pan Books, 1983.

SEN, Amartya. Teorías del desarrollo a principios del siglo XXI. In: EMMERIJ, Louis; NÚÑEZ DEL ARCO, José (Comps.). *El desarrollo económico y social en los umbrales del siglo XXI*. Washington, D.C.: Inter-American development Bank, 1998.

SEVILLA, María Eugenia. Critican papel de intelectuales. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 22 January 2005.

SEVILLA, María Eugenia. Estudian conflictos culturales. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 22 June 2007.

SEVILLA, María Eugenia. Llevan arte sin clichés. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 5 September 2002.

SEVILLA, María Eugenia. Respaldan a AMLO; reprochan tardanza. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 31 May 2006.

SEVILLA, María Eugenia. Urgen a redefinir 'industria cultural'. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 6 September 2006.

SHARKANSKY, Ira. *Public administration: Policy-making in government agencies*. 2nd Edition. Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1972.

SILVA, Augusto Santos. Podemos dispensar os intelectuais?. In: MARGATO, Isabel; GOMES, Renato Cordeiro (Eds.). *O papel do intelectual hoje*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2004.

SILVA, Claudia. Buscan comercializar producción cultural. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 18 May 2004.

SILVA, Josimar Gonçalves da. A mídia na construção e destruição da imagem: O caso Collor de Melo. **Revista Senso Comum**, Goiânia, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais-UFG, n. 2, p. 88–106, 2012.

SOSA, Gabriel. Telecom y medios. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 8 April 2008.

SZACKI, Jerzy. Intellectuals between politics and culture. In: MACLEAN, Ian; MONTEFIORE, Alan; WINCH, Peter (Ed.). *The political responsibility of intellectuals*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

THOMPSON, John B. *Ideology and modern culture: Critical social theory in the era of mass communication*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1990.

TOVAR Y DE TERESA, Rafael. *Modernización y política cultural: Una visión de la modernización de México*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994.

TURINO, Célio. *Ponto de cultura: O Brasil de baixo para cima*. 2nd Edition. São Paulo: Anita Garibaldi, 2010.

UAM: Presente y pasado. *¿Por qué una nueva universidad?*. Available at <http://www.uam.mx/sah/pre-pa/tema01/indice-t01.html>. Accessed on 15 January 2012.

UNESCO. *Concluye la Conferencia Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Ciencias Sociales celebrada en México*. 13 November 2012.

UNESCO. *Conferencia Intergubernamental sobre Políticas Culturales en América Latina y el Caribe*. Final Report of the Meeting held in Bogotá on 10–20 January 1978 and published in Paris, CC/MD/39, July 1978. Available at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000974/097476sb.pdf>. Accessed on 24 May 2013.

UNESCO. *Cultural policy: A preliminary study*. Studies and Documents on Cultural Policies series, published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, Paris, 1969. Available at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0000/000011/001173eo.pdf>. Accessed on 8 April 2013.

UNESCO. *Final Report of the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development*. The Conference was held in Stockholm, Sweden (30 March–2 April 1998), and the Report was published in Paris, CLT-98/Conf.210/CLD.19, on 31 August 1998.

UNESCO. *Intergovernmental Conference on Institutional, Administrative and Financial Aspects of Cultural Policies*. Final Report of the meeting held in Venice, 24

August – 2 September 1970. Available at <http://ocpa.irmo.hr/resources/docs/Report_Venice_CulPol-en.pdf>. Accessed on 14 May 2013.

UNESCO. *Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies*. Report of the World Conference on Cultural Policies held in Mexico City between 26 July 1982 and 6 August 1982. Available at <http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/12762/11295421661mexico_en.pdf/mexico_en.pdf>. Accessed on 20 May 2013.

UNESCO. *The state of the social sciences in Latin America & the Caribbean*. November 2012.

UNESCO. *The theory and practice of endogenous development: Guideline document*, Paris, SHS-85/CONF.708/1, November 1985.

UNESCO. *World Culture Report: Cultural diversity, conflict and pluralism*, Paris, Acknowledgements (Special thanks to), 2000.

UNIVERSIDAD Internacional de Andalucía. *Armando Silva: Bogotá imaginada: De la ciudad de la arquitectura a la urbe de sus culturas ciudadanas*. **Arte y Pensamiento**, Baeza, Spain, Universidad Internacional de Andalucía, n.d. Available at <http://ayp.unia.es/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=396>. Accessed on 18 October 2013.

VALENZUELA, Angélica. Urge legislar sobre industrias culturales. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 11 August 2000.

VARGAS, Ángel. Llama Semo a desarrollar una cultura democrática. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 27 July 2004.

VASCONCELOS, José. *The cosmic race: A bilingual edition*. Translated and annotated by Didier T. Jaén. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

VÉLIZ, Claudio. *The new world of the gothic fox: Culture and economy in English and Spanish America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

VENTURA, Abida. Una nueva experiencia de las Extranjerías. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 27 January 2012. Available at <http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/cultura/67646.html>. Accessed on 30 January 2012.

VIDAL-BENEYTO, José. Hacia una fundamentación teórica de la política cultural. **Reis: Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas**, Madrid, n. 16, pp. 123–134, 1981.

WATTS, Jonathan. Brazil demands explanation from US over NSA spying. **The Guardian**, London, 8 July 2013. Available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/08/brazil-demands-explanation-nsa-spying>. Accessed on 26 August 2013.

WEINBERG, Liliana. *Pensar el ensayo*. Mexico City: Siglo XXI, 2007.

WILLIAMS, Raymond. Culture is ordinary. In: GRAY, Ann; MCGUIGAN, Jim (Eds.). *Studying culture: An introductory reader*. London: Edward Arnold Editor, 1993.

WILLIAMS, Raymond. *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society*. London: Fontana Press, 1976.

WINOCUR, Rosalía. *Ciudadanos mediáticos: La construcción de lo público en la radio*. Barcelona: Editorial Gedisa, 2002.

WINOCUR, Rosalía. *Robinson Crusoe ya tiene celular: La conexión como espacio de control de la incertidumbre*. Mexico City: Siglo XXI, UAM-Iztapalapa, 2009.

YÚDICE, George. Civil society, consumption, and governmentality in an age of global restructuring. An introduction. **Social Text**, Durham, Duke University Press, v. 14, n. 4, pp. 1–25, Winter 1995.

YÚDICE, George. La reconfiguración de políticas culturales y mercados culturales en los noventa y siglo XXI en América Latina. **Revista Iberoamericana**, Pittsburgh, v. 67, n. 197, pp. 639–659, October–December 2001.

YÚDICE, George. *The expediency of culture: Uses of culture in the global era*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003.

YÚDICE, George; MILLER, Toby. *Cultural policy*. London: SAGE Publications, 2002.

YÚDICE. George. From hybridity to policy: For a purposeful cultural studies. Translator´s introduction to the book. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Consumers and citizens: Globalization and multicultural conflicts*. Translated by George Yúdice. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

ZALLO EGUEZABAL, Ramón. *Estructuras de la comunicación y de la cultura: Políticas para la era digital*. Barcelona: Gedisa Editorial, 2011.

NEWSPAPERS

<http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br> Agência Brasil, Brazil

<http://www.clarin.com> Clarín, Argentina

<http://www.elpais.com/global/> El País, Spain

<http://www.eluniversal.com.mx> El Universal, Mexico

<http://www.jornada.unam.mx> La Jornada, Mexico

<http://www.lanacion.com.ar> La Nación, Argentina

<http://www.milenio.com> Milenio, Mexico

<http://www.estadao.com.br> O Estado de São Paulo, Brazil

<http://www.pagina12.com.ar> Página 12, Argentina

<http://www.reforma.com> Reforma, Mexico

<http://www.theguardian.com> The Guardian, UK

WEBSITES

<http://www.albacultural.org> ALBA Cultural

<http://www.cab.int.co> Andrés Bello Organisation

<http://www.cultura.gov.ar> Argentina´s Secretariat of Culture

<http://bibliotecayacucho.gob.ve> Ayacucho Library Foundation

<http://www.minc.gov.br> Brazil´s Ministry of Culture

<http://www.ibge.gov.br> Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics

<http://www.bbc.co.uk> British Broadcasting Corporation

<http://www.mercosur.int> Common Market of the South

<http://www.culturalpolicies.net> Compendium: Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe

<http://www.eclac.cl> Economic Commission for Latin America

<http://europa.eu> European Union website

<http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr> France´s Ministry of Culture and Communication

<http://www.iadb.org/topics/culture/cultural/> Inter-American Development Bank Cultural Center

<http://novo.itaucultural.org.br/conheca/observatorio-itau-cultural/> Itaú Cultural Monitoring

<http://www.mediaciones.net> Jesús Martín-Barbero´s Website

<http://www.sela.org> Latin American and Caribbean Economic System

<http://www.cultura.gov.br/mercosur/> Mercosul Cultural

<http://www.cultura.gob.ar/acciones/mercosur-cultural/> Mercosur Cultural

<http://www.redculturalmercosur.org> Mercosur Cultural Network

<http://www.eap.df.gob.mx> Mexico City´s Public Management School

<http://www.diputados.gob.mx> Mexico´s Chamber of Deputies

<http://www.uam.mx> Mexico´s Metropolitan Autonomous University

<http://www.conaculta.gob.mx> Mexico´s National Council for Culture and the Arts

<http://www.fuentesmemoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar> National University of La Plata Academic Memory

<http://nestorgarciacanclini.net> Néstor García Canclini´s Website

<http://ocpa.irmo.hr> Observatory of Cultural Policies in Africa

<http://www.profeco.gob.mx> Office of the Federal Prosecutor for the Consumer

<http://www.oas.org> Organisation of American States

<http://www.oei.es> Organisation of Iberian American States for Education, Science and Culture

<http://www.fpabramo.org.br> Perseu Abramo Foundation

<http://www.brasil.gov.br> Portal Brasil

<http://ayp.unia.es> Revista Arte y Pensamiento

<http://www.rieoei.org> Revista Iberoamericana de Educación

<http://www.letraslibres.com> Revista Letras Libres

<http://www.nexos.com.mx> Revista Nexos

<http://www.revistatodavia.com.ar> Revista Todavía

<http://portal.unesco.org> United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

<http://www.youtube.com> YouTube

APPENDIX I

García Canclini and institutions

The Appendix I is a compilation of first-hand materials for a research I did to support my arguments in chapter 4, where I discuss García Canclini´s activities beyond academia. That is, Appendix I shows a list of institutions that funded many of his publications, conferences, lectures, meetings, research projects, etc. The list derives from research I conducted during the first 18 months (between October 2011 and March 2013) of my PhD programme of studies. I gathered information for it using newspapers (9 newspapers from Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and Spain) and Internet sources. For this objective, I abbreviate Néstor García Canclini as NGC throughout this Appendix I so as not to confuse him with others. The names of institutions appear in bold letter followed by their acronyms, the cities and countries where they are located, their websites and background information between parentheses. The expression <No website available.> points that certain institutions do not have websites. His relationships with each institution are presented in chronological order and each entry within institutions is separated from the others by the symbol | for clarity. This means that the topic of the following entry is not necessarily related to those of the previous ones. The bibliographical references in parentheses indicate the sources I used to get all the information. I used only a small fraction of this information explicitly in the thesis, although most of it served for my reference, that is, it helped me to trace García Canclini´s intellectual development in terms of his cultural policy.

Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID) (English translation: Spanish Agency for International Development Co-operation) (Madrid, Spain) <http://www.aecid.es> (This Spanish governmental agency has branches in many Latin American countries.): NGC gave the lectures *Consumo y producción culturales* and *La cultura Iberoamericana: De la producción al consumo* during the III Seminario de Políticas Culturales Iberoamericanas at Casa de América, Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, Ministerio de Cultura de España, 11–15 December 1995, Madrid, Spain. | NGC published the articles *Comunicación y cultura: Encuentros y desencuentros* and *Necesidad de ciudadanías globalizadas* in the book BUSTAMANTE, Enrique (Ed.). *La cooperación cultura-comunicación en Iberoamérica*. Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación

Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID), Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación, 2005. | NGC, Enrique Bustamante, Jesús Martín-Barbero, Germán Rey and other researchers were mentioned to have given their opinions on culture and cultural policy in the section 'Drafting process and acknowledgments' of FUNES CASELLAS, Susana de (Ed.). *Spanish strategy for culture and development cooperation*. Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación, 2007. | NGC participated in a debate on culture and communication in July 2009 at the Universidad Nacional de Quilmes. (BUSTAMANTE, Enrique. Cultura y comunicación. **Página 12**, Buenos Aires, 1 July 2009.). | NGC was the editor of the book *Conflictos interculturales*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2011; this book was sponsored by AECID and the meetings it refers to as happening prior to its publication were held at the Centro Cultural de España in Mexico City (see also the entry Centro Cultural de España in Mexico City in this Appendix I.).

Asociación Latinoamericana y del Caribe de Agentes para la Gestión Cultural (ALCAGEC) (English translation: Latin American and Caribbean Association of Agents for Cultural Management) (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic) <No website available.> (ALCAGEC is hosted in the Dominican Republic and its activities are focused on cultural management and policy.): NGC gave the lectures *La cultura como base de nuevas estrategias de desarrollo* and *Cultura y comunicación: El ejercicio de la ciudadanía entre lo local y lo global* during the symposium La Cultura como Base de Nuevas Estrategias de Desarrollo, ALCAGEC, Fundación para la Vida, Ciudad 2000, 17 and 18 April 1995, Córdoba, Argentina.

Asociación Mexicana de Derecho a la Información (AMEDI) (English translation: Mexican Association for the Right to Information) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.amedi.org.mx>: NGC proposed in 2005 a discussion on certain key topics related to a reform in the Mexican Ley de Medios. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, he was concerned with this reform and with how this could change citizenship. (REFORMA. Proponen temas para el 2005. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 16 January 2005.). | NGC participated in AMEDI´s Consejo Consultivo in early 2007. In his article *Amedi*, Javier Corral Jurado clarified the main objectives of this organisation. (CORRAL JURADO, Javier. Amedi. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 27 March 2007.). | NGC debated on the reform of the Mexican media during the forum Reforma de

Medios: Un Debate Abierto, which was sponsored by AMEDI, Fundación Konrad Adenauer and Senado de la República. (REFORMA. La cultura política. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 20 April 2008.) (GRANADOS CHAPA, Miguel Ángel. Plaza pública. Los motivos de Uribe. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 25 April 2008.) (REA, Daniela. Proponen observatorio para medios. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 26 April 2008.). | NGC published the article *Preguntas culturales respondidas por la epidemia* in Comunicación Ante la Influenza, which is a blog that belongs to AMEDI, in May 2009. | NGC was the co-ordinator of AMEDI´s Consejo Consultivo from April 2009 to May 2011. (CORRAL JURADO, Javier. Amedi y la influenza mediática. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 5 May 2009.) (GRANADOS CHAPA, Miguel Ángel. Plaza pública. Las otras elecciones. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 25 May 2011.). | During an interview he gave to the scholar Jerónimo Repoll, NGC revealed that AMEDI adhered to the *diputado* Javier Corral´s proposal of the Iniciativa de Ley de Telecomunicaciones y Contenidos Audiovisuales, which was published in Gaceta Parlamentaria, Cámara de Diputados, number 2984-II, 8 April 2010. (REPOLL, Jerónimo. Desigualdades, diferencias y desconexiones: Los retos de la comunicación y la democracia en América Latina. Interview given by Néstor García Canclini. **Andamios: Revista de Investigación Social**, Mexico City, Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México, v. 7, n. 14, pp. 139–149, September–December 2010.). | NGC gave a Ponencia Magistral about quality and diversity in the media during the Encuentro Nacional por la Diversidad y la Calidad en los Medios de Comunicación, which was sponsored by AMEDI. This event took place at the Antiguo Hospital Concepción Béistegui in Mexico City´s Centro Histórico on 5–6 April 2011. (EL UNIVERSAL. Más calidad y diversidad en los medios de comunicación. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 12 April 2011.).

Cámara de Diputados de México (English translation: Mexico's Chamber of Deputies) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.diputados.gob.mx>: NGC´s concepts, ideas and publications are quoted in many books, documents and reports sponsored by Cámara de Diputados. A few examples are in Adrián Guillermo Aguilar´s *Procesos metropolitanos y grandes ciudades* (2004), Gloria Evangelina Ornelas´s *Práctica docente y dinámica cultural en la escuela primaria* (2005), Lourdes Arizpe´s *Culturas en movimiento: Interactividad cultural y procesos globales* (2006), José Luis Calva´s *Democracia y gobernabilidad* (2007), Miguel Ángel Vite Pérez´s *La nueva desigualdad social mexicana* (2007), José Luis Calva´s *México en el mundo: Inserción eficiente*

(2007), Patricia Ramírez Kuri´s *Espacio público y ciudadanía en la Ciudad de México* (2009), Roberto Eibenschutz Hartman and Ligia González García de Alba´s *El legislativo ante la gestión metropolitana* (2009), Llanos, Grueso and Rodríguez´s *Identidad, cultura y política* (2010), Rosario Vidal Bonifaz´s *Surgimiento de la industria cinematográfica y el papel del Estado en México* (2010), and Claudia Liliana Padrón Martínez´s *Ensayos sobre problemas de ética en las organizaciones* (2010). | NGC gave the opening lecture on 8 August 2000 during the Foro sobre Industrias Culturales at Cámara de Diputados, which was an opportunity to listen to the demands of each cultural sector conveying these to the bureaucrats in charge of Cultura in the LVIII Legislatura de la Cámara de Diputados. At that time, the Senado de la República was discussing a bill in favour of a Ley de Industrias Culturales. NGC supported a change in the legislation for cultural industries because he considered these as factors of development. During the period when NGC studied cinema and the film industry in Mexico, María Rojo – who was an actress and the president of the Comisión de Cultura at Cámara de Diputados – invited him to give a lecture to Cámara de Diputados during the Foro sobre Industrias Culturales which was held on 8–9 August 2000 on a bill to support Mexican cinema. This bill has been mentioned in this same entry as the Ley de Industrias Culturales. His lecture was given in the Wilberto Cantón theatre and was sponsored by Sociedad General de Escritores de México (SOGEM) and Comisión de Cultura of Cámara de Diputados. The panel´s title was Por Qué Legislar el Cine, la Televisión y la Música and NGC, Luis Estrada, Ernesto Rimoch, Miguel Sabido and Julio Solórzano participated in the meeting. (RAVELO, Renato. Diputados y Sogem organizan foro sobre industrias culturales. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 2 August 2000.) (EL UNIVERSAL. La tentación de cada día. **El Universal**, Especial, Mexico City, 8 August 2000.) (GÁMEZ, Silvia Isabel. Urgen a legislar industria cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 9 August 2000.) (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Legislar la cultura. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 10 September 2000.). | The research activities of NGC, George Yúdice, Octavio Getino and Víctor Ugalde influenced Cámara de Diputados to the degree that this institution proposed a bill for promoting the Mexican cultural industries. According to the *diputado* José Antonio Cabello, an example of this is the reform of the 'artículo tercero, párrafo tres, de la Ley para el Desarrollo de la Competitividad de la Micro, Pequeña y Mediana Empresa (Mipymes)' and the need to compile further cultural data in Mexico. (SILVA, Claudia. Buscan comercializar producción cultural. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 18 May 2004.). | NGC´s participation in a meeting at Cámara

de Diputados on 17 August 2004 for debating on topics related to the panel titled Educación Superior y Posgrado was mentioned on page 54 of Gaceta Parlamentaria (CÁMARA de Diputados. Gaceta Parlamentaria, Cámara de Diputados, n. 1620-I, 8 November 2004.). | When NGC was interviewed by the journalist María Eugenia Sevilla about *globalifólicos* (or the world movement against globalisation), he stated that intellectuals´ critical thoughts should transcend academia aiming at political actions. One example he provided is the academics´ intervention in the debates on national legislation that supports cultural diversity and avoids the concentration of power in a few businesses and private companies. (SEVILLA, María Eugenia. Critican papel de intelectuales. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 22 January 2005.). | NGC criticised the bill Ley de Fomento y Difusión de la Cultura, which was discussed at Cámara de Diputados on 13 October 2005. In his opinion, this bill would not bring a significant change in CONACULTA and in Mexican cultural policy. (CRUZ VÁZQUEZ, Eduardo. La ley, para normalizar al Conaculta: Canclini. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 12 October 2005.) (JIMÉNEZ, Arturo. Mesa redonda en la Cámara para analizar la iniciativa de ley de cultura. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 13 October 2005.). | NGC delivered a lecture at the Foro Legislar la Diversidad Cultural in the Centro de Estudios Sociales y de Opinión Pública (CESOP), Palacio Legislativo, at Cámara de Diputados in January 2006. | NGC was one of the researchers and cultural managers who gathered at the Salón Verde of the Mexican Cámara de Diputados on 28 February 2006 to participate in the Diálogo por la Cultura: Pasado, Presente y Futuro de la Cultura como Política de Estado en México and to discuss the future of cultural policy in Mexico. Legislators invited scholars to discuss certain cultural issues in Mexico before they could legislate on the subject. (JIMÉNEZ, Lucina. La política cultural, un tema emergente. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 3 March 2006.) (HAW, Dora Luz. Impulsan comisión que evalúe la cultura. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 9 March 2006.). | Patricia Legarreta Haynes quoted NGC many times in her document *Cultura*, Mexico City, Centro de Estudios Sociales y de Opinión Pública, Cámara de Diputados, published on 17 April 2006. Legarreta Haynes employed some of NGC´s ideas for her written statements on culture, culture and development, cultural policy in Latin America, cultural industries, the role of culture in international agreements, popular culture in Mexico, *videocultura* and the mass-media. At the end of Legarreta Haynes´s document, NGC´s contact information is offered within the area of 'Cultura' and his expertise in 'Políticas culturales y globalización'. This is a list of many researchers that were consulted by Legarreta

Haynes for her document. | NGC, Eduardo Nivón and Lucina Jiménez were mentioned by the Comisión de Cultura of Cámara de Diputados as three specialists who supported the proposal that legislation for culture should undergo a deep reform in Mexico. (CESOP, *Cultura*, Cámara de Diputados, Mexico City, May 2006.). | NGC criticised the Presupuesto de Egresos de 2007 in Mexico because this budget reform meant for him 'an important reduction of the resources for education and culture' (p. 79). He advised a *diputado* from Cámara de Diputados for proposing a bill for cultural subjects. (CÁMARA de Diputados. Gaceta Parlamentaria, v. X, n. 2152, Mexico City, 14 December 2006.). | NGC´s opinion about cultural and social development was quoted in note 4 on pages 32 and 35 of Gaceta Parlamentaria. (CÁMARA de Diputados. Gaceta Parlamentaria, Cámara de Diputados, n. 2997-V, Mexico City, 27 April 2010.). | NGC´s book *Las culturas populares en el capitalismo* and his ideas on the political function of culture in reproducing and promoting sociocultural transformations are mentioned on pages 101 and 117 in the final notes of Gaceta Parlamentaria, v. XIV, n. 3248-VI, 26 April 2011. (CÁMARA de Diputados. Gaceta Parlamentaria, v. XIV, n. 3248-VI, Mexico City, 26 April 2011.).

Canal 22 (English translation: Canal 22 or Channel 22) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.canal22.org.mx>: NGC was interviewed on television and he had meetings with Jorge Volpi, who is the director of the Mexican television channel Canal 22. NGC also noted the need for a 'defender of the reader or the spectator' (an Ombudsman) and more specifically a 'defender of the television spectator' in Canal 22 during an interview he gave to professor Jerónimo Repoll. In this interview, NGC also praised the *diputado* Javier Corral´s bill Iniciativa de Ley de Telecomunicaciones y Contenidos Audiovisuales in Mexico. (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Interview given to Jerónimo Repoll. Desigualdades, diferencias y desconexiones. Los retos de la comunicación y la democracia en América Latina. **Andamios: Revista de Investigación Social**, Mexico City, Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México, v. 7, n. 14, pp. 139–149, September–December 2010. p. 147.).

Casa de América (English translation: Spanish House of the Americas) (Madrid, Spain) <http://www.casamerica.es> (This is a Spanish governmental institution located at the Palacio de Linares in Madrid. This consortium was created in 1990 and is linked to the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores de España through the

Spanish Secretaría de Estado para la Cooperación Internacional y para Iberoamérica, la Comunidad de Madrid y el Ayuntamiento de Madrid.): NGC had an anti-American feeling when he criticised the notion of 'norteamericanización' and the US cultural domination during a lecture he gave at Casa de América in 1996. This is not the only occasion when NGC criticised the US in his op-ed articles, though. (REFORMA. En Líneas. Cuestiona García Canclini la llamada 'norteamericanización'. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 24 May 1996.). | NGC gave the lecture *Los intercambios España-América Latina: De la cooperación a la coproducción cultural* during the inauguration of the Aula de Cooperación Cultural Internacional at Casa de América, Madrid, 1 June 2005. (Further information about this lecture is available at <http://www.consultoresculturales.com/aula_cooperacion_aeci.pdf>. Accessed on 22 February 2012.) (LARA, Tíscar. García Canclini en la Casa de América. **Tíscar Lara´s blog**, 2 June 2005.).

Casa de las Américas (English translation: Cuban House of the Americas) (La Habana, Cuba) <http://www.casadelasamericas.org> (This institution was created in La Habana, Cuba, in 1959.): NGC published three academic articles between 1975 and 1985 that were sponsored by Casa de las Américas. Further details about these publications are given in the next sentences. There is no account of any further relationship with this institution except for these few publications. The first article NGC published with this institution was *Para una teoría de la socialización del arte latinoamericano* in Revista Casa de las Américas, La Habana, v. XV, n. 89, pp. 99–119, March–April 1975. | Then he published *Qué puede decir la fotografía de una revolución* in the Revista Casa de las Américas, La Habana, v. 20, n. 117, pp. 133–135, November–December 1979. | And then *Estética e imagen fotográfica* in the Revista Casa de las Américas, v. 25, n. 149, pp. 7–14, March–April 1985.

Casa de las Culturas del Mundo (Haus der Kulturen der Welt) (English translation: House of the World's Cultures) (Berlin, Germany) <http://www.hkw.de/en/index.php>: NGC was among many Mexican writers, experts in culture, filmmakers, musicians, dramatists and visual artists who represented Mexico during the event Mexartes 2002 in Berlin. This opportunity for the promotion of Mexican cultures was sponsored by CONACULTA, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores

and Instituto Goethe. (GONZÁLEZ RODRÍGUEZ, Sergio. Escalera al cielo. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 27 October 2002.).

Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil (CCBB) (English translation: Bank of Brazil Cultural Centre) (Brasília, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil) <http://www.bb.com.br/portalbb/home21,128,128,0,1,1,1.bb>: NGC gave the lecture *Megalópolis desconstruidas y reinventadas* during the colloquium A Invenção da Cidade na América Latina, which was held at the Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil, Brasilia, 9–12 September 2003. In this presentation, he interpreted Latin American cities focused on informal workers. (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Megalópolis desconstruidas y reinventadas. In: Simpósio A Invenção das Cidades na América Latina. Brasília: Anais... Brasília, 2003.).

Centro Cultural de España en Buenos Aires (English translation: Spanish Cultural Centre in Buenos Aires) (Buenos Aires, Argentina) <http://www.cceba.org.ar> (This institution belongs to the Spanish government.)): NGC gave the lecture *Odios globalizados* during the conference Odio, Violencia y Emancipación at the Centro Cultural España, Buenos Aires, Argentina, November 2005.

Centro Cultural de España en México (English translation: Spanish Cultural Centre in Mexico City) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.ccemx.org>: Intellectuals from Argentina, Mexico and Spain gathered at the Centro Cultural de España in Mexico City to discuss interculturality in the relationships between countries, cultures and disciplines on 25–26 June 2007. NGC debated with Manuel Gutiérrez Estévez during the conference ¿Qué Puede Decir la Antropología sobre los Nuevos Conflictos Interculturales?, which belonged to the same event on 26 June 2007. (SEVILLA, María Eugenia. Estudian conflictos culturales. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 22 June 2007.) (EL UNIVERSAL. Debate sobre la interculturalidad. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 24 June 2007.). The aforementioned meeting led to the compilation of articles in the book *Conflictos interculturales*, which was published by Gedisa in June 2011 and edited by NGC. (CID DE LEÓN, Oscar. Abordan expertos pugnas culturales. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 22 June 2011.) (HERNÁNDEZ, Alejandra. Intercambios culturales, a discusión. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 26 June 2011.). | NGC held with Juan Villoro the debate titled La Creatividad Redistribuida about contemporary art and cultural processes

at the Centro Cultural de España from 25 to 28 January 2010. NGC had a debate with Juan Villoro during the session Prueba de Voz: Redistribuir Cultura, los Motivos de un Encuentro on 25 January 2010. NGC held with Josep Ramoneda and Julián Zugazagoitia the session Centralidad del Contexto: Museos y Centros Culturales en su Entorno on 25 January 2010. Later, on 28 January 2010, NGC had a conversation with George Yúdice during the session Redistribución: Economía de la Cultura y los Públicos. (EL UNIVERSAL. El arte contemporáneo se nutre de otras artes. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 9 January 2010.) (BUCIO, Érika P. Perfilan expertos al Homo sampler. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 13 January 2010.) (SÁNCHEZ, Leticia. Analizan el estado actual de la creatividad. **Milenio**, Mexico City, 13 January 2010.) (JIMÉNEZ, Arturo. Realizarán análisis del panorama cultural contemporáneo. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 17 January 2010.) (PAUL, Carlos. Desde hace 20 años se habla del arte como posproducción: García Canclini. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 27 January 2010.).

Centro Cultural Recoleta (English translation: Recoleta Cultural Centre) (Buenos Aires, Argentina) <http://centroculturalrecoleta.org>: NGC published the article *El deseo y la caja* in the written publication related to the artistic exhibition León Ferrari: Retrospectiva (Obras 1954–2004). This publication was sponsored by Centro Cultural Recoleta, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 2005. | Andrea Giunta directed the Centro de Documentación, Investigación y Publicaciones (CEDIP) of Centro Cultural Recoleta at the same time NGC and Ticio Escobar belonged to its Comité Asesor. (LA NACIÓN. El Recoleta abrió sus archivos al público. **La Nación**, Buenos Aires, 21 December 2006.).

Centro Cultural Tijuana (CECUT) (English translation: Tijuana Cultural Centre) (Tijuana, Mexico) <http://www.cecut.gob.mx> (CECUT was founded in 1982.): NGC was invited by CECUT in 1984 to study audiences and cultural consumption in Tijuana. Later, during the 1990s, NGC returned to Tijuana to study an event called inSite, which he considered 'a great bi-national artistic event which took place in Tijuana and San Diego'. During this decade, he did research work with José Manuel Valenzuela Arce on border art and migration between Mexico and the United States. The cultural exchanges between both sides of this international border interested NGC. (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; VALENZUELA ARCE, José Manuel. *Intromisiones compartidas: Arte y sociedad en la frontera México–Estados Unidos*. San

Diego; Tijuana: FONCA; inSite, 2000.) (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Interview given to Fiamma Montezeñolo. *Cómo dejó de ser Tijuana laboratorio de la posmodernidad*. Diálogo con Néstor García Canclini, 7 September 2008.).

Centro de Cultura Contemporánea de Barcelona (CCCB) (English translation: Barcelona Contemporary Culture Centre) (Barcelona, Spain) <http://www.cccb.org> (This is a consortium between Barcelona´s government, private companies and societal institutions.): NGC gave the Conferencia Inaugural *El contexto cultural contemporáneo* on 30 May 2005 at the Centro de Cultura Contemporánea de Barcelona. (CCCB. *Cultura y proyección internacional: De la exportación a la cooperación*. Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona, Conferencias y Debates, Barcelona, 30 May 2005.).

Centro Latinoamericano de la Globalidad (CELAG) (English translation: Latin American Centre of Global Affairs) (Mexico City, Mexico) <www.celag.edu.mx/index.html> (This institution was created in 1996.): NGC had a debate with Christopher Domínguez, Rita Eder and Hugo Hiriart during the panel Mesa 1 (Cultura e Identidad en América Latina) on 2 December 1998. This panel was part of the event Globalidad e Identidades: México y América Latina en el Cambio de Siglo, which was held on 2–4 December 1998 and sponsored by Centro Latinoamericano de la Globalidad in Mexico City. (REFORMA. La cultura política. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 29 November 1998.).

Centro Nacional de las Artes (CENART) (English translation: National Centre of the Arts) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.cenart.gob.mx>: NGC gave the Conferencia Magistral *México–Estados Unidos: Condiciones culturales del intercambio global* during the bi-national (Mexico/United States) symposium Cultura y Globalización en América del Norte: Desafíos para el Siglo XXI. This event was held at the auditorium José Vasconcelos of CENART on 6–8 June 2001 and had the participation of 40 scholars. During this event, NGC proposed that a globalisation museum should be created. (RIVERA, Luz María. México–Estados Unidos; analizan cultura y globalización. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 5 June 2001.) (RIVERA, Luz María; PALACIOS, Cynthia. Propone García Canclini un museo que concentre la diversidad cultural. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 10 June 2001.). | NGC gave the

Conferencia Magistral *Las mediaciones actuales entre arte y sociedad* on 11 July 2006 in the Aula Magna José Vasconcelos of the Centro Nacional de las Artes. (SEVILLA, María Eugenia. Asignan al arte nueva función. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 12 July 2006.). | NGC gave the lecture *El modo rizomático: Cultura, sociedad y tecnología* at Transitio MX 02 Festival Internacional de Artes Electrónicas y Videos, Centro Nacional de las Artes, Mexico City, 19 October 2007. (Transitio MX 02 Festival Internacional de Artes Electrónicas y Videos. *Conferencia magistral: El modo rizomático: cultura, sociedad y tecnología*. Noticias, October 2007.). | NGC gave a lecture during the Muestra Iberoamericana de Televisión y Video Educativo, Científico y Cultural 2007 at the Centro Nacional de las Artes, Mexico City, 3–7 December 2007. The general topic for this event was De la Sociedad de la Información a la Sociedad del Conocimiento. (EL UNIVERSAL. Su meta es darle nueva sintonía a la tv educativa. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 18 November 2007.) (MILENIO. Inicia la Muestra Iberoamericana de TV y Video Educativo, Científico y Cultural. **Milenio**, Mexico City, 3 December 2007.). | NGC gave the Conferencia Magistral of the Encuentro Internacional de Cultura y Medios, which was organised by the television channel Canal 22 to celebrate its 15 years of existence. Many experts in communication such as Román Gubern participated in the event, which was held in the Aula Magna José Vasconcelos at the Centro Nacional de las Artes on 2–23 June 2008. (EL UNIVERSAL. Lamenta Volpi retraso en creación de Ley de Medios. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 28 May 2008.) (PALAPA QUIJAS, Fabiola. Canal 22 impulsará nueva legislación de medios públicos, dice su director. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 29 May 2008.) (HAW, Dora Luz. Piden diversidad en la TV pública. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 3 June 2008.) (EL UNIVERSAL. Pide Volpi que se realice una nueva legislación de medios. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 24 June 2008.).

Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO) (English translation: Latin American Council of Social Sciences) (Buenos Aires, Argentina) <http://www.clacso.org.ar> (This is a non-governmental international institution that was created in 1967 in close relationship with UNESCO. CLACSO established contacts and exchange activities with research centres and with undergraduate and Social Sciences postgraduate programmes in the United States and in 25 countries across Latin America, the Caribbean and Europe.): NGC approached CLACSO during the 1980s in solely academic activities. During this decade, NGC and the Chilean academic José Joaquín Brunner co-ordinated an important research group.

They invited many renowned Latin American scholars in 1985 to undertake research on cultural policy so as to map the trends of cultural consumption (through surveys and comparative studies) and to formulate cultural policies in big Latin American cities: São Paulo (Sérgio Miceli, Antônio Augusto Arantes), Bogotá (Jesús Martín-Barbero), Mexico City, Santiago de Chile (José Joaquín Brunner, Carlos Catalán), Buenos Aires (Luis Alberto Quevedo, Oscar Landi) and Lima (Luis Peirano). (Cf. articles NGC. *Definiciones en transición*; Ana Rosas Mantecón. *Los estudios sobre consumo cultural en México*; Guillermo Sunkel. *Una mirada otra*.). | NGC published (in co-authorship with Patricia Safa) the essay 'Políticas culturales y sociedad civil en México' in *¿Hacia un nuevo orden estatal en América Latina?*, Tomo 7: Innovación cultural y actores socioculturales, Buenos Aires, CLACSO, 1989, pp. 163–211. | NGC published the section 'Las modernizaciones de México: Economía, política y cultura' in *¿Hacia un nuevo orden estatal en América Latina?*, Tomo 9, CLACSO, Buenos Aires, (published probably in April 1990). | NGC gave the lecture *Las cuatro ciudades de México: Notas para la sistematización de las políticas y el consumo cultural* at the V Reunión del Grupo de Políticas Culturales from CLACSO in Mexico City on 21 and 22 March 1991.

Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes (CNCA/CONACULTA) (English translation: National Council for Culture and the Arts) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.conaculta.gob.mx>: NGC was co-ordinator of the Área de Investigación of CONACULTA´s Seminario de Estudios de la Cultura for an unspecified period since 1 April 1992. | NGC gave the lecture *Políticas culturales e integración norteamericana: Una perspectiva desde México* in the symposium Cultura y Globalización: Políticas Culturales en Procesos de Integración Supranacional, which was co-ordinated by CONACULTA´s Seminario de Estudios de la Cultura, CLACSO and Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana–Iztapalapa, 3–5 October 1994. (This information is available in NGC´s book *Culturas en globalización: América Latina − Europa − Estados Unidos: libre comercio e integración*. Caracas, Venezuela: Editorial Nueva Sociedad, Seminario de Estudios de la Cultura (CNCA), Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO), 1996.). | NGC participated in the Seminario sobre Gestión Cultural en México from 26 January to 6 February 1998. Some of its topics were as follows: Desarrollo Cultural y Territorio; Diseño de Proyectos Culturales; Patrimonio Cultural; Economía, Cultura y Ecología; and La Profesionalización de la Gestión Cultural en México. This event was sponsored by

CONACULTA, CNA and UAM-I. (REFORMA. Analizan la gestión cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 30 January 1998.). | NGC debated with Héctor Castillo about Política Urbana y Cultura en la Ciudad de México on 10 September 1999 during the Tercer Encuentro de Investigadores, Culturas y Ciudades Contemporáneas Frente al Siglo XXI, which was co-ordinated by CONACULTA, ENAH and INAH. (REFORMA. La cultura política. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 5 September 1999.). | NGC and José Manuel Valenzuela Arce authored the book *Intromisiones compartidas: Arte y sociedad en la frontera México–Estados Unidos*, San Diego-Tijuana, FONCA-inSiTE, 2000. (It is important to note that Fondo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes (FONCA) is part of CONACULTA.). | CONACULTA sponsored NGC´s research activity about the situation of the film industry in Mexico. (HUERTA, César. Realizarán bitácora fílmica. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 1 June 2001.). | NGC published the article *The big city order by accidents* (*La gran ciudad ordenada desde los accidentes*) in Metinides, CONACULTA, Mexico City, 2003. | NGC gave the lecture *Arte y museos en la época de los curadores globalizados* at the Sesión Cinco: Manejo y Administración de Proyectos de Artes Visuales. ¿Y Finalmente, de Quién Son los Museos? of the Seminario de Administración de Museos: Los Museos de Cara al Siglo XXI. This event was co-ordinated by CONACULTA, the British Council and the Universidad Iberoamericana Ciudad de México-UIA, Mexico City, 6–10 October 2003. | NGC gave the lecture *Industrias culturales* during the conference Diálogos en Acción sponsored by Dirección General de Culturas Populares, CONACULTA, Mexico City, 2005. | NGC gave the lecture *Por qué legislar sobre industrias culturales* at the Dirección General de Culturas Populares, which belongs to CONACULTA, in Mexico City, October 2005. | In the article *¿Discutir la ley sin cambiar la política cultural?*, NGC clarified that he did not give support to a proposal from CONACULTA as others claimed he did. NGC quoted two writers who respectively said that he offered 'aprobación' (Luis Hernández Navarro) and 'apoyo' (Gilberto López y Rivas) to CONACULTA. (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. ¿Discutir la ley sin cambiar la política cultural?. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 18 November 2005.). | NGC gave the lecture *Leer ya no es lo que era* and published it in form of an article in Encuesta Nacional de Lectura, CNCA, Biblioteca Vasconcelos, Mexico City, October 2006. | NGC published the essay 'Industrias culturales' in ARIZPE, Lourdes [et al.]. *Diálogos, enfoques compartidos: Conferencias del Seminario Diálogos en la Acción: Tercera etapa*. Mexico City: Dirección General de Culturas Populares, Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2007. pp 67–79. |

NGC criticised CONACULTA for the lack of an efficient cultural policy and he lamented the nonexistent Plan Nacional de Cultura in Mexico. He did so during a meeting among six experts in cultural policy in the Feria Internacional del Libro in Guadalajara in 2007. (BUCIO, Érika P. Critican falta de programa. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 1 December 2007.) (BLANCO, César. Se suben al ring a debatir plan cultural inexistente. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 2 December 2007.). | NGC praised CONACULTA´s concern with cultural consumption in Mexico in an op-ed article he published in the newspaper Reforma on 20 October 2008. (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Prevalece la incertidumbre. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 20 October 2008.).

Convenio Andrés Bello (CAB) (English translation: Andrés Bello Organisation) (Bogotá, Colombia) <http://www.convenioandresbello.org>: NGC served as Convenio Andrés Bello´s consultant in the area of Culture and Development, but the period and length of this activity is not determined yet. | Convenio Andrés Bello financed, in 1999, the research sub-project *Culturas urbanas en América Latina y España desde sus imaginarios sociales*, which is part of the project *Políticas y economía*. This extensive research work involved two activities: one about urban cultures co-ordinated by the Colombian philosopher Armando Silva and another about uses of the media co-ordinated by NGC. Its goals were to find out what cultural processes and urban forms exist in Latin America to identify the perceptions of inhabitants from thirteen Latin American capitals (Asunción, Barcelona, Bogotá, Buenos Aires, Caracas, Ciudad de México, La Paz, Lima, Montevideo, Panamá, Quito, São Paulo and Santiago de Chile). The research methodology also compared Latin American cities with Barcelona (thus the European context) and the research lasted approximately until 2003. This activity had the additional objective of influencing local governments concerning Latin American integration. (CONVENIO Andrés Bello. *Cultura, la llave maestra de la integración*. Primer Encuentro Internacional La Cultura como Factor de Desarrollo e Integración Regional. Buenos Aires, Museo de Arte Latinoamericano de Buenos Aires, 20–21 May 2002.) (UIA, Armando Silva. *Bogotá imaginada*.). | NGC was consulted by CAB when this institution located in Colombia was seeking a definition of culture in the document LÓPEZ, Omar. *Cuentas satélites de cultura: Manual metodológico para su implementación en Latinoamérica*. Colección Cultura y Desarrollo. Colombia: CAB, AECID, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación, January 2009. | The Fundación de la Ciudad de México established an

agreement with CAB to create a Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos, which was designed to be located at the Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México (UACM). CAB and Fundación de la Ciudad de México also had the intention of founding the Centro de Profesionalización de la Gestión Cultural and the Cátedra Ciudad de México de Políticas Culturales. The Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos expected to attract the participation of approximately 26 Latin American countries. NGC, Eduardo Nivón and Lucina Jiménez, who are also members of the Consejo of the Fundación de la Ciudad de México, were a few of the consultants for this project. (HAW, Dora Luz. Impulsa el GDF gestión cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 2 July 2009.).

Fideicomiso para la Cultura México–Estados Unidos (English translation: Endowment for Culture Mexico-United States) (Mexico City, Mexico) <No website available.> (This is a bi-national agreement that was created in 1991 to promote and enrich cultural exchanges between Mexico and the United States. Three institutions were responsible for the creation of the Fideicomiso: The Rockefeller Foundation [from the United States], Fondo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes [Mexican public entity] and the Fundación Cultural Bancomer [a Mexican bank institution]. The Fideicomiso has US$ 1 million of funds each year.): In 1996, NGC and George Yúdice interviewed artists and institutions that had received grants from the Fideicomiso para la Cultura México–Estados Unidos because these scholars´ objective was to diagnose and evaluate the results of the Fideicomiso´s sponsorship of the arts and culture. Their study was useful to understand the differences and diversities between these two countries. (For information about Fideicomiso, see GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *A globalização imaginada*. Translated from Spanish to Portuguese by Sérgio Molina. São Paulo: Iluminuras, 2003. p. 183.). | NGC participated in the project Los Estudios Culturales: Elaboración Intelectual del Intercambio México–Estados Unidos. Análisis de los Principales Modelos o Narrativas con que se Interpretan las Interacciones Socioculturales in 1996. (BERTRÁN, Antonio. Seguirán 'soltando' dólares para la cultura. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 25 September 1996.).

Fondo Nacional para el Fomento de las Artesanías (FONART) (English translation: National Fund for the Development of the Arts and Crafts) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.fonart.gob.mx>: NGC gave the lecture *Artesanías e identidad cultural* during the Primer Seminario sobre Problemática Artesanal, which

was co-ordinated by FONART and Dirección General de Culturas Populares of the Secretaría de Educación Pública and which took place on 30 and 31 March 1979. His lecture was published in the academic protocol Actas de la Reunión y Reproducción en 13.42. (This lecture corresponds to the research which resulted in NGC´s book *Las culturas populares en el capitalismo*, 1982.).

French Government (Paris, France) <No website available.>: NGC received a scholarship from the French Government to undertake research activities and to give lectures at the Centre de Sociologie Urbaine of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CSU-CNRS) in Paris in October–November 1988. | The French Ministry of Culture changed its institutional name twelve times between 1959 and 1997. Another important point to make is that, while the Ministère de la Culture became, in 1997, Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication in France, NGC proposed in June 2006 the creation of a Secretaría de Cultura y Comunicación in Mexico in an op-ed article he wrote for the newspaper Reforma. (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Retos culturales para un sexenio. **Reforma**, Opinión, Mexico City, 25 June 2006.).

Fundació Caixa Catalunya (English translation: Caixa de Catalunya Foundation) (Barcelona, Spain) <https://www.catalunyacaixa.com/portal>: NGC gave the lecture *Diálogo en torno a los nuevos hábitos culturales* at L'Entresòl de la Pedrera in Barcelona on 6 February 2008. One of the five academic and publishing institutions which sponsored his presentation was Fundació Caixa Catalunya. (OEI. *Conferencia de Néstor García Canclini Diálogo en Torno a los Nuevos Hábitos Culturales*. OEI, 2 February 2008.).

Fundación Carolina (English translation: Carolina Foundation) (Madrid, Spain) <http://www.fundacioncarolina.es>: NGC published the article *¿Qué hay que saber ahora para ser ciudadano?* in the journal Nombres Propios in 2008. His publication was sponsored by Fundación Carolina from Madrid. | Fundación Carolina also sponsored the publication in 2011 of NGC and Castro Pozo´s co-edited book *Cultura y desarrollo: Una visión distinta desde los jóvenes*. (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; CASTRO POZO, Maritza Urteaga (Ed.). *Cultura y desarrollo: Una visión distinta desde los jóvenes*. Madrid: Fundación Carolina CeALCI-Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Serie Avances de Investigación, n. 65, December 2011.).

Fundación Cultural de la Ciudad de México (FCCM) (English translation: Mexico City's Cultural Foundation) (Mexico City, Mexico) <No website available.> (This was founded in January 2008 but ended its activities in March 2012.): NGC, Eduardo Nivón and Rossana Reguillo were part of the Consejo Académico of the Fundación Cultural de la Ciudad de México, which evaluated and supported cultural projects. The FCCM earned 80% of its budget from Mexico City´s government, although it used to be independent of it, and 20% from private companies. (CEBALLOS, Miguel Ángel. Critican bases de Fundación Cultural del DF. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 27 February 2008.) (RICARDO, Jorge. Tiene DF fundación cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 27 February 2008.) (RICARDO, Jorge. Define perfil FCCM. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 29 February 2008.) (SÁNCHEZ, Luis Carlos. La capital cierra la Fundación Cultural de la Ciudad de México. **Excélsior**, Mexico City, 9 April 2012.).

Fundación Telefónica (English translation: Telefónica Foundation) (Madrid, Spain) <http://www.fundacion.telefonica.com/en/>: Fundación Telefónica sponsored a work group, which was created in 2007, to develop the artistic project Extranjerías and to publish the book co-ordinated by NGC *Extranjeros en la tecnología y en la cultura* (2009) by Editorial Paidós. (BANDERA, María Paula. *Tecnología y cultura: ¿Y si todos somos extranjeros?*. **Clarín**, Revista de Cultura Ñ, Buenos Aires, 23 July 2007.). | NGC published the section 'Enfoque antropológico y comunicacional' in *Caminos del español: Miradas al horizonte de una lengua común*. Madrid: Fundación Telefónica-Planeta Editorial, 2008. | NGC was curator of the collective exhibition named Extranjerías in July 2009 at the Espacio de Fundación Telefónica in Buenos Aires; he had the support of Andrea Giunta and the artist Carlos Amorales for this exhibition. (Fundación Telefónica. *Extranjeros en la tecnología y la cultura*. August 2007.) (SAN MARTÍN, Raquel. Ha caído la noción de paradigma. **La Nación**, Buenos Aires, 19 July 2008.) (REINOSO, Susana. Los modos de ser extranjero, en el análisis de los artistas. **La Nación**, Buenos Aires, 6 July 2009.). | A few years later, NGC once again had Andrea Giunta´s support for organising the exhibition Extranjerías at the Museo Universitario de Arte Contemporáneo (MUAC) of the Centro Cultural Universitario of UNAM from 28 January 2012 to 22 July 2012. There were many sponsors for this artistic exhibition such as Sony and the Argentine government. NGC also organised a

debate titled Extranjerías y Otros Extrañamientos between experts to discuss topics related to the exhibition Extranjerías. | Fundación Telefónica sponsored the publication in June 2012 of the book *Jóvenes, culturas urbanas y redes digitales: Prácticas emergentes en las artes, las editoriales y la música*, which was co-edited by NGC, Francisco Cruces and Maritza Urteaga Castro Pozo. (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Introducción. De la cultura postindustrial a las estrategias de los jóvenes. In: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; CRUCES, Francisco; CASTRO POZO, Maritza Urteaga (Eds.). *Jóvenes, culturas urbanas y redes digitales: Prácticas emergentes en las artes, las editoriales y la música*. Madrid: Fundación Telefónica, June 2012 (also: Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, June 2012.).

Gobierno del Distrito Federal (GDF) (English translation: Mexico City's Government) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.df.gob.mx>: NGC debated with Humberto Musacchio and Carlos Martínez Assad on the topic La Cultura Democrática during a conference organised by Gobierno de la Ciudad de México on 18 July 2002 to commemorate the Día de la Democracia, which was on 6 July 2002 in Mexico City. The event was held at the Museo de la Ciudad de México. (REFORMA. La cultura política. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 14 July 2002.). | NGC lamented that both Mexico City´s government and the Mexican Federal government rarely consider analyses and results of academic research in their policy resolutions. (RIVEROLL, Julieta. Desperdicia Gobierno investigación cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 1 April 2005.). | NGC expressed his concern about the bad quality of the private media in the audiovisual series transmitted by TV UNAM called Medios y Remedios, which was produced by the Secretaría de Educación del Distrito Federal. (MORENO, Alejandro. Produce GDF video contra la tv privada. **Milenio**, Mexico City, 26 September 2008.). | NGC, Eduardo Nivón and Lucina Jiménez have been since 2009 consultants at the Centro de Profesionalización de la Gestión Cultural of the Secretaría de Cultura, Gobierno de la Ciudad de México. Its headquarters are at the Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México (UACM). (HAW, Dora Luz. Impulsa el GDF gestión cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 2 July 2009.). | NGC is one of the intellectuals who were invited by Marcelo Ebrard – Jefe de Gobierno del Distrito Federal – to give theoretical training to high public directors and managers since June 2009 at the Escuela de Administración Pública del Gobierno del Distrito Federal. These bureaucrats, who usually occupy important positions in Mexico City´s public administration, earn certificates for

attending the courses. (IBARRA, Mariel. Eleva Ebrard la vara para alta burocracia. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 9 June 2009.). | NGC is one of the intellectuals who belong to the Consejo Consultivo de la Red de Bibliotecas del Distrito Federal, which is linked to Mexico City´s Secretaría de Educación. Their task is to promote the 408 public libraries in this city. (PRAVDA NEWS. Conforman Consejo Consultivo de Bibliotecas del DF, **Pravda News**, São Paulo, 29 August 2013.).

Instituto Colombiano de Cultura (COLCULTURA) (English translation: Colombia's Institute of Culture) (Bogotá, Colombia) <No website available.> (It existed from 1968 to 1997, when it became Ministerio de Cultura.): NGC gave the lecture *Las políticas culturales en México* during the conference Políticas Culturales en América Latina, which was organised by the Instituto Colombiano de Cultura from 21 to 23 June 1989.

Instituto de Cultura de la Ciudad de México (ICCM) (English translation: Mexico City's Institute of Culture) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.cultura.df.gob.mx> (The Instituto de Cultura de la Ciudad de México existed until 31 January 2002, when the **Secretaría de Cultura del Distrito Federal** was created in Mexico City. See Decreto de Transformación de Instituto de Cultura de la Ciudad de México a Secretaría de Cultura del Distrito Federal.): NGC published the article *Sudamericanos: Encuentros y malentendidos* in GOJMAN DE BACKAL, Alicia; LIDA, Clara E.; MARTÍNEZ ASSAD, Carlos R. (Eds.). *Babel Ciudad de México. El segundo hogar: Experiencias de aclimatación en la Ciudad de México*. Mexico City: Gobierno del Distrito Federal, Instituto de Cultura de la Ciudad de México, 1999. | NGC participated in one of the meetings where its lecturers proposed forms of 'Imaginar la ciudad', 'Pensar la ciudad' and 'Construir la ciudad'. These meetings were sponsored on 8–13 March 1999 by the Instituto de Cultura de la Ciudad de México. (ABELLEYRA, Angélica. Apocalipsis y utopía, esfuerzo por imaginar a la Ciudad de México. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 17 January 1999.). | NGC gave a talk during the conference Cultura y Desarrollo which was held during five days in September 1999 at the Museo de la Ciudad de México. The main topics were cultural policy, indigenism and urban development. The Instituto de Cultura de la Ciudad de México and UNESCO sponsored this event. NGC´s lecture led to the publication of his essay 'Políticas culturales desde la perspectiva del consumidor y la ciudadanía' in:

JASSO, Rosa Martha (Ed.). *Cultura y desarrollo: Una visión plural*. Mexico City: Instituto de Cultura de la Ciudad de México, Gobierno del Distrito Federal, 2000. (AUDIFFRED, Miryam. Analizarán del DF su política cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 6 September 1999.) (HAW, Dora Luz. Compilan análisis sobre la cultura. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 28 June 2000.). | NGC debated in the panel *Identidades en movimiento: Lo global, lo nacional y lo local. La cultura de la ciudad frente al fenómeno de la globalización* during the event La Ciudad a Debate, which took place at the Museo de la Ciudad de México between 25 July and 30 August 2001 and was sponsored by the Instituto de Cultura de la Ciudad de México. (VELÁZQUEZ, Patricia. Someterán a debate la vida cultural de la ciudad. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 23 July 2001.) (SEVILLA, María Eugenia. Insta a lograr descentralización. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 24 July 2001.) (RIVEROLL, Julieta. Demandan acervo del arte actual. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 27 July 2001.). | NGC spoke of the development of democracy in Mexico during the event La Democracia a Debate on 28–30 July 2004 at the Museo de la Ciudad. The event was sponsored by the Secretaría de Cultura del Distrito Federal. (VARGAS, Ángel. Llama Semo a desarrollar una cultura democrática. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 27 July 2004.). | Elena Cepeda – who is a bureaucrat from the Secretaria de Cultura del Distrito Federal – asked NGC if he could suggest somebody he considered that should be named director of the Faro de Oriente, which is a workshop that offers cultural activities. (HAW, Dora Luz. Buscan director para el Faro. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 8 February 2007.).

Instituto de Desarrollo Económico y Social (IDES) (English translation: Institute of Economic and Social Development) (Buenos Aires, Argentina) <http://ides.org.ar>: NGC debated with Peter Sahlins and Thomas Wilson in the Mesa Redonda Perspectivas sobre Identidades y Fronteras on 27 May 1999 during the International Conference Procesos Socioculturales en los Bloques Regionales: Fronteras, Naciones e Identidades in Buenos Aires sponsored by IDES and MOST-UNESCO between 26 and 28 May 1999.

Instituto Italiano de Cultura (English translation: Italia's Institute of Culture) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.iicmessico.esteri.it/iic_messico>: NGC gave the Conferencia Inaugural *Reorganización de los campos culturales y conflictos sociales* in the conference Los Conflictos Culturales en el Futuro de las Ciudades, which

took place 11–13 May 2005 in the Laboratorio de Cultura Urbana at the Instituto Italiano de Cultura in Mexico City. He aimed at conveying an interpretation of urban cultural consumption and at drawing a coherent cultural policy. (RODRÍGUEZ, Ana Mónica. Analizarán 'lo que sabemos sobre el comportamiento cultural de los mexicanos'. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 1 April 2005.) (BUCIO, Erika P. Critica García Canclini privatización cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 12 May 2005.) (VARGAS, Ángel. Repliegue del Estado en la actividad cultural. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 12 May 2005.).

Instituto Mexicano de Cinematografía (IMCINE) (English translation: Mexican Institute of Cinema) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.imcine.gob.mx>: NGC presented on 9 May 1995 at Cineteca Nacional his book *Los nuevos espectadores: Cine, televisión y video en México* (1994), which focuses on the changes of consumption habits in relation to the film industry. IMCINE sponsored this publication. (REFORMA. Presentan 'Nuevos Espectadores'. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 10 May 1995.). | NGC gave the talk *Hablan los medios y el consumo cultural* on 5 June 2001. (PEGUERO, Raquel. A debate, hoy, reglamento de cine. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 5 June 2001.). | NGC published the book *Situación actual y perspectivas de la industria cinematográfica en México y en el extranjero* in 2006 in co-authorship with Ana María Rosas Mantecón and Enrique Sánchez Ruiz sponsored by IMCINE-CONACULTA.

Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud (English translation: Mexican Institute of Youth) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.imjuventud.gob.mx> (It belongs to the Secretaría de Educación Pública-SEP and promotes the Encuesta Nacional de Juventud.): NGC worked for the Encuesta Nacional de Juventud in 2005 and proposed some changes to its cultural policies. The Encuesta was undertaken in Mexico and co-ordinated by the Centro de Investigación y Estudios sobre Juventud to offer a critical interpretation of young Mexicans´ behaviour. NGC, José Manuel Valenzuela Arce, Alejandro Monsiváis Carrillo and Rossana Reguillo Cruz participated in its Comité Técnico. The first phase of this survey was supported by the Ford Foundation in Mexico. (INSTITUTO Mexicano de la Juventud. *Encuesta Nacional de Juventud 2005*.) (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. La modernidad en duda. In: *Jóvenes Mexicanos. Encuesta Nacional de Juventud 2005*. Mexico City: Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud,

2007.) (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Los jóvenes no se ven como el futuro: ¿Serán el presente?. **Pensamiento Iberoamericano**, Madrid, n. 3, 2008.) (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. En una época sin respuestas políticas. Culturas juveniles. **TELOS**, n. 56, 2009.).

Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) (English translation: National Institute of Anthropology and History) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.inah.gob.mx>: NGC gave the lecture *La crisis de las políticas culturales: Del desarrollismo al monetarismo* in the Primer Simposio sobre la Historia Contemporánea de México (1940–1984) which was held in Mexico City in 1986. This symposium was sponsored by INAH and Secretaría de Educación Pública. | NGC published the article *¿Quiénes usan el patrimonio?: Políticas culturales y participación social* in the journal Antropología, Mexico City, INAH´s official bulletin, pp. 11–24, July–October 1987. | NGC gave the lecture *Política cultural y patrimonio* for the Curso de Actualización en Gestión del Patrimonio Cultural offered by CONACULTA, INAH and UAM at the Mexican Templo Mayor in 2006.

Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes (INBA) (English translation: National Institute of Fine Arts) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.bellasartes.gob.mx>: NGC was the director and one of the founders of the INBA´s Centro de Documentación e Investigación − which is a specialist in figurative art − from 1980 to 1984. During this political experience, NGC worked with the ambassador Juan José Bremer, who was Director General of INBA from 1977 to 1981. | NGC published the essay 'Modos de mirar los murales' in ITURBE, Mercedes; MONSIVÁIS, Carlos; GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. *Quimera de los murales del Palacio de Bellas Artes*. Mexico City: CONACULTA-INBA, 2004.

Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) (Spanish translation: Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo) (Washington, D.C., United States) <http://www.iadb.org/en/> (This institution is sponsored by 48 nation-States that finance projects of the public and private sectors. The IDB Cultural Centre [CCN] was created in 1992 by Enrique Valentín Iglesias, who is the president of the Inter-American Development Bank, for situating culture as 'an integral component of development' [IDB Cultural Centre. 2005 Annual Report. Washington, D.C., Information Bulletin, n. 86, 2005. p. 1.]. The IDB Cultural Centre has, since then, promoted a myriad of artistic

events, lectures and meetings throughout the American continent. The Cultural Centre and the Inter-American Culture & Development Foundation are sponsored by the IDB.): NGC participated in the Foro Desarrollo y Cultura supported by IDB at the Palais des Congrés in Paris on 11 and 12 March 1999. | NGC affirmed, when he was interviewed by the journalist Arturo García Hernández, that, although IDB used to be in favour of neoliberal monetarist policies, it later increased its investments in culture, education and science in Latin America. (GARCÍA HERNÁNDEZ, Arturo. En la cultura, las claves para el desarrollo de AL: García Canclini. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 17 November 2002.). | NGC became an IDB´s consultant in the area of culture and development. Two meetings indicate that NGC approached decision-makers from this institution: 1) Encuentros October 2001–April 2002, Number 43, between Camilo Herrera, NGC and Ronald Inglehart. On this occasion, NGC gave the lecture *Culture industries and the development crisis in Latin America*; 2) Encuentros February 2005, Number 53, between Enrique Valentín Iglesias, NGC and Gilberto Gil. NGC gave the lecture *We all have culture: Who can develop it?* (the title of the Spanish version is *Todos tienen cultura: ¿Quiénes pueden desarrollarla?*) during the Panel on Culture and Socio-Economic Development for the Inauguration of Enrique V. Iglesias Conference Centre at the IDB in Washington, D.C. on 24 February 2005. Both meetings belong to the Culture and Development Series which was co-ordinated by the IDB with the intervention of specialists from many different areas. The Encuentros Series had its first number published in March 1993 with *Houses, voices and language in Latin America*, when there was a dialogue with the Chilean novelist José Donoso. (IDB. *Cultural Center Lecture: Dr. Néstor García Canclini, Argentina*. Washington, D.C., IDB, 8 April 2002.) (IDB. *Art news: April–May 2002*. Washington, D.C., 1 May 2002.) (IDB. *Cultural Center Seminar: Culture and Development, Region*. IDB, Washington, D.C., 24 February 2005.) (IDB Cultural Centre. *2007 Annual Report*. Washington, D.C., Information Bulletin n. 100, 2007.). | NGC was referred to as the 'Argentine anthropologist' (p. 249) who interpreted that cultural industries and the mass-media promote integration between many countries in the chapter X ('The growing importance of culture'. pp. 249–266) of the publication IDB. *Honoring the past, building the future: Fifty years of development in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Washington, D.C.: IDB, 2009.

Ministério da Cultura (MinC) (English translation: Brazil's Ministry of Culture) (Brasília, Brazil) <http://www.cultura.gov.br>: NGC gave the lecture *Redes sociais, Internet e cultura digital* at the Auditório da Aliança Francesa in São Paulo, Brazil, which opened the programme of lectures about Produção, Distribuição e Consumo Cultural: A Indústria Cultural no Século 21. The event was held on 10 September 2010 and was sponsored by Escola da Cidade-Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo in partnership with the Ministério da Cultura. (O ESTADO DE SÃO PAULO. Palestra sobre redes sociais. **O Estado de São Paulo**, São Paulo, 10 September 2010.).

Ministerio de Cultura de España (English translation: Spain's Ministry of Culture) (Madrid, Spain) <http://www.mecd.gob.es> (The Ministerio de Cultura de España was known with this name until December 2011, when it became Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte.): NGC published the essay 'Políticas culturales para el fin de siglo' in the book MINISTERIO de Cultura de España (Ed.). *Sociedad civil e instituciones democráticas*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura-Editorial Popular, pp. 165–173, 1989.

Ministerio de Educación y Justicia (Argentina) (English translation: Argentina's Ministry of Education and Justice) (Buenos Aires, Argentina) <http://portal.educacion.gov.ar> (The name this institution has today is Ministerio de Educación de la Nación Argentina.): NGC gave the lecture *La política cultural en países en vías de subdesarrollo* in the symposium Las Políticas Culturales y la Antropología Argentina Actual, which was organised by the Dirección General de Antropología y Folklore of the Ministerio de Educación y Justicia in Buenos Aires and ran from 7 to 11 March 1988.

Museums and heritage institutions in Mexico (Multiple cities, Mexico) <No website available.> (NGC made a few political proposals to manage museums and heritage in Mexico. He had a few research activities at the Centro de Investigaciones Culturales of the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California [CIC-Museo UABC] <http://nestorgarciacanclini.net/videos/105-nestor-garcia-canclini-en-cic-museo>.):
NGC gave the lecture *¿A quién representan los museos nacionales?: El Museo Nacional de Antropología ante la crisis del nacionalismo* during the symposium

Patrimonio, Museo y Participación Social. His lecture was co-ordinated by Escuela Nacional de Conservación, Restauración y Museografía Manuel del Castillo Negrete at the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City from 28 May to 2 June 1990. | NGC gave the lecture *Lo propio y lo disperso* during the colloquium Cultura y Sociedad: Los Desafíos del México de los Noventa. Aportes de Guillermo Bonfil al Debate at the Museo Nacional de Culturas Populares in Mexico City on 20 July 1992. | NGC gave the lecture *Globalización e integración regional: Nuevas condiciones para el desarrollo cultural en América Latina* during the I Coloquio Internacional de Museología de México at the Museo Dolores Olmedo Patiño in Xochimilco, which is a *delegación* (a political unit) of Mexico City, on 13–19 June 1998. | In 1998 NGC participated in one of the two sessions of the conference which had the aim of discussing the needs of a Museo de la Ciudad de México. (HAW, Dora Luz. Buscan más apoyo para el Museo de la Ciudad. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 21 December 1998.). | On 18 May 2004, NGC gave the lecture *Propuestas para rediscutir el patrimonio intangible* during the colloquium Museos y Patrimonio Intangible: Resonancia de Nuestras Tradiciones, which was sponsored by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City. | NGC proposed and discussed an idea for the creation of a museum of globalisation. (FRIERA, Silvina. *Cambió la arquitectura corporativa*. **Página 12**, Buenos Aires, 30 August 2006.) (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Museo para la globalización. In: *Lectores, espectadores e internautas*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2007.). | NGC gave the lecture *El futuro de la cultura visto desde las investigaciones de los jóvenes* for the Cátedra Semestral of the Maestría en Estudios Socioculturales at CIC-Museo, UABC, Mexicali, B.C., 10 February 2009. (This lecture was uploaded on YouTube on 12 February 2009.).

Observatório Itaú Cultural (English translation: Itaú Cultural Monitoring) (São Paulo, Brazil) <http://novo.itaucultural.org.br> (This was one of the sponsors of NGC´s book *Leitores, espectadores e internautas*, which is the Portuguese edition published by Iluminuras in 2008. This book is the first of the collection Os Livros do Observatório, which was co-ordinated by José Teixeira Coelho Netto. The objective of this collection is to publish essays and discuss topics related to cultural policy, cultural consumption, cultural management, cultural practices and legislation for culture.): NGC published the article *Diversidade e direitos na interculturalidade global* in Revista Observatório Itaú Cultural, São Paulo, n. 8, 2009. In this journal number, the

Observatório Itaú Cultural raised a debate on culture and diversity with the Observatório da Diversidade Cultural and the Secretaria da Identidade e da Diversidade Cultural of the Brazilian Ministério da Cultura (SID/MinC).

Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura (OEI) (English translation: Organisation of Iberian American States for Education, Science and Culture) (Madrid, Spain) <http://www.oei.es> (Review two documents from OEI: its Carta Cultural Ibero-americana and the Anteprojeto Bases Carta Cultural Ibero-americana.): NGC gave the lecture and published the article *Économie et culture: Les pays latins dans la sphère publique transnationale* in the International Colloquium Trois Espaces Linguistiques face aux Dèfis de la Mondialisation, Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, OEI, Unión Latina, SECIB, CPLP, Paris, pp. 51–62, 20–21 March 2001. (I have the Spanish version of this article *Economía y cultura: Los países latinos en la esfera pública transnacional.*). | NGC co-ordinated an OEI project during 2001 and 2002 in Brazil and Mexico called Pensar Iberoamérica: Las Culturas Iberoamericanas en el Siglo XXI. (OEI. Pensar Iberoamérica. Las Culturas Iberoamericanas en el Siglo XXI, OEI, Programa Iberoamérica, Unidad Cultural en la Diversidad, Spain, n.d.) (BERTRÁN, Antonio. Declaran a la cultura factor de integración. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 23 January 2002.). | NGC gave the lecture *Las diferentes globalizaciones de América Latina* at the VI Conferencia Iberoamericana de Cultura, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, on 4 October 2002. His lecture was co-ordinated by the Dominican Secretaría de Estado de Cultura and OEI. | During an interview with a reporter from the newspaper Reforma at the end of 2002, NGC made a few comments on what he wrote in his book *Iberoamérica 2002* such as why Latin America should strengthen its relationship with Europe. (ALVAREZ, Carmen. Ven en la cultura motor de desarrollo. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 12 December 2002.) (RUBIO, Carlos. Ven gran desinterés en industria cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 17 February 2003.). | NGC engaged in the debate Gestión de Políticas Culturales y su Relación con el Desarrollo Económico y Social during a conference about cultural policy which was sponsored by OEI and held between 6 and 11 December 2004 at the Centro Nacional de las Artes in Mexico City. (CORDERO, Patricia. Buscan mejorar políticas culturales. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 12 November 2004.). | NGC gave a lecture during the Foro Dignidad sin Pérdida which was sponsored by the Mexican Secretaría de Educación Pública and OEI and took place at Auditorio

SEP in Mexico City in March 2006. | NGC gave the lecture *Dónde está la caja de herramientas: Estudio sobre los cambios culturales* during the II Seminario Internacional: La Formación Docente en los Actuales Escenarios: Desafíos, Problemas y Perspectivas sponsored by OEI in Argentina in April 2006.

Organisation of American States (OAS) (Spanish translation: Organización de los Estados Americanos) (Washington, D.C., United States) <http://www.oas.org/en/default.asp>: NGC gave the lecture *La carta del folklore americano y la política cultural en los 80* in the Segunda Reunión Técnica sobre Cultura Popular Tradicional, which was co-ordinated by the Centro Interamericano de Etnomusicología y Folklore of the OAS and the Centro para las Culturas Populares y Tradicionales de Venezuela in Caracas from 20 to 24 June 1987. | During 1988 and 1989, the OAS gave NGC financial support to direct the research project *Políticas culturales y consumo cultural en la Ciudad de México*, which involved lecturers and students from the Maestría programme in Social Anthropology at the Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia and others from two of UAM´s campuses (Iztapalapa and Xochimilco). | NGC gave the third lecture in the conference series Cultura y Desarrollo: Las Industrias Culturales en la Crisis del Desarrollo de América Latina. The event was held on 8 April 2002 in Washington, D.C. as a result of a collaboration between OAS and the IDB´s Cultural Centre. (IDB. *Centro Cultural Conferencia: Dr. Néstor García Canclini*, Argentina, IDB, Events, n.d.).

Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD) (English translation: Party of the Democratic Revolution) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.prd.org.mx>: NGC advised the PRD´s government in Mexico in issues related to research activities and cultural policy. During the Foro Identidad y Cultura: Hacia una Política Cultural de Estado, which was held on 30 May 2006 at the Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso in Mexico City, NGC discussed with other intellectuals the Punto 14 of the Programa de Cultura of Andrés Manuel López Obrador´s political proposal – who was a candidate to Mexico´s presidency in 2006 – so that they could make demands and suggestions to him. During the Foro Identidad y Cultura, NGC also suggested that a Secretaría de Cultura y Comunicación is created. (SEVILLA, María Eugenia. Respaldan a AMLO; reprochan tardanza. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 31 May 2006.) (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Retos culturales para un sexenio. **Reforma**, Opinión, Mexico City, 25 June

2006.) (MATEOS-VEGA, Mónica. Contrastante panorama en la oferta cultural de los candidatos, **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 1 July 2006.). | NGC headed the *desplegado* (a letter in the newspaper) *Cambiemos el rumbo de México con Marcelo Ebrard*, which was signed by him and more than a hundred other Mexican intellectuals and published on 3 November 2011 in Mexican newspapers. They supported the Jefe de Gobierno del Distrito Federal Marcelo Ebrard´s candidacy for the Mexican presidency in the 1 July 2012 elections. (ARITA, Lidia. Intelectuales apoyan candidatura de Ebrard. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 3 November 2011.) (MILENIO. Intelectuales publican desplegado en apoyo a Ebrard. **Milenio**, Mexico City, 3 November 2011.) (MILENIO. Lee aquí el desplegado completo de intelectuales que apoyan a Ebrard. **Milenio**, Mexico City, 3 November 2011.).

Procuraduría Federal del Consumidor (PROFECO) (English translation: Office of the Federal Prosecutor for the Consumer) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.profeco.gob.mx>: NGC published the article *La racionalidad sospechosa: El consumo en las grandes ciudades* in PROFECO (Ed.). *El consumo al final del milenio*. Mexico City: Procuraduría Federal del Consumidor, 1997. | NGC published the article *Una definición del consumo* in PROFECO (Ed.). *De un milenio a otro: Historia del consumo en México*. Mexico City: PROFECO, 1999. pp. 18–25. | NGC engaged, for two years (2004 to 2006), in the PROFECO´s Consejo Asesor, where he conducted studies about audiovisual consumption and discussed topics related to the media with a few representants of consumer organisations and other researchers. An article from the Mexican newspaper La Jornada indicates that NGC was a member of PROFECO´s Consejo Consultivo del Consumo between 2005 and 2007. This Consejo has existed since 27 April 2005. (LA JORNADA. David y Goliat. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 6 February 2006.) (PROFECO. *Integrantes del Consejo Consultivo del Consumo 2005– 2007*. Available at <http://www.profeco.gob.mx/educ_div/IC05-07.pdf>. Accessed on 2 February 2013.). | NGC is one of the well-qualified professionals who work for PROFECO and is not expected to be dismissed or replaced because of problems related to inflation in Mexico. (AGUAYO QUEZADA, Sergio. Tacos de lengua. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 17 January 2007.).

Secretaría de Cultura y Comunicación, Presidencia de la Nación (English translation: Argentina´s Secretariat of Culture and Communication) (Buenos

Aires, Argentina) <http://www.cultura.gob.ar> (This institution changed its name to Secretaría de Cultura.): NGC was invited in July 2000 to debate with Argentine politicians in the Consejo de Cultura de la Nación on cultural policy and the topic of culture and communication. (LA NACIÓN. Breves. **La Nación**, Buenos Aires, 8 July 2000.) (LA NACIÓN. Un consejo de intelectuales debatirá las políticas culturales del Gobierno. **La Nación**, Buenos Aires, 11 July 2000.). | NGC gave the lecture *¿Qué dan y qué piden las industrias culturales a la gestión cultural?* during the international conference Globalización y Gestión Cultural in Buenos Aires, Secretaría de Cultura y Comunicación, Presidencia de la Nación, 27 September 2000. This conference was opened by the Secretario de Cultura y Comunicación Darío Lopérfido and had the participation of Luis Alberto Quevedo, George Yúdice and NGC. It was broadcast on Canal 7 and supported by the Instituto Nacional de Administración Cultural, Secretaría de Cultura y Comunicación and the United States Embassy in Buenos Aires. (CLARÍN. Cultura: Breves. Punto y coma. **Clarín**, Buenos Aires, 24 September 2000.). | NGC taught for the postgraduate course *Gestión en cultura y comunicación*, which was sponsored by the Secretaría de Cultura y Comunicación in Argentina. (REINOSO, Susana. El multimedios ya gastó de más. **La Nación**, Buenos Aires, 8 April 2001.). | NGC participated in the debate La Cultura Argentina Vista desde Afuera with the Secretario de Cultura de la Nación José Nun on 7 November 2005 at the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires. (LA NACIÓN. Agenda cultural. **La Nación**, Buenos Aires, 7 November 2005.). | NGC gave an interview to the Revista de la Secretaría de Cultura de Argentina, which was published in 2010 (v. 2, n. 6, Argentina, pp. 4–5, July–August 2010.).

Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores de México (SRE) (English translation: Mexico's Secretariat of Foreign Affairs) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.sre.gob.mx>: NGC gave the lecture *Políticas culturales, integración y globalización* at Instituto Matías Romero de Estudios Diplomáticos of Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores. He first gave this lecture to the Maestría en Estudios Diplomáticos on 27 February 1997; later, in January 1998, he gave the same lecture at Instituto Matías Romero of SRE. On 15 January 1998, NGC gave the lecture *Cultura y globalización* for the XI Diplomado en Política Internacional Cultura y Relaciones Internacionales at Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores. | NGC is one of the intellectuals who were invited to define aspects of the Mexican cultures to be presented in the

Mexartes-Berlin festival (Berlin, Germany) during two months in September and October 2002. The event was sponsored by CONACULTA, INBA, SRE and the German Embassy in Mexico. (SEVILLA, María Eugenia. Llevan arte sin clichés. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 5 September 2002.). | From December 2000 to January 2003, NGC headed a *grupo de reflexión* for discussing the economic and political implications of culture in globalisation. This group collaborated with the Mexican State´s strategy for its cultural promotion and of its images abroad, and for its definition of culture (which is not restricted to fine arts and includes science and technology). During part of this period, Jorge Castañeda was Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores. (HERNÁNDEZ, Edgar Alejandro. Ve en intelectuales soldados sin fusil. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 7 January 2004.). | NGC gave the lecture *La cultura como instrumento de política exterior* in Panel 1 of the Reunión de Embajadores at the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores in Mexico City on 7 January 2004. (NÚÑEZ, Ernesto. Llama Cancillería a reunión de Embajadores y Cónsules. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 7 January 2004.). | NGC, Ricardo Pérez Monfort and Alberto Ruy Sánchez suggested a change in SRE´s concept of cultural policy to over 200 ambassadors, consuls and bureaucrats during the 15th Reunión de Embajadores de México on 7 January 2004. Their main idea was to assimilate the new uses of culture in Mexico´s digital media and not merely sell its traditional cultural industries to the world. (HERNÁNDEZ, Edgar Alejandro. Piden a SRE redefinir concepto de cultura. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 8 January 2004.). | NGC participated in the conference Industrias Culturales y Desarrollo Sustentable, which took place in April 2004 at the SRE headquarters. It was expected to prepare a cultural agenda for the Tercera Cumbre de Jefes de Estado de América Latina y el Caribe y la Unión Europea, which was celebrated in May 2004 in Guadalajara. (HERNÁNDEZ, Edgar Alejandro. Ven en la cultura fuente de riqueza. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 3 April 2004.). | SRE was one of the sponsors of the publication of the book *Las industrias culturales y el desarrollo de México* (2006). (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; PIEDRAS FERIA, Ernesto. *Las industrias culturales y el desarrollo de México*. Mexico City: FLACSO-Mexico, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores de México, Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2006.). | NGC participated in the meeting Encuentro de Intelectuales México-Argentina at the Museo Franz Mayer, which was sponsored by the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores de México and Argentina´s Embassy in Mexico on 21 May 2011. (JIMÉNEZ, Arturo. Entre México y Argentina, mucha cooperación y poca coproducción. **La Jornada**, Mexico City, 22 May 2011.).

Secretaría General Iberoamericana (SEGIB) (English translation: Iberian American General Secretariat) (Madrid, Spain) <http://segib.org>: For discussing the creative economy (and topics such as digital cultures, new business models, and culture as a means for economic and social development) and strengthening Iberian identities through its cultures, NGC, Enrique Valentín Iglesias and George Yúdice were among the intellectuals who attended the Seminario Economía Iberoamericana de la Cultura in Madrid on 2–3 July 2012. (SEGIB. La SEGIB organiza el Seminario Economía Iberoamericana de la Cultura. **Secretaría General Iberoamericana**, Madrid, n.d. Available at <http://segib.org/es/node/6113>. Accessed on 20 February 2013.).

Secretaría General Técnica (Ministerio del Interior) (English translation: Technical General Secretariat of Spain's Ministry of Interior) (Madrid, Spain) <http://www.interior.gob.es/directorio-30/servicios-centrales-25/secretaria-general-tecnica-37>: NGC published the essay 'Malentendidos interculturales en la frontera México–Estados Unidos' in GARCÍA, José Luis; BARAÑANO, Ascensión. *Culturas en contacto: Encuentros y desencuentros*. Madrid: Secretaría General Técnica, pp. 111–128, 2003.

Senado de la República de México (English translation: Mexico´s Senate of the Republic) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.senado.gob.mx>: NGC´s talk to Senado de la República was transcribed to a document in 2000: GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Impactos sociales y culturales. In: SENADO de la República. *Análisis de los efectos del Tratado de Libre Comercio de América del Norte en la economía mexicana: Una visión sectorial a cinco años de distancia*. Mexico City: Senado de la República, LVII Legislatura, pp. 625–630, 2000. Tome 2, Forum 15. | NGC discussed 'the situation of the organisms which regulate public services, the public and community media, the programmes and laws regarding the public, as well as concentration and competition in the market of the media' (TATT) with Guillermo Mastrini (Argentina), Eduardo Pérez Mota (Mexico), Guillermo Orozco (Mexico), Héctor Osuna (Mexico), Javier Corral (Mexico), Raúl Trejo Delarbre (Mexico), José Perla Anaya (Peru), Johannes Weberling (Germany), Peter Schiwy (Germany), Rudolf Huber (Germany) and others in the International Forum Reforma de Medios: Un Debate Abierto. This meeting was sponsored by Senado de la República, Fundación Konrad Adenauer and Asociación

Mexicana de Derecho a la Información on 23–25 April 2008 and took place at Senado de la República. (SOSA, Gabriel. Telecom y medios. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 8 April 2008.) (REFORMA. La cultura política. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 20 April 2008.).

Sistema Económico Latinoamericano y del Caribe (SELA) (English translation: Latin American and Caribbean Economic System) (Caracas, Venezuela) <http://www.sela.org>: NGC advised SELA in issues related to culture and development. | NGC was invited by SELA to co-ordinate a research project during 1997 and 1998 about cultural industries in Latin America. The book that resulted from this research is GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor (Ed.). *Cultura y comunicación en la Ciudad de México*. 2 tomes. Mexico City: Grijalbo, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 1998. | NGC attended in July 1998 the meeting Industrias Culturales e Integración Latinoamericana in Buenos Aires which was sponsored by Convenio Andrés Bello, SELA and UNESCO.

Sistema Nacional de Investigadores (SNI) (English translation: National System of Researchers) (Mexico City, Mexico) <http://www.conacyt.gob.mx/sni/paginas/default.aspx>: The name Néstor Raúl García Canclini appears on the 2008 list as an Emeritus National Reseacher (Investigador Nacional Emérito) of the Sistema Nacional de Investigadores de México (SNI) of the Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (CONACyT). (This information is available at <http://www.conacyt.mx/SNI/Index_SNI.html>, <http://www.conacyt.gob.mx/SNI/Boletin/2007/SNI-4_5-septiembre-2007.pdf> and <http://www.conacyt.gob.mx/SNI/Documents/INVESTIGADORES-NACIONALES-EMERITOS.pdf>. All accessed on 24 January 2012.). This list of renowned Mexican academics, however, has existed since 1992. A previous document had announced this award in September 2007 in the area of Humanities and Sciences of the Behaviour (Humanidades y Ciencias de la Conducta) from a total of five areas of knowledge (Physics, Mathematics and Sciences of the Earth; Medicine and Health Sciences; Humanities and Sciences of Behaviour; Social Sciences; Biotechnology and Sciences of Agriculture) that SNI evaluates. However, only a total of eleven Investigadores Nacionales Eméritos were awarded in the 2008 list. (Boletín del Sistema Nacional de Investigadores, Mexico City, CONACyT, v. 4, n. 5, September 2007.). The Sistema Nacional de Investigadores was created on 26 July 1984 with the aim of recognising the

work of researchers of high academic level that develop their activities in a variety of scientific areas throughout Mexico, and of allocating scholarships and other financial incentives to certain research projects. The aforementioned recognition results from a volunteer application of the candidates and it should be expressed that such award gives the scholars a higher chance of negotiating funds for their research projects either via the Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (CONACyT) or from other institutions that might consider the force of this status.

The Rockefeller Foundation (Spanish translation: Fundación Rockefeller) (New York, United States) <http://www.rockefellerfoundation.org> (The Rockefeller Foundation works in association with the Fideicomiso para la Cultura México–EUA.): The Urban Culture Study Programme, which used to be headed by NGC, earned a grant from The Rockefeller Foundation so that Mexicans and foreigners could undertake 17 research projects between 1993 and 1995. Their work resulted in the book *Cultura y comunicación en la Ciudad de México*, which was edited by NGC and published in 1998 in two tomes. Patricia Ramírez Kuri affirmed that NGC invited her to join this research group which was sponsored by The Rockefeller Foundation. The project in which she participated was *Multiculturalidad y modernidad en Coyoacán* (1993–1996), which had NGC and Patricia Safa Barraza as editors and the financial help of the Rockefeller Foundation. This project came into reality as part of the Urban Culture Study Programme at UAM-Iztapalapa. (RAMÍREZ KURI, Patricia. *Espacio público y ciudadanía en la Ciudad de México*. Mexico City: Cámara de Diputados, Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales-UNAM, Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2009. pp. 8 and 109.). | The Rockefeller Foundation, Centro Interdisciplinar de Estudos Contemporâneos-UFRJ and CUNY sponsored the symposium Culture Trouble in Rio de Janeiro, 6–9 December 1994, where NGC gave the lecture *Políticas culturales y espectadores multimedia*. | The Rockefeller Foundation and UAM´s Urban Culture Study Programme sponsored the introduction to the symposium Lo Público y lo Privado en Ciudades Multiculturales in Mexico City from 6 to 9 May 1996, where NGC gave the lecture *Ocho postales sobre las cuatro ciudades de México*. | The Rockefeller Foundation sponsored the international event Agendas Intelectuales Críticas en América Latina: Un diálogo from 27 to 29 August 2001 in Buenos Aires, where NGC gave the lecture *Redefiniciones del campo intelectual: Dilemas y opciones*. This academic event had the support of

Creativity & Culture, which is one of The Rockefeller Foundation´s four work topics along with Food Security, Health Equity and Working Communities.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) (Spanish translation: Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura) (Paris, France) <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/> (During the 1980s and early 1990s, culture and heritage influenced NGC´s approach to UNESCO. Later, integration and diversity were the main topics that guided NGC´s interpretation of culture as a means for other ends in his activities in this institution. Heritage remains an important topic during the 2000s for UNESCO because of the polemical discussion of universal value culture in which NGC engaged.): NGC published the article *Crafts and cultural identity* in Cultures. Contemporary culture: Major themes. The arts throughout the world, vol. 1, n. 2, UNESCO, pp. 83–95, 1979. The article was edited simultaneously in Spanish (it was published under the title *Artesanías e identidad cultural* in the journal Culturas, n. 6, UNESCO, 1979.) and in French. (This article is also a fragment of his book *Las culturas populares en el capitalismo*.). | NGC gave the lecture *La investigacion sobre el público: Base de la educación en los museos* during the conference Museo y Educación in Guadalajara, Mexico, on 3–7 March 1986. His lecture was transcribed to UNESCO´s Final Report related to the conference. (UNESCO. *Seminario Museo y Educación*. March 1986.). | NGC gave the lecture *Las modernizaciones de México: Economía, política y cultura* in the Conferencia Regional de Presentación de Conclusiones del Proyecto Crisis y Requerimientos de Nuevos Paradigmas en la Relación Estado-Sociedad-Economía, which happened between 16 and 17 April 1990 in Buenos Aires. The conference was co-ordinated by CLACSO, UNDP and UNESCO. | NGC gave the lecture *El futuro de las sociedades multiculturales* in the International Symposium The Americas 1492–1992: Multiple Paths and Prospects for The Twenty-first Century, which was sponsored by UNESCO and Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Paris, 5–7 November 1992. | NGC gave the lecture *Las políticas culturales, artistas y comunicadores en proceso de globalización e integración regional* in the conference Políticas Culturales, Artistas y Comunicadores en Proceso de Globalización e Integración Regional co-ordinated by Grupo de Políticas Culturales-CLACSO, UAM-Iztapalapa and UNESCO, Mexico City, 6 and 7 May 1993. | NGC gave the lecture *El patrimonio inmaterial de la Ciudad de México: Artes, mass-media y cultura cotidiana*

en la valoración del Centro Histórico, Paris, June 1993, UNESCO. He also wrote a report for the International Consultation on New Perspectives for UNESCO´s Programme: The Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO Headquarters, Final Report, CLT/ACL/93/IH/01, 16–17 June 1993. He presented, on this occasion, the Pilot Project: *The intangible urban heritage of the historic centre of Mexico City (1940–1990): Documentation and promotion*, which was one of 'five pilot projects to be financed from extra-budgetary resources' (Annex I, p. 2.) from UNESCO. | NGC published the article *Las políticas multiculturales como un recurso integrado para los procesos de desarrollo en América Latina*, which was sponsored by UNESCO, SHS.93/CONF.009/2 – SHS.93/CONF.009/LD.1, Paris, 1993. 32 pp. (UNESCO. *Bibliography for cultural policies and development - G - H - I*. Paris, UNESCO, 15 February 2004.). | NGC published the section 'La integración en un contexto pluriétnico y pluricultural' in UNESCO. *La integración en América Latina*, Paris, Visión Iberoamericana 2000, UNESCO Editions, 1995. | In *Multiculturalism: A policy response to diversity* (1995), which is a document produced by UNESCO´s programme Management of Social Transformations (MOST), NGC is mentioned to have contributed to its content. One of his previous presentations, which happened during a meeting sponsored by UNESCO, is considered a source of information for *Multiculturalism: A policy response to diversity*. (MANAGEMENT of Social Transformations [MOST]. *Multiculturalism: A policy response to diversity*. Paris, UNESCO, 1995.). This document most likely refers to one of the following two lectures given by NGC: 1) *The future of multicultural societies* at the World Commission on Culture and Development, Costa Rica, 3rd Meeting, CCD-III/94/REG/INF.8, 22–26 February 1994. (UNESCO. *Accueil Aide Préférences*.) (UNESCO. *Bibliography for cultural policies and development - G - H - I*. Paris, UNESCO, 15 February 2004.); and 2) *Cultural industries and the globalisation of culture* at the World Commission on Culture and Development, Paris, CCD/CONT/95/INF.5, May 1995. (UNESCO. *Bibliography for cultural policies and development - G - H - I*. Paris, UNESCO, 15 February 2004.). | NGC published the article *Unequal partners* in The UNESCO Courier, Paris, September 1996, in a special edition about Culture and Development. (His text was also translated to French: *Le raz-de-marée médiatique* and to Spanish: *El vendaval mediático*.). | UNESCO invited artists, experts and statisticians to undertake analyses, regional reports and studies for the project of the World Commission on Culture and Development called Our Creative Diversity. NGC debated on UNESCO´s

document Our Creative Diversity with Soledad Loaeza, Homero Aridjis, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Lourdes Arizpe (Subdirectora General para la Cultura de la UNESCO) and Ana Isabel Prera Flores (she was Federico Mayor Zaragoza´s representant in this debate. Federico was Director-General of UNESCO from 1987 to 1999.). Our Creative Diversity was prepared by the World Commission on Culture and Development, which was created between 1992 and 1995, and it was presented on 18 September 1997 at El Colegio de México. (REFORMA. Replantean el concepto de desarrollo. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 18 September 1997.). | NGC gave the lecture *Policies for cultural creativity* and wrote it to be one of the preparatory documents for the meeting Conferencia Intergubernamental sobre Políticas Culturales para el Desarrollo which was sponsored by UNESCO in Stockholm in March–April 1998. In the report *Preparatory papers*, which was published by UNESCO on 25 February 2004, NGC was mentioned on a list of many intellectuals who were invited by this institution to write a paper on culture. The journalist Silvia Isabel Gámez said that NGC was encouraged by the Mexican SRE to participate in this event in Sweden. (GÁMEZ, Silvia Isabel. Existe en México diálogo directo. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 31 March 1998.) (UNESCO. *Preparatory papers*. UNESCO, 25 February 2004.). | NGC gave the lecture *Del arte a los medios: Relatos sobre la interacción América Latina–Estados Unidos* in the Seminário Internacional Mídia e Percepção Social, Rio de Janeiro, UNESCO, 18–20 May 1998. (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor. Tales of the United States–Latin America interaction. In: MENDES, Cândido; RODRÍGUEZ LARRETA, Enrique. *Media and social perception*. Rio de Janeiro: EDUCAM, ISSC, UNESCO, 1999. pp. 329–344.). | NGC participated in the colloquium Diálogos del Siglo XXI in Paris on 16–19 September 1998. The event was organised by UNESCO´s Oficina de Análisis y de Previsión under a general question: ¿El Siglo XXI Llegará a Existir?. (REFORMA. Explorarán en París retos del siglo 21. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 17 September 1998.). | NGC published the article *Opciones de políticas culturales en el marco de la globalización* in the Spanish version of the World Culture Report, Paris, UNESCO, 1998. He wrote this text for the 1998 World Culture Report while he was a UNESCO consultant and presented papers related to Culture and Development, which were sponsored by this institution. In the section 'Action 1: Annual Report on World Culture and Development' of *Our creative diversity* (1996), the World Commission on Culture and Development acknowledged its role in fostering an 'independent team to produce and publish an annual Report on World Culture and Development, beginning in 1997'

(p. 46). This was the beginning of what UNESCO planned to do in the following years in relation to its cultural activities. The 1996 Commission did not intend to write a document that would merely inform about world culture; instead, it wanted a groundbreaking report that would convey 'a way to influence international public opinion, and as a testing ground for new policy ideas' (p. 47). Some of the members of this World Commission on Culture and Development were Javier Pérez de Cuéllar (president), Lourdes Arizpe, Celso Furtado, Elizabeth Jelín and Mahbub ul Haq. However, NGC was not involved in the 1996 World Commission and he only became a member of the Scientific Committee for the World Culture Report to be published in the years 1998 and 2000. (UNESCO. *Our creative diversity*. Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development, Paris, UNESCO, July 1996. pp. 46–48.). | NGC gave the opening speech *Reconstruir políticas de inclusão na América Latina*, which resulted in an article, in the international conference Políticas Culturais para o Desenvolvimento: Uma Base de Dados para a Cultura on 27–29 August 2002 in Recife, Brazil. (This conference led to a book with the same name being published in 2003.). | NGC made analyses and contributions for the document UNESCO World Report. *Towards knowledge societies*, Paris, UNESCO Publishing, 2005. | NGC gave the lecture *Cultura y comercio: Desafíos de la globalización para el espacio audiovisual latinoamericano* at the International Meeting El Espacio Audiovisual Latinoamericano in Guadalajara, Mexico, which was sponsored by UNESCO and Universidad de Guadalajara in June 2005. | NGC gave the lecture *¿Puede haber patrimonio de la humanidad sin gobierno mundial?* during the UNESCO´s meeting El Valor del Patrimonio in Paris in June 2006. | NGC was mentioned in the section '1.1. The promotion of diversity in the institutional and normative frameworks' of UNESCO´s Report *Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (2008) when discussing cultural policy, institutionalisation, institutional practices, legislative frameworks and governmentality. (UNESCO. *Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*. Paris, UNESCO, CE/08/1.EXT.IGC/INF.5, 5 May 2008. p. 8.). Yet in the 2009 Report of this Intergovernmental Committee, NGC was listed as a Mexican expert in Cultural Industries in the Group III of the section 'List of IFCD database experts presented by the Parties to the 2005 Convention'. (UNESCO. *Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*. Paris, UNESCO, CE/09/3.IGC/211/INF.4A, 30 October 2009. pp.

1 and 5.). | In the document *The power of culture for development* (Paris, UNESCO, CLT/2010/WS/14, 14 September 2010.), UNESCO conveys culture as a 'Vehicle for Economic Development' (p. 5), a 'Vehicle for Social Cohesion and Stability' (p. 6), a 'Vehicle for Environmental Sustainability' (p. 7) and a 'Vehicle for Resilient Communities' (p. 7). Earlier in the same document, culture is considered a 'renewable resource' (p. 2). | NGC participated in a commission of scientists and philosophers who were invited by UNESCO to review the criteria with which this institution chooses certain goods and sites that are considered of 'outstanding universal value'. NGC has been very critical of the notion of universal cultural heritage. (UNESCO. *The World Heritage Convention: The Concept of Outstanding Universal Value*, UNESCO, April 2005.) (VENTURA, Abida. ¿Cuándo hay arte?, la pregunta de García Canclini. **El Universal**, Mexico City, 30 October 2010.). | In the section 'EJE 3. Políticas y medidas culturales' of UNESCO´s document *Diversidades: El juego de la creatividad* (2010), NGC´s concept of cultural policy was quoted as a guide for this manual, which was made for young people. The Eje 3 of this publication focuses on cultural policy for creativity and for diversity of cultural expressions. (UNESCO. *Diversidades: El juego de la creatividad*. Paris, Kit Joven: Educar para la Diversidad, AECID, InterArts, UNESCO, 2010. p. 11.). | NGC, Eduardo Galeano, Pablo González Casanova, Rodolfo Stavenhagen and other renowned intellectuals gave Conferencias Magistrales during the Conferencia Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Ciencias Sociales, which was sponsored by CLACSO and MOST-UNESCO on 6–9 November 2012 in Mexico City. This event focused on human rights and sustainability. NGC and Julio Carranza (from UNESCO-Montevideo) co-ordinated the debate Mapas de la Interculturalidad on 7 November 2012. (UNESCO. *The state of the social sciences in Latin America & the Caribbean*. November 2012.) (UNESCO. *Concluye la Conferencia Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Ciencias Sociales celebrada en México*. 13 November 2012.).

World Bank (Spanish translation: Banco Mundial) (Washington, D.C., United States) <http://www.worldbank.org> (The Guía del Banco Mundial para Parlamentarios 2005 provides further information on the World Bank.): NGC´s academic work was mentioned many times in the document *Culture counts: Financing, resources and the economics of culture in sustainable development*, which was published in February 2000 in Washington, D.C. This document resulted from the Proceedings of the Conference held in Florence, Italy, on 4–7 October 1999 and was co-sponsored by

Italy´s Government, UNESCO and the World Bank. | NGC published the section 'The dynamics of global cultural industries' in MATARASSO, François (Ed.). *Recognising culture: A series of briefing papers on culture and development*. London: Published in partnership between Comedia, Department of Canadian Heritage, UNESCO and the World Bank, 2001. | NGC did not participate directly in the World Bank as he did in UNESCO, although his academic work was quoted by other analysts who wrote reports to the World Bank. NGC´s academic publications are mentioned, for instance, in Carlos Sojo´s *Social development in Latin America: Issues for public policy* (2003), Sandra Cesilini´s *Evaluación rápida de la emergencia social en Argentina* (2004) and Alexandre Marc´s *Cultural diversity and service delivery: Where do we stand?* (2005).

APPENDIX II

Quotations in other languages

The sentences which have been translated throughout the thesis are followed by their page number and the abbreviation TBM, which means 'Translated by me'. The original quotations (in Spanish, Portuguese and French) of the translations to English appear in this document following the order of the chapters. I abbreviated footnote as FN in this Appendix II.

INTRODUCTION

FN6: 'antropólogo social'

FN7: 'experto en políticas culturales'

FN8: 'ensayista y crítico'

FN9: 'especialista en el estudio de fenómenos culturales vinculados a la comunicación de masas'

FN10: 'especialista en fenómenos culturales en el contexto de la globalización'

FN11: 'curador'

FN15: 'hemos pasado de una concepción bastante ingenua y voluntarista de la unidad a una concepción de la integración, y ahora a hablar de la cooperación, que es una vieja palabra de la diplomacia, en términos muy específicos de coproducción, de codistribución, que son conceptos que corresponden a la caracterización de problemas y de programas realizables o posibles.'

FN18: 'La legislación sobre industrias culturales debe articular medidas nacionales con acuerdos supranacionales, sobre todo en los circuitos de países con los que tenemos relaciones socioculturales estratégicas (América Latina, América del Norte y Europa).'

FN24: 'intervenir políticamente en la cultura será ahora una forma de intervenir también en lo político; esto es: las políticas culturales adquirirán un valor de *metapolíticas*.'

FN26: 'la cultura tiene que ver más con las redes que con las instituciones'

CHAPTER 1

FN37: 'redes intelectuales'; 'un conjunto de personas ocupadas en la producción y difusión del conocimiento, que se comunican en razón de su actividad profesional, a lo largo de los anos.'

FN68: 'a centralidade dos intelectuais em relação ao tema da identidade latino-americana'

FN75: 'un constructo teórico utilizado sistemáticamente para entender la evolución intelectual del Continente e incluso de sus relaciones con otras regiones del mundo.'

FN76: 'lo académico frecuentemente tiende a proyectarse más allá de sí mismo, pretendiendo influir sobre los destinos de la polis (no necesariamente nacional).'

FN98: 'Gran parte del malestar de García Canclini con el tratamiento que recibían las culturas populares era el sentido esquivo de su relación con la modernidad.'

FN114: 'la cultura da sentido a la comunicación'; 'La cultura mantiene unas relaciones complejas con la comunicación misma.'

FN119: 'en cuanto <<politics>> – el qué y el quién de sus agentes y ejercicio –, como en cuanto <<policy>> – el qué y el cómo de su práctica –, se ha polarizado en torno a un solo protagonista: el Estado.'

FN128: 'rendre accessibles au plus grand nombre les œuvres capitales de l'humanité, et d'abord de la France'

FN131: 'não significa mais um estado (da coisa cultivada), mas uma ação, ou seja o fato de cultivar a terra.'

FN132: 'A cultura, no sentido coletivo, é antes de tudo a "cultura da humanidade".'

FN139: 'la condición actual de América latina desborda su territorio'

FN142: 'El Panamericanismo fue creado para que la dominación del imperialismo yanqui se ejerza con la colaboración de los gobiernos reaccionarios de América Latina.'

FN145: 'Hoy, ellos aspiran manifiestamente al primado de la cultura universal, a la dirección de las ideas, y se consideran a sí mismos los forjadores de un tipo de civilización que prevalecerá.'

FN150: 'se forman y se renuevan cada vez menos en relación con las tradiciones locales'

FN151: 'predominio de las culturas audiovisuales y electrónicas'

FN152: 'deconstruir tanto la identificación del Estado con una concepción fundamentalista e insular de la nación como evitar su disolución en una lucha caníbal de intereses privados.'

FN153: 'el conjunto de intervenciones realizadas por el Estado, las instituciones civiles y los grupos comunitarios organizados a fin de orientar el desarrollo simbólico, satisfacer las necesidades culturales de la población y obtener consenso para un tipo de orden o de transformación social'

FN154: 'El esfuerzo de García Canclini por superar la visión administrativa, diplomática y legalista de la manera con que la UNESCO trabajó durante casi diez años las políticas culturales'

FN158: 'una fuerte apelación a la cultura, considerada como fundamento de recuperación de la sociabilidad y el espacio público, las libertades y los derechos humanos'

FN179: 'A paisagem é, pois, um sistema material e, nessa condição, relativamente imutável; o espaço é um sistema de valores, que se transforma permanentemente.'

FN180: 'É indispensável uma preocupação ontológica, um esforço interpretativo *de dentro, o* que tanto contribui para identificar a natureza do espaço, como para encontrar as categorias de estudo que permitam corretamente analisá-lo.'

FN184: 'el carácter transnacional y fusionado de estas empresas'

FN187: 'nuestra desprotección y vulnerabilidad ante los cambios del mercado mundial, de las innovaciones tecnológicas y de la integración supranacional.'

FN188: 'Si existe un espacio iberoamericano es, sobre todo, como espacio audiovisual.'

FN195: 'El problema siguiente será cómo ganar fuerza para presionar a los gobiernos y a los Estados, a través de los agentes sociales que tienen influencia en este campo, para que realmente lleven a la práctica al máximo posible un proceso de nueva cooperación internacional en cultura-comunicación que, yo creo, ya ha comenzado.'

FN196: 'esta presencia latinoamericana en el mundo no puede darse solo mediada por el puente de la UE'

FN204: 'Cultura, comunicação, ciência e tecnologia como instrumentos de desenvolvimento e de democracia.'

CHAPTER 2

FN218: 'morir de hambre'

FN220: '*Historia de la filosofía contemporánea, Filosofía de las ciencias, Antropología filosófica, Introducción a la filosofía, Psicología, Filosofía de la religión, Filosofía de la Historia* and *Filosofía y estética.*'

FN222: 'así como la filosofía procura apresar la esencia de lo humano en conceptos, la penetración poética la libera en imágenes'

FN223: 'Le interesa lo absoluto en relación con el hombre, a partir del hombre piensa en sus dilemas éticos. Por eso más que una ética y una metafísica vemos en el núcleo de su obra una antropología. Hacer de toda su literatura un desafío a lo inauténtico,

sostener que la autenticidad – la existencia humana plena – se realiza en un éxodo permanente, o sea en la búsqueda, en la creación infatigable, y en una relación honesta y profunda con los otros es más que indicar una ruta que formular una ética; es contestar a la pregunta por el ser del hombre. [...] Cortázar sabe que si el hombre no tiene la existencia legitimada *a priori*, la literatura – obra humana – no se libra de ese carácter contingente. No es posible vivir verdaderamente sin preguntarse en qué consiste, no se puede escribir sin interrogarse sobre el ser de la literatura.'

FN224: 'un cauce nuevo interdisciplinario, donde la confluencia de literatura y filosofía de la cultura engendran un híbrido – la antropología poética –, variante de la crítica literaria'

FN225: 'García Canclini intuyó derroteros comunes entre sus inclinaciones personales y los fundamentos antropoculturales de la narrativa de Cortázar y se aplicó, al margen de sus obligaciones docentes, a ensayar la crítica literaria sobre la creación cortazariana desde el ángulo de enfoque de sus inquietudes de profesor de filosofía y de estudioso de cuestiones antropológicas.'

FN226: 'posibilidad latinoamericana de hacer una teoría auténticamente situada respecto de la cultura'

FN227: 'el primer esfuerzo sistemático por acercarse a este texto desde un horizonte antropológico interdisciplinario'

FN228: 'desde lo simbólico que el hombre debe ser elaborado o más bien reelaborado, reconstruido'

FN231: 'a redefinir la noción de objetividad, sus relaciones con lo subjetivo, y la manera de articularse la estructura y la significación en los diversos niveles del comportamiento humano'

FN232: 'dependencia tan estrecha de la filosofía respecto del material empírico y teórico de las ciencias'

FN233: 'el conocimiento estructural de la realidad, si bien superior a todo empirismo causalista, depende de las experiencias vividas que son nuestra relación originaria con el mundo'

FN234: 'se controlaron todos los ámbitos del quehacer del país desmantelando el aparato cultural'

FN235: 'o terror, os desaparecimentos, os homicídios tinham chegado a se converter em costume, um modo diário de "fazer política", de viver'

FN236: 'reorganizar todos os espaços, da moral familiar às instituições políticas, de comunicação ou acadêmicas'

FN238: 'las dos instituciones que más contribuyeron a unir la modernización económica con el trabajo científico en ciencias sociales'

FN240: 'provincianismo cosmopolita, uma concepção municipal da história'

FN242: 'las experiencias de arte popular realizadas en América Latina en los últimos años'

FN244: 'relaciones de la práctica artística con la base económica'

FN245: 'nuevas tendencias artísticas'

FN246: 'otros sistemas de signos'

FN247: 'deja de concebirse, entonces, sólo como un campo diferenciado de actividad social y pasa a ser también un modo de practicar la cultura.'

FN248: 'la característica básica de la cultura dominante es entregar una imagen falsa, impracticable y sustitutiva de las relaciones sociales'

FN249: 'Y lo que a su vez distingue al arte de otros modos de transformación, es que busca cambiar la realidad – al menos desde las vanguardias del siglo XIX – en parte para participar en la marcha de la historia y en parte por el simple placer de la invención.'

FN253: 'el sistema sociocultural en el que me formé, la clase a la que pertenezco'

FN254: 'arte de liberación'

FN257: 'arte de liberación necesita una estética que no lo contradiga'

FN258: 'transferencia al pueblo de los medios para producirlo y gozarlo'

FN260: 'Lo que justifica a la plástica, lo que la vuelve una actividad necesaria es, en un país socialista, la constitución de un nuevo espacio visual en el que pueda crecer la vida liberada; en un proceso de liberación, generar imágenes que ayuden a la identificación y el avance de la conciencia política.'

FN261: 'políticas culturales efectivamente populares'

FN262: '¿cómo se puede lograr un trabajo efectivo y continuado en países en los que las dificultades económicas, además de obstruir una política cultural democrática y progresista, acentúan cada vez más el arcaísmo ideológico y la represión política?'

FN263: 'la autonomía del arte, el subjetivismo de los artistas y el desinterés del público'

FN264: 'la concepción más generalizada entre los artistas y los historiadores acerca de la crisis de su tarea: la que insiste en considerarla absolutamente autónoma y cree que la

mejor <<política>> cultural es la que deja librada la función social de los artistas a la iniciativa de cada <<subjetividad>>.'

FN265: 'Luego, el segundo período de mi formación se hizo en México cuando comencé a trabajar con Antropología. Yo había hecho en Argentina ya cierto trabajo de campo, pero, mas bién, a través de entrevistas y en lo que podemos llamar Sociología del arte. El resultado fue el libro *La producción simbólica*, que comenzó siendo una investigación sobre las relaciones entre vanguardias artísticas, desarrollo económico en la Argentina en los años 60, especialmente el Instituto Di Tella. Luego, al venir a México, completé la escritura de este libro. [...]'

FN266: 'correlación entre desarrollo socioeconómico y vanguardias artísticas en la Argentina durante el período 1960–1970'

FN268: 'crecer económicamente mediante un desarrollo económicamente autónomo, que en realidad era un nuevo modo de integración de los capitales nacionales en la etapa monopólica del intercambio capitalista'

FN269: 'concepciones distintas sobre la función de las obras de arte (ambientaciones, arte ecológico) y nuevas actitudes hacia los materiales'

FN270: 'una correlación orgánica entre las posiciones económicas desarrollistas y la ideología estética de las vanguardias, entre el desarrollo industrial y la creación de mejores condiciones materiales y culturales para la experimentación artística'

FN271: 'son sobre todo las vanguardias contemporáneas las que quieren hacer del arte un lugar para inventarnos, para ensayar formas aún impensadas de nuestra existencia.'

FN272: 'pensar, junto con lo real, sus transformaciones imprevistas'

FN273: 'se cultiva la utopía, lo irreal, lo aún no real, con mayor constancia'

FN274: 'conocimiento sociológico del arte'

FN289: 'sujeción mercantil'

FN290: 'La posibilidad de *diferenciar* metodológicamente lo real y lo ideal no debe inducirnos a *disociarlos* ontológicamente.'

FN291: 'reflexión ontológica segregada del saber social'

FN292: 'Sabemos gracias a la sociología y la antropología que no hay propiedades inalterables en los fenómenos simbólicos, ni facultades permanentes de una supuesta naturaleza humana, que el campo simbólico se forma en el sistema de relaciones de producción, circulación y consumo de cada sociedad.'

FN295: 'a) de una sociedad con una historia corta y descuidada a otra con una historia densa que emerge por todas partes; b) de una sociedad con pretensiones de ser

enteramente occidental, blanca y homogénea a una nación multiétnica; c) finalmente, me ocuparé de una confrontación difícil de tratar, de la que hablamos bastante los extranjeros en México, pero sobre la cual no se ha escrito casi nada: lo que pensamos y sentimos sobre los diversos modos de situarse en los conflictos. [...] Más aún si, como fue mi caso, uno se vuelve antropólogo y se interna en territorios purépechas para hacer trabajo de campo y acompaña a los alumnos a las sierras de Oaxaca y Chiapas, a los territorios de la hibridación en la frontera con Estados Unidos.'

FN301: 'organismo descentralizado y autónomo'

FN306: 'Artículo 33. Son personas extranjeras las que no posean las calidades determinadas en el artículo 30 constitucional y gozarán de los derechos humanos y garantías que reconoce esta Constitución. [...] El Ejecutivo de la Unión, previa audiencia, podrá expulsar del territorio nacional a personas extranjeras con fundamento en la ley, la cual regulará el procedimiento administrativo, así como el lugar y tiempo que dure la detención. [...] Los extranjeros no podrán de ninguna manera inmiscuirse en los asuntos políticos del país.'

FN308: 'susceptible de enmiendas democráticas'

FN309: 'su control era absoluto'

FN310: 'el poder totalizador'

FN311: 'el culto a la impunidad'

FN314: '[...] Yo tenía cierta formación teórica de antropología, había dictado la materia *Antropología Filosófica* en la Universidad de la Plata, pero no tenía una experiencia de trabajo de campo. Mi primera experiencia de campo fue en México cuando realicé una investigación en la Escuela de Antropología y viajé con los alumnos a Michoacán para estudiar las transformaciones de las artesanías y las fiestas populares, de lo cual surgió luego el libro *Las culturas populares en el capitalismo*. Pero aquí estudié antropología en otro sentido. Dicté cursos de antropología de la cultura, sobre todo, leí autores que nunca había conocido, tanto de la bibliografía internacional como especialmente de la enorme producción de la antropología mexicana. Y, entonces, ese fue, en cierto modo, un tercer período de mi formación. El primero fue en Argentina, el segundo en París, y el tercero aquí en México, y en disciplinas diferentes. Inclusive en México, o desde México, me abrí más a estudios de comunicación, de política cultural, que me llevó a interrelacionar antropología, sociología y estudios de comunicación.'

FN318: 'el producto campesino que se incorpora al mercado capitalista se transforma en una mercancía indiferenciable del resto de las mercancías capitalistas y por tanto marcada como ellas por su precio de producción.'

FN341: 'otras interacciones culturales, especialmente los procesos de consumo y las formas de comunicación y organización propias de los sectores populares'

FN342: 'Lo veo un poco distinto, sobre todo por la manera en que llegué a plantearme las preguntas sobre el consumo, tenían que ver con preguntas antropológicas porque yo empecé a preocuparme por las políticas culturales, cómo se construía la oferta cultural en México, cómo se establecían formas de selección, de discriminación, de dife-renciación y desigualdad, cómo se construía la distinción simbólica en términos de Bourdieu, a través de políticas culturales, pero no encontramos material que me dijera qué pasaba en la recepción de esas políticas culturales, en el consumo propiamente o en las políticas de apropiación y recepción como diríamos más bien hoy; entonces, ¿qué le sucedía a la gente cuando recibía las políticas culturales o cuando era indiferente a las políticas culturales y las acciones mediáticas?'

FN349: 'luta de classes'

FN350: 'questionamento da ordem vigente'

FN351: 'organização monopólica da economia'

FN352: 'desenvolvimento internacional do capital'

FN353: 'subordinação à ordem maior encabeçada pelas metrópoles'

FN354: 'É fundamental que esta concepção dinâmica, histórica, embasadora da cultura, guie a construção de políticas populares. Porque os Estados, nos melhores casos, preocupam-se em *resgatar* a cultura do povo, para consagrá-la em museus e livros luxuosos; os meios de massa dedicam-se a *difundir* a cultura de elites, entre as classes populares, ou a manipular os interesses e gostos do povo, para adequá-los a seus propósitos lucrativos. Somente as organizações populares podem *socializar* os meios de produção cultural, não resgatar, mas *reivindicar* o próprio, não difundir a cultura de elites, mas *apropriar-se criticamente* do melhor dela para seus objetivos.'

FN355: 'a arte de Nova York se parece com a de Lima, com a de Buenos Aires, com a de Tóquio'

CHAPTER 3

FN371: 'un papel crucial al poner en movimiento (y hacer visibles las contradicciones) la idea de la cultura como un área de intervención en las transformaciones sociales';

'está particularmente ubicada en la encrucijada entre transformaciones teóricas y cambios en el espacio público'; 'la tensión en los modos de definir la noción misma de política cultural se traduce en luchas concretas en la esfera pública'

FN372: 'la posibilidad de experimentar la ciudad en conjunto'; 'una megalópolis vista en conjunto'; 'la imagen de conjunto'; 'una visión de conjunto'

FN379: 'las casi siete décadas de continuidad institucional en México'

FN380: 'proyecto democratizador, distributivo y pluralista del proceso político mexicano anterior al avance monetarista'

FN382: 'las tensiones entre la ortodoxia monetarista y los planteos industrialistas'

FN383: 'el Estado postrevolucionario desarrolló una política cultural que logró parcialmente combinar la cultura de élite y la popular, la nacional y la local, la modernidad y las tradiciones'

FN384: 'en la perspectiva del Estado, aumentar la riqueza significaba la oportunidad de mejorar el nivel de vida de la población, incorporar a las clases medias al mercado, a la educación y a la política nacional'

FN387: 'conversación intercultural'

FN388: 'Los políticos suelen dar por supuesto que la sociedad tiene problemas más apremiantes, sobre todo en tiempos de austeridad'

FN390: 'enfoque clásico de los estudios humanísticos sobre la cultura'

FN391: 'necesidades efectivas de las clases populares'

FN395: 'los argentinos más que por "lo argentino"'

FN396: 'neblinoso mundo del espíritu'

FN397: 'los procesos macrosociales y la estructura compleja del desarrollo nacional'

FN398: 'reducir el patrimonio a algo que hay que conservar, monumentalizar y museificar; por eso, su campo parece el de los restauradores, arqueólogos y museólogos, o sea los especialistas en el pasado'

FN399: 'mezcla de una modernidad trunca con tradiciones heterogéneas'

FN400: 'definición arcaizante'

FN403: 'quienes la reciben'

FN404: 'los usuarios'

FN405: 'el público de los museos y sitios arqueológicos, los habitantes de centros históricos, los receptores de programas educativos y de difusión'

FN406: 'la fluida comunicación y los consiguientes procesos de hibridación en que ahora se constituyen los gustos y los comportamientos'

FN407: 'en otro registro, multifocal e híbrido'

FN443: 'las políticas neoliberales tienden a acentuar la mercantilización de los bienes culturales'

FN446: 'a cultura – feita em série, industrialmente, para o grande número – passa a ser vista não como instrumento de livre expressão, crítica e conhecimento, mas como produto trocável por dinheiro e que deve ser consumido como se consome qualquer outra coisa.'

FN456: 'conjunto de procesos socioculturales en que se realiza la apropiación de bienes y mensajes'

FN470: 'se promueve un mayor comercio entre los países de América Latina y de éstos con las metrópolis, cuando estos países producen menos libros, menos películas y menos discos.'

FN478: 'la intervención empresarial y la transnacionalización están ocurriendo más en las comunicaciones masivas y en la informática (desde antes de las privatizaciones) que en los territorios del patrimonio y de las artes cultas, casi los únicos que los Estados consideran de su competencia.'

FN479: 'una historia más o menos común en América Latina, que nos habilita para hablar de un *espacio cultural latinoamericano* en el que coexisten muchas identidades.'

FN480: 'Lo indígena, lo afroamericano, lo europeo, la latinidad, la tropicalidad, etc., a veces convergen y en otros casos se distancian.'

FN482: 'el mundo en este siglo no se constituirá en torno a lo geopolítico ni a lo geoeconómico, sino principalmente en torno a lo geocultural'

FN483: 'mundos políticos'

FN484: 'mundos geoeconómicos'

FN485: 'mundos geoculturales'

FN487: 'un proceso, a la vez, virtual y real, material e intangible, territorial y extraterritorial'

FN488: 'incluye lo físico territorial y lo no territorial incluyendo lo comunicacional y lo virtual'

FN494: 'Não pretendemos que a cultura resolva o que a economia não consegue.'

FN495: 'las tecnologías son sólo la base material e instrumental de la comunicación'

FN507: 'promessas do cosmopolitismo global e a perda dos projetos nacionais'

FN511: 'cultura internacional-popular'

FN512: 'la configuración de sociedades en las que las dinámicas de la economía y la cultura-mundo movilizan no sólo la heterogeneidad de los grupos y su readecuación a las presiones de lo global, sino también la coexistencia al interior de una misma sociedad de códigos y relatos muy diversos.'

FN513: 'Ambos términos implican dos modos de producción de lo social: *multiculturalidad* supone aceptación de lo heterogéneo; *interculturalidad* implica que los diferentes se encuentran en un mismo mundo y deben convivir en relaciones de negociación, conflicto y préstamos recíprocos.'

FN514: 'o objeto de estudo mais revelador, mais questionador das pseudocertezas etnocêntricas ou disciplinares é a interculturalidade'

FN516: 'os esforços para redefinir a antropologia passam por uma revisão teórico-prática das noções de alteridade, diferença, desigualdade, desconexão e, em síntese, do conceito de interculturalidade'

FN517: 'a prova empírica é insuficiente para resolver as incertezas teóricas'

FN519: 'comienzan a reconocerse procesos de interculturalidad entre sistemas económicos, en los negocios globalizados, en las comunicaciones mediáticas y en las relaciones políticas internacionales'

FN520: 'hace pensar que *la interculturalidad* requiere hoy políticas de convivencia, ciudadanía y derechos humanos a escala transnacional, políticas capaces de gestionar los conflictos, las remesas económicas y simbólicas que van de un país a otro.'

FN521: 'productores culturales, migrantes y deudores'

FN522: 'en vez de captar una identidad latinoamericana autocontenida, queremos averiguar cómo se entrecruzan los nuevos y viejos procesos'

FN526: 'refuncionalización simbólica'

FN527: 'seguirán nuestras políticas culturales consagradas a los caminos de tierra o entrarán a la cultura pavimentada, a las autopistas internacionales de la comunicación'

FN533: 'entre el lenguaje de las ciencias sociales, o sea el de los conceptos y el método, y el del ensayo, la narración y la metáfora'

FN534: 'deseo de alcanzar cierta persuasión, atractivo y elegancia en la comunicación'

FN537: 'una tradición larga de presencia de los intelectuales en la esfera pública'; 'una circulación fluida entre la academia y el periodismo, y en algunos casos con medios audiovisuales como la radio y la televisión.'

FN539: '*lo público es el lugar imaginario donde quisiéramos conjurar o controlar el riesgo de que todo esté permitido.*'

FN540: 'necesitamos ocupar este sitio donde Dios está ausente, donde lo que queda de la familia y del Estado-nación no son suficientes para establecer reglas de convivencia.'

FN541: 'el espacio que nos permite encontrarnos con los otros sin destruirnos'

FN548: 'consumos masivos'

FN549: 'redes supranacionales'

FN554: 'La dimensión multinacional de problemas como la contaminación ambiental, el tráfico de drogas y las innovaciones tecnológicas y culturales, requieren que los ciudadanos posean información que trascienda los espacios locales o nacionales.'

FN555: 'las políticas culturales deben coordinar acciones adecuadas a lo que podemos llamar *la esfera pública supranacional*.'

FN556: 'atribuciones vinculantes'

FN557: 'derecho comunitario'

FN561: 'utopía necesaria'

FN564: 'esfera pública mundial'

CHAPTER 4

FN571: 'la tendencia a mercantilizar la producción cultural, masificar el arte y la literatura y ofrecer los bienes culturales por varios soportes a la vez (por ejemplo, el cine no sólo en salas sino en televisión y vídeo), quita autonomía a los campos culturales'

FN576: 'escenas, entornos y circuitos'

FN582: 'cómo combinar el valor mercantil con el valor simbólico que tales bienes y mensajes tienen como representativos de tradiciones comunitarias y prácticas de identificación social'

FN584: 'Ni los hábitos actuales de los lectores-espectadores-internautas, ni la fusión de empresas que antes producían por separado cada tipo de mensajes, permite ya concebir como islas separadas los textos, las imágenes y su digitalización.'

FN585: 'práticas intelectuais extra-acadêmicas'; 'práticas intelectuais em cultura e poder'; 'práticas intelectuais'; 'dissociação das práticas intelectuais acadêmicas de suas relações com as dos atores sociais extra-acadêmicos'

FN586: 'Converter os condicionamentos em oportunidades para exercer a cidadania.'

FN587: 'Uma tarefa possível dos cientistas sociais é proporcionar conhecimentos sobre a diversidade e a unidade da região, que contribuam para a tomada de decisões.'

FN592: 'Aún sin salir de las epistemologías occidentales, los estudios de sociología de la ciencia han mostrado que los científicos conocemos lo real no tal como es en sí mismo, ni informamos de los resultados en un lenguaje unívoco y transparente'

FN593: 'nuestros procedimientos de investigación y el lenguaje en que la comunicamos están inmersos en sistemas sociales, en primer lugar las competencias académicas por el reconocimiento, luego las redes – abiertas o sutiles – con el poder de los políticos, los laboratorios, los financiadores, las industrias y otros actores extracientíficos.'

FN594: 'también hay que tomar en cuenta que los investigadores de América Latina combinamos nuestra pertenencia universitaria con el periodismo, la militancia política y social, o la asesoría a organismos estatales, todo lo cual posibilita relaciones más móviles con los campos del saber y de la acción.'

FN597: 'Después de vender petróleo, energía, bancos, teléfonos, aerolíneas, ¿con qué recursos reconstruir lo que el asalto neoliberal vació?'

FN600: 'elemento de pressão no processo de institucionalização da gestão cultural no plano interno dos Estados.'

FN612: 'Talvez os assuntos da diversidade, do desenvolvimento e dos direitos humanos possam soar atrativos para as novas gerações se formos capazes de imaginar a cultura como algo mais do que um portfólio comercial do Google, de cinco ou seis editoras e de duas ou três gravadoras, interrompidos pelo surgimento de vídeos clandestinos nas telas do YouTube.'

FN619: 'lugar institucional y orgánico'

FN623: 'El nuevo papel de los Estados y de los organismos internacionales (UNESCO, OEA, SELA, ALADI, etc.) consistiría en reconstruir el espacio público, entendido como colectivo y multicultural'

FN624: 'los diversos agentes culturales (los propios Estados, las empresas y los grupos independientes) negocien acuerdos que desarrollen los intereses públicos y la convivencia pluricultural.'

FN625: 'la pobreza de sus aspiraciones'

FN626: 'el excesivo protagonismo de los Estados'

FN631: 'dispuestas a participar en planes públicos de promoción de la cultura y apoyo a la creación y a la investigación'

FN636: 'instâncias transnacionais e deslocalizadas'

FN638: 'nuevas estructuras institucionales complejas o pesadas'

FN639: 'excedentes presupuestarios'

FN640: 'a) Crear el Sistema Latinoamericano de Información Cultural. Su principal función sería reunir estadísticas confiables de todos los países de la región, que registren el desarrollo y las tendencias de las inversiones culturales (estatales y privadas), de los consumos (especialmente de industrias culturales) y de las percepciones interculturales (imágenes de los otros países de la región y del espacio euroamericano y norteamericano). [...] b) Promover la creación de dispositivos que articulen a los sectores estatal, privado y asociativo. Uno de sus objetivos será facilitar la coordinación de las inversiones de cada sector sobre la base de los diagnósticos de las necesidades socioculturales de la población. Estos diagnósticos correlacionarán la información sobre los consumos, los equipamientos culturales y las inversiones disponibles o potenciales para expandir la producción cultural endógena. c) Promover estudios que permitan valorar el papel de las industrias culturales en el desarrollo a partir de una estimación cuantitativa de su contribución al empleo, a las exportaciones y a otras áreas del desarrollo socioeconómico, así como una valoración cualitativa de su aporte a la formación de una ciudadanía nacional y latinoamericana. d) Realizar estudios comparativos de los mecanismos de financiamiento de la cultura en los países latinoamericanos, en los Estados Unidos, Canadá y Europa, con el fin de dar a conocer las modalidades más idóneas para fomentar la complementación de recursos públicos y privados. [...] e) Promover la creación de consejos nacionales de industrias culturales, en los que participen especialistas de cada sector, de las empresas, de las universidades, del sector público y de movimientos sociales, con la finalidad de regular el funcionamiento de tales industrias.'

FN642: 'órgano administrativo desconcentrado de la Secretaría de Educación Pública'

FN645: 'defensor del lector o del espectador'

FN646: 'defensor del televidente'

FN662: 'militancia académica y cultural'

FN669: 'la creación del Consejo, y la definición y articulación de sus acciones y programas, reflejó la voluntad de que las instituciones culturales no quedaran relegadas en el esfuerzo por modernizar al país.'

FN670: 'No sólo era necesario dar unidad a la política cultural, sino también atender el rezago que venía cuestionando la eficacia de muchas de nuestras principales instituciones de cultura y de reorientar su gestión.'

FN691: 'Parte de nuestra tarea como investigadores en estos años ha sido intentar asesorías y seminarios con organismos de gestión: hemos realizado estudios sobre

públicos, consumos y políticas culturales para el gobierno del Distrito Federal, para el Instituto Mexicano de Cine y para el Conaculta; expusimos los resultados en reuniones académicas y también en seminarios con funcionarios del Conaculta, de la Secretaría de Cultura del gobierno y de delegaciones de la ciudad. [...] Sabemos que otros grupos de investigación han encontrado dificultades semejantes para que se incorporen los diagnósticos y las propuestas a las políticas públicas. Sin duda, hay sesgos en nuestro trabajo académico y deficiencias de comunicación al insertarnos en el campo político, que dificultan el pasaje de las investigaciones a la acción.'

FN705: 'académica y cultural'

FN712: 'una importante reducción de los recursos destinados a la educación y la cultura'

FN715: 'indispensable debatir sobre temas como los hábitos de lectura, el consumo cultural y la situación de las lenguas indígenas'

FN726: 'la situación de los órganos reguladores, los medios públicos y comunitarios, la programación y los derechos del público, así como la concentración y la competencia en el mercado de medios'

FN739: 'el arte es el lugar de la inminencia. Su atractivo procede, en parte, de que anuncia algo que puede suceder, promete el sentido y lo modifica con insinuaciones. No compromete fatalmente con hechos duros. Deja lo que dice en suspenso.'

APPENDIX III

Style Guide

My Style Guide followed the recommendations from the Modern Humanities Research Association (MHRA) and established certain guidelines such as the uses of punctuations and word preferences. This was deemed necessary to achieve its objective of being as consistent as possible (with explained variations with abbreviations, capitals, hyphens, italics and references), appropriate for this work and suitable for its context. A combination of the above methods provided my work with coherence of style because one specific guideline did not cover all points and was not suitable for everything. The sections below are not exhaustive but do show key points; similarly, the examples in parentheses do not cover everything.

ABBREVIATIONS

- <u>Editor</u> is abbreviated as <u>Ed.</u> and <u>Editors</u> as <u>Eds.</u> Furthermore, the bracketing format (Ed.) or (Eds.) appears before the title of publications for which one or more authors respectively served as editors. So the bracketing format [Ed.] or [Eds.] is not used.

- The term <u>e.g.</u> is used in brackets within the flow of the text to provide a few examples from the thesis (e.g. satellite accounts of culture; e.g. Antônio Albino Rubim, Manuel Antonio Garretón and Rubens Bayardo) while <u>for example</u> is used within the main text (from a scholar's activities, for example by having a direct and deliberate participation). However, the term e.g. will be avoided in this Style Guide due to the risk of being repetitive of such term for the excess of examples that this guide provides the reader.

- <u>et al.</u> (et alia) means 'and others' and is used to avoid naming a long list of authors. (ARIZPE, Lourdes [et al.]. *Diálogos, enfoques compartidos*)

- <u>FN</u> is the abbreviation for footnote in the Appendix II ('Quotations in other languages'). The number of the footnote follows FN.

- <u>Ibid.</u> and <u>op. cit.</u> appear in footnotes only. <u>Ibid.</u> (*ibidem* = in the same work) refers to the same author and the same source of the immediately preceding footnote, which could be on a different page or even a different paragraph. In turn, <u>op. cit.</u> (*opere citato* or *opus citatum* = the work cited) refers to a recent citation of an author and the same source, but that has at least one other different

citation between this one and the earlier one to which it refers. There is no use of the term id. (*idem*) in this thesis.

- The abbreviation n.d. (no date) has been used wherever I do not have the publication date (MINISTÈRE de la Culture et de la Communication. *Le Ministère*, n.d.).

- NGC is an abbreviation for Néstor García Canclini in Appendix I.

- The word page is abbreviated as p. in the singular and pp. in the plural.

- In a few cases, the term para. (abbreviation for paragraph) has been used to refer to the number of the paragraph when the page number has not been given in a publication, which sometimes happens in digital sources (para. 11 from section 'Gramsci in the 1990s'; para. 4 of the section 'Refutación del empirismo en la psicología').

- The abbreviation TBM, which appears at the end of footnotes, means Translated by me. Appendix II contains the original quotations in other languages that I have translated.

- Volume and Number are abbreviated respectively as v. and n.

ARTICLES

- The word arts has been written usually with the definite article the before it (cultural topics through policies for the arts) and in reference to the broader field of the arts. On a few occasions, art has been written in the singular without an article (the social function of art has changed). Although art in the singular can be a specific discipline within the arts, this variation in style is rather based on a syntactic choice for the flow of reading.

- Uses of article a historical (art is a historical player in the transformation of social relations) instead of an historical, except when it refers to a quotation from an English version (in an historical relationship with the men who modify it).

- Standard use of definite article the before cultural industries (ascribing to the cultural industries a decisive role; the need to create cultural statistics and to promote the cultural industries), although exceptions have been made whenever the absence of definite article the is more suitable in the phrase (for the growth of Latin America´s cultural industries; and promoting its cultural industries at home and abroad). The expression cultural industry in singular is not preceded

by definite article <u>the</u> (and, later, cultural industry; coined the term cultural industry).

- Preference for <u>the</u> market with the definite article <u>the</u> instead of markets in the plural (in favour of the market and of the ideologies of privatisation; international disputes over the market). Although the market stands for a multiplicity of actual or nominal places, I refer to this concept as a collective singular using the definite article to convey the idea of the general economic exchanges of goods and services.

- Uses of the definite article <u>the</u> before state (globalisation dissipates the national and diminishes the size of the state; the state has a pivotal role to play).

- Uses of the definite article <u>the</u> before United States (the United States) and United Kingdom (the United Kingdom).

- Uses of the definite article <u>the</u> between the preposition <u>at</u> and the names of universities (García Canclini had conducted some research at the University of Buenos Aires; at the University of La Plata), except when I refer to the abbreviated names of the institutions (at ENAH; at UNAM). A similar rule applies to the preposition <u>to</u> when referring to the names of universities as in the example: 'he was admitted on 1 October 1976 to the National School of Anthropology and History'.

- The definite article <u>the</u> is used before the word <u>West</u> when this comes with an initial capital to refer to the countries of this hemisphere (England and France created a homogenising tendency in the development of capitalism in the West).

- Use of definite article <u>the</u> before <u>popular classes</u> (cultural policy for the liberation of the popular classes) and <u>the majority of people</u> (the promotion of the majority of people in globalisation), but not before <u>underprivileged people</u> (conditions which are experienced by underprivileged people).

BOLD TYPE

- Titles of chapters (**A conceptual background to culture and cultural policy**; **From philosophy at home to anthropology in exile**) and sections (**An approach to intellectuals, culture and cultural policy**; **Key historical issues of cultural policy in Latin America**) when they are the actual chapter or section but not when they are referred to in the body of text or as a reference to these. As noted in the section QUOTES (SINGLE) of this Style Guide, when I

refer to chapters and sections in the body of text they will also have single quotes around them (as well as not being in bold) (one example of this can be seen in the following sentence in chapter 2: The section 'Educational and political contexts in Mexico for the exiles' will give attention to this).

- Titles of academic journals (**Diálogos de la Comunicación**; **Novos Estudos Cebrap**; **Nueva Sociedad**) and newspapers (**El Universal**; **La Jornada Semanal**; **Reforma**) are in bold only in footnotes and the Bibliography. Otherwise (i.e. in the body of text), I use only initial capitals to indicate these (a protest letter in the newspaper El Universal; in Mexico in an op-ed article he published in Reforma).

CAPITALS (FULL)

- o Acronyms (CEPAL; CONACULTA; ENAH; SELA; UAM; UNESCO).
- o Surname of authors in bibliography and footnotes (GARCÍA CANCLINI, Néstor; GARRETÓN, Manuel Antonio; BOURDIEU, Pierre.).
- o The word <u>chapter</u> when it is part of the title (CHAPTER 1; CHAPTER 2).
- o <u>NGC</u> (Néstor García Canclini) as it appears in Appendix I.

CAPITALS (INITIAL)

- The first word and proper nouns of titles of books (*Arte popular y sociedad en América Latina*; *La globalización imaginada*) and all other academic publications (*Unequal partners*) and non-academic publications (*Conferencia Intergubernamental sobre Políticas Culturales en América Latina y el Caribe*; *Políticas culturales e integración*).

- The first word of subtitles following a colon (*Ciudadanos mediáticos: La construcción de lo público en la radio*; *Los nuevos espectadores: Cine, televisión y video en México*).

- The first letter of each of the main words in the name of reports (*Intergovernmental Conference on Institutional, Administrative and Financial Aspects of Cultural Policies*) and non-academic Projects (Los Estudios Culturales: Elaboración Intelectual del Intercambio México–Estados Unidos; Pensar Iberoamérica: Las Culturas Iberoamericanas en el Siglo XXI; Ponto de Cultura).

- The main words of study groups and diverse institutions both when in English (Urban Culture Study Programme; Mexican Philosophical Association) and in other languages (Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales; Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia; Facultad de Filosofía y Letras; Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana).

- First letter of adjectives, nouns and verbs when referring to academic meetings (Encuentro Nacional por la Diversidad y la Calidad en los Medios de Comunicación; La Creatividad Redistribuida), colloquia (A Invenção da Cidade na América Latina), conferences (Globalización y Gestión Cultural), debates (Extranjerías y Otros Extrañamientos; Gestión de Políticas Culturales y su Relación con el Desarrollo Económico y Social; La Ciudad a Debate), formal statements of planned new laws (Ley de Fomento y Difusión de la Cultura), forums (Reforma de Medios: Un Debate Abierto; Foro Identidad y Cultura: Hacia una Política Cultural de Estado), panels (Educación Superior y Posgrado; Por Qué Legislar El Cine, La Televisión y La Música), research groups (Urban Culture Study Programme), seminar sessions (Improving Research for Cultural Policy [France]; Odio, Violencia y Emancipación; Prueba de Voz: Redistribuir Cultura, los Motivos de Un Encuentro) and symposia (La Cultura como Base de Nuevas Estrategias de Desarrollo).

- The first letter of the first word in titles of subjects and seminars (*Philosophy of history*; *Theories of discourse*; *Epistemology of the social sciences*). The first letter of the first word in subtitles is also capitalised (*The creative industries: Culture and policy*; Argentinos en México: Una visión antropológica).

- The main words (nouns and adjectives) of academic titles, job placements and positions in any language (Director; Professor; Profesor de Filosofía; Profesor Titular de Carrera; Full-time Lecturer and Researcher).

- Areas of knowledge (Medicine and Health Sciences; Humanities and Sciences of Behaviour).

- Proper nouns (including titles of newspapers and publishers) which are written in English and also in languages other than English start with initial capitals but are not written in italics (Editorial Gedisa; El País; El Universal; La Jornada).

- The word chapter is not written with initial capital (I argued in chapter 1 that the French cultural policy model) except when it is the first word of a paragraph or of a sentence preceded by full stop (CHAPTER 1, as the main title at the start of

chapter 1 and the same applies to all other chapters; Chapter 2 traces García Canclini's academic and conceptual developments; Chapter 3 analyses these developments in relation to).

- The word <u>Faculty</u> is always written with initial capital when it refers to an institution (Faculty of Humanities; Faculty of Philosophy and Literature) while the word <u>faculty</u> (all lower case) addresses an ability to do something. <u>Faculty</u> is also written with initial capital even in the cases it refers to one of these academic institutions generally.

- The words <u>president</u> and <u>presidency</u> are without an initial capital letter. So, instead of President and Presidency, this work has used <u>president</u> (emerged rapidly as president by the force of the media; the French president Charles de Gaulle) and <u>presidency</u> (the candidature to Mexico´s presidency of Marcelo Ebrard). An exception to this is when the word Presidency refers to any specific institution (Presidency of the Republic; Presidencia de la Nación) or programme of government (LULA Presidente).

- Uses of <u>Western</u> with an initial capital instead of <u>western</u> when it refers to a group of countries in this specific hemisphere (but especially North America and Western Europe; most of the Western European countries). The same specific usage applies to the word <u>West</u> instead of <u>west</u> (the development of capitalism in the West).

HYPHEN

o Usage to avoid misreadings, in some cases, and to comply with United Kingdom spelling, in other cases. There is a long list of examples that are pertinent to this point: bi-national; co-exist; co-operation; co-ordinate; counter-hegemony; macro-social; mass-media; multi-ethnic; multi-focal; non-academic; non-governmental; non-hegemonic; non-professionals; pre-eminence; re-constructing; re-democratisation; re-definition; re-formulated; re-orientation; well-qualified). However, some words do not need a hyphen because such use has been accepted without this punctuation in the English language (interdependence; macroeconomic; nonexistent; prerequisite; reconstruction; redirect; renegotiate; reorganise; socioeconomic). Exceptions might appear in quotations, which are kept as in the original (the horizontal coexistence of a number of).

o The word <u>Iberian American</u> has been written in three different ways in different languages: English: <u>Iberian American</u>; Portuguese: <u>Ibero-Americano</u>; Spanish: <u>Iberoamericano</u>. The Portuguese version is the only one that is written with a hyphen. The same happens with the words <u>Latin American</u>, <u>latino-americano</u> and <u>latinoamericano</u> respectively in English, Portuguese and Spanish.

o Uses of the expressions <u>policy-maker</u> (Cultural policy-makers are often unaware of) and <u>policy-making</u> (García Canclini´s intellectually-oriented policy-making) instead of <u>policymaker</u> and <u>policymaking</u> without a hyphen.

o No use of the hyphen in the expression <u>import substitution industrialisation</u> because this is a standard expression referring to Latin America´s economics (that of favouring an import substitution industrialisation in order to balance the terms of trade).

o After the prefix <u>extra-</u> (extra-academic; extra-budgetary).

ITALICS

• Titles and subtitles of books (*Arte popular y sociedad en América Latina*; *Reopening public spaces: Cultural policies and citizenship*), articles in academic journals when they are mentioned in the body of text (*Políticas culturais na América Latina*; *¿Por qué legislar sobre industrias culturales?*), newspaper articles (*Legislar la cultura*; *Prevalece la incertidumbre*), documents in general (*The power of culture for development*; *Study for Theme 1*), reports (*In from the margins*; *Preparatory papers*) and theses (*Néstor García Canclini y la interpretación de América Latina*).

• Titles of courses (*Gestión en cultura y comunicación*), subjects understood as academic courses or modules (*Historia de la filosofía contemporánea*; *Filosofía de la religión*), lectures (*Formas actuales de la hibridación en las artes y en la literatura*), letters (*Cambiemos el rumbo de México con Marcelo Ebrard*), research areas (*Methodology of the social sciences*), research projects (*Handicrafts and popular celebrations in Mexico*; *Multiculturalidad y modernidad en Coyoacán*; *Policies and economy*; *Políticas culturales y consumo cultural en la Ciudad de México*), research sub-projects (*Urban cultures in Latin America and Spain from their social imaginaries*), research workshops (*Handicrafts and social classes in Mexico*; *The construction of scientific models for the analysis of art: A especial study of the psychoanalytic*

model) and seminars (*Urban cultures: Knowledge and policies*; *Theories of discourse*) written in any language.

- Single terms and phrases written in languages other than English when they are not a quotation and do not have initial capital letter (*artesanías*; *bachiller*; *campo simbólico*; *concurso*; *coups d`ètat*; *danzas*; *desarrollismo*; *estados*; *fiestas*; *imaginarios*; *liberación*; *licenciatura*; *migrante epistemológico*; *monetarismo*; *pueblo*; *relato*; *videocultura*; *visión de conjunto*). None of these words has been used so much that it has become part of common language use in English (as happens with debut).

- Neologisms in any language (*Argenmex*; *videocultura*).

QUOTES (DOUBLE)

o To stress or quote something in single quotes, the opposite quoting method (i.e double quotes) is employed ('the uses of the words "culture" and "civilization" overlapped'; 'to describe a general process of human development, of becoming "cultivated" or "civilized".'; 'terror, disappearances and homicides had become a habit, a daily mode of "doing politics", of living'). The words civilisation and civilised are written in this bullet with z because they are quotations taken from a United States´s publisher.

QUOTES (SINGLE)

- For quotations. Every quote is followed by a number which refers to a footnote.

- For references in paragraphs of titles of book chapters ('Definition of the popular: Romanticism, positivism, and the Gramscian tendency'; 'The real basis of ideology'), book essays ('Culture is ordinary'; 'Malentendidos interculturales en la frontera México–Estados Unidos'; 'Políticas culturales y sociedad civil en México') and parts of a book ('From the fine arts to the crisis of the avant-garde'; 'Proposals for a contemporary popular art').

- Whenever a final single quote appears <u>after</u> a full stop ('All cultures, however simple they might be, are structured and have coherence and meaning within themselves.'), it means that such a full stop exists in the original sentence which has been quoted. In a different way, whenever a single quote appears <u>before</u> a full stop ('García Canclini´s effort to overcome the administrative, diplomatic and legalistic vision of the way UNESCO developed, over almost ten years, its

cultural policies'.), it means that the full stop has been added to conclude the quoted sentence.

PREFERENCES

- All titles of articles, books, documents, reports, theses and names of institutions have been translated into English and the original titles in languages other than English are given in parentheses. The English translation comes before the original in the sentence. I use the following pattern to mention such works for the first time: *Latin Americans seeking a place in this century* (*Latinoamericanos buscando lugar en este siglo*, 2002); after that, I only mention the title in English.

- Some terms have been referred to collectively in the singular to convey a general meaning such as <u>communication</u>, <u>cultural policy</u>, <u>diversity</u>, <u>formulation</u>, <u>production</u>, <u>research</u>, <u>sociocultural change</u>, <u>sociopolitical change</u> and <u>work</u>. Thus, the verbs that go with these words usually are in the singular. However, some terms are intentionally written in the plural form to refer to their separate meanings such as <u>changes</u>, <u>formulations</u> and <u>works</u>.

- The expression <u>the media</u> is used as a plural and is followed by a plural verb (the media consecrate intellectuals; how the media conduct surveys about) even if it can also be read in the singular. I understand that media is plural of the word medium, so the verbs of the former should be used in the plural as well.

- The possessive form of <u>United States</u> uses a possessive apostrophe followed by an additional letter <u>s</u> (the United States´s model of consumption and cultural industries). I employ the expression <u>United States</u> as a noun and not an adjective.

- The person who is the object of study in this thesis has been referred to as <u>García Canclini</u> and not only Canclini. The reason for this is that, in the Hispanic countries, the first (that is, García) of the two surnames (García Canclini) that appear in the sequence of Néstor García Canclini is paternal and the most important, although he is widely known in academia as Canclini (which is his mother surname). This is to address his name properly and how he should be quoted in academic works.

- The first word of the first line of a paragraph – except at the beginning of a section – is indented 1.27 cm to the right to show that a new paragraph starts there.

- I standardise indents for block quotations at 0.76 cm on both the left and right sides.

- Particular uses of prepositions in this work when it refers to certain academic activities and venues (for the discipline / in the faculty / at the university). This usage has been adopted to avoid confusion because two or three of these prepositions sometimes appear in the same sentence (in the Faculty of Philosophy and Literature at UNAM).

- The use of <u>modernities</u> in the plural (the massive and the elite in Latin American modernities) instead of <u>modernity</u> in the singular (underprivileged people access modernity) to refer to this concept in Latin America is because of its multiple expressions in the region; in other words, each Latin American country has achieved its modernity in a particular way according to its cultural, historical and political circumstances. Chapter 3 gives further explanation about this point. However, the word <u>modernity</u> is eventually used in the singular whenever I refer to modernity in a general sense or to any quotation (debates about modernisation and paths of modernity have peculiarities in Latin America; negotiation with capitalism, modernity and globalisation).

- Uses of <u>academia</u> instead of <u>academy</u> to refer to things related to universities (to transcend his role in academia; supplementary activities beyond academia).

- I employ the word <u>community</u> as a correspondent to the Spanish adjective *comunitario* (community groups which are organised; they focused on community arts).

- Uses of the expression <u>consumer organisation</u> instead of <u>consumer association</u> or <u>consumer institution</u> for a specific type of activity which involves the protection of people against corporate abuse and the enforcement of their rights as consumers (community groups, consumer organisations; representatives of consumer organisations and other researchers).

- The words <u>crafts</u> and <u>handicrafts</u> are used mostly in plural (What needs to be protected, crafts or artisans?; to make a living by selling their handicrafts in the market). Also, the word <u>handicrafts</u> is preferred instead of <u>handcrafts</u>.

- Use of adverb <u>first</u> instead of <u>firstly</u> (the major works of humanity, and first those of France; Ministries and national plans is first suggested at the international level).

- Uses of <u>focused</u> and <u>focusing</u> instead of <u>focussed</u> and <u>focussing</u> (which focused on the Argentine writer Julio Cortázar´s work; Instead of focusing on the technical uses of new technologies).

- Uses of <u>governmental</u> instead of <u>government</u> as an adjective (explicitly stated in governmental documents and reports; governmental solutions to problems of collective interest).

- Uses of the adjective <u>interpretive</u> instead of <u>interpretative</u> (An ontological concern and an interpretive effort; García Canclini uses Marx´s interpretive oppositions).

- Uses of the past tense <u>oriented</u> instead of <u>orientated</u> (cultural policy as an institutionally-oriented instrument; the long-term value-oriented goals).

- The word <u>people</u> has been understood as the plural of <u>person</u> while the word <u>peoples</u> is the plural of <u>a people</u>, which is the singular of a community or a group.

- Both expressions <u>serve as editor</u> and <u>work as editor</u> are used as synonyms to convey the idea that an author did not write the entire content of a mentioned book (in which they served as editors; Garretón worked as editor of the book). Both forms are used to avoid repetition and because one fits better at certain times than the other.

- This work uses the conjunction <u>while</u> instead of <u>whilst</u> (through his social theorisation work while Lévi-Strauss inquired about).

- Some uses of verb tenses in the past and in the present need clarifying: things related to the past (for example: what NGC did, said or supported) appear with verbs in the past, whereas my analyses and arguments usually come with verbs in the present (the state has a pivotal role to play in García Canclini´s political proposal; he adjusts his literary style to be more accessible to non-academic readers).

- Frequent uses of commas to isolate adverbial sentences of time and place, especially when these are long and are at the beginning of a sentence (By the beginning of the 1990s, García Canclini became a familiar figure in). These adverbial sentences sometimes appear isolated between two commas in the

middle of sentences, although commas are not always used when it refers to only one word as adverb (later; finally).

- Two systems of periods have been used in the thesis. One uses a dash between numbers and the preposition 'on' before them (on 3–5 October 1994; on 8–13 March 1999). The other uses the preposition 'between' before the first number which is followed by 'and' and the next number (between 9 and 12 September 2003; between 30 March and 2 April 1998).

- Preference for not using initial capitals in titles of disciplines or fields of knowledge (anthropology; economics; law; philosophy; social anthropology; sociology), except when these words follow a full stop or when they start a paragraph (Anthropology is referred to much less frequently than), or as part of an institution´s name (National School of Anthropology and History), or in the name of departments and schools (Department of Anthropology; School of Anthropology), or when they are quotations from a book in English (Anthropologists like Néstor García Canclini in Mexico).

REFERENCES

- Internet references follow this pattern: Available at <http://www.eluniversaldf.mx/cuauhtemoc/nota37162.html>. Accessed on 30 January 2012.

- References of books follow this pattern: BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984.

- References of articles from academic journals: CHAUÍ, Marilena. Cultura e democracia. **Crítica y Emancipación: Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales**, Buenos Aires, CLACSO, v. 1, n. 1, pp. 53–76, June 2008.

- References of articles from newspapers: BUSTAMANTE, Enrique. Cultura y comunicación. **Página 12**, Buenos Aires, 1 July 2009.

- There are some uses of serial comma for clarification, but only when necessary (forces that reproduce dominations, distinctions, hierarchies, and the conditions of inequality and abandonment to which such classes are subjected).

- Uses of the expressions [Emphasis original] or [Emphasis mine] in footnotes to clarify the authorship of an emphasis (in the forms of bold, italics or underline) in a quotation.

- Uses of the following number format 1) xxx. 2) xxx. And 3) xxx. when multiple sources give similar information. (Two sources: 1) AUDIFFRED, Miryam. Analizarán del DF su política cultural. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 6 September 1999. And 2) HAW, Dora Luz. Compilan análisis sobre la cultura. **Reforma**, Mexico City, 28 June 2000.).

UNITED KINGDOM SPELLING

o My writing has adopted United Kingdom spelling (analysing; centre; favourite; globalisation; modernisation; to practise; programme; recognising; specialising), except in quotations ('socioeconomic modernization is so unequal'; 'the recognition, institutionalized or not'; 'the uses of the words "culture" and "civilization" overlapped') or some of the proper names of certain institutions (IDB´s Cultural Center) and books (*Imagined globalization*). I keep quotations in their original terms so as to be faithful to the sources they come from.

o UK system of dates (2 August 2008) instead of US system (August 2, 2008).

o Uses of the adjective <u>aesthetic</u> instead of <u>esthetic</u> (the aesthetic ideology of the avant-garde) and of the noun <u>aesthetics</u> instead of <u>esthetics</u> (an aesthetics that does not contradict it).

o Use of the past tense and past participle form <u>broadcast</u> of the verb <u>to broadcast</u> (it was broadcast on Canal 7). The form <u>broadcasted</u> is used in the United States.

o Uses of the word <u>inquiry</u> instead of <u>enquiry</u> and of <u>inquire</u> instead of <u>enquire</u>, although both forms are accepted in the UK (independently of the conceptual inquiry covered herein; Lévi-Strauss inquired about the unconscious elements of social interactions).

o Uses of the verb <u>legitimise</u> instead of <u>legitimate</u> (the institutions need his academic support to legitimise and reproduce their cultural policy).

o <u>Towards</u> instead of <u>toward</u> (governmental attitudes and strategies towards cultural issues; a systematic attitude towards).

o I double the last consonant letter of the word <u>travel</u> in certain verb conjugations. So the result is <u>travelled</u>/<u>travelling</u> instead of <u>traveled</u>/<u>traveling</u> (he constantly travelled to Buenos Aires in later years; travelled to Michoacán with my students).