

ARTE Y ECONOMÍA: LAS LIMITANTES Y OPORTUNIDADES CREADAS POR LAS POLÍTICAS CULTURALES AL DIRIGIRSE A LOS ARTISTAS (Un estudio de los trabajadores del arte del sector de la música en Portoviejo) / ART AND ECONOMY: THE CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES CREATED BY CULTURAL POLICY IN ADDRESSING ARTISTS (A Study of the Artworkers in the Music Sector of Portoviejo)

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30/may/2020

Resumo

A política cultural, entendida como as políticas específicas desenvolvidas para regular a promoção, proteção e outros aspectos das expressões culturais, artes e patrimônio, assumiu muitas formas, inclusive como um motor da economia e um instrumento de regeneração urbana. Consequentemente, a avaliação do impacto da política cultural concentra-se principalmente no impacto social ou no impacto econômico. O objetivo desta pesquisa é entender a influência que a política cultural em nível municipal tem sobre os trabalhadores artísticos em meio a indústrias culturais e criativas, renovação urbana e cidades criativas. Particularmente porque a abordagem do desenvolvimento baseada na criatividade parece contar com a vontade dos artistas de viver precariamente como parte de seu modelo de negócios. Se assim fosse, os artistas não seriam beneficiários da política cultural, mas um recurso a ser explorado. O estudo foi realizado em Portoviejo, Equador, uma das poucas cidades do país que está tentando usar as artes como uma estratégia de renovação urbana. Os primeiros investimentos após o terremoto de 7,8 de 2016 foram dois grandes parques onde agora são realizados regularmente concertos públicos.

Palavras-chave: políticas culturais; trabalhadores da arte; regeneração urbana.

Resumen

La política cultural, entendida como las políticas específicas desarrolladas para regular la promoción, protección y otros aspectos de las expresiones culturales, las artes y el patrimonio, ha adoptado muchas formas, entre ellas la de impulsor de la economía e instrumento de rehabilitación urbana. En consecuencia, la evaluación del impacto de la política cultural se centra principalmente en el impacto social o en el impacto económico. El objetivo de esta investigación es comprender la influencia que la política cultural a nivel de la ciudad tiene sobre las y los trabajadores del arte en medio de las industrias culturales y creativas, las renovaciones urbanas y las ciudades creativas. Particularmente porque el enfoque del desarrollo basado en la creatividad, parece contar con la disposición de los artistas a vivir de

manera precaria como parte de su modelo de negocio. De ser así, los artistas no serían beneficiarios de la política cultural, sino un recurso a explotar. El estudio tuvo lugar en Portoviejo, Ecuador, una de las pocas ciudades del país que intenta utilizar las artes como estrategia para el proceso de renovación urbana. Las primeras inversiones tras el terremoto de 7,8 grados de 2016 fueron dos parques de grandes dimensiones en los que ahora se celebran regularmente conciertos públicos.

Palabras clave: políticas culturales; trabajadores del arte; regeneración urbana.

Abstract

Cultural policy understood as specific policies developed to regulate the promotion, protection and other aspects of cultural expressions, arts and heritage, has taken many shapes including a booster for economy and an instrument for urban renewal. As a result, impact assessment of cultural policy is mainly focused either on the social impact or the economic impact. This research aims to understand the influence cultural policy at city level has on the artworkers amidst cultural and creative industries, urban renewals, and creative cities. Particularly because the approach to creative-based development, seems to count on the willingness of artists to live precariously as part of their business model for economic development. If that is the case, artworkers would not be beneficiaries of cultural policy but a resource to be mined/exploited. The study took place in Portoviejo, Ecuador, it is one of the few cities in the country attempting to use the arts as a strategy for the urban renewal process. The first investments after the 7.8 earthquake in 2016 were two large scale parks where now public concerts are held regularly.

Keywords: cultural policy; artworkers; urban renewal.

1. Introduction

Who are the artworkers, what is cultural policy, where do they interact? Research on cultural policy is divided in many lines of inquiry and from different theoretical standpoints. Most studies look at the social, economic and urban impact of the arts. This study will focus on the impact of cultural policy on the artworkers in relation to creative cities.

Cultural policy understood as specific policies developed to regulate the promotion, protection and other aspects of cultural expressions, arts and heritage, is a relatively new field that has taken many shapes including a booster for economic depression and an instrument for urban renewal. As a result, impact assessment of cultural policy is mainly focused either on the social impact or the economic impact as we will see later on. This approach disregards the work and the people behind the arts.

Artists are an essential part of societies, just like anyone else. It is important that policy that affects their artistic and cultural production and their livelihoods be studied in relation to them.

As any other group, their modes of production and their participation in society has particular characteristics that need to be identified and understood.

To approach the topic it is necessary to establish who are the artworkers, what cultural policies exist at national and local level, and how the cultural policies influence city development processes.

The Artworkers. It is not the objective of this research to define what is art, but it is necessary to clarify that art is not used as a synonym of “high art”. Art is used in the broad sense to include creative intellectual and practical work and practice within a cultural context. Artworkers are all the people that take part in the value / operative / productive chain of the art process and practice as mentioned in art 3 of the Organic Law for Culture (Ministry of Culture and Heritage 2016). Therefore, the modes of production need to be identified, not under any economic trend in particular but under the basic idea of exchange of goods and services.

Artists are at the center of all policies to promote the arts, yet they are not the subject of impact assessment studies on cultural policies as it will be discussed later. Same policies that may not necessarily promote a sustainable production of the arts or livelihood for the artworkers. This study will show that artists are not always central to how cultural policies are conceptualized and how they are delivered, particularly at city levels. Some programs at national and local levels in different countries are palliative actions that do not address the artists’ needs (Galloway 2009; Belfiore 2009). Furthermore, creative cities and other uses of the arts for the boost of local economies tend to rely and even promote the precariousness of the artworkers (Fernández 2018).

The Local Cultural Policy. The Ministry of Culture and Heritage (MCYP) of Ecuador was created on January 2007. Since 2008 the MCYP has been giving grants for the promotion of the arts. Yet studies on the impact of the program either from the ministry or the academia have not been found. Most of the resources stay in Quito, the capital of the country. Smaller cities like Portoviejo receive significantly less grants , according to the list of admitted projects in 2018, 172 suitors were from Quito and only 7 from Portoviejo.

The MCYP has the faculty to define public policies to which local governments (GADs) may align according to the Organic Law of Culture (LOC) which was approved in 2017. The LOC did not reform the COOTAD (organic code of territorial organization autonomy and decentralization) mentioning the specific role local governments should have in the

implementation of the law for the promotion of the arts. At the moment there is no clear path to follow for the few GADs who are promoting the arts at the local level.

The City. Portoviejo is a city that has shown tremendous resilience to a 7.8 earthquake that destroyed the central area of the city in April 2016. From a quick visit, a newcomer will have a hard time identifying traces of a disaster. Mostly it is the number of empty lots and the lack of shops at downtown Portoviejo that give a hint of something not being quite right. Notwithstanding the heavy investment on rebuilding and beautifying the city, 3 years post-earthquake the streets were still empty.

According to the COOTAD the promotion of the arts is one of the responsibilities of the Decentralized Autonomous Governments (GADs). How to promote or to what extend is not defined in the laws and GADs may or may not act on it. The Municipal Government of Portoviejo (GAD Portoviejo) started an intensive campaign of free musical events in several areas of the city. They also promoted public art projects and handcrafts. Some of these events have helped attracting audience, they have also promoted the idea of Portoviejo being friendly to the arts.

2. Literature Review

Orange Economies, Cultural and Creative Industries. As early as 1940, Adorno and Horkheimer had used the term culture industry in relation to the “the entertainment industries, to the commodification of art, and to the totalizing uniformity of “culture”” (Raunig, 2007) In this approach to cultural industry the audience becomes passive, non respondent and accepting of all incoming information. According to Raunig the process of transformation from the singular culture industry to the plural Creative and Cultural Industries the major change is in the approach artist have towards employment, since policies thus far attempt to exempt the state from public investment and pass the responsibility towards the private sector.

How could it happen that this small shift from culture industry to creative and cultural industries became a brand of universal salvation not only for politicians, but also for many actors in the field? It happened precisely because the modes of subjectivation of machinic enslavement are conjoined with both desire and conformity, and the actors in creative industries interpret the appeal as meaning that they have at least chosen self-precarization themselves. (Raunig, 2007)

In 2007 Galloway argued about the need to define Art, Cultural and Creative Industries since the interchangeable use of the terms did cause confusion even within the policies themselves.

These amorphous policies, Galloway argues, miss the point of cultural development since the focus is on an economic growth that culture per se will never be able to achieve due to its intrinsic value.

The Interamerican Development Bank has published several reports on Orange Economy, the first on 2013, two in 2017 and the last one in 2018. All pushing Latin America and Caribbean cities to adopt the Orange Economy wave. The 2013 publication by Buitrago and Duque claims that orange economies value by 2011 was 4.3 trillion USD, that is 20% larger than the German economy and 2.5 times the worlds military expenditure, reason enough to urge Latin America and the Caribbean to take a piece of the pie.

The problem with these numbers is that it is difficult to know exactly where is the money coming from. To date there is no common or agreed definition on creative economies, creative industries, cultural industries, orange economies and large list of terms used by different public and private, national and international organizations.

Cultural Policy. Cultural policy is a relatively new field. There are two lines of development, one that is focused on the industry and another focus on the promotion and protection. All policies have parts of both. On the one side of the spectrum are the UK and Australia, who also have the most research done on their cultural policies. At the other side is Mexico with one of the oldest funds for the promotion of the arts in Latin America, and Spain who as a result to the need of growth of their cultural industries, introduced the concept of cultural management and the policies to go with it in Latin America (De la Vega 2019). De la Vega argues that cultural management as it developed in Latin America, was an extension of the colonization process, as such it homogenizes cultural practices on behalf of economically viable forms of cultural production.

The Organization of Ibero-American States (OEI) declares that cultural policy is not about planning culture but to “ensure that cultural components and resources are present in all areas of planning and development processes of public policies”(OEI n.d.). This declaration states the spirit of how Ibero-American states approach cultural policy. The OEI also states that to establish cultural policies is not an easy task, there should be long-term plans that allow the proper development of policies following the principles of promotion, protection and participation.

Cunningham review of Australia's Cultural Policy points in the direction of state intervention in the same way it does on science and technology. He argues that cultural and creative production have to go through the same processes of research, development and testing than the sciences, therefore they need state intervention since the private sector may not be strong enough to invest in the first stages.

Kate Oakley in her analysis of creative industries policies questions two directions in which public policies for the sector took hold in the UK. First the responsibility for economic growth and social inclusion added to cultural policies, and second who it was addressed to, big companies or small organizations.

Ibero-America debates have a dichotomy between the governing for the economy of the arts and the decolonization discourses. This dichotomy is not much different from that of UK and Australia between the social and the economic impact of the arts. Both oversee the wellbeing of the practitioner. There is no middle ground between the promotion of the arts and the economy of the arts. Although not all the arts are "economically productive" they all have an impact on society and therefore on the economy. The State has to intervene not on the content of the production but to guarantee the possibility of production at all levels of the arts, it should mainly look after the wellbeing of artists and those whose practice support the artist's production.

Creative Cities, planning through culture. Miralles in his article for United Cities and Local Governments instils on that need to reinvest cultural generated surplus back into culture yet he also warns on the use of culture as a crotch for development.

"the reiterated use of culture as an excuse, disregarding any logic of that which is cultural, may end up being a decisive factor of bad development." (Miralles 2014)

One may argue that most proposals for creative cities fall under Miralles' "bad development" definition. Particularly because there are no studies to demonstrate the impact of this policies on the live of the artists.

So far, no evidence has been found that the IDB reports on orange economy have led to any investment on the sector. Nonetheless, they echo a world trend that runs parallel to "Smart City" projects promoted most publicly by Richard Florida, an urban planner - economist turned guru of making cities creative.

Richard Florida argues that economic growth doesn't come from technology only but from creative people. The subtitle to his essay "The rise of the creative class" is: "Why cities without gays and rock bands are losing the economic development race" (Florida 2002). Overlooking the generalizing and stereotyping and taking only the "rock band" side of the sentence, it might be convenient for the arts to use Florida's arguments, particularly in Portoviejo which holds the nickname of RockCity.

The problem of Florida's argument is that it uses creativity's final product as raw material for the enhancement of business. While doing this it doesn't promote the economic value of creativity, on the contrary it tries to pay as little as possible to better the business surplus. The focus of Florida's argument is to enhance business at the expense of creative people livelihood. Yet in a capitalist world where surplus is the objective, creative work must find the way to speak the language and use it to its advantage.

Measuring Cultural Policy Impact. Choosing what and how to measure becomes crucial for cultural policy, yet it raises its own issues as explained before. Since the early 2000s the use of impact studies on the arts has been questioned for being too social or too economists. On the one hand there are plenty of studies on the social impact of the arts, these studies sometimes have dubious methodologies according to Belfiore (Belfiore 2009). On the other hand, there are economic impact studies that tend to be manipulated, since "Strategically, using 'economic' impacts in advocacy may be self-defeating by demonstrating that the arts and cultural industries have mediocre 'economic' impacts."(Madden 2001)

Madden's argument might seem contradictory to Florida's promotion of the arts for boosting local economies, yet they are not. Madden is referring to the production of the arts and Florida to the use of this production. It is important to delve into the differences since the artworkers livelihood lies at the intersection of these arguments.

3. Research Design, Methods and Hypothesis

Objectives and Research Questions

Research Framework

Objectives	Research Questions	Sub Research Questions	Data to be collected	Methods
Understand the cultural policy proposed by the local government	In what ways is cultural promotion happening in Portoviejo,	What is cultural policy in the context of Ecuador and	Policy documents at national and local levels	Review and analysis of policies

within the framework of existing public space and urban reconstruction / renewal process	particularly from the local government?	specifically Portoviejo?	Interviews to institutions	Semi structured interviews with heads of institutions
		What is the place of artworkers in Portoviejo's cultural policy?	Interviews to institutions	Semi structured interviews with heads of institutions
			Interviews to artists	Semi structured interviews with artists
Establish the relation of local cultural policy on artists' practices and their livelihoods	What is the impact of cultural policy for the artists production?	Who are the artworkers and what environment do they need in order to thrive?	Interviews to institutions	Semi structured interviews with heads of institutions
			Interviews to artists	Semi structured interviews with artists
			Interviews to artists	In depth interview to one member of each part on the production chain
	How are artists surviving in this context	What is the effect of local cultural policy on the artworkers of the music sector in Portoviejo?	Interviews to artists	Semi structured interviews with artists
			Interviews to artists	In depth interview to one member of each part on the production chain
			Do existing cultural policies affect the artworkers livelihoods on the long run and how?	Interviews to artists
Interviews to artists	In depth interview to one member of each part on the production chain			

Typology of Research

Qualitative Research. Four aspects were looked at:

1. Policy analysis: the LOC was compared to bylaws and other policy documents of Portoviejo to find correlations between them. Moreover, the development plan of Portoviejo was also analyzed in relation to bylaws and other policy documents of the city as well as to the actual and proposed availability of public space and venues for the arts.
2. Authorities of public and private institutions: semi structured interviews were conducted to understand their cultural policy and their knowledge of the sector at large and at the city level.

3. Artworkers and artists: semi structured interviews were conducted to understand how the local government policies have affected their practice and livelihood. Moreover, to understand their perspective of their own sector, if it is a part of the economy or not. Further questions were asked about how they perceive their practice in relation to the areas of operation in the city.

4. In-depth interviews: Once the production chain is established, in-depth interviews were conducted of one person from each part of the production chain

Additionally, quantitative data was assessed in order to understand the economic behavior of Portoviejo in relationship to the arts and to know how involved are the artworkers on the economy of the city. This process was done at two levels:

Firstly, at city level, macro data from different sources was analyzed. Sources included census data, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and city level GDP, time use survey of Ecuador, UN, OEI and other available sources.

Secondly, at artworkers level, survey interviews were conducted in relation to time invested on artistic practice, percentage of income that comes from artistic practice and number and type of event in which they have participated among other relevant indicators that describe the situation.

Selection of the Site. Portoviejo has a longstanding oral, literary and musical tradition. The largest known archaeological site of Ecuador lies within its boundaries. Being the capital of the province, it is the main supplier of goods and services to the people of Manabí. After the earthquake it is the only city that has been totally rebuilt and that has included major public spaces as part of the rebuilding process.

Its population of 280000 hab. is more homogenous than larger Ecuadorian cities. It does have the basic cultural institutions available in larger cities and other province capitals. The Mayor was actively pushing the arts as a medium for development.

Besides the GAD, local cultural institutions were interviewed.

Sampling Frame. The sample size was taken from an estimate of the number of practicing artists in the city. The results of the quantitative research are not intended to give a finite answer but to understand the spectrum of participation. Qualitative 20 individuals. It was a purposive and sometimes snowball sampling with the artists and directors.

Research Tools. Since there is no official data on the arts sector, interviews are the only way to get information from the actors involved.

Interviews: Structured interviews, Semi structured interviews, In-depth interviews

Notes on the process of interviewing

Two large groups of musicians were found in the city, the younger artists who are into rock, pop and other new genres and the older generations whose work is on traditional music, ballads and classic rock n roll who are part of the ADAM association described in Chapter 6. The age break is not clear cut, on both groups there are people in their 40s.

The latter group is part of the Association of Artists from Manabí (ADAM), they have over 200 members in Portoviejo of which only 4 participated in this research. The author was given access to their whatsapp group and through there was able to invite them all to participate either by answering the online survey or by having a personal interview. The proposal was made on several occasions during a period of one month. Most of the times there were no replies. The group was mostly used to send jokes and gossip about the members who kept fighting about the use of the group and other non professional related matters. The author was able to interview only one member of the association and only received answers to the survey from 3 other members.

4. Cultural Policy in Ecuador

In Ecuador cultural policy has change drastically in the past 10 years, along with all the institutional structure of the country. This chapter will analyze cultural policy in all the government levels, from the constitution, autonomous government and the culture bill. This three bodies of law are the basis for policies at city level therefore they are key to understanding the environment in which artworkers have to produce.

Culture as a right in the Ecuadorian Constitution. In 2008 there were several types of participatory processes leading to October 2008 when via referendum, Ecuador had a new constitution which declared the country to be an Intercultural and Plurinational State and guaranteed the right to culture (Ecuador Constitution 2008).

The transitory provision 1, established that on a maximum term of 360 days the law of culture shall be passed. According to the constitution the bill should have been passed on October 2009, yet the bill was passed on the 30th December 2016, 7 years past the deadline. The delay

was mostly because a few groups of artists didn't want things to change, the two groups were mainly the Casa de la Cultura (House of Culture) and the National Symphonic Orchestra.

Organic Code of Territorial Organization, Autonomy and Decentralization. The Organic Code of Territorial Organization, Autonomy and Decentralization (COOTAD) was published on October 2010. The code was created to align forms of government to what the Constitution establishes in its first article and fifth Title, Territorial Organization of the State.

According to the constitution, Ecuador has to be governed using a decentralized approach. The inclusion of this phrase in the Constitution responds to a long fight primordially by Guayaquil's right wing politicians but embraced by almost every other city and province outside of Quito, the capital city.

In order to fulfill this approach to governance all Ministries from 2010 on had to create an office at least in each province according to the size and pertinence of the office. Some of them were very successful at decentralizing processes and responsibilities like the Ministry of Education. Others like the Ministry of Culture never attempted a real decentralization of governance. Local offices have to follow strict plans given by the central office even if those are irrelevant in the area.

The COOTAD refers particularly to the responsibilities, rights, and obligations of the Local Autonomous Governments (GADs: provinces and cities) towards the territory they govern. It refers to how the constitution is applied in the territory; therefore, it does include the management of culture by the GADs.

Under article 5 the purposes of the code includes "The protection and promotion of cultural diversity and respect for their spaces of generation and exchange; the recovery, preservation and development of social memory and cultural heritage" (COOTAD 2010) Thus establishing the protection and promotion of cultural expressions such as music and art as one of the responsibilities and obligations of the local governments.

Chapter 3 of the COOTAD refers to the Municipal Decentralized Autonomous Government (Municipal GAD), the bodies that govern cities. Article 54 and 55 establish the role Municipal GADs have in regard to culture and the arts. Article 54 assigns functions among which is to "promote and sponsor cultures, arts, sports and recreational activities for the benefit of the

canton community” (COOTAD 2010). Article 55 assigns exclusive purview to the Municipal GADs on the following aspects regarding culture and the arts:

g) Plan, build and maintain physical infrastructure and health and education facilities, as well as public spaces for social, cultural and sports development, in accordance with the law;

h) Preserve, maintain and disseminate the architectural, cultural and natural heritage of the canton and build public spaces for these purposes; (COOTAD 2010)

The Organic Law of Culture . Participatory processes to draft bills for various areas took place all over the country. Culture was no exception. The LOC was the last bill approved of those ordered by the Constitution in 2008. (Redacción Cultura 2016).

The Ministry of Culture was created in 2007. After the Constitution was approved the Ministry organized and sponsored the organization of several participatory processes in order to develop the bill. By 2015 there had been 6 Ministers of Culture without any success in getting the bill approved. Guillaume Long was the 7th Minister, under him a process of rewriting the bill took place. The bill project was given to the Assembly in mid 2016 and by the end of the year it was approved.

The LOC creates de Cultural Systems and its subsystems. The two main systems Social Memory and Heritage, and the Arts and Innovation, structure the system under which are governed the Promotion Fund, cultural institutions, the Casa de la Cultura and the networks of museums, libraries, venues, orchestras, etc. (Salgado 2016) According to Raúl Vallejo, who was the ninth Minister of Culture when the LOC got approved, “three fundamental ideas frame the draft of the LOC processed by the National Assembly: creative freedom, above all things; freedom of choice, above all principles; and freedom of access to cultural goods and services.” (Vallejo 2016).

5. The Relation Between Cultural Policy and Artworkers Livelihood

Identifying and Describing Who Are the Artworkers of the Music Sector in Portoviejo.

Artworkers of the music sector include the artists, producers, promoters, engineers, technicians and all the people involved in the productive chain of the music sector.

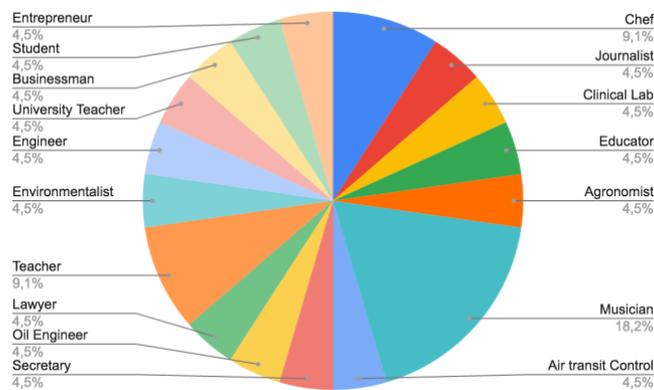
In Manabí there is longstanding oral tradition of Amorfinos, Chigualos and other literary expressions that have a close relation to rhythm, they have their origins in precolonial times. In the 1970s Portoviejo had one of the most important concert venues in the country “Las Vegas”. Music and the music industry are part of its identity.

The average age of the interviewees is 38 years old, the oldest one being 70 and the youngest being 27. When asked if they have formal education related to the arts 54.5% said yes, but when asked to describe their formal and non-formal education only 13% have been to art school at university level. This is not to say that artworkers are not educated as will see, 34.8% do have university degrees in other areas of knowledge and the same percentage have participated in workshops, courses and other non-formal education processes related to their practices. Nevertheless, there is a misconception about arts education, many of the artworkers declared that they didn't think of higher education in music as necessary during their formative years. Some of the interviewees mentioned that their families wouldn't allow them to study music and some didn't see it as an option themselves. We'll see later on that today they do regret not pursuing higher education.

It is important to mention that currently there are no public conservatories in the city. The two existing ones are private. There is no higher education in the arts either. There used to be a 4 year program on artistic education which emphasis was on education methodologies. There has never been a production, promotion or cultural management course available at university level.

There seems to be a relation between education, practice and income. Less than a quarter of the participants declared music as their only professional practice. In Chart 5.3 is shown the myriad of other activities practiced by the participants. In Charts 5.6 is shown the relation between time invested in the art practice and percentage of monthly income.

Other Professions



Source: Interviews to artworkers from the music sector by author.

Relation Between Time and Income



Source: Interviews to artworkers from the music sector by author.

The relation between time invested and money earned from the artistic practice is not necessarily related. As an example, Carmen Callay is a trained singer, she has a bachelor's degree in arts education and executive secretariat, she currently work as secretary of a decan at the local university, she works as a singer on weekends and evenings for an average of 20 hours a week, with that small investment of time, her artistic practice makes up for 75% of her income. As a secretary she makes minimum wage, which in Ecuador was 467 USD. She keeps her work as a secretary because it gives her a regular income and access to social security benefits which include healthcare, retirement and loans for housing and other needs (Callay, 2019). She was not aware that the LOC includes a special social security plan for artworkers. When told, she was suspicious about how effective it would be and was not surprised to know that even though it is part of the law it is not available yet.

The people that did study music at University level do received 100% of their income from their practice in the music sector. But not everyone who calls themselves a musician makes 100% of their income from the music sector. More interesting is the comparison between those who do make 100% of their income from the music sector with the time they invest on it. This research was not meant to establish if the income from the artistic practice is enough to support a family or to establish the relation between time worked and income. Yet the information shows that a deeper study in this area should be done, including quality of life and quality of production.

Art School Educated relation to Profession, Time and Income

Education	Profession	Hour / Week	% of income
U	Musician	100	100
U	Musician	20	100
U	Musician	40	100

Source: Interviews to artworkers from the music sector by author.

Profession relation to, Education, Time and Income

Education	Profession	Hour / Week	% of income
U	Musician	100	100
UO	Musician	80	60
U	Musician	20	100
U	Musician	40	100

Source: Interviews to artworkers from the music sector by author.

Time relation to Education, Profession, and Income

Education	Profession	Hour / Week	% of income
U	Musician	100	100
UO	Musician	80	60
UO	Chef	51	100
U	Musician	40	100

Source: Interviews to artworkers from the music sector by author.

Income relation to Education, Profession, and Time

Education	Profession	Hour / Week	% of income
UO	Chef	20	100
U	Musician	100	100
U	Musician	20	100
UO	Chef	51	100
UO	Engineer	18	100
U	Musician	40	100

Source: Interviews to artworkers from the music sector by author.

The Chef that works 20 hours a week and makes 100% of his income from the music sector is a promoter. His education consists on several courses in Buenos Aires and Quito about the business of music. From early on he has worked with production companies that book international artists in Ecuador. At the time of the interview he owned the only bar in the city that presented local original music. He also presents local cover bands, national and a few international artists. He says he invests about 20 hours a week coordinating with bands and artists the presentations in his bar. He declares 100% of his income comes from music sector since the bar only makes money when there are artists on stage.

The only student who participated is a musician, producer, drummer and bass player. He is part of more than one band in the city. He has started his own home-based recording studio where a few bands have recorded their albums. At the time of the interview he was finishing his bachelor's in Musical and Sound Arts at a public university in Guayaquil. Even though the university is free he still has travel and living expenses plus a family which he is able to maintain. In order to do so he has to dedicate 100 hours a week to study and work.

Another producer in the city who has a recording studio invests only 20 hours a week and 100% of his income comes from the music sector. He is the only graduate in music from a private university. This are extreme examples, but they show how it is possible to make a living in Portoviejo from the music sector.

An important marker to consider a group a sector of the economy is if they are associated, if there are guilds that represent them towards the authorities and other groups. In Portoviejo there is a clear-cut division between the younger artists who are into rock, pop and other new genders and the older generations whose work is on traditional music, ballads and classic rock n roll who are part of the ADAM association described previously .

The research experience showed the lack of interest on participating as a group in public policy. The reasons for the lack of interest are unknown. Given the dynamics of the chat one could also speculate that there are no common interests in the group. The only member who was interviewed was one of the first participants of the research, Carmen Callay, “there is no cohesion in the group, they exist as a remnant of a time when being affiliated to guild was a requisite to participate in any public concert” (Callay, 2019)

The differences are not only among the associated group. The younger group also has differences among them. They have not been able to have one voice towards the municipality.

The sector is diverse, there are people who participate in it as a hobby, as a compliment to their incomes, as passionate artists and as professionals. The time invested, the returns and the level of education vary significantly.

City venues, private and public. There are more than a dozen bars, clubs, and private venues that hire bands every weekend. Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays the venues are full. People in Portoviejo like to party to live music. If it is not in bar it's at home celebrations of birthdays, anniversaries or others. Even the poorest funeral requires live music.

There was no shortage of work in the private sector for the music industry. The public sector has taken a piece of that pie. With two new venues to program and the use of the arts to promote local and external tourism.

The largest of the venue is Las Vegas Park, which used to be private, in the 70s and 80s all the Salsa and Latin Music stars of the world gave concerts there. In the new millennia it lost its glory and was abandoned. After the earthquake most of the debris from the buildings that were demolished was used to fill the land in preparation for the new park which is located at the heart of the city. The Mayor of Portoviejo used this as the flag project of the rebuilding of the city after the earthquake. The park cost 11.5 million USD and has an extension of 10 hectares. The venue for concerts has itself about 0.5 hectare and a capacity to seat 1870 people, with front and side lawn seating the venue has received more than 3000 people on certain occasions, more than 1% of the population of the city.

The second public venue is La Rotonda Park. This area has always been a park but it was mostly abandoned in the last decades. The rebuilding of the 13 hectares of the park had a cost of 11.5 million USD. The esplanade of the park which is surrounded by a food park and a water fountain with a water screen, can receive up to 5000 people.

One of the characteristics of these parks in Portoviejo, aside from their size which is unusual in Ecuador, is that they do not have a fence. Both parks are open to the public at all times and there is a real appropriation by the citizens. There are always people in the park late at night and early in the morning. They have become true public spaces for recreation and assembly.

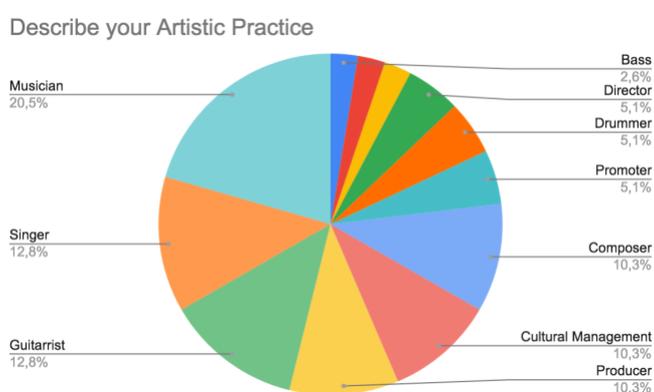
Most of the artworkers interviewed are excited about these venues, particularly the capacity they have and the sensation of playing for the city in front of a large audience. They also recognize that not everyone is participating on those events and those who are, may not be

paid enough. There is an additional cost that was mentioned by almost all the people interviewed, they are losing audience in private venues. Not all the music sector gets affected, mostly it is the most famous bands who don't play covers but only their original music that have seen a decrease in their revenues when playing at private venues according to David Macías who at the end of 2019 closed the bar that hosted most local bands at the time the interviews were made.

Only 40% of artworkers have participated on activities promoted by the GAD. All the answers referred to activities promoted by the GAD Portoviejo which took place between 2018 and 2019. Mainly in two events: Portofonico, a once a year event where music bands are invited to play along the symphonic school of the city; and Verbenas which are weekly events at the park where two music bands from different genres are invited to play. Not all the artists are paid the same.

Productive chain available in the city. Not the artworker nor the institutions were able to describe a complete productive chain of the music sector. Most of them use their activity as the central point of the production leaving out of the scope integral parts of the process like composers or promotion. Again, this may be part of the lack of professionalization of the sector in the city. Although according practices described, there are almost all the professionals required to establish a production process in the city.

Area of Practice



Source: Interviews to artworkers from the music sector by author.

During the interviews at least four production studios were mentioned with their respective differences which are more related the type of music expertise of the owner than the quality of the product. There are at least three promoters in the city that have again different level of

expertise booking artists all over the country and producing shows. The participants declared that there are no managers in the city, this can be a problem since the artists don't have someone to represent them at different stages of the production.

Identify the Environment the Artworkers of the Music sector Need in Order to Thrive.

The Productive chain of the music sector refers to all the pieces needed in order to have a product / artwork ready for the enjoyment of the audience. Regardless if the audience is going to pay for it directly or indirectly, or if the product is considered commercial, the creation process has expenses of time and money that must be accounted for in the form of remuneration for those who participate of its creation. The productive chain identifies every step of the process in order to account for it and to understand where the weak and strong links are.

Understanding the weaknesses and strengths of a productive chain allows a government to create informed policy to boost a sector.

As Graham, Burnes et al. wrote on 2004, the music industry has radically changed their structure of production. From a time where selling physical recordings was the measure of success to a period of darkness in the early 2000s and the new strategies available through Spotify, Apple Music and other platforms. Accurately they predicted the simultaneity of on-line and off-line activities that music would have to engage with. In many ways, successful artists of today must be on the road almost as much as before MTV if they want to make some money.

Comparing what we know exists in Portoviejo to the value chain published by Devamag and Graham et al. we will see the following areas of production are missing in the city:

Existing Productive Activities in Portoviejo

	Content Creation				Monetisation		
	Creation	Production	Product Management	Sales / Marketing	Distribution	Platforms	Consumption
Devamag	Songwriting	Sound Recording	Artist Identity Strategy	Media Promo	Physical Retailers	Music Retailers	Unit purchase
	Composing	Sound Editing	Music clip creation	Radio Promo	E-retailer	Social Media	Pay per play
	Acquisition of music rights	Mixing	Marketing Strategy	Tv Promo		Streaming Services	Music Publishing (copyrights)
		Mastering		Online Promo		Online Stores	Live performances
				Music Journalism Promo			

	Composition	Recording	Reproduction Packaging	Marketing	Distribution	Retailing	Consume
Graham et al.	A&R (scouting of artists and repertoire)						
		Exist					
		Its not part of the current production but there are professionals available for the job.					
		It is not available in the city.					

Note: Table created by author.

Source: Interviews to artworkers from the music sector by author, Devamag. Accessed February 24, 2020. <https://www.devamag.com/music-value-chain> and Gary Graham et al. November, 2004. “The Transformation of the Music Industry Supply Chain: A Major Label Perspective.” *International Journal of Operations & Production Management* 24 (11): 1087–1103. <https://doi.org/10.1108/01443570410563241>.

Devamag is a content creator and service provider to artists and brands. On their website they have published a less complicated process that is clearly separated between “Content Creation”, investment stage, and “Monetization”, revenue stage. This division is what Cunningham refers to when he compares the science research and development stage to that of the arts (Cunningham 2004). Emphasizing the need of the state to invest in R&D of the arts for the same reasons they invest on R&D of science, because it’s time and resource intensive. Both of which are not necessarily available in developing countries.

6. Cultural policy proposed by Local Government

What the local authorities think and propose as cultural policy. Fabian Santana, director of the cultural office from the GAD understands the position of the municipality as the governing body of culture in the city. He explained that “cultural events promote the economy of the city and the Mayor understands this” (Santana, 2019). The vision used to sell the need of “investment in culture is linked primordially to the business profit around cultural events, understood as the increase of sales in restaurants, street vendors, retail shops, transport and others” (Santana 2019). Yet Santana makes emphasis on the education of artists and audiences in order to develop the arts in the city.

They have several projects but there are no established policies for the promotion of the arts. Santana says that to have an ordinance in order to establish a route for the policies is of extreme importance. Therefore, they are working on an integral ordinance that includes heritage, art events and art education. At the time of the interview they had a 30% advance on the document. He explained that even though the budget for culture is limited his “job is not only to give money but to coordinate with other institutions in order to collaborated with all types of resources” (Santana, 2019).

The applied arts occupy a special place in Portoviejo's policies. They are under the Office for Productive Development. They receive the same treatment as small businesses. The municipality acts as a counterpart for international cooperation resources to be directed to associations of artisans, they also create business encounters to insert their products in markets at national and international levels. When asked why music isn't treated the same way the answer was they "don't know how the music industry works and music is under the Office for Culture" (Bravo, 2019), but they will look into it.

For the Office for Productive Development, their responsibility regarding the promotion of applied arts is "to increase the demand for local products; develop plans, programs and projects that strengthen the productive sector through training processes; generate a legal framework where the support given to the sector is established" (Bravo, 2019). Both offices coincide on their responsibility to generate legal frameworks that support their plans, programs and projects on the long run. They're definitely not thinking on the city of today but planning the city for the next decades. The strategy of the city points to a business model that uses the arts to increase the GDP of the city regardless of the effect on artists.

Other public offices that operate in the city. Portoviejo being the capital of the zone and the province, is where most governmental offices are domiciled and therefore where they may be more active. The new president of the Casa de la Cultura de Manabí, Fidel Intriago, is making a conscious effort to activate its presence all over the province. For Intriago "it is not the responsibility of the CCM to distribute money [to artists], but to generate mechanisms to guarantee the creation, circulation and dissemination of cultural and artistic assets" (Intriago, 2019).

The director of the Provincial Office for Culture was not available for interviews despite a few being arranged. For a few years they have not received any funding for local activities. They are mostly answering the needs of the Ministry in Quito whenever they arise.

The Museum has a special character in the city, it being the only institution linked to a specific venue. Yaqueline Alvarez, the director, says "These spaces are a meeting point with culture, therefore we have the obligation to investigate, train and showcase all local, provincial and national cultural expressions. Above all, strengthen our local cultural identity" (Alvarez, 2019). For all these activities the Museum depends on a small budget given from Quito. Most activities done at the museum are organized and financed by local patrons. The range of activities is

wide, it includes music and poetic recitals, assemblies with groups related to culture, applied arts workshops, exhibitions and others. The museum doesn't have a plan of action for the long run, since it cannot count on a yearly budget, it depends on the proposals of local patrons to stay active.

Most public offices do know about the LOC but they are not clear on how to use it to create local legal frameworks. At the time of this research the Ministry of Culture didn't have any plans or projects to work directly with city governments. The Institute for the Promotion of the Arts and Cultural Innovation doesn't have offices in Manabí and the winners have to travel to Quito in order to sign a contract and other diligences.

Artists view of cultural policy at national and local levels. The answers to the interview do not reflect a lack of participation in events promoted by the GAD, 40% of the artworkers from the music sector that were interviewed had been beneficiaries of those events. It is also important to mention at this point that only 31% of them are part of a sectorial association. Of those, 50% belong to ADAM (Association of Artists from Manabí) which has over 200 members. All of them were asked to participate on both the survey and the personal interview. Most artists are aware of the changes towards a modernization of the city which includes a space for the arts. Nevertheless they are critical about how the GAD is getting involved and how they expect it to get involved.

When artworkers from the music sector were asked: "How do you rate the actions of cultural promotion by the GAD Portoviejo in relation to artists?" not one artist said it was efficient. Most answers were on the lower end of the spectrum with little efficient reaching 35%.

Artists are not satisfied by the policies applied by the municipality in respect to their needs and interests, albeit some of those interest might be personal and not sectorial. Nonetheless they are aware of the impact those actions have on the audience. Though they still don't give any points to Efficient, they are more neutral on that regard. They don't think it is all that bad.

Regarding the responsibilities of the GAD towards the arts, artworkers are not clear on what they should be. When interviewed, most artworkers said it is the responsibility and the objective of the GAD to support local artists, yet what kind of support they want is not specified. Art education which is not a responsibility of the GAD, it was the 2nd most mention as both responsibility and objective of the local government. Programming of public space came third

and Audience Education came fourth. Only one artist mentioned public policy for the long run as the main responsibility of the local government.

There is very little knowledge among artworkers from the music sector about what exactly is the role government plays and how they as a sector can influence it. There is no sense of power as a sector, it is only manifested by individuals with access to authorities. Even then the requests are mostly of personal nature.

The same applies when asked about the responsibilities of the Ministry of Culture and Heritage. Only 3 interviewees mention that the Ministry has to ensure their rights to work and promote their work. This void in understanding the roles of the the different levels of government added to the lack of ability to work together for the betterment of all is the weakest point of the artworkers. At the moment it is not possible to talk about a music sector in the city because there is no unity among the actors, there is no vision as a sector but as individuals.

7. Conclusions

The impact of economy on artists and artworkers practice is mostly studied from different theoretical standpoints. On the ground regardless of the economic value given to creative and knowledge sectors (like IT and STEM), the arts, culture and social sciences are still not receiving the economic benefits promised. The reasons vary, from a lack of understanding of the heterogenous production processes of the arts, to moral objections to profit from the production of knowledge.

One may argue in favor of the moral objections to profit, yet even then, one should also argue for an appropriate livelihood of the artworkers, for their right to develop their art. The conundrum is not easily solved, especially in the capitalist economy previous to COVID-19. Therefore, the importance of public policy, to ground theory and guarantee the rights established in the Ecuadorian constitution of 2008.

Currently some policies do harm the production chain of the arts particularly when it is not state financed. As an example, the excess availability of public free concerts that are entirely financed by the GAD do interrupt the free market since the bands are later unable to charge a decent fee for a concert. This is also a problem because the production chain of music is not complete in Portoviejo and there is a lack of promoters that could control the bands exposure and assure its appeal to the public.

There is one major problem in both sides of governance. Both the GAD and the artworkers have a lack of knowledge on how to promote the music sector efficiently. Chapter 5 showed that the productive chain of the arts is not complete in Portoviejo and Chapter 6 corroborated that there are no policies in place to strengthen the local production of music. If actions are not taken by the municipality to strengthen the production chain and promote music as a sector and not as individuals, artworkers of the music sector will always be dependent on public funding and on the long run it may affect the quality and innovation of the musicians in the city.

On the other side, artworkers of the music sector showed a lack of knowledge and understanding of the role the different levels of government play in the promotion of a cultural and productive sector. The majority of artworkers also showed a lack of commitment to their art and a lack of professional knowledge in managing their careers, with a few exceptions. Both issues add up to an individualistic view of their work, they don't see themselves as a group but as individuals. This last issue is of extreme importance, since the music sector is an art form that requires team effort at every step of its production.

As a result, artworkers from the music sector are not part of public policy in Portoviejo. It is evident in their policy documents that their work is being used to promote the city, but their modes of production are not being promoted. The GAD Portoviejo should focus on music as a productive sector in itself and thus create policy that addresses the issues of the sector. Firstly, they should make a survey of all the artworkers in the city involved in the music production in order to establish the current state of the production chain in the city. It is only by knowing the sector that effective policy can be written.

Artworkers themselves must show some interest and cohesion towards the local government. If there is no cohesion among them, no consensus on their needs, it will be impossible for the GAD to address their issues and built effective policy.

This research was not meant to establish if the income from the artistic practice is enough to support a family or to establish the relation between time worked and income. Yet the information shows that a deeper study in this area should be done, including quality of life and quality of production.

A policy for the promotion of the arts should be evaluated on the production and distribution of arts, not on the effects of the arts on the audience. The GAD should be able to know how their policies have better the quality of life of the artists and the people who work on the

production of the arts. There must be policies to guarantee the sectors productivity with the responsibility of the government being on policies but not on the actual exchange of services.

There are not conclusive answers to the kind of policy that should be written but this research has given an idea of how policy is been received by the sector, and it has tested a methodology to measure the impact of policy on the artworkers themselves. The work presented aspires to promote the creation of cultural policy that has at the center of the discussion the person, the artist, the artworker.

At a local level, the LOC will be revised, or it may even be applied at some point, it is necessary to have academic research on cultural policies in Ecuador in order to evaluate, critique and if possible, build new policy that is pertinent to the country, this research hopes to be part of that information bank.

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