

The challenges of cultural relations between the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean

Lluís Bonet and Héctor Schargorodsky (Eds.)

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FOREWORD

Lluís BONET and Héctor SCHARGORODSKY

This book is one of the main contributions of EULAC Focus research project, financed by the Horizon 2020 programme of the European Union, which is aimed at giving focus to the cultural, scientific and social dimension of the relations between the European Union (EU) and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC). The project intends to evaluate the state of scientific, cultural and social relations between both regions, to reflect on the most relevant challenges and, starting from the literature review and field research, to contribute with useful proposals to the revitalisation of existing initiatives and the development of new proposals for cooperation. In particular, this work delves into the main challenges of cultural relations between the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean, which is one of the three sectoral areas of the project.

The EULAC Focus project is set within the context of the preliminary studies for the European strategy to strengthen the relations between the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean. The implicit premise of such a strategy is that all new proposals should be based on the legal framework established by the EU treaties, in the *acquis communautaire* and in the praxis of the international relations programmes of the European Union with third countries. For this reason, focus, conclusions and recommendations of the EULAC Focus project are based on this *acquis* and on building realistic scenarios for the expected dynamics both at the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean level. On this basis, the project – and this book as a result of research carried out – aims to cast fresh light and to propose ambitious and feasible strategies for strengthening the relations and cultural cooperation between the two regions.

Within this framework, the contributions of Work Package 3 team of the EULAC Focus project initially focused on developing and analysing a repository of key documents on cultural relations between both regions.¹ Then, the background and current status of cultural relations at the bi-regional level were analysed, within the general framework of bilateral, regional and global dynamics, and within the specific context of the external cultural action of the European Union. This analysis was used as a baseline for carrying

¹ Available on the project website: <http://eulac-focus.net/publications--repository/repository>.

out a Delphi exercise geared towards getting expert opinion on the assessment and future strategies for strengthening the bi-regional relations between the EU and the CELAC. A large number of experts were interviewed and took part in the debate, with different but complementary viewpoints, disciplinary approaches, geographical origins and institutional background. Starting from collected materials, an expert seminar was organised in Buenos Aires in November 2017, which enabled the validation of the main conclusions and recommendations, for drafting the document *Cultural Relations – Proposal for High-Impact Actions: Input for the Scenario and Vision Building Process* presented at the beginning of 2018. Furthermore, general reflection processes carried out within the framework of EULAC Focus project, as well as considerations on future scenarios of the EU-CELAC relations have been taken into account, and the project's final document has been nourished with proposals to strengthen the bi-regional cultural relations.

A key outcome of Work Package 3 is the book *The challenges of cultural relations between the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean* which the reader now holds in his/her hands. Selected topics respond to the needs detected throughout the research process. The chapters have been written by a selected group of European, Latin American and Caribbean experts, and the book is aimed both at cultural practitioners of both regions and officials and servants directly involved in or who may have influence on the development and strengthening of cultural relations between the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean. In this sense, it is worth highlighting the collaboration of EULAC Foundation in the research and dissemination of the project. Also, the support of the responsible for the «Inclusive, innovative and reflective societies» unit of the Research Executive Agency of the European Union, and the inputs of project's evaluators who have been following the process.

The book is structured around three main parts. The first one, entitled INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS FOR COOPERATION, introduces the reader to cultural relations between Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean through four complementary articles. In the first chapter, *Cultural policy and diplomacy in the Euro-Latin American and Caribbean relationships: genesis, discourse, praxis and prospective*, Lluís Bonet, Emmanuel Négrier and Mariano Martín Zamorano start with the evolution and development of cultural diplomacy at the international level to explain its impact on cultural relations between both regions. Hereon, 8 key case studies have been studied: Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Colombia in Latin America, and Germany, Spain, France and the UK in Europe. Such cases prove the dense and complex institutional and legal framework underpinning bi-regional cultural relations, power asymmetries among countries and regions, as well as the entry of new public and private actors in a changing world. Against this background, the authors raise questions about future strategies of a region respect to the other, within the context of global cultural policy and diplomacy.

The second article, *Boosting EU-LAC cultural cooperation: lessons learned from EU programmes*, written by Jordi Baltà, describes the general framework and recent development of the EU external cultural action. In particular, it analyses different programmes to support European cultural cooperation at the international level and its impact on Latin America and the Caribbean. Under the focus of promoting social cohesion through culture and as an opportunity framework to strengthen the bi-regional cultural relations, the level of development of these programmes is contrasted against the New European Agenda for Culture (2018). From this analysis, the author provides guidance and recommendations to enhance EU-LAC cultural relations, and suggests a multi-level, plural and flexible structure to tackle existing disparities, and to prioritise issues of common interest.

Following, of particular interest is the article by Peter Birle, Barbara Göbel and Jakob Krusche of the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut (Ibero-American Institute in Berlin), focused on analysing the cultural dimension of relations between the European Union and the CELAC through the lens of four cross-cutting key dimensions: mobility, inequality, diversity and sustainability. Significant aspects of bi-regional relations affecting the EU-CELAC bi-regional agenda are also discussed, and an overview of achievements and challenges to help contributing to further development of the cultural dimension in the bi-regional relations is provided.

The fourth article that completes this section, *European cooperation and cultural action of EUNIC clusters in Latin America and the Caribbean*, written by Giada Calvano with the invaluable support provided by Elisa Grafulla, presents the renewed role of EUNIC network of European national institutes of culture abroad, within the context of the new strategy for cultural relations of the European Union at the international level. The work starts with a mapping of the action of different cultural agents in each Latin American or Caribbean city or territory of reference, the so-called EUNIC clusters, to analyse the state of the art and the future of bi-regional cultural cooperation.

The second part of the book focuses on presenting the SUB-REGIONAL EXPERIENCE AND DYNAMICS that make up bi-regional cultural relations, analysing, on the one hand, the experience of cultural cooperation at the Ibero-American level (between Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking America and Europe), and, on the other hand, the specific situation of two particularly vulnerable sub-regions: the Caribbean world and the Central American isthmus. The first of the three articles, *The experience of Ibero-American cooperation programmes and their potential development at the EU-CELAC Level*, deals with the experience of Ibero-American cultural cooperation with the aim of evaluating its contribution and using its learning to broaden its scope at the Euro-Latin American and Caribbean bi-regional scale. This chapter, written by some of the technical specialists of the Ibero-American cultural programmes – Araceli Sánchez Garrido, Elena Vilardell, Rosa Sophia

Rodríguez Ruiz, Guillermo Heras, Mônica Barcelos and Vanessa de Britto – has been coordinated by Mónica García Alonso of the Organisation of Ibero-American States for Education, Science and Culture (OEI). The text makes it possible to understand the important contribution of Ibero-American cooperation through the description and result analysis of some of its main programmes, as well as the institutional framework of multi-lateral cooperation (Ibero-American Summits of Heads of State and Government), with the decisive role played by some countries. The text presents some of the challenges of cooperation and proposes specific recommendations contributing to reinforce the dynamic of cultural relations based on the Ibero-American experience, with many years of cooperation expertise between both sides of the Atlantic.

The second article is entitled *The possible impact of Brexit on Caribbean-European cultural relations*, and is written by three Caribbean researchers with extensive expertise in the analysis of cultural industries of this region: Suzanne Burke, Paula Morgan and Keron Niles. The work begins with introducing the reader to the historical issue of international cooperation in the Caribbean and describes the underpinning institutional and financial framework, in particular the Protocol III of the CARIFORUM-EU EPA. This facilitates «collaboration, cultural exchanges, the co-production of audio-visual works and the provision of technical assistance [providing] a framework for Caribbean and European nations to increase existing trade flows of cultural goods and services between the two regions». Then, they analyse possible regional scenarios depending on the adopted form of exit of the United Kingdom from the European Union. So, the authors make a distinction between «soft Brexit» and «hard Brexit», which are options that bring about different implications and consequences in the field of international cultural cooperation, and recommend possible strategies to face both contingencies.

This section is completed by the text *Relations between Europe and Central America: a polyhedral fit*, prepared by Mario Hernán Mejía. It deals with existing similarities, differences, strengths and weaknesses among Central American countries with respect to cooperation policies with the European Union, and explores with a forward-looking approach «possible scenarios that mark a turning point in cultural relations between the two regional blocks, based on their own existing policies, mechanisms and programmes that make culture a development cooperation strategy». The author points out that, although at present cultural dimension does not have sufficiently relevant actions, neither its issues are included in the key areas of the regional development agenda, there exists mechanisms that may change this situation. In his own words, «the Mesoamerican region can constitute a distribution circuit, the programming of cultural cooperation activities that reinforce creation (protection in terms of heritage), production, distribution and enjoyment of a cultural life based on exchange and mutual knowledge» and «facilitate political relations and commercial exchanges between the European Union and Central America and

to make culture the integrating axis of development». The article includes a table with the EU instruments of cultural cooperation and potential strategies for cooperation with the Central American region.

Finally, the third and most extensive part of the book, entitled FLOWS AND STRATEGIES, gathers cross-cutting and sectoral contributions that are present across cultural relations between both regions, structured around eight chapters. The section starts with an article written by Simone Belli, Cristian López Raventós and Héctor Schargorodsky focused on *Inter-university cultural cooperation between CELAC and EU: notions, current scenario and perspectives*. The university system is an increasingly important agent in the panorama of cultural relations between the countries that comprise the EU and the Latin America/Caribbean region. Both regions have a significant number of universities that, through educational, research and outreach activities, act as a bridge for cultural events in both regions. The authors describe the typologies of cooperation among universities and provide examples of success stories of bi-regional exchange. By way of conclusion, they point out that in order to lead a positive change, it is desirable to have a «strongly increasing inter-university communication, and adopting new and more dynamic protocols and organisation forms, to update and overcome the existing bureaucratic forms of inter-university cultural cooperation among countries and regions».

Carlos E. Guzmán Cárdenas, Bernardino Herrera León and Carlos Mora address the issue of *Asymmetries in cultural foreign trade between Latin America and the Caribbean and the European Union*. Taking the UNESCO cultural statistics framework and data from the UNCTAD as a reference, the article reviews the situation of global trade of cultural and creative goods and services, and focuses on «deep intra-regional and extra-regional economic asymmetries» that «differentiate and condition the cultural-creative production profile of the LAC countries as well as highlighting the greater potential on the side of the EU». According to their analysis, it is clear that the sector of cultural and creative industries in LAC presents a number of issues that limit its development and outreach in the international market, and in particular in its exchanges with countries that comprise the EU.

Following, Francisco Guevara reflects on *Performing the fantasy of mobility while enacting the violence of immobility*, covering the hypocrisy and dysfunctions of mobility of artistic professionals between both continents. From a critical perspective, he analyses how cultural mobility has profound historical implications with detrimental and long-lasting effects for Latin America and the Caribbean, and quite often hides a biased perspective of these regions while fantasising on the transformative potential of art with respect to artistic creation processes and international meetings. The text analyses the ideological function of cultural mobility, especially within the context of relationships between Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean. It considers that there is no increase in the

movement without extensive systems of immobility and presents different examples of repercussions and experiences in the practice of mobility. Finally, it focuses on the issue of cultural cooperation in Latin America and the Caribbean, looking at the *Cultural Mobility Funding Guide* as a reference and current panorama of these regions, to rethink the main obstacles before us.

As concerns the situation of performing arts – theatre, music and dance – Xavier Marcé proposes in his article *Relations between Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean in the sphere of performing arts* specific strategies to advance its development. Marcé considers that «the most relevant problems for cultural cooperation between the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean come from the legal-administrative differential and the customs and fiscal obstacles that hinder the circulation of products and people». While the main advantages come from the existence of solid support points, starting from the ubiquity of European Institutes of Culture in most American countries, together with other institutes specific to Latin America and the Caribbean. Based on data on different markets and experiences of several countries, he proposes concrete actions, such as a «Guest country or city in Europe» programme, the creation of a European Agency for the coordination of Latin American tours and shows in Europe, the creation of the Artistic Visa, a major European-American private investment fund to promote the production of cultural contents, as well as creating a specific classification for high-level cultural companies on a European scale interested in exporting to the Latin American/Caribbean region. Finally, the author argues that «the central objective that the European Union should establish is to change from unilateral to multilateral relations, favouring the creation of management structures that could work on a directly European scale».

Digitalisation has a significant impact on production, movement and consumption of cultural goods and services. The accelerated development of cultural industries driven by digital technologies has substantially modified bi-regional exchanges in the audiovisual field. Specialists Guillermo Mastrini and Fernando Krakowiak examine *Audiovisual flows in Latin America and Europe* in the light of these changes and with regard to public policies. Their article describes the evolution of European and Latin American audiovisual policies and bi-regional exchange in the film and television sector. According to the authors, public policies have proven to be efficient in increasing cultural production, but they point out in their conclusions that «public policies for the audiovisual sector must tackle specifically the problem of intra-regional imbalances, protecting especially the smaller markets and countries».

Following, Fabiola Wüst Zibetti also addresses the impact of digitisation and protection of copyright, this time with a focus on the field of cultural heritage, in a text with title *Digital cultural heritage in EU-LAC countries: the protection of copyright in the digital envi-*

ronment. The text takes as a starting point the fact that in Latin America and the Caribbean exist «not only broad asymmetries in copyright laws, but also the obsolescence and the lack of adaptation of copyright legislation to the new technological environment». In response, she considers that the potential of cultural exchange between the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean could benefit from a cultural exchange process among EU-LAC countries. Nevertheless, she observes the challenges involved due to a great diversity of regulations between countries in both regions. To move in this direction, the author proposes to establish a space for dialogue «among these countries with the purpose of promoting synergies among the nations in order to find a solution to the delicate balance between the protection of copyright and the access to digital cultural heritage. In this context, the European experience can be used as a baseline for analysis, particularly in those issues that are not regulated in Latin American and Caribbean countries, such as orphan works».

Another key aspect of movement of cultural goods at the bi-regional level is based on artistic trade and licit and illicit traffic of cultural heritage. In her article *Latin America and the Caribbean look at Europe in the journey of their cultural property* Inmaculada González Galey analyses, on the one hand, the legislative history of protection of historical heritage, as well as the role of collectors and art galleries, on the other hand, she describes the difficulties in fighting illicit trade of cultural goods in Latin American countries. According to the author, this looting, which is the product of colonisation, «has continued and has increased in the form of thefts from archaeological and history museums, focused not only on Pre-Columbian art but also on religious art – mainly colonial and viceregal – which has been the target of numerous acts of vandalism». She acknowledges that «the law is the best weapon to fight against any kind of illegal act committed in this field. Although at first glance it may seem that it restricts freedom of trade by limiting the free circulation of art pieces, it is the law that really permits freedom of movement of works of art, as non-fulfilment does not imply freedom but licentiousness, which is a much shorter path». In this regard, she provides a picture of current legislation against illicit trade of cultural goods in both regions and describes UNESCO's efforts to cooperate in this fight.

The book concludes with an article by Pablo Alabarces that deals with *Sports exchanges between Europe and Latin America: flows, migrations and indifferences*. The inclusion of sports among the challenges facing cultural relations between Latin American and Caribbean regions and the European Union responds both to the need to extend the focus to an anthropological concept of culture and a request from the call for proposals of the project to include this perspective. The analysis proposed by the author helps to understand the different roles played by sports in building some sort of social order. Thus, quoting German historian Stefan Rinke, he points out that «the history of sports in Latin America is

that of integration into the global capitalist market», opening up the possibility to draw analogies and links with the situation in the cultural sector itself. The article deals with the issue of migration of athletes between the two regions, both in the field of amateur and professional sports, and the transformation of some sports into an industry with a large turnover, as well as some of the answers offered by the states to several challenges to be faced. In this regard, he states that there is a close connection between sports, public health, social welfare and mutual knowledge, and it is clear that this relationship cannot be left exclusively to the market or to mere philanthropy.

We wish to emphasise that the authors of each of the articles of this book have included relevant bibliography, which constitutes *per se* an important contribution to the knowledge of bi-regional cultural relations.

A book of this magnitude would not have been possible without the research work and dedication of the authors, the strong collaboration of the team of Work Package 3 specialised in cultural relations, and the unconditional support of the scientific coordinator of the EULAC Focus project, Dr. Ramon Torrent. In particular, the editors want to highlight the unwavering and continued commitment of Mónica García Alonso and Giada Calvano. We would also like to praise the effective cooperation of the external experts of the project's trans-sectoral team: Paola Amadei, Rigas Arvanitis, Alan Copley and Enrique Saravia. To all of them, many thanks!

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS FOR COOPERATION



1

CULTURAL POLICY AND DIPLOMACY IN THE EURO-LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN RELATIONSHIPS: GENESIS, DISCOURSE, PRAXIS AND PROSPECTIVE

Lluís BONET, Emmanuel NÉGRIER and Mariano Martín ZAMORANO

Abstract

Cultural diplomacy is experiencing transformation on a national, regional and global scale. On the one hand, the supranational governance systems are exerting growing influence on the agenda, objectives and tools of the foreign cultural policy of the States. On the other hand, a number of sub-state players, such as local and regional governments, as well as social organisations and transnational cooperation networks, have gained much more prominence in the international cultural scenario. From this perspective, the relationships between Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean have been scarcely analysed in spite of their long history – marked by a colonial past and migrations –, the rich flow of existing exchanges in various art and heritage environments, and their vast diversity – from the spreading of art and commercial exchange to the co-production of projects and cultural cooperation for development. This work builds on the discussion about the various forms of diplomacy and international cultural cooperation and intends to analyse their development through eight significant case studies: four from Europe – Germany, France, Spain and the United Kingdom – and four from Latin America – Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and Colombia. Likewise, it examines the growing organisation of European cultural diplomacy, including its recent changes, as opposed to the slower development of regional integration processes in Latin America and the Caribbean. The text concludes with some musings on the future of cultural relationships and diplomacy between both regions and some proposals for the future.

1.1 Introduction

Cultural relationships between Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean started with colonisation and have developed ever since with the continuous migrations and trade relationships across the Atlantic Ocean. When the Creole élites took power after gaining independence, the social, political and economic ruling system of the new republics was established. These new republics had a clearly Eurocentric cultural, ideological, and, to a great extent, ethnic rationale. In this context, the emergence of modern cultural diplomacy, initially led by France in the last few decades of the 19th century, found in Latin America one of its largest areas for expansion. During the first half of the 20th century, Germany, Spain, Italy and the United Kingdom joined their lead along with the growing influence of the United States. In the second half of the century, Hispanic American cultural cooperation gained relevance, which broadened into Ibero-American dimensions during the eighties and nineties, primarily financed and influenced by Spain (Zamorano and Bonet, 2018).

This process cannot break off the overall evolution of international cultural policies. Since the nineties, in the context of the so-called local and entrepreneur turn of cultural policies (Menger, 2010), the interdependency between cultural diplomacy and local cultural policy has strengthened. There is an incipient worldwide balance of power among countries, with new relevant players (China, and Brazil in Latin America) and the growing involvement of medium-sized countries. The result is multiplied and diversified international cultural relations, with increasingly hybrid public and private interests. In a scenario characterised by the development of information and communication technologies and, due to the acceleration of transnational movements, the international dimension of cultural policies and initiatives has gained crucial significance (Singh, 2010). Both phenomena challenged the so-called state «monopoly rules» of foreign policy (Vilanova, 1995) and favoured the intensification of sub-state cultural diplomacies or public and private paradiplomacies (Bound et al., 2007).

Aligned with these trends, there was a series of transformations in the foreign cultural action between both regions. In the first place, against the traditional power of the European and U.S. cultural diplomacy, a new Latin American and Caribbean foreign effort started to consolidate, which would drive an incipient rebalancing process between regions. In the second place, the so-called city diplomacies emerged on both sides of the Atlantic (Zamorano and Rodríguez Morató, 2015; Santos Viera de Jesús, 2017), along with a diversification of the players involved, as the role of social and cultural organisations, which wove active cooperative networks, intensified side by side with public diplomacy.

Likewise, the coordination and institutionalisation of supranational cultural cooperation strategies grew, creating a complex system of interrelations and multilevel dynamics

(Ang, Raj Isar, Mar, 2015). For example, the EUNIC was established in Europe in 2006 as a network of European cultural institutions abroad, organised in local clusters of collaboration and information exchange. This commitment, initially driven by countries such as Germany and France, has recently set its focus on Latin America and the Caribbean (see chapter written by G. Calvano). On a community scale, there are two key institutional documents which have laid the foundations for the new European diplomacy: the Joint Communication of the European Commission and the High Representative for Foreign Affairs to the Parliament and the Council *Towards an EU strategy for international cultural relations* (European Commission, 2016) and the *New Agenda for Culture* of the Commission (European Commission, 2018). In Latin America and the Caribbean, the multiple supranational coordination attempts have rendered a much less systemic outcome, aligned with more dispersed regional integration processes. In any case, countries such as Brazil, Mexico, Argentina or Colombia have moved forward in the development of more consolidated cultural diplomacy strategies and have increased the number of regional cooperation projects. In some sub-regional scenarios, they have done so at the heart of the CARICOM or the Mercosur, while others have benefited from the Ibero-American framework – sometimes, without the participation of Spain and Portugal, such as is the case with the *Ibermúsica* programme.

It is worth considering that Latin American and Caribbean countries have historically been «hosts» of the cultural-diplomatic action of third countries, mainly European, but also from the United States.¹ This asymmetry has been legitimated by various accounts. A few neocolonialist theses, such as the Spanish Hispanicism during Franco's regime, recently dusted off by the People's Party (Rius Ulldemolins and Zamorano, 2015), explain this structural disparity on a civilising and evangelising note. In a more nuanced way, there was a second, more pragmatic account based on geostrategic advantages, shared values and interests, and an enriching cultural exchange. This second interpretation helped justify the bilateral cooperation agreements signed and the money invested to the taxpayers of «donor» countries and to postcolonial criticism. This dialectal discussion made it possible to negotiate resources and strategies depending on the ideological forces in power. Thus, during the predominant leftist shift in Latin America in the first decade of the 21st century, the underlying narratives on the relationship between Latin America and Europe were reinterpreted. Oriented towards a postcolonial view and a deconstruction of Eurocentrism, particularly regarding Spain, they are now working for greater coordination and self-determination of the political-cultural agenda, primarily in South America (Zamorano and Bonet, 2018).

¹ During the Cold War, the USA promoted developmentalist and liberal values across the continent through diplomatic and philanthropic means (Chiaramonte, 2008).

This paper intends to analyse the general evolution of cultural diplomacy in both regions and understand the transformation of their power balances and the exchanges between them. With this aim in mind, it analyses the foreign cultural policies of four key Latin American countries – Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Colombia – and four European countries with a long tradition and wide influence in the Latin American sphere – Germany, Spain, France, and the United Kingdom.² It introduces the international cultural relationships among this group of countries, considering the blurred lines between domestic and international cultural action. Likewise, it intends to go beyond the analysis of the «policies» to delve deeper into the «politics» around the complex relationships of international cultural policy. Therefore, the work considers both the existing power relationships and the current ideological narratives and frameworks and their capacity to establish the rules for institutional efforts.

1.2 Orientations of international cultural policy

Cultural diplomacy dates back to the late 19th century and originated from the activity of European liberal, artistic and religious élite members abroad, organised in associations and spaces for education and discussion. The first experiences were centred in the expansion of native language as a means to strengthen the identity of expat communities, boost trade ties and/or build political alliances. From the very beginning, these experiences were indirectly supported by the respective States. However, they were not formally institutionalised until the disputes between imperial ambitions became sharper, which urged the need for the development of coordinated strategies. It was no coincidence that France deployed its first modern cultural diplomacy after being defeated at the Franco-Prussian war, at a time its colonial empire was expanding, or that most big European countries did so during the interwar period, subordinating diplomacy to broader geostrategic interests (Paschalidis, 2009). In most cases, cultural diplomacy fed on neo-colonial sources and on the incorporation of traditional cultural tools for the construction of national hegemony – such as language and heritage – to a specific area of the international relationships between nation-states.

Cultural diplomacy thus became a subarea of public diplomacy³, i.e., one of the means by which governments related with foreign societies, by using the media, institutional spaces and persuasion strategies (Mark, 2009). As Arndt states, cultural diplomacy coordinates the various players in a more systematic way «at the service of the evasive 'nation-

² Beyond Brexit, the British strategy in the region is important due to its specific model and influence capacity.

³ Term proposed by Edmond Guillon in 1965 (Banai, 2010: 58) when it is necessary to give a subtler look at the propagandistic foreign action by the States of the new postcolonial era.

al interest' which is so difficult to define» (Arndt, 2009: 31). There is dissent regarding the contributions that are in the backstage of foreign cultural action. One approach operates mainly in the sphere of unilateral communication and close to the notion of nation branding (Aronczyk, 2008), while the other uses international cultural promotion strategies aimed at creating synergies in the world of arts and in the intellectual and educational fields (Arndt, 2009). In this sense, cultural cooperation policy is more horizontal and seeks mutual benefits involving international players with common objectives, needs, challenges or strategies (Martinell, 2011), aligned with UNESCO's Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Cooperation (1966). In this context, cultural cooperation towards development is based on the role of culture as a backbone for development and as a key tool for the mutual benefit of the nations (Harvey, 1990). It may be stated that, while international cultural cooperation is an intergovernmental issue and is deployed through public-private governance systems, cultural diplomacy stands as an intrinsic part of the national governmental action (Paschalidis, 2009), which is specific to the foreign policy of the States. This diplomacy gives the State greater control and renders it a quasi-monopoly of foreign representation. On the contrary, international cooperation has ceased to be a state monopoly as a result of the coexistence of public, associative and private players from various backgrounds and with different objectives (Saddiki, 2009). Nevertheless, it should be noted that, in the last few decades, cultural action from the States has taken an instrumental turn at the service of the countries' prestige and diplomatic efforts (van Graan, 2017).

Beyond this differentiation, and the greater or lesser subordination to the States' guidelines, international cultural action is characterised by the proliferation of players involved on different scales and levels (Bélanger, 1997). There are foundations and companies, artistic and heritage institutions, and even expat communities, which work alongside public, national or subnational institutions. Against this background, the question arises whether cultural agents can undertake their own international cultural policy and create their own cultural diplomacy (Vickery, 2017). Certainly not. Most do it more or less within the agenda which emanates from the intervention of the States. That is to say, from the programmatic matrix – at times lacking consistency as a result of historical development leaving some predetermined strategies – which is defined by bilateral or multilateral cultural cooperation agreements, fiscal, customs and visa regulations, the deployment of a network of cultural centres, and the existence of relatively generous subsidies, to name a few. At certain moments of history, the promotion of education and scholarship policies and the dissemination of culture through national cultural institutions were primarily fostered; at other times, the choice was a more decentralised exchange, co-productions and cultural cooperation for development. It all depended on the objectives and the public resources available, the energy of cultural players involved as well as the social receptiveness and the policies of the host country. The power of each country depended on the

resources and the capacity to seduce the rest of the players engaged in the international cultural arena (van Graan 2017: 192). In this context, the institutional nature of international cultural policies was the result of a game of interests and exchanges, generally asymmetrical, between economic, political and intellectual élites from different countries. These élites determined the objectives and priorities that historic opportunity (construction of a favourable narrative, availability of resources, etc.) later captured on a specific agenda.

Against this background, the question arises whether international cultural policy is a reflection of domestic policy and to what extent isomorphisms occur between the models and orientations of these policies. A number of experts observe great porosity between domestic and international policy, and between state and sub-state cultural diplomacy (Ang, Raj Isar, Mar, 2015; Vickery, 2017). In fact, the so-called regional or city cultural paradiplomacies are currently nourished by various mechanisms of urban cultural policy, such as major events or the promotion of audio-visuals broadcast worldwide. These sub-state actors actually imitate models and orientations developed by national actors and build partnerships with state and suprastate actors. The best way to answer these questions is to focus on the cultural diplomacy models of 8 paradigmatic cases in Europe and Latin America.

1.3 Cultural diplomacy in Germany, Spain, France and the United Kingdom

The cultural diplomacy models promoted by the different European countries have specific characteristics, as a result of their historical tendency and domestic cultural policy model. Spain is the country which has had the greatest presence in the last few decades and has invested more resources in the cultural relationship with Latin America and the Caribbean. However, European cultural cooperation and diplomacy in the region cannot be understood without the action developed by countries such as Germany, France, Italy or the United Kingdom. It should be borne in mind that these four countries alone accounted for more than three quarters of the total number of foreign cultural centres in the world at the beginning of the 21st century (Paschalidis, 2009). It is evident that not only these large countries are present in Latin America and the Caribbean, as the Netherlands and Nordic countries are also notably present in remarkable ways. On the other hand, as previously mentioned, there is incipient coordination of actions by different European countries into local clusters. The aim is to build spaces to share experience and resources, and to design joint cooperation projects both in Europe and outside the European Union. In such spaces, both the EUNIC and the EU delegations play an important role. In the following paragraphs, we will summarise the foreign cultural strategy of Germany, Spain, France and the United Kingdom.

1.3.1 Germany

The German cultural diplomacy as we know it was born after World War II with the aim of regaining the reputation lost with the propaganda of the Nazi regime, on the basis of the promotion of academic culture, language and cultural exchange. However, its background is linked to the support – with indirect government assistance – to the German-speaking overseas diasporas by the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Schulverein zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums im Auslande* (1881), particularly active in Eastern Europe and also in some areas of Latin America. The direct involvement of the State did not take place until the end of World War I, as the country was defeated and culture was entrusted what foreign policy could not provide for (British Council and Goethe Institut, 2018). In 1920, the Department of Culture was created within the Foreign Affairs Office, and the German Institute for Foreign Affairs was incorporated (currently known as IfA, Foreign Affairs Institute). The *Deutsche Akademie* was founded in 1923 – precursor of the Goethe Institute (1951) –, and two years later, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the international station *Weltrundfunksender* – predecessor of the *Deutsche Welle* (1953) – were born. Before and during the war, Nazism spread aggressive propaganda abroad, as it blamed the defeat at the Great War on the lack of international support. This resulted in the instrumentalisation and nationalisation of paragonovernmental bodies created during the Weimar Republic.

Once the war was over, Federal Germany supported its foreign cultural policy once again through a network of mediating entities: the Goethe Institute and Inter Nationes – which merged in 2001 –, the IfA, the Humboldt Foundation and the DAAD. These units, which were subsidised but independent from the government structure⁴, develop a more respectful, critical and professional cooperation policy than their counterparts in other countries. All of them received funds from the Department of Culture under the Foreign Affairs Office, as well as from the Federated States or *länder*. In the context of the Cold War, the opening of cultural centres across the world had a clearly competitive look.

In the seventies, Foreign Affairs Minister Willy Brandt described cultural action as the «third pillar» of Germany's foreign policy. The exclusive promotion of élite culture was left aside to give ground to modern popular culture, with the intent to foster true artistic and academic cooperation, in a context of intercultural respect relationships. In 1982, the Ten Theses on cultural exchange and cooperation with developing countries were published (Fernández Leost, 2015). With the fall of the Wall and the economic effort the unification implied, resources available were reduced and tension grew between a cultural sector which supported cultural relations among equals, and some governmental attempts to instrumentalise it at the service of foreign policy (British Council and Goethe Institut, 2018).

⁴ 66% of their funds are public, and 25% come from course and exam fees (Goethe Institut, 2018).

At the turn of the century, the Konzeption 2000 strategy was approved. It established four objectives: to foster the country's cultural and educational interests abroad; to project a positive, modern image; to favour European integration; and to encourage value-based discussions to prevent conflicts. Cultural relations intended to be a trust-building practice, where artistic and cultural exchanges continued being an intrinsic asset. The government could try to have an impact on the results, but not on the operations, as the benefits it reaped were a positive by-product of such.

Latin America and the Caribbean have not been among the regions Germany was primarily interested in,⁵ as it was traditionally interested in Central and Eastern Europe, the United States and Western Europe, or as of recently, Asia and Africa. However, another institution that was able to transform after the war was the Ibero-American Institute (IAI), a platform for intercultural cooperation and dialogue based in Berlin, which has the largest library in Europe specialised in Latin America, the Iberic Peninsula and the Caribbean. Neither is it a coincidence that the EULAC is based in Hamburg, as Germany has decisively committed to the consolidation of a common European cultural identity and action. The Goethe has 9 centres in Latin America and a few other institutes, and has been a pioneer in cooperation with the other European national institutes in Latin America and the Caribbean through the joint organisation of events (European film and culture festivals).

1.3.2 Spain

Hispanicism and cooperation with Latin America and the Caribbean have been the focus of Spanish cultural action abroad since the first decades of the 20th century. In its early stages, it was inspired by the French model of academic-cultural cooperation, with the aim to establish relationships with Hispanic-American intellectuals and increase the influence and prestige of Spanish culture. The Office of Spanish Cultural Relations was created in 1921, although it was the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera to impose – in addition to strengthening the prestige of the Spanish culture – a political-propagandistic orientation from the Board of Cultural Relations and the magazine *Información Española* (Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, 2014). After the short but fruitful republican period, Franco's dictatorship reinforced the political-propagandistic strategy legitimated by the Spanish evangelising and civilising historical legacy, by expanding the network of cultural centres and the scholarship policy.⁶

⁵ Out of the 159 Goethe Institutes dispersed in 98 countries, only 13 are in Latin America and the Caribbean (Goethe Institut, 2018).

⁶ The Institute of Hispanic Culture (ICH), created in 1946, had 42 cultural centres across Latin America by the end of the dictatorship in 1975 (Escudero, 1994).

After the dictatorship, the Hispanic-American framework of reference was broadened to the term Ibero-America⁷, incorporating Brazil and Portugal into a regional cooperation policy led by Spain. This strategy ended with the celebration of the 5th Centenary, the establishment of the Ibero-American Summit of Heads of State and Government (1991), and the implementation of an ambitious regional cultural cooperation agenda. Implicitly, in exchange for financing a significant share of Ibero-American cooperation programmes, Spain consolidated its regional leadership and its role as international representative (Zamorano and Bonet, 2018). Concurrently, Spain noticeably increased its development aid, and promoted cultural cooperation for development in remarkable ways.

With the creation of the Cervantes Institute in 1991, Spanish cultural centres dispersed across the Arab world, Europe and Brazil became part of this new structure. However, the centres in Hispanic America remained outside the Cervantes Institute and under the direct control of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, as an excellent platform for cultural dissemination and cooperation. The mission of the Cervantes Institute is to promote the teaching, study and use of the Spanish language, and to contribute to the promotion of Hispanic cultures in the non-Hispanic world. «It is no longer a matter of spreading the Spanish culture exclusively, but rather, the intent is to spread the broader reality of culture in Spanish, which gains a strategic value in political and economic spheres» (Sanz Luque, 2005). This «generous» opportunity is not always well interpreted in Latin America and the Caribbean, since, although it enables the spreading of Latin American authors and works to the rest of the world – there are 87 centres in 44 countries across the five continents –, it implies a sort of appropriation of the Hispanic culture by a number of centres at the service of Spanish cultural diplomacy.⁸

The Spanish foreign cultural action is a tool at the service of foreign policy, focused on the promotion and dissemination of the Spanish culture, cultural cooperation with priority countries and the reinforcement of the Spanish brand. This explains the predominance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation over the Ministry of Culture of Education. From a geographic standpoint, it focuses on four main areas: Europe, Latin America, the Mediterranean, and the United States. One of the challenges of said action is coordination, given the existence of multiple institutions (Cervantes Institute, Spanish Cultural Action, Carolina Foundation) and some degree of tension between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture. In addition to the above, there are many sub-state

⁷ In 1977, the ICH was renamed Ibero-American Cooperation Centre, and in 1979, Ibero-American Cooperation Institute (ICI), becoming part of the Spanish International Cooperation Agency (AECI) in 1988; in 2007, the letter D was added, which stands for development.

⁸ It should be borne in mind that 53% of the 120-million-euro budget for 2017 comes from the State, a small amount from sponsorship, and the rest, from course and exam fees, which include tests to obtain Spanish citizenship (Instituto Cervantes, 2017).

administrations which have a vast international agenda, with objectives and tools that are often detached from the central government guidelines (Zamorano and Rius Ulldemolins, 2016). In order to solve internal dysfunctions between bodies under the central administration, a Convention was signed in 2009 for the development of a reinforced strategy to promote the Spanish culture abroad, followed by a National Overseas Cultural Action Plan, which was not implemented due to the change of government and the budget crisis (Álvarez Valencia, 2019).

While other government changes maintained the main guidelines of Spanish cultural diplomacy, the People's Party government (2011-2018) drastically reduced its budget allocation⁹ and changed its priorities: the Spain brand was strengthened through greater presence in the United States and Europe, the advantage of Ibero-American cooperation was limited – to the point of refusing to participate in Ibero-American programmes such as *Ibermúsicas*, *Iberartesanías* or *Ibercocinas* –, and cultural cooperation for development was interrupted. The 11 cultural centres in Latin America were maintained although Spain lost overall prominence in the region, which coincided with the claim – more rhetorical than supported by resources – of a more balanced relationship.

1.3.3 France

French cultural diplomacy is the oldest, most ambitious, most renowned and most widely implemented in the territory on an international scale. It dates back to the 18th century, with the presence of great intellectuals in key embassies (Diderot, Beaumarchais or Voltaire), and the great academic and archaeological missions. Roche and Pigniau (1995) distinguish three main stages. The first one, between 1833 and World War II, began after the defeat in 1870, with the creation of the *Alliance Française* (French Alliance). The main objective of that associative network was to influence the élites in the colonies and the countries with commercial ties through the prestige of the French language and culture. It also intended to coordinate the proliferation of dissimilar initiatives – many of religious influence – without disrupting the value of a decentralised structure; so much so that even nowadays, local committees are established pursuant to country-specific legislations, and maintain their legal – and to a large extent economic – independence from the Parisian headquarters of the *Alliance*. Its primary mission was the promotion of the French language and culture. Along with the *Alliance*, the first French institutes were founded after 1907, with a focus on cultural and scientific action, as they emerged from university environments. However, these institutes were directly linked to the State through a net-

⁹ The AECID (Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation) budget went from 934 to 226 million euros between 2010 and 2013, and the Cervantes Institute budget went from 103 to 86 million (Fernández Leost, 2015).

work of embassies and Ministry of Foreign Affairs offices. In 1922, the French Association for Artistic Action was founded – currently known as *Institut Français* – as an operator for international cultural exchanges. In 1931, *Le Poste Colonial* was born – currently known as *Radio France Internationale*. Its mission was to keep the colonial empire informed and soon after, to counteract the Nazi propaganda.

The second phase (1945-1980) was characterised by the great expansion of both networks and the institutionalisation of French cultural diplomacy. To coordinate this strategy, the General Office for Cultural Relations was created. In 1970, with the end of the colonial empire, the *Organisation internationale de la Francophonie*, a community of French-speaking countries, was established, which was key to maintaining cultural influence. From the interwar period until the eighties, the *Alliance Française* was rooted in Latin America, and in 1982 it still had 50% of its forces in the region. It was not solely targeted at wealthy élites, but also at a middle-class audience, often rather modest. This universalism, which inspired the opening of multiple structures abroad, derived in a financial crisis of the system during the 1970s crisis (Chaubet, 2017).

The third phase started around 1980 in response to two challenges: the first one, to foster a true exchange among cultures by broadening international dissemination to the various expressions of contemporary French culture, and not just those considered genuinely French. The second was to interact with the diversity of domestic cultural players. Thus, institutes and alliances started to gradually include in their agenda broader dialogue with contemporaneity and greater diversity of proposals and exchanges.

Nowadays, there are two great paradoxes that characterise the French foreign cultural policy. On the one hand, the strong centralisation of narrative and the diversity and decentralisation of the players involved. On the other hand, a great rhetorical ambition and the cutback on financial resources (Lombard, 2017). The annual budget of French cultural diplomacy is 712 million euros (2017), 2.2% of the French cultural exports value. This data shows the great transformation in the public-private relations in foreign cultural exchanges. However, between 2011 and 2017, while the budget allocated to foreign affairs increased by 2.1%, the programme «Diplomacy and Cultural Influence» dropped by 5.9%. Cultural action, which accounted for 35% of the budget allocated to foreign affairs in 1995, accounted for less than 25% in 2017. This decrease was concentrated mainly in centres and programmes abroad, while the Paris headquarters were practically unaffected (Haize, 2017).

In addition to the decrease in resources, there were three uncertainties that affected the French foreign cultural action: the organisational model, the role of public efforts in international cultural relations, and intervention strategies. From the organisational standpoint, in 2010 efforts were invested in an autonomous structure, the *Institut Français*, with the mission to guide foreign cultural action under a contract signed with the State,

which determined objectives and means. However, to become an institute like the British, Goethe or Cervantes, it would have had to merge with the *Fondation Alliance Française* and its network of local organisations. This failed to materialise, giving rise to additional complexity in a context of budget regression and uncertainty regarding the role of French foreign cultural action.

Against this background, what is the role of Latin America and the Caribbean in the French cultural geopolitics? On the one hand, it does not appear on the map of priority areas for development aid, as would be the case with Africa, nor is it part of the colonial past with its strong language and political background – since the French Guiana and Caribbean are now integrated to France as a result of the respective referendums on self-determination. On the other hand, the last French presidents opted for Atlanticism, thus giving up an image of resistance to American domination, which is particularly appreciated in Latin America. In any case, Latin America and the Caribbean continue to host 26% of the 836 *Alliance Française* scattered around the world (*Alliance Française*, 2017). However, *Alliance Française* institutes have had to cope with a financing crisis – they are 95% supported by French language course fees and local subsidies (*Alliance Française*, 2017) – and with the aging of the model, in a period in which French is less attractive than in the past and language learning is an increasingly competitive market.

To overcome these difficulties, French policy has opted to organise large bilateral events, such as the years or seasons of France in different countries.¹⁰ This model allows greater media visibility and helps attract sponsorship and coordinate artistic events with political-commercial negotiations. However, this raises continuity problems that are particularly relevant when reciprocal exchange is based on the influence of key players and their social network. Concentrating French diplomacy on major events conceals, in some way, a regression in the public ambition for a consistent policy.

1.3.4 United Kingdom

The United Kingdom did not develop an explicit cultural diplomacy until the second third of the 20th century, when the Nazi propaganda started invading strategic regions for British interests, and the economic crisis demanded adding public diplomacy on top of geostrategic policy. Therefore, the treaty that created the Commonwealth – the network of countries united by colonial, cultural and economic ties – was signed in 1931. The *BBC world service*, which is currently the largest international broadcast channel worldwide, was created in 1932. The British Council, created in 1934, was particularly active during its first years in

¹⁰ In Latin America, France has organised a year event in Brazil (2009) and another one in Colombia (2017). The first one conceived 544 projects – 300 of which were cultural projects – in 120 Brazilian cities, and increased Brazilian presence in France. The second conceived over 700 activities on both sides of the Atlantic.

Europe, with the double mission to ensure the teaching of English language and the dissemination of British culture – e.g. organising the British Pavilion at the Venice Biennial.

After the war, when the Empire was disintegrated and the United Kingdom lost political and economic importance, national prestige focused increasingly on cultural terms. Foreign cultural actions became a soft power alternative to preserve economic, political and cultural liaisons both with its former colonies and with other strategic countries or regions. Through educational assistance and scholarships, scientific cooperation and technology transfer, their main objective was – and continues to be – to win the favour of the local élites. However, the available resources were not always very abundant, requiring the shutdown of centres, or harsh adjustments and sharp strategic changes, given the demanding cost-benefit assessment that is imposed on British paragonovernmental agencies. This permanent rearrangement of strategic priorities, combined with growing self-financing demand, are a differentiating factor and a value attribute for the British Council (British Council and Goethe Institut, 2018).

The independence of the British Council from government is ensured by its particular legal status and its high financial autonomy. This results in more independence and self-sufficiency than analogous organisations from other countries. 85% of its budget comes from its own resources – tuition and examination fees or projects –, and only 15% from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), in this case related to cultural and educational cooperation for development. Pursuant to the Royal Charter of 1940, its strategy is in line with the United Kingdom's long-term foreign policy, but in order to generate confidence, both to British citizens and to citizens of the rest of the world, it preserves its operational independence as a paragonovernmental charity. This is also the case of the BBC foreign service, since, although it receives a huge grant from the FCO, it is a government-independent body.

In 1976, the British Council created a department to promote artistic and academic exchanges, Visiting Arts, which became an autonomous organisation in 2001. At the turn of the century, a cultural policy more targeted at promoting creative industries and their export potential leveraged the «Cool Britannia» idea, focused on the potential of music, visual arts or fashion. The next large bet was digitalisation. Communication, teaching and digital projects have currently transformed the form of operating and being involved and impacting on target communities, gaining in efficiency and reducing costs.

Anyway, the current scenario is quite imprecise. The United Kingdom is leaving the European Union at the same time that the Culture Secretary proposes to leave UNESCO. However, the British Council is trying to strengthen cooperation, both in Europe and with the rest of the world, in order to build favourable alliances for the country and its creative industry. The view of the United Kingdom government is to maintain a close and special

partnership with European countries, while developing a more solid international role and profile (British Council, 2018).

In terms of its relationship with Latin America and the Caribbean, we should distinguish the relationship with the English-speaking Caribbean, integrated to the Commonwealth, with which the UK holds strong cultural, human and economic ties. Latin America, on the other hand, has been among the areas of interest for the country from the beginning, but with the exception of Brazil, it is not part of current foreign action priorities.

1.4 International cultural policy in Argentina, Colombia, Brazil and Mexico

International cultural policy in Latin America and the Caribbean presents very uneven levels of development. While Argentina and Mexico started their activity simultaneously with Europe, other countries have had an irrelevant or intermittent international cultural presence. In general terms, most countries only institutionalised and consolidated their cultural diplomacy in the '90s, with the democratic advance of the region, a global trend that was generalised at the end of the Cold War. The main focus was set on promoting cultural heritage, together with developing tourism and encouraging cultural industry. At the same time, as a result of the influence of the United States, cultural diplomacy was progressively added as a soft power tool at the service of the other national interests on an international scale, in particular in the cases of Brazil, Chile, Peru, Colombia and Mexico. In both cases, it is important to keep in mind the influence of intergovernmental organisations active in the region, with their programme documents and their leaders training and promotion programmes: UNESCO, the Organisation of American States (OAS), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and the Ibero-American cooperation system. Culture and Foreign Affairs Secretaries participating in inter-governmental cooperation forums favoured a certain convergence of local culture policies upon adoption of international cooperation programmes.

Cultural diplomacy was attained, although with limited results, in the different regional integration dynamics. One of the initially most promising processes was the creation of Mercosur Cultural, although its ambitious programme for the promotion of a single cultural market never materialised (Getino 2009: 179). Only some of the most specialised projects were consolidated, such as SICSUR (Mercosur's Cultural Information System)¹¹ in 2009 when approaching the creation of regional bases for cultural information, in order to assist in the articulation of joint policies (Arzipe, 2001: 38). On the other hand, the Andrés Bello Convention made significant contributions, such as the economy and cultural programme, which was later undertaken by the IDB as the orange economy project. As regards

¹¹ www.sicsur.mercosurcultural.org.

UNESCO, its influence was decisive to coordinate cooperation plans in Central America and the Caribbean. At a regional level, however, it did not manage to consolidate a real agenda, after several agendas were approved at Culture Ministers' CELAC meetings. Another influential forum for intergovernmental debate in the region was the Organisation of Ibero-American States (OEI). Anyway, cooperation programmes with greater outreach and continuity were the ones that created the system reliant on the Ibero-American Cooperation Summits, run by the Ibero-American Cooperation Secretariat (SEGIB).¹²

Strategic diversification is observed on a national scale since 2000: The cultural brand image was more widely adopted, while greater multipolarity was acknowledged, probably under the influence of conceptual change in the post-colonial orientation of countries with more leftist governments (Zamorano and Bonet, 2018). The international cultural agenda in large countries was also strengthened. The following paragraphs describe an overview of said agenda.

1.4.1 Argentina

The history of cultural diplomacy in Argentina is in line with the foreign policy of the so-called Generation of 1880. This élite of liberal intellectuals and leaders created a series of mechanisms to promote the country internationally in order to attract immigrants, who would arrive massively from Italy and Spain, but also from other European countries (Viñuales, 2010). It was partly a civilising and racial project, since Europe was considered as the model to be followed. Under this umbrella, exhibitions and cultural events were held abroad – for example, the Argentine pavilion won the first prize at the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1889, complemented by new educational centres, libraries and theatres in the country (Santiviáñez Vieyra, 2008).

Argentine cultural diplomacy started a second phase in the '40s, under the imprint of «interior nationalism», since cultural action tripled its budget during the Peronist period – 1946-1955 (Fiorucci, 2007). A pivotal element of public diplomacy, shared with other regimes that developed populist strategies, was the promotion of sports, with the hosting of the 1951 Pan-American Games (Rein, 2017). The geopolitical positioning of Peronism, with an anti-imperialistic narrative, sought to establish the country within the continent, although it was limited in its focus on international artistic promotion. The growing institutionalisation of Argentine cultural policy and the progress of filmmaking would be essential resources for international projection. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the Cultural Secretariat, established during the second Peronist movement, or the National Filmmaking Institute (1957) and the National Fund for the Arts (1958), already in the totalitarian period.

¹² See specific chapter on this topic in the book.

In 1983, with the return of democracy, a new era started for cultural policy and its foreign cultural action. Cultural diplomacy found in the international projection of arts, in particular of film, a strengthened basis. Raúl Alfonsín's governments integrated such resources in foreign policy and undertook a more active role in Latin American integration, in particular in the process that would create Mercosur.

Although attempts to provide greater institutionalism to cultural diplomacy in the '90s would prove unsuccessful, and the 2001 economic and social crisis limited such policy, several transformations took place since 2003. The new energy of local cultural policy, especially within cultural industries, would provide a new basis for international cultural action (Zamorano, 2016). The Foreign Affairs Ministry – and its Exportar Foundation – would thus furnish the sector with new resources, in order to promote publishing and audiovisual production abroad, or to favour the mobility of artists (Viñuales, 2010) and a more plural view of Argentine culture. The presence of Argentina as guest country in the 2010 Frankfurt Book Fair was a landmark for this period (Boyardo, 2012), the same as the organisation of MICA, the cultural industries fair, with regional impact.

1.4.2 Brazil

Brazil's foreign cultural image has been historically influenced by the symbolic potential of its material and immaterial cultural heritage. Initially, in the '20s, cultural presence efforts abroad were focused on the Pan-American environment, through the work of the Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. Under the presidency of Getúlio Vargas, between 1930 and 1954, an explicit cultural action was started: a Propaganda Department was created in 1931, later renamed «Propaganda and Cultural Promotion» in 1934, and the International Cooperation Service was created in 1936. These institutions organised the Brazil pavilions at the large exhibitions of New York and Lisbon. Another strategy was the use of the film image of the country, which had an important resonance in Hollywood (Mascarenhas-Mateus, 2017).

Throughout the following decades, Brazilian cultural diplomacy was targeted both at the global promotion of its national brand and at establishing bonds with Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking African countries (Ribeiro, 2011: 90). At the turn of the century, Lula da Silva and Rousseff's governments revitalised and diversified local and foreign cultural policy. Historical cultural connections between Brazil and Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking Africa have continued, and the alliance with Spain was strengthened, as Spanish companies are quite influential in Brazil. Its relationship with other European countries has benefited from being considered as a strategic country by the European Union. One of the landmarks of said relationship was the Year of France in Brazil and the Year of Brazil in France in 2005.

The role of Brazil in Ibero-American cooperation should be highlighted. It is reflected in its leadership in the Ibermuseos programme, and in the creation of the Iber-Cultura Viva programme (2013), inspired by the Brazilian plan *Pontos de Cultura* (Zamorano and Bonet, 2018). Another environment for cooperation is the India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) Dialogue Forum, under a South-South cooperation logic (Soulé-Kohndou, 2015). Afro-Latin cultural exchanges are also covered in this context, as well as the projects involving South American indigenous cultures, such as the Guaraní (Rubim y Rocha, 2018).

The creators of this policy have been the Foreign Affairs and Culture Ministries, which have proven to be capable of effective cooperation during this period (Novais and Brizuela 2010). Anyway, Brazil has just started – in 2019 – a new political cycle that questions most of the diplomacy conducted in the last two decades.

1.4.3 Colombia

Colombian cultural diplomacy has been influenced by the long internal conflict and its need to project an international image of the country based on the energy of its artistic fabric and its rich cultural heritage. The U.S. and Europe have been key targets of these efforts. The *Plan for the Promotion of Colombia Abroad* was established in 1983, during Belisario Betancur's government. A National Council for Coordination, the Executive Committee for Cultural and Scientific Promotion and Agreements, and an Executive Committee for Image and Outreach, were created in this context. The Colombian Institute for Culture (Colcultura) under the National Ministry of Education also conducted some international promotion activities, which were continued by the Ministry of Culture, created in 1997.

The 1991 Constitution acknowledges the large ethnic and cultural diversity in the country, a focus implemented by the Ministry of Culture, which is gradually reflected on foreign action. In bilateral relations with neighbouring countries – Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru or Venezuela – focus is set on intercultural dialogue as an attempt to rehabilitate pre-Columbian and popular culture, and as an instrument of peace (Montoya Ruiz, 2017).

A new *Plan for the Promotion of Colombia Abroad* was approved in the next decade, integrating a cultural diplomacy programme run by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Such programme promotes the country's diverse cultural heritage, democratic values and modernity as incentives to attract tourism and investments. Colombian arts and crafts are promoted in a growingly marked image shift as cultural brand, with nation brand campaigns such as «Colombia is passion» (2005), or «The only risk is wanting to stay» (2008), where unidirectionality and little inter-institutional coordination ability rule (Rueda, 2010).

The Ministry of Culture's Department of Cultural Affairs drafted 51 action plans with strategic lines in terms of foreign policy. These lines of action include Afro Colombia, In-

indigenous Colombia, Inclusive Colombia, Reconciling Colombia, Democratic Colombia, or Bicentennial Colombia, among others. A peace agreement was signed with the FARC during president Santos's term, and a set of programmes was started in order to promote culture under a narrative of national reconciliation, such as the «Strategy to promote territorial culture management». This policy is supported by several foreign countries that are inviting Colombian artists to large international exhibitions. For example, Colombia was a guest country at the ARCO 2015 fair, and France hosted the Colombia-France year in 2017.

Besides being one of the countries that promote the Andrés Bello Convention, which has had its executive venue in Bogotá since 1972, Colombia has experienced growing multilateral cultural activity in the 21st century. Like Brazil, the country has recently focused on strengthening South-South cultural relationships, mainly with Asia Pacific and African countries (MRE, 2013). In this line, it has been actively involved in Ibero-American and international cultural forums during the last decade.

1.4.4 Mexico

Mexico has been one of the Latin American precursors of international cultural action. Since the 1910 revolution, the Mexican State took greater leadership in the administration of its national cultural heritage and in the local and international promotion of the country's arts. Under a humanistic philosophy, José Vasconcelos, in charge of the Secretariat for Public Education (1921-1923), created a cultural diplomacy programme that had a relational profile and sought to create synergies and cultural and academic exchanges with other countries (Rodríguez Barba, 2008). In the following decades, consolidation of the national cultural system, which concluded when the Sub-Secretariat for Culture was created in 1958, facilitated its cultural promotion internationally.

Based on this, cultural diplomacy reached a higher degree of institutionalisation in the 1960s, when the cultural environment was integrated as a department within the Foreign Affairs Secretariat (SRE) (Ortega, 2009). Since then, the country was more actively involved in international culture forums, in particular during Luis Echeverría's government. In this context, special emphasis was set on hemispheric relationships with Latin American and Caribbean countries and with the U.S. At the same time, the Mexico cultural centres in Madrid (1977) and Paris (1979) were also created (Rodríguez Barba, 2008). Agreements and other cultural cooperation mechanisms as part of Mexican diplomacy have been established on a continuous basis since this stage (Ortega, 2009).

In the '80s and '90s, foreign cultural policy was related to the realistic tradition (Prevost, 1998), joining in the economic diplomacy of the North-American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). This process gave rise to an increase in resources and a more systematic and autonomous strategy (Rodríguez Barba, 2008). A successful example of cultural pro-

motion is the Guadalajara International Fair Book, since 1987, or the large international exhibitions of Mexican artists, which coincided with the establishment of the Mexican Institute for International Cooperation (IMEXCI) in 1998. Since then, the action system of Mexico's foreign cultural action has covered a complex institutional scheme coordinated by the Department for Cultural Affairs under the Foreign Affairs Secretariat, in collaboration with the National Council for Culture and the Arts (CONACULTA), today the Secretariat for Culture, which has a significant weight in international representation (Villanueva, 2013). Such governance is completed with an active presence in multilateral forums, in particular UNESCO and the OEI, or the establishment of multilateral agreements for the protection of material and immaterial heritage – in line with the UNESCO Convention for Cultural Diversity (Fierro, 2009).

In recent years, the policy of large international events has continued, materialised with a nation brand orientation. In general terms, foreign cultural action has lacked systematicity, both in terms of strategic vision and regarding the cultural training of diplomats, with little consideration of professional cultural attachés in the diplomatic system context (Villanueva, 2009; 2013).

1.5 Underlying activities and interests in institutional relations between the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean

With the advance of the 20th century and the growing discredit of neo-colonial propagandist policies, foreign cultural action gained weight as part of the public diplomacy of states. A change occurred in the mechanisms of intervention: cultural cooperation and cultural and language promotion actions by cultural institutes abroad gained importance as soft strategy for influence. In the early 21st century, cultural action abroad is increasingly articulating with local cultural policy and undertaking the narrative of cooperation and creativity as brand image abroad, as evidenced in France's large events policy, in Cool Britannia, or in Colombian and Spanish nation branding projects. However, the 2008 crisis brought about a reduction of budget resources in foreign cultural action, as well as loss of legitimacy in local cultural policies.

In terms of the block politics, there are clear differences between Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean. The European Union is taking steps to establish a common cultural diplomacy (KEA, 2016), given the need to gain strength as a block, and in view of the new multipolarity evidenced in the international system; i.e. to contain the advance of China and the influence of the United States in this field. The search for a shared strategy was materialised with the establishment of EUNIC (2006) and the development of a foreign cultural strategy by the European Union, pursuant to and conditioned by the interests of member states (European Commission, 2016, 2018). The ambition and develop-

ment of this new policy depends on the convergence of interests. Thus, in a strategic environment as is the audiovisual, with intense public-private connections, Euro-Latin American relations have strengthened (Crusafón Basqués, 2011). Bilateral initiatives have also emerged, such as the recent announcement by France and Germany to develop joint cultural centres abroad.¹³

After the end of the cold war, Latin American and Caribbean countries have embarked on a process to institutionalise and diversify their cultural policy within their possibilities. This is occurring in the field of local cultural policy, as well as in the growing expansion of its representatives, both locally and broad. However, the uneven development of national models and the institutional fragility of emerging cultural diplomacy is conveyed in the narratives, resources and levels of involvement in supranational cultural action. In this context, Ibero-American Conferences of Heads of State and Government, promoted by Spain since 1991, have taken culture as one of their main focuses of action. On the other hand, during the first decade of the 20th century, intra-regional cultural cooperation has strengthened under the influence of a more multi-culturalist and post-colonial ideology, a philosophy that is reflected both in South American forums and in the Ibero-American environment (Zamorano and Bonet, 2018). Such reorientation is characterised by the new focus on identity representation politics, on rescuing popular and indigenous culture, albeit included in an image strategy. Such processes – marked by an intention to promote the new participating governance of international cultural action – are not creating stable forms of foreign cultural policy, or a new blocks diplomacy, but are strengthening the international dimension of cultural policies.

In spite of the transformations and the marked transfers and interdependencies of cultural diplomacy globally, different path dependencies are evident. On the one hand, the relevance and asymmetries in the historical and geopolitical evolution of continental blocks in terms of international cultural action, reflected in their models and in the role of the State. Policies are leaving their neo-colonial and more systematic basis in Europe, and their mostly «recipient» role with discontinuities in Latin America and the Caribbean. In line with this inequality, it is worth mentioning that the French and English models of cultural diplomacy and the American theses of soft power have been adopted by Latin American and Caribbean countries. On the other hand, persuasion strategies developed by European countries have been «updated» in a globalised and multipolar world. France and the United Kingdom have developed new channels for unilateral communication and intercultural dialogue, gaining a relevant space of action in Latin America, which is however mostly dominated by Spain. Spain also acts as a reference for the development of new models of cultural management and cooperation for development – e.g. with models such as vocational schools (*escuelas-taller*).

¹³ <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/newsroom/news/germany-france-cultural-institutes/2180486>.

Finally, the marked connection between the institutionalisation of cultural policy in every country and their cultural action gives rise to several government agendas and models. Different modes of international cultural action are marked by events such as the evolution of their cultural production – cultural industry –, their popular cultural heritage – cultural diversity and constructivist logics –, and their socio-political dynamics as basis for rectification through brand – memory of dictatorship, internal armed conflicts, etc. This is evident in Brazil, Colombia and Mexico, where strategies have been devised to rectify a negative image, connected with violence and social exclusion, through films or literature (Mascarenhas-Mateus, 2017).

1.6 Future perspectives in Euro-Latin American and Caribbean cultural relations

What future perspective can be imagined in cultural diplomatic relations between Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean? The characteristics, evolution and dilemmas of a long history of bilateral relations between the main countries in each region have been analysed in this text. The American republics are beginning to gain independence from the old European colonial empires, with intense migration flows and many interests and affections at stake. Languages and cultural baggage, in particular when they are shared across both sides of the Atlantic, have played a key role in the development of social, economic, political and cultural ties. European integration, and the slow construction of a common cultural diplomacy, entail seeking the answer to some key questions from a prospective standpoint: will public policies that support cultural relations between the two continents continue to be dominated by bilateral agendas, marked by the large countries, or will an increasingly powerful joint action be developed, in addition to those traditionally run by the States? What is or will be the role of Latin America and the Caribbean in the cultural and cooperation policy priorities of Nordic, Central and Eastern European countries?

European cultural diplomacy has evolved from classic cultural action, focused on a wide network of institutions dedicated to cultural dissemination or language teaching, to action increasingly focused on brand, large media events and actions targeted at élites to be influenced, and as a complement, on cultural cooperation for development. Such transformation responds to a need for higher efficiency. This factor could also explain the higher European concentration in strategies with a worse cost-benefit ratio for countries. In this regard, is Spain ready to share its historic dominance within Ibero-American cooperation in view of bi-regional cooperation, or only when this involves sharing costs in strategies where it has competitive advantage – as it did with the Mercosur Audiovisual programme? This question is also asked by the other European countries, from the smallest ones, or those with less historical connection with the American continent, to those like

France, who would like to reduce their decentralised action maintaining control over strategic decisions.

The greatest mystery when writing this text is the United Kingdom's strategy.¹⁴ Will it play an isolated strategy, will it strengthen its presence at intergovernmental forums, or will it somehow maintain its role in EUNIC to leverage the advantages of Euro-Latin American cooperation? Although at first sight it seems to favour the first option – not only with Brexit, but also with the withdrawal from UNESCO –, harsh global competition may encourage returning to collaborative schemes on a European and international scale. Anyway, the quality and visibility of its cultural production, a particularly efficient cultural diplomacy, as well as its privileged relationship with the English-speaking Caribbean, will enable the United Kingdom to continue to be an important bridge in the relationship between Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean.

On the other side of the mirror, what strategies do Latin American countries wish to develop in the current post-colonial era, with a wider array of international actors, *vis à vis* the traditional dominance – in image and available resources – by the United States and the European powers? Will they transform their foreign action, traditionally focused on maintaining their bonds with their diasporas, or on favouring small artistic clienteles, into a tourism-cultural image strategy, supporting a more aggressive music or audiovisual export? Just as in Europe there are large differences in priorities and resources from one country to another, the Latin American and Caribbean reality is also asymmetrical. For example, Brazil plays a clear leadership role in front of Portugal and the rest of the Portuguese-speaking world, and Mexico acts as a hinge or big brother between the United States and Central America. Colombia, Chile, and to a lower extent Peru, are expanding their foreign strategies, with an incipient cultural diplomacy, growingly open to the opportunities of a multipolar world.

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¹⁴ This text was last revised in April 2019, when the future relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union is still undefined.

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2

BOOSTING EU-LAC CULTURAL COOPERATION: LESSONS LEARNED FROM EU PROGRAMMES

Jordi BALTÀ PORTOLÉS

Abstract

This chapter analyses the cultural cooperation instruments developed by the EU both domestically and in foreign affairs, in order to appraise their potential for transfer and implementation in the framework of EU-LAC relations. The text starts describing the general framework for the EU foreign cultural action, including its recent development, and continues by analysing several programmes that support cultural cooperation: Creative Europe and its predecessor programmes in fostering cultural cooperation within Europe; several programmes and mechanisms for cultural cooperation and development in other regions, such as the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group of States or «Neighbourhood Countries» – Near East, North Africa and Eastern Europe –, mainly; and programmes and initiatives for regional development in Europe that include cultural cooperation support elements. From this analysis, this chapter concludes with remarks on the existing framework and a series of guidelines and recommendations to leverage EU-LAC cultural relations, suggesting a focus on a multilevel, plural and flexible structure, attention to structural aspects that enable to approach the existing imbalances, and priority to several aspects of common interest.

2.1 Introduction

In October 2018, a dozen European cultural cooperation networks and projects moved to Seoul, South Korea, to take part in PAMS – Performing Arts Market in Seoul, one of the most important gatherings of this type held in Asia. The gathering had the support of the European Commission's Directorate General for Education and Culture and the EU Delegation in Seoul, and included the participation of networks and organisations such as IETM, On the Move, the European Festivals Association, the European Theatre Convention, Circostrada, and the European Dancehouse Network, in order to present an overview of performing arts in Europe, the development of cultural cooperation networks, the role of performing arts in the celebration of the European Year of Cultural Heritage (2018), and cooperation perspectives between European and South-Korean cultural agents, among other topics (EU Delegation to the Republic of Korea, 2018).

This gathering was held under the EU-South Korea dialogue on cultural policy, emerged from the Cultural Cooperation Protocol signed by both parties in 2009,¹ which has led to regular meetings. At the meeting held in Brussels in April 2018, for example, collaboration opportunities had been analysed in terms of the European Capitals of Culture and the European Year of Cultural Heritage, among others (European Commission DG for Education and Culture, 2018). The 2011 Protocol also facilitated conducting audiovisual coproductions between European and South-Korean agents (European Commission, c. 2015), and was based on reports required from the European Expert Network on Culture, a research mechanism established by the European Commission to promote reflecting on cultural policies (Le Sourd, Di Federico and Yoon, 2013).

In parallel, several European networks have conducted debate and networking activities in South Korea and in other Asian countries for years, with the support of the European Commission's Creative Europe programme and the preceding initiatives. The IETM performing arts network, for example, held its first gathering during the 2007 edition of PAMS, and has returned to South Korea on several opportunities. This example illustrates the wide variety of tools that EU institutions have progressively established to support cultural relations with priority countries and regions. The collaboration between the European Commission and the European External Action Service (EEAS), the institutionalisation of a bilateral dialogue process, the use of financing mechanisms and the involve-

¹ This Protocol is an Annex to the Free Trade Agreement signed by the EU and South Korea in 2009, with a similar formula to that included in the economic cooperation agreements by the EU with the CARIFORUM (2007) and Central America countries (2010), which have been useful to implement the UNESCO Convention on the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, establishing a specific treatment for cultural goods and services under economic cooperation. For further information, see EU and Republic of Korea (2011).

ment of civil society actors illustrate a progressive deployment of a framework of foreign cultural relations involving several institutions.

Some countries and subregions in Latin America and the Caribbean have been beneficiaries of this type of actions specifically: Mexico and Brazil signed their respective cultural cooperation declarations with the European Commission in 2009, and each country was assigned priority in one of the annual editions of the Culture financing programme «special action» (2007-2013). In the case of Mexico, a Cultural Fund was available between 2008 and 2012 to support cooperation actions.² Considering both countries as «strategic partners» to the EU in its foreign affairs explains that both countries have also been identified as priorities in some actions derived from the new foreign cultural relations strategy, such as the Global Cultural Leadership Programme.³ Furthermore, as stated above, the EU has signed cultural cooperation protocols with Mercosur and with the CARIFORUM countries. These are isolated actions, with little continuity generally, which have been aimed at specific countries or areas. No continued regional activity or solid institutional dialogue can be observed.

2.2 Framework of analysis

Evidencing the existence of different scenarios in cultural relations established by the EU with other regions, this chapter seeks to analyse the cultural cooperation tools developed by the EU and to study their potential transfer and deployment under EU-LAC relations.

To that end, the following pages describe the general framework of the EU's foreign cultural action and several programmes supporting cultural cooperation fostered by the EU institutions – especially the European Commission –, as well as related international foundations – such as the Euromediterranean Foundation Anna Lindh or the Asia Europe Foundation –, that have served to foster both cultural cooperation among the EU Member States and between the EU and other regions of the world. More specifically, the analysis includes programmes focused mainly on development cooperation, the deployment of which has offered opportunities for cultural cooperation actions and projects. Eventually, the article offers recommendations and guidelines to strengthen the general framework and specific initiatives for cultural cooperation between both regions.

² For further information, see https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/international-cooperation/strategic-partners_en; and the article by Birle, Göbel and Krusche included in this book; also Schneider (2014) and Smits (2014).

³ For further information, see <https://www.cultureinexternalrelations.eu/2018/09/28/global-cultural-leadership-programme-2018/>.

2.2.1 Institutional context for the EU foreign cultural action

After a reflection started at least one decade before,⁴ the adoption in June 2016 of the European Commission and High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy's Joint Communication *Towards an EU strategy for international cultural relations* involved formalising the EU's intention to add cultural action to its relations with the rest of the world, understanding that this would contribute to «make the EU become a more powerful player in the global scene» (European Commission and High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, 2016: 3). Being a joint document by the agencies responsible for cultural cooperation and foreign affairs within the EU, and preceded by extensive consultations and contributions by other Community institutions (see, among others, EU Council of Ministers, 2015; European Parliament, 2011) and an extensive research and analysis process (Isar, 2014), the 2016 Joint Communication has a more solid institutional fit, at least in its foreign action aspect, than the European Agenda for Culture approved by the European Commission in 2007, which included the connection between culture and international relations as one of its three action pillars, proposing «systematic integration of the cultural dimension and the different components of culture in every foreign policy, project and programme for development» (European Commission, 2007: 11). As some authors have observed, although since the adoption of the European Agenda for Culture there have been advances in integrating culture to foreign relations, it is still not systematic: the role of culture in foreign relations is variable and asymmetric, with little intensity in several regions and action environments, and a limited level of adjustment to the reality of different regions and their actors (Lisack, 2014: 45), as will be explained later.

Several of the elements included in the Joint Communication of 2016 could lay the foundations for cooperation in the UE-LAC space around shared values. From the start, the document refers to the role of cultural diversity in the EU values, which should be transferred to international cultural relations, and refers to the commitment of the EU with the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (European Commission and High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, 2016: 2), a document that has also been ratified by most Latin American and the Caribbean countries. Other aspects included in the document, such as the intention to promote mutual respect and intercultural dialogue – which relates to the promotion of a spirit of dialogue, understanding, mutual learning and solidarity, and which should contribute to the construction of peace –, the cross-cutting approach of culture as it relates to sustainable development or cooperation in terms of cultural heritage, are also

⁴ It should be reminded in this regard that there are initiatives from civil society, such as the Dittrich van Weringh and Schürmann paper (2004); and joint publications by the Boekman foundation and the Labfor-culture.org programme from the European Cultural Foundation: Dodd; Lyklema and Dittrich van Weringh (2005); and Fisher (2007).

elements easy to integrate in relations with Latin America and the Caribbean, taking into account both the national agendas of the countries in the region and the existing regional cooperation initiatives – for example, the aspects approached in the Ibero-American Cultural Charter.

It is especially important to highlight that the Joint Communication identifies specific environments for potential collaboration with Latin America and the Caribbean: within the line of action focused on culture support as driver for economic and social development, which involves an area that supports the role of local authorities, the intention to «start regional programmes with Latin America – in particular with the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States, CELAC – aimed at promoting social cohesion through art and culture in large cities» is stated (European Commission and High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, 2016: 11) which, as the document explains, would help pursue pre-existing initiatives in this area, such as the project «Culture and Arts supporting social cohesion in Latin American cities (LAIC)», coordinated by Interarts and BOZAR between 2016 and 2017 at the request of the European Commission.⁵

Likewise, the Communication refers to the existence of interregional cooperation frameworks that contribute to its objectives, such as cultural cooperation programmes with African, Caribbean and Pacific countries (ACP), funded by the European Development Fund (EDF), or the Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI), which has a specific programme for Latin America. In any case, the DCI's Regional Multiannual Indicative Programme for Latin America in 2014-2020 has few references to the role of culture (European External Action Service and European Commission - DG for Development and Cooperation - EuropeAid, c. 2014), which should be approached in future negotiations coherently with the objectives and principles of the 2016 Joint Communication.

There is visible complementariness between the 2016 Joint Communication and the New European Agenda for Culture published by the European Commission in May 2018, which updated the 2007 Agenda. Without going any further, the three working environments that the New Agenda identified in its strategic objective regarding the external division of culture – «Strengthening international cultural relations» – coincide with the central themes of the Joint Communication: supporting culture as an engine for social and economic sustainable development; promoting cultural and intercultural dialogue for peaceful intercommunity relations; and reinforcing cooperation on cultural heritage (European Commission, 2018a).

The New Agenda for Culture defines some specific projected actions, such as the intent to develop strategies for cultural cooperation on a regional scale, identifying Latin

⁵ For further information, see <http://www.fomecc.org/laic-noticias>.

America as one of the first focuses of such strategies; or application of the Intra-ACP cultural programme to support job creation, identity construction, professional training, and audiovisual cooperation (European Commission, 2018a: 9). The level of precision is limited, but sufficient to verify that the different degrees of prior experience in cooperation also bring about differences in the precision of proposals: while in the ACP countries – including the Caribbean –, the Western Balkans or Central Asia, where European cooperation is more consolidated in general, planned actions are more precise – specific funding programmes, etc. –, in Latin America, the degree of prior experience is limited, and the most precise proposal is creating a regional strategy.

Anyway, creating a regional strategy for Latin America, which the working document accompanying the New Agenda for Culture specifies that should be the result of creating culture focal points at the EU delegations in the region (European Commission, 2018b: 18), provides a significant opportunity to promote interregional cultural cooperation from a specific diagnosis of needs. The working document also mentions the plan to contribute to the valorisation and protection of cultural heritage in Cuba and other Latin American countries, through mobility and vocational training actions, in the 2018-2020 period (European Commission, 2018b: 19), indicating that Brazil is one of the 14 countries where, after the cooperation agreement signed in 2017 by the European Commission, the EEAS and the EUNIC network of the EU National Institutes for Culture, special attention is provided to the actions implemented by European institutions, in the interest of implementing joint pilot projects (European Commission, 2018b: 14).

Among the interesting aspects of the proposals stated in the 2016 Joint Communication and the 2018 New Agenda for Culture, there is an intention to «go beyond projecting the diversity of European cultures, and try to generate a new spirit for dialogue, understanding and mutual learning, joint development of skills, and global solidarity» (European Commission, 2016a: 4), which brings about, among other things, the need to redefine the existing governance and management models, seeking a wider presence in the field, greater capacity for dialogue, and understanding of the diverse EU representatives. Such approach aimed at dialogue and cooperation relates to the proposals stated in the report *Engaging the World: Towards Global Cultural Citizenship*, resulting from an action in preparation for the promotion of EU external cultural relations, which suggested in 2014 that

[while] Europeans have already succeeded in projecting to the world an image of their shared space as one of cultural creativity and diversity, the inquiry reveals that the time has come for them to go beyond representation alone and engage with the rest of the world through stances of mutual learning and sharing. Adopting such stances would mean adopting a spirit of global cultural citizenship that recognizes shared cultural rights as well as shared responsibilities, hinging upon access and participation for all in a framework of cosmopolitan solidarity (Isar, 2014: 8).

In practice, the commitment of the *Engaging the World* report is diminished by institutional documents that, while suggesting a more open framework for dialogue and cooperation and, in a way, acknowledging a more multipolar global framework, also consider cultural action as a resource for the EU's diplomatic interests. In this regard, it could be considered that the international political context in recent years and changes in the EU and its Member States are not excessively favourable to proposals based on human rights and the «global cultural citizenship» proposed by the report. Richard Higgott has summarised the resulting tension indicating that «the Brussels policy community is trying very hard to develop a strategy for cultural foreign policy that mitigates the worst excesses of nationalism, at the very time that illiberal nationalist sentiments have insinuated themselves into the body politic of many individual member states» (Higgott, 2017: 7), a fact that the author points out to have negative effects on international cultural relations and cultural diplomacy (Higgott, 2017: 5). In fact, the institutional practice of the EU and of its main actors is growingly moving away from the values on which its official discourse has been grounded historically, and the definition of the international cultural strategy is still a space for negotiation among multiple actors with contradicting interests and objectives.

In any case, the documents around external cultural action adopted by the EU institutions in recent years offer a framework of opportunity to strengthen cultural relations with Latin America and the Caribbean. Primarily, as a result of the intention to collaborate with a regional strategy for Latin America, and to continue the cooperation with ACP countries, including the Caribbean. Likewise, due to the identification of some areas of common interest, explicitly – collaboration among cities and promotion of social cohesion through culture; cooperation in terms of heritage – or derived from the undertaking of objectives in the international cultural agenda where complementarity can be found (i.e. diversity, strengthening of cultural policies, etc.). In a wider sense, it can be considered that the undertaking of the 2016 Joint Communication along with the Sustainable Development Goals through culture (European Commission, 2016a: 3) open the door to the inclusion of cultural aspects in the strategies for the international development of the EU, which could be of interest for cooperation with Latin America and the Caribbean. From this initial framework, it should be analysed which aspects of the cultural cooperation programmes implemented by the EU so far could act as references for EU-LAC cooperation actions.

2.2.2 Analysis of the main cultural cooperation support programmes

Throughout the last decades, the EU institutions – and mainly the European Commission – have implemented different programmes and initiatives to support cultural development and cooperation. Pursuant to the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (Article 167), Community competences in terms of culture are limited, and refer mainly to promoting the

common cultural heritage, encouraging cooperation within the EU – among Member States and among other cultural actors – and cooperation with third parties – which includes relations with Latin America and the Caribbean – and with international organisations – such as the Council of Europe or UNESCO. Therefore, support to cultural actions with a local or national scope is excluded from the beginning – as it is the competence of the EU Member States. The exception to this rule is found in cultural actions funded under EU programmes which respond to other objectives, such as regional development strategies.

Thus, concerning this article, there are three relevant fields of action, the analysis of which could be interesting with a view to future actions to promote cultural cooperation within EU-LAC:

- a) cultural cooperation programmes focused mainly on the EU – although occasionally they may be open to the participation of actors from other regions – such as Creative Europe;
- b) cultural cooperation programmes and actions related to other regions of the world, including those designed mainly to contribute to sustainable development and that consider, among other things, providing support to cultural actions;
- c) programmes from other EU areas of competence – education, youth, regional development, etc. –, which may occasionally support, during their implementation, cultural development or cooperation actions.

The analysis presented below is focused mainly on the first two aspects, and will approach specifically some significant aspects of the third one, a detailed analysis of which falls outside the scope of this document.⁶

European cultural cooperation support programmes: Creative Europe and its predecessors

Since the late 1990s, the European Commission has promoted successive cultural cooperation support programmes in Europe which, in concordance with the EU's multiannual financial framework, usually have a seven-year term. The Creative Europe programme, in execution during the 2014-2020 period, has a global budget of €1.46 billion, to support cultural and language diversity in Europe, promote European cultural heritage, and strengthen the competitiveness of European cultural and creative sectors (European Union, 2013).

While different programmes existed for the audiovisual sector and for the rest of the cultural sectors in previous periods, Creative Europe has combined them into one single

⁶ For a more detailed description of the EU's fields of action in terms of culture, see, among others, European Commission (2010); and Culture Action Europe and The Budapest Observatory (2018).

programme, which however maintains different lines within: the MEDIA subprogramme – focused on audiovisual, which retains about 56% of the programme’s funds, and takes over from the previous MEDIA programme –; another subprogramme called Culture – with about 31% of the funds, which covers the rest of the cultural and creative sectors, which in turn replaces the old Culture programme –; and a cross-sectoral strand – which includes a guarantee facility for cultural and creative sectors, and other cross-sectoral support actions, with an approximate budget equivalent to 13% of the total. In total, Creative Europe supports the following lines of action:

- Cultural cooperation actions, involving cultural agents established in at least 3 EU Member States – 6 States in the case of projects desiring to receive more funding –, emphasising on the mobility of culture works, artists and professionals, the development of publics, professional training, and intercultural dialogue.
- Cultural networks and platforms, i.e. permanent structures that foster the cooperation and internationalisation of cultural sectors, distinguishing among those that focus on training, structuring the sector, or doing research (networks), and those seeking to develop new talents and establish distribution circuits (platforms).
- Translation and promotion of fiction works between several European languages, prioritising the translation of works from minority languages into the most widely-spoken languages in the continent.
- Audiovisual production projects submitted by organisations with prior experience in the sector, with European added value and relevance. There is also a support mechanism for existing funds that assist audiovisual coproduction.
- Videogame development projects submitted by European production companies with prior experience, which have original, innovative, creative proposals, contribute to reflecting European cultural diversity and heritage, and have business potential.
- Actions to promote and provide market access to professionals and organisations in the audiovisual sector, in on-site or digital environments.
- Distribution of audiovisual works, through specific projects around one work or in the form of festivals or networks of cinemas.
- Literacy actions around film and audiovisual, as well as public outreach, especially for the youth, around European production and audiovisual heritage.

Table 2.1 summarises data related to Creative Europe’s execution in its first three fiscal years per subprogramme. As the table evidences, the average volume of grants is around 200,000 euros per project, although it is noticeably lower in the case of the Culture subprogramme projects (138,000 euros). In any case, these are high amounts that, in

addition to the fact that the programme funds projects only partially – with a maximum percentage that may range between 50% and 60% of the total cost of the project –, force project leaders to provide their own resources or obtain them from other sources. The fact that the average volume of grants is high is also the reason why there are few small organisations that may choose to manage projects with Creative Europe funds.

Table 2.1. Grants provided by Creative Europe (2014-16)

Volume of grants and number of beneficiaries, per subprogramme

Subprogramme	Amount granted (million EUR)	Total organisations funded	Average contribution (thousand EUR)
MEDIA	326.0	1,300	255
Culture	179.0	1,280	138
Cross-sectoral strand⁷	37.8	150	252
Total	544.0	2,730	199

Source: Compilation based on European Commission, 2018c: 31.

With a relatively similar structure, the Culture programme (2007-2013), which supported all cultural sectors, except audiovisual, in the previous period, offered funding to a total of 2,138 projects, including 780 cultural cooperation projects, 640 translation projects – resulting in a total 3,100 books translated – and between 27 and 42 networks, among other things. About 260,000 professionals and culture actors were involved in the funded activities, equalling 2.3% of the persons employed in this sector in the EU. It is further estimated that cooperation actions were presented to a public of 8.8 million people in total, and that a total 2.9 million copies of the works translated with the support of the programme were sold (European Commission, 2018c: 19-20).

On the other hand, in the 2007-2013 period, the MEDIA programme supported almost 10,900 projects, contributing to the development of over 3,100 films and 460 television productions, as well as the distribution of 2,200 European productions. It is estimated that 18% of the films produced in Europe during this period received some production support from the programme, and 492 million tickets were sold to see such films. The programme provided training to about 1.1% of the professionals in the audiovisual sector in the EU. Under the programme, in the 2011-13 period, the MEDIA Mundus strand, fo-

⁷ In the case of the cross-sectoral strand, data includes funding commitments undertaken under the Guarantee Facility for cultural and creative sectors; the fact that the latter was only started in 2016, in addition to the lesser availability of funds in the cross-sector chapter, may explain the fact that figures are significantly lower.

cused on cooperation between the European audiovisual sector and its counterparts in other regions, and on the dissemination of European audiovisual works abroad and vice versa, had a €13.8 million budget (about 1.8 of MEDIA's total budget) to support 67 projects including training, market access and inter-acquaintance among professionals. The European Commission has acknowledged that MEDIA Mundus was more successful in reinforcing market knowledge by European professionals and from other regions, and increasing the distribution of European productions abroad, than in circulating works from other regions around Europe (European Commission, 2018c: 19-20).

From the perspective of cooperation with other regions, within the framework configured by Creative Europe and its preceding programmes, the following aspects may be highlighted:

- Support to cultural cooperation, with relative impact: the abovementioned programmes have facilitated numerous co-productions in performing and visual arts, music or audiovisual, have enabled the translation of numerous literary works, have supported the work of the main cultural cooperation networks, and have contributed to numerous meetings, seminars and conferences, strengthening the cultural cooperation space among non-commercial cultural sectors, and strengthening the creation and a greater presence of European audiovisual content in screens of different sizes. In any case, as a recent KEA report states, Creative Europe's budget equals 0.03% of the total gross volume of cultural and creative sectors in Europe, limiting its ability to actually impinge on the market trends (KEA, 2018: 77).
- Complex view of cultural ecosystems, although with some compartments: under one single programme, the different sectors of culture and support to creation, production and distribution and access coexist in Creative Europe, leaving behind previous models that distinguished different sectors, and integrating the old Culture and MEDIA programmes into a common framework. This is coherent with the reality of contemporary creation, where hybrids gain in importance, and offers more flexibility to cultural agents. Some specific lines are however kept – audiovisual, videogames, literary translations, etc.
- Contribution to internationalisation and networking: one of the main contributions probably made by Community programmes is the internationalisation of professionals and European cultural organisations. This includes support to European cultural networks, many of which would have trouble ensuring their sustainability without the EU support. Creative Europe currently funds 28 cultural networks, which combined include 4000 organisations from the EU and other regions (European Commission, 2018d; KEA, 2018). In fact, it is important to highlight that cultural networks have been pioneers at promoting relations among cultural agents from the EU and

other regions. Through training actions, support to production and distribution and market access, Creative Europe also makes a contribution to the internationalisation of sectors.

- Limited accessibility: the complex application process and the big budget required to implement cooperation actions in the Culture subprogramme prevent many cultural operators from accessing the opportunities of Creative Europe (Culture Action Europe, 2017; IETM, 2018; KEA, 2018). The complex processes to request funding from the EU programmes have frequently been an issue for extra-community cultural agents. This should be resolved in order to promote equitable cultural relations with Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as with other regions («little benefit can be expected from the deployment of culture in external relations unless procedures concerning applications for EU funding are greatly simplified and made more accessible», Isar, 2014: 10).
- Multi-level approach: the EU accepts that its role in supporting cultural sectors is based on international cooperation – both inside, and to a lesser extent, outside the EU – thus complementing the roles of other government levels, which should undertake the main responsibility in cultural development for their territories. On the other hand, some «structured dialogue» channels have been established gradually to enable the participation of the civil society, especially European cultural networks, in the formulation process of EU cultural policies.
- Information mechanisms: in collaboration with Member States, the EU has established national information points – Creative Europe Desks – intended to provide training, advice and information to cultural agents in their territories, thus promoting balanced and nearby dissemination of the programme.
- Progressive shift to new priorities: the latest generations of EU programmes have included greater service to cultural and creative industries and their economic aspect, audience development, search for new business models in cultural sectors, or digitalisation, among others, and the recent implementation of a Guarantee Facility also proves growing sensitivity to the sector's needs (European Commission, 2018c). Thematic prioritisation and a stress on the economic aspects of culture, which may be related to a growing alignment with the general policy priorities of the EU, are not without critic (Culture Action Europe, 2017) and, certainly, resources need to be allocated to projects without visible economic effect in the short term. However, the programme has proven certain ability to adjust to a changing context.
- Unexplored extra-European dimension: as mentioned before, in the 2007-2013 period, the MEDIA Mundus initiative offered some limited opportunities for extra-European cooperation in the audiovisual field. During the same period, the Culture

programme had a cooperation support action with third countries, for which priority countries were selected annually. Brazil and Mexico were beneficiaries on one annual edition each (Schneider, 2014; Smits, 2014). However, in general, the EU cultural cooperation programmes have awarded limited attention to external relations, which precludes further leveraging the existing experience in European cultural cooperation, meeting the ambitions expressed in official documents, responding to the interest of cultural agents from other regions in approaching the EU, and creating synergies – in the form of co-funding – with other public funds supporting international cooperation (KEA, 2018: 7-8 and 55-56). Anyhow, it should be pointed out that the initial proposals made with a view to the deployment of Creative Europe in 2021-27 envisage finding synergies with the EU foreign action strategies, which would result in greater involvement of non-EU cultural agents in projects funded by the programme, allocating resources from foreign funding tools (European Commission, 2018e: 6 and articles 8 and 8bis). During the 2019-2020 period, the viability and concreteness of such proposal, which could be very meaningful for cultural cooperation between Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean, shall be confirmed.

Cultural cooperation and development programmes and mechanisms in other regions

Although culture was formally included in the EU external relations only in recent years, there were already prior EU external initiatives that encompassed a cultural dimension. In any event, they were uneven and asymmetrical initiatives, both in terms of the different regions – e.g. in the Mediterranean and in ACP countries there is minimally consolidated cultural cooperation, which is less the case in Latin America – and of the approach taken – in some cases, focus is set on culture, while in others, cultural aspects are included as secondary factors within programmes oriented to human and sustainable development. There are significant experiences, however, to be taken into account when describing future perspectives for EU-LAC cultural cooperation. Some of the main initiatives are reviewed in the following pages, grouped into geographic regions derived from the structure created by the EU.

Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries

The 79 ACP countries, many of which are ancient colonies to European states, are the main beneficiaries of the funds allocated by the EU for international cooperation and development. 16 of the ACP countries are in the Caribbean. Resources allocated to that purpose, channelled through the EDF, are distributed according to the guidelines established in the Cotonou Agreement – 2000 and later reviews –, which helped to provide a

legal framework for interregional and cooperation relations between the EU and ACP countries, renewing the agreements established in the Lomé Convention of 1975, during the implementation of which cultural cooperation and development mechanisms had already been established.

In comparison with other EU political frameworks and cooperation documents, the Cotonou Agreement stands out for paying relatively significant attention to cultural aspects. Among other things, the document states that «the objectives of the ACP-EC development cooperation shall be pursued through integrated strategies that incorporate economic, social, cultural, environmental and institutional elements [...]» and specifies five areas of incidence, among which «promoting cultural values of communities and specific interactions with economic, political and social elements» (ACP and EC, 2000: article 20). Article 27 of the Agreement is dedicated to culture and development, indicating the intention to integrate the cultural dimension into development cooperation, promote intercultural dialogue, preserve and promote the value of cultural heritage, and develop cultural industries (ACP and EC 2000: article 27).

In this context, cultural cooperation programmes were created, with special emphasis on festivals, audiovisual production support, and cultural industries development, and in some cases, cultural development support actions have been included in the national programmes funded by the EU in ACP countries. The existence of cultural development programmes for the ACP space is especially remarkable, if compared with the situation in other regions where the EU operates, although, as some authors have remarked, the volume of allocated resources is marginal considering the funds allocated by the EU for development cooperation, which somehow contrasts the Cotonou Agreement discourse (Jeretic, 2014: 12-13).

Special attention has been provided in recent years to the «intra-ACP» dimension, seeking to promote local and national cultural industries – training, production and co-production support – and promoting the circulation of works at a sub-regional, regional and international level, as part of the implementation of the UNESCO Convention on the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, and in order to contribute to social and economic development (European Union, 2017).

The ACPCultures+ programme (2012-17), run by the ACP Secretariat – an entity based in Brussels which has the mission to coordinate and implement ACP countries joint programmes –, had an estimate budget of €30 million, of which €23.5 million were allocated to a project support fund, about 61% was destined to film and audiovisual actions – around 50 projects, involving over 200 organisations – and the remaining 39% to other cultural sectors. Similarly to what happened with Creative Europe, the funds that were previously allocated separately to audiovisual and other cultural sectors were integrated

into one single programme. A detailed analysis of the beneficiaries proves that, for the first time, most of the organisations that led the funded projects were based in ACP countries rather than in the EU. This fact, besides being the result of the programme's new orientation, also reflects ACP countries cultural agents' growing ability to face the application process (Lisack, 2014: 27). Besides project funding, ACPCultures+ has also performed research, training and institutional strengthening actions.

Neighbourhood Countries: Euromed and Eastern Partnership

Within the EU expansion that involved increasing the number of Member States from 15 to 27 between 2004 and 2007, a new framework for the relation with the neighbouring regions was also defined in 2004. The so-called «European Neighbourhood Policy» (ENP) refers to 16 countries located in the South and East of the EU. The first block includes mainly the Near East and North Africa countries – Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Syria, the Occupied Palestinian Territories, and Tunisia –, which make up the South space of the Neighbourhood; while the so-called «Eastern Partnership» groups six former Soviet republics in the European sector – Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine.

Within this general framework, which reflects a certain intention by the EU to promote development, dialogue and security in its neighbouring spaces, and which has pointed to the need to approach culture and promote intercultural dialogue with foreign countries (European Union, 2017), different approaches exist for each sub-regional space and for specific countries, and surviving legacies from previous periods. In this regard, it is especially significant to identify the persistence of some initiatives from the «Euro-Mediterranean space», which groups the EU Members States, the Balkans countries of the Mediterranean, Turkey, and the North of Africa and the Near East. In terms of cultural cooperation, this space has resulted in some cooperation programmes and institutions such as the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures.

Regarding the former, cooperation programmes have been promoted since the late 1990s between the EU and the South and East of the Mediterranean in terms of heritage (between 1998 and 2012, the four phases of the Euromed Heritage programme allocated €57 million to training, institutional strengthening and heritage conservation and valorisation; Lisack, 2014: 31-32), and in the audiovisual sector (through the Euromed Audiovisual programme for training, institutional strengthening and market development, between 2000 and 2012, around €46 million were allocated to the region; European Commission, 2010). In recent years, where the approach has been focused on regional development rather than on cooperation with the EU, the following initiatives should be highlighted:

- Media and Culture for development in the Southern Mediterranean region (2013-17), a €17 million programme that combined regional and structural actions in terms of training and support of cultural policies development, through the technical assistance action MedCulture, which promoted training courses and workshops, publications and advice for policy development;⁸ as well as thematic funds for the financing of on-site projects, such as the SouthMed CV initiative, coordinated by Interarts, which supported 38 projects for the development of the public value of culture in North Africa and the Near East (Cots, Ben Soltane and Khelil, 2018).⁹
- MedFilm (2015-17), a €5.4 million regional programme, which has led to the creation of funds to support projects for the development of the audiovisual sector in the Southern Mediterranean region, with special emphasis on matters such as gender equality, training, especially of women professionals, and audience development.

In both cases, cultural action support is related to broader objectives, related to aspects such as social and economic development, citizen participation or democratisation. There is a similar intention, tied in some cases to a vocation to foster cooperation between Europe and the Southern Mediterranean, in local and regional cultural actions funded by the EU delegations to several countries of the region through calls for grants – which distributed €6 million between 2008 and 2013 (Lisack, 2014); and in more ambitious programmes such as the initiative to reinforce the cultural sector in Tunisia (€6 million in 2016-19). The latter, promoted under the political reforms undergone in this country after the «Arab Spring», provides technical assistance to reinforce the Ministry of Culture and decentralise cultural policies, through «twinning» with the French Ministry of Culture; and grants for local cultural development projects, festivals and heritage, in a fund managed by the British Council as coordinator in Tunisia of the EUNIC network (EU Delegation in Tunisia, c. 2017). The choice of European institutions that assist in this process – French Ministry of Culture, British Council, EUNIC – reflects the foundation on which culture relations in the EU are progressively being deployed, with a very prominent role of the EU Member States' national institutions which often operate as intermediaries with public and private agents of beneficiary countries.

An institution that has had a significant historical role in this regard is the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures, created in 2004 to promote intercultural dialogue and cooperation, especially in terms of culture and communication, among the 42 Euro-Mediterranean countries. Besides a permanent secretariat in Alexandria, the Anna Lindh Foundation has established national networks of civil society organisations in every member country. The Spanish network, for example, has over

⁸ See www.medculture.eu.

⁹ See also www.smedcv.net.

130 associated organisations, coordinated by the European Institute of the Mediterranean, and has promoted meetings with its Moroccan counterpart.¹⁰ In its first years of existence, the Anna Lindh Foundation had provided funds to support cooperation projects between South and North Mediterranean, which seems to have disappeared due to the decrease of available resources. One action that has been maintained is the publication of a quadrennial report around inter-cultural values, which analyses trends from a survey conducted in the region (Insalaco, Mahmoud and Rizkallah, 2018).

Finally, in terms of the Eastern Partnership, it is worth mentioning the Culture and Creativity Programme, which allocated between 2015 and 2018 a €4.2 million budget to promote the role of culture and creative sectors in the six Eastern Partnership countries, through national cultural policies strengthening, research, training and networking actions, focusing on the development of cultural and creative industries. The programme was managed by a consortium led by the British Council, in partnership with the Goethe Institut, the National Centre for Culture of Poland and the Soros Foundation, among others. After the programme completion, the British Council has undertaken financing of the website and some information actions conducted in this regard.¹¹

Other funding programmes in foreign affairs

Although it is a relatively minor area of the EU's foreign affairs, the range of actions of community institutions that include a cultural dimension is broad and exceeds the scope of this document. In any case, along with the specific funding programmes for culture that have been presented in the previous sections, there are some other significant initiatives, which are briefly presented below.

Among the EU actions within international cooperation for development, several programmes have specifically included calls to fund cooperation projects with a cultural component, although with variable centrality. Thus, under the «Global Public Goods and Challenges» programme, one of the thematic programmes implemented by the EU in 2014-2020 in terms of development cooperation, a call for «Intercultural Dialogue and Culture» was promoted in 2017, aimed mainly at development in the Global South countries and which, in practice, has focused its assistance on sub-Saharan Africa and some Middle East countries, addressing issues such as respect for cultural and religious diversity and the role of culture in social inclusion (European Commission, 2017). On the other hand, the calls for proposals «Local Governments: associations for sustainable cities», launched in 2018 and open to the participation of local governments of sub-Saharan Af-

¹⁰ For further information, see <https://www.annalindhfoundation.org/> and <https://redespanolafal.iemed.org/>.

¹¹ See www.culturepartnership.eu.

rica, Asia and Pacific, Latin America, Central America and the Caribbean, and the ENP countries, includes a specific objective to ensure social inclusion in cities, which specifies the potential use of culture as an integration factor, through urban cultural development in marginal areas and the restoration of cultural heritage in historical urban centres (European Commission, 2018f).

In both cases, the chosen topics seem to result from the focus proposed by the Joint Communication of 2016 along with the New European Agenda for Culture on the role of culture in urban development, social inclusion and peace-building. At the same time, and unlike what these documents or others such as the Cotonou Agreement indicate, some authors have also noted that the main development cooperation programmes approved by the EU, such as the European Consensus on Development, in general, have awarded a relatively secondary role to cultural aspects (Jeretic, 2014), which is partially explained by the limited attention paid to culture by the main global development agreements, such as the 2030 Agenda.

Other agents: the Asia-Europe Foundation

Following the creation in 1996 of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), the institutional forum to foster dialogue between EU Member States and most Asian and Pacific countries, the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) – an intergovernmental foundation that promotes understanding and cooperation between Europe and Asia in areas such as education, culture and environment – was established in Singapore in 1997. ASEF, based in Singapore, has a position relatively similar to that of the EULAC Foundation in terms of relations between the EU, Latin America and the Caribbean, but it awards a more significant role to the promotion of cultural relations, especially in the field of information provision and network promotion. Among the most noteworthy actions, the following may be mentioned:

- information guides on opportunities for the international mobility of artists and cultural professionals in the Asian countries of ASEM, made with the On the Move network, which complement the guides also available for Europe;
- the Mobility First! fund of grants for cultural mobility between Asia and Europe and within Asia, which finances up to 100 travels per year of artists and cultural professionals;
- support for thematic networks, such as the Asia-Europe Museum Network (ASEMUS);
- the ASEF Culture360 digital portal, which offers information about the cultural reality in Asia and cultural cooperation between Asia and Europe;

- other thematic publications and meetings between professionals and institutional representatives, which occasionally accompany the items of the agenda for the ASEM Culture Ministers' biennial meeting.¹²

Some of these initiatives have been highlighted in international publications, such as the two editions of the UNESCO Global Report - Convention on Diversity of Cultural Expression (El Bennaoui 2017). In this regard, there are elements based on the ASEF experience that could be relevant to strengthen cultural cooperation between the EU and the Latin America and the Caribbean countries.

Other EU programmes relevant for cultural development or cooperation

In the same way as some European tools for development cooperation have included references to culture as an element for the promotion of social or economic development, there are support programmes within the EU that include opportunities for cultural development or cultural cooperation, inasmuch as they may contribute to other community objectives. Once again, and as shown in previous analyses (European Commission, 2018b), the variety of tools in this field is wide and combines initiatives in which culture plays a prominent role with others where its presence is more superficial; including, for example, business development programmes that consider providing support for creative entrepreneurship, initiatives to promote sustainable tourism including cultural tourism, support by fishing and maritime development programmes to thematic networks around underwater cultural heritage, etc.

While it is not the intention – nor is there ability – to conduct an exhaustive analysis, it seems appropriate to outline some relevant initiatives for future reflections on cooperation between the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean countries:

- The Interreg programmes for «European Territorial Cooperation» have allowed cross-border cooperation for years both within the EU and with neighbouring regions, as well as cooperation between European territories that are distant from each other, in actions that seek to contribute to regional revitalisation and development in all aspects. An analysis conducted by the European Commission in 2018 (European Commission, 2018b) indicated that, in the set of programming tools for 2014-2020, culture was the second thematic area with the highest priority, since 8.6% of the funds available were dedicated to cultural heritage and other cultural and artistic actions. The same year, a publication made within the framework of the European Year of Cultural Heritage described more than 70 projects financed by Interreg in recent years, most of which in the current period, that had a prominent role in cul-

¹² For further information, see www.asef.org and <https://culture360.asef.org/>.

tural heritage (Interact Programme, 2018). Other analyses have also pointed to a high presence of support for cultural and creative industries and the promotion of professional networks in this field as a territorial and cross-border development factor (Interact Point Vienna, 2013).

- Similarly, although with no cooperation between territories, there are several regional and national development programmes financed by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the European Social Fund (ESF) that have included actions related to the role of cultural heritage and cultural and creative industries in sustainable development. A report prepared in 2012 estimated that, during 2007-13, approximately € 6 billion would be allocated to projects with mainly cultural purposes within social and regional development programmes (KEA, 2012). Although the figure was small in the total of € 347 billion existing in these funds – less than 2% of the total –, it was also higher than the funds allocated by the EU to Creative Europe. In the current period, approximately 6% of the 1,300 priorities included in the «Smart Specialisation» regional strategies for territorial development refer to culture in some of its dimensions (European Commission, 2018b), promoting the competitiveness of small and medium-sized enterprises in the cultural sector, the development of infrastructures for cultural tourism, the improvement of cultural facilities or access to cultural services, among others (KEA, 2018).

Together, these initiatives show that there is significant awareness about the role of culture in regional and cross-border development, and that territorial administrations, cultural agents and research centres in these areas have acquired knowledge, which has led to knowledge transfer, networking and research projects in this area. These are aspects that could inspire similar projects in Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as networks for cooperation and exchanges of ideas in these areas.

2.3 General assessments and guidelines

2.3.1 General remarks

Several remarks may be drawn from the introduction of the existing institutional framework and the cultural cooperation support programmes deployed by the EU in various contexts and areas, which are discussed below.

«Double weakness» of EU-LAC culture and affairs

Historically, the EU's foreign affairs have been deployed asymmetrically. Development cooperation funds are allocated primarily to ACP countries (Jeretic, 2014). In the other areas

of foreign affairs there are specific aspects that determine the importance awarded to each region: geographical – the Neighbourhood – or political – identification of priority countries, for their economic, demographic or diplomatic potential. In this context, Latin America, with the exception of countries identified as priorities – Brazil and Mexico –, has a relatively secondary position, while the Caribbean countries have received attention in development policies as members of ACP.

In addition, cultural aspects have generally received limited attention in external action, however nuanced by the existence of some regional initiatives – ACP, Mediterranean – or specific initiatives within broader programmes – e.g., calls for proposals within some thematic development cooperation programmes – and with the explicit intention, pursuant to strategic documents approved since 2016, to strengthen the coordination and presence of culture in foreign actions over the coming years.

In any case, it could be generally considered that the opportunities for cultural cooperation between the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean have been victims of a «double weakness», which affects both Latin America in the EU's foreign affairs and culture in external relations. To illustrate this, the Argentine producer Paz Begué reflected in a recent publication about the lack of adequate tools for cultural cooperation between the EU and Latin America: when seeking funding for a cooperation project between Argentina, Germany and South Korea, «we soon found out that most funding opportunities for international co-productions in Europe and Asia are aimed at African, Middle-Eastern, European and Asian countries, while none focuses on Latin America. On the other hand, Latin American funding programmes, such as Iberescena, do not support intercontinental projects like the one we were planning» (Van Graan, 2018: 14).

Certainly, this double weakness is tempered by the existence of national, bilateral and sub-regional programmes, such as those that apply to the Ibero-American framework, which contribute to cultural cooperation between Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean, but which generate unequal situations regarding the priorities set in each country and region.

Low density of interregional networks

European cultural cooperation, both within the EU and in its relationship with other regions, has historically benefited from the presence of cultural cooperation networks that mainly include civil society organisations and local and national public bodies, that have played key roles in the exchange of information, institutional strengthening and the implementation of projects that contribute to mutual knowledge (Isar, 2014: 83-84). Likewise, networks have been strengthened thanks to the support of community programmes, such as Creative Europe.

One of the apparent weaknesses in the EU-LAC space is the absence of networks and civil society initiatives that promote interregional cultural cooperation on a permanent basis, which historically had been pursued by initiatives such as the Euro-American Campus on Cultural Cooperation fostered by Interarts and OEI between 2000 and 2012.¹³ While in relationships with other regions, especially with the Neighbourhood countries, there have been civil society initiatives that have fostered exchanges – such as the Roberto Cimetta Fund in the Mediterranean or the European Foundation for Culture, both in the Mediterranean and in Eastern Europe – or European networks have conducted approaching actions (IETM and other networks in Asia, North America or Australia, for example), the mesh of the civil society that connects both regions is weak, partly due to the absence of sound institutional cooperation frameworks.

Existence of significant experiences

Numerous examples could inspire cooperation programmes between the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean: the different support strands established within Creative Europe, some of the experiences of cooperation support in the Mediterranean or ACP countries, the incorporation of cultural aspects in territorial and cross-border development, the role of mobility and cooperation facilitators such as ASEF, etc., provide proven examples that could be adjusted to the reality of Latin America and the Caribbean. Assessments performed on many EU programmes also indicate aspects that may be improved, such as information accessibility, ease of participation, or the capacity of European and other regions' organisations to participate on equal terms.

Beyond cooperation support programmes and operational mechanisms, the analysis also highlights the suitability of having political and institutional frameworks that reinforce the position of culture in interregional cooperation strategies, as shown by the case of South Korea, for example, with several cooperation levels or channels that may reinforce each other, which would be necessary within EU-LAC.

New opportunities within political and operational frameworks

Despite the historical obstacles already mentioned, the current scenario shows several aspects that could facilitate the progressive development of initiatives for cultural cooperation between Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean.

On the one hand, an agenda of shared issues in terms of culture – as well as other political areas – has been progressively consolidated in the recent decades, which could

¹³ For further information, see <http://www.campuseuroamericano.org/>.

promote the setting of priorities shared by both regions: support for cultural industries, training in cultural policies – at national and local levels –, the mobility of artists and cultural professionals, the link between heritage and sustainable cultural tourism, and the role of cultural aspects in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, among other things, are consistent elements with the European strategies in terms of foreign cultural affairs and that, in turn, could generate interest on the part of governments and civil society agents in Latin America and the Caribbean.

There is also a commitment from EU institutions to integrate a cultural dimension in external action programmes, first identifying those issues relevant to cooperation with Latin America and the Caribbean (European Commission and High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, 2016; EC, 2018a), and then establishing the basic elements of the institutional structure on which this framework should be based, through collaboration between the EU institutions and those of its Member States.

Another expression of this commitment would be the opening of support programmes for cultural cooperation in Europe, such as Creative Europe, to the participation of cultural actors from third countries, a possibility that seems feasible if the European Commission's initial proposals are met for 2021-27. Although predictably, considering the large number of European organisations that opt for these grants, only a few Latin American agents would receive actual support from the programme; this is potentially a good step to facilitate exchanges, coproduction and mobility, and to encourage networking.

A complex institutional architecture

Leaving aside the LAC space, with its significant institutional difficulties, the EU commitment to enhance the cultural dimension of foreign affairs implies outlining the roles of different agents in a better manner than in the past, in a multilevel architecture that has been defined, in many ways, by competition rather than by collaboration between agents.

Several aspects limit the speed, form and effectiveness of this process. Worthy of mention is, in the first place, the tension between what in international relations studies would be a «liberal» vision, acknowledging multipolarity and the necessary collaboration between agents, and a «realistic» vision that favours national structures over other types of agents. At present, the position in international politics sways more towards realism, which does not facilitate the development of more ambitious models open to equitable cultural cooperation such as those proposed in the report *Engaging the World: Towards Global Cultural Citizenship*, (Isar, 2014).

Secondly, when observing the reality of the resources deployed by the EU and its Member States abroad, the imbalance in favour of the latter is evident: there are few EU

Delegations that have staff trained in cooperation and cultural relations, or that have established programmes on the matter in the past; while there exist networks of national cultural institutes, cultural centres abroad and cultural attaché offices in diplomatic missions. A study carried out in 2016 on 29 national cultural institutes of EU Member States pointed out that there was a total of 914 centres within the EU and 1,253 outside the EU, and that together they employed 30,000 people around the world (KEA, 2016: 11). The same applies to culture-specialised services in the central structures of foreign action departments: according to a recent study, the European Commission only has three people in charge of cultural cooperation with third countries (KEA, 2018: 55).

In this context, implementing the external cultural relations strategy will undoubtedly give a very prominent role to the Member States' structures. As evidenced by some of the examples analysed, institutions such as EUNIC and its main members – British Council, Goethe Institut, Institut Français, etc. – are already playing a growing role in this regard, due to decreased funding from national budgets, which induces to obtaining resources from other sources.

It would be advisable, in any case, that this national role be balanced by a progressive increase in European structures and by trending towards cooperation embracing cultural diversity – both within the EU and in those countries with which they collaborate – and seek equitable frameworks of relation with third countries, in a vision open to the plurality of agents – European civil society and of other regions, local and regional governments, minorities, etc.

2.3.2 Future guidelines

Based on the analysis of the identified programmes and the remarks stated above, some general aspects and lines of action that could inspire the development of greater cultural cooperation between the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean countries are suggested below.

Commitment for a multilevel, plural and flexible architecture

The framework established by the 2016 Joint Communication and the 2018 New European Agenda for Culture provides a context on which to build a new framework facilitating cultural cooperation between the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean. In fact, the New European Agenda proposes creating a regional strategy for cultural cooperation with Latin America, which should be the framework on which to build a new relationship model.

Taking into account the existing legal framework and resources in the area, it seems inevitable that national cultural institutes – grouped under the umbrella of EUNIC – and

other delegations of the EU Member States play a significant role. It would be advisable, in any case, that Latin American and the Caribbean countries national and local governments and civil society agents from both these regions and the EU be involved in establishing priorities and executing programmes. Eventually, a healthy cultural cooperation between both regions should acknowledge the multiplicity of significant agents, including «independent» cultural sectors, and establish multiple and equitable channels of relationship, building a multilevel architecture able to identify the knowledge existing in many independent professionals and civil society organisations (DeVlieg, 2012: 62; Isar, 2014; European Commission and High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, 2016: 12), in a manner consistent with the «structured dialogue» established by the EU on the internal level.

Acknowledging this plural reality should be in line with the progressive development of a flexible model, which recognises the diversity of sub-regional spaces and the need to move at different speeds – in a «variable geometry governance» (Isar 2014: 10-11) –, implementing programmes and pilot actions in environments that allow it and seeking to transfer the models developed and the lessons learned to other suitable spaces. The same flexibility should be adapted to funding models, seeking alliances with the private sector whenever circumstances so permit.

Diversity of programmes and commitment to co-creation, accessibility and multidirectionality

The EU experience in cultural cooperation is based on a wide variety of programmes and actions, which are generally poorly coordinated. The current framework enables to increase coherence, but this would hardly imply a significant reduction of actions. In the medium term, two major areas of intervention should be developed in terms of support programmes:

- On the one hand, the possibility to open the European Commission internal programmes – especially Creative Europe, but eventually also Erasmus Plus and other European programmes with potential relevance for cultural agents – to the participation of agents from other regions. In this area, if this possibility is confirmed for 2021-27, it will be important to guarantee the accessibility of information and analyse the economic implications of this participation, which could entail a certain mechanism of additional funding by Latin American governments to facilitate the participation of their national organisations.
- On the other hand, the establishment of specific cooperation programmes between the EU and Latin America, both in the area of direct cultural cooperation – co-productions, distribution, mobility, joint training actions, networking, etc. –, with a model similar to that of MEDIA Mundus or the EU-ACP cultural cooperation pro-

grammes; and regarding measures that specifically link culture and external action, which may be development cooperation actions in the case of lower income countries, or actions of another nature in the case of middle income countries.

Especially in the second group of programmes, a joint design of support mechanisms should be ensured – «co-creation» of programmes –, assuming that, in a global world, relations should be established among equals (Smits, 2014: 26), building trust through dialogue (Ornelas, 2014: 151), and seeking to generate spaces for regular dialogue with new focal points of culture in the EU Delegations in third countries.

One step in favour of balanced cooperation would be to improve accessibility to information and easement of requirements for participation in European programmes, in terms of the complexity of the forms, the excessive volume of documentation traditionally required and the minimum levels of individual input, that both in Europe and in other regions are frequently deemed as obstacles to cooperation (Lisack, 2014: 55-56; Isar, 2014: 10-11).

Likewise, it might be advisable to design the new programmes from a triangulation point of view that avoids bilateralism and that allows, at the same time as cooperation with Europe, the structuring of cooperation within Latin America and the development of South-South dialogue frameworks. In this regard, it would be convenient for cooperation to promote greater cultural integration between Latin America and the Caribbean, so far considered by the EU as members of different spaces within development cooperation programmes.

Structural aspects approach

Besides support for specific cooperation projects, which should help to make the cultural realities of both regional spaces more visible – from a diverse and alternative perspective – to the most commercial and stereotyped channels, cooperation mechanisms should be established in order to progressively address the existing imbalances. In particular, it would be convenient to incorporate the following structural aspects to the framework of cultural cooperation:

- Spaces for political dialogue, at the level of national governments and with the participation of civil society and other relevant actors – a role for local governments could be suggested, taking into account the priority awarded by the EU to the role of cities in Latin America.
- Peer training and learning actions that benefit the exchange of experiences, equitable training among cultural professionals in different disciplines and technical assistance when necessary, addressing needs identified in the relevant diagnostics – such as design and evaluation of policies, heritage conservation and valorisation, etc.

- Promotion of cultural cooperation networks or federation and collaboration actions between existing networks in different regions, with mechanisms that allow going beyond specific actions and furthering continuity.
- Improvement of information mechanisms, transferring experiences applied in other areas to the EU-Latin America and the Caribbean cooperation, such as the ASEF Culture360 portal on cooperation between Asia and Europe.

Addressing structural aspects at an interregional level should also involve branches at national level, for example, through the easement in EU Member States of procedures related to the issuance of visas for artists and cultural professionals from non-EU countries, often identified as an obstacle to cultural cooperation (El Bennaoui, 2017).

Issues for a joint agenda

Although the specific definition of topics for cooperation programmes should be made under a more detailed participatory diagnosis, observation of the existing reality and the priorities already established allow to suggest some issues that could constitute a specific agenda for cultural cooperation between the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean:

- Cultural industries and diversity, strengthening production, distribution and access capabilities to diverse cultural expressions, through the development of policies, the promotion of products circulation, the commitment to strategic markets and fairs, and training in priority areas. Work in this sense would be coherent with the EU's strategic documents and with the commitment acquired by the majority of the concerned governments in relation to the Convention on Diversity of Cultural Expressions, as well as with the recognition of a diverse and multipolar world. In this area, a support mechanism for the translation of works from Latin America and the Caribbean to other European languages could also be established, based on the experience of Creative Europe in this framework (Isar, 2014; Ornelas, 2014).
- Cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible. This is a priority consistent with the work of the European Commission in recent years – see, among others, the European Year of Cultural Heritage – and with the commitments acquired in the latest strategic documents, which among other things contemplate cooperation with Latin America and the Caribbean in this area. It is also a chapter in which the European cultural sector may learn a lot from existing experiences in Latin America and the Caribbean, especially as regards intangible cultural heritage or the integrated landscapes of cultural and natural heritage.
- Culture and sustainable development, addressing its specificities in urban – as already contemplated by the EU – and rural environments, as well as links with the

2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, among other things. In this area, it is also necessary to recognise the existing knowledge and experiences both in the EU – e.g., in areas such as cultural integration in territorial and cross-border development strategies – and in Latin America and the Caribbean, to benefit networking – between cities, for example – and in which, on the other hand, it would be convenient to look for inclusive forms of participation, providing young people with opportunities and new ways of involvement and cooperation.

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3

THE CULTURAL DIMENSION OF EUROPEAN UNION - LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS THROUGH THE LENS OF CROSS-CUTTING ISSUES OF MOBILITY, INEQUALITY, DIVERSITY AND SUSTAINABILITY

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Abstract

Since the 1980s, culture has gained importance as a field of the European Union's international cooperation. The contribution analyses the cultural dimension of the relations between the European Union and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) through the lens of four cross-cutting topics: mobility, inequality, diversity and sustainability. These cross-cutting issues were chosen because they are paradigmatic key concepts encapsulating a broader spectrum of themes and problems. They also address significant aspects of bi-regional relations and are of strategic relevance for the EU-CELAC bi-regional agenda. Furthermore, they play an important role within the UN framework. First, it will be described how the cultural dimension is integrated into the respective regional cooperation in Europe and in Latin America and the Caribbean. Secondly, the relationship between the EU and (CE)LAC in the cultural dimension is analysed, taking mobility, inequality, diversity and sustainability into account. As an outcome of this analysis achievements and challenges are summarised in the last section. In this way we want to make a contribution to develop the cultural dimension of bi-regional relations further.

3.1 Introduction

Since the 1980s, culture has grown in relevance as a field of international cooperation. It has gained importance in the external relations of the European Union (EU) and in its collaboration with Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). Nevertheless, cultural policy remains primarily a domain of national governments. Additional players in the realm of international cultural cooperation are state cultural institutions, civil society organisations and the cultural industries. There exist some specific cultural organisations that are based on a joint history and cultural communalities such as the Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos (OEI), the Commonwealth Foundation and the Organisation Internationale pour la Francophonie (KEA European Affairs, 2016: 33-44). They address a variety of cultural topics like language, literature, theatre and music. It is only by looking at the broad spectrum and multifaceted aspects of these relationships that it becomes evident why so many politicians repeatedly emphasise the «common cultural heritage» and the «diversity of European-Latin American and Caribbean cultural relations».

The following contribution analyses the cultural dimension of the relations between the European Union and Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) through the lens of four cross-cutting topics: mobility, inequality, diversity and sustainability. These cross-cutting issues were chosen because they are paradigmatic key concepts encapsulating a broader spectrum of themes and problems. They also address significant aspects of bi-regional relations and are of strategic relevance for the EU-CELAC bi-regional agenda. Furthermore, they play an important role within the UN framework. Mobility is mainly understood as «exchange», «interaction» or «circulation» between both regions. This includes mobility of people (e.g. artists, brokers), of items (e.g. goods, services), of knowledge (e.g. expertise, techniques) and of cultural practices. Inequality is mainly addressed in indirect ways through the notion of «equality». Culture is envisioned as an important dimension to reduce social exclusion and to promote social cohesion and social inclusion. Diversity is recognised to be a fundamental aspect of EU-CELAC relations and a key feature of cooperation in the field of cultural industries. The definition of «cultural diversity» provided by the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions provides an important conceptual basis for bi-regional cooperation. The topic of sustainability plays a less prominent role within the cultural dimension of relations between the EU and LAC. It is mainly connected with the challenge of development. Important examples are the preservation of cultural heritage, the fostering of cultural industries and the promotion of cultural diversity. The cultural dimension of bi-regional relations is displayed either as a factor that contributes to sustainable development or vice versa as an area conditioned by sustainable development.

We will first describe how the cultural dimension is integrated into the respective regional cooperation as well in Europe as in LAC. Then, we will analyse the cultural dimension of

the relationship between the EU and (CE)LAC through the lens of mobility, inequality, diversity and sustainability. In the last section, we will point out a series of achievements and challenges with a view to shaping the cultural dimension of bi-regional relations in the future.

3.2 The regional embeddedness of the cultural dimension in Europe and LAC

3.2.1 European Union

Following the overall aim to build a united Europe, the 1973 Copenhagen Declaration on European Identity stressed the diversity of culture as an important factor within the framework of common European civilisation. Thus, it introduced the relevance of culture for the European integration process (European Commission, 1973: § 3). The 1992 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) made reference on the European internal market's role for the promotion of culture and cultural heritage conservation. The competences of the EU in the field of culture were defined as subsidiary in order to support, coordinate and supplement domestic Member State actions «only if necessary» (EU, 2012: art. 6). The Treaty established an independent EU competence in the cultural field, and authorised the EU «to take action at the international level in the cultural field, cooperating with third countries and international organisations» (EU, 2012: art. 107 3.d; 167).

Subsequent to the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, in 2007, the European Agenda for Culture in a Globalising World (European Commission, 2007) was adopted. It was the EU's first explicit framework towards a cultural policy, replacing the concept of «cultural exception» by the concept of «cultural diversity». The Agenda emphasised three objectives: the promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue; the deployment of culture as a catalyst for creativity, enhancing growth and jobs; and the promotion of culture in the context of the Union's international relations (Smith, 2015: 17). Regarding the transformation of the EU's cultural exception discourse towards an «agenda under the slogan of cultural diversity» (Burri, 2015: 195), Mira Burri (2015: 203) points out that «the EU has played a particularly prominent role in both the shaping of the concept of cultural diversity and in the developments leading towards the adoption of this international legally binding instrument, which seeks to protect national sovereignty in matters of culture».

The notion of creativity in the 2007 European Agenda's objectives provided «a discursive link between culture, innovation and broader EU economic concerns such as growth, competitiveness and social cohesion» (Kandyla, 2015: 49). Thus, a direct nexus between economic challenges and the role of culture as a potential contribution to enhance economic performance and foster economic growth was established. According to Annabelle

Littoz-Monnet (2015: 28): «culture was presented as a direct source of creativity, and creativity was defined in terms of its potential for social and technological innovation, and thus as an ‘important driver of growth, competitiveness and jobs’». The leading EU agency behind this discourse was the DG EAC. It promoted the incorporation of a creativity frame into EU cultural policy; an approach which provided the basis for the Creative Europe programme (Littoz-Monnet, 2015: 25).

The relevance of culture to the EU’s external relations has been reinforced by various declarations and activities over the past decade. In May 2011, the European Parliament (EP) called for the development of a common EU strategy on culture in EU external relations (European Parliament, 2011). In 2012, the EP «launched a large-scale Preparatory Action (PA) – to be set in motion by the European Commission and executed by a bid-winning expert consortium. The purpose of the PA would be to analyse the existing situation as regards culture in the EU’s external relations and to carry out a comprehensive inquiry» (Isar, 2014: 17). As a result, in the years 2013 and 2014, the European Commission commissioned an inventory of the EU’s External Cultural Relations with 54 partner countries. The final report *Preparatory Action. Culture in EU External Relations. Engaging the World: Towards Global Cultural Citizenship* was presented in 2014 and contains recommendations on the future structure of foreign cultural relations (Isar, 2014). In 2016, the European Commission and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy adopted a Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council entitled *Towards an EU strategy for international cultural relations* (European Commission, 2016). This has been a basic document for the strategy of cultural relations with the EU’s partner countries fully in line with the UNESCO 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. The EU’s new Global Strategy (EU, 2017) and the 2017 New European Consensus on Development (Council of the European Union, 2017) also mention the importance of culture as part of European foreign and development policy. In May 2018, the European Commission presented another key document, *A New European Agenda for Culture* (European Commission, 2018). The three strategic dimensions of the New Agenda include not only the social and the economic, but also the external dimension of European cultural relations. The document mentions as central objectives of the EU’s foreign cultural relations: support culture as an engine for sustainable social and economic development; promote culture and intercultural dialogue for peaceful inter-community relations; reinforce cooperation on cultural heritage (European Commission, 2018: 6). As always, this document also refers to the subsidiarity principle: «respecting the principle of subsidiarity, the EU’s role is to provide incentives and guidance to test new ideas and support Member States in advancing a shared agenda» (European Commission, 2018: 9). Nonetheless, the document is a clear political signal to the member states and institutions of the Union to further develop the role of culture in the EU’s external relations in the coming years.

3.2.2 Latin America and the Caribbean

All Latin American and Caribbean cooperation and integration mechanisms recognise culture as an important field of activity. In its founding document, the 2011 Caracas Declaration, CELAC described its integration mandate as political, social, economic and also cultural. Cultural cooperation and integration are considered as a tool to boost sustainable development in the region and to consolidate «a multi-polar and democratic world which is fair, balanced and at peace» (CELAC, 2011: § 25). The political declarations and action plans of the five CELAC summits held between 2013 and 2017 emphasise the importance of culture as a foundation of every country's and the region's overall identity, as a catalyst for regional integration, and as a motor contributing to sustainable development, to eradicate poverty and to decrease social gaps in the region. The relevance of cultural industries for national economies is highlighted as a generating tool for job opportunities (CELAC, 2014a: § 54; 2015a: § 20; 2016: § 49). Furthermore, accentuated in a special declaration, the field of culture is addressed as a promoter of human development (CELAC, 2014c).

To combat and prevent the illicit traffic of cultural goods is stressed as a key challenge of regional integration, which requires multilevel policy action. In this context, the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property is highlighted as a reference document, which is to be strengthened (CELAC, 2014a: § 15; 2014b: § 8, 9; 2016: § 49; 2017b: § 2). With reference to cultural diversity as a key feature for peace and security on different levels, commitment is expressed in order to adopt measures guided by the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (CELAC, 2017a). As a normative international frame, it is perceived of major relevance for developing countries (CELAC, 2015a: § 14).

In 2013, CELAC established an annual Meeting of Ministers of Culture (LACULT, 2017). It replaced the Forum of Ministers of Culture and Officials in Charge of Cultural Policies of Latin America and the Caribbean created in 1989, which had been coordinated and funded by UNESCO until 2014. The Final Declaration published on the occasion of the III Meeting of Ministers of Culture of CELAC in September 2015 welcomed the initiative of UNESCO in the preparation of a Culture Work Plan for Latin America and the Caribbean (2016-2021). It encouraged its enrichment through participatory and joint work with the countries that make up CELAC (CELAC, 2015b: § 15). With the aim to «preserve cultural heritage and promote culture in favour of productive economic growth, poverty eradication and sustainable development» (CELAC, 2015a: § 21), the Ministerial Meeting launched the Cultural Action Plan 2015-2020, defining 45 concrete activities in four thematic areas: Social Development and Culture; Cultural Industries, Creative Economy and Innovation; Protection and Conservation of Cultural Heritage; Diversity of Cultural Expressions, Arts and Creativity (LACULT, 2015).

While European regionalism has a central organisation with the EU, CELAC, founded in 2011, merely plays the role of a network for the concertation of common positions of Latin American and Caribbean countries in international politics. Sub-regional integration bodies such as the Andean Community, the Central American Integration System, CARICOM or Mercosur, on the other hand, are much more institutionalised. The main objectives of these organisations relate to economic and trade issues, but they also play an important role in the cultural cooperation of their respective members, as do the new regional projects UNASUR, ALBA and Pacific Alliance. As these organisations and networks are also important partners for the EU's external cultural relations, in the following we explain the main approaches to cultural cooperation in the above-mentioned institutions.

The Andean Community of Nations (CAN) institutionalised a regular meeting of Culture Ministers in 2010 as Andean Council of Ministers and Authorities of Culture. Main objectives of the Council's meetings have been the creation of an Andean System on Cultural Information, the development of legislation to promote cultural industries, the promotion of the circulation of cultural goods, cultural services and cultural manifestations or expressions which originated in the region, the training of Andean cultural actors and managers, and the creation of an online network to foster exchange of cultural entrepreneurs within the region.

The Central American integration process has had a cultural dimension since the 1980s. From 1994 onwards, the Cultural and Educational Coordination of Central America (CECC) has pursued education and culture as guidelines to foster Central American regional integration in terms of sustainable human development and with regards to socio-cultural and natural diversity. Most of the programmes and projects promoted by CECC address the improvement of quality of education. The programmes executed in the field of culture concentrate on the region's popular culture, cultural heritage and cultural diversity and literature as well as the audiovisual sector.

Mercosur has had a Meeting of Ministers of Culture since 1995. In 1996, the organisation adopted a Protocol on Cultural Integration. In 2003, specialised meetings of Cinematographic and Audiovisual Authorities of Mercosur were initiated (Europe Aid, 2008; RECAM, 2007). Based on the 2008 Declaration on Cultural Integration, the cultural dimension was institutionalised as Mercosur Cultural. Its entities are subordinated to the Meeting of Ministers of Culture and include the MERCOSUR Cultural Information System (2009), the Mercosur Cultural Secretary (2010), as well as four specialised commissions on Arts, Cultural Heritage, Cultural Diversity, Creative Economy and Cultural Industries (Mercosur Cultural, 2017; LACULT, 2014).

The inclusion of the cultural dimension into the institutional framework of CARICOM dates back to 1985, when the Regional Cultural Committee (RCC) was established. In

1994, CARICOM Member States agreed on a Regional Cultural Policy designed to profile the importance of culture within the Caribbean Community and to foster its development. The approach was thought as a model for national cultural policies by including guidelines on policy issues like cultural and artistic promotion, cultural heritage or funding. It has also established the concept of an «Ideal Caribbean Person», which takes into account the region's ethnic, religious and other diversities as a source of potential strength and richness (CARICOM, 1997: 2-3, 18-19).

In its foundational principles, the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America – Peoples' Trade Treaty (ALBA-TCP) highlights «the contribution of trade and investments to strengthening of the cultural and historical identity of our peoples» and seeks to distinguish itself from consumption focused free trade agreements by taking into account «the diversity of cultural expressions in the trade» (ALBA, 2010). The summit declarations of the Alliance address the right to defend historical and cultural values, especially regarding the consumption of coca leaves as «an age-old ancestral and intrinsic tradition» of Bolivian people (ALBA, 2009). Identifying the international «great transnational media power» as its antagonist, the Alliance put the media sector in focus (ALBA, 2012).

The constitutive treaty of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) established the promotion of cultural diversity as a specific objective. It should be achieved through the encouragement within its Member States of the expression of memory and knowledge of the people of the region. In this way their overall identity should be strengthened (UNASUR, 2011: art. 3). In 2012, the South American Council of Culture (CSC) was established. Its main objectives are the promotion and strengthening of cultural cooperation in the region, the recognition and promotion of the core value of culture as a prerequisite for development and to overcome poverty and inequality as well as the promotion of the reduction of regional and sub-regional asymmetries in order to increase universal access to culture.

The Pacific Alliance (AP) established a Technical Group on Culture in 2015 to promote the development of the cultural and creative industries of its Member States. The activities of the group are focused on the development of statistical information on culture, the creation of regional and international webs linked to the cultural sector, the realisation of common cultural events, and the production of a mini-series on history, arts and commerce in the Pacific covering the centuries between 16th and 21st (AP, 2015).

3.3 The cultural dimension of EU-(CE)LAC relations

In the following, it will be analysed how and to what extent the cross-cutting topics of mobility, inequality, diversity and sustainability are addressed within the cultural dimension. This analysis takes into account three levels: a) relations between the EU and the CELAC; b) relations between the EU and the sub-regional bodies as well as new regional

projects in LAC; c) relations between the EU and its two strategic partners, Brazil and Mexico. While at the first level the cultural dimension is addressed exclusively in the context of political dialogue, at the second and the third levels, in addition to political dialogue, there exist also concrete culture-related programmes.

For a long time, the EU sought a bloc to bloc relationship in its relations with LAC. Since this was not consistent with the realities of Latin American and Caribbean regionalism, the European Commission in 2005/2006 changed its foreign policy guidelines on relations with Latin America and the Caribbean. It paved the way for broad cooperation on various levels: bilateral, sub-regional and bi-regional (European Commission, 2005; 2006: 18). The ratification of the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions and the setting of the EU European Agenda for Culture in a Globalising World in 2007 established a direct link between the cultural dimension and the Commission's multilevel approach in the field of cooperation. This development was underpinned by the 2007 Agenda's definition of the EU as one of the main drivers behind the successful implementation of 2005 UNESCO Convention (Loisen, 2015: 215). Since then, the EU deploys a multilevel cultural cooperation strategy for Latin America and the Caribbean (Crusafon, 2015: 229). This strategy is implemented in diverse frameworks of collaboration with sub-regional entities and individual countries. Of the framework agreements with a cultural dimension negotiated under the DG Trade umbrella, until today, only two agreements of bilateral extent are fully in place (Chile, Mexico), three are partly implemented (CARIFORUM, Central America, Peru/Colombia/Ecuador) and one is currently under negotiation (Mercosur). The cultural cooperation programmes implemented under DG EAC and within the strategic partnerships (EU-Brazil/Mexico) have not been continued in subsequent funding periods.

In the following, we will discuss separately the bi-regional political dialogue as well as specific policies and programmes related to the four cross-cutting topics.

3.3.1 Mobility

Political dialogue

Cultural mobility gathers constant attention in the realm of political dialogue between EU and LAC. Bi-regional exchanges among cultural actors are highlighted as «one of the most efficient and effective means to promote mutual understanding, learning and cultural production» (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 61). The exchange of experts and techniques in the respective cultural sectors are seen as an appropriate strategy to foster respect for cultural identities as well as cultural and linguistic diversity. Both are described as factors that guarantee human dignity and sustainable development (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 46; Ac-

tion Plan, 2002: § 74; 2004: § 92). The EU as well as LAC recognise cultural industries and the audiovisual sector as major pillars of cultural and economic cooperation. Efforts to deepen exchange should be enhanced in order to promote respect for cultural identities, cultural and linguistic diversity as well as to foster intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 62; 2002: § 75; 2004: § 92; 2006: § 54; 2010a: 19).

Almost all cooperation frameworks share the conviction that cultural mobility is essential to promote intercultural dialogue and foster mutual understanding. In addition, they also share the common goal to boost the respective cultural industries (EEAS, 2008: 17; Council of the European Union, 2010: 30). One of their key objectives is to promote the exchange of cultural goods, activities and services. In addition, the documents define specific objectives, taking into account each cultural sector's particularities (European Commission, 2012a: art. 1.1). Those encompass mainly the fields of labour mobility, e.g. the facilitation of exchanges between practitioners in performing arts (European Commission, 2012a: art. 6.1; 2012b: art. 8.1); the exchange of knowledge, expertise, best practices and information, e.g. regarding the protection of sites and historic monuments or the digitisation of audiovisual archives (Council of the European Union, 2010: 31; European Commission, 2012b: art. 7); or the sharing of experiences between stakeholders and institutions, e.g. in the field of culture specific policy-making (EEAS 2008: 2; European Commission, 2012b: art. 6.2). For the achievement of these goals, the cooperation frameworks propose various formats and instruments that promote mobility. Main examples within the cultural dimension are joint activities (e.g. expert seminars, trainings, studies, conferences, co-productions, and regular dialogues), professional exchanges and the general promotion of networks (EEAS 2008: 1; European Commission, 2012b: art. 8.1).

Policies and programmes

Concrete programmes addressing cultural mobility issues only existed with the strategic partner countries – Brazil and Mexico. In the Joint Programme on Culture 2011-2014 (European Commission, 2011b), the EU and Brazil agreed on sharing experiences on cultural policy-making and on the exchange of technical missions on cultural heritage. This included cooperation between museums, expert seminars, studies and conferences. Besides the implementation of exchange formats and instruments, like a round table with Brazilian cultural personalities (Brussels 2011) or a conference on the cultural and creative economy (2012), there is only a vague announcement of further activities in the field of cultural mobility (Crusafon, 2015: 230; Smits, 2014: 23). In the scope of the EU-Mexico strategic partnership, two co-financed Joint Cultural Funds were launched. The first phase of the Cultural Fund (2008-2010) encompassed six projects of which two focussed their activities on art exchange. This phase began prior to the establishment of the bilateral strategic partnership and was funded with an amount of almost 1 million euros. During

the second phase of the Cultural Fund (2009-2012), with a total budget of 5.6 million euros, one out of three programmes aimed to foster cultural exchange within the film sector (Council of the European Union, 2010; Crusafon, 2015: 229; Schneider, 2014: 20).

Beyond these agreements with Brazil and Mexico, the European Commission counts on additional instruments for bilateral cooperation with strategic partners in the field of culture. They address mobility in different ways. The EU Culture Programme 2007-2013, conducted by the Directorate-General of Education and Culture (DG EAC), directly targeted the strategic partners in LAC. Thus, Brazil (2008: 1.3 million euros) and Mexico (2011: 2.2 million euros) were selected as countries for Special Actions in cultural cooperation (Lisack, 2014: 21). Three out of seven activities realised in the case of Brazil, with a total amount of almost 600,000 euros, defined the mobility and exchange of artistic works, artists and professionals in Europe and Brazil as important project goals (Smits, 2014: 39-41). In the case of Mexico, mobility and the circulation of cultural assets were among the explicit objectives in 6 out of 13 projects. Other objectives related to the exchange of artists, knowledge, ideas and best practices between Mexico and the EU. Overall, a budget of 700,000 euros was available for these programmes.

The Directorate-General of Development and Cooperation (DG DEVCO) conducts various cooperation programmes in which culture plays a certain role. The Mercosur Audiovisual Programme (2009-2011) received 1.5 million euros (80% of the total budget) from the Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI), which is a DG DEVCO funding tool. The programme was mainly directed towards the strengthening of the film and audiovisual sectors within Mercosur. The exchange of experiences with EU institutions and partners was merely addressed in the context of sector specific professional and technical training (Europe Aid, 2008: 7). The DG DEVCO's Investing in People Programme (50 million euros) addressed to countries belonging to the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP) focused on the exchange of cultural industries and cultural actors «as a way of allowing multicultural and multi-ethnic dialogues to improve mutual understanding and respect» (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 69). Due to the missing focus on the Caribbean ACP countries, the programme was hardly taken into account by CARIFORUM's ACP Member States (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 25).

3.3.2 Inequality

Political dialogue

Inequality plays only a minor role within the framework of bi-regional political dialogue on cultural issues. The Summit Declarations adopted until 2006 regularly emphasise the common cultural heritage and mutual historical links as well as the wealth and diversity of the respective cultural expressions. They address these communalities as a compara-

tive advantage that allows building an alliance between both regions in a «spirit of equality and respect» (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 1; 2002 a/b; 2004: § 3; 2006: § 2). The summits' statements also underline the importance of the cultural and educational spheres. Particular importance is assigned to the access to education for everybody and the right of peoples to preserve their cultural and linguistic diversity. Both are considered to be key factors to achieve a solid partnership and to reduce social inequalities in both regions (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 54; 64). The Summit Declarations stress the need to jointly combat xenophobia and discrimination. They underline that efforts have to be taken to guarantee respect for cultural diversity in order to increase social cohesion and diminish, *inter alia*, inequality and social exclusion (EU-LAC Summit, 2004: § 40).

The Summit Declarations adopted between 2008 and 2015 either fail to mention the issue of inequality within the cultural dimension of the bi-regional relations or display the topic in a broader sense. An example of this logic is the declaration adopted at the first EU-CELAC summit in 2013, in which the parties expressed their will to foster equality and social inclusion and the importance of the citizens' participation in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of public policies (EU-CELAC Summit, 2013a: § 17).

In the scope of the relations between the EU and individual LAC countries, sub-regions or sub-regional entities, the topic of inequality gathers explicit attention only in the course of the 2008 EU-Brazil strategic partnership and the respective Joint Action Plan (EEAS, 2008: 14, 17). When defining objectives in the field of cultural cooperation, the contracting parties contextualise the promotion of social inclusion with the improvement of access to culture by fostering, *inter alia*, cultural activities at local level (EEAS, 2008: 17). Other culture-specific frameworks on bilateral level address inequality merely in terms of including sectorial particularities into more general cooperation guidelines with the aim to provide equal attention to distinct facets of the cultural field (European Commission, 2011a: 2; 2011b: 2; 2012a/b; Council of the European Union, 2010: 32).

Policies and programmes

Specific programmes addressing the issue of inequality in the cultural dimension exist only in the context of the EU's bilateral relations with Latin American partners. This applies above all to strategic partnerships with Brazil and Mexico. As part of the EU-Mexico strategic partnership, during the second phase of the Cultural Fund (2009-2012), with a total budget of 5.6 million euros, two out of three programmes addressed the issue of inequality. They mentioned the «social inclusion of young people through the promotion of cultural opportunities», referred to the «strengthening [of] the cultural identity and [the promotion of] new forms of socialisation, which respect the principles of multiculturalism, cultural heritage and the identity of rural communities, and in particular indigenous

peoples; as well as the principles of participatory democracy, in order to reduce disparities and inequalities in terms of social, cultural and economic development» (*Identidad Cultural y Desarrollo Comunitario en Campeche y Oaxaca*; project budget: 800.000 euros; Schneider, 2014: 20-21).

In addition to the strategic partnership frameworks, the European Commission's DG EAC launched the EU Culture Programme 2007-2013. In this context, the LAC counterparts of strategic partnerships enjoyed increased attention. Thus, Brazil (2008, with a total budget of 1.3 million euros) and Mexico (2011, with a total budget of 2.2 million euros) were selected as countries for Special Actions in cultural cooperation (Lisack, 2014: 21). In the case of Brazil, one out of seven activities addressed the issue of inequality by recognising in the project's guidelines the value of cultural diversity against all sorts of exclusion. In the case of Mexico, two out of 13 collaborative activities included the issue of inequality in their proposals. They addressed inequality indirectly as they focused on marginalised neighbourhoods as target areas (Schneider, 2014: 21-26).

3.3.3 Diversity

Political dialogue

The Summit Declaration adopted in Rio de Janeiro in 1999 identifies «the wealth and diversity of our respective cultural expressions» as a central pillar for a strategic bi-regional partnership (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 1). Similarly, the Madrid Summit Declaration (2002) highlights diversity, along with cultural heritage, as a fundamental link of bi-regional integration (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 59; 2002: § 76). Diversity and plurality are considered to be fundamental principles for the development of the bi-regional relationship «without distinction of race, religion or gender, precepts that constitute the ideal means of achieving an open, tolerant and inclusive society where the individual's right to freedom and mutual respect is enshrined through equitable access to productive capacity, health, education and civil protection» (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 54; 2002: § 66). The promotion of cultural industries such as the audio-visual sector through economic cooperation and exchange between cultural sectors are seen as pathways to guarantee human dignity and social development by encouraging respect for cultural and linguistic diversity (EU-LAC Summit, 1999: § 60, 61; 2002: § 74, 75). The 2004 Guadalajara Summit Declaration also emphasised the importance of cultural industries (EU-LAC Summit, 2004: § 92). The 2004 summit marks a decline of attention to cultural diversity, which may be connected to the upcoming UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions in 2005. In further summit declarations, the role of cultural diversity is either not taken into account or is hardly mentioned. The broad support by EU and LAC

countries to the 2005 UNESCO Convention apparently led to decreasing attention to the topic of cultural diversity in the context of the bi-regional summit talks.

On the contrary, the ratification of the 2005 UNESCO Convention led to growing attention towards cultural diversity in the context of bilateral and sub-regional agreements. There is consensus that the promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue are important elements of foreign policy strategies. All documents express a strong commitment to the 2005 UNESCO Convention, its definitions, contents and concepts. Some documents address cultural diversity as a shared topic or an issue of common interest, whereas others highlight cultural diversity as an objective to be implemented in the course of cultural policies. Within the frameworks of the strategic partnerships with Brazil and Mexico, cultural diversity is emphasised as a concept to be promoted to the enhancement of intercultural dialogue and to the fostering of cultural and creative industries (EEAS, 2008: 17; Council of the European Union, 2010: 31).

Policies and programmes

Concrete programmes addressing cultural diversity existed only within the EU's strategic partnerships with Mexico and Brazil. The EU-Brazil Joint Programme on Culture 2011-2014 identified the implementation of the 2005 UNESCO Convention as a priority. This seems to substantiate the activities realised in this context that nonetheless lack of any further programmatic specification with regard to cultural diversity. In the case of the EU-Mexico strategic partnership, the second Joint Cultural Fund (2009-2012, that follows the first Joint Cultural Fund 2008-2010) was launched in order to promote cultural diversity as well as cultural industries (Council of the European Union, 2010: 32; Crusafon, 2015: 229). One out of five activities (Slam Poetry 2012) realised under the umbrella of the Joint Cultural Fund had a focus on cultural diversity (Schneider, 2014: 20).

There are additional cooperation formats provided by the European Commission which address diversity within the field of culture. In the scope of the EU Culture Programme 2007-2013, conducted by the DG EAC, Brazil (2008, with a total budget of 1.3 million euros) and Mexico (2011, with a total budget of 2.2 million euros) were selected as countries for Special Actions in cultural cooperation (Lisack, 2014: 21). In the case of Brazil, one out of seven programmes accentuated cultural diversity as a valuable concept «against all sorts of exclusion» (Smits 2014: 40). In the case of Mexico, two out of 13 programmes referred to cultural diversity in quality of a programmatic purpose (Schneider, 2014: 25, 27).

As affiliates of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP), some CARIFORUM Member States became beneficiaries of the ACP-EU Cultural Fund. This fund is managed by the DG DEVCO under the umbrella of the 10th European Development Fund.

It has to be noted «that these [funds] were not tied to the EU-CARIFORUM Economic Partnership Agreement» (Europe Aid, 2014: 24; Lisack 2014: 19; KEA European Affairs, 2011: 22). The programme launched in this context, ACP Culture+ (with a total budget of 12 million euros), emphasised the «strengthening of the capacity of institutions in the ACP countries to implement the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions» (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 68). It addressed in different sub-programmes the audiovisual sector, the production and distribution of ACP cultural goods, as well as «the improvement of the policy and regulatory environment for culture» (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 22). The DG DEVCO Investing in People Programme (2007-2013, with a total budget of 50 million euros) followed the objective «Access to local culture, protection and promotion of cultural diversity» (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 69). The programme was hardly taken into account by CARIFORUM's ACP Member States; only few of them submitted proposals for this call (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 25). The European Commission's MEDIA Mundus Programme 2011-2013 was established for third countries, thus ACP countries, in order to «strengthen [the] cooperation [...] in the audio-visual sector by promoting competitiveness of the sector and cultural diversity» (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 27).

3.3.4 Sustainability

Political dialogue

The 1999 Rio de Janeiro Declaration highlights the diversity of cultural expressions. It emphasises the profound and unifying character of a common cultural heritage as the basis for a bi-regional partnership and as endowing factors to meet the principle of sustainable development (EU-LAC Summit, 1999, § 1). The 2002 Madrid Declaration addressed sustainability within the cultural dimension in a broader context, recognising the importance of promoting sustainable tourism as an effective instrument for economic and cultural development (EU-LAC Summit, 2002: § 51). Both regions declared in that Summit their commitment to contribute to sustainable development by promoting higher education, in order to interpret, preserve and promote culture in its pluralist and cultural diversity context (EU-LAC Summit, 2002: § 73). In the 2004 Guadalajara Declaration, commitments for regional integration projects which are designed to promote sustainable cultural development were given. Concerning the bi-regional basis, the parties aspired to foster cultural dialogue which «reflect[s] cultural identity, as well as cultural and linguistic diversity, and which benefit[s] human development, as a contribution to sustainable development, stability and peace» (EU-LAC Summit, 2004: § 91). In later summit declarations, the aspect of sustainability within the cultural dimension is either less displayed or not addressed. The issue of sustainability reappears in the 2013 EU-CELAC Summit Dec-

laration, where the parties express the common will to support «all initiatives which imply the strengthening of cooperation, the transfer of knowledge and the preservation and conservation of natural and cultural heritage [...]» in order to achieve sustainable development (EU-CELAC Summit, 2013a: § 13).

In the scope of the relations between the EU and individual LAC countries, sub-regions or sub-regional entities, the aspect of sustainability in the cultural dimension finds attention only in joint action plans agreed on with Brazil (2008) and Mexico (2010). In the case of the EU-Brazil strategic partnership, the parties mention the improvement of access to culture as a common goal, in order to promote sustainable development (EEAS, 2008: 17). In the Joint Programme on Culture 2011-2014, the promotion of sustainable cultural tourism is considered as a socioeconomic benefit of cultural heritage. The development of a sustainable cultural and creative economy is mentioned as one of the objectives to achieve during their four-year joint action (European Commission, 2011a: 1; 2011b: 2). Within the strategic partnership with Mexico, cooperation in the field of sustainable development is highlighted as one of the most significant bilateral agenda subjects. In this realm, culture and education are addressed as being of great relevance for sustainable development (Council of the European Union, 2010: 4).

Policies and programmes

A concrete activity that takes into account sustainability in the cultural dimension could only be identified within the framework of the strategic partnership between the EU and Brazil. It refers to a bilateral seminar on culture and sustainable development, held in Brasilia in May 2013 in the course of the Joint Programme on Culture 2011-2014 (Smits, 2014: 23; European Commission, 2011a: 1).

Beyond the strategic partnership frameworks, the European Commission's DG EAC launched the EU Culture Programme 2007-2013. Brazil (2008, with a total budget of 1.3 million euros) and Mexico (2011, with a total budget of 2.2 million euros) were selected as countries for Special Actions in cultural cooperation (Lisack, 2014: 21). None of the seven activities realised in the case of Brazil addressed sustainability with regard to culture. In the case of Mexico at least one out of 13 cooperation activities put sustainability and culture into the programmatic focus by seeking «to explore how culture, during a global financial crisis, can contribute to the development of a sustainable society through international cooperation and cohesion» (Schneider, 2014: 22).

The European Commission's DG DEVCO realised an EU/UNESCO Expert Facility Programme in order «to strengthen the governance for culture in developing countries and reinforce the role of culture as a vector for sustainable development and poverty reduction» (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 71). Although the programme was «not set up [...] to

implement the Protocol on Cultural Cooperation of the [EU-CARIFORUM] EPA», it is considered to «be useful for some CARIFORUM countries to implement the ‘technical assistance’ commitments embodied in the Protocol» (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 28).

3.4 Achievements and challenges

What are the achievements and challenges of bi-regional relations between the EU and CELAC in the cultural dimension with regard to the cross-cutting-topics of mobility, inequality, diversity and sustainability? First of all, it should be noted that the four topics that we analysed have a different meaning in the context of cultural relations between both regions. Great attention in political dialogue is given to mobility and diversity. In contrast, the issues of inequality and sustainability are given less attention in the cultural dimension. A significant achievement is a consensus on the discursive level on certain shared core values and common goals. This is especially the case with regard to the importance of mobility, cultural diversity, the protection of minority rights and the preservation of traditional cultures. Cultural mobility is consistently considered as a key prerequisite for promoting intercultural dialogue and foster mutual understanding. Cultural diversity and plurality, as well as the protection of cultural heritage, are considered fundamental principles for the development of the bi-regional partnership. For example, the mutual respect for cultural diversity between the EU and Mexico was emphasised in the first Partnership Agreement of 1994, and reaffirmed again and again in later years. It can also be seen as an achievement that the 2008 Economic Partnership Agreement between the CARIFORUM States of the one part, and the European Community and its Member States of the other part, for the first time included cultural aspects in an agreement focusing on economic and trade issues. In particular, the Protocol on Cultural Cooperation annexed to the Agreement should be seen as an achievement regarding the positioning of the cultural dimension. It also focuses on the fight against structural imbalances and provides preferential treatments, which is clearly an achievement in the struggle to reduce inequalities and structural asymmetries. The text of the protocol is also an achievement in terms of the promotion of the mobility of artists, as it provides for a simplified entry of artists from CARIFORUM member countries into the EU. Sustainability is rather indirectly addressed in the cultural dimension, for example with regard to sustainable tourism as an effective instrument for economic and cultural development. In addition, sustainable development is considered an important prerequisite for the preservation and promotion of cultural diversity.

Despite all the achievements, bi-regional cultural relations are facing great challenges. Cultural cooperation between the EU and CARIFORUM members is a good example. The Protocol on Cultural Cooperation does not foresee any financial commitments for its implementation by the EU or its Member States. There are no plans for specific programmes

to implement the Protocol. Nor have the artistic co-productions of European and Caribbean cultural creators provided for in the protocol been set in motion as far as we are aware. The market access rules for cultural professionals agreed between the EU and CARIFORUM are binding. However, they merely record the existing rules and do not go beyond them. One of the main problems for many cultural operators from the Caribbean with regard to access to the European cultural market is the fact that there are no uniform European rules but very different rules of access from country to country (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 13ff.). What has been stated in another study on access to the EU for cultural workers from all over the world, of course, applies to cultural relations with LAC: «the current visa regime stands in flagrant contradiction to the desire for deeper cultural relations. Its negative impact has already cast a long shadow on cultural relations activities everywhere» (Isar, 2014: 101f.).

Another challenge concerns the question of how certain elements of the Protocol on Cultural Cooperation are interpreted. While representatives of the European Commission consider the provisions of the Protocol to be «politically» binding, the representatives of individual EU countries see them as merely a set of best endeavours. They do not derive any obligation to act from them (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 15). The Caribbean partners also identify a number of aspects that make it difficult for many Caribbean artists to take advantage of the Protocol's potential benefits. These include a weak organisation of the cultural sector, lack of knowledge of cultural practitioners on how to benefit from the cultural provisions, absence of information on market access requirements and opportunities in EU Member States, and difficulty to meet the requirements of provisions for the audiovisual sector (KEA European Affairs, 2011: 15).

With regard to the cultural dimension of relations between the EU and its strategic partners, Brazil and Mexico, the cultural activities initiated in the first decade of the new millennium do not seem to have continued. Both countries are now considered to be middle income countries and are therefore no longer eligible to apply for the DCI budgets as they could beforehand. The Joint Programme on Culture 2011-2014 between the EU and Brazil has not continued. Neither the Declaration on the 7th EU-Brazil Summit in 2014 nor the Joint Declaration on the tenth anniversary of the launch of the Strategic Partnership in 2017 mention cultural issues. Efforts to develop cultural cooperation between Europe and Brazil beyond national activities appear to have largely shifted to EUNIC's involvement. In 2018, EUNIC, in cooperation with the EU Delegation to Brazil, held a European Week (*Semana da Europa*) for the 14th time in Brazil. These activities are also an attempt to respond to the challenge of lacking visibility of the EU as a cultural actor. The EU is perceived primarily as a trading bloc. If that is going to change, the EU, not just in Brazil, needs to invest in its visibility as a cultural player; it must develop a common narrative (Smits, 2014: 25ff.). Such a narrative must not be confined to conjuring up again and

again the assumed shared values and cultural similarities between the two regions. Of course, there are many things in common, but history, especially from a Latin American perspective, is often a burden that is far too little addressed and acknowledged by the Europeans. The EU can no longer confine itself to drawing a harmonious picture of the common past and present time and time again.

The experiences of the EU's cultural cooperation with Mexico reveal another challenge: the different expectations on the partner side. While the Mexican cultural authority CONACULTA expects the EU to be more involved in cultural heritage protection, the CDI (*Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas*), which is responsible for indigenous affairs, is more interested in promoting the cultural diversity of indigenous communities. In turn, the organisation ProMéxico is primarily interested in accessing new cultural markets (Schneider, 2014: 14ff).

In addition, we would like to address a set of further challenges to the external cultural relations of the EU, which not only relate to cooperation with LAC. Many cultural activities in third countries still take place on an *ad hoc* basis. The EU Delegations very often have neither dedicated budgets, nor staff members who are qualified for cultural activities. Moreover, cultural activities are still too one-sidedly conceived as a promotion for the EU and not as reciprocal activities (Isar, 2014: 104). The external cultural relations of the EU need a strategic framework if they are to be more effective. This includes intra-European coordination mechanisms both between the various Community institutions and between the EU and the Member States. For example, the various directorates-general of the Commission dealing with cultural issues (DG EAC, DG DEVCO, DG TRADE) would need to work together more institutionally, not just on an *ad hoc* basis. In terms of coordinating the activities of national cultural institutions, the work of EUNIC is a step in the right direction.

As the main responsibilities for cultural activities will remain within the Member States, it would be important to pool national resources in the interests of a stronger EU cultural policy. This could benefit smaller EU countries, which otherwise would not be able to engage in LAC because of limited and scarce resources. Thus, such pooling or «subsidiary complementarity» (Isar, 2014: 10) would also contribute to reducing inequalities within the EU. In order for such resource pooling to be more widely accepted by the individual states, it would also be necessary, especially from the perspective of already active countries, to clarify the added value of a European cultural policy vis-à-vis national commitments.

Finally, another challenge arising from the Preparatory Action Report concerns communication. This applies both to the languages used (here, multilingualism is explicitly required) as well as the type and channels of communication. Young people in particular are hardly attracted to the cultural activities of the EU so far.

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4

EUROPEAN COOPERATION AND CULTURAL ACTION OF EUNIC CLUSTERS IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Giada CALVANO

Abstract

The role of national cultural institutes and their European network EUNIC has been crucial in boosting and leading recent transformations occurring in terms of European cultural diplomacy. In this sense, the publication of the Joint Communication *Towards an EU strategy for international cultural relations* of the European Commission (EC) and the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy represents the culmination of a renovation process that started years ago. In order to understand ongoing changes, it is vital to comprehend the role of national cultural institutes abroad and their umbrella organisation EUNIC and to trace their development over time, in order to outline possible future direction, especially with regard to EU-LAC cultural relationships.

Firstly, this chapter presents a brief historical overview of national cultural institutes and their current structuring. Then, the main characteristics and functioning of EUNIC will be exposed, with a special focus on its collaboration platforms worldwide – the so-called clusters. The author then introduces recent changes occurring in European international cultural relations, by explaining the impact of the Joint Communication of 2016 on the redefinition of relations between national cultural institutes, EUNIC and EU Delegations. New strategic directions for EUNIC and national cultural institutes abroad will be then exposed, taking into account the documentation produced and projects implemented as a result of the new EU strategy for in-

ternational cultural relations. Finally, the chapter focuses on the current status of cultural relations between EUNIC and LAC, by analysing EUNIC clusters in the region through a mapping exercise. The final conclusions present future challenges for EUNIC and its members in the light of the new EU strategy for cultural diplomacy, even in regard to its possible enhanced relationship with LAC.¹

4.1 Contextualising the role of national cultural institutes and EUNIC

4.1.1 Brief historical evolution of national cultural institutes

National Cultural Institutes (CIs) are key to European integration (Fürjész, 2013) and for many decades have played an important role in developing and implementing cultural diplomacy strategies of the EU Member States (Smits et al., 2016). The role of national cultural institutes has evolved since their creation to ultimately embrace a wider mission, even though the main objective of the CIs of the EU Member States operating abroad remains the promotion of the culture and language of their respective country.

Historically, cultural diplomacy has emerged as nationally focused and remained so for a long period. Cultural institutes, which are key vehicles of external cultural policy of EU Member States, in the beginning «almost solely represented their countries' national interests, traditions, and values both within the territory of the EC/EU and in third countries» (Szűcs, 2017: 5). Even though today this still remains their main mission, a slow process of change, going well beyond the institutes, can be observed since the last decades of the 20th century. To understand the evolutionary path of these institutions, a brief historical premise is provided.

Paschadalis (2009) identifies four fundamental phases in the developmental process of cultural institutes. The first phase of «cultural nationalism», that stretches from the 1870s until the beginning of World War I, corresponds to the origins of cultural institutes, with countries like Italy, Germany and France as main protagonists. It is important to note that, since the beginnings of these institutions, the different historical, political and social background of the countries adopting these instruments had an impact on the reasons underlying their creation and diffusion, resulting in a «complex picture with diverse patterns» (Paschadalis, 2009: 277). Even within their different approaches, in this phase the major force behind the geographical spread of these institutions can be identified in cultural nationalism, expressed through the values of language and education.

¹ Special thanks to Elisa Grafulla for sharing her valuable insights and experience on EU international cultural relations.

The second phase, matched with the concept of «cultural propaganda», covers the years 1914-1945. The politicisation of culture takes on a new meaning and escalates during World War I, using nationalist discourses as weapons of propaganda. States started to understand the potential of external cultural policy and, especially in the aftermath of the Great War, they began to directly initiate, administer and finance initiatives in this sense, leading to an institutionalisation process.

The third phase coincides with the era of «cultural diplomacy» and the need to re-establish cultural relations in a turmoiled Europe after World War II. The diffusion of cultural institutes happens at unprecedented pace, attesting a renewed trust in these instruments in the attempt to achieve a meaningful dialogue and to foster the conciliation process, despite the controversial role played during the previous phases. However, geopolitical and geocultural differences persisted and evolved in the new post-war global panorama, marked by the ideological opposition of different blocks, identified by Paschadalis (2009) as: the West versus East confrontation of Cold War; the North versus South conflict resulting from post-colonialism processes; and the USA versus Europe «battle», which was played on the ground of language predominance.

Finally, the current phase of «cultural capitalism», which starts symbolically with the fall of the Berlin wall, witnesses a multiplication of countries developing instruments of external cultural policy, which becomes the standardised form of international relations. The new multilateral model that emerged in the post-Cold War years obliged cultural institutes to rethink their activities and role.

The most significant change towards a redefinition of European Cultural Institutes is represented by the foundation of EUNIC in 2006, an umbrella «network of European national institutes of culture and national bodies engaged in cultural and related activities beyond their national borders» (EUNIC, 2015: 2), as defined in its mission statement. The novelty introduced by the creation of EUNIC is, in particular, to provide a more structured framework for European cooperation and join forces to work together on cultural diversity and on building understanding across cultures as well as to participate in the design and implementation of European policy on culture at a time when the definitions of the competences of Member States and the EU during the negotiations of the Lisbon Treaty were taking place. The establishment of EUNIC brings about also a switch of focus from diverse nationalist approaches to a (re)presentation of European cultural diversity within and outside the continent, thus helping the EU's integration process by fostering both internal cohesion and external cultural relations (Fürjész, 2013).

However, along with the Europeanisation of the national public discourses, an opposite re-nationalisation of the European public discourse and sphere occurs (Szűcs, 2017), further complicating an already complex panorama. Nevertheless, nowadays cultural in-

stitutes in a foreign country are showing their interest in going beyond the sole representation of the national culture(s) and customs abroad, working in projects to foster cultural cooperation, artistic exchanges, mobility of cultural professionals and supporting local development through the cultural and creative sector.

4.1.2 Cultural institutes nowadays

Despite cutbacks, EU Member States altogether have more than 900 cultural institutes within the EU and almost 1,300 outside the EU, employing approximately 30,000 people worldwide and producing a global turnover of more than 2.3 billion euros per year (Smits et al., 2006: 11). These figures demonstrate the capillarity of the cultural institutes system and highlight their potential as strategic actors within the framework of the EU external action through culture, thanks to a wide network of offices and skilled staff around the world.

As evidenced in the report *Research for Cult Committee – European Cultural Institutes Abroad*, the «great variety of national CIs in terms of size, governance and management model, budget, number of offices outside the EU, staff employed, as well as their involvement in EU projects and the promotion of the EU's values» (Smits et al., 2016: 27) reflect the variety of approaches across EU Member States. For example, for historical and political reasons, some EU Member States have more than one cultural institute (i.e. Austria, Germany, France, Italy and Poland) and a widespread network, whilst some others only have a cultural institute which does not have any office outside their national territory. The diversity of CIs can thus make their functioning hard to understand. Indeed, the structure and activities of cultural institutes change accordingly to the «organisation of their national administration, historical ties with foreign countries, geopolitical strategies as well as relations with neighbouring countries both in and outside the EU. In general, the geographical focus and thematic priorities of each CI are in line with the cultural and foreign policy objectives of their respective Member State» (Smits et al., 2016: 27).

In terms of management system, two main models can be outlined: a centralised and a decentralised structure. In the former model, CIs are managed at central level by the government in the form of government agencies, whilst in the latter case they can operate as autonomous decentralised organisations (so-called arm's length model). Another distinction between CIs can be made according to the main funding and reporting authority, which in many cases is the respective Ministry of Foreign Affairs, despite the fact that sometimes they are funded by several different ministries or operate as decentralised structures (Smits et al., 2016). This circumstance is sometimes indicative of a sort of «rivalry» in terms of competence that exists between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture when dealing with culture in external relations.

With regard to budget, CIs generally receive funding from their national governments at central level and/or from their foreign offices. The share that this contribution represents in their budget varies across the spectrum. Funding does not come exclusively from public sources – even though these represent the most common resource – but also from self-financing (e.g. through activities such as language courses) and private funding (e.g. sponsorships). It is important to notice that significant disparities exist regarding the distribution of the global turnover, with five CIs² accounting for the 93% of the total 2.3 billion euros (Smits et al., 2016).

In terms of global network and infrastructure, European cultural institutes with the most extensive distribution around the world are Alliance Française, British Council, Goethe-Institut, Institut français and Società Dante Alighieri. Alliance Française leads the group, with the astonishing figure of 832 alliances in 131 countries.³

4.1.3 EUNIC structure and functioning

Since its establishment, the EUNIC network is conceived as a tool for contributing to the definition and implementation of European policy on culture, precisely at the time when the Lisbon Treaty was being prepared and the competences of the EU and its Member States defined. Indeed, the creation of EUNIC in 2006 made considerable sense in the context of an enlarged European Union and the changes to geopolitical and global economic power. Although cooperation among cultural institutes, embassies and other offices from EU Member States abroad is not new, the establishment of an organisational framework to formalise such collaboration has facilitated engagement, increased the potential for impact and allowed to develop a joint strategic vision.

One of the main goals of EUNIC is to create networks and facilitate collaboration among its members, with a view to promoting cultural diversity and mutual understanding among European societies, as well as strengthening international dialogue and cultural cooperation with third countries. Its vision is to become the delivery, research and training partner of choice for cultural diplomacy and cultural relations at European and international level by 2025 (EUNIC, 2015).

At present, EUNIC brings together 36 cultural institutes and other national organisations from the 28 EU Member States and operates in more than 80 countries through 116 clusters. The EUNIC Global office in Brussels is the secretariat of the network and implements the strategy set by the heads of EUNIC members by supporting both EUNIC members

² Namely the British Council, the Goethe-Institut, the Instituto Camoes, the Alliance Française and the Institut français.

³ Information retrieved from: <https://www.fondation-alliancefr.org/?cat=1410>.



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and clusters around the world to work together. EUNIC includes a variety of members, ranging from cultural institutes that operate at arm's length to national bodies and ministries.

Each EUNIC member has its own independence and brand but as an alliance all members come together to define and advocate common goals, to execute joint projects, to learn from each other. Joint activities are supported by the EUNIC Global Office that follows up on their implementation and updates the «heads» on them. Headquarters of member organisations must be based in an EU Member State, have a mandate at the national level, and operate in the field of culture beyond their national borders.

EUNIC statutes define two categories of membership: Full and Associate Membership. Full Members are national bodies, or legal bodies operating with a certain degree of autonomy at, or on behalf of, a national level institution based in an EU Member State engaged in cultural and related activities beyond their national borders. The statutes of the association also provide a definition of Associate Members as organisations which subscribe to the purposes of the Association but are not eligible for Full Membership, however this category of membership has not been used so far at «heads» level, and the network is currently exploring a further definition of it. Decisions are taken by the Heads at the General Assembly, which comprises the CEOs/Presidents/Secretary General etc. of the EUNIC members.

2011 marked a turning point for the network: a permanent office and staff was established in Brussels, which helped strengthening its advocacy and engagement efforts. Moreover, collective financial responsibility was distributed among its members instead of falling on the Goethe-Institut and British Council, who had shouldered much of the funding burden until that moment.

EUNIC clusters

At the local level, EUNIC members formally join together in over 100 collaboration platforms, the so-called clusters, to collaborate in common projects and programmes intended to develop long-lasting links between the peoples of the EU and the peoples of the host country. Clusters, which represent the whole of EUNIC and not only those members present in a given territory, are the backbone of the network and its delivery arm. EUNIC clusters pool resources, exchange best practice and collaborate with local, national and international organisations to build trust and understanding across cultures. Since 2016, they work on the basis of three-year strategies that allow them to identify common strategic priorities and design and implement joint actions to deliver them.

Clusters may be established where at least 3 local offices of EUNIC members operate together nationwide or city-wide. In order to be established, a cluster has to be approved

by the EUNIC General Assembly which meets twice a year in June and December. Generally, one representative of each cluster, the president, acts as the spokesperson for the cluster.⁴ This role usually rotates among the cluster's full members on a yearly basis.

Since 2016, EUNIC's work with its cultural platforms has been adapted on the basis of their classification in three main groups according to their host countries' geopolitical relations with the EU:

- The EU and its Neighbourhood: comprising the EU (including Norway as well as candidate and potential candidate countries), the ENP⁵ countries and the Western Balkans.
- EU strategic partner countries: composed of the 10 strategic partner countries of the EU as well as other middle-income countries with whom the EU has trade and investment interests.
- Development and International Cooperation countries: covering those countries where the EU provides assistance in terms of development cooperation.

Clusters have three categories of membership: Full members, Associate members and Partners. Eligible Full members are local offices of EUNIC Full members (or their mandated organisations if a EUNIC member does not have physical presence in a country or city); Associate members are organisations which subscribe to the purposes of EUNIC but are not eligible for full membership, they also have a set of requirements to be eligible and accepted; and Partners are locally based organisations that work with the cluster on a project basis or have a strategic partnership with them (e.g. EU Delegation or European Commission Representation).

EUNIC Global dedicates an *ad hoc* funding programme to finance clusters – the so-called Cluster Fund – whose call(s) for proposals are published once or twice a year, depending on the decision of the General Assembly. The fund is financed through voluntary contributions of EUNIC members and co-finances cultural relations projects of clusters as long as these are aligned with their three-year cluster strategies. In the last call of October 2018, 117,500 euros were distributed in grants among 12 projects (in most cases, 10,000 euros per cluster).⁶

EUNIC clusters do not have a legal identity or status enabling them to sign contracts, and thus so far contracts to receive funding for joint activities have been signed by one of the members with the appropriate local legal status and implemented in partnership with the cluster.

⁴ Some clusters have successfully tested the model of two co-presidents.

⁵ European Neighbourhood Policy.

⁶ Information retrieved from: <https://www.eunicglobal.eu/clusters#cluster-funding>.

4.2 A renewed role for EUNIC and cultural institutes abroad

4.2.1 A new strategy for EU international cultural relations

The publication of the Joint Communication *Towards an EU strategy for international cultural relations* (European Commission, 2016) inaugurates a new period for the EU's future action in this field, which implies also a new understanding of the role of national cultural institutes and EUNIC. The Joint Communication is the first EU political document that defines the principles, guidelines and strategic approach for its international cultural relations. A key development of the text is that it proposes to go beyond the presentation of European cultures towards a more collaborative paradigm of people-to-people exchange, reciprocity, mutual learning and understanding. Five points of the document can be highlighted: the definition of cultural diplomacy in terms of cultural relations; a cross-cutting approach to culture; three work streams for joint action; the principle of subsidiarity and complementarity; and EU enhanced cooperation, part of which is achieved through a new form of partnership with national cultural institutes and their umbrella organisation EUNIC.

A first remarkable aspect is the preferential use of the term «international cultural relations» over «cultural diplomacy»,⁷ even in the very title. Such use of terminology is key to understand the new EU strategy: the relationships between the EU and its Member States and third countries should not be limited to the mere promotion of national cultures but should rather widen its scope in order to develop long-lasting links between the peoples of the EU and the peoples of third countries in a spirit of dialogue, reciprocity, joint creation and mutual learning, capacity-building and understanding.

A second notable aspect is a wider and deeper approach to culture, which includes not only artistic disciplines but also a great variety of actions and policies, «from inter-cultural dialogue to tourism, from education and research to the creative industries, from protecting heritage to promoting creative industries and new technologies, and from artisanship to development cooperation» (European Commission, 2016: 4). Actions carried out within the framework of the Joint Communication should thus cover a broader range of fields, and not be limited to the arts.

⁷ Considering the complexity and lack of consensus around the definition of «cultural diplomacy» and «cultural relations», the following definitions will be adopted in this chapter: «public diplomacy» refers to communication and dissemination actions of the states and its agencies towards the citizens of other states in order to achieve political objectives; «cultural diplomacy» is a means of public diplomacy that uses culture to communicate with other states, its agencies and citizens to meet the goals of its external policy; and «cultural relations» are intended as a mutual cultural exchange aimed at building trust and mutual understanding among people. Cultural relations require the support of the state, both financially and to provide a favourable context, thus can be seen as a tool or a dimension of cultural diplomacy, although its actors do not have to be necessarily governments (EUNIC, 2015).

Third, the document proposes three work streams to advance international cultural relations with partner countries:

1. supporting culture as an engine for social and economic sustainable development, including support for developing cultural policies, also in relation to the role of local authorities in this field, as well as reinforcing the cultural and creative industries;
2. promoting culture and intercultural dialogue for peaceful inter-community relations, from supporting cooperation among cultural practitioners to promoting peace-building through intercultural dialogue;
3. reinforcing cooperation on cultural heritage, ranging from research to protection and promotion.

A fourth relevant aspect of the Joint Communication relates to jurisdiction. The document respects the competences in the field of culture that the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) assigns to the EU and its Member States (European Union, 2012). Culture falls under the competence of EU Member States whilst the EU has a supporting and complementing role. In accordance with the TFEU, the Joint Communication proposes a strategic approach based on the principle of subsidiarity: «the EU acts to promote international cultural relations when it can be more effective than action taken at national, regional or local level» (European Commission, 2016: 4).

In fact, «the need for a better coordination of efforts towards a strategic European approach aiming at the consistent and coherent integration of culture in the EU's external relations and contributing to the complementarity of the Union's activities with those of its Member States» (Council of the European Union, 2015: 4) had been highlighted in 2015, when the Council of the EU adopted its Conclusions on culture in external relations. Indeed, the Joint Communication was born following these Conclusions, which urged the European Commission to prepare a more strategic approach to culture in external relations. However, the publication of the Joint Communication is the result of cumulative efforts of different stakeholders over time, that can be dated back to around the time of the Maastricht Treaty. Nevertheless, the role of culture in the EU's external relations became a clear priority for the EU since 2007, when the European Commission published the *European Agenda for Culture in a Globalising World*, whose objectives included, *inter alia*, the «promotion of culture as a vital element in the Union's international relations» (European Commission, 2007: 8). Since then, the role of culture in EU international relations has emerged over the years: from 2011 onwards, it becomes one of the priorities in the working plans on culture of the Council and, in 2014, it receives an important boost with the Preparatory Action *Culture in EU external relations*, which highlights its great potential and provides the conceptual framework for the Joint Communication.

The fifth and last element to highlight in the Joint Communication is a call for enhancing cooperation among different European actors «to join forces to ensure complementarity and synergies. This includes government at all levels, local cultural organisations and civil society, the Commission and the High Representative (through EU Delegations in third countries), Member States and their cultural institutes» (European Commission, 2016: 12). With regard to the latter, the document proposes «a new type of partnership between the EEAS, Commission services, national cultural institutes and their umbrella organisation» (European Commission, 2016: 13), the European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC) network.

4.2.2 Tying bonds between EUNIC, the EEAS and Commission services

The Joint Communication, a new cooperation framework for European actors implicated in the EU's cultural external action, suggested a new form of partnership with cultural institutes which led to the signing of an *Administrative Arrangement* (European Commission, EEAS, EUNIC, 2017) between EUNIC, the European External Action Service (EEAS)⁸ and the European Commission (EC) in May 2017. By facilitating a more structured and strategic collaboration between the three parties at both headquarters and the local level in partner countries through EUNIC, the EC and the EEAS, the Administrative Arrangement is intended to contribute to the implementation of the Joint Communication. Of the three sections forming the administrative agreement, the first two – «principles, values and objectives»; and «priority areas for cooperation» – reiterate the concepts, focus and work streams of the Joint Communication. The third section – «arrangements for cooperation» – defines the practical aspects of this cooperation. Concretely, the document entails joint pilot activities that would allow to analyse different methods to reinforce collaboration through four areas: planning, resourcing, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Pilot activities are targeted also at examining different models of financing and possible collaboration within the framework of existing rules and regulations.

The first pilot activity emerging from the administrative agreement has been a research on the current relationship between EUNIC clusters and EU Delegations in 14

⁸ The 2009 Lisbon Treaty introduced the European External Action Service (EEAS) as the European Union's new vehicle for foreign policy and equipped this new body with a network of 139 so called «Union Delegations». EU Delegations have comprehensive networks of partners, including public authorities, organisations from the private sector, local actors of cultural cooperation. Their role is to facilitate the cooperation and information sharing among various European actors in the partner country. EU Delegations have know-how in optimising different actions, projects, and programmes and can access various financial instruments – bilateral, regional, or thematic – to increase the impact of actions or projects. They have extensive knowledge in the preparation, programming and financing of projects, including in the field of culture and development.

countries,⁹ covering the four areas indicated in the arrangement (EUNIC, 2018). The mapping and baseline setting exercise took place between September 2017 and April 2018. The next phase of pilot activities is being delivered according to the lessons learned and recommendations included in the report outlining the results (Grafulla et al., 2018).

In general, CIs and a number of EUNIC clusters have good relations with EU Delegations, however, under the newly envisaged role demanded by the EU, further collaboration is required. Among the positive aspects to highlight, there is a number of best practices for cooperation that could inspire future action. Regarding aspects to improve in order to fulfil the full potential of cooperation, four elements can be outlined:

- a greater orientation towards joint fieldwork, with joint guidelines for EU Delegations and EUNIC clusters;
- a framework for ongoing training and professional development which would allow EU Delegations and cultural institutes to better understand and integrate the new strategic approach, as well as models and possibilities within this renewed framework;
- a specific EU funding mechanism to meet the needs and specificities of international cultural relations. Indeed, the Administrative Arrangement encourages the co-creation and co-financing of projects and activities, yet the instruments available to facilitate this are not adapted to these new forms of cooperation;
- a monitoring and impact evaluation system for international cultural relations.

Following the indications contained in the report, in June 2019 the Joint Guidelines on the partnership between EUNIC, the EEAS and the European Commission were published (EC, EEAS, EUNIC, 2019). The document provides a practical framework to strengthen the partnership between the EC, the EEAS and EUNIC, with the aim to advise professionals working in EU Delegations and EUNIC clusters worldwide on design and management of effective relationships. It is highlighted in the text the importance of a shared strategic vision that «should be based on the EU's and EUNIC's principle of working together in cultural relations and should be developed by consulting with local stakeholders, agreeing on a joint definition of an effective cultural relations approach, identifying common goals, and then subsequently translating them into a joint strategy» (EC, EEAS, EUNIC, 2019: 5), always in respect of the principle of subsidiarity. The Joint Guidelines cover also the challenges identified in the Report on the partnership between EUNIC clusters and EU Delegations, by providing a number of recommendations, namely:

⁹ Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Democratic Republic of Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Japan, Jordan, Morocco, Senegal, Serbia, Sudan, Tunisia, Ukraine and United States of America.

- Developing a joint cultural relations' training framework, that will involve the use of existing fora and training programmes and the creation of a joint training programme.
- Professionalising the partnership, by proposing a more efficient internal coordination through the appointment of «cultural focal points» in EU Delegations and the establishment of permanent coordinators within EUNIC clusters; establishing regular meetings to favour knowledge sharing; signing an agreement between EU Delegation and EUNIC cluster at the local level; institutionalising joint working sessions during regional seminars; and providing access to a platform for EU Delegations and clusters to share information and best practices.
- Designing and implementing joint projects under this partnership. As stated in the text, this requires a clear definition of roles and responsibilities and the development of a joint communication strategy, whilst allowing for the principle of variable geometry and variable co-financing models. In terms of funding, the document stresses the importance of defining a specific financing mechanism for the partnership in the future. Meanwhile, it exposes four financing models that are currently used to fund joint projects and actions (i.e. PAGOda/PACA, grants, service contracts, and invoicing), showing in detail their strengths and challenges so that EUNIC clusters and EU Delegations can identify the model best suited to their needs.
- Defining a monitoring and evaluations approach, aimed at assessing the project and its outputs and the wider impact of cultural relations (i.e. outcomes).

Finally, the Joint Guidelines define the roles and responsibilities within the partnership by exposing the specificities of each part and highlight the importance of both sides' headquarters in increasing the efficacy and efficiency of the cooperation.

Another important action emerged as part of the further development of the EU's approach to international cultural relations is the Preparatory Action European «Houses» of Culture. In July 2018, EUNIC was invited by the European Commission to submit a proposal to test and define the concept of European «Houses» of Culture.¹⁰ EUNIC Global submitted its proposal to the Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture (DG EAC) in September 2018; the project was accepted and then launched in December 2018.

The European «Houses» of Culture is a project co-funded by the European Commission (90%) and by EUNIC Global (10%), aimed at defining concretely the concept for European «Houses» of Culture and evaluating it on the basis of various collaboration projects that will be tested during the period 2019-2020.

¹⁰ Information available at: <https://www.eunicglobal.eu/european-houses-of-culture>.

The project is structured around the following main actions:

- A baseline mapping of past and current practice of European collaboration in culture both inside and outside the EU, carried out by EUNIC members as well as by other actors or organisations (i.e. the civil society). The resulting inventory will be used as inspiration for future collaboration projects and is not intended to be exhaustive.
- Call for ideas to identify innovative collaboration models between EUNIC members, EU Delegations and local stakeholders in third countries, that will be carried out in two phases, starting from April 2019.
- Evaluation of the concept and collaboration models of European «Houses» of Culture, notably to what extent they could become a tool to help deliver the new EU strategy for international cultural relations. Among others, the analysis and evaluation will include evidence-based policy recommendations to the European Commission. The results will be presented during a conference in Brussels in December 2020.

The first results of the baseline mapping have been published in May 2019 (EUNIC, 2019). The mapping covered 151 projects in 75 countries from all continents, involving 29 EUNIC members, 24 EU delegations and representations, and hundreds of third parties; and collecting information of projects taking place from 1991 to 2024. The most important outcomes of the mapping process have been the definition of the preliminary typology and the concept of European «Houses» of Culture, which are described as «collaboration models and practices that create spaces, whether physical or digital, permanent or temporary, for cultural exchange beyond the arts, co-creation and people-to-people contacts that build trust and understanding between the peoples of the EU and the peoples from the rest of the world» (EUNIC, 2019: 31). The most innovative aspect to highlight is that the project is not (necessarily) about physical places, but rather about understanding culture as a space for exchange, dialogue and mutual understanding.

A European «House» of Culture should involve different actors from different levels and lead to enhanced cooperation among European actors – in particular EUNIC, EU Delegations, Member states. It should also respond to local context and needs, bring added value to all parties involved; be adaptable in scale and sustainable in nature.

4.3 The relationship between EUNIC and Latin America and the Caribbean

After examining recent transformations occurring in terms of EU's cultural diplomacy, which imply a renewed role for EUNIC as strategic partner of the European Commission and other European institutions in defining and implementing European cultural policy

and external cultural relations, this section intends to outline the current state of the relationship between the network and LAC countries.

The author of this chapter realised a mapping of EUNIC clusters in Latin America and the Caribbean, which could shed some light on the state of the art of EU-LAC cultural relations.

Table 4.1. *EUNIC clusters in LAC.*

Name of cluster	Name of Members	Country
EUNIC MEXICO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • France Embassy / IFAL (Institut Français d'Amérique Latine) • Goethe-Institut Mexico • British Council 	Mexico
EUNIC CUBA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cyprus Ministry of Foreign Affairs • British Council • Romanian Cultural Institute • Ministry of Foreign Affairs Netherlands • AECID • French Ministry of Foreign Affairs • Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs • Goethe-Institut • Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs • Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 	Cuba
EUNIC VENEZUELA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Embassy of the Republic of Austria • Alliance Française Venezuela • Goethe-Institut Venezuela • Istituto Italiano di Cultura • British Council • Embassy of the Czech Republic • Embassy of Finland • Humboldt Cultural Association • Embassy of Norway • Embassy of Poland 	Venezuela
EUNIC COLOMBIA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alliance Française • Goethe-Institut • Reyes Católicos Educational and Cultural Centre • British Council 	Colombia
EUNIC PERU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Embassy of Austria • Embassy of Czech Republic • Embassy of Finland • Alliance Française Lima • Goethe-Institut Lima • Embassy of Greece • Istituto Italiano di Cultura • Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands • El Tulipán Cultural Association • Embassy of Poland 	Peru

Continues ↓

Continues ↓

Name of cluster	Name of Members	Country
EUNIC PERU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Embassy of Romania • Spanish Cultural Center (CCE) • British Peruvian Cultural Association • Embassy of Switzerland • EU Permanent Delegation in Peru 	Peru
EUNIC BOLIVIA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AECID • Goethe-Institut • Alliance Française 	Bolivia
EUNIC CHILE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Embassy of Austria • Institut Français • Goethe-Institut Chile • Istituto Italiano di Cultura • British Council Chile • Wallonia-Brussels Delegation • Embassy of Croatia • Delegation of the European Union to Chile • Embassy of Hungary • Embassy of Norway • Embassy of Poland • Embassy of Romania • Embassy of Spain • Embassy of Sweden • Embassy of Switzerland • Ministry of External Relations of Chile • Cultural Politics Observatory 	Chile
EUNIC SALVADOR DE BAHIA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alliance Française • Goethe-Institut • Instituto Cervantes 	Brazil
EUNIC BRASILIA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Embassy of Austria • Danish Cultural Institute • Embassy of Poland • Embassy of Sweden • Embassy of Finland • Alliance Française Brasilia • Goethe-Institut São Paulo • Goethe-Zentrum Brasilia • Embassy of Italy • Instituto Camões • Instituto Cervantes • British Council Brazil • Embassy of Greece • Cultura Inglesa 	Brazil
EUNIC CURITIBA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instituto Cervantes • Goethe-Institut • Casa da Cultura Polônia 	Brazil

Continues →

Continues ↓

Name of cluster	Name of Members	Country
EUNIC RIO DE JANEIRO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Danish Cultural Institute • Goethe Institut • Istituto Italiano di Cultura • Instituto Cervantes • British Council 	Brazil
EUNIC SÃO PAULO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alliance Française • Institut Français • Goethe-Institut • Istituto Italiano di Cultura • Instituto Cervantes • British Council 	Brazil
EUNIC MONTEVIDEO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alliance Française • Goethe-Institut • Maria Tsakos Foundation • Istituto Italiano di Cultura • Instituto Camões • Instituto Cultural Anglo Uruguayo • Spanish Cultural Center (CCE) • Delegation of the European Union to Uruguay 	Uruguay
EUNIC BUENOS AIRES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AECID • Alliance Française • British Council • Embassy of Austria • Embassy of Romania • Embassy of Italy - Istituto Italiano di Cultura • Goethe-Institut 	Argentina
EUNIC CORDOBA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Istituto Italiano di Cultura • Alliance Française • Goethe-Institut • Centro Cultural España-Córdoba 	Argentina

Source: Compilation based on data retrieved from: <https://www.eunicglobal.eu/clusters> (accessed: 14/05/2019).

The mapping exercise, based on the available data published on the website of EUNIC Global, identified 15 clusters in 10 different countries. Brazil presents the highest concentration of clusters (5), whilst Argentina presents 2 clusters and the remaining countries (Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela) only one cluster each.

The number of members vary greatly from one cluster to another. However, it is important to note that the website does not make a differentiation between Full members, Associate members and Partners in clusters. In some cases, EU Delegations are listed as members, whilst in other cases they are not, but clusters may well be collaborating closely with their EU Delegation (e.g. Cuba). A cluster membership harmonisation process is

currently taking place to make sure that all clusters comply with the definition of Full membership, Associate membership and Partners included in the cluster guidelines. This is due to the fact that, over the years, membership requirements have not been interpreted by clusters in a very organic way, which led to different clusters using different approaches.

With regard to the presence of cultural institutes, it is important to highlight the capillarity of Goethe-Institut in the region: the German institution is present in all the 15 clusters identified. Alliance Française and British Council count as well on a widespread distribution, appearing respectively in 10 and 9 clusters. Istituto Italiano di Cultura is also well-established in the territory, participating in 8 clusters. AECID is very active in Latin America and operates through its own network of cultural centres¹¹ plus the Cultural Services of Spanish Embassies. If we consider also the network of Instituto Cervantes in the territory, the Spanish presence and activity in LAC is therefore relevant. The predominance of these institutes is due to their traditional bonds with Latin America and the Caribbean and confirms the gap between large and small and medium-sized CIs in terms of presence outside the EU or their same nation, due mainly to resource constraints.

Most of the analysed clusters do not have a website, due to a strategic decision to concentrate the information on cluster projects in the EUNIC Global website. However, from the information available on EUNIC Global website and the report of the last regional meeting in the Americas (EUNIC, 2018), it is possible to identify some activities that have been implemented lately. The two clusters in Argentina, for instance, chose to explore the question of culture as a tool of integration with a project on migration. EUNIC Córdoba decided to concentrate its efforts in the field of literature: in 2017, the topic of the International Festival of Literature (FILiC) organised by this cluster was migration and refugees in the world; whilst from September 2018 they are working on a capacity-building project addressed to local libraries in Argentina, that received a 2,500 euros grant from the Cluster Fund. Other projects funded by the Cluster Fund in 2018¹² include «Youth Orchestra» by EUNIC Brasilia and «Casa Europa: Rethinking the future of museums», promoted by EUNIC Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. On its side, EUNIC Bolivia is implementing a cultural project to promote LGBT and sexual diversity/gender equality in Bolivia. For future direction, it is desirable that clusters will increasingly work together in order to enhance regional collaboration. Finally, it has to be noted that a revitalisation of dormant clusters (e.g. Venezuela, and Mexico) has been taking place since December 2018, in order to develop their full potential.

¹¹ For more information: <http://www.aecid.es/ES/cultura/red-exterior/red-de-centros-culturales>.

¹² Information retrieved from: <https://www.eunicglobal.eu/clusters#cluster-funding>.

In terms of geographical priorities, a research conducted by the *Crossroads for Culture* project¹³ to provide a baseline understanding of EUNIC membership functioning in practice and its challenges (McIntosh, 2015) showed that, from the data collected, it is not possible to infer geographical priorities of EUNIC members, or the extent to which EUNIC supported collaborative engagement in specific areas, expressing the need for baseline data. This is also because geographical priorities of EUNIC members change across the years, depending on the geopolitical context of their countries and the partner countries. Nevertheless, opportunities for enhanced cooperation were identified in those countries and areas where collaboration would meet the needs both of EUNIC members and of the EEAS (e.g. China, India, MENA¹⁴ region, ENP countries and strategic partner countries of the EU), which would thus include Brazil and Mexico, thanks to their status of EU Strategic Partners.

EUNIC engagement in terms of regional work with clusters started to be more strategic in 2016, after the approval of the strategic framework, when the Cluster Development Programme was developed and started to work with clusters on three-year strategies. The Cluster Development Programme is aimed to enhance the capacity of EUNIC members to work together by means of clusters, based on the assumption that clusters in the same region face similar needs and challenges. The limited resources of the office led to prioritise the EU and Neighbourhood first, then Sub-Saharan Africa, and in the third phase of the programme Latin America.

Similarly, cultural institutes seem to follow the same geographical priorities as the EU institutions for external cultural relations, namely Southern and Eastern Partnership countries and the 10 strategic partner countries of the EU (including Brazil and Mexico) (Smits et al., 2016). In fact, even though cultural institutes' geographical priorities are defined by EU Member States in line with their foreign policy objectives, a progressive shift from the national spheres of influence towards the geopolitical agenda and strategic orientations of the EU has been noted.

With the progressive strengthening of the partnership between EUNIC, the EEAS and the EC, there is a convergence of geopolitical priorities by EUNIC and the EU. In this sense, the publication of the *New European Agenda for Culture* (European Commission, 2018) could open to new favourable opportunities to strengthen the ties with LAC countries. Following the 2007 European Agenda for Culture, the Commission adopted a New Agenda in May 2018 to take into account the evolution of the cultural sector. It focuses on the posi-

¹³ EUNIC is the coordinator of *Crossroads for Culture*, a project co-funded by the Creative Europe Programme from 2014 to 2017. *Crossroads for Culture* aims at strengthening EUNIC's capacity to enable cultural players from all EU Member states to work transnationally, internationalise cultural and creative sectors and further enhance European influence and attraction inside and outside of Europe. In 2017, EUNIC was awarded another grant for the period 2017-2021.

¹⁴ Acronym referring to the Middle East and North Africa region.

tive contribution that culture makes to Europe's societies, economies and international relations and it sets out enhanced working methods with the Member States, civil society and international partners. This document is of particular importance for the future of EU-LAC relations, since it expressly states the will to develop strategies for cultural cooperation at regional level in Latin America. The EU's interest in enhancing cultural cooperation with the LAC region is even more significant in the light of the restrictions applied in development cooperation aid that affected sub-regional blocks (such as Mercosur) and countries that have progressed in the development of their economies (Azpíroz Manero, 2011).

4.4 Conclusions

The recent transformations brought about by the Joint Communication are posing a set of challenges to EUNIC and cultural institutes that will need to be addressed. A first question relates to the Joint Communication itself, and whether it will provide a new momentum that would put culture at the heart of EU international relations and how its implementation will unfold (Szűcs, 2017). In this respect, the number of publications and activities produced as a result of the Joint Communication (namely the Joint Guidelines, the Preparatory Action, the Council Conclusions of April 2019, the joint regional seminars by EUNIC and the EEAS, among others) seems to indicate that the new strategy results effective in fostering change. The Council Conclusions of April 2019 (Council of the European Union, 2019) are particularly important in terms of directing the action of the EU and its Member States in the coming years. The strategic document provides a clearer vision in the field of the EU's external relations and it is likely to become the framework for action in the future.

Another issue to highlight is that the implementation of the Joint Communication represents critical aspects, due to a number of reasons. One of the challenges that EUNIC and the EU Delegations (EUDs) are facing is the definition of a strategic common vision and goals in order to develop an efficient partnership. EUNIC and EUDs are complementary under different points of view:

EUNIC brings the experience and expertise on cultural relations as its members have been working in host countries for many decades and have established trust relationships with large networks of partners working in culture and beyond. They also bring the human resources and know-how in the development and delivery of cultural projects to the partnership. EU Delegations bring their own networks and take the role of facilitating cooperation among the various European actors. They have know-how in optimizing different actions by accessing various financial instruments and also bring experience particularly in the field of culture and development to the partnership. (EC, EEAS, EUNIC, 2019: 4)

Nevertheless, their missions and visions are different, so they need to share a common understanding of culture and cultural relations in order to advance in their joint cooperation activities. An important aspect expressed in the Joint Guidelines with this respect is the importance of involving local stakeholders in this dialogue, in order to guarantee inclusive collaboration and diverse perspectives.

Regarding economic resources, a broader question is how to secure funding for the strategy – and for culture in general – in the next EU Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) from 2021 onwards in order to ensure long-term perspective and viability. In the specific case of the renewed cooperation between EUNIC and EU Delegations, there is a need to develop a specific financing mechanism adapted to the context of international cultural relations, since current funding schemes have demonstrated a number of limitations that should be overcome. Adequate financing would also avoid the economic predominance of large cultural institutes within the network, allowing for increased participation of EUNIC members with smaller networks. The 2019 Joint Guidelines seem promising with this respect, since these advocate for a specific financing mechanism to fund the partnership. At present, the opportunity for a potential future funding programme is tested; however, how this would be transformed into a specific mechanism in the future is not clear at this stage.

Another challenge for the EUNIC network will be to improve the match between national and European cultural relations in the light of the new European strategy for cultural relations (Smits et al., 2016: 66). The new European strategy for cultural diplomacy also needs to consider introducing a regional dimension to its action plan if it wishes to benefit from the infrastructures of the CIs (Smits et al., 2016: 62). In this sense, the New European Agenda for Culture offers a promising scenario, since it expresses the will to «develop strategies for cultural cooperation at regional level, starting with the Western Balkans, the Middle East and North African region and Latin America» (European Commission, 2018: 8).

EUNIC clusters represent a valuable tool to strengthen European cultural relations with Latin America and the Caribbean but, to reach their full potential, a strategic coordination of the clusters at regional level would be commendable, which should at the same time take into account local peculiarities, thus avoiding a «one size fits all» approach. A regional approach would therefore allow «each CI to continue working in the third countries of their choice, knowing that their common European interests are also being taken care of in other parts of the globe by the EUDs and other CIs» (Smits et al., 2016: 62). It is also fundamental that EUNIC clusters will work more closely with EU Delegations at the regional level, by setting up a framework for exchange and learning, for training and for cross-border initiatives, bringing together not only clusters and EU Delegations but also EUNIC members operating in countries where EUNIC clusters do not exist yet.

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SUB-REGIONAL EXPERIENCE AND DYNAMICS



5

THE EXPERIENCE OF IBERO-AMERICAN COOPERATION PROGRAMMES AND THEIR POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENT AT THE EU-CELAC LEVEL

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Abstract

Bi-regional relations and the cooperation between the European Union and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) are essential pillars that need to be oriented and adapted in order to deal with regions marked by a wide ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity. This article focuses on aspects related to the practice of the Ibero-American model for cultural cooperation, as a collaborative experience developed along several years in various instances, and generated from the will, commitment and action of the countries in the region and institutions that were the drivers for creation and development. Its adjustment to the various circumstances, dynamics and environments that emerged in different moments contributed to this becoming a model mechanism for a sustainable regional cooperation and integration.

5.1 Introduction

Cultural cooperation is currently a key framework in order to achieve the goals of coexistence, dialogue, social cohesion, sustainable development and value reinforcement. In that sense, bi-regional relations between the European Union and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) are essential pillars that need to be oriented and adapted to deal with regions marked by a wide ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity. By analysing the relations between both, it is evident that a large part of those ties is based in and supported by the political sphere and that the cooperation among the countries and regions is therefore a determining factor in the consolidation of those relations.

In Ibero-America, some of the existing cooperation mechanisms and strategies are a reference model worldwide as one of the formal structures that have best contributed to reinforcing political, diplomatic, academic and technical ties through the creation of collaboration networks around specific programmes and actions.

The programmes have value in themselves since they constitute a cooperation exercise promoting the articulation among various parties from different approaches and interests, generating collaboration between logics and perspectives of different natures. This has led to the promotion of a spirit of shared work towards a common agenda and goals under a flexible framework that allows for the combination of sector and multilateral dynamics.

The Ibero-American Conference provides political support to the set of actions intended to strengthen those ties among countries in the region to foster production, co-production, circulation and incentives to cultural creators. This exercise contributes to the process for the coordinated formulation of public policies between national, state, departmental, territorial and local governments and administrations and the design and execution of actions to promote the development of cultural services and favour the circulation of cultural goods and expressions and stimulate the region's cultural heritage and diversity.

The identification and collaboration to face needs and challenges resulted in the generation of cooperation ties to share tools and accompany national processes and projects and promote a dialogue that is rich in regional and international perspectives that led to the development of effective cooperation mechanisms at sector level. These dynamics implied working gradually towards joint cooperation agendas through government agencies and regional cooperation organisations and gradually promote the development of a collaboration space based on shared values that was consolidated through cultural cooperation projects shared along the years.

In the cultural area, this process was developed under the framework and with the support of the Ibero-American Conferences of Ministers of Culture that for over two dec-

ades articulated and provided the political and technical validation and frame to the initiatives generated for the development of these sectoral political negotiation spaces, approved annually and then biennially at the Summits of Heads of State and Government of the Ibero-American States.

Teaching the practice of the Ibero-American model for cultural cooperation means showing an experience of collaboration developed along many years, which implied the commitment and action of multiple instances and institutions and the adjustment to circumstances and environments that took various roles in different moments, all of which contributed to gradually becoming a sustainable regional cooperation and integration mechanism.

This chapter is the result of the effort and experience of several authors in the area of cooperation in Ibero-America¹. Mónica García Alonso, from the Organisation of Ibero-American States for Education, Science and Culture (OEI), makes a contribution in the introductory chapter about the Ibero-American cultural cooperation framework, with an overview of the various stages in the experience of regional Cooperation Programmes.

Some of the relevant experiences are described in this section by those that have been directly responsible for the development or execution of the actions both from the Technical Units of the programmes and from cooperation institutions involved in their implementation.

These contributions have been selected based on several criteria; on the one hand, the role of the Spanish cultural cooperation in terms of bi-regional relations in the recent past and, on the other hand, identifying some significant programmes. The selection of the Ibermedia Programme is justified by their more than twenty years of experience and background as one of the most significant and powerful initiatives in the region in terms of Ibero-American cooperation in the audiovisual space. As to the Ibermuseos programme, in the past decade this initiative has shown the importance of generating and promoting bi-regional cooperation in a key and relevant sector in the area of culture. Iberescena, on the other hand, is the demonstration that cooperation in this sector contributes innovation, dynamism and international projection to a sector that is full of expectations and needs.

Then follows a reflection on the multiplicity of levels, challenges and opportunities, the role of reference documents, resolutions, shared work plans, consensus and agreements in this topic, as a contribution by Araceli Sánchez Garrido from the Spanish Agency

¹ Ibero-America includes the countries in the Iberian Peninsula (Andorra, Spain and Portugal) and the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking countries in Latin America (Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Dominican Republic, Uruguay and Venezuela).

for International Development Cooperation (AECID). Here she describes some of the challenges for cooperation in the region and proposes specific recommendations to contribute to reinforcing the dynamics of cultural relations and international cooperation based on decades of experience.

The contributions from Mônica Barcelos and Vanessa de Britto offer a tour of the Ibermuseos Programme, with the achievements and difficulties of this initiative in a space made up of entities of a diverse nature, dimension, resources and potentials and they describe the process for the creation and the characteristics of a key initiative in the Ibero-American regional space.² They underline the solidarity cooperation approach at the beginning of the programme to allow countries with fewer resources to contribute to the generation of a more cohesive network with countries with bigger contributions. They also describe their experience in the current development of the project, providing evidence of a diverse and complex group of museums and different political, economic and social environments and contexts, which reveals the structuring nature of the programme and the modality of incentives that translate into specific actions and strategies on training and education, research and curricular and institutional articulation. The article includes evidence of the results obtained and the challenge around the sector's needs and its potential and the need to expand the dialogue to other local, regional and global stakeholders to establish cross-cutting collaboration in terms of education, cohesion, social justice and tourism.

Elena Vilardell and Rosa Sophia Rodríguez present a summary of the Ibermedia Programme, a reference initiative in the film sector in Ibero-America since 1996. Along its more than twenty years of experience, the programme has generated a co-production model and a space to articulate cooperation among the countries in Ibero-America on policies for film productions and regulatory frameworks that ensure the development and sustainability of the programme's activities. This is the oldest proven model that for decades has promoted the excellence of films in the community, contributed to the execution of audiovisual projects, promoted the integration of production agencies in networks to facilitate co-productions and assisted in the permanent training of professionals in the area of audiovisual production and business management, provided incentives for collaboration and the use of new technologies in the sector and an initial international cooperation with Italy, beyond the region of Ibero-America.

Guillermo Heras, coordinator of the Technical Unit at the Iberescena Programme, presents the key points and challenges of this initiative that has a huge, permanent and growing demand in the cultural sector in the region. Iberescena is a project for exchange and

² Special thanks to José do Nascimento for the historical contributions and prior consultations that have enriched the section on Ibermuseos.

integration in the performing arts in Ibero-America. The project started over a decade ago and is aimed at furthering the circulation of the forms of understanding productions in drama, dance, performance and circus. The initiative has already awarded over one thousand grants for playwrights and choreographers and almost 800 for performing arts, choreography and festivals. Iberescena takes the challenges of a vigorous sector that develops over a vast territory and faces challenges related to the wide needs for resources, mobility, training, production, dissemination and promotion both to accommodate the artists, managers and professionals in the «backstage» dealings and audience development activities.

5.2 The Ibero-American cooperation framework

The last decades of cultural relations among Ibero-American countries have seen the construction of cultural cooperation in the region and reveal the international political, social, cultural and economic dynamics. Relations in those areas and cooperation among the countries in the region have been impacted, to varying degrees and intensities, by the globalisation process at a national, regional and international level. These cooperation relations are also the result of the responses provided to meet the challenges and needs in local, national and regional policies.

The heterogeneous reality in the region, historically built from diaspora movements and European and African migrations and the typical race mix of Latin America, combined with indigenous roots, results in a cultural and linguistic diversity that needs to be promoted and preserved as a fundamental pillar of the region's cultural heritage, in the sense guided by the Ibero-American Cultural Charter (ICC). The charter is the first cultural integration instrument in the region and a key element for the creation of the Ibero-American Cultural Space that was approved at the 9th Ibero-American Conference on Culture held in Montevideo in 2006 and ratified at the Summit held that same year in Uruguay.

In that geographical area, the space delimited by the convergence of Spanish and Portuguese is a space of dialogue that strengthens cultural cooperation in the region through these two languages that share a common origin and are permanently connected with the universe made up of all the languages in Ibero-America. This space needs to be supported and protected in both continents, in line with what was established by the various declarations of the Ibero-American Conferences on Culture for almost two decades now from a diversity and intercultural dialogue perspective.

The projection of these cooperation ties to the relations with Europe in a global framework implies a complex, rich and dynamic scenario that requires, now more than ever, a cross-cutting approach and a shared agenda. In this sense, the EU-LAC space requires a reinforced and articulated cooperation in order to have a more decisive impact on the formulation under the 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Both

regions have a huge potential, strengths and experiences of cooperation in this matter and, therefore, acting in this area implies being present in the contents in relevant aspects for the development of the region in the areas of higher education, research, science, innovation or culture, among others.

The cooperation relations in the region define for the most part the history of the States' foreign policies, basically adopted unilaterally, bilaterally and regionally along time. The boom of new technologies and the opportunities generated led to an active and productive dialogue among various political sectors involved in culture and this in turn encouraged and promoted regional cooperation. This collaboration, as evidenced, was interested in the possibility of sharing needs, concerns and solutions for problems of the same nature but different dimensions and significances.

This has allowed all the parties involved in Ibero-American cooperation to face the main challenges posed by the strengthening and sustainability of the global agenda, agreeing on common goals and reinforcing the role of public policies, cultural plans, the new forms of governance and the articulation between countries in terms of horizontal cooperation.

The idea that promoted and encouraged cultural cooperation in the region at the beginning was based on a substrate of historical, cultural, linguistic, economic and social conditions on the existing ties, the recognition of a common identity; a shared cultural heritage that favoured a fruitful and dynamic framework for dialogue and political negotiation. The aim was then to create a political community as a space for permanent dialogue, coordination and political action to be positioned internationally from the region. This shared will gradually led to the creation of a space that would have special relevance in the process that led to the accession of Spain and Portugal to the European Union, reinforcing the historical bridge existing in the relations between both regions.

The mechanisms promoted in this framework contributed to strengthening the relations between Europe and Latin America, reinforcing the Ibero-American space and becoming a space for common dialogue, generating the conditions to create the so called «Ibero-American Cooperation System», promoting the interest and commitment of the European Union in the region, a process in which regional and multilateral cooperation organisations and entities have participated besides the countries involved.

In the late 20th century a series of contradictions derived from the political situation created an environment that was not very favourable to cooperation in cultural matters. However, in order to promote integration from Latin America and strengthen linguistic and historical ties and the multiplicity of cultural traditions, expressions and thinking in both regions, the Ibero-American Community was created in the early '90s as a forum to advance political, economic and cultural matters among the countries in the region (Nivón Bolán, 2002).

In order to favour the bloc's economic, social and cultural development, new international organisations were added to the existing ones and today form the Ibero-American Cooperation System³ in combination with the main instruments, the Ibero-American Cooperation Programmes,⁴ mainly focused on three areas: knowledge, culture and social cohesion. Since then, a series of meetings, fora, deliberation and exchange spaces have been implemented, particularly the Ibero-American Summits of Heads of State and Government⁵ and, in the area of culture, the Ibero-American Culture Congresses.⁶ There are currently thirteen specific cooperation programmes for culture, created from the will of the sector itself.

5.2.1 The model and the experience of Ibero-American Cooperation Programmes in cultural matters

The 1st Ibero-American Summit of Heads of State and Government held in Guadalajara, Mexico in 1991 was foundational and marked the formal establishment of a space for cooperation shared among the twenty-one Ibero-American countries that had been promoted and developed since the '50s to deal with issues of special relevance and challenges for the region.

In this context, the Ibero-American Conference of Heads of State and Government was created and since 1992 has promoted the Ibero-American Cooperation Programmes as operational instruments and spaces for political negotiation through sectoral meetings. Over time, priority areas were gradually defined: knowledge, culture and social cohesion, and the process was set up for the call to the Ibero-American Conferences of Education first and Culture later, as sectoral meetings for the preparation of the Ibero-American Summits, ensuring a relevant space to deal with matters of special importance in the region.

The strategy was promoted and articulated from the Secretariat for Ibero-American Cooperation (SECIB), that in 2004 would become the current Ibero-American General Secretariat (SEGIB), an organisation created by the Ibero-American Summit of Heads of State

³ The Ibero-America System consists of the twenty-two member countries, the Ibero-American General Secretariat and the Ibero-American Sectoral Organisations, namely the Organisation of Ibero-American States for Education Science and Culture (OEI), the International Youth Organisation for Ibero-America (OIJ), the Ibero-American Social Security Organisation (OISS), and the Conference of Ministers of Justice of the Ibero-American Countries (COMJIB).

⁴ The creation of the IBER Programmes has its legal basis on the Cooperation Agreement reached at the Ibero-American Conference and signed during the 5th Ibero-American Summit held in Bariloche, Argentina.

⁵ The Ibero-American Summits of Heads of State and Government are the biennial meetings – annual until 2014 – of the Heads of State and Government of the twenty-two countries in Ibero-America.

⁶ The Ibero-American Culture Congresses are spaces to reaffirm the strategic importance of cultural cooperation and their potential for the full development of the peoples in the region.

and Government that has coordinated the political negotiation space at the Summits of Heads of State and Government of Ibero-America from the beginning and is responsible for the coordination of the Programmes.⁷

The Organisation of Ibero-American States for Education, Science and Culture (OEI), on the other hand, played a fundamental role in the launching, support and development of Ibero-American cooperation programmes, initially on education and a few years later on culture, promoting the implementation of the first regional cooperation lines in these matters and the active implication of national and regional bodies.⁸

The programmes are cooperation strategies for the long term, characterised by horizontality, multilateralism, sectoral work and networking and which imply the implementation of voluntary cooperation mechanisms. A Programme requires the formal participation of at least seven countries. An Initiative requires at least three countries. There are currently 13 Ibero-American Cooperation Programmes in the cultural space.

The Operating Manual for the programmes, initiatives and ancillary projects for Ibero-American Cooperation (SEGIB, 2016) attached to the Bariloche Convention signed in 1995, details the formal aspects related to the methodology, procedure, organisational structure and funding, etc. The manual underlines the importance of synergy and coordination of the programmes and initiatives with the Ibero-American bodies and other entities, in order to promote the participation and coordination with other social organisations (companies, NGOs, foundations) and international organisations that are active in the sector and can contribute to joint cooperation. The document describes the functions of the main actors in the cooperation with reference to the governance and coordination of the Programmes, Initiatives and Projects in order to assign responsibilities and commitments.

The manual contemplates the coordination with Ibero-American bodies (SEGIB, OEI, OIJ, OISS and COMJIB) and with the echelons of the Ibero-American Conference (Heads of Cooperation and Sectoral Ministerial Meetings, Fora) corresponding in each case and with the Ibero-American Networks and Ancillary Projects. It allows for the permanent introduction of new initiatives and new countries in this shared collaboration scheme. The Ibero-American Cooperation Strategy defines the programmes as «initiatives as intergovernmental cooperation exercises through which the Governments agree to cooperate in a given sector, agree upon the design of each Program and direct its execution». Coopera-

⁷ The SEGIB follows the old Secretariat for Ibero-American Cooperation (SECIB) and has wider functions, competencies and hierarchies, in accordance with the general objectives and the specific functions granted under article 2 of the Agreement of Santa Cruz de la Sierra (2004).

⁸ International governmental organisation for cooperation among Ibero-American countries in the areas of education, science, technology and culture in the context of comprehensive development, democracy and regional integration, created in 1949 with headquarters in Madrid and national offices in 18 countries in Latin America. More information: www.oei.es.

tion of this type «fits more easily with each country's national strategies and plans, reinforcing such national plans and the related public policies with regional activities without encroaching upon each country's sovereignty to choose its development model, system of government and economic policy» (SEGIB, 2016: 16).

This framework for cooperation aims at sustainability through a flexible scheme and therefore it can be adapted to the policies adopted by countries and act in any given environment depending on the strategies implemented. The Programmes have been gradually dealing with different sectors and topics related to the cultural space multilaterally, which has led to interest in this model for its easy adjustment to the policies and modalities assumed by the countries.

The programmes gradually strengthened their cooperation, generating increasingly stable and solid technical ties keeping the objective of cooperation in terms of cultural rights and the promotion of cultural expressions, revitalisation and dissemination of cultural heritage, attention to different cosmo-visions, values, traditions and cultural imagination of the communities from a wide perspective.

Thus, attention was paid to various topics such as the access, use and enjoyment of cultural goods and services, support to cooperation networks, internationalisation of culture, the challenges and opportunities implied by the invasion of the digital world in the cultural space and the multiple aspects, approaches and reflections around cultural diversity, identities, cultural industries, creative economy, innovation and the new forms of social participation or the increasing number of actors and initiatives in a context of growing globalisation of the economy. During the past few years, the scheme paid special attention to the importance of the local spaces and cities in the national and international agendas to face global challenges and around the Goals marked by the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDGs).

This model presents an overview of various visions, perspectives, potentialities and challenges that show the wealth of diversity of the scenarios and territories that contain what is known as the «Ibero-American Cultural Space» and accompany different approaches and balances between the different options and priorities to face the social and cultural challenges in the region. This description had already been included in some respects in the Study conducted by the OEI with the active collaboration of the ministries of culture and related entities in Ibero-American countries called *Estudio comparativo de Cultura y Desarrollo en Iberoamérica: aportes para el fortalecimiento de las economías creativas y culturales* (OEI, 2016). The study⁹ contributes to the diagnosis of the situation and gives guidance and recommendations to advance to a joint understanding and an effective

⁹ Prepared by the OEI with the support of Fundación Santillana.

exchange of regional experiences in the matter, generate efforts that contribute to the construction of sectoral information, the importance of improving the possibilities of cooperation among countries and the need to strengthen the sector from the professional, budgetary and management perspective, the prioritisation of aspects from the various countries based on their capabilities, strategies and dimensions and the value of cooperation with the arrival of ICTs and new spaces for digital collaboration around the needs of the cultural sector.

Within this framework, the programmes generate actions to reach the Goals identified in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDGs) and imply an opportunity to collaborate with common purposes and strengthen Ibero-American cooperation. It is a new model that allows different actors to incorporate their practices and innovation models in the cultural cooperation instruments and integrate modalities adapted to the reality of a global society. One of the greatest challenges is to do so across multiple sectors in conformity with the agenda established at the 19th Ibero-American Conference of Ministers of Culture held in 2018 which highlighted the importance of incorporating the cultural dimension in public policies and articulate their role with other sectors involved in development.

Culture has the potential to guide the interaction among the educational, social, economic and environmental aspects and therefore become a driver for sustainable development and an essential pillar to contribute to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In this sense, the 26th Ibero-American Summit of Heads of State and Government held in La Antigua, Guatemala in November 2018 reaffirmed their commitment to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted at the United Nations Summit in 2015 and encouraged national efforts to the achievement of the SDGs contained in the 2030 Agenda. The SEGIB and the OEI contributed their experiences to the agenda of the 19th Ibero-American Conference of Culture, and their vision about their role in other areas, marking the increasing importance of these sectoral coordinations. The global nature of the commitment assumed at the 2018 Summit implies the integration and realisation of a global cooperation scheme. This calls for a new role of the relations between Europe and Latin America around diplomacy, politics, cooperation and joint work to execute projects that become pillars of these relations with the generation of common objectives.

The interactions between Ibero-America and the European Union generate dynamics that may contribute to strengthening the relations between both regions at multiple levels and from a cooperation based on equitable exchanges that strengthen mobility, technical assistance, the exchange of knowledge and experiences in the artistic, educational, scientific and cultural space. On the other hand, they have the potential to generate alliances, networks, co-productions and projects that imply rural and urban contexts and, in gener-

al, generate a long term strategy that strengthens the EU-LAC cooperation through new forms of participation and collaboration that take into account the collective groups, identities, values and singularities at local, national and regional level.

5.3 Cultural cooperation in Latin America: challenges and opportunities

Culture is a transcendental and very powerful term that may be loaded of ambiguity; it is therefore important to ascertain its meaning in different contexts, which is particularly relevant when discussing inter-regional cultural relations. Assuming that culture is the body of beliefs, customs, habits, practices and values of a group in a specific context, we are describing the essential attributes of a society that define the identity that articulates social cohesion and from where all the forms of political, economic and religious organisation are derived. Governance in all its aspects is dominated by approaches that reveal the cross-cutting nature of culture. Its presence is permanent in the political, economic and social dimension and is associated with various sectors. Governance in all its sectors is biased by their own forms, thus the cross-cutting nature of culture. Its presence is permanent in the political, economic and social dimension but it also has its own products.

One of the relevant aspects refers to cultural heritage, a tool that may and should contribute to an enhanced governance and as an incentive for civil society to contribute to creating citizenship and a culture of peace. Another key aspect in the cultural sector is the incidence on the generation of wealth, the cultural economics, as a contribution to development and from where it is possible to reveal its contributions to economic growth through the promotion, creation and production of cultural and creative companies, industries and institutions in connection with other economic sectors. Thus, cultural production constitutes an enormous source of wealth based on creativity, talent, intellectual property, connectivity and knowledge.

Therefore, culture is one of the most powerful tools to contribute to the achievement of the objectives of coexistence, dialogue, social cohesion and sustainable development as well as a dimension that generates shared values. Taking these principles into account, is there any possibility that the 28 countries that make up the European Union (EU) and the 33 countries that form the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) may advance cultural relations in a viable manner?

Bi-regional relations between the EU and CELAC imply a joint action and will and represent a strategic potential and added value in the treatment and approach to topics in the bi-regional and global agenda. The European Union brings together a variety of regions that are part of twenty-eight sovereign states with a significant cultural and linguistic diversity coming together in a common space in terms of tariffs and persons. The CELAC is

a space made up of an extraordinary ethnical, linguistic and cultural diversity where each sovereign state maintains borders that are a barrier to the movement of goods, people and services in a vast geography.

It is evident then that the relations between these two regions occur under very different institutional frameworks. However, there is a willingness to work jointly on priority issues, as well as on strengthening democracy and the respect for human rights as basic priorities, followed by supporting regional integration processes as a way to open channels for cooperation and political and economic relations. Finally, the need to create instruments that contribute to increasing social cohesion is a key factor to reduce inequalities. Assuming these principles, then, cooperation in its different modalities is essential in order to work jointly between both regions.

A focus on the world of culture and a review of the documents that regulate relations between these two worlds reveal different approaches and visions as to the political relations or ties based on international cooperation that should be considered in terms of the relations between both regions.

The European Parliament Resolution of 2017 (European Parliament, 2017) on EU political relations with Latin America does not make reference to culture in any of its 62 points, although it does refer to issues that are present intrinsically, such as creating conditions to diversify the economy, improving political dialogue, advancing in horizontal cooperation models, integrating economies into value chains based on circular economic models, promoting the transfer of scientific and technological knowledge, etc. The same applies when it highlights the need to draw up inclusive policies to protect vulnerable groups and the need to respect social, environmental and labour rights (without mentioning cultural rights) and the full and effective implementation of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention 169.

The Proposal for the New European Consensus on Development *Our World, Our Dignity, Our Future* (Council of the European Union, 2017) in its point 35 indicates:

Culture is both an enabler and an important component of development and may facilitate social inclusion, freedom of expression, identity building, civil empowerment and conflict prevention while strengthening economic growth. Emphasising that the EU is guided by the universality, indivisibility, interrelatedness and interdependence of all human rights, the EU and its Member States will promote intercultural dialogue and cooperation and cultural diversity, and will protect cultural heritage, boost the cultural and creative industries and will support cultural policies where these would help achieve sustainable development, while taking local circumstances into account.

In the case of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), there is a Work Plan for Culture drafted jointly with the UNESCO based on the Declaration of Havana and the Action Plan 2015 approved by the Member States of CELAC and called *UNESCO Work Plan for Culture in Latin America and the Caribbean 2016-2021* (UNESCO, 2016) signed by the Heads of State and Government of the region, which intends to be an instrument for the integration of the cultures and identities of the member states, as well as a plan focused on achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. The Plan recognises

culture as an essential factor in eradicating poverty, reducing social inequalities, increasing job opportunities and reducing social exclusion rates, as part of the process towards the promotion of more equitable societies, with special attention to indigenous populations, Afro-descendant communities, women, children, the disabled, the elderly, youth, migrants and the inhabitants of Small Island Developing States (SIDS). (UNESCO, 2016: 2).

5.3.1 Opportunities for the establishment of bi-regional relations

The cross-cutting nature of culture needs to take the rights of individuals into account and this implies considerations related to the identity and cohesion of societies and recognising cultural diversity, all this particularly relevant in bi-regional relations. This first aspect is highly relevant, since its application must be included in the main rules for the organisation of the states and translated into the public policies that necessarily must be taken into account when distributing the state's general budgets. Public policies should start from here and count with the necessary economic and human resources. Considering the multicultural nature of societies in the early 21st century, planning public policies for health, education, gender, environment, territorial development, security, governance, etc., without considering cultural diversity means reducing the impacts of these state policies. In this context it is necessary to consider the areas of the cultural sector: one of them refers to cultural heritage and the other is related to the cultural industry in both regions.

Heritage, in each of its versions (immovable or movable property, intangible, documentary and bibliographic), is one of the branches that is more clearly associated to culture, besides being a source of reference in the nationalisms and identities of peoples and nations. It is the area of culture that has more laws and regulations and is perhaps the most vulnerable and affected by institutional and international circumstances; their pilaging, illicit trafficking and destruction cannot be silenced in the debates on culture since it is the key in the narratives of a society. Their preservation and protection on both sides of the Atlantic is of paramount importance, since it holds the memory and reference of territories and states.

Another approach in the area of cooperation has to do with local and territorial development. In the case of Latin America and the Caribbean, municipalities often have an historical centre or are located in rural areas with a strong identity, but very often many of these municipalities live in a context of violence where the States have difficulties to act. Working under the framework of an Aid to give the city and town centres back to the citizens by recovering their heritage implies helping recover a space to live in, where the social and vital exchanges happen. It also means opening the generation of economic activity and employment to citizens, and recognising how the appropriation of the public space improves coexistence and increases social cohesion, which has a positive impact on the communities' living conditions; it is the point where heritage and the creative industry find common spaces.

One of the most frequent challenges in the cultural and creative industries refers to the mobility of professionals and the exchange of services in both regional spaces. Theatre companies, orchestras and musical bands, all the components of works participating in art exhibitions, lecturers, researchers, experts from various areas, book exports, transport of film materials and cultural services, etc., face difficulties when crossing a border as a result of visas and customs clearance requirements. Therefore, one of the first challenges of public policies for international relations in the cultural sector is related to the need to create strategies to make ministries of foreign affairs and finance aware of these issues and implement mechanisms to facilitate consular and customs requirements.

The challenges implied in this proposal are clear. However, the ability of Culture or State officials to start these dialogues is essential both intra- and bi-regionally. It is critical to emphasise the role of culture as a source of wealth and jobs based on talent, knowledge and creativity in order to strengthen its importance among a country's assets. Here it is important to note the need to support the sector's institutional strengthening so that culture becomes part of the value chain in the governments' activities and not just a weak link and the tool is to be found through cooperation. This cooperation is no longer focused on the North-South axis; the region is now ready to work on triangular cooperation modalities and South-South cooperation in the area of culture as is already done in other sectors, as well as with the bi-regional space, which increases the need to find ways to facilitate the circulation of goods and services between both spaces.

Finally, despite the huge complexity faced by culture in the space of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), the situation is not easier in the European Union (EU). Managing culture is a big challenge in both regions, because it touches symbols, it may hurt or support different sensitivities, it may be configured through instrumental or creative forms, it may be critical and polyedric, but it also contains the best formulas for societies to advance, innovate and have a dialogue. The big challenge then is to achieve the political incidence of culture.

5.4 The Ibermuseos Programme: building bridges for museums in Ibero-America

During the first decade of the 21st century, Ibero-American countries experienced a significant process of institutionalisation of their museums. Brazil (2003),¹⁰ Colombia (2010),¹¹ Costa Rica (2003),¹² Cuba (2009),¹³ Portugal (2004)¹⁴ and Uruguay (2012)¹⁵ implemented policies, programmes and national museum systems within their national culture policies with clear elements in common, such as the role of museums in cultural policies with an emphasis on the democratisation of society, in the construction of national identity from multiculturalism, in the respect for cultural and linguistic diversity, the role of heritage and museums in the development and social integration and the importance of promoting participatory processes in the construction and development of those policies so that they respond to the interests and needs of citizens (Azor Lacasta, 2013).

Ibermuseos was born in that same period, during the 1st Ibero-American Meeting of Museums held in 2007 in Salvador, Bahia as a strategic axis of the agreement signed by the representatives of the institutions responsible for public policies in the museum sector in the 22 countries of the region. The Declaration of the City of Salvador signed on that occasion supported the idea of strengthening public policies for museums and their inclusion in the political agendas of Ibero-America, besides collecting a series of shared intentions focused on reinforcing museum institutionalisation, the creation of the Ibero-American Museum Network and the development of a cooperation instrument to achieve the aspirations contained in that document.

Throughout its 10 years of existence, Ibermuseos has promoted the integration of Ibero-American countries through their actions, showcasing concepts and museum practices especially developed in Latin America and now shared by many European countries. This integration occurs through the articulation of relations between institutions and professionals in the museum sector, promoting heritage protection and management, the exchange of practices, experiences and knowledge and the promotion and dissemination of culture.

The Programme has created a dynamics to deal with a diverse and complex mosaic of museum institutions, facing different political, economic, cultural and social contexts,

¹⁰ Adoption of the National Museum Policy.

¹¹ Adoption of the National Museum Policy.

¹² Creation of the Regional and Community Museums Programme.

¹³ Adoption of the Law for the National Museum System of Cuba.

¹⁴ Approval of the Framework Law of Portuguese Museums.

¹⁵ Adoption of the Museum Law and the National Museum System.

establishing itself as a cooperation program that provides structure and incentives. The main results translate into the implementation of strategic lines of action, the creation of support funds, the organisation of meetings for technical cooperation, promotion of mobility and exchange of knowledge and experiences, promotion of research, generation of shared projects and signature of multilateral agreements.¹⁶ It has also had a strong impact on the strengthening of the museum sector such as the creation of the National Museum System in Uruguay and the Museum Register in Peru and Argentina, the directory of the Museum Network of Ecuador and the creation of the Central American Museum Network.

The Programme has been critical in the coordination of Ibero-American countries for the creation of the Recommendation on the Protection and Promotion of Museums and Collections, their Diversity and their Role in Society, adopted at the UNESCO General Conference in 2015, through its participation in the international movement for the generation of a regulatory instrument for the protection and promotion of museums. The recommendation underscores the role of museums and their collections in an increasingly sustainable development process, becoming a document of reference for several countries and strengthening the concept of a critical museology.

These coordinations have been possible thanks to the multilateral spaces promoted by the programme, intergovernmental meetings and the Ibero-American Meetings of Museums, that bring together the highest representatives of the sector to discuss, exchange and mainly reflect upon topics, challenges and strengths in order to promote strategic alliances and cooperation among countries. The promotion of these spaces has favoured the understanding of the Latin American and European visions and the construction of bridges between both regions.

These meetings have also facilitated the achievement of one of the essential goals of the program, that is, the creation of the Ibero-American Museum Network that already has an initial tool: the Register of Museums in Ibero-America (RMI), a digital space with comprehensive information of over 7,000 museums from 17 countries in the region. Although not all countries or museums are registered, their existence and reference has motivated the implementation of national museum registers.

¹⁶ Three lines of action oriented to strategic actions on Education and Training, Heritage at Risk, Sustainability of Museums; one line of action on research, achieved through an Observatory of Museums; two lines of action operated through incentives: Ibermuseos Education Prize and *Conversaciones* for institutional exchange and the circulation of cultural goods; Support Fund for Museological Heritage at Risk; one mechanism to support the mobility of museum workers and workers at government agencies in the sector; nine Ibero-American Meetings of Museums; nine multilateral cooperation agreements; 230 professionals trained in courses, training grants and workshops; 14 research projects and essays published; 30 international meetings and technical working meetings; 61 educational projects and over 200 available at the Bank of Best Practices; 15 projects for the exchange and circulation of cultural goods supported; seven institutions supported for the rescue of heritage threatened by natural disasters.

The complexity of the Ibero-American museum sector includes heterogeneous situations as a result of historical, geographical, economic, social and political variables that promote constant reflection on the action of Ibermuseos and its reformulation for the future, thus expanding the impact and incidence of its actions to deal with the different realities and dynamics in the museum sector in Ibero-America. Currently eleven countries are members of the Intergovernmental Council of the Programme,¹⁷ that is responsible for identifying and defining the programme's priorities, whose projects mostly include all the countries in the region, trying to expand their benefits throughout Ibero-America. In fact, the programme is aimed at maintaining dialogue, integration and a participatory balance of all countries, even if they are not members of the Intergovernmental Council, trying to overcome the differences related to their financial contributions, stimulating the participation in the initiatives and inviting the 22 member countries to be present at the discussion spaces, based on a concept of cooperation and inclusion and solidarity without exclusions.

In fact, in this decade of existence Ibermuseos has become an international progressive and innovative paradigm of cooperation among countries in the area of museum heritage, leading initiatives that have influence on the actions in the region and in other parts of the world. However, one of the challenges still facing Ibermuseos is the promotion of public policies for museums and the reduction of inequalities in the sector's institutionalisation that prevails among some countries in the region.

In the future Ibermuseos intends to expand the capillarity of its actions to have a stronger incidence on museological institutions and the sector's actors through its calls and training activities, promoting a culture of multiplication of experiences and knowledge and the implementation of new museological practices.

The Programme seeks to promote dialogue with other institutions and instances, both local and regional as well as global, incorporating other sectors like education, social cohesion and justice and tourism, expanding their participation in current debates such as the 2030 Agenda, the circulation of cultural goods, combatting illicit trafficking, the reproduction of cultural heritage and deeper topics related to the universal understanding of the museum, their role in society and the construction of identities, and the protection and value of social memory.

5.5 The Ibermedia Programme

In its more than twenty years of existence, the Ibermedia Programme for the support of the construction of the Ibero-American Audiovisual Space has achieved positive results in the development of the filmmaking activity in co-productions and, indirectly, in the circulation of Ibero-American films internationally and particularly in Europe.

¹⁷ Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, Portugal, Spain and Uruguay.

The Programme was approved at the 5th Ibero-American Summit of Heads of State and Government held in Bariloche, Argentina, in 1995, and it was finally initiated after the 7th Ibero-American Summit held in Margarita Island (Venezuela) in 1997 with the participation of the first nine countries that initially supported the Fund: Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Portugal, Spain, Uruguay and Venezuela, all members of the CACI (Conference of Ibero-American Cinematographic Authorities). The presence of Spain as the main economic and institutional support and Portugal spearheading the Portuguese cultural presence in the region, laid the foundations for a bridge between Europe and Ibero-America that has been consolidated and turned into a cinematographic cultural event.

The first open call for proposals of the programme was opened in 1998 at the International Festival of New Latin American Cinema in Havana, Cuba. Along twenty-five calls, participating countries have invested 93 million dollars in the sector. These are some numbers for the period: 787 co-production projects; 859 aids to Development; over 2,842 training scholarships; 283 aids to promotion and distribution; 298 films supported in exhibition; 416 films subsidised in Ibermedia TV; collaboration with over 2,000 companies and 10,000 professionals; over 2,500 recipient projects and more than 600 films released.

This persistent impulse has generated results that have led to coining the expression *Ibero-American cinema* to identify those works produced by one or more countries in the region, films that a little over five years ago were just one more piece in that big box called «other cinemas». Several of the projects funded by the programme have achieved significant success in prestigious international awards; they have deserved the recognition of media and academia, and have been welcomed by diverse audiences that have established close connections with the films, thus consolidating the *Ibermedia Brand* as a quality cinema that is supported by the programme in the various stages of production.

Different actors in the sector attribute these results to the success of the *co-production model* that defines the programme as an initiative of international cultural cooperation, in which professionals from various countries have to work together, a dynamic defined following a long learning process by both producers and the States. In the case of producers, this method is not limited to the efficient and beneficial use of legal and economic advantages in each co-producing country, but also the updating, modernisation and expertise acquired by professionals in the multiple routines and procedures of filmmaking.

The model has contributed to generating a relation of knowledge, networks, contacts and work opportunities among countries in Ibero-America and now has a critical mass of small and medium-sized companies connected as a network at different levels. All these elements have introduced a business vision in the development of projects, which was absent in many countries that gradually joined the programme, creating the conditions for

the consolidation of emerging motion picture industries. In this sense, the incorporation of the countries in Central America-the Caribbean, as well as Paraguay and Bolivia, has created a tacit alliance with more consolidated cinematographies, which has forced those countries with a lower audiovisual development to establish similar regulations and promote specific policies, if they did not have any, in order to facilitate the exchange among producers. Nowadays, almost all countries in Ibero-America have cinema laws and at least a minimum system of aids that help ensure the continuity of the projects and the strengthening of all the areas in the sector.

The more than 700 fiction, documentary and animation films supported by Ibermedia have marked broad strokes on the stories that each society needed to share in certain situations. The *co-production model* has driven this reconstruction of memory, promoting a narrative bridge that brings together the visions from both sides. Without imposing categories not contemplated by the authors, the films in the programme boast a wide range of topics, landscapes, historical periods, characters and dramatic compositions, all inserted in the magma of the collective history of Latin America, Spain and Portugal.

On the other hand, the programme has launched several local initiatives to promote the distribution and screening of the films in the region, both in the *theatrical*¹⁸ market (direct aids to Distribution, Exhibition and Delivery), on public television (Ibermedia TV) and over the Internet (Pantalla CACI).¹⁹

Ibermedia has participated in international festivals and fora in Europe in order to promote and give more visibility to Ibero-American cinema. The high presence of professionals, artistic staff and titles in the various and demanding sections of the Berlinale 2015 marked the prestigious film festival. This participation was a turning point in the way the festival structured Latin American titles, since it led to the creation of a meeting space for agents from Ibero-American cinema and for the promotion of national industries. With the leadership of Spain and Portugal, the institutional representatives of the most advanced Latin American cinematographies were able to start a substantial dialogue with their European peers leading to concrete outcomes. In a context of collaboration with agents and producers interested in creating networks of Ibero-American and international professionals, a new programme was launched and replicated in the following three years. Under the premises *Is there such thing as Ibero-American cinema?*, *Creativity and Visibility of Ibero-American cinema* or *The Ibero-American cinema that is coming*, round tables were organised with the participation of filmmakers, producers, directors of photography, journalists and agents from Europe and Latin America.

¹⁸ Screenings in cinemas.

¹⁹ More information available at: <http://pantallacaci.com/>.

Along this line, 2016 was an important year since the delegates of the European Film Agency Directors (EFADs)²⁰ from 31 countries and the delegates of the Conference of Ibero-American Cinematographic Authorities (CACI) got together in Toulouse, France and had intensive talks during the 28th edition of the Latin American Film Festival. This was the first time that the two organisations took the opportunity to share views on issues of common interest, like culture, cultural diversity or intercultural dialogue. The meeting was a bridge between both organisations and was the first stage of a dialogue that emerged as both natural and necessary. This was reflected in the final document of the meeting: *European and Latin American film agencies understand they will be stronger by working together to promote their values* (EFADs-CACI, 2016).

Since then, the coordination with the institutional representations of filmmaking in Europe has been more organic and solid, as revealed by the willingness to act as a common block on central issues to ensure the sustainability of audiovisual production in multiple forms and their subsequent wide and varied distribution. Thus, the EFADs-CACI alliance reaffirms that the governments have the right and the duty to «ensure the diversity of the offer and widespread access to this environment» (EFADs-CACI, 2016: 1), both against the economic bias of cultural reflections and the challenges of the digital environment.

Within this framework they expressed their concern for the inclusion of standards in the agenda of the European Commission for a Digital Single Market that would jeopardise the funding system for independent films (particularly the co-productions from Latin America), which are practices based on the exploitation of works on a territory-by-territory basis, facilitating the diversification of public and private sources of funding. This emergency evidenced the need for more cooperation and exchange on regulations and regulatory frameworks – related to the audiovisual market and the digital environment – «to guarantee a level-playing field for all operators involved in the value chain to ensure fair competition in the market, as well as to stimulate economic development and cultural diversity» (EFADs-CACI, 2016: 1). An immediate result of high visibility was the creation of the EFADs-CACI Award at the Europe-Latin America Co-Production Forum of the San Sebastian International Film Festival. The award consists of 20,000 euros for funding the selected project and has already been granted in the 2016 and 2017 editions of the festival.

In the European framework, CACI delegates welcome the proposal to open the Council of Europe Convention on Cinematographic Co-Production to non-member states and explore the feasibility of a reciprocal agreement that would open the Ibero-American Agreement on Cinematographic Co-Production to European countries. Along that line, several

²⁰ An association that brings together the Directors of Film Agencies in 31 countries (the 28 member states of the EU plus Iceland, Norway and Switzerland).

activities were conducted in 2016 as part of the process for including Italy as a member of the Programme in accordance to its Rules. In 2016 Italy attended the 25th Ordinary Meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee of the Ibermedia Programme held in Chile for the first time as a member country and the first Italian projects for potential co-productions with Latin America were presented in 2017 at the annual Call for proposals.

In short, along the years the Ibermedia Programme and its *co-production model* have created the conditions to reconnect the existing cultural ties that, though scattered, grow from a common history and memory among the various Ibero-American agents that participate in the making of a film. The Ibermedia Programme spurred the attention that the States, through their film institutes, have paid to the implementation of cinematographic policies and regulatory frameworks that have ensured the development and sustainability of the activity throughout these twenty years.

Given the different speed at which audiovisual policies move in the region, regulatory standardisation is a permanent challenge for film authorities, since as has occurred naturally in Ibero-American projects, there is a willingness to include producers from other European countries besides Spain and Portugal as natural partners.

Therefore, the Ibermedia program represents a small-scale successful combination of political will and effective production and access to the cinematographic market in the region.

5.6 The Iberescena Programme: a project for exchange and integration of Ibero-American performing arts

The Iberescena Programme was born in 2006 at the Ibero-American Summit of Heads of State and Government held in Montevideo, Uruguay under the guidelines of the Ibero-American Cultural Charter. Following over a decade of sustained development, the Programme has contributed to strengthening the projection of different ways of understanding the production of theatre, dance, performance and circus in the countries that have gradually joined the project. Today this fund for economic aid comprises 14 countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Spain and Uruguay, and at some point, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela also participated.

To understand the scope and importance of the development of this programme, it is necessary to point out that, although it is a financial fund, its objectives exceed the mere annual economic distribution. These objectives are: promoting activities in the performing arts with innovative languages and new expressions; encourage the distribution, circulation and promotion of Ibero-American performances; providing incentives to public

and/or private promoters for performance co-productions and promote their presence in the international scene; promoting the creation in the performing arts of Ibero-American artists; supporting performing arts venues and festivals in Ibero-America; promoting professional development in the field of performing arts; stimulating collaboration and synergies with other programmes in the performing arts; promoting the creation of projects that include gender perspectives, indigenous peoples and Afro-descendants and/or that favour social inclusion and cohesion.

All these objectives have been consolidated with the financial contributions from the countries, the additional aids that several countries have contributed to the programme for different actions, the strong support from the National Institute of the Performing Arts and Music (INAEM) from Spain and the contributions of SEGIB and OEI for the achievement of the core objectives that have guided this project from its inception.

Through a decade of public calls, the Iberescena Programme has distributed over 10 million euros for co-production of performances, festivals and networks, training workshops and performance, choreographic and circus creation, as well as special projects and synergies with other programmes like Ibermúsicas and the Iber-Rutas Programme, also sponsored by SEGIB. The Festivals and project co-production lines have received the largest share of the aid and consequently, the highest media exposure. Over one thousand grants were awarded; around 400 for performance and choreographic creation and 380 for Festivals.

The Iberescena Programme is decentralised, since each country chooses a representative to the Intergovernmental Council that is responsible for setting the guidelines and rules and making decisions on how the financial aids will be distributed among the different lines. The daily operations and the relation with beneficiaries and collaborators are managed by a Technical Unit. However, and based on the scope and projection intended for the programme, the Intergovernmental Council itself has gradually created working commissions to further develop areas of general interest for the performing arts in the region. The commissions conduct the analysis and reflections and make proposals on different topics, such as mapping the various public policies in the participating countries, additional forms of funding, a database on festivals and residencies in our countries or looking for new synergies with other similar projects.

Over time, it has been evidenced that, beyond the aids granted from the common fund, the countries themselves have looked for forms of cooperation between peers, leading to significant exchanges by signing bilateral agreements for the exchange of artists in different activities or direct assistance for companies and performing groups to attend a festival in the other country, mainly through travel grants covering air tickets and air freight for their displacements.

The future challenges for the programme include the expansion of the number of countries within the programme; starting new forms of collaboration, both strategic and financial; the generation of a new communication plan; the development of a virtual platform; the adjustment and increase of the contributions from each country in order to expand the aids to managers and creators; promoting the stabilisation of the synergies with other cultural programmes and furthering the lines of support to gender and equity projects.

5.7 Data from the cultural cooperation Programmes and Initiatives

The general data on the Programmes, Initiatives and Ancillary Projects (PIPA for its acronym in Spanish) of the Four-Year Action Plan (PACCI) provide information on the spaces or areas of intervention, the trajectory, participation and support of the countries and the resources committed in each. The information summarised in tables 5.1 and 5.2 shows the situation presented at the Summit of Presidents in 2018 and collected throughout 2017. A look at the data on the programmes reveals decades of work that started with the Ibe.TV programme in 1992 and Ibermedia in 1995; an experience that has gradually witnessed the inception of new initiatives and the consolidation of others throughout the past twenty years of Ibero-American cooperation.

The analysis of the information reveals the significant presence of most Ibero-American countries in some Programmes, such as Ibermedia with 19 countries participating, Iberarchivos with 15, Iberescena with 14 countries, Ibermuseos, IberTV and RADI, 12; Ibercultura Viva, Iberorquestas Juveniles, Iberartesanías and Ibermúsicas, 11; Iber-Rutas, 10; Iberbibliotecas, 9; Ibercocinas and Ibermemoria with the participation of 8 countries.

With reference to resources, significant resources have been contributed by countries under the Ibermedia Programme to promote the co-production and distribution of Ibero-American films, which reveals the vitality of the sector in economic and cultural development terms. Likewise, the countries have committed relevant contributions under the Iberescena Programme considering the characteristics and level of resources required by this sector. On the other hand, much lower contributions are made to the Programmes Iberorquestas, Ibermuseos, Ibercultura Viva, Iberbibliotecas and Iberarchivos. The young age of some of the programmes or their dynamics are reflected in the resources contributed to the initiatives Iberartesanías, Ibermemoria Sonoras, Iber-Rutas or Ibercocinas.

The 13 Ibero-American Cooperation Programmes and the Cultural Cooperation Initiative mainly attract a young population; around 70% of the participants and beneficiaries are young, in line with the priorities set by the Ibero-American Cultural Space in the area of cultural policies.

Table 5.1. *Ibero-American Programmes for cultural cooperation.*

Name of the programme	Year of creation / approval at Summit	Number of countries (2017)	Participating countries (2017)	Total expenditure (euros)	Website
Ibermedia	1995	19*	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Uruguay, Venezuela + Italy*	4,848 million €	http://www.programaibermedia.com/
Iberarchivos	1998	15	Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Uruguay	242,329 €	www.iberarchivos.org/
Iberescena	2006	14	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, Uruguay	1,235,374 €	www.iberescena.org/
Ibermuseos	2008	12	Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Uruguay	642,282 €	www.ibermuseum.org/es/
Ibe.TV	1992	12	Argentina, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Spain	1,023,271€	www.ibe.tv/
Ibercultura Viva	2013	11	Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, Spain, Uruguay	319,931 €	http://iberculturaviva.org/
Iberbibliotecas	2000	9	Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Spain	262,740 €	www.iberbibliotecas.org/
RADI: Ibero-American Network of Diplomatic Archives	1997	12	Argentina, Colombia, Cuba, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Uruguay	24,122 €	www.archivosdiplomaticos.org/

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Name of the programme	Year of creation / approval at Summit	Number of countries (2017)	Participating countries (2017)	Total expenditure (euros)	Website
Iber-Rutas	2010	10	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, Uruguay	19,091 €	www.iberutas.com/
Iberorquestas juveniles	2008	11	Argentina, Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Spain, Uruguay	766,188 €	www.iberorquestas.org/
Ibercocinas, Tradición e Innovación	2014	8	Argentina, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru	0.00 €	www.ibercocinas.org/
Iberartesánias: Ibero-American Programme for the Promotion of Crafts	2012	11	Argentina, Colombia, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay	23,296€	https://iberartesantias.com/
Ibermúsicas	2011	11	Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay	674,426€	www.ibermusicas.org/
Ibermemoria Sonora y Audiovisual	2014	8	Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Spain	52,648€	http://ibermemoria.org/

Source: Ibero-American cooperation data available at: <https://www.cooperacioniberoamericana.org/es>. Retrieved 15/01/2019.

Table 5.2. Participation in Ibero-American cultural cooperation programmes per country.

Country	Ibermedia	Iberarchivos	Ibermuseos	Iberescena	Ibercultura Viva	Iberbibliotecas	Red de Archivos RAD	Iber-Rutas	Iberorquestas Juveniles	Ibercocinas	Iberartesanas	Ibermemoria Sonora y Audiovisual	Ibermúsicas	Ib.TV
Andorra														
Argentina	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Bolivia	x			x				x						
Brazil	x	x	x	x	x	x		x					x	
Colombia	x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	
Costa Rica	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x
Cuba	x	x					x				x		x	x
Chile	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Dominican Rep.	x	x					x							x
Ecuador	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x			x
El Salvador				x	x				x					x
Guatemala	x				x				x		x			
Honduras							x		x					x
Mexico	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Nicaragua												x		x
Panama	x	x		x					x	x		x	x	x
Paraguay	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x		x	
Peru	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
Portugal	x	x	x				x							
Spain	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x			x		x
Uruguay	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x				x	
Venezuela	x													
Italy*	x													

Source: Ibero-American cooperation data available at: <https://www.cooperacioniberoamericana.org/es>. Retrieved 15/01/2019.

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6

THE POSSIBLE IMPACT OF BREXIT ON CARIBBEAN-EUROPEAN CULTURAL RELATIONS

Suzanne BURKE, Paula MORGAN and Keron NILES

Abstract

From the era of decolonisation until the present, Caribbean nations have sought to leverage relationships with former colonial metropolitan nations in order to advance their development. One mechanism that was deployed for this purpose was an inter-regional organisation known as the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (also known as the ACP). As the development imperatives faced by ACP nations evolved, so too did their relationship with their European counterparts. This chapter firstly explains the changing relationship over time between the ACP and the European Union (EU). The paper then narrows its focus specifically to the nature of relationship between Caribbean nations and the EU, particularly as it relates to cultural relations. It is within this context that the potential impact of Brexit on Caribbean – European cultural relations is examined. The author argues that a «soft Brexit» is unlikely to have any significant impacts on cultural relations between the Caribbean and the EU as provisions and regulations governing the status quo are likely to be preserved. A «hard Brexit» however, may require the establishment of unique and new arrangements between the Caribbean and the UK and EU. This may be made more complex by a post-Cotonou agreement with the EU that establishes separate or distinct arrangements with Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. Ultimately, the paper postulates that clear strategies are required on the part of Caribbean nations to ensure that its cultural practitioners have access, and the capacity to utilise the mechanisms that aim to facilitate cultural cooperation.

6.1 Brief historical overview

The Caribbean and the European regions have long historical ties in which trade has been a central component. As colonies, Caribbean nations were an integral part of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. At that time, weapons and a few other commodities from Europe were traded for slaves from the African continent who were then traded for a sugar extract (known as molasses) upon their arrival in the Caribbean. The sugar extract was then sold in Europe to manufacturers and merchants in order to produce a variety of products. As time progressed, though the slave trade had been abolished, the fundamental trading relationship between the island nations and European countries had not changed: Caribbean territories were supplying the raw materials to metropolitan nations that would use these primary products to manufacture more sophisticated goods that attracted higher prices.

In the second half of the twentieth century, an independence movement swept through the Anglophone Caribbean, which was not met by fierce opposition by the British government. In fact, at the time British were making concerted efforts to reduce the cost of administration of their empire. The end result was the formation of a number of sovereign states, most of whom, along with Haiti, are now full members of the regional organisation known as the Caribbean Community (hereinafter referred to as CARICOM). The Spanish lost their possessions in the region and the Dutch and French administrations chose to retain their territories. As a result, to date, none of the islands that were owned by the Dutch or French have become fully independent, though many of them have different forms of self-government.

Notwithstanding the above, at the time of their independence Caribbean nations sought to leverage relationships with metropolitan nations, in order to further their own development interests. International trade was therefore viewed as a critical tool to advance economic growth within the region. It was within this context that the Caribbean region became an active participant with the Organisation of the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group of states. Prior to this, cooperation arrangements existed between Europe and a number of African States via a «Regime of Association» that was devised in 1957 and endowed with resources from the first European Development Fund (EDF). In 1963 and 1969, 18 African States and their six European counterparts signed the First and Second Yaoundé Conventions, supported by resources from the second and third EDF respectively. The agreements were geared mainly towards financial, technical and trade cooperation. Pivotaly, it was the accession of the United Kingdom (hereafter, the UK) to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973 that paved the way for the extension of Europe-Africa cooperation to Commonwealth countries in the Caribbean and Pacific.

In order to clarify the terms of cooperation between the EEC (which now included the UK) and an expanded group of ACP nations, the Convention of Lomé was signed. This

agreement was specifically aimed at «promoting trade between the Contracting Parties, taking account of their respective levels of development, and, in particular, of the need to secure additional benefits for the trade of ACP States, in order to accelerate the rate of growth of their trade and improve the conditions of access of their products to the market of the European Economic Community»¹. It is worth noting that this was a non-reciprocal agreement that sought to give ACP states preferential access to European market in order to support their transition and integration into the global economy.

The ACP group was therefore formally established in 1975 by the Georgetown Agreement, in order to, *inter alia*:

- ensure the realisation of the objectives of the Convention of Lomé;
- promote and strengthen the existing solidarity of the ACP Group;
- contribute to the development of greater and closer trade, economic and cultural relations amongst the ACP States and amongst developing countries in general, and to this end to develop the exchange of information amongst the ACP States in the fields of trade, technology, industry and human resources;
- contribute to the promotion of effective regional and inter-regional co-operation amongst the ACP States and amongst developing countries in general, and to strengthen the links between the respective regional organisations to which they belong;
- promote the establishment of a new world economic order.

The Lomé Convention and Georgetown Agreement, both of 1975, served as a platform to facilitate the growth of trade and inter regional cooperation (inclusive of the provision of technical assistance) between the ACP and the EEC. These agreements, and the circumstances that led to their establishment are critical to developing a holistic understanding of the relationship between these two regions. The aforementioned agreements sought to convert unequal political relationships into conciliatory economic arrangements that not only recognised the asymmetric power relations between the two regions but also sought to encourage the establishment of a new world economic order by promoting the development of formerly colonised nations, through the use of non-reciprocal market access agreements.

The first Lomé agreement was followed by three revised versions, which sought to expand trade and development cooperation between territories while responding to the

¹ ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 28 February 1975 and related documents, Secretariat General Council of the European Communities, Article 1.

development needs and priorities of the ACP. The progression and main features of the all five Lomé agreements is summarised in the table below.

Table 6.1. *Progression and main features of the five Lomé agreements.*

Name of Agreement	Year	Main Features	Contracting Parties (added) to the agreement	EDF Name Allocation
Treaty instituting the European Economic Community (EEC)	1957	<p>Provided for the creation of European Development Funds (EDFs), aimed at giving technical and financial aid to African countries still colonised at the time and with which some States of the Community had historical links.</p> <p>It also facilitates association of non-European countries and territories with which EEC member States have particular relations.</p>	Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands.	First EDF (1959-64): 580 million ECUs.
Yaoundé I Convention: between Associated African and Malgache Countries (EAMA) and EEC.	1963	The agreement gave commercial advantages and financial aid to African ex-colonies.	Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Republic of the Congo (Congo Brazzaville), Democratic Republic of the Congo (Congo Kinshasa), Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Togo.	Second EDF (1964-70): 730 million ECUs.
Yaoundé II Convention between EAMA and EEC.	1967	Sought to allocation the largest share of EDF financial support to French-speaking Africa for post-decolonisation infrastructural development.	Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda.	Third EDF (1970-75): 828 million ECUs.
Lomé I	1975	Allowed the UK to place special trading preferences for bananas and sugar under the EC umbrella and extend its assistance to some former colonies beyond bilateral support.	The Bahamas, Barbados, Botswana, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Jamaica, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Mauritius, Nigeria, Samoa, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Swaziland, Tonga, Trinidad & Tobago, Zambia.	Fourth EDF (1975-80): 3 billion ECUs.

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Name of Agreement	Year	Main Features	Contracting Parties (added) to the agreement	EDF Name Allocation
Lomé II	1979	Introduced the SYSMIN system to help the mining industry of relevant ACP countries.	Cape Verde, Comoros, Djibouti, Dominica, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Saint Lucia, Sao Tome & Principe, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Suriname, Tuvalu.	Fifth EDF (1980-85): 4.5 billion ECUs.
Lomé III	1984	Focused on self-reliant development based on self-sufficiency and food security.	Angola, Antigua & Barbuda, Belize, Dominican Republic, Mozambique, Saint Kitts & Nevis, Saint Vincent & the Grenadines, Vanuatu, Zimbabwe.	Sixth EDF (1985-1990): 7.4 billion ECUs.
Lomé IV	1990	Emphasis placed on the promotion of human rights, democracy, good governance; women's empowerment; environmental protection; economic diversification; and increasing regional cooperation.	Equatorial Guinea, Haiti.	Seventh EDF (1990-1995): 10.8 billion ECUs.
Lomé IV revised	1995	Respect for human rights, democratic principles and the rule of law become fundamental elements of the Convention. As such, funds could be withheld from ACP countries that did not fulfil these criteria.	Eritrea, Namibia, South Africa.	Eight EDF (1995-2000): 13.1 billion ECUs.

Source: D'Alfonso, 2014; European Commission, 2006; Hewitt, 1982.

The Lomé Conventions I through IV therefore sought to create the legal framework to facilitate development cooperation between Europe and the ACP. In practice, particularly in the first two editions of the agreement, much of the focus was placed on using agriculture as a tool to advance economic development. It was not until the third instalment of the Convention that «cultural and social cooperation» was listed as an official area of «ACP-EEC Cooperation». In this regard, Article 114, which introduced Title VIII of the Agreement on «cultural and social cooperation» stated that:

Cooperation shall contribute to the self-reliant development of the ACP States, a process centred on man himself and rooted in each people's culture. It shall back up the policies and measures adopted by those States to enhance their human resources, increase their own creative capacities and promote their cultural identities. It shall foster participation by the population in the process of development.

This portion of the agreement focused on the cultural and social dimension of projects (inclusive of the role of women), the integration and enhancement of local cultural

heritage and ways of life, the interaction between mankind and the environment and the promotion of cultural identities. In so doing, the Convention sought to facilitate the preservation of cultural traditions as well as the production and distribution of cultural goods and services produced within the regions represented by the agreement.

The aforementioned principles expressed within the third Lomé Convention were affirmed (and largely repeated) within both versions of the Fourth instalment of the agreement. One notable addition however, was the establishment of a Foundation for ACP-EEC Cultural Cooperation. The revised version of the Fourth Lomé Agreement noted that the Foundation, along with other specialised institutions, was intended to contribute to the achievement of the objectives of the portion of the agreement that was devoted to cultural and social cooperation. In this regard, the agreement clarified that the Foundation would therefore undertake activities in the following areas:

- (a) studies, research and measures concerning the cultural aspects of taking into account the cultural dimension of cooperation;
- (b) studies, research and measures to promote the cultural identities of the ACP peoples and all initiatives likely to contribute to intercultural dialogue.

Yet another notable addition to the last two editions of the Lomé Conventions was a focus on intercultural dialogue as a means of deepening appreciation for different cultures and peoples and their interdependence. Greater emphasis was also placed on the decision to support cultural events and exchanges organised by signatories to the agreement, in order to promote cultural identities and intercultural dialogue. In this regard, the Convention calls for specific support «contacts and meetings between groups of young people from ACP States and between ACP groups and groups of young people from Community Member States».²

These five agreements (inclusive of the revised Lomé IV Convention) therefore formed the base of socio-economic, and more specifically, cultural relations between ACP States and the European Community. These agreements however, would be succeeded by another legal instrument that would not only reframe the nature of inter-regional cooperation between the ACP and Europe but would also lay the foundation for more specific agreements between individual regions and the European Community. It is within this context that attention will now be paid to the contemporary state of Caribbean European relations.

² Article 148, Fourth ACP-EEC Convention, Lomé, 15 December 1989.

6.2 Brief review of the contemporary state of Caribbean-European relations

6.2.1 Nature of the Cotonou Agreement

The Cotonou Agreement, so named after Benin's largest city, where it was signed in June 2000, sought to continue the existing historical relationship between the EU and the ACP. Notwithstanding this, some important changes were to be made to the document. According to Françoise Moreau of the EU, «evaluations of Community aid to the ACP countries often demonstrated that insufficient account had been taken of the institutional and policy context in the partner country, and this had too often undermined the viability and effectiveness of cooperation» (European Commission, 2006). The representative added that the «impact of non-reciprocal trade preferences had also proven disappointing. The rise in private direct investment flows to the developing countries [of the world] over the previous two decades had not benefited the majority of ACP countries» (European Commission, 2006). The Cotonou agreement was therefore set to be based on five pillars:

- i. reinforcement of the political dimension of relations between ACP countries and the European Union;
- ii. involvement of civil society, the private sector and other non-State players;
- iii. poverty reduction, confirmed as a key objective within the context of the objectives and targets agreed at international level (in particular the Millennium Development Goals);
- iv. an innovative economic and trade cooperation framework;
- v. rationalisation of financial instruments and a system of flexible programming.

In practice, this meant that the language (and practice) of development aid was to be changed to that of «development cooperation». In addition, non-reciprocal trading arrangements were to be succeeded by Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) which were to be negotiated by 31 December 2007 with different regions within the ACP. As articulated within the EU Declaration concerning the multi-annual financial framework for the period 2008 to 2013, the EPAs were viewed as development instruments to foster smooth and gradual integration of the ACP States into the world economy, especially by making full use of the potential of regional integration and South-South trade. The EPAs became necessary due a decision of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) that found that the special non-reciprocal trading arrangements that existed under the Lomé Conventions

were in violation of the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) principle³ of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The Cotonou Agreement also marked a somewhat more nuanced approach to cultural relations. In lieu of devoting a specific section of the agreement to «social and cultural cooperation» as existed within the era of the Lomé Conventions, Article 27 of the Cotonou Agreement, entitled «cultural development» was sought to direct all cooperation in the area of culture toward:

- a. integrating the cultural dimension at all levels of development cooperation;
- b. recognising, preserving and promoting cultural values and identities to enable inter-cultural dialogue;
- c. recognising, preserving and promoting the value of cultural heritage; supporting the development of capacity in this sector; and
- d. developing cultural industries and enhancing market access opportunities for cultural goods and services.

The agreement makes two other mentions of culture that are particularly noteworthy within the context of cultural relations between the EU and ACP Member States. The first is a Joint Declaration on the ACP cultural heritage that seeks to «promote the preservation and enhancement of the cultural heritage» of each signatory to the agreement. The second is a Declaration by the ACP States on the return or restitution of cultural property. This declaration urges EU Member States, in recognition of the right of ACP States to cultural identity, to return cultural property taken from ACP states (but now resident in EU territories) to their respective countries of origin.

As a broad framework, as it relates to cultural cooperation, the Cotonou Agreement prioritised the preservation and promotion of cultural heritage as well as the development of cultural industries. In addition to this, however, the agreement sought to lay the foundation for the deepening of economic relations between the EU and specific regions of the ACP through the use of region-specific EPAs. Hence, in order to gain a holistic understanding of the scope of Caribbean-EU cultural relations within the context of the Cotonou Agreement, it is necessary to briefly review the EPA that is particularly relevant to this region: the Economic Partnership Agreement between the Forum of the Caribbean Group of ACP States (CARIFORUM)⁴, of the one part, and the European Community and its

³ The Most Favoured Nation principle states that special treatment cannot be afforded to one country without that same privilege being extended to all other member states of the World Trade Organisation.

⁴ CARIFORUM is comprised of all CARICOM Member States and the Dominican Republic.

Member States, of the other part (hereafter referred to as the CARIFORUM-EU EPA) (CARIFORUM – European Union, 2008).

It should be noted that the CARIFORUM-EU EPA does not contain any specific chapter, section or article within the main text of the Agreement that addresses the issue of cultural cooperation. It does however, underscore the importance of taking the cultural interests of presents and future generations into account when implementing the agreement.⁵ It also recognises the importance of strengthening the export capacity of service suppliers of the Signatory CARIFORUM States, with particular attention to the marketing of tourism and cultural services. Notwithstanding this, in lieu of placing matters related to cultural cooperation within the main text of the agreement, it is instead addressed via the third Protocol to the Agreement, entitled *On Cultural Cooperation*.

Protocol III seeks to establish a «framework within which the Parties shall cooperate for facilitating exchanges of cultural activities, goods and services, including *inter alia*, in the audiovisual sector» (CARIFORUM – European Union, 2008). It also seeks to complement the implementation of the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO, 2005).⁶ In so doing, it makes use of the concepts and definitions from the UNESCO Convention and in cooperation with local and regional policy mechanisms, seeks to focus on:

- a) integrating the cultural dimension at all levels of development cooperation and, in particular, in the field of education;
- b) reinforcing the capacities and independence of the Parties' cultural industries;
- c) promoting local and regional cultural content.

The Protocol therefore places an emphasis on creating opportunities for cultural exchanges in order to support to the development of cultural policies and industries, particularly as it relates to measures aimed at increasing the movement of cultural goods and services, inclusive of the use of preferential agreement. In this regard, sought to put measures in place that facilitate enhanced cultural relations and cooperation, this includes measures aimed at catering for the temporary entry of practitioners and equipment, the provision of technical assistance and the protection of historic sites and monuments. Moreover, in seeking to promote cultural exchanges among parties to the Agreement, the Protocol also aims to encourage the co-production of audiovisual works. Article 5 of the

⁵ Part 1, Article 3, CARIFORUM-EU EPA.

⁶ In addition to the protection and promotion of cultural expressions, the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions aims to, among other things, «create the conditions for cultures to flourish and to freely interact in a mutually beneficial manner». 55 of 79 ACP members states are parties to this convention.

Protocol allows co-produced works to benefit from preferential market access within the EU. This provision allows co-produced audio-visual works to utilise European Council Directive 89/552/EEC, also known as «Television without Borders», under which, co-produced works can essentially be viewed as European works, in order to benefit from local content provisions and laws within the EU, given that the following requirements are satisfied (CARIFORUM – European Union, 2008):

- the co-produced audio-visual works are realised between undertakings which are owned and continue to be owned, whether directly or by majority participation, by a Member State of the European Union or a Signatory CARIFORUM State and/or by nationals of a Member State of the European Community or nationals of a Signatory CARIFORUM State;
- the representative director(s) or manager(s) of the co-producing undertakings have the nationality of a Member State of the European Community and/or of a Signatory CARIFORUM State.
- both (a) the total financial contributions of one or several producers of the EC Party (taken together), and (b) the total financial contributions of one or several producers of Signatory CARIFORUM States (taken together) shall not be less than 20 percent and not more than 80 percent of the total production cost.⁷

In the main, Protocol III of the CARIFORUM-EU EPA aims to strengthen cultural relations between the Caribbean and Europe by facilitating collaboration, cultural exchanges, the co-production of audio-visual works and the provision of technical assistance. In so doing, Protocol III does provide a framework for Caribbean and European nations to increase existing trade flows of cultural goods and services between the two regions.

The Cotonou Agreement has also facilitated wider EU-ACP partnerships as it relates to cultural cooperation. In 2003, the first meeting of ACP Ministers of Culture was held in Dakar, Senegal. This meeting led to the signing of the Dakar Declaration on the Promotion of ACP cultures and cultural industries as well as the Dakar Plan of Action for the promotion of ACP cultures and cultural industries. A decision was also taken to establish an ACP Cultural Foundation (though this was not fully implemented). Finally, at this meeting, the Ministers of Culture agreed that Haiti would host an ACP Cultural Festival in 2004, though this did not occur until 2006 in Santo Domingo, in the Dominican Republic (apparently due to political instability in Haiti at the time) (Ruigrok, 2006). It was at this first ACP Cultural Festival that the second meeting of ACP Ministers of Culture was held. At that meeting, the Santo Domingo Resolution (Héau, 2009) was produced which affirmed the need for:

- the Continuation of the Dakar Plan of Action;

⁷ Protocol III, CARIFORUM-EU EPA, Article 5, section 2, part (a).

- South-South Cooperation in the cultural domain;
- Involvement of cultural networks in the promotion of ACP cultural strategies and policies;
- Integrating culture in the identification of projects and programmes to be financed under the 10th EDF.

It should be noted that cultural cooperation between the ACP and the EU was financed primarily through the European Development Fund (EDF). In this regard, following the 2nd meeting of Culture Ministers, in 2007, as part of the 9th EDF, the ACP implemented a Films Programme and a Culture Programme. At the time, 6.5 million euros were allocated to the ACP Films Programme, via grant funding, while the ACP Cultures Programme was allocated 2.3 million euros of grant funding, both from the EDF. The Films Programme was geared toward developing the «audio-visual and cinematographic sector in terms of training, production and broadcasting» in ACP states (Héau, 2009). Simultaneously, the ACP Cultures Programme was initiated in order to strengthen the capacity of cultural industries in ACP states, starting with five pilot ACP countries and through the establishment of an ACP Cultural Observatory which sought to collect, analyse and disseminate data and information on the cultural sector in ACP countries, in order to provide evidence-based research and allow for better insight into and understanding of the cultural sector in the ACP region (Bosman, 2011; Kühner, 2012).

The ACP Cultural Cooperation Programme was set to be expanded under the «ACP Cultures+» programme with sufficient funding to cover the ACP Films and ACP Cultures Programmes under the 10th EDF. Indeed, under the Cultures+ programme, 54 projects received funding that were chosen via two Calls for Proposals launched in 2011 and 2012. A total of 21,970,419.57 euros was then allocated to 54 contract beneficiaries representing 32 film and audiovisual projects (which accounted for 11,927,584.36 euros) and 22 projects strengthening other cultural industries (which amounted to 10,042,835.2 euros) (ACPCulturesplus, 2012). The ACP Cultures+ is still in operation and its importance was underscored at the 4th Meeting of ACP Culture Ministers in Brussels in November 2017. At this meeting, presentations were made on the need to «continue and improve the work of the [ACP Cultural] Observatory to feed the public authorities», to enhance the use of cultural statistics and to increase the capacity of local governments to access available funds.

In addition to highlighting the role of financial mechanisms (such as venture capital) and institutions, along with the role of women, youth and South-South collaboration, the Ministers also pointed to the need for «better monitoring [and] evaluation on how previous decisions have been implemented and transformed into actions» (ACPCulture-plus, 2017).

In sum, cultural cooperation between the ACP and the EU has been funded in the main, via the EDF. In addition, since the year 2000, the Cotonou Agreement has served as a legal basis of such cooperation.

In light of the opportunities that the Cotonou Agreement and the CARIFORUM-EU EPA seeks to create, this paper will now turn its attention to the potential impact of Brexit on Caribbean-European cultural relations.

6.3 Brief description of Brexit

On June 23, 2016 the British electorate voted to leave the European Union. As a result, on March 29, 2017, the British government triggered Article 50 of the Treaty on the European Union, enacted by the Treaty of Lisbon which though signed on 13 December 2007, entered into force on 1 December 2009. The official British notification of its intention to leave the EU sets in motion a two-year process within which agreements must be reached related to legal regulations that will govern the relationship between Britain and the EU. These regulations will cover a wide range of issues, including, but not limited to, trade, security, immigration and human rights.

In seeking to understand the possible impact of Brexit on Caribbean European cultural relations it is necessary to underscore that there are 2 primary options currently being considered: a «soft Brexit» and a «hard Brexit». This paper will therefore assess the implications of both scenarios.

6.3.1 Possible Brexit scenarios and their impact

A soft Brexit

This refers to an arrangement within which the United Kingdom remains a close and strategic partner of the EU, through sector specific Free Trade Agreements (FTAs). This could also be achieved by remaining within the European Economic Area, which allows for the free movement of goods, services and capital. That option would essentially seek to preserve the existence of a single market even after Brexit. In practice, this option would, to a large extent, minimise disruptions to the status quo and would seek to make it simple for enterprises from Britain or the EU to do business in either territory.

As it pertains to the EU's relationship with the ACP and the negotiation of an agreement to succeed the Cotonou Agreement, a soft Brexit could indeed facilitate a continuation of the principles and programmes of their current programmes with third party nations. This is due to the fact that a soft Brexit could facilitate joint development cooperation

programmes with third party nations. Having already developed joint programmes, mechanisms and harmonised policies with respect to foreign policies and their engagement with the Global South, a soft Brexit could allow for the continuation of such initiatives. In practice therefore, as an example, a soft Brexit could preserve the European Development Fund (EDF) as the financial instrument through which development cooperation projects and programmes within ACP states are supported.⁸ A soft-Brexit could therefore result in a successor agreement between the ACP and EU-UK that effectively mirrors the principles and tenets of the current agreement.

As it specifically relates to the Economic Partnership Agreements facilitated by the Cotonou Agreements, inclusive of the CARIFORUM-EU EPA, a soft Brexit could facilitate the signing of a very similar, or «mirror» agreement between the UK and ACP Member States. Alternatively, the UK could also become an independent signatory to a single CARIFORUM-EU-UK EPA, as a contributor to the EDF (should the Fund continue to operate and exist in the manner that it does now). This could be viewed as a way of avoiding the need for new negotiations of separate and potentially competitive EPAs (or Free Trade Agreements) with ACP Member States. Another reason that a soft-Brexit might preserve the existing EPAs is because they not only meet, but also exceed the stipulations of Article XXIV of the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). The EPAs have therefore been referred to WTO-plus agreements, as they cover a number of areas, (inclusive of government procurement, intellectual property and measures related to the environment) that are not mandated under the GATT. The EU and the UK may both wish avoid having to engage a re-negotiation of these areas. Even further, the specific schedules of the EPA that govern the trade of goods and services both allow individual nations to choose which products they wish to liberalise and to what degree. A soft Brexit would therefore not hinder the ability of both EU Member States or the UK to alter their commitments under an EPA.

The policy paper entitled *The future relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union* was published in July 2018 by the British government to clarify its policy position on Brexit. The paper signals the UK's desire and intention to leave the European Single Free Trade Area and to enter into a free trade agreement for goods. The paper also proposes a Facilitated Customs Agreement (FCA) in lieu of a customs union, the elimination of tariffs and a common rulebook for manufactured goods, agriculture, food and fisheries products.

With respect to the impact of the approach advanced in the policy paper on Caribbean-European cultural relations, the document proposes a new «UK-EU culture and education accord». The accord highlights a desire on the part of the UK «to explore options to

⁸ As noted by Clegg (2016), «contributions are made directly by EU member states, and funding can also be provided by third countries». Hence, it should be noted that even in the event of a hard Brexit, the UK could still contribute to the EDF as a third country, if they so desired.

build on existing precedents such as the EU's Cultural Cooperation Protocols with third countries» (HM Government, 2018). Not only does this make the continuation of the CARIFORUM-EU EPA Protocol III on Cultural Cooperation more likely, but it also suggests that an expansion of such a facility is possible.

That said, as it relates to Broadcasting, the main text of the document makes it clear that «the 'country of origin' principle, in which a company based in one Member State can be licenced by a national regulator and broadcast into any other Member State, will no longer apply» (HM Government, 2018). At present, the aforementioned «Television without Borders» Directive affords filmmakers the opportunity to access the EU Member States with a production that could be classified as «local content» within the European single market. If the recommendations of this policy paper are adopted – and the Protocol on Cultural Cooperation is continued but the UK leaves single market – Caribbean filmmakers and other cultural practitioners may need apply for separate licenses in order to gain access to markets within the EU and UK.

As it relates specifically to the possible impact of the approach advanced in the policy paper on ACP relations, the document proposes a partnership, within which both parties could «continue to work together to address global development challenges, supporting a cooperative accord between the UK and the EU on development and external programming» (HM Government, 2018). The paper therefore proposes an «overseas development assistance and international action accord» to facilitate cooperation between the two parties on matters related to development cooperation or assistance to third party nations (such as the ACP group of nations). If such an approach is adopted, it is foreseeable that cooperative facilities like the EDF will continue to be utilised and capitalised by the UK and the EU. Agreements like the Cotonou Agreement and the CARIFORUM-EU EPA should also continue to exist (though the renegotiation of the specific terms of engagement is likely to be unavoidable). What is likely to change however, are the mechanisms and procedures that are geared toward facilitating trade and cultural exchanges between ACP states and the UK and/or the EU.

In sum, the paper announces the British government's intention to leave the European single market. However, its desire to enter immediately into a free trade agreement with the EU in order to preserve existing close and strategic relationships and institutions means that the proposed approach can be said to align with a that of a soft Brexit.

A hard Brexit

The term «hard Brexit» refers to a scenario where the relationship between the UK and the EU would revert to the trading rules and regulations of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). This would essentially mean that economic relations between the two groups of territories,

unless otherwise specified, would be governed by the legal agreements of the WTO, inclusive but not limited to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and the Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). Such an arrangement would curtail (and in some cases, make more costly) the movement of goods, services, capital and persons. In practice, trade between the two parties could be subjected to the tariffs and conditions faced by other third countries. Under such a scenario, enterprises and individuals from the EU might also be required to obtain visas and pay regulatory fees in order to access and operate within the UK.

Within such a scenario, it is likely that the UK would also cease to be a party to both the Cotonou Agreement and the CARIFORUM-EU EPA and would need to negotiate its own trading agreements with the ACP. The EU could therefore be forced to re-shape (and to some extent re-engineer) several of the existing mechanisms under the Cotonou Agreement, inclusive of the EDF (and other funding mechanisms) and the EPAs with ACP nations. This is significant as it would represent not only a loss of capital and technical contributions to the EDF by the UK, but it could bring an end to joint foreign policies (inclusive of joint development cooperation programmes) that currently exist between the EU and the UK. If such were to occur, the EU would need to redevelop and renegotiate its engagement and development cooperation strategies with the ACP (along with other territory with which the EU and the UK shared a joint development cooperation strategy).

As alluded to earlier therefore, a «hard Brexit» is likely to mean that the UK would leave the CARIFORUM-EU EPA. In such a scenario, the provisions of the agreement would be applicable and enforceable only within the EU. As an example, therefore, the stipulations of Protocol III of the CARIFORUM-EU EPA, as they relate to the application of the «Television Without Borders» provision, would be restricted to the Member States of the EU.

In addition, it should be noted that a hard Brexit might also affect cultural relations between CARIFORUM Members States and UK Overseas Countries Territories (OCTs) and the overseas departments and regions of France (also known as DOMs). To begin, several OCTs receive budgetary support and financial aid from the EDF. While financial contributions to the EDF by the EU and the UK is expected to continue up until 2020 (Clegg, 2016), a hard Brexit might result in the suspension of such contributions thereafter. Such a scenario, by extension, might reduce the funds available to the governing authorities within the OCTs and DOMs to engage in cultural exchanges with other Caribbean nations. To add to this, a hard Brexit might result in a loss of market access (including for cultural goods and services) for UK OCTs to EU territories. Freedom of movement for persons from UK OCTs into the EU may also be curtailed. This has important implications for the wider Caribbean, as trade and cultural relations between CARIFORUM nations and the Caribbean OCTs and DOMs could be adversely affected. A hard Brexit would likely increase regulatory requirements and barriers to trade in cultural services as well as for cultural ex-

changes – and might also reduce the funding available to support such activities. Perhaps therefore, the greatest concern for OCTs, DOMs and the wider Caribbean – as it relates to future cultural relations – pertains to the unknown impact of a hard Brexit within a post-2020 environment – when the Cotonou Agreement expires. Caribbean and the EU territories would need to assess and possibly re-negotiate mechanisms geared toward facilitating cultural exchanges and development cooperation. These discussions will also need to establish a framework for the Caribbean’s relationship with the DOMs.

UK/EU-CARICOM

The decision to advance toward a soft or hard Brexit can have important implications for the UK’s and EU’s relationship with CARICOM. It should be recalled that the CARICOM’s relationship and engagement with the EU was deepened at the behest of the UK – who sought to include its former colonies (i.e. Commonwealth nations) within the rubric of the ACP. It is therefore to be expected that some measure of re-engagement between CARICOM and the EU as well as CARICOM and the UK will be necessary. This may indeed require separate treaty documents with both the EU and the UK – particularly if the Cotonou Agreement is not renewed (which is likely) and/or another similar agreement is not drafted and agreed upon.

CARICOM is comprised primarily of former British colonies, which means that most of its members lack a deep historical connection to and relationship with the EU (as exists with the UK). Regardless therefore of the nature or type of Brexit that occurs, it would be in the EU’s interest to establish its own rubric of engagement with the Caribbean that would facilitate not only cultural relations and exchanges, but also trade, technical assistance and development cooperation. Specifically, in the case of a hard Brexit the EU may need to establish its own unique mechanisms that serve to facilitate trade, funding and cultural exchange opportunities with its Member States. In this regard, resources would need to be devoted to overcoming language barriers with EU Member States. In practice, in the past, the common language and shared history of the UK and CARICOM has served to facilitate trade and other engagement forms of interaction with EU Member States. To some extent, the UK has served as a gateway into Europe for Caribbean cultural practitioners and enterprises. In the case of a hard Brexit, the EU will need to invest resources into building platforms and establishing institutions that are geared specifically toward facilitating trade along with cultural & education exchanges.

A critical component of ensuring the continuity of trade and cultural relations in the face of a hard Brexit, will be continuation and/or re-design of the EDF and other funding mechanisms and programmes (such as the ACP Cultures programme), particularly if the UK were to cease its contributions to these facilities. While specific focal points for the

EDF already exist in most CARICOM Member States (that can assist in facilitating requests from national governments to the EU for financial support), direct engagement with the CARICOM Secretariat, and its Office of Trade Negotiations (OTN) may be required to facilitate the deepening of development cooperation, trade and cultural relations with EU Member States and its Caribbean DOMs. This is likely to be particularly important in order to cater for the full implementation and/or possible re-negotiation of the CARIFORUM-EU EPA.

Direct engagement with CARICOM should be viewed as more important in light of the recommendations of the African Union Executive Council that any «new [i.e. post-Cotonou] agreement with the European Union should be separated from the ACP context» (African Union, 2018). According to the «African Common Position for Negotiations of a new cooperation agreement with the European Union», the African Union (AU) intends to negotiate for its own African-EU agreement, in lieu of an ACP approach, akin to the Cotonou Agreement. Comments by Pascal Lamy, while serving as a Post-Cotonou High Level Facilitator on behalf of the EU make the approach articulated by the AU seem more likely. Mr. Lamy indicated that in order to focus on the unique challenges and development priorities of each region, the EU is considering a post Cotonou mechanism that is more region-specific (Lamy, 2017). The stated policy directions of both the AU and the EU, as well as the departure of the UK (with which historical ties exist) from the EU, should signal the need to advance region-specific discussions and negotiations between CARICOM and the EU. Indeed, if Caribbean-European cultural relations are to reflect the development imperatives and socio-economic needs of either region, CARICOM and the EU will need to ensure that appropriate mechanisms are established, or preserved, that support or enhance the development of cultural identity and cultural industries.

CARIFORUM

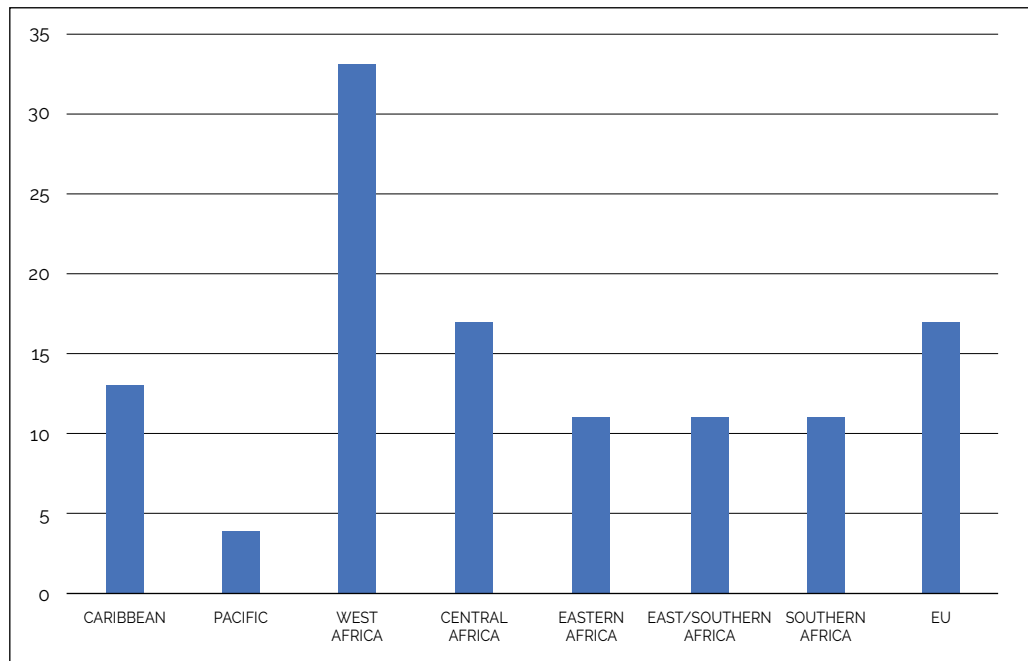
With the exception of Cuba, the CARIFORUM group of nations make up the Caribbean contingent of the ACP grouping. Cuba and the Dominican Republic are not members of CARICOM. The regional EPA (agreed via the Cotonou Agreement) for the Caribbean signed between CARIFORUM and the EU effectively liberalised trade between the Dominican Republic and CARICOM Member States to a degree that exceeded what obtained prior to the agreement. In addition, paragraph 2 within Article 238 of the agreement stipulates that: «any more favourable treatment and advantage that may be granted under this Agreement by any Signatory CARIFORUM State to the EC Party shall also be enjoyed by each Signatory CARIFORUM State (2008)». Hence, as a result of the EPA, trade relations between CARICOM Member States and the Dominican Republic were intensified. However, there is no evidence that this resulted in a deepening of cultural relations between the two entities.

A soft Brexit is not anticipated to have any substantial impact on cultural relations between CARIFORUM and the EU. This is largely because, as mentioned earlier, the agreements and mechanisms that facilitate cultural exchanges and development cooperation between CARIFORUM and the EU will still exist. In the case of a hard Brexit however, the mechanisms of cooperation between the EU and CARIFORUM may need to be re-engineered, particularly in a post-Cotonou environment where the nature of ACP cooperation has changed. Indeed, if a post-Cotonou agreement establishes unique cooperation arrangements between the EU and each individual region (i.e. Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific) after a hard Brexit has occurred, the impact upon the mechanisms geared toward facilitating cultural cooperation could be more far-reaching and substantial.

EU-ACP

The impact of Brexit on ACP relations, and by extension, on Caribbean-European relations is in part dependent upon the outcome of the negotiations that are focused on a new agreement between the EU and the ACP. In the short term (while negotiations are on-going), a soft Brexit is unlikely to result in any substantial changes to Caribbean-European trade and cultural relations. A hard Brexit in the short term (i.e. under the current Cotonou Agreement) will only require re-engineering of the relationship between the Caribbean (as a part of the ACP) and the EU and UK, if the UK withdraws its commitment and support from mechanisms like the EDF which currently serve to facilitate cultural cooperation.

In the medium to long term, when EU-ACP negotiations have been concluded, a hard Brexit may require some re-engineering of relations between the UK, the EU and the ACP – particularly if the UK withdraws its support from the mechanisms geared toward facilitating support for cultural and development cooperation (such as the EDF). Such a scenario is likely to become more complex if, as aforementioned, a post-Cotonou agreement establishes unique cooperation arrangements between the EU and each individual region. In such a scenario the Caribbean will need to ensure that the mechanisms established to support the archipelago is adequate and appropriate. In this regard, the equitable provision and distribution of funds and technical assistance is likely to be a key consideration for future cultural and trade relations between the Caribbean and Europe. According to a document published by the European Parliament in 2014, between 2010 and 2012, more than 80 percent of the total funds spent from the EDF were disbursed to an African country (D'Alfonso, 2014). Indeed, when one examines the locations where the ACP Cultures+ project actions were executed, a clear focus on the African continent becomes evident.

Figure 6.1. Location of project actions funded under the ACP Cultures+ programme (2010-2012).

Source: ACP Secretariat, 2015.

A focus on the African continent is commendable due to the size of its population and markets, as well as its development needs. In this regard, should a hard Brexit occur, negotiations between the Caribbean and the EU should focus, in part, on enhancing the access of Caribbean nations to mechanisms geared toward increasing cultural cooperation between the two regions.

6.4 Recommendations

A soft Brexit is unlikely to result in any significant deleterious impacts on cultural relations between the Caribbean. However, in such a scenario, emphasis should be placed on ensuring that the modalities and mechanisms that exist to facilitate cultural cooperation are maintained and/or improved. Special attention should be paid to reducing bureaucratic processes and on boosting the ability of Caribbean cultural practitioners and entrepreneurs to access technical and financial assistance schemes in both the UK and the EU. As it relates to facilitating functional cooperation and collaboration between cultural entities and practitioners from the Caribbean and the EU, sufficient resources should be devoted toward initiatives focused on overcoming language barriers. Such initiatives should also

serve to improve the use facilities that already exist within the CARIFORUM-EU EPA, inclusive of enhancing trade in cultural/entertainment services as well as use of the «Television Without Borders» Directive.

A hard Brexit may indeed lead to the establishment of unique arrangements with the UK and the EU. This may be made more complex by a post-Cotonou agreement that establishes separate or distinct arrangements with Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. In such an environment the Caribbean should be focused on ensuring equitable access to, and participation in, mechanisms geared toward enhancing cultural cooperation. Caribbean nations should also seek to deepen existing relationships with individual EU Member States and to establish relations with EU Member States with which they do not have substantial diplomatic, economic or cultural relations.

Caribbean governments need to work closely with its trade negotiators to ensure that Caribbean cultural practitioners and entrepreneurs are well placed and able to utilise the mechanisms that aim to facilitate cultural cooperation. Direct support to practitioners, can serve to enhance the cultural relations the Caribbean and the EU. Such support should include market research facilities and translation support services for cultural enterprises and entrepreneurs wishing to enter EU markets in order to trade goods and services as well as those interested in cultural exchange programmes. Administrative support will also be necessary, particularly after Brexit (regardless of the type of Brexit that occurs, even though a hard Brexit may require greater support) to clarify bureaucratic requirements of the UK and the EU, especially as it pertains to applying for grant funding.

Ultimately however, Caribbean nations need to have clear strategies, as individual countries and as a region (in this case CARIFORUM) that identifies what they would like to achieve from their engagement with the UK and EU Member States. A lack of clear strategies along with the required resources to support such strategies can make it more difficult for Caribbean cultural practitioners and entrepreneurs to organise cultural exchanges or trade with EU Member States, as such entities may require support to overcome barriers to enter the market (inclusive of language barriers). In this regard, it should be noted that any lessons learnt from evaluative exercises or programmes of CARIFORUM-EU EPA, particularly as it relates to barriers to entering the EU market should be assessed specifically within the context of enhancing the exports of cultural goods and services from CARIFORUM nations to the EU.

As a final recommendation, the CARICOM Secretariat (together with the government of the Dominican Republic) should also engage in research on matters that can affect cultural relations between the Caribbean and the EU, such as mobility and migration. Such information is likely to be germane not only to developing post-Brexit trade strategies but to ACP-EU negotiations related to developing a document to replace the Cotonou Agreement.

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7

RELATIONS BETWEEN EUROPE AND CENTRAL AMERICA: A POLYHEDRAL FIT

Mario Hernán MEJÍA

Abstract

This study is based on a short description of the three cultural areas identified in the Central American region that give rise to its current linguistic and cultural diversity and its traditional and creative expressions. The colonial period in the region laid down the foundations for the current political and administrative structures in each of the seven countries on the Central American isthmus that share a common history and differentiated development processes since the disappearance of the United Provinces of Central America in the 19th century.

The 20th century was characterised by political instability as the result of social inequalities inherited from the colonial system. This instability expanded until the 1980s, when the processes of pacification began and a mechanism for regional integration was created: the Central American Integration System (SICA). This offers a starting point for analysing, firstly, the nature of political relations and cooperation between the European Union and Central America and then, secondly, the treatment of cultural matters by this integration mechanism, its strengths and weaknesses. The third section explores, with a forward-looking vision, possible scenarios that mark a turning point in cultural relations between the two regional blocks, based on their own existing policies, mechanisms and programmes that make culture a development cooperation strategy.

7.1 Context and challenges of the Central American isthmus

In physical terms, the Central American isthmus presents two particular geographical characteristics: it is the narrowest passing place between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans and a natural corridor for terrestrial communication between North and South America; these physiographic characteristics have afforded it a strategic place in geopolitical and economic terms since the 16th century and to date.

The region is diverse in its biological and cultural dimensions. Its territory amounts to 523,000 square kilometres distributed across seven countries (Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama). Prior to its contact with Europe, the centre of America was a complex human mosaic, a meeting point between two pre-Columbian cultural areas: Mesoamerica in the North and the Intermediate Area in the South.

The Central Zone constituted a territorial space for convergence; the intersection in time and space between the two great cultural areas, along with the African and Caribbean influences, led to autonomous sociocultural processes with the participation of numerous ethnic groups and transatlantic migrations that resulted in Central America's cultural diversity today. The divisions by cultural zones are based on the archaeological register, although they are not usually precise due to the constant interchanging between the peoples (Hasemann, Lara and Cruz, 1996).

The African legacy originated in the colonial era in areas under Spanish control and the Caribbean coast; from the 18th century, neighbourhoods of black, mulatto and mixed-race residents were registered in all the important cities on the isthmus;¹ the Afro-Caribbean ethnic and cultural presence was reinforced by the migration of groups originating from Jamaica and Barbados (1870-1930) who sought work in the banana fields and in the construction of the Panama Canal. The English known as *Creole* is a language with various groups of speakers in Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Honduras.

The Garifunas reached Roatán in Honduras in 1797, having originated on the Island of St. Vincent, and they currently inhabit the coastal areas of Belize, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua with an important number in the United States. Prominent are their language, musical traditions and dance, recognised in the year 2001 as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by the UNESCO.

Multiracialism is the main cultural trait of the region reflected in the hybridisation present in its traditional expressions which evidence inter-ethnic crossing and religious

¹ In 1778 (data from the Bourbonic census), some 18% of the population of the province of Costa Rica was classified as brown and mulatto, while 60% were classified as mestizo; in Panama the proportion of the group «free of all colours», mainly made up of blacks, browns and mulattos, reached 56% against 23% of indigenous people and 6% of slaves. In both cases, Costa Rica and Panama, the group of Spanish and Creoles barely exceeded 10% of the entire population (IDH-PNUD, 2003: 335).

syncretism between Catholicism and indigenous/Caribbean cosmogony. Liberal and positivist thinking contributed towards consolidating the different Central American states (1870-1930), characterised by a concept of an exclusive nation of indigenous and Afro-Caribbean groups, until the 20th century arrived with its political confrontations, the result of systematic processes of socioeconomic exclusion within the context of the Cold War of the second half of that century.

The establishment of communications through the Panama Canal, its railway and the Central American presence in the world coffee and banana markets, make the isthmus a region of interest for North American capital, with the emergence of enclave economies for export and the start of social conflicts as a result of economic inequalities.

From the early decades of the 20th century and until the decade of the Eighties and Nineties when peace agreements were signed on a national scale (Guatemala, Nicaragua and El Salvador), Central American history entered phases of war, revolutions and military interventions that culminated with the signing of the *Esquipulas Peace Agreement* in the year 1986 with the mediation of Costa Rica, the only country not affected by political violence and with the greatest consolidation of its public institutions and democratic system.

In the 1990s, the region experienced better levels of development and political, social and economic stability following decades of armed conflicts and authoritarian regimes. The new vision of regional integration, with the inclusion of Belize and Panama, produced the emergence of new priorities and institutions.²

Among the most pressing challenges for Central America is the need to add to the regional agenda actions that respond to the real interests of the population which demands civil society's participation in order to balance the institutional networks that prioritise projects as a result of agendas that respond more to opportunities for funding international cooperation (ERCA, 2016: 38). The conservation of natural resources, the control of violence/migration, and the need to overcome educational challenges are priority issues requiring attention with regard to the future.

The most recent social, economic, political and environmental indicators in the Central American region³ highlight the disparities with regard to human development, eco-

² At the start of the 21st century, the first challenge was the consolidation of Central America as a region of peace, freedom, democracy and development. This was the challenge of constituting a pluralist community of human security, based on economic growth, social equity, environmental sustainability and robust bonds of integration and cooperation in a complex and diverse region (ERCA, 2016: 39).

³ The *Quinto Informe Estado de la Región en Desarrollo Humano Sostenible* (2016) is the work of the Programa Estado de la Nación (PEN) associated with the Consejo Nacional de Rectores (CONARE) in Costa Rica. One of its recent contributions is the *Plataforma de Estadísticas de Centroamérica 2017*, with updated data on sustainable human development for Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama. Available at: <https://www.estadisticascentroamerica2017.estadonacion.or.cr>.

conomic growth and competitiveness between the seven countries of the isthmus. The so-called «Northern Triangle» (El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras) presents lower levels of human development and income per capita in relation to Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Panama.

Table 7.1. Social indicators in Central America.

COUNTRY	HDI	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (%)	GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (Purchasing Power Parity, \$ Billions)	INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION (% of the GDP)	INVESTMENT IN HEALTH (% of GDP)	INVESTMENT IN CULTURE (% of GDP)
COSTA RICA	0.794	8%	76.2	7.1%	8.1%	2.3% (2012)
PANAMA	0.789	6%	91.3	3.2%	7.0%	6.4% (2006)
BELIZE	0.708	10%	2.9	7.4%	6.2%	Not available
EL SALVADOR	0.674	7%	46.5	3.5%	6.9%	1.4% (2009)
GUATEMALA	0.658	2%	125.6	2.8%	5.7%	7.26 % (2007)
NICARAGUA	0.650	6%	33.1	4.5%	7.8%	Not available
HONDURAS	0.617	6%	42.1	5.9%	7.6%	1.69% (2011)

Source: Compiled by the author based on: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/data> (2017) and various sources for the cultural GDP.

As it faces the challenges that the 21st century holds, Central America has not improved its indicators for a decent life for broad sectors of the population, mainly in Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, where high levels of poverty, violence, corruption and social exclusion are present as the main problems to be resolved. The «Northern Triangle» plus Nicaragua are the countries with the lowest life expectancies, with educational performance indicators that are lagging behind with respect to Costa Rica and Panama. Average annual growth in GDP in Panama is nearly 3 percentage points higher than the average of the other countries. Migration is a phenomenon that has reduced the male population in these countries, there are fewer than 95 men for every 100 women and less than 5% of GDP is invested in health, in contrast with Costa Rica and Belize where over 5% of GDP goes to public investment in health (ERCA, 2017).

7.2 Culture in Central American integration processes

The immediate precedent to the regional integration processes in Central America was the creation of the Central American Common Market (CACM) through the *General Treaty for Central American Economic Integration* (1960). Its strategy was the substitution of imports and a common customs tariff that served to protect products external to the region's

industry while establishing certain initiatives for the industrialisation process (PNUD, 2003:150).

The peace processes in the region to put an end to armed conflicts were expressed in the *Esquipulas Peace Agreement II* (1987), while an institutional system of a regional nature was promoted, as reflected in the following structures:

- Creation of the Central American Integration System (SICA) in 1991; it entered into force in 1993.
- Creation of the Central American Parliament (PARLACEN). It entered into functioning in 1991.
- The Central American Court of Justice (CACJ), its predecessor was the Court of Cartago in Costa Rica (1908-1918), recognised as the first international court of justice in its first phase. It was re-established by the Tegucigalpa Protocol in 1991.
- Subscription to the Alliance for Sustainable Development (ALIDES) in 1994.
- Expansion of the regional regulations (Central American treaties and agreements): Framework Treaty of Democratic Security (1995), Treaty on Central American Social Integration (1995).
- Participation of new governmental and non-governmental actors and active partners (Panama, Belize and the Dominican Republic).⁴

The mechanism for regional decision-making is the Presidents' Summit; it constitutes the political-institutional space for promoting agreements, legal instruments, declarations on issues that become mandates for their technical secretariats and for the Central American Bank for Economic Integration (CABEI). The American institutional tradition is different to that of Europe: inter-ministerial international agreements always need the ratification of the presidents.

A second phase in the processes of Central American integration occurred in the year 2010 with the «Relaunching of Central American Integration» by the presidents of the area and with an agenda built around five sectoral pillars: 1. Democratic security. 2. Climate change and comprehensive risks management. 3. Economic integration. 4. Social integration. 5. Institutional reinforcement (PNUD, 2003: 180). Culture does not appear explicitly in any of these pillars.

⁴ At present the member states of the SICA are: Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama and the Dominican Republic. It has countries that act as regional observers: Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Peru, United States, Ecuador, Uruguay and Colombia and others as extra-regional observers: China, Taiwan, Spain, Italy, Japan, Australia, Korea, France, Vatican City, United Kingdom, European Union, Morocco, New Zealand, Qatar, Turkey, Order of Malta and Serbia.

One of the SICA's technical secretariats is the *Coordinadora Educativa y Cultural Centroamericana* (Central American Educational and Cultural Coordinator, CECC), which is based in San José, Costa Rica, a space for where ministers of education would converge from 1975 until 1982 when the founding agreement of the current CECC was approved and culture was incorporated as a work area.

With the *Tegucigalpa Protocol* (1991), the Regional Council of Ministers of Education and the Regional Council of Ministers and General Directors of Culture was formalised within the CECC with annual meetings where decisions are taken and programmes and projects managed that are geared towards improving quality of life in the areas of their competences.

Among the most relevant projects in the first decade of the 21st century was the construction of the *Central American Strategic Plan for Culture 2004-2008* and the project *Study for the Design of the Central American System for Cultural Indicators and Statistics*⁵ as well as the incorporation of culture into the Puebla-Panama Plan (PPP).⁶

The agreements of the cultural sector within the framework of the CECC-SICA between 1994 and 2004, laid the foundations for future actions and were geared towards strengthening the Central American cultural market. They included the admission of Central America with a single fee to the Ibermedia⁷ programme among other initiatives (CECC, 2005: 10-15). Among the agreements that obtained opportune compliance, we would highlight those relative to the updating of a legal framework for the legal protection of regional cultural heritage with the signing in 1994 of three agreements that remain in force today.⁸

The *Cultural Policy of Central American Integration 2012-2015* (PCIC) substituted the *Central American Strategic Plan for Culture 2004-2008* based on a process of consultation with state actors and civil society regarding their expectations with respect to a cultural policy of a regional nature that permitted the definition of its thematic pillars, strategies, targets and lines of action.

⁵ The project led to the publication of *La cultura en números: hacia un sistema de indicadores culturales para Centroamérica* (2008). UNESCO-CECC, San José. ISBN: 978-9968-818-47-6.

⁶ The Puebla-Panama Plan (PPP) emerged from the *Tuxtla Dialogue and Consultation Mechanism* for the understanding between Central America and Mexico for the development of the area running from the Mexican state of Puebla to Chiapas with the surrounding states and it stretches to Panama. Within this framework the Ministerial Declaration on Education and Culture was signed (Mexico City, 2002). The PPP became the current *Mesoamerican Integration and Development Project* made up of ten countries in the region (Belize, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, México, Nicaragua, Panama and the Dominican Republic).

⁷ The Central American initiative was considered by the Ibermedia Programme, but finally was not realised as the culture offices could not pay their respective fees. Today, Costa Rica, Panama and the Dominican Republic belong to the programme.

⁸ Central American Convention for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Central American Convention on the Holding of Exhibitions of Archaeological, Historical and Artistic Objects and the Central American Convention for the Restitution and Return of Cultural Objects (CECC-SICA, 2005: 11).

The *Cultural Policy of Central American Integration* (PCIC), was derived from the mandate of the Extraordinary Summit of Presidents of the SICA (2010) which defined six spheres of action (CECC/SICA 2012: 25):

1. Central American identity.
2. Production of cultural knowledge.
3. Feeling of belonging to the region.
4. Respect for regional cultural diversity.
5. Culture of peace.
6. Shared Central American Vision.

Another important reference point was created between the years 2008 and 2012: the *Millennium Development Goals Fund* (MDG-F), which implemented three programmes for knowledge management in culture and development in Central America:

- Intercultural policies for the inclusion and generation of opportunities (Costa Rica).
- Creativity and cultural identity for local development (Honduras).
- Cultural revitalisation and creative productive development on the Caribbean Coast (Nicaragua).

The actions derived from the implementation of these programmes are considered a historical opportunity to strengthen the value of culture as a contribution to economic and social development. The tools and know-how built up during the years of implementation of the programmes are included in an online platform hosted on the website of the Central American Educational and Cultural Coordinator, CECC-SICA.⁹ The platform is structured into six thematic areas: Management, Policies, Creativity, Cultural Spaces, Tourism and Revitalisation.

At present, the culture area is governed by the Central American Integration Cultural Policy (PCIC) and its main lines of action:

the safeguarding and promotion of the common cultural heritage; the promotion of the cultural industries and the contribution of culture to the national economies; and educational communication for cultural development and the generation of knowledge, with the aim of contributing from Culture towards achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) (CECC-SICA, 2012: 31).

In 2009, the European Union, through its *Programme of Support to Central American Regional Integration* (PAIRCA-SICA), implemented a communication campaign geared to-

⁹ The platform is available at: http://ceducar.info/cultura-y-desarrollo/page_1.html.

wards awakening a greater sense of Central American identity and belonging through the promotion of regional cultural artistic values: «*Mucho Gusto Centroamérica*» («It's a pleasure, Central America»).¹⁰ The project organised forums, music festivals, interviews with people from the arts and culture in each country. We considered it necessary to endow these programmes with some indicators of qualitative impact in order to observe, measure and evaluate their effects for their replication and sustainability.

By way of a summary we highlight below the main problems and opportunities relating to cultural development in Central America (table 7.2).

Table 7.2. *Positive and limiting factors of cultural development in Central America.*

Positive factors:	Limiting factors:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Cultural information systems exist in Costa Rica, Guatemala and are in process in Honduras, El Salvador and Nicaragua. · The countries adopted the Methodological Guide developed by the Convenio Andrés Bello to create the satellite accounts of culture, Costa Rica leads this process. · The Cultural Policy of Central American Integration contemplates a management model with broad citizen participation: it is necessary to create the spaces and mechanisms for agreement. · The cultural dimension of development is mentioned in Central American presidential declarations and in Ibero-American forums of cultural ministers. · The 19th Ibero-American Conference of Ministers of Culture (Antigua Guatemala, 2018) agreed: «to promote actions that reinforce the cross-cutting and intersectoral dimension of cultural policies towards other State policies and to analyse in depth the efforts made by the institutions to advance in matters of cultural rights and facilitate access and cultural participation geared towards meeting the Sustainable Development Goals SDG» (OEI, 2018). · The Central American cultural diversity that is a result of the intersection between Mesoamerica, the Caribbean and the Andean cultures offers the possibility of trying out different types of development rooted in culture. · The creative economy is currently expanding in Central America. In Panama this sector contributes 6.4% to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and generates more resources than other primary sectors, it is positioned among the 36 countries in the world where the creative sectors contribute between 4% and 6.5% to the national economy. (BID, 2017). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Non-innovative conceptions in development techniques with reduced participation of the cultural sector in political decisions in the region. · Absence of civil participation mechanisms in the Central American Educational and Cultural Coordination Platform, CECC-SICA for giving impetus to work agendas. · Despite the numerous diagnoses and recommendations that have been adopted in numerous forums on a regional level, there is still no strategic treatment relating to cultural and creative industries. · The market of cultural goods and services is not fully structured which hinders the sustainability of artistic productions in the face of a lack of public funds or subsidies. · A traditional conception prevails with respect to culture that is reduced to matters relating to the protection of cultural heritage and promotion of the fine arts. · In the region, the so-called third sector is composed of a great diversity of public, private, associative, guild, and community agents that are born and expand as a consequence of the low state investment (Incorpore, 2003). · Public investment in culture is limited and is focused on certain sectors of archaeological heritage, maintenance of public infrastructures (museums, libraries, archives) and to a lesser scale on education, artistic production and cultural dissemination. · The circulation of cultural goods and services in the region is reduced to book fairs and literature, film or visual arts festivals arranged by private civil organisations with little or no participation or regional integration mechanisms. · The development of managerial, administration and cultural management capacities are made evident in the diagnoses and studies that exist (SELA, 2011; Protti, 2009; Mejia, 2018). · In the year 2015, the Central American region within the framework of the CECC, adopted the <i>Guía metodológica para la implementación de las cuentas satélite de cultura en Iberoamérica</i> produced by the Convenio Andrés Bello (CAB). Costa Rica created the first satellite account in the Central American region while Guatemala, El Salvador and the Dominican Republic are in the process of construction.

Source: compiled by the author.

¹⁰ For more information, visit: <https://redjica.wordpress.com/2013/03/28/mucho-gusto-centroamerica/>.

7.3 Relations between Central America and the European Union: their mechanisms and instruments

Although cultural action is not considered a specific field in the current association agreements, it is possible to explore its potential through the adopting of a cultural focus in the current development cooperation programmes/projects.

The European Union maintains with Latin America policies and actions in matters of development cooperation that have passed through different phases. The creation of the agency EuropeAid marked a new chapter in this cooperation, following its creation in January 2001, with the mandate of applying the mechanisms to execute cooperation actions emanating from the European Commission and funded by the European Development Fund.

On 15 December 2003, the *Political Dialogue and Cooperation Agreement* (PDCA) between Central America and the European Union was signed in Rome, Italy, which renewed relations in these two areas and prepared the pathway so that some years later, the Regional Strategy Document 2007-2013 was signed as the main development cooperation instrument for the economic, political and social integration of Central America.

At the third European Union-Latin America and Caribbean (EU-LAC) Summit in Guadalajara, Mexico, 28/29 May 2004, it was agreed to establish an *Agreement of Association* between Central America and the European Union which includes a free trade treaty to be negotiated between both regions:

In June 2012 the first region-to-region Association Agreement was concluded by the EU with 6 Central American countries: Costa Rica, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Panama. The agreement is based on three pillars – political dialogue, cooperation and trade. The trade pillar of this agreement is implemented since December 2013, introducing gradual free trade between the two regions, stimulating growth and sustainable economic relations, fostering economic and social development, promoting an environmental dimension, as well as modernisation and technological innovation. The EU-CA AA has acted as a catalyst of progress on economic integration and trade, mainly driven by the private sector. This has led to positive outcomes like the accession of Panama to the Secretaría de Integración Económica Centroamericana SIECA, the economic integration body (EC-EEAS, 2016: 14).

The *Association Agreement* between the European Union and Central America offers new impetus to the relations between the two regions by opening up the markets to the goods, public procurement, services and investment on both sides while seeking to reinforce economic integration in Central America. The Agreement was finalised with its signing on 29 June 2012 in Honduras and established its three fundamental pillars: political dialogue, cooperation and commerce.

The *Development Cooperation Instrument* (DCI) 2014-2020 of the European Union is channelled through the *Multiannual Indicative Regional Programme for Latin America* and is based on the strategic association and action plan between the EU and the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, CELAC, with two multiannual indicative programmes, one for continental activities with Latin America and another that is specific for sub-regional cooperation with Central America (EC-EEAS, 2016: 2).

The specific programme for Central America establishes a total of 120 million euros for the period 2014-2020 of Official Development Assistance (ODA) established in the Sub-regional Programme for Central America. The document contains an analysis of the political and economic context of the region, recognises the continuous commitment of the EU to Central America as the main donor of cooperation and regional integration, and highlights the cooperation instruments, priorities and a series of indicators for measuring the expected results in each of the three priority sectors: *Regional Economic Integration*; *Regional Security Strategy* and *Regional Strategy against Climate Change*, which contains the *Central American Policy on Comprehensive Disaster Risk Management* (EC-EEAS, 2016: 15).

The European Commission maintains a series of thematic programmes as instruments for cooperation with civil society and local governments. These programmes have a horizontal focus on support in national and regional programmes through the awarding of grants in subjects such as human rights, democracy, eradication of poverty, education, environment and health, among others:

- Programme for Civil Society Organisations and Local Authorities (CSO/LA).
- European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR).

The Political Dialogue and Cooperation Agreement between Central America and the EU (2003), the Association Agreement (2012), the Multiannual Indicative Regional Programme 2014-2020, and the Regional Strategy Document 2007-2013, are the reference framework for the actions of the European Union in each of the Central American countries that is specified in a *Country Strategy Paper* 2007-2013 (CSP)¹¹ with a specific financial amount.

In the Honduras Strategy Paper 2007-2013,¹² three issues were prioritised: 1. Human/social development. 2. Environment/sustainable management of natural resources. 3. Justice and public security consigned into an Indicative Work Plan for annual review. The programmes implemented by the EU in issues of justice and public security are: the Security Sector Support Programme (SSSP) and the Human Rights Support Programme (HRSP) (CE/HON 2007: 4).

¹¹ Available at: https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/es_gt_es_0.pdf.

¹² Available at: https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/csp_honduras_es.pdf.

Within the framework of the security programme in Honduras, some indirect investments are made in the field of cultural cooperation: a recent event was the inauguration (October 2018) of the *Plaza Centroamericana de la Paz* in the municipality of El Triunfo, Choluteca, very close to the border with Nicaragua, which has a training centre and a stage for artistic activities. The project is framed within the Central American Security Strategy (La Tribuna, 2018: 58).

In Guatemala, social cohesion, citizen security, economic development and trade mark the lines of cooperation. Among the values highlighted in the country paper are democracy, good government, respect for indigenous peoples and their rights and the implementation of youth policies that contribute to national security as well as recognising the problems of organised crime and impunity in public corruption (CE/GUAT, 2007: 6).

In the cultural field, the Ministry of Culture and Sports of Guatemala has consolidated its cultural policies and emphasises its guiding role in the incorporation of the cultural dimension into sustainable development, which constituted a marker for public policies.¹³ Cultural policies define the Ministry of Culture and Sports for its contribution to human development, respect for cultural and linguistic diversity and artistic and creative manifestations.

Added to the process of construction of cultural policies is the *National Plan for Cultural Development in the Long-term* (2005) based on the conviction that culture is development and comprehensive human development is fundamentally cultural (MCD, 2005). The Plan identifies strategic lines for development in order to strengthen key sectors and suggests some priority lines of action for central government, decentralised institutions and public and private and international cooperation agencies.

The study *Report on European Union Security and Justice Cooperation Programmes in Guatemala and Honduras* (Long, 2015)¹⁴ commissioned by the citizens' networks ACT ALLIANCE EU and CIFCA to monitor the policies of the European Union in Central America, identifies as main obstacles to development: delinquency, violence, impunity and corruption. The main challenges that the country is facing are respect for human rights, access to justice, and greater democratic participation of society, mainly of young people and women, among other vulnerable groups.

¹³ The cultural and sports policies of Guatemala were formulated in the year 2000 based on a participatory process, in line with its national legal framework and in tune with the international dynamics such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Agreement on the Identity and Rights of the Indigenous Peoples (Mexico, 1995), the Inter-governmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development (Stockholm, 1998).

¹⁴ It analyses the programmes 2007-2013 and their contributions to judicial independence, to the fight against impunity and to access to justice for women.



GUATEMALA
Guatemala City

El Salvador
Salvador

BELIZE

HONDURAS
Tegucigalpa

NICARAGUA
Managua

San José
COSTA RICA

Panama City
PANAMA

Cocos I.
(C.R.)

Malpelo I.
(Col.)

Medellín

COLOMBIA
Cali

The Country Strategy Paper for El Salvador¹⁵ is geared towards promoting social cohesion through the creation of jobs, regional integration and commerce. It highlights the following cross-cutting issues: the environment, gender equality and human rights. For the period 2014-2020, the EU has assigned 149 million euros to El Salvador in support of national policies and priorities in two main axes: 1. Social Inclusion and Youth 2. Development of the private sector.

In the cultural sphere, the most emblematic initiative is the «European Month», which has been held since 2014, with programming focusing on dissemination actions:

1. Central American journalism forum.
2. International Suchitoto Film Festival.
3. «Morena Celarié» National Dance School, winner of the Ambassador's Scholarship 2018.
4. «La Cachada Teatro», winner of the European Union Medal 2018.¹⁶

It is important to point out that El Salvador has a *Public Culture Policy* 2014-2024 which orients the State's cultural action with a new institution that has transited from a National Council for Culture and Art, CONCULTURA, to a Secretariat attached to the Presidency of the Republic (2009) which, from 2018 onwards, became the Ministry of Culture of El Salvador.

The renovation and innovation of cultural institutionalism in El Salvador obeys the intention of upgrading state cultural management and «favouring a cultural change that generates social processes towards the culture of creativity and knowledge, and the sustaining of a society with opportunities, equity and without violence» (SCP, 2013: 17).

Panama became a member of the Association Agreement after being an observer at the negotiations and adhering initially to the Secretariat of Central American Economic Integration (SIECA) (2012). Panama is considered a medium-high income country thanks to its commercial dynamic across the Panama Canal and major public infrastructure projects.

In June 2018, Panama and the European Union signed a *Memorandum of Understanding* on international cooperation and development to implement triangular cooperation projects according to the Agenda 2030 in Panama and Latin America where the aim is to focus international aid on the specific priorities and needs of the countries and not only on their income level, taking the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) as the initial base.

¹⁵ Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/csp-el-salvador-2007-2013_es.pdf.

¹⁶ Source: https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/47542/medalla-uni3n-europea-2018-para-la-cachada-teatro_es.

Panama is placed in a position to help other nations with equal or lesser development through the horizontal cooperation that it would offer to Latin America and the Caribbean from the Regional Logistics Centre for Humanitarian Assistance (RLCHA), to be inaugurated, and that makes available the Panama logistics platform to provide assistance in cases of natural disasters, in a region so vulnerable to these (MIRE, 2018). The EU office in Panama does not have a cooperation section and the directives emanate from the head office in Managua, Nicaragua.

The National Strategy Paper and Indicative Programme 2014-2020 for Nicaragua¹⁷ establishes three priority sectors: 1. Support for the production sector (with special attention to rural areas). 2. Education adapted to job offers. 3. Adaptation to climate change. Relations with Nicaragua are governed by agreements of a Central American nature; the Agreement of Association entered into force for Nicaragua on 1 August 2013. From that moment onwards it has been the legal framework of reference with regard to trade between Nicaragua and the European Union.

Relations between the EU and the Dominican Republic are governed by the National Indicative Programme 2014-2020 and this is part of the EU's sub-regional programme for Central America; this presence in the integration mechanisms (it has belonged together with Haiti to the Group of Countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, ACP, since 1989 and has been a member of SICA since 2013), allow the country a greater and more dynamic presence on the international scene.

Expectations regarding relations between the two regional blocs within the framework of the Association Agreement are plentiful. Central America seeks differentiated treatment, access to markets and to attract direct investments, while the EU does not seem to grant many concessions, it is interested in matters of cooperation on political issues, citizen security, human rights through the promotion of South-South cooperation mechanisms.

The cultural cooperation actions that EU delegations have rolled out in each of the Central American countries are centred around the celebration of the European Month event, with the programming of cultural activities for artistic dissemination and, especially, a showing of European film, photographic exhibitions, photography and the promotion of Erasmus scholarships.

The regional focus must be extended in terms of development cooperation and include Mexico which, given its geographical position, has favoured more its relationship with the United States including areas such as science and technology, however «in recent years a network of cooperation agreements have been woven with the EU that are based on a more comprehensive and social view of science and technology» (Peña, 2008: 375).

¹⁷ Available at: https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/es_gt_es_0.pdf.

This position of Mexico could be strengthened and be of great interest for the European Union not only because of its proximity to the United States but to Central America and the Caribbean; Mexico is a SICA regional observer and shares common problems and challenges as well as having the capacity to integrate Central America in scientific research and technological development, among other fields.

In terms of the circulation of cultural goods and services, the Mesoamerican region can constitute a distribution circuit, the programming of cultural cooperation activities that reinforce creation (protection in terms of heritage), production, distribution and enjoyment of a cultural life based on exchange and mutual knowledge.

7.4 Euro-Central American relations with regard to the future

The cooperation between the European Union and Latin America in the field of culture is framed within development cooperation in general, in accordance with the stipulations in their treaties of constitution and functioning: article 167 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) defines EU competence on culture; the Council of Ministers of Culture and Audiovisuals marks Community action through their Cultural Affairs Committee (CAC) and the Audiovisual Group, made up of high-ranking civil servants from the Ministries of Culture.

The policies of the European Union that have the most direct relationship with culture are: education, scientific research, information and communication technologies (ICT), social policy and regional development. A clear objective of the Audiovisual and Media policy of the European Union in issues relating to the media, film, TV and video are subject to certain common standards for their free circulation between member states.

The documents relating to the cultural policy of the European Union recognise the role of culture in processes of integration and as a driving force for development in various statements and resolutions. The following table presents a selection of key documents for European Cultural Policy with their strategies and recommendations for cultural cooperation for development and proposals for actions open to being undertaken between the EU and Central America.

Table 7.3. *EU instruments for cultural cooperation and potential strategies for cooperation with Central America.*

EU Cultural Policy Documents	Scope	Central American Integration Cultural Policy (areas of management)	Standard actions
<p>1. Towards an European Union strategy for international cultural relations (2016).</p> <p>The strategy identifies resources for their funding in the following instruments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaboration instrument (EU dissemination tool). • European instrument for democracy and human rights. • EU instrument for Stability and Peace. • Creative Europe Programme (promotion of cultural heritage). • EU expansion policy (includes cultural policies); • European neighbourhood policy (relations with 16 neighbouring countries). • Development cooperation instrument; • Cotonú Agreement (cooperation of the EU with countries of Africa, the Caribbean and Pacific). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encouragement of economic and sustainable social development. • Improvement of cooperation in the cultural heritage area. • The cooperation of the European Union in the area of culture encompasses both the EU and developing countries. • Cooperation with national institutes of culture within the EU. • Creation of European Houses of Culture conceived to provide services to the local population, intervene in joint projects and offer educational and cultural grants and exchanges. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economy, creativity and culture. • Common cultural heritage. • Construction of peace cultures. • Innovation and institutional development. • Citizenship and culture. 	<p>Expand programmes to generate employment such as EURO-LABOR to include cultural and creative enterprises.</p> <p>Generate institutional capacities for the preservation and value enhancement of the common cultural heritage in the Central American countries.</p> <p>The intercultural dialogue and recognition of hybridity in many of the Central American creative cultural expressions influence social cohesion and peace in the region.</p> <p>Strengthen human, technical and financial capacities in the SICA for the formulation of public policies with a cultural focus for development.</p> <p>Expand the mechanisms and spaces for dialogue and agreement for an active participation of civil society in the implementation of Central American cultural policy.</p>
<p>2. New European Agenda for Culture (2018).</p> <p>Contains three strategic objectives with a social, an economic and an external dimension.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support of culture as a driving force for sustainable economic and social development. • Promotion of cultural and intercultural dialogue for peaceful inter-community relations. • Reinforcement of cooperation around cultural heritage. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economy, creativity and culture. • Central American regionalisation. 	<p>Boost creative and cultural enterprises with economic growth and human development targets.</p> <p>Update the cultural policy of Central American integration and equip with an action plan.</p>

Source: compiled by the author based on EU and PCIC cultural policy documents.

The Central American Cultural Policy (PCIC) represents a notable effort to make visible the cultural dimension of development and it proposes a broad and participatory model, however, the programmes and/or projects registered during its time in force are scarce and few efforts are made to update its action plan and create mechanisms of convergence with the cultural sectors.

One of the reasons for which we consider that the cultural dimension in the integration process does not register relevant actions is that its nature and problems do not figure in the main spheres of the regional development agenda and the CECC-SICA favours its management in attention to the educational sector.

An important limitation for the implementation of the policies emerging from the heart of the SICA is that «competences in political matters are not defined and therefore their execution is not binding for the SICA member countries» (Santos, 2016: 40). The above implies the non-distribution of competences and the absence of funding mechanisms that compromise viability.

The full incorporation of a Central American cultural agenda into the integration mechanisms is an inconclusive task that leads us to ask ourselves about the institutional viability of incorporating this dimension within the SICA framework, while at the same time it is necessary to highlight the added value that culture can generate in regional mechanisms that promote development.

The countries that make up the SICA are faced with the challenge of incorporating the Agenda 2030 for the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in their national policies and plans. The above offers an opportunity to make evident in the evaluation systems of the Official Development Assistance (ODA) the impacts of culture and its transversal nature in the programmes and projects of the European Union in Central America.

Many EU programmes are delegated to countries in the Community for their national execution, as is the case with EURO-LABOR and EURO-JUSTICIA which are part of the Spanish cooperation in Honduras. The first is geared towards the creation of employment for young people and could include the promotion of cultural/creative enterprises among young people. Equally, security programmes are likely to assume the cultural dimension, prioritising actions to prevent violence and the strengthening of social cohesion through the arts and the use of public spaces and provision of infrastructure.

The Central American Educational and Cultural Coordination Platform, CECC-SICA, hosts on its website the platform: «Notes on culture and development in Central America»,¹⁸ with key information on concepts linked to cultural cooperation and management for the undertaking of actions of social transformation; it contains a broad range of materials

¹⁸ For more information, visit: http://ceducar.info/cultura-y-desarrollo/page_1.html.

(guides, official texts, examples of best practices, etc.) that allow those in charge of the co-operation to be familiar with the regional dynamics in the field of culture for development.

The platform is an exercise of systematisation of the knowledge generated by the MDG-F in Central America; it offers access to applications that facilitate the setting up and development of policies, programmes and projects with a cultural focus, useful for the comprehensive implementation of Agenda 2030 and the SDGs in the multilateral sphere.

At the 13th meeting of Ministers and Directors of Culture of the Central American Educational and Cultural Coordination Platform (CECC) held in Panama (2006), the creation was approved of a Central American educational and cultural TV channel. The initiative never came to fruition and recently (August 2018) the general meeting of the Central American University Higher Council (CSUCA), approved the project «Technological Convergence and Multimedia for Higher Education in Central America and the Caribbean», which has given rise to the International University Centre for Information and Communication Technologies (CIUTIC), a platform for contents distribution, with the technical capacity to generate an exchange model based on local producers and licencing.

The project mentioned includes the creation of the Television channel BUHO TV, with the aim of exchanging the audiovisual production of the region and geared towards disseminating all those activities related with university life, art, culture, science, technology and research.¹⁹ The aim of the CSUCA is to promote the integration of Central America and the Caribbean through the strengthening of Higher Education through intraregional cooperation programmes and projects, including the Interuniversity Festival of Culture and Art, FICCUA, held every two years since 1997 at venues that rotate through the countries in the region.

Among the cultural cooperation actions to be explored between the EU and CA, we would highlight the strengthening of university initiatives, of festivals and meet-ups of a regional nature, of territorial networks, municipal systems of culture through the promotion of links and exchanges of experiences and best practices that enable a comparative calculation of the tendencies of regional development policies in the EU against the Central American region and its characteristics.²⁰

The promotion of policies, programmes and projects derived from the application of the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*

¹⁹ According to the interview with the executive director, the process for the transferring of contents will originate from the exchange of productions from the different universities that are members of the CSUCA, through university centres of technological convergence, producers of audiovisuals and the channel BÚHO TV (J.C. Soto, personal communication, 17 December 2018).

²⁰ The following study can be reviewed for this purpose: *Regional development and policy in Europe. Contributions for the debate in Latin America*. EUROSOCIAL, Madrid 2014.

(UNESCO, 2005) could be fertile ground for cultural cooperation between Europe and Central America. Among the measures agreed for the spheres of application of the Convention (art. 14) is cooperation for development in the following areas (UNESCO, 2005):

- Strengthening of cultural industries, through strengthening cultural production and distribution capacities.
- Facilitating access to global markets.
- Strengthening local and regional markets.
- Adopting appropriate measures in developed countries with a view to facilitating access to their territory for the cultural activities, goods and services of developing countries.
- Increasing the capacities of production, distribution, cultural management, drafting and application of policies, distribution of goods and services, creation of small and medium-sized cultural companies.
- The provision of official development assistance, including technical assistance, to stimulate and support creativity.
- Other modalities of financial assistance such as low-interest loans or grants.

Cooperation for sustainable development and the reducing of poverty are priorities in the Convention, especially the specific needs of developing countries. The evident worldwide asymmetries in the trade of cultural products can be reduced through cooperation actions between regional blocs and linking with Ibero-American bodies such as the OEI and the Ibero-American General Secretariat SEGIB, which have instruments and programmes oriented towards such a purpose: the *Ibero-American Cultural Charter* and the *Ibero-American Cultural Space*, both consider among their spheres of application the cultural and creative industries as instruments of expression, affirmation of identities and simultaneously generators of wealth and economic growth. Cultural cooperation must be accepted as strategic to facilitate political relations and commercial exchanges between the European Union and Central America and to make culture the integrating axis of development.

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FLOWS AND STRATEGIES



8

INTER-UNIVERSITY CULTURAL COOPERATION BETWEEN CELAC AND EU: NOTIONS, CURRENT SCENARIO AND PERSPECTIVES

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Abstract

The article considers inter-university cultural cooperation in the cultural sector as a relevant and singular dimension of international cooperation; describes its main topics and objectives – institutional strengthening and knowledge development through research – and establishes a typology for analysis. In the specific field of European Union/Latin America and the Caribbean bi-regional relations, the authors point out how cultural cooperation is established historically through inter-university projects, government programmes, the creation and reinforcement of different networks, and individual initiatives from bi-national centres and institutes. In this sense, examples of each form of inter-university cultural cooperation in different countries are described, together with its objectives and functioning conditions.

By way of conclusion, the existing asymmetries between the two regions are highlighted, pointing out that in Latin America and the Caribbean, the institutionalisation of the cultural field as a whole is weak, scarcely formalised and its development is uneven among different countries, thus limiting the impact of the university system on concrete actions of international cooperation. On the other hand, two necessary conditions for fostering positive change within the context are proposed: strongly increasing inter-university communication, and adopting new and more dynamic protocols and organisation forms, to update and overcome the existing bureaucratic forms of inter-university cultural cooperation among countries and regions.

8.1 Introduction

Within the wide scope of the international cooperation scenario, actions conducted by universities are an important and specific chapter, aimed at strengthening institutions and developing knowledge through research. Such objectives are sought by performing joint activities among two or more universities, including knowledge and technology transfer in order to create or improve management skills, as well as the deployment of training instances, both temporary (seminars, meetings, forums, etc.) and permanent, at undergraduate, graduate and doctorate levels.

International inter-university cooperation activities involve different levels of commitments in the short, medium and long term, and cover the widest range of scientific and technical disciplines. As any type of cooperation, it may be defined as an exchange where all members obtain a benefit. As Touscoz (1973) points out, quoted by Villanueva (1977), cooperation at a university level may be understood

in a narrow and limited sense, considering the research, knowledge transfer, and professional training activities conducted jointly by two or more Universities from different countries (...). In a broader sense, the term inter-university cooperation by different countries refers to all forms of collaboration, reciprocal information, exchanges and relationships, established by two or more universities or some of their constituents, such as schools, departments, laboratories and research units, cultural centres and museums (Villanueva, 1977: 119).

In the cultural arena, Alfons Martinell explains international cooperation as

an equitable and egalitarian relationship in its expressive forms for a purpose, which is the cultural enrichment of our societies. Cultural cooperation should become a tool for respect and approximation that supplements other forms of international relationship, seeking the acknowledgement of the other and shared development to guarantee cultural diversity as heritage of humanity, as proposed by UNESCO (Martinell, 2014: 7).

Applying this concept to inter-university cooperation, both at state-owned and private institutions, said cooperation should go beyond university spaces, to include alternative spaces for the distribution and access to culture, creation, science and reflection that contributes to reduce large unbalances in cultural exchanges worldwide. However, one of its main limitations nowadays is its weak internationalisation, as there are few cultural areas at universities that have strategies for inter-institutional development and collaboration – e.g. to improve their artistic programming or to attract and build public loyalty, including an international dimension.

International cultural cooperation at a university level includes topics that are developed from different disciplines, and their utmost goal falls into one of two categories: coop-

eration actions aimed at increasing the cultural capital of stakeholders – teachers, students, researchers –; or programmes and actions targeted at the cultural development of a specific territory, through learning new techniques and acquiring artistic or management knowledge. We may thus describe the following forms of international cultural cooperation:

- Performing cultural studies from different social sciences such as anthropology, sociology, ethnology and economics.
- Performing historic and artistic heritage studies.
- Developing different artistic disciplines (performing arts, such as theatre, music and dance; visual arts, such as painting, sculpture and photography; technology-based arts, such as filmmaking, video, and other multimedia arts). This includes organising shows of such disciplines in co-production.
- Performing studies about cultural management with different orientations (political, management, etc.).

Under the EU-CELAC relationships, some of these forms of cultural cooperation have been conducted for many years and have solid mechanisms in place, while others were implemented recently, but have a strong momentum. From a theoretical perspective, there are interesting but quite unrealistic possibilities for particular application, due to limited public investment. In brief, international cultural cooperation among universities occurs through a) inter-university projects, b) government programmes, c) networks, and d) individual initiatives from bi-national centres and institutes.

In order to encourage and strengthen the process of internationalising inter-university cooperation, in this article we will describe some of the projects, programmes, networks and initiatives by centres and institutes of reference that have been developed among universities from the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean in terms of inter-university cultural cooperation. The description includes both macro programmes, where we will present government programmes that represent EU-CELAC cooperation, and a micro perspective that describes small realities, sometimes very local, which could nevertheless have a huge impact on the design and implementation of future strategies for the development of bi-regional cultural cooperation among universities.

8.2 Inter-university projects

They are conducted mainly by graduate courses or research centres from universities of both regions. Undergraduate students may be included in their teams. In general, they are specific and time-bound projects that are developed in conjunction by the working groups of the acting universities. Sometimes they may include funding from non-university insti-

tutions, foundations and businesses. They are formalised through agreements that are approved by the highest instances of each university. The main actions in this type of cooperation are: research; training courses and/or programmes; congresses, sessions and seminars; publications; and cultural events. Many Latin American universities conduct different cultural cooperation projects with their counterparts from the same or from other regions. Although most of them are focused on different aspects of performing and visual arts, there is a growing number of cultural cooperation projects in cultural management. The next two examples are just a sample of actions involved in such projects.

In Ecuador, thanks to the Prometeo¹ programme, promoted by the Secretariat for Higher Education, Science, Technology and Innovation (SENESCYT), international researchers were recruited by its universities to enrich their collaboration networks. Universities have thus become internationalised, and have acquired new forms of studying and researching about culture. Many foreign researchers have joined the *Universidad de las Artes* (University of the Arts, UArtes).² This university, founded in 2013 by the former Ecuador president, Rafael Correa, is the first institution in the country that started researching the field of arts, directing its activities towards creative production and critical reflection about arts. Its mission is to create an inter-disciplinary space in the field of training, research, production and dissemination of arts, focusing on the South-South relationship. Throughout its five-year history, it has signed international agreements with institutions from Latin America and the Caribbean (UNA, Argentina; ISA, Cuba; FNCL, Cuba; University of Antioquia, Colombia; ICC, Colombia), from Europe (Goldsmiths University, United Kingdom; *La Fémis* School, France; *Sorbonne* University, France) and from the rest of the world (University of Western Ontario, Canada). UArtes is a regional reference due to the quality, singularity and sociocultural belonging of its artistic training programmes (CES, 2015). UArtes acknowledges that a Euro-centric cultural matrix has dominated and monopolised the field of arts (Campos, 2016). It has therefore started a decolonisation process by developing critical artistic practices, capable of overcoming the exclusion of other non-Eurocentric forms (Ministry of Culture, 2013). This is why the institution seeks to fund projects that prioritise developing the South-South relations. It also offers international training programmes in arts, enabling teachers, researchers and students to expand their knowledge through the exchange of experiences with other cultural centres in the world (Ministry of Culture, 2013).

The other example is the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México* (National Autonomous University of Mexico), the most important higher education institution in Mexico. Since it was founded, it has had a spirit for internationalising culture. The «Summer

¹ For more information, visit: <http://prometeo.educacionsuperior.gob.ec>.

² For more information, visit: <http://www.uartes.edu.ec/index.php>.

School» was created in 1921 at the instance of the Dean José Vasconcelos, with the aim to «universalise knowledge about the Spanish language and Mexican culture, as well as to provide academic support to Mexican communities abroad»; this school became later the well-known *Centro de Enseñanza para Extranjeros* (Centre for Foreign Students, CEPE).³ UNAM's Mexican Studies Centre model has currently spread worldwide. In the case of the CELAC-EU member countries, there are 5 Mexican Studies Centres operating within other universities: in the Cervantes Institute in Madrid (Spain) founded in 2013; in the University of Costa Rica, established in 2014; in the Pierre and Marie Curie University, Paris 6 (France) founded in 2014; in King's College (United Kingdom) created in 2015; and the most recent one, in the Free University of Berlin (Germany) founded in 2018. These international cooperation policies have strengthened their organisation and management in recent years. As a result, the «Inter-institutional Collaboration Office» was created in 2000, and the General Directorate for Cooperation and Internationalisation (DGECI) was founded in 2009. The growing presence of UNAM as well as its resulting relationships with higher education institutions from other countries led to the foundation, in 2015, of the International Relations and Affairs Coordination (CRAI), department entrusted with consolidating the internationalisation, strengthening of alliances, and coordination of policies and actions in favour of the university community.

UNAM offers a wide range of proposals for cultural outreach, especially organising festivals and programmes. The International Festival of University Theatre (FITU), held every year, is a space for the competition of theatre proposals from different countries. Its programming includes talks, workshops and scenic interventions. The UNAM International Film Festival (FICUNAM) presents *avant-garde* films from all over the world, as well as forums for the dissemination, reflection and awareness of the audiovisual sector; the IM-PULSO Festival is a forum for music and performing arts around multi-disciplinary proposals; the International University Book Fair (FILUNI) promotes university publishing worldwide; the Vertice Festival, Experimentation and Avant-Garde, dedicated to trans-discipline and technology innovation in arts.

Furthermore, UNAM offers permanent programmes that approach different aspects of cultural promotion and international cooperation. Some of them are related to the literary world, such as «Universe of Letters», which promotes creative reading and writing; the «José Emilio Pacheco Chair to promote reading», created in 2015 in order to study reading and citizenship topics in depth; and the «Nelson Mandela Chair for Human Rights in film and literature», which connects film and literature with special sessions for research, debate and study. Human Rights are the backbone of the Chair that pays homage to the former South African president and Nobel Laureate, Nelson Mandela.

³ For more information, visit: <https://www.unaminternacional.unam.mx/es/politicas>.

Another cultural promotion programme is the «Floor 16 Laboratory for UNAM Cultural Initiatives»; this new training project materialises ideas and initiatives by the university community within artistic, cultural management and communication disciplines. The name comes from its location, floor 16 of the Tlatelolco UNAM Tower. This area develops cultural projects with a social incidence, promoting critical thinking, multidisciplinary work, and outreach to public and private sectors in the realms of music, theatre, dance, film, literature, visual arts, digital media and communication media, so that they may become financially sustainable projects.

UNAM also develops a set of programmes around the world of art, critic, museography and aesthetics. Some examples of this are the «William Bullock Chair on Critic Museology», which started in 2014 as an academic exchange programme among museum professionals, promoted by the University Museum of Contemporary Art (MUAC), the British Council Mexico, and the National Fine Arts Institute (INBA); the «Olivier Debrouse Chair. Images: devices, production and critic», in homage to the Mexican critic and curator, created to spur debate and activities for researchers, critics and artists in the fields of photography, film, digital image, and all intermediate genres and new media; and the «Helen Escobedo Extraordinary Chair: Aesthetics, Politics and Critical Historiography of Contemporary Art in Mexico and Latin America», created in 2000, which presents discussions and works by a network of Latin American academics, artists and activists about the visualities, interventions and practices of contemporary art.

8.3 Government programmes

These programmes consist of government funding to develop projects among universities from both regions. Public funding is applied to cooperation actions that cover different topics. One of such topics is culture, although in many cases this area receives a smaller percentage than other cooperation areas. The main actions in culture are mobility grants for teachers and students, as well as funding of projects to strengthen institutional capacities and research.

On a bi-regional scale, the most prominent example is the Inter-University Cooperation Programme (PCI)⁴ from Spain. This is the oldest permanent programme within such country government, developed through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation and Development (AECID). Although it seems to be discontinued nowadays, it provided great contribution for many years to bilateral cultural projects among Spanish and Latin American universities.

⁴ More information about PCI at: http://www.cooperacionespanola.es/sites/default/files/7._eval_programa_de_cooperacion_interuniversitario_en_iberamerica_2.pdf; and <http://www.ocud.es/es/pl61/recursos/id1765/el-programa-pci-evolucion-en-2010-y-2011.htm>.

Considering the international cooperation scenario on a regional scale, Central America's backwardness in the development of strong higher educational structures has been an obstacle for its development. Political conflicts have also left the region in a difficult condition to benefit from the current cultural cooperation scenario in the other regions of Latin America. Programmes started by such countries are few and depend mostly on sponsorship from international foundations or organisations.

In Honduras, mobility management is performed by the Presidential Office for Sponsorships of the Government of Honduras, in charge of managing exchange programmes for professional development courses offered by cooperating countries and agencies. Through bi-national cooperation, this office manages some culture-related agreements with the Embassies of France and the Netherlands. They also have exchange programmes with AECID and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). The main agreements in terms of culture are related to tourism, social inclusion, gender and equality, human rights, music, textile design, and audiovisual production. Most of these programmes are managed by Fundación Carolina and funded by Banco Santander to be conducted in Spain, the country that offers most international cooperation exchanges with Honduras.

A very similar scenario can be observed in El Salvador. The Grants Department under the General Directorate for Development Cooperation is the office in charge of managing cooperation programmes with countries on a bi-national agreement, international institutions and private foundations. Historically, most programmes were targeted at Europe, such as the well-known «Erasmus Mundus», as a result of the European Union cooperation with the region. Likewise, the Ibero-American University Foundation (FUNIBER) has strengthened such cooperation programmes towards the rest of Latin America in recent years. A regression in the influence of Europe has been registered in these bi-national exchanges recently, although at present there are specific programmes related to music and arts with Germany, such as the Berliner Künstler scholarship programme, and the one offered by DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service). There is also a scholarship programme for the Master's Degree in Agricultural Heritage in Italy. Currently, most cultural cooperation in El Salvador is done with South American and Asian countries.

In the case of Guatemala, the Planning and Programming Secretariat of the Presidency is in charge of managing international exchange and cooperation programmes in higher education. Similarly to its neighbour countries, programmes such as «Erasmus Mundus» and the programmes managed by the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation (AECID) are prevalent. Likewise, many of the exchange programmes are managed by Fundación Carolina.

Some of the international culture-related cooperation programmes managed by the Government of Guatemala are: the Berliner Künstler art scholarships in Germany; the scholarships managed by Fundación Carolina for the University Master's degree in Com-

prehensive Development of Tourist Destinations, the University Master's Degree on Research in Art and Creation; the University Master's Degree in Architectural Heritage Conservation (ACS Foundation), the Master's Degree in Cultural Tourism, and the Studies in High Musical Training in Spain. Although most programmes are connected with Spain on account of cultural and language closeness, there is also an international exchange programme managed by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA).

In Panama, international cooperation activities for higher education are centralised within the University of Panama. The Directorate for International Cooperation and Technical Assistance (DICIAT) was founded on August 19, 1998, as a unit assigned to Presidency, and is in charge of international cooperation matters. There are different forms of international cooperation, such as mobility, signature of binational contracts, agreements and letters of intent with international agencies in the academic and cultural areas.

In the case of Panama, there seems to be more diversification in exchange programmes, although they are still limited in number. Agreements have been signed with *Universidad Complutense de Madrid*, Spain; *Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Hidalgo*, Mexico; European Foundation for the Information Society (FESI), France; Zhaoqing University, Popular Republic of China, and Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (RUDN), Russia. The geostrategic importance of Panama is the reason why its international cooperation programmes are more diverse than those of its neighbours. Even so, virtually 75% of all international cooperation agreements have been signed with Latin American countries in recent years, leaving the European Union in the second position, with about 10% of exchanges.

In the case of Mexico, the guiding role of the Secretariat for Public Education (SEP) has been key through the General Directorate for International Affairs, which has had the historic mission to promote and increase cooperation and exchange activities with other countries in the scientific, educational, cultural, technical and artistic fields. The National Council for Science and Technology (CONACyT) has joined this task in recent years, from the Directorate for International Cooperation. The main role of this directorate is to help in the design and execution of international cooperation policies in terms of science, technology and innovation. It also follows up on agreements signed by CONACyT with international agencies and other countries. The SEP's General Directorate for International Affairs has historically managed public policies for international cooperation in the educational and cultural environments, through exchanges and experiences that were later included in the national educational system. Such international cooperation policies have developed with two main purposes: to benefit students and the Mexican society; and to strengthen Mexico's leadership in terms of education and culture, both regionally and worldwide.

Historically, since 1949 the SEP has been a founding member of the Organisation of Ibero-American States for Education, Science and Culture (OEI), which became an international organisation in 1957. In the context of OEI, and in the framework of cultural cooperation, the Ibero-American Conferences of Ministers of Education have been promoted and convened.⁵ Likewise, the SEP, through OEI, participates in different projects and educational programmes:

- Paulo Freire project on Academic Mobility for students from Teacher Training University Programmes.
- Ibero-American Plan for literacy and lifelong learning.
- Ibero-American Satellite television station: A channel that brings us together (*Señal que nos une*).

Some success stories of this international cooperation organised by OEI are the Advanced international course on Culture Management in Madrid (2018), under the European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018. The course focused on connections and future perspectives for cooperation between Europe and Latin America in terms of cultural and natural heritage. This is a specific case of a project focused on cultural management and heritage protection where the members of CELAC-EU are involved. Mexico currently has bilateral treaties on educational and cultural cooperation with 22 CELAC member countries and 21 EU countries.

There are Latin American countries that currently have special difficulties developing government programmes that support international cultural cooperation. This is the case of Venezuela. According to Bermúdez and Sánchez (2009), approaching the topic of cultural policies in Venezuela may be a difficult task for any researcher, given the almost non-existent investment by local cultural institutions. Government actors themselves direct their cultural policies towards socialist revolution. According to the authors, there is no cultural policy that develops a communicational policy from the State to strengthen national or international cultural industry, without being manipulated by the government's propaganda service. The government goal in this case is to «establish culture as a political force for social and comprehensive construction, and to position it at the highest decision levels within the State» (CONAC, 2000). For other reasons, Bolivia also lacked, until recently, a government agency that would design and implement cultural policies to strengthen international cooperation (Sanguinetti, 2010).

⁵ 24 Conferences have been held from 1998 to 2018.

8.4 Networks

In the cultural sector, at a university level, there are very few networks that connect universities from both regions. However, in some sectors of culture there are European and Latin American networks – e.g. in areas related to cultural management, and language and literature – that connect degrees or research institutes on specific matters. International agencies in the sector have fostered the creation and maintenance of networks, but most of these attempts have lacked continuity (e.g. Iberformat⁶).

An example with many years of history is the UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs Programme.⁷ UNITWIN is the abbreviation for University Twinning and Networking Scheme. The UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs Programme creates UNESCO Chairs and UNITWIN Networks at higher education institutions. It is an essential tool that contributes to creating capacities at higher education and research institutions through knowledge sharing and reflecting a spirit of international solidarity. It also encourages North-South, South-South and triangular cooperation in order to establish connections among institutions. Although most Chairs are focused on scientific topics, there are several ones on cultural aspects. The main actions of these networks are to share knowledge and promote the emergence of new capacities.

In terms of university networks for cultural cooperation, there are virtually no initiatives in Latin America, although there are proposals that could encourage their creation. One of such initiatives is the «Macro Network for Latin American and Caribbean Universities»⁸ created in 2002 and integrated by 37 state-owned universities from 20 countries. This initiative was started by UNAM, Central University of Venezuela (UCV), and the UNESCO International Institute for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (IESALC-UNESCO). The forum that created the Network was integrated by 23 institutional representatives, who signed the Network University City Declaration.

The reason for creating the network was acknowledging that the organisational experience of higher education institutions with the specific size and importance of Macro-Universities from Latin America and the Caribbean is unique in the world. These higher education institutions concentrate approximately 10% of students of the continent, exceeding in some cases 200,000 students. However, the total number of students

⁶ The Iberformat network emerged at the instance of the Organisation of Ibero-American States (OEI) and the Interarts Foundation. Its objective was to contribute to strengthening cultural management training processes in Ibero-America so as to improve development of the cultural sector and support the positioning of cultural management and its different actors. It was created in 2001 and dissolved at the end of the last decade.

⁷ More information about UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs at: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/natural-sciences/about-us/how-we-work/unesco-chairs/>.

⁸ For more information, visit: <http://www.redmacro.unam.mx/>.

is not the main feature of macro-universities, but the fact that they concentrate the roles of teaching, research and dissemination of knowledge and culture. Among the objectives of the Network, a priority is international university cooperation and mobility as tools for the acknowledgement of common cultural heritage. The Network also emphasises support for associative research, cooperation, and creation of thematic networks on social, cultural and economic topics for the region, and highlights the role of historical and cultural heritage conservation played by these macro-universities. Most of these higher education institutions are in charge of safeguarding, protecting and developing the historical and cultural heritage – both tangible and intangible – of the country and the region. It is for this reason that the Network highlights that one of its objectives is to preserve national and regional identity, monuments and symbols, enabling the construction of a socially shared imaginary future.

In the Andes, there are projects seeking to promote strategic articulation among collaborative cultural networks in Latin America. In our opinion, they are the most interesting projects, and the ones that have been created in a more informal, «bottom-up» manner. Some of the most representative proposals, related to different areas of culture, are the following:

- The University Network of Peru micro-cinemas leverages new digital technologies to create a cultural organisation model that enables to develop films and audiovisuals from the community.
- Cultura Senda was created in Venezuela in 2004. Its objective is to develop virtual and on-campus activities to encourage the expansion of organisations and proposals for association within universities and in other environments. Pursuant to Kozak (2015), there are autonomous culture networks in the country, especially in the areas of music and reading, but there is no cultural activity that has not been tainted by political polarisation.
- In Ecuador, it is also possible to see how an organisation is emerging to promote poetry among the Latin American youth, with different activities that connect between analogue and digital. It is becoming increasingly easier to find places where authors can read out and publish their poems. Examples of these are literary cafes in Quito, Cuenca and Ibarra, and blogs. One of them is *Cráneo de Pangea*⁹ (Skull of Pangea), a meeting place for several Spanish-speaking poets born between the '80s and the '90s. There are already 192 entries by different Latin American poets.
- *Plataforma Puente Cultura Viva Comunitaria* (Community living culture bridge platform) is a collaborative network of organisations that has contributed to the achieve-

⁹ For more information, visit: <https://craneodepangea.wordpress.com/>.

ment of different advances in regional realities, such as the draft bill for Mercosur Parliament to create legislation to support Culture Points in Colombia, Costa Rica, Brazil, Argentina and Peru (Sanguinetti, 2010).

In the Andes there is also growing development of initiatives based on sustainable rural tourism (Pérez, 2008), especially in Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. This is to ensure conservation and sustainability of the culture and the environment. The economic value that the new forms of tourism award to cultural heritage enables countries such as Peru to promote their traditions and habits with other international institutions like UNESCO or Convenio Andrés Bello (Pérez, 2008).

8.5 Bi-national and multi-national centres and institutes

Several Western European countries have created specific institutions to work in LAC on different aspects such as culture, in direct connection with universities. These institutions usually work in close association with the other institutions that integrate the cultural diplomacy of the respective country (e.g. Goethe, Alliance Française, Cultural Centres of Spain, British Council, Dante Alighieri, etc.). Besides conducting actions in each country, cultural institutions from European countries work in network, thus empowering their actions so that some countries or sub regions (provinces, states, and cities) may become one of the main cultural players. It should be pointed out that historically, only the United States maintained permanent cultural institutions in the LAC region, but during this century the Confucius Institute from China has joined and is gradually becoming a new participant in the LAC region cultural scenario.

These cultural centres abroad are mostly created to teach the language of their country of origin. They offer learning courses at different levels, with various degrees of official validation. Their activity extends to the whole cultural environment, not only showing their country's artistic production, but co-producing different projects with artists and intellectuals from the country where they have settled. This permanent connection with the local environment has a very important impact on society, as it expands knowledge and positive appreciation for the country beyond the cultural sector itself. Besides, when connecting with the respective higher education system through regular activities such as courses, grants, research and projects of different types, professionals from diverse disciplines, including those within the cultural sector, are brought into contact.

For example, the French-Argentine Higher Studies Centre (CFA) within the University of Buenos Aires was created in 1996 to express the close connection and intellectual affinity between France and Argentina. The purpose of this institution is to encourage scientific and university cooperation, as well as cultural and intellectual exchanges, including student exchanges, between both countries in the framework of social science and

humanities. As a result of an agreement between the Embassy of France in Argentina and the University of Buenos Aires, renewed for the fourth time for a 5-year period in September 2014, the CFA has had, since the beginning, the intellectual, institutional and financial support of the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* of Paris and, since 2014, the *Université Sorbonne Paris Cité* joined, sending experts in the fields of social and experimental sciences. The Centre offers post-graduate seminars, book launches, colloquiums, workshops, round tables, as well as conferences targeted at a wide public. The CFA has contributed to enriching the variety of scientific and cultural events in Buenos Aires in particular, and in Argentina in general, besides developing its teaching and scientific activities throughout the Argentina's territory.

On the other hand, although universities are becoming more active in terms of their relationship with regional and international institutions, their involvement in different types of cultural programmes is still limited. To help overcome this situation, other international organisations are entering the scene so as to promote international understanding and cultural cooperation. Normally, hosting congresses or courses has been the pillar to promote contacts between different international institutions.

One example of this type of organisation is InSEA (International Society for Education through Art).¹⁰ Its main objective is to finance conferences throughout the world in order to promote and facilitate dialogue among different cultural traditions. Universities are increasingly facing a complex context – in the social, cultural and economic aspects: multiculturalism, new cultural expressions, the transformation of traditions, and the new spaces for outreach such as the Internet, require approaching these situations from a perspective of international cooperation.

8.6 By way of conclusion

In a globalised and ever-changing world, the development of international cultural exchange and cooperation at a university level has become more complex due to different factors beyond material limitations. For example, in Latin America, the cultural field as a whole is weakly institutionalised, hardly formalised, and with an uneven development among different countries. This restricts the incidence of the university system, in particular international cooperation actions – some universities manage to attain success in common cultural projects, but there is no system or mechanism in place that covers all universities. As Sanguinetti (2010) points out, cultural policies in the region have no continuity in time, and there is no cooperation among countries to encourage a mercantile logic of «cultural industries» either.

¹⁰ For more information, visit: <http://www.insea.org/>.

Notwithstanding this general condition in the region, within the university system there seem to be two necessary conditions to induce a positive change in the scenario: strongly increasing inter-university communication, and adopting new and more dynamic protocols and organisation forms, to update and overcome the existing bureaucratic forms of inter-university cultural cooperation among countries and regions. In this regard, the ability to generate bonds and types of collaboration with other cultural and artistic organisations both state-owned and private (foundations, museums, cultural institutes, regional and international study centres, and other local research centres) should aim at expanding universities' outreach capacity, while updating their forms of organisation and management.

In an increasingly globalised, interconnected and virtual culture, little investment in cultural outreach may cause LAC to lose most of its ability to generate new methods to conserve cultural – tangible and intangible – heritage, disseminate it globally, and streamline the management of new spaces for culture. Experiences implemented in the European Union may be useful if considered as a cooperative work among different realities and diverse cultural needs. Management of cultural diversity is a common point for both regions.

Projects such as CLARIN (Common Language Resources and Technologies)¹¹ and DARIAH-EU (Digital Research Infrastructure for the Arts and Humanities)¹² evidence how the European Union is paying attention to conservation, research and digitalisation of its common cultural heritage, and could be references for projects in the LAC region. Likewise, projects such as Retina Latina¹³ are examples of cultural collaboration success stories in the LAC region. None of these projects could be developed without the decisive and essential involvement of universities and their communities of researchers and students. These new models of regional management using Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) may enable to expand the traditional borders and publics of university cultural outreach.

The above examples show just a small part of a complex bi-regional reality, full of nuances and differences. After performing an important bibliography search and checking different sources of reference in the field, it is evident for the authors that a mapping

¹¹ Large-scale European collaboration project to empower the use of technology tools in research for humanities and social science. For more information, visit: <https://www.clarin.eu/>.

¹² Project to create infrastructure and digital tools for research in arts and humanities. For more information, visit: <https://www.dariah.eu/>.

¹³ Retina Latina is a digital platform for the dissemination, promotion and distribution of Latin American films, which is public, free of charge, and offers individual access for citizens in the region. It was developed by six Latin American film institutions: the Bolivian National Cinematography Council-CONACINE, the Ecuadorian National Cinematography Council-CNCINE, the Peruvian Directorate for Audiovisual, Phonography and New Media, under the Ministry of Culture, the Mexican Institute of Cinematography-IMCINE, the Uruguayan National Directorate of Film and Audiovisual-ICAU, and the Colombian Directorate for Cinematography under the Ministry of Culture, the latter acting as coordinator and technical administrator. For more information, visit: <https://www.retinalatina.org/>.

of the reality of inter-university cultural cooperation on a regional and bi-regional scale needs to be produced. Such mapping and subsequent diagnosis of the situation would enable different stakeholders – governments, universities, cultural institutions, professionals of the cultural sector – to conceive and design strategies that leverage the huge potential for development that is perceived in inter-university cultural cooperation, so as to make it available for society in both regions.

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9

ASYMMETRIES IN CULTURAL FOREIGN TRADE BETWEEN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Abstract

Over the last two decades, the interactions between the economy, culture and creation, under the different denominations of the «economics of culture» or «cultural economy» and «creative economy» have been the focus of studies by international bodies such as UNCTAD, IDB, UNESCO, WIPO, OAS, CAB, ECLAC and SELA. These basically responded to the impacts of the cultural and creative industries (CCIs), whose revenues worldwide in 2013 reached \$2,250 billion (3% of global GDP) and generated 29.5 million jobs, but paid particular attention to economic transactions in international trade in the cultural-creative sector, which is quantified based on the buying and selling of goods and services between countries. This showed an average growth rate during the period 2002-2011 of 8.8%, fluctuating considerably after the worldwide recession between 2008-2011. In the case of the 33 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean (hereafter LAC) and the 28 member states of the European Union (hereafter EU28), which form part of the subject of our study, the results obtained to date on the current status of commercial relations between the two geographical blocks, indicate deep intra-regional and extra-regional economic asymmetries. These differentiate and condition the cultural-creative production profile of the LAC countries as well as highlighting the greater potential on the side of the EU in the way in which it relates with the creative economy. In this sense, we provide a short overview of foreign trade with bi-regional relations between LAC and the EU, from the harmonised cultural sectorisation of the UNCTADSTAT database with its main statistics from 2002-2015;¹ this is a descriptive approach to the

¹ The database can be consulted at the following link: <https://unctadstat.unctad.org>.

differences or inequalities in cultural economic interactions between these geographical blocks which can be observed in the international flows of cultural-creative goods and services, expressed in US dollars.

9.1 Conceptual and methodological framework

The cultural and creative sector, made up of «those human activities and their manifestations whose reason for being consists of the creation, production, transmission, consumption and appropriation of symbolic contents related with the arts and heritage» (CAB, 2015: 41), is pointed out and exhibited, with increasing notoriety, as an important variable in economic development. There is a direct contribution from the cultural and creative content industries (a more extended concept for the purposes of this research study) that make up this sector to the Gross Domestic Product (hereafter GDP), and to the commercial balance of the national economies, as well as to the promotion and creation of new business initiatives, original business models and the creation of jobs.

Derived from the above, and based on the need to have snapshots, diagnoses or mappings of the economic contribution of the cultural-creative sector, examination will follow of the arrival of the creative economy,² or of a cultural or creativity economy.³ It is worth noting, however, that the «productive impact» of the cultural-creative sector is a quantifiable objective notion, based on aggregated value according to the product, sector and activity involved, and generated by the use of productive factors that participate in the processes of production and distribution, and its relationship with gross national production. However, no single definition of the creative economy exists. In fact, from the year 2013 onwards, the Inter-American Development Bank (hereafter IDB) introduced the term «orange economy» in Latin America and the Caribbean, to refer to what we also know as the creative economy.

We are basically referring to the economy whose main input is creativity, focused on the predominance of services and of creative content with symbolic and economic value, including culture in its essence and technology as a medium of propulsion. The aim is to show the irradiation of the cultural towards other, non-cultural economic sectors from a centre constituted by «basic creative areas» or «main cultural expressions», i.e., non-in-

² The term «creative economy» was popularised in 2001 by British writer and media manager John Howkins, who applied it to 15 industries ranging from the arts to science and technology. According to calculations by Howkins, in the year 2000 the creative economy had a worldwide value of 2.2 billion US dollars and was growing at an annual rate of 5% (Howkins, 2002).

³ Creativity is understood in the study by KEA (2006) for the European Commission as the use of cultural resources as an intermediate consumption in the process of production of non-cultural sectors and, consequently, as a source of innovation. Creativity is defined as «a cross-sector and multidisciplinary way, mixing elements of 'artistic creativity', 'economic innovation' as well as 'technological innovation'. Here creativity is considered as a process of interactions and spill-over effects between different innovative processes» (KEA, 2006: 41).

dustrial cultural products⁴; a central group of activities and interactions in areas that would not be contemplated as «cultural» but that, together, make up the culture and creativity economy as the most appropriate way of measuring with precision the economic impact (direct, indirect and induced effects), and the cost-benefit, sectoral structure, connections, production chain and clusters of the cultural-creative sector.

9.1.1 Methodological considerations

Often culture is considered in a much more restrictive sense, as the set of cultural productions or products (goods and services). However, it is not always easy to differentiate the notion of cultural goods⁵ (or commodity) from the concept of cultural services.⁶ In fact, the problems derived from its definition are a recurring reason for debate on an international scale, because despite some apparent clarity, there is no consensus with respect to what each category includes. When combining creativity and goods, a new class of products is born known as «creative goods and services» of which, some believe, «cultural goods and services» would constitute a sub-group made up of products of artistic or cultural as well as creative content. This is how the definition emerges of «creative industries»⁷ that together with the «cultural industries» (hereafter, CCIs) identifies them, respectively, as those industries that involve creativity in their production, incorporate a certain degree of intel-

⁴ «The specific products of culture, as a manifestation of culture, correspond to the goods and services with an aesthetic or communicative purpose, in which ideas or emotions are expressed through various resources which may be plastic, linguistic, sound or mixed media. Their reason for being is the creation, interpretation, transmission, conservation, preservation, management, consumption or appropriation of symbolic contents referring to the arts and to heritage» (CAB, 2015: 41).

⁵ «'Cultural goods' generally refer to those consumer goods that convey ideas, symbols and ways of life. They inform or entertain, contribute to build collective identity and influence cultural practices. The result of individual or collective creativity – thus copyright-based – cultural goods are reproduced and boosted by industrial processes and worldwide distribution. Books, magazines, multimedia products, software, records, films, videos, audiovisual programmes, crafts and fashion design constitute plural and diversified cultural offerings for citizens at large» (UNESCO, 2000: 13).

⁶ «Cultural services are those activities aimed at satisfying cultural interests or needs. Such activities do not represent material goods in themselves: they typically consist of the overall set of measures and supporting facilities for cultural practices that government, private and semi-public institutions or companies make available to the community. Examples of such services include the promotion of performances and cultural events as well as cultural information and preservation (libraries, documentation centres and museums). Cultural services may be offered for free or on a commercial basis (...) cultural services include performing services (theatres, orchestras and circuses), publishing, publication, news, communication and architectural services. They also include audiovisual services (distribution of films, television/radio programmes, and home videos; all aspects of production such as dubbing and print duplication; exhibition of films; and ownership and operation of cable, satellite and broadcasting facilities or cinemas, etc.), library services, archives, museums as well as other services» (UNESCO, 2000: 13-14).

⁷ Diverging definitions exist with regard to the elements that constitute them and ambiguities in their differences with the cultural industries. The truth is that, at the end of the 1990s, it will be used as synonymous with cultural industries. However, they are differentiated from the context in which they emerge. From 1995 onwards, creative industries and the creative economy will become demarcations used principally in texts on public policies for development and in academic research on regional economies. Concepts close to the creative industries exist, such as: entertainment industries, contents industries, cultural industries, digital contents industries, experience industries and copyright industries.

lectual ownership and transmit a symbolic meaning. Therefore, one of the first methodological decisions considered by the research group, in the process of collecting information on cultural foreign trade data, is the delimitation of the cultural products that are involved in the calculation of the international exchange (destination and origin) between the LAC and the European Union. In this respect, we can point out that over 26 models exist on an international, regional and national level with different classification systems⁸ when one wishes to produce a taxonomy by domains, fields, sectors, subsectors, activities and cultural-creative functions, which obliges us to carry out a harmonised sectorisation⁹ of the information available. As a consequence of this heterogeneity, the statistics on cultural-creative foreign trade reflect the divergences and the lack of compatibility of the different definitions (KEA 2006: 48). It can be appreciated that no approval exists in the conceptualisation and measurement of the culture economy or creative economy; between cultural industries and creative industries and sub-sectors, goods and services included.

Based on this operational limitation, the option was taken of the methodological framework of the Model of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (hereafter, UNCTAD) and its implications for the creative economy. It constitutes a standardised worldwide reference that establishes a classification in three categories, situating them within the economy as a whole: cultural-creative goods, cultural-creative services and related industries.

These categories encompass 211 codes based on UNCTAD methodology for a trade model of CCIs. Furthermore, it has the advantage of expressing such categories and codes in a statistical database (UNCTADSTAT)¹⁰ that enables international comparison of the cultural-creative sector in foreign trade and economic growth for the period 2002-2015, which can be expanded and refined in accordance with the needs of different countries. The UNCTADSTAT database is the comparative result of different methodologies and systems of classification used for the statistics of international trade of cultural products, taking as a conceptual reference the categorisation of the *2009 UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics*. Also examined were international studies based on the United Nations COMTRADE databases. The information obtained from cultural foreign trade between LAC and the EU is expressed in US dollars. In table 9.1 all the goods and services considered cultural are presented, divided according to the aforementioned classification, together with their UNESCO 2009 classification.

⁸ This study did not work with Satellite Accounts of the countries involved in LAC-EU28 bi-regional relations as the majority did not have a statistical information system on cultural activities that has as its aim the bringing together in a coherent chart of accounts the set of related economic flows and the establishment of links between the different manifestations of the cultural field.

⁹ For the purposes of our research we worked with the UNCTAD's Harmonised System 2002 (HS 2002).

¹⁰ The tables on commercial statistics for creative goods and related goods are based on official statistics reported by national sources of the United Nations COMTRADE, using version 2002 of the Harmonised System (HS 2002). With respect to the data on creative services, the statistics are extracted from the balance of payments of the IMF that use BPM5 and EBOPS codes produced and processed by the UNCTAD Secretariat.

Table 9.1. Cultural-creative goods and services defined by UNCTAD harmonised with UNESCO FCS 2009.

UNESCO CULTURAL DOMAINS FCS 2009	CULTURAL PRODUCTS UNCTAD DATABASE	COMPOSITION UNCTAD DATABASE	CREATIVE ECONOMY	
CRAFTS AND VISUAL ARTS	CULTURAL-CREATIVE GOODS <i>(Creative goods)</i>	Crafts (celebration, paper products, wickerwork utensils, yarn, carpets and others).	TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE	CULTURE ECONOMY
PERFORMING ARTS		Visual arts (antiques and collections, painting, photography and sculptures); Performing arts (musical instruments and music, printed or in manuscript).	ARTS	
AUDIOVISUAL MEDIA		Audiovisual (films, CDs, DVDs, tapes and other sound and image recording formats); Publishing (books, newspapers, and other printed matter).	MEDIA (CULTURAL INDUSTRY)	
BOOKS AND PRESS				
DESIGN		Design (architecture, fashion, glassware, jewellery and toys); New media (recording media and videogames).	FUNCTIONAL CREATIONS	CREATIVE ACTIVITIES AND INDUSTRIES
CREATIVE SERVICES	CULTURAL-CREATIVE SERVICES <i>(Creative services)</i>	Advertising, market research and public opinion; Research and development services; architecture, engineering and other technical services; Personal, cultural and creative services (audiovisual and related services, other persona, cultural and recreational services).		
		Telecommunications, computer and information services; copyright and licence payments (franchises and similar rights; other copyrights and licence payments).	CREATIVE SUPPORT ACTIVITIES	
RELATED INDUSTRIES <i>(Related industries)</i>		Audiovisual (films, distribution and production of sound); design (architecture, fashion, interior and jewellery); digital manufacturing; new media (computing equipment); performing arts (musical instruments and printed or manuscript music); publishing (other printed materials) and visual arts (painting and photography).		RELATED INDUSTRIES

Source: Compiled on the base of UNCTAD (2008), KEA (2006), UNESCO (2009) and Throsby (2001, 2008).

However, it is important to highlight that although the UNCTADSTAT database aims to provide commercial statistics from the 192 member states of the United Nations, some developing countries, in the particular case of LAC, do not provide official data for the entire period 2002-2015, therefore the total number of reporting countries for each year is not necessarily the same. The value «World» in the tables presented shows only the sum total of the number of reporting countries in a specific year and should be treated, for research purposes, with precaution. The lack of availability of statistics is accentuated by the creative services category, as for this study, the UNCTADSTAT database does not contemplate the year 2015.

Another methodological decision refers to the regional area co-participating in relations (origin and destination of the trade). This is a descriptive study of flows of cultural foreign trade between LAC and the EU. The research group pondered the sub-regional patterns of economic integration: Pacific Alliance (AP), ALBA-TCP, Latin-American Integration Association (LAIA/ALADI), Andean Community of Nations (CAN), Caribbean Community (CARICOM), Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), Central American Common Market (MCCA), Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR), Central American Integration System (SICA) and Union of South American Nations (UNASUR); observing these as groups from «developing economies» that, to a greater or lesser extent, have cultural linkages tied to the performance of the developed economies, with special reference to the EU. Having defined the methodological framework and the variables used by the UNCTADSTAT database to analyse the creative economy, in the following sections we provide a descriptive view of the participation of LAC and the EU in worldwide creative commerce from the reference year of 2002, highlighting the specificities of the different subregions and countries in line with various metrics (export and import flows by regions, weight of the culture-creative sector in the main countries, composition of the export and import basket of cultural-creative goods, and main destination markets of the EU, among others).

9.2 The general scenario for foreign trade in cultural-creative goods and cultural services worldwide

A recent study by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (hereafter, ECLAC), titled: *International Trade Outlook for Latin America and the Caribbean*, explains that:

Despite the recent uptick in growth, (...) in the medium term, the international context remains uncertain, with doubts still existing about the recovery of the global economy, the challenges posed to traditional trade by the digital revolution and, more recently, the emergence of populist political movements in some developed countries. (...) The global trade in goods has been less dynamic following the interna-

tional economic and financial crisis. Before the crisis, its volume was growing by an average of 6.3% per year, while its post-crisis annual growth has been only 2.2%. The correlation between trade and global GDP also decreased, until in 2016 trade expanded more slowly than GDP. The factors that could explain the weakness of world trade in the wake of the crisis include low dynamism in global demand, a reduced rate of expansion of global value chains and reduced trade liberalization if not an actual increase in protectionism (ECLAC, 2017: 13).

In 2017, it was estimated that worldwide trade would increase by 3.6%, boosted by greater product growth in the United States, the Eurozone and China. However, despite the recent upturn in growth, the advanced economies are faced with great uncertainty regarding the sustainability of their economic activity in the long term. GDP per capita growth in the largest economies is showing marked deceleration with respect to its historical pattern. Moreover, added to the ECLAC's diagnosis is the digital revolution, which is creating new models of consumption, production and business in all sectors of the economy, and which has important potential effects on employment.

Global trade in the twenty-first century covers physical goods and services that are conveyed through traditional channels, physical goods and services that are produced, consumed and delivered by means of digital platforms and goods and services that are by nature entirely digital and intangible. (...) In this context, actors such as China, the United States and the European Union are competing to influence the regulation of global digital trade, with widely divergent visions and models (ECLAC, 2017: 36-37).

Consequently, doubts persist about the sustainability of this upturn, given the high level of uncertainty confirmed in macro-economic, technological and geopolitical spheres. Within this context of uncertainty and deceleration, after the worldwide recession of 2008-2011, what do we know about the creative economy and worldwide foreign trade in its cultural-creative goods and services?

In 2008, in a background document prepared by the UNCTAD Secretariat prior to the Geneva Conference, it was indicated that during the period 1996-2005, worldwide exports of cultural-creative industries products increased from US\$ 234 billion to US\$ 445.2 billion, with an annual growth rate of 8.7% from 2000 to 2005; even though various crises occurred between 1995 and 2001 that had repercussions on foreign trade. Exports of cultural-creative goods represented between 1996 and 2005 the immense majority of international trade in the cultural-creative industries, with values growing from US\$ 189.2 billion to US\$ 335.5 billion, but with percentages of the world total decreasing from 80% to 75% according to the official data available. In the same way, creative services exports quadrupled from US\$ 45.6 to US\$ 109.7 billion, which represented 19% and 25% of the total exports of the cultural and creative industries (UNCTAD, 2008: 6).



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We can say then that, until the late 1990s, creative trade currents gradually increased. At the start of the 2000s, a strong increase in them was recorded but it fluctuated considerably after the worldwide recession between 2008 and 2011. Annual growth rates stood at 8.6% from 2003 to 2012, showing solidity and resistance of the cultural-creative sector, despite the deceleration of the worldwide economy. According to the UNCTAD's *Creative Economy Report 2013*, worldwide trade in cultural-creative goods and services reached the figure of US\$ 624 billion in 2011 – in comparison with US\$ 559 billion in 2010 and US\$ 536 billion in 2009 – with an average growth rate of 8.8% between 2002 and 2011 (UNDP and UNESCO, 2013: 162-163). Thus, we see that the global market for commercialised creative goods and services would reach a record of US\$ 547 billion in 2012, in comparison with US\$ 302 billion in 2003 (UNCTAD, 2015: 6).

The UNESCO, in collaboration with its Institute of Statistics (hereafter, UIS), in its latest report titled *The globalisation of cultural trade: a shift in consumption. International flows of cultural goods and services 2004-2013* points out that worldwide trade in cultural and creative goods has doubled in the last decade, but in the same way it was categorical in affirming that «flows of cultural goods were also affected by the economic crisis and decreased significantly in 2009» (UNESCO-UIS, 2016: 15). They indicate that, when comparing the evolution of exports and imports in the world trade in cultural-creative goods, it is found that exports fell by 13.5% in 2008-2009 and grew at a slow pace of 7% between 2011 and 2012, in comparison with 21% between 2010 and 2011. Equally the UNESCO-UIS report tells us that imports fell drastically from 2008 to 2009, dropping by 22% and 23% respectively, with an average annual growth rate of 9.4% between 2010 and 2011. From 2012 to 2013, the value of exports of cultural goods remained stable with a slight annual reduction of 0.6%, while imports decreased by 2.6%. But in general, total exports of creative goods increased in value terms by 47% to US\$ 519,894 million in 2012. In terms of imports, their value grew by 56% in the same period.

Another consideration, in general terms, is that during the last 20 years, international trade in commercial services has been less volatile than trade in goods, which suggests that cultural-creative services (as opposed to creative goods) are more resistant to worldwide macro-economic disturbances. World trade in commercial services increased to an average annual rate of 8%, recording particularly strong 2-digit growth between 2002 and 2008 (WTO, 2015: 20). Exports of personal, cultural and creative services – these include audiovisual and associated services, plus other personal, cultural and recreational services – registered an average annual growth rate of up to 5% according to World Trade Organisation (hereafter WTO) and UNCTAD estimates. The ECLAC (2017) considers that in the period 2005-2016, the value of world exports of modern services grew by an annual average of 6.7%, in comparison with annual growth of 4.5% for exports of traditional services (including those related with goods, transport, travel, construction; personal,

cultural and recreational services; governmental services) and of 3.9% in the case of goods exports. It is highlighted that between 1995 and 2014, the computer services and information category increased at a rate much higher than all the other services sectors, registering an average annual growth rate of up to 18%. The EU continues to be the largest exporter of computer and information services: in 2014, its participation in world exports stood at 58%.

Overall, LAC continues to be a marginal participant in worldwide trade in services. In 2012, its participation in total worldwide exports of services stood at barely 3.1%, compared with nearly 6.0% in world exports of goods. Its share in exports of traditional services (4.4% in 2016) was greater than that achieved in modern services (1.8%). In the first category, the better regional performance corresponds to tourism, which is the specialisation par excellence of the countries of Central America, the Caribbean and Mexico. But the most important thing to highlight, in the UNESCO-UIS Report, in attention to our study, is its conclusion of unequal flows of cultural goods by region and income level.

9.2.1 The EU and China, the main exporters of cultural-creative goods

Exports of creative goods from the developed economies grew during the period from 2002 to 2015, with export earnings increasing from US\$ 122 billion to US\$ 241 billion. In line with our data, the UNESCO-UIS (2016) affirmed that in 2004, North America and Europe dominated exports with 69% of all trade in cultural goods. However, by 2012 this supremacy had fallen to 48% and in 2013, it increased slightly to 49%, representing US\$ 104.4 billion. According to data explored in the UNCTADSTAT, our results are close, showing that in 2012, North America (Canada and the USA) represented, together with the EU, some 43%, equivalent to US\$ 223,595 million of exports of cultural-creative goods (table 9.2).

Table 9.2. *Worldwide exports and imports of cultural-creative goods per economic groups and regions. Years 2002-2015 (US\$ million and %).*

	Exports of creative goods								Imports of creative goods							
	2002		2008		2012		2015		2002		2008		2012		2015	
	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%
Total World	208,493	100%	439,172	100%	519,894	100%	508,753	100%	227,469	100%	458,875	100%	465,630	100%	454,395	100%
Developed economies	122,911	59.0%	242,910	55.3%	223,595	43.0%	241,624	47.5%	184,550	81.1%	33,891	7.4%	309,415	66.5%	341,116	75.1%
USA	17,237	8.3%	37,546	8.5%	37,791	7.3%	40,504	8.0%	68,739	30.2%	93,417	20.4%	87,574	18.8%	105,741	23.3%
EU (28)	85,242	40.9%	171,600	39.1%	156,113	30.0%	171,053	33.6%	82,333	36.2%	182,832	39.8%	151,275	32.5%	170,592	37.5%
Developing economies	84,365	40.5%	192,934	43.9%	292,753	56.3%	265,081	52.1%	41,118	18.1%	111,626	24.3%	143,476	30.8%	106,155	23.4%
LAC	5,906	2.8%	10,071	2.3%	7,503	1.4%	7,460	1.5%	7,269	3.2%	19,116	4.2%	19,336	4.2%	15,963	3.5%
South America	1,512	0.7%	2,943	0.7%	2,378	0.5%	1,586	0.3%	2,227	1.0%	8,424	1.8%	10,739	2.3%	7,139	1.6%
South America w/o Brazil	884	0.4%	1,836	0.4%	1,461	0.3%	703	0.1%	1,713	0.8%	6,371	1.4%	7,681	1.6%	4,768	1.0%
Caribbean	551	0.3%	702	0.2%	258	0.0%	61	0.0%	642	0.3%	1,324	0.3%	903	0.2%	367	0.1%
Central America and Mexico	3,842	1.8%	6,425	1.5%	4,868	0.9%	5,813	1.1%	4,399	1.9%	9,368	2.0%	7,694	1.7%	8,457	1.9%
ALBA-TCP	123	0.1%	185	0.0%	122	0.0%	180	0.0%	807	0.4%	2,074	0.5%	1,962	0.4%	741	0.2%
LAIA/ALADI	5,225	2.5%	9,070	2.1%	6,831	1.3%	7,039	1.4%	6,149	2.7%	16,652	3.6%	16,956	3.6%	14,296	3.1%
CAN	510	0.2%	1,134	0.3%	838	0.2%	368	0.1%	751	0.3%	1,954	0.4%	2,871	0.6%	1,692	0.4%
CARICOM	32	0.0%	72	0.0%	59	0.0%	54	0.0%	432	0.2%	778	0.2%	456	0.1%	278	0.1%
MCCA	129	0.1%	296	0.1%	413	0.1%	360	0.1%	537	0.2%	1,072	0.2%	1,415	0.3%	1,299	0.3%
MERCOSUR	829	0.4%	1,428	0.3%	1,158	0.2%	1,010	0.2%	1,100	0.5%	5,051	1.1%	5,979	1.3%	3,755	0.8%
UNASUR	1,512	0.7%	2,943	0.7%	2,378	0.5%	1,586	0.3%	2,227	1.0%	8,424	1.8%	10,739	2.3%	7,139	1.6%
Africa	1,049	0.5%	2,136	0.5%	2,709	0.5%	1,297	0.3%	2,292	1.0%	6,601	1.4%	6,837	1.5%	5,524	1.2%
Asia	77,400	37.1%	180,696	41.1%	282,525	54.3%	256,321	50.4%	31,385	13.8%	85,651	18.7%	117,023	25.1%	84,855	18.7%
China	32,000	15.3%	90,289	20.6%	150,645	29.0%	168,507	33.1%	2,534	1.1%	9,856	2.1%	14,114	3.0%	14,777	3.3%
Economies in transition	1,217	0.6%	3,328	0.8%	3,546	0.7%	3,048	0.6%	1,801	0.8%	9,358	2.0%	12,739	2.7%	7,125	1.6%

Source: Compilation based on the UNCTADSTAT database.

The developed economies shared a recovery of their earnings in their trade of exports of cultural-creative goods to the world, after the crisis of 2008, from 43% (US\$ 223,595 million) to 47.5% (US\$ 241,624 million) during the period 2012-2015. Before the crisis, during the period 1996-2005, Europe's exports increased by 46%. But now, from these totals, the EU experienced an upturn with accounted percentages of 30% (US\$ 156,113 million) and 33.6% (US\$ 171,053 million) comparatively in 2012 and 2015. Europe is classified as the largest exporter of creative goods among the developed countries, with a participation of 30% of the global market.

Exports of creative goods from developing economies progressed during the period from 2002 to 2015, with export dividends that rose from US\$ 84 billion to US\$ 265 billion, reaching an annual average of 12% in the period. The developing countries are playing an increasingly important role in the international trade of the cultural and creative industries. At the same time, the developing economies reached figures of US\$ 292,753 million (56.3%) in 2012 and US\$ 265,081 million (52%) in 2015, surpassing the developed economies. During the same period, Asia played a more important role in exports of cultural goods, expanding its participation from the reference year of 2002 from US\$ 77,400 million (37.1%) to US\$ 256,321 million (50.4%) in 2015. However, it is the Chinese economy that since the year 2002 (US\$ 32,000 million, 15.3%), through 2008 as the year of the crisis (US\$ 90,289 million, 20.6%) until the post-crisis period of 2012 (US\$ 150,645 million, 29%) and 2015 (US\$ 168,507 million, 33.1%) has borne the weight of exports from the cultural-creative sector in the economies of the Asian countries and the total of developing countries. Consequently, China exceeds the USA as main exporter of cultural goods since 2002 as is shown in table 9.2. The demand for cultural-creative goods will continue to be propelled mainly by the developed economies and Eastern Asia: the latter sharing the amount of US\$ 199,959 million (38.5% in 2012) and US\$ 205,223 million (33.6% in 2015) proportionally to the total of developing economies. Africa takes on a marginal role with a value of US\$ 2,709 million (0.5% in 2012) and US\$ 1,297 million (0.3% in 2015); less than 1% of the total of the worldwide creative economy. It is worth pointing out that countries such as India, Turkey, Malaysia and Singapore will emerge as cultural goods' exporting countries. The group of economies in transition experienced a decline in exports from US\$ 3,546 million (0.7%) in 2012 to US\$ 3,048 million (0.6%) in 2015, without managing to exceed their peak level of 1.4% in the period 1996-2005 nor 0.8% before the crisis.

9.2.2 Latin America and the Caribbean represents less than 2% of cultural-creative exports

Continuing with the figures contributed by the ECLAC (2017), the foreign trade of Latin America and the Caribbean is showing signs of recovery, after recording a negative performance during the four-year period from 2012 to 2016. In 2017, an increase was projected of 10% of the value of regional goods exports. All in all, according to the UNESCO-UIS report, LAC would play a barely noticeable role in the foreign trade of cultural-creative goods in 2013 with only 1.2%; five times lower than the region's weight in the total of export goods (UNESCO-UIS, 2016: 19). Our figures point towards a participation of a little over 2%, with an annual growth rate of 18.3% from 2003 to 2015. During this period, before the worldwide recession, worldwide exports of cultural-creative industry products by LAC increased from US\$ 5,906 million in 2002 to US\$ 10,071 million in 2008 (see table

9.2). In Latin America and the Caribbean, creative industries exports more than doubled, although from a very low level, rising to some US\$ 8,500 million in 2005. Mexico, Brazil, Colombia and Argentina would be the region's main exporters. Following the economic crisis of 2008, we have witnessed a fall from a recorded US\$ 7,503 million (1.4%) to US\$ 7,460 million (1.46%) in the period 2012 to 2015. The South American region, with the third largest part of these exports, represents 0.3% (US\$ 1,586 million) and, excluding Brazil (US\$ 883 million), it would be 0.1% (US\$ 703 million) corresponding to 2015. The countries of the Caribbean would have a contribution of 0.01% (US\$ 61 million in 2015), of which fundamentally the most prominent would be the Dominican Republic and Jamaica. Finally, the countries of Central America grew from 0.9% (US\$ 4,868 million in 2012) to 1.1% (US\$ 5,813 million in 2015), with the nation of Mexico holding up the total of the regional block with 0.9% (US\$ 4,446 million in 2012) and 1.1% (US\$ 5,447 million in 2015) proportionally (see table 9.2).

Similarly, in terms of regional blocks of economic integration, the cultural exports of the member countries of the Latin American Integration Association¹¹ (hereafter, LAIA/ALADI), in 2015 would be around 1.4% (US\$ 7,039 million), higher than that of the Union of South American Nations-UNASUR¹² (0.3%, US\$ 1,586 million), the Southern Common Market – MERCOSUR¹³ (0.2%, US\$ 7,039 million), the Andean Community of Nations – CAN¹⁴ (0.1%, US\$ 368 million), the Central American Common Market – MCCA (0.1%, US\$ 360 million), the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America - ALBA-TCP (0.03%, US\$ 180 million) and CARICOM (0.01%, US\$ 54 million), respectively. These data confirm the existence of deep intra-regional economic asymmetries that differentiate and condition the cultural-creative production profile of the countries of LAC in relation to other blocks in extra-regional terms, as would be the case with the EU.

Worthy of highlight is the study *Cultural times. The first global map of cultural and creative industries* produced by Ernst & Young¹⁵ (2015) which notes that the CCIs generate revenues of US\$ 2,250 billion and 29.5 million jobs on a worldwide level, employing approximately 1% of the active population in 2013. The visual arts (6.3 million), books (3.67 million) and music (3.98 million) are the cultural-creative sectors that generate most cultural employment. If we transfer these figures to the regions considered (see table 9.3), we will distinguish that Asia-Pacific is the largest dynamic market in the world's creative

¹¹ Made up of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.

¹² UNASUR represents all the countries of South America.

¹³ MERCOSUR is made up of Argentina, Paraguay, Brazil, Uruguay and Venezuela.

¹⁴ CAN comprises Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru.

¹⁵ The Ernst & Young study considered 11 sectors: advertising, architecture, books, games, music, cinema, newspapers and magazines, performing arts, radio, TV and visual arts.

economy with income to a value of US\$ 743 billion (33%) and 12.7 million (43%) of the world's total cultural jobs. It is followed, for the purposes of our study, by the European Union with income to the value of US\$ 709 billion in 2013 (32%) and 26% (7.7 million) of the CCIs workforce on a worldwide level (table 9.3).

Table 9.3. Revenues and jobs generated by the cultural and creative industries. Year 2013.

World region	Asia-Pacific	Europe	North America	LAC	Africa-Middle East
Revenues from CCIs (US\$ billions)	743	709	620	124	58
% Revenue by CCIs (region over world total)	33%	32%	28%	6%	3%
Millions of jobs generated	12.7	7.7	4.7	1.9	2.4
% Employment (region over world total)	43%	26%	16%	7%	8%
% ICCs GDP on regional total	3%	3%	3.3%	2.2%	1.1%

Source: Compiled by the authors based on Ernst & Young (EY) (2015).

As a historical reference, the pioneering study by KEA (2006) titled *The impact of culture on creativity*, commissioned by the European Commission, pointed out that in 2003 the cultural-creative sector contributed approximately 2.6% to the GDP of the European Union and experienced higher growth during 1990-2003 (12.3%) than that of the economy in general. Furthermore, in 2004, over five million people, i.e. 3.1% of the active population of the EU of 25 member states were working in this sector. For its part, the Secretariat of the UNCTAD indicated to us that in the EU the global growth of the aggregated value of the cultural-creative sector was 19.7% between 1999-2003. Its business volume ascended to over € 654 billion in 2003, contributing to 2.6% of the EU's GDP and accounting for 3.1% of total employment, or 5.8 million jobs (UNCTAD, 2008: 4). North America (Canada and the USA) would be the third most important market for the ICCs with revenues to a value of US\$ 698 billion (26%) and 4.7 million jobs (16%). The economy of the CCIs in LAC¹⁶ generated income of US\$ 124 billion, equivalent to 6% of the total income produced by CCIs in the world, creating 1.9 million jobs (7% of total employment) in 2013. Finally, Africa and the Middle East reached US\$ 58 billion (3% of total world revenues) and 2.4 million jobs (8% of the worldwide total).

¹⁶ The Ernst & Young study refers to Mexico, South America, Central America and the Caribbean.

9.2.3 The EU is the main importer of cultural-creative goods

In contrast, if we pay attention to the UNESCO-UIS (2016: 19) Report, North America (Canada and the USA) and Europe have been dominating imports of cultural-creative goods over the last decade, with a 62% share in 2013. Although their participation decreased between 2004 and 2013, their imports grew in terms of value from US\$ 82 billion in 2004 to US\$ 103.9 billion in 2013. In the case of our research data, based on UNCTADSTAT, these indicated that North America (Canada and the USA) represented together with the EU some 54.4%, equivalent to US\$ 253,420 million of imports of cultural-creative goods for the year 2012. If we consider the classification of the developed economies (see table 9.2), these countries, including Japan, would share a considerable enlargement from US\$ 309,415 million (66.5%) to US\$ 341,116 million (75%) during the years 2012-2015 of imports of cultural-creative goods from the world. The EU notified 32.5% (US\$ 151,275 million in 2012) and 37.5% (US\$ 170,592 million in 2015) comparatively.

The developing economies (Africa, Asia, LAC and Oceania) reached 30.8% (US\$ 143,476 million in 2012) and 23.4% (US\$ 106,155 million in 2015) proportionally, which indicates that in the distribution of imports of cultural-creative goods to total goods per region the countries USA, Canada, Japan and the Member States of the EU represent 75% of imports against the rest of the world with 25%. The Chinese economy is no match for the USA and the EU in its demand for foreign cultural goods, sharing low values and percentages from 2002 (US\$ 2,534 million, 1.1%), 2008 (US\$ 9,856 million, 2.1%), up to the post-crisis period of 2012 (US\$ 14,114 million, 3%) and 2015 (US\$ 14,777, 3.3%).

9.2.4 LAC reaches 3.5% in imports of cultural-creative goods

Worldwide imports of cultural-creative products from the world into LAC increased from US\$ 7,269 million (3.2%) to US\$ 15,963 million (3.5%) in the period 2002-2015, more than China. The South American region represented 1.6% (US\$ 7,139 million) and excluding Brazil (US\$ 2,371 million, 0.5%) would be 1% (US\$ 4,768 million) corresponding to 2015. The countries of the Caribbean with a participation of 0.1% (US\$ 367 million in 2015) saw fundamental impacts from the Dominican Republic, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Finally, the countries of Central America increased from 1.7% (US\$ 7,694 million in 2012) to 1.9% (US\$ 8,457 million in 2015) proportionally, with Mexico as the main importing country with 1.5% (US\$ 6,671 million in 2015).

In terms of regional economic integration blocks, imports of cultural-creative goods from the world to LAC would be represented in 2015 by the member countries of the LAIA/ALADI sharing 3.1% (US\$ 14,296 million, higher than the rest of the blocks such as

UNASUR (US\$ 7,139 million, 1.6%), MERCOSUR (US\$ 3,755 million, 0.8%), CAN (US\$ 1,692 million, 0.4%), MCCA (US\$ 1,299 million, 0.3%), ALBA-TCP (US\$ 741 million, 0.2%) and CARICOM (US\$ 278 million, 0.1%), respectively.

However, what can we say about the foreign trade in goods and services between LAC and the EU? The current state of commercial relations between the two geographical blocks indicates intra-regional and extra-regional economic asymmetries, as well as highlighting the greater export and import potential of cultural-creative goods from the EU side in the way in which it relates with the creative economy (see table 9.2). Our working hypothesis is that the differences between the LAC countries with respect to their export dynamics with the EU are due, in part, to the existence of public-private strategies active in spheres such as human capital and certification, the tax treatment that companies receive and the attracting of foreign direct investment (FDI). Furthermore, there are few sub-regional integration schemes that have active initiatives for promoting this type of creative commerce. The empirical evidence for the year 2015 shows that the bi-regional exchange is characterised by a pattern of deep economic asymmetries that differentiates the EU both in exports (33.6%, US\$ 171,053 million) and imports (37.5%, US\$ 170,592 million) against Latin America and the Caribbean in exports (1.5%, US\$ 7,460 million) and imports (3.5%, US\$ 15,963 million) comparatively.

9.2.5 ALADI and MERCOSUR, the main exporters and importers of cultural-creative services

Meanwhile, foreign trade in cultural-creative services witnessed much greater growth than trade in cultural-creative goods. According to figures provided by the UNCTAD, the exports of the totality of countries that presented reports showed extraordinary growth, from US\$ 45.6 to US\$ 109.7 billion in the period from 1996 to 2005. The services related with the creative industries belong to sectors that have grown more rapidly in comparison with the total trade in services. For example, although the average growth in total trade in services increased by 12% between 2000 and 2005, the annual growth rate of advertising services was 22%; architecture and research and development services increased by 19% and audiovisual services by 16% (UNCTAD, 2008: 8). In this same vein, the UNCTAD's *Creative Economy Report 2013* notes that exports of creative services (as opposed to creative goods) reached US\$ 172 billion in 2011, from US\$ 163,800 million in 2010, and in value terms this nearly tripled the 2002 figure, which was US\$ 62 billion (UNDP and UNESCO, 2013: 163).

Similarly, the UNESCO-UIS report explains that cultural-creative services accounted for 20% of the total of foreign trade, more than doubling from US\$ 2 trillion in 2003 to US\$ 4.7 trillion in 2013 (UNESCO-UIS, 2016: 69). From 2003 to 2012, world exports of

cultural services grew with an annual rate of 10% reaching an estimated total of US\$ 150 billion in 2013. The developed economies, including the EU, represent two thirds of international trade in creative services. Thus, just as we observe major structural asymmetries in exports and imports of goods, equally, the same is manifested in developing economies, which barely reach 5% of the world total of creative-cultural services.

The figures reached by the research group, based on UNCTADSTAT, indicate that the exports and imports of cultural-creative services are concentrated in the block of countries in South America, sharing from US\$ 2,173 million (86.7% in 2002) to US\$ 12,748 million (98.9% in 2015) in the case of exports and from US\$ 2,155 million (86.9% in 2002) to US\$ 13,614 million (97.2% in 2015) for imports. The rest of the LAC regional blocks are practically inexistent in this category of the creative economy (see table 9.4). By regional economic integration blocks, prominent are the member countries of ALADI and MERCOSUR, as the main exporters and importers to and from the rest of the world.

Table 9.4. Trade of cultural and creative services of different LAC regional blocks with the rest of the world. Years 2002 and 2012 (US\$ million and %).

	2002				2012			
	Export		Import		Export		Import	
	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%
Total LAC (CELAC)	2,505	100%	2,480	100%	12,892	100%	14,000	100%
South American countries	2,173	86.7%	2,155	86.9%	12,748	98.9%	13,614	97.2%
Caribbean countries	26	1.0%	58	2.3%	54	0.4%	90	0.6%
Central American countries	306	12.2%	267	10.8%	90	0.7%	296	2.1%
AP	444	17.7%	520	21.0%	487	3.8%	1,578	11.3%
ALBA-TCP	36	1.4%	135	5.4%	89	0.7%	4,258	30.4%
LAIA/ALADI	2,173	86.7%	2,155	86.9%	12,748	98.9%	13,614	97.2%
CAN	118	4.7%	349	14.1%	477	3.7%	1,490	10.6%
CARICOM	26	1.0%	58	2.3%	54	0.4%	90	0.6%
MCCA	13	0.5%	47	1.9%	10	0.1%	24	0.2%
SICA	13	0.5%	58	2.3%	10	0.1%	24	0.2%
MERCOSUR	1,987	79.3%	1,759	70.9%	12,240	94.9%	12,098	86.4%
UNASUR	2,173	86.7%	2,155	86.9%	12,748	98.9%	13,614	97.2%

Source: Compilation based on UNCTADSTAT data on creative economy.

*LAC does not include Anguilla, Aruba, Bermuda, Curaçao, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands and Montserrat. The UNCTADSTAT database provides figures up to the year 2012 in the Creative Services category.

9.2.6 The EU leads the Top 20 of nations that export and import cultural-creative goods and services

For the year 2012, when producing the ranking of main exporters of cultural-creative goods and services, we found that European countries in comparison with LAC stood out in both categories of commercial flows (see table 9.5); whilst LAC only counted on the presence of three countries in terms of exports: Mexico, Brazil and Argentina. Cultural and creative industries exports are dominated by the developed countries, topped by the EU as the leading region. However, as a nation, China is the lead exporter of creative goods in the world, rising from position number three in the ranking in 1996 with US\$ 18,428 million to position number one with US\$ 54,851 million (18.8%) in 2005, and remaining in that position ever since then with firm growth, registering US\$ 150,645 million (29%) and US\$ 168,507 million (33.1%) comparatively in the period 2012-2015, above the main exporting nations such as: USA, Germany, Italy, India, United Kingdom, France, Switzerland and Singapore. However, in the field of cultural-creative services, its contribution is much lower with respect to that of the developed economies for the reference year of 2012, accounting for US\$ 4,876 million (2.8%).

Table 9.5. The main exporting economies in the international exchange of cultural-creative goods and services. Years 2012 and 2015 (US\$ million and %).

Top 20 World export creative goods					Top 18 World export creative services		
	2012		2015			2012	
	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%		US\$ million	%
Total World	519,894	100%	509,753	100%	Total World	173,722	100%
China	150,645	29.0%	168,507	33.1%	USA	36,766	21.2%
USA	37,791	7.3%	40,504	7.9%	(EU28) Germany	34,568	19.9%
(EU28) Germany	28,534	5.5%	25,882	5.1%	(EU28) United Kingdom	31,168	17.9%
(EU28) Italy	26,808	5.2%	26,672	5.2%	(EU28) France	18,713	10.8%
India	25,846	5.0%	16,937	3.3%	(EU28) Spain	10,348	6.0%
(EU28) United Kingdom	22,998	4.4%	25,926	5.1%	(LAC) Brazil	10,266	5.9%
(EU28) France	19,791	3.8%	34,446	6.8%	Russian Federation	8,776	5.1%
Switzerland	13,071	2.5%	14,980	2.9%	(EU28) Italy	7,813	4.5%
Singapore	11,215	2.2%	10,277	2.0%	(EU28) Netherlands	6,444	3.7%
(EU28) Netherlands	9,273	1.8%	9,391	1.8%	Canada	6,398	3.7%
Japan	7,610	1.5%	6,631	1.3%	China	4,876	2.8%
Turkey	7,360	1.4%	8,690	1.7%	Japan	4,374	2.5%
Thailand	6,454	1.2%	6,105	1.2%	Republic of Korea	3,405	2.0%
Canada	6,245	1.2%	6,188	1.2%	(EU28) Luxembourg	2,974	1.7%
(EU28) Spain	5,915	1.1%	5,968	1.2%	(EU28) Czech Republic	2,202	1.3%
Malaysia	5,810	1.1%	6,066	1.2%	(LAC) Argentina	1,883	1.1%
(EU28) Czech Republic	5,601	1.1%	6,277	1.2%	Turkey	1,220	0.7%
(EU28) Austria	5,062	1.0%	4,513	0.9%	Singapore	1,053	0.6%
(LAC) Mexico	4,446	0.9%	5,447	1.1%			
(EU28) Sweden	4,282	0.8%	2,920	0.6%			

Source: Compilation based on UNCTADSTAT data on creative economy.

In contrast, Europe follows it as a block of exporting nations of cultural-creative goods and services alike, with the largest market in the world. The total participation of ten European countries (including Switzerland), positioned in the ranking of worldwide exports of cultural-creative goods, stood at 27% (US\$ 141,334 million in 2012) and 30.8% (US\$ 156,975 million in 2015) respectively, much higher than other developed economies such as the USA, Canada and Japan, as well as emerging economies such as India, Turkey, Thailand and Malaysia. Also, the participation of European countries situated in the ranking of exports of cultural-creative services stood at US\$ 114,230 million (65.8% in 2012), much higher than China and the USA, although the latter as an individual nation continues leading exports of services. A notable contribution is that of Germany with over 5%, positioned at number three in the ranking of creative goods exporters and at number two in the ranking of cultural services exporters with US\$ 34,568 million (19.9%).

The exports and imports of creative goods of developing countries suffered a slight decline in 2012. Within this context, the only LAC country that is positioned in the penultimate position in the ranking of cultural-creative goods exporting countries is Mexico with 0.9% (US \$4,446 million) of the worldwide total in 2012 and 1.1% (US \$5,447 million) of the worldwide total in 2015. Similarly, Brazil (position six in the ranking) with values of US\$ 10,266 million (5.9%) and Argentina (position 16 in the ranking) with US\$ 1,883 (1.1%) stand out among the 33 countries from Latin American and the Caribbean (LAC) in foreign trade of cultural-creative services, with these data showing the differences or inequalities in international flows of cultural-creative goods and services.

USA is the leading importer of creative goods in the world with US\$ 87,574 million (18.8% in 2012) and US\$ 105,741 million (23.3% in 2015), above the Member States of the EU and China (see table 9.6). In the field of cultural-creative services its participation positions it second in the ranking for the reference year of 2012 accounting for US\$ 27,291 million (16.8%). Europe places in the ranking of the top importing countries of cultural-creative good a total of seven Member States. Similarly, it participates in the ranking of cultural-creative services with US\$ 76,661 million (47.1% in 2012), above China and the USA, although the latter as an individual nation continues to lead imports of services. The LAC countries that are prominent as importers of creative goods in the world are Mexico and Brazil, but surprisingly they are joined by Venezuela (US\$ 4,256 million, 2.6%) and Colombia (US\$ 1,280 million, 0.8%) as well as Brazil (US\$ 6,700 million, 4.1%) as importers of cultural services.

Table 9.6. *The main importing economies in the international exchange of cultural-creative goods and services. Years 2012 and 2015 (US\$ million and %).*

Top 20 World import creative goods					Top 20 World import creative services		
	2012		2015			2012	
	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%		US\$ million	%
Total World services	465,630	100%	454,395	100%	Total World services	162,421	100%
USA	87,574	18.8%	105,741	23.3%	(EU28) Germany	33,219	20.5%
(EU28) United Kingdom	31,437	6.8%	31,646	7.0%	USA	27,291	16.8%
(EU28) Germany	26,345	5.7%	26,342	5.8%	(EU28) United Kingdom	13,849	8.5%
(EU28) France	23,246	5.0%	41,452	9.1%	(EU28) Belgium	9,907	6.1%
Japan	23,141	5.0%	18,122	4.0%	Republic of Korea	8,591	5.3%
Switzerland	18,182	3.9%	19,164	4.2%	(EU28) Italy	8,539	5.3%
Canada	14,571	3.1%	13,483	3.0%	Russian Federation	8,006	4.9%
China	14,114	3.0%	14,777	3.3%	(LAC) Brazil	6,700	4.1%
(EU28) Italy	11,944	2.6%	11,506	2.5%	(LAC) Venezuela	4,256	2.6%
(EU28) Netherlands	9,670	2.1%	9,946	2.2%	Singapore	3,857	2.4%
Singapore	9,081	2.0%	7,861	1.7%	(EU28) France	3,818	2.4%
India	8,917	1.9%	5,053	1.1%	China	3,338	2.1%
Russian Federation	8,448	1.8%	4,551	1.0%	Canada	3,259	2.0%
(EU28) Spain	7,312	1.6%	7,915	1.7%	(EU28) Czech Republic	2,010	1.2%
Republic of Korea	6,003	1.3%	6,759	1.5%	(EU28) Spain	1,942	1.2%
(LAC) Mexico	5,774	1.2%	6,671	1.5%	(EU28) Luxembourg	1,831	1.1%
Thailand	3,782	0.8%	3,451	0.8%	Australia	1,696	1.0%
Turkey	3,672	0.8%	3,560	0.8%	Norway	1,546	1.0%
(EU28) Czech Republic	3,475	0.7%	3,694	0.8%	(LAC) Colombia	1,280	0.8%
(LAC) Brazil	3,058	0.7%	2,371	0.5%	Japan	1,200	0.7%

Source: Compilation based on UNCTADSTAT data on creative economy.

9.2.7 Mexico and Brazil are the leading exporters and importers of cultural-creative goods and services in LAC

The total participation of six LAC countries positioned in the cultural foreign trade ranking for creative-cultural goods towards (destination) and from (origin) the world, was US\$ 7,503 million (1.4% in 2002) to US\$ 7,460 million (1.5% in 2015) for exports, and from US\$ 19,336 million (4.2% in 2002) to US\$ 15,963 million (3.5% in 2015) for imports, re-

spectively (see table 9.7). Mexico would be the leading exporter and importer of creative-cultural goods, above the rest of the LAC countries. In the category of cultural-creative services, the totals of these countries are of US\$ 12,892 million (7.4%) in exports and US\$ 14,000 million (8.6%) in imports. Brazil is the leading exporter and importer of creative-cultural services, above the rest of the top Latin American countries. The outcome of this is that the distribution of creative-cultural services in LAC is marked by the superiority of Mexico and Brazil.

Table 9.7. LAC main economies in the international exchange of cultural-creative goods and services. Years 2012 and 2015 (US\$ million and %).

Exports of creative goods from LAC					Exports of creative services from LAC		
	2012		2015			2012	
	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%		US\$ million	%
Mexico	4,446	59.3%	5,447	73.0%	Brazil	10,266	79.6%
Brazil	917	12.2%	883	11.8%	Argentina	1,833	14.2%
Colombia	452	6.0%	s.d.	s.d.	Colombia	376	2.9%
Chile	381	5.1%	207	2.8%	Ecuador	101	0.8%
Peru	271	3.6%	200	2.7%	Venezuela	89	0.7%
Argentina	209	2.8%	93	1.2%	Mexico	80	0.6%
Rest of LAC	827	11.0%	630	8.4%	Rest of LAC	147	1.1%
LAC	7,503	1.4%	7,460	1.5%	LAC	12,892	7.4%
World	519,894		509,753		World	173,722	

Imports of creative goods towards LAC					Imports of creative services towards LAC		
	2012		2015			2012	
	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%		US\$ million	%
Mexico	4,446	23.0%	5,447	34.1%	Brazil	6,700	47.9%
Brazil	3,058	15.8%	2,371	14.9%	Venezuela	4,256	30.4%
Chile	1,839	9.5%	1,692	10.6%	Colombia	1,280	9.1%
Colombia	1,167	s.d.	s.d.	s.d.	Argentina	1,126	s.d.
Peru	1,007	5.2%	1,112	7.0%	Mexico	272	1.9%
Argentina	951	4.9%	808	5.1%	Ecuador	210	1.5%
Rest of LAC	6,868	35.5%	4,533	28.4%	Rest of LAC	156	1.1%
LAC	19,336	4.2%	15,963	3.5%	LAC	14,000	8.6%
World	465,630		454,395		World	162,421	

Source: Compilation based on UNCTADSTAT data on creative economy.

9.2.8 LAIA/ALADI, UNASUR and AP are the main regional blocks in the bi-regional LAC-EU relations

The foreign trade of bi-regional relations between LAC and the EU, in terms of regional economic integration blocks, will be influenced by member countries of LAIA/ALADI, UNASUR and the Pacific Alliance¹⁷ (hereafter AP), as the main exporters and importers of cultural-creative goods to and from the EU (see table 9.8). The total participation of countries that are members of the LAIA/ALADI to and from the EU was, in terms of export value, from US\$ 341 million (6.5% of their exports by destination) to US\$ 477 million (6.8% by destination) and imports from US\$ 966 million (15.8% imports by destination) to US\$ 1,454 million (10.2% by destination) respectively in 2002-2015. LAIA/ALADI is thus the main extra-regional block in creative commerce with the EU with 98% of exports and 93% of imports out of the total of LAC creative goods. It is followed by the Union of South American Nations-UNASUR with an export value of US\$ 249 million (15.7% by destination) and imports of US\$ 670 million (9.3% by destination) comparatively in 2015. The Pacific Alliance, with a population of 222 million people, will have exports for US\$ 242 million and is the second importer of creative goods from the EU, with a value from US\$ 656 million to US\$ 955 million in the period 2002-2015.

Table 9.8. Exports and imports of cultural-creative goods between LAC and the EU28 per regional blocks. Year 2002, 2008 and 2015 (US\$ million and %).

	Exports from LAC to EU			Imports to LAC from EU			Exports from EU to LAC			Imports to EU from LAC		
	2002	2008	2015	2002	2008	2015	2002	2008	2015	2002	2008	2015
LAC (CELAC)	345	573	486	1,095	2,041	1,561	1,545	2,482	2,575	401	724	580
AP (US\$)	75	135	242	656	1,057	955	680	1,061	1,442	90	203	225
ALBA-TCP (US\$)	12	17	29	167	200	56	188	261	121	17	22	13
ALBA-TCP (% by destination)	9.6%	8.9%	15.9%	20.6%	9.6%	7.5%	0.2%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
LAIA/ALADI (US\$)	341	547	477	966	1,868	1,454	1,246	2,134	2,220	382	690	489
LAIA/ALADI (% by destination)	6.5%	6.0%	6.8%	15.8%	11.2%	10.2%	1.5%	1.2%	1.3%	0.5%	0.4%	0.3%
CAN (US\$)	23	45	39	135	252	142	129	239	266	31	65	49
CAN (% per destination)	4.5%	4.0%	10.6%	18.0%	13.0%	8.4%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
CARICOM (US\$)	2	6	4	60	71	22	74	90	99	6	6	5
CARICOM (% by destination)	6.6%	7.7%	7.6%	13.8%	9.1%	7.7%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Continues →

¹⁷ The Pacific Alliance is made up of Mexico, Colombia, Peru and Chile.

Continues ↓

	Exports from LAC to EU			Imports to LAC from EU			Exports from EU to LAC			Imports to EU from LAC		
	2002	2008	2015	2002	2008	2015	2002	2008	2015	2002	2008	2015
MCCA (US\$)	2	5	6	56	75	96	46	69	69	5	7	16
MCCA (% by destination)	1.5%	1.6%	1.6%	10.4%	6.9%	7.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
MERCOSUR (US\$)	256	396	207	223	579	395	367	803	552	273	463	250
MERCOSUR (% by destination)	30.8%	27.7%	20.5%	20.3%	11.5%	10.5%	0.4%	0.5%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.1%
SICA	2	22	5	83	273	158	219	323	370	11	17	31
UNASUR (US\$)	286	449	249	438	995	670	592	1,201	972	311	541	302
UNASUR (% by destination)	18.9%	15.2%	15.7%	19.6%	11.8%	9.3%	0.7%	0.7%	0.5%	0.3%	0.3%	0.1%

Source: Compilation based on UNCTADSTAT data on creative economy.

* UNCTADSTAT data on exports and imports among different regions are asymmetrical, due to limitations in the methodology of data collection. LAC does not include Anguilla, Aruba, Bermuda, Curaçao, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands and Montserrat. In the year 2015, many countries did not provide data, so the figures appear low in comparison with other years of the study.

Similarly, foreign trade of bi-regional relations in the contrary direction, i.e., between EU and LAC, will be marked by the aforementioned regional blocks. The total participation of the EU towards and from LAC will be established fundamentally with LAIA/ALADI member countries with export values from US\$ 1,246 million (1.5% of exports by destination) to US\$ 2,220 million (1.3% by destination) and imports from US\$ 382 million (0.5% of imports by destination) to US\$ 489 million (0.3% by destination) respectively in 2002-2015. The foreign trade of the EU with LAIA/ALADI is around 1.5% of its exports by destination and imports from LAC is less than 0.5% by destination. This continues with the EU towards UNASUR with an export value of US\$ 972 million (0.5% by destination) and an import value of US\$ 302 million (0.1% by destination) comparatively in 2015. The Pacific Alliance have exports of US\$ 242 million and is the second regional block by destination of creative goods from the EU with a value from US\$ 680 million to US\$ 1,442 million in the period 2002-2015.

But in general terms the differences or inequalities in cultural economic interactions of the said geographical blocks can be observed in the international flow of cultural-creative goods given for LAC exports (6.5%) and imports (9.7%) to and from the EU. The total figures for income from exports of creative-cultural goods from Latin America and the Caribbean to the EU co-participating destination market are starting to fall, which represents a true challenge for the LAC countries. Going in the opposite direction are EU ex-

ports (1.5%) and imports (0.3%) towards and from LAC. These differences are the consequence of fundamental aspects such as:

1. No joint strategic treatment exists among the set of LAC regional blocks to attend to the foreign trade of the cultural and creative industries sector as such. Moreover, the digital revolution poses unprecedented challenges to the regulation of creative foreign trade. In this context, actors such as China, the USA and the European Union compete to influence the regulation of worldwide digital commerce, with very heterogeneous visions and models.
2. The majority of LAC countries do not have a viable business model that permits them a competitive commercial yield from their cultural-creative goods and services with the countries of the EU.
3. The data indicate that in very few LAC countries does any global strategy exist that fits in which or coincides in the different EU markets.
4. Although the cultural-creative sector of the LAC countries has maintained sustained growth over the course of time, their behaviour has not been so satisfactory in the sphere of international trade and particularly in relation to their transactions with the EU. One aspect that permits conclusions regarding the precarious commercial situation of the cultural-creative sector is the low participation of the sector's imports and exports against the total of commercial transactions conducted on a national level in the LAC countries.

It is evident that the cultural and creative industries in LAC present a series of problems that limit their development and projection in the international market of the EU. In this sense, a comprehensive assessment should be made of the set of programmes, policies and actions for incentivising the cultural and creative industries that are implemented by the agencies for cooperation and integration in the Latin American and Caribbean region. The LAC countries have to reinforce their capacities in data analytics and metrics, as well as improve their information management, in order to overcome the asymmetries of foreign trade with the EU. This knowledge will help to concentrate resources and efforts on those areas and initiatives that really serve to grow and generate profits from the exports of cultural-creative goods from LAC towards the EU co-participating destination market.

9.2.9 Sub-sector composition of exports and imports of cultural goods and services

We have indicated, in the methodological considerations, that the main difficulty in pondering the economic contribution of the cultural-creative sector is the sectoral composition of the cultural ecosystem of the cultural industries and creative industries and enterprises (CCIs). Diverse classification systems exist that bring us closer to a taxonomy of the

cultural sector by field, domains, sectors, subsectors and cultural activities. In the case of LAC, the Andrés Bello Convention has advanced in the definition of the cultural field with its *Guía metodológica para la implementación de las Cuentas Satélite de Cultura en Iberoamérica* (CAB, 2015) which defines 12 cultural sectors then goes on to select the goods and services specific to culture, among which it is possible to distinguish characteristic products and activities, and linked, inter-dependent and auxiliary products.

However, the cultural cycle by cultural domains and related domains proposed by the UNESCO in its publication *Framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS) of the UNESCO 2009* is internationally accepted. The cultural domains of the FCS-2009 represent a common set of culturally productive industries, activities and practices that can be grouped under the following headings: A: Cultural and Natural Heritage; B: Performance and Celebration; C: Visual Arts and Crafts; D: Books and Press; E: Audio-visual and Interactive Media; and F: Design and Creative services. Intangible Cultural Heritage (transversal domain).

With reference to this framework the Report by the UNESCO-UIS (2016: 36-37), points out that exports of visual arts and crafts¹⁸ are those that mark the dynamics of the worldwide cultural-creative trade. In this respect, they increased by 186% and imports by 101% during the period 2004-2013. This cultural domain consists mainly of jewellery articles (gold or silver), paintings, statues and all kinds of crafted goods. In 2004, according to UNESCO-UIS, it accounted for half of the world's exports of cultural-creative goods with US\$ 51.3 billion and for 2013, it accounted for 71% of all cultural exports (US\$ 151.8 billion). Equally, during the last decade, visual arts and crafts dominated cultural goods imports, representing US\$ 99.1 billion in 2013. Although its share of total exports continued to grow, its share of total imports fell by 42% in 2009 due to the economic crisis, but then started to recover after 2010, reaching 59% of the total of imports of cultural goods in 2013 (UNESCO-UIS, 2016: 38). They are followed, in order of importance, for the same period 2004-2013, by the audiovisual and interactive media sector with an annual growth rate of 111.9% for exports and imports alike: books and press with 16% and 12% respectively; artistic performances and celebrations¹⁹ with a depreciation of 18% in both cases and equally, the cultural domain of design and creative services, which saw the value of its exports reduced by 28% and imports by 11%.

However, in our study, using the harmonised cultural sectorisation of the UNCTADSTAT database, the exports of creative-cultural goods will represent 75% and cultural-creative services 25% of the total worldwide volume in 2012. The figures from the UNCTADSTAT

¹⁸ Craft products encompass a large variety of articles made with diverse materials. This diversity makes it incredibly difficult to offer a satisfactory definition of the material content, production technique or functional use of craft products.

¹⁹ Consists mainly of musical instruments and recorded media (such as CDs).

(see table 9.9) in 2012, in terms of sectoral exports of cultural and creative content industry goods are the following: 53% corresponding to design (US\$ 326,597million, 47%) and new media (US\$ 41,563 million, 6%), and the remaining 47% to publications (US\$ 40,148 million, 5.8%), visual arts (US\$ 39,232 million, 5.7%), crafts (US\$ 36,406 million, 5.2%), audiovisual (US\$ 30,695 million, 4.4%), and performing arts (US\$ 5,253 million, 0.8%). During the period 1996-2012, the design sector will be the unshakeable leader of exports of cultural-creative goods in the world in terms of an accounting value of US\$ 119,706 million (52.6% in 1996) to US\$ 326,597 million (47.1% in 2012) of the world total of exports of cultural-creative goods for US\$ 519,894 million from the cultural and creative industries.

Table 9.9. *Worldwide exports of cultural-creative goods and services per sub-sector. Year 1996, 2008 and 2012 (US\$ million and %).*

	1996		2008		2012	
	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%
Total goods and services	227,450	100%	620,036	100%	693,616	100%
Creative goods	189,214	83.2%	439,172	70.8%	519,894	75.0%
Crafts	14,738	6.5%	32,788	5.3%	36,406	5.2%
Visual arts	10,331	4.5%	29,948	4.8%	39,232	5.7%
Performing arts	5,100	2.2%	5,086	0.8%	5,253	0.8%
Publishing	32,180	14.1%	48,695	7.9%	40,148	5.8%
Design	119,706	52.6%	237,164	38.3%	326,597	47.1%
New media	6,804	3.0%	46,916	7.6%	41,563	6.0%
Creative services	38,236	16.8%	180,864	29.2%	173,722	25.0%
Advertising, market research	5,008	2.2%	28,747	4.6%	34,680	5.0%
Architecture and related services	9,828	4.3%	80,354	13.0%	69,543	10.0%
Development and research services	13,336	5.9%	30,366	4.9%	27,883	4.0%
Personal, cultural and creative services	10,064	4.4%	41,396	6.7%	41,616	6.0%

Source: Compilation based on UNCTADSTAT data on creative economy.

In the year 2015, the last year registered by the UNCTADSTAT database, the design sector maintained its cultural leadership position in exports of cultural-creative goods in the world registering US\$ 318,216 million (62.4%) of the total for cultural and creative industries, followed by the visual arts (US\$ 53,700 million, 10.5%) new media (US\$ 42,194 million, 8.3%), crafts (US\$ 35,720 million, 7%), publishing industry (US\$ 33,661 million, 6.6%), audiovisual (US\$ 21,875 million, 4.3%) and performing arts (US\$ 4,387 million, 0.9%) comparatively.

It is important to highlight some observations. Firstly, differences exist between the databases of the UNESCO and of the UNCTADSTAT which means that the leading positions in cultural domains are different. While for UNESCO, the cultural domain of design and creative services represented the smallest part of exports of cultural-creative goods in 2013, with a participation of 0.1% (US\$ 193.5 billion), for the UNCTADSTAT database from 1996 to the year 2015, leadership in exports corresponds to the design sector. The UNESCO groups as a single cultural domain the visual arts and crafts, unlike the UNCTADSTAT database which views them separately. But even accounting for the figures from the different sectors – visual arts and crafts – as a single cultural domain gives a total of US\$ 75,638 million (14.5%) which would put them in second position in accordance with the UNCTADSTAT database for 2012.

In second place, for the UNESCO-UIS (2016: 37-38) report, in value terms, exports of books and press (domain D) increased slightly from US\$ 20.7 billion in 2004 to US\$ 24.1 billion in 2013, but its share of world exports of cultural goods decreased from 19% in 2004 to 11% in 2013. They also represented a share of 20% of imports in 2004 (US\$ 22.3 billion), which continually decreased to 15% in 2013, but with a higher value (US\$ 25.1 billion). In our study, we may not coincide in terms of figures, but we do in terms of tendency. The publishing sector in the total of sectoral exports of cultural-creative goods and cultural-creative services of the industries of cultural and creative content has fallen from the year of the economic crisis, 2008 (US\$ 48,695 million, 7.9%), to 2015 (US\$ 40,418 million, 5.8%). The same tendency is observed if we value its exports only in relation to the total of exports of cultural-creative goods. And thirdly, in the period 1996-2012, in the field of exports of cultural-creative services, it will be the architecture and related services that will maintain sustained growth of US\$ 9,828 million (4.3%) passing through the year of the economic crisis 2008 (US\$ 80,354 million, 13%) to 2015 (US\$ 69,543 million, 10%) situating it as leader against cultural and creative personal services (US\$ 41,616 million, 6%); advertising, market research and public opinion (US\$ 34,680 million, 5%) and research and development services (US\$ 27,883 million, 4%) respectively in 2012.

In terms of economic groups (see table 9.10), we can appreciate the dominance of the design sector with an export value from US\$ 58,742 million (47.8%) to US\$ 130,860 million (54.2%) in the developed economies – USA, Canada, EU and Japan – in the period 2002-2015. And within this sector, the design of jewellery increased its exports from US\$ 14,338 million (11.7%) to US\$ 47,789 million (19.8%), above interior design which decreased from US\$ 23,606 million (19.2%) to US\$ 35,552 million (14.7%) and fashion design which expanded its values from US\$ 12,189 million (9.9%) to US\$ 32,493 (13.4%), during the period 2002-2005. The USA occupied the first place due to its competitive position in design, which saw its exports increase from US\$ 6.2 billion in 2003 to US\$ 15.3 billion in

2012. This included exports of jewellery, interior design and fashion design. The demand for gold jewellery added US\$ 70 billion to the world economy in 2012 and represented almost half of the world demand for gold. China, India and the USA are the three biggest markets for gold jewellery (UNCTAD, 2005: 3). In the case of economies in development, the values of the design sector are extremely high with its world exports of cultural goods accounting for 70% (US\$ 59,069 million) to 70.1% (US\$ 185,770 million) followed by crafts with 13.7% (US\$ 11,559 million) to 9.9% (US\$ 26,133 million) comparatively in 2012 to 2015. The economies in transition registered growth of 32.9% (US\$ 400 million) to 52% (US\$ 1,586 million) in the period 2002-2015 proportionally. The other sectors to highlight are the publishing industry, visual arts and videogames.

Table 9.10. *Worldwide exports of cultural-creative goods by country development and sub-sector. Years 2002 and 2015 (US\$ million and %).*

	Developed economies				Developing economies				Economies in transition			
	2002		2015		2002		2015		2002		2015	
	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%
Total creative goods	122,912	100%	241,624	100%	84,366	100%	265,081	100%	1,217	100%	3,048	100%
Crafts	8,297	6.8%	9,451	3.9%	11,559	13.7%	26,133	9.9%	63	5.2%	136	4.5%
Audiovisual	9,184	7.5%	14,881	6.2%	1,041	1.2%	6,859	2.6%	43	3.5%	135	4.4%
Cinema	419	0.3%	8	0.0%	52	0.1%	9	0.0%	1	0.1%	0	0.0%
CD, DVD, tapes	8,765	7.1%	14,873	6.2%	989	1.2%	6,851	2.6%	42	3.5%	135	4.4%
Design	58,742	47.8%	130,860	54.2%	59,069	70.0%	185,770	70.1%	400	32.9%	1,586	52.0%
Architecture	151	0.1%	114	0.0%	59	0.1%	17	0.0%	20	1.6%	3	0.1%
Fashion	12,189	9.9%	32,493	13.4%	19,437	23.0%	55,085	20.8%	67	5.5%	159	5.2%
Glassware	1,127	0.9%	688	0.3%	315	0.4%	398	0.2%	13	1.1%	10	0.3%
Interior design	23,606	19.2%	35,552	14.7%	14,480	17.2%	51,619	19.5%	261	21.4%	1,008	33.1%
Jewellery	14,338	11.7%	47,789	19.8%	9,638	11.4%	54,057	20.4%	19	1.6%	263	8.6%
Toys	7,242	5.9%	14,224	5.9%	15,141	17.9%	24,594	9.3%	19	1.6%	142	4.7%
New Media	6,705	5.5%	15,744	6.5%	4,266	5.1%	26,372	9.9%	4	0.3%	78	2.6%
Recording media	2,137	1.7%	8,696	3.6%	469	0.6%	15,739	5.9%	3	0.2%	42	1.4%
Videogames	4,568	3.7%	7,048	2.9%	3,797	4.5%	10,633	4.0%	1	0.1%	36	1.2%
Performing Arts	1,664	1.4%	2,559	1.1%	1,151	1.4%	1,824	0.7%	3	0.2%	3	0.1%

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	Developed economies				Developing economies				Economies in transition			
	2002		2015		2002		2015		2002		2015	
	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%
Publishing	26,152	21.3%	25,651	10.6%	3,500	4.1%	6,990	2.6%	675	55.5%	1,020	33.5%
Books	9,057	74%	11,608	4.8%	2,272	2.7%	4,437	1.7%	266	21.9%	430	14.1%
Newspapers and magazines	11,512	9.4%	7,884	3.3%	668	0.8%	298	0.1%	405	33.3%	549	18.0%
Other publishing	5,583	4.5%	6,159	2.5%	559	0.7%	2,255	0.9%	3	0.2%	41	1.3%
Visual Arts	12,168	9.9%	42,478	17.6%	3,780	4.5%	11,133	4.2%	31	2.5%	89	2.9%
Related Industries	338,918	275.7%	343,831	142.3%	267,762	317.4%	488,041	184.1%	1,446	118.8%	5,142	168.7%

Source: Compilation based on UNCTADSTAT data on creative economy.

If we transfer these figures by regions as considered in this study (see table 9.11), we will discern that the EU is the largest dynamic market for design in the creative economy with revenues for export towards the world from US\$ 43,972 million (51.6%) to US\$ 95,729 million (56%) between 2002-2015; higher than the exports from North America (USA and Canada) despite its growth from US\$ 9,245 million (34.9% in 2002) to US\$ 19,435 million (41.% in 2015). And if we account for Europe the tendency will be even greater, registering exports for values in US\$ of 107,372 million (55.7%) in 2015. In other words, Europe classifies as the greatest exporter of creative goods when referring to design among the developed countries, with a participation of around 50% of the global market. In the case of LAC, whose exports of cultural-creative goods towards the world represented US\$ 5,906 million (2.8%, in 2002) and US\$ 7,460 million (1.5%, in 2015), of the aforementioned totals around 60% will be destined to exports of creative goods referring to design, increasing their contribution from US\$ 3,546 million (60%) to US\$ 4,889 million (66.1%) between 2002-2015, followed by new media (US\$ 794 million, 10.7%), the publishing industry (US\$ 596 million, 8.1%), crafts (US\$ 436 million, 5.9%), audiovisuals (US\$ 339 million, 4.6%), visual arts (US\$ 264 million, 3.6%) and performing arts (US\$ 82 millones, 1.1%) comparatively in 2015. When observing the exports to the world from LAC, it is evident that it shows an unbalanced distribution of the cultural domains within the exports of cultural-creative goods. Of course, it is necessary to take into account the digital revolution that is creating new models of consumption, production and business in all sectors of the creative economy, which has important potential effects on exports of cul-

natural-creative goods and services. Digital flows multiplied by 45 between the year 2005 and 2014, and it is expected that they will be further multiplied by 9 in the coming five years.

Table 9.11. *Worldwide exports of cultural-creative goods of LAC and the EU per sub-sector. Years 2002 and 2015 (US\$ million and %).*

SUB-SECTOR	EU				LAC				% on Total World			
	2002		2015		2002		2015		2002		2015	
	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	EU	LAC	EU	LAC
Crafts	5,988	7.0%	7,298	4.3%	505	8.6%	436	5.9%	30.1%	2.5%	20.4%	1.2%
Audiovisual	7,210	8.5%	10,517	6.1%	214	3.6%	339	4.6%	70.2%	2.1%	48.1%	1.5%
Design	43,972	51.6%	95,729	56.0%	3,546	60.0%	4,889	66.1%	37.2%	3.0%	30.1%	1.5%
New Media	3,789	4.4%	10,291	6.0%	785	13.3%	794	10.7%	34.5%	7.2%	24.4%	1.9%
Performing Arts	770	0.9%	1,425	0.8%	32	0.5%	82	1.1%	27.3%	1.1%	32.5%	1.9%
Publishing	16,132	18.9%	18,136	10.6%	650	11.0%	596	8.1%	53.2%	2.1%	53.9%	1.8%
Visual arts	7,381	8.7%	27,658	16.2%	174	2.9%	264	3.6%	46.2%	1.1%	51.5%	0.5%
Total CCIs	85,242	100%	171,054	100%	5,906	100%	7,400	100%	40.9%	2.8%	33.6%	1.5%
Related industries	188,881	222%	188,057	110%	19,290	327%	25,121	339%				

Source: Compilation based on UNCTADSTAT data on creative economy.

* LAC does not include Anguilla, Aruba, Bermuda, Curaçao, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands and Montserrat.

In contrast, based on the UNCTADSTAT, it is indicated to us that North America (Canada and USA) jointly represented with the EU some 56.7% equivalent to US\$ 164,427 million of imports of cultural-creative goods in design for the year 2015. The EU registered 51.6% (US\$ 42,452 million in 2012) and 53.72% (US\$ 91,634 million in 2015), comparatively. In the case of LAC, imports from the world of creative goods related to design, amplified their contribution from US\$ 3,304 million (45.5%) to US\$ 8,573 million (53.7%) between 2002 and 2015 (see table 9.12).

Table 9.12. *Worldwide imports of cultural-creative goods of LAC and the EU per sub-sector. Years 2002 and 2015 (US\$ million and %).*

SUB-SECTOR	EU				LAC				% on Total World			
	2002		2015		2002		2015		2002		2015	
	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	US\$ million	%	EU	LAC	EU	LAC
Crafts	6,980	8.5%	9,523	5.6%	1,091	15.0%	1,691	10.6%	33.0%	5.2%	33.5%	5.9%
Audiovisual	6,489	7.9%	9,310	5.5%	370	5.1%	824	5.2%	53.6%	3.1%	43.3%	3.8%
Design	42,452	51.6%	91,634	53.7%	3,304	45.5%	8,573	53.7%	32.9%	2.6%	34.2%	3.2%
New Media	4,760	5.8%	15,691	9.2%	334	4.6%	2,561	16.0%	37.2%	2.6%	33.3%	5.4%
Performing Arts	1,013	1.2%	1,785	1.0%	102	1.4%	238	1.5%	31.0%	3.1%	37.8%	5.0%
Publishing	13,654	16.6%	13,835	8.1%	1,848	25.4%	1,739	10.9%	43.2%	5.8%	42.8%	5.4%
Visual arts	6,985	8.5%	28,815	16.9%	219	3.0%	336	2.1%	39.5%	1.2%	54.8%	0.6%
Total CCIs	82,333	100%	170,593	100%	7,268	100%	15,962	100%	36.2%	3.2%	37.5%	3.5%
Related industries	155,339	189%	126,529	74%	20,961	288%	29,778	187%				

Source: Compilation based on UNCTADSTAT data on creative economy.

* LAC does not include Anguilla, Aruba, Bermuda, Curaçao, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands and Montserrat. The Americas include Canada and the USA.

To conclude, the foreign trade for bi-regional relations between LAC and the EU, in terms of exports and imports by cultural sectors (see table 9.13) will show the greater potential of the EU side. As in table 9.8, data from UNCTADSTAT on exports and imports among different regions are asymmetrical due to limitations in the methodology of data collection (imports to LAC from EU do not coincide with exports from EU to LAC), fact that explains the different resulting values. The total amount of exports in 2015 from LAC to the EU was US\$ 486 million, while the value of imports was US\$ 1.561 million (the amount from the EU is US\$ 580 million for the imports to the EU proceeding from LAC and US\$ 2,575 million for the exports from the EU to LAC). The trade deficit is high since imports almost triplicate the value of exports.

If we analyse external trade in 2015 from LAC to EU per sub-sector, design concentrates 76.7% of exports and 58% of imports, with a relevant position of interior design in terms of exports. The second exporting sector is visual arts with 10.3%. Regarding imports, the second sub-sector is the publishing industry. It is worth highlighting that while imports of the publishing industry with US\$ 331 million represent 21.2% of the total, exports to the EU are only US\$ 14 million (2.9%).

Table 9.13. Exports and imports of cultural-creative goods from LAC to EU28 and viceversa per sub-sector. Years 2008 and 2015 (US\$ million and %).

	Exports from LAC to EU		Imports to LAC from EU		Exports from EU to LAC		Imports to EU from LAC	
	2008	2015	2008	2015	2008	2015	2008	2015
Total	573 100%	486 100%	2,041 100%	1,561 100%	2,482 100%	2,575 100%	724 100%	580 100%
Crafts	26 4.5%	13 2.7%	88 4.3%	59 3.8%	26 1.0%	90 3.5%	33 4.6%	27 4.7%
Audiovisual	13 2.3%	14 2.9%	176 8.6%	88 5.6%	151 6.1%	93 3.6%	38 5.2%	8 1.4%
Cinema	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 0.1%	0 0.0%
CDs, DVDs, tapes	13 2.3%	14 2.9%	176 8.6%	88 5.6%	150 6.0%	93 3.6%	37 5.1%	8 1.4%
Design	441 77.0%	373 76.7%	916 44.9%	905 58.0%	1,216 49.0%	1,282 49.8%	515 71.1%	313 54.0%
Architecture	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	6 0.2%	2 0.1%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Fashion	38 6.6%	35 7.2%	282 13.8%	306 19.6%	349 14.1%	386 15.0%	44 6.1%	39 6.7%
Glassware	6 1.0%	0 0.0%	15 0.7%	18 1.2%	18 0.7%	14 0.5%	4 0.6%	1 0.2%
Interior	332 57.9%	230 47.3%	253 12.4%	294 18.8%	330 13.3%	333 12.9%	390 53.9%	165 28.4%
Jewellery	42 7.3%	52 10.7%	216 10.6%	172 11.0%	411 16.6%	403 15.7%	50 6.9%	45 7.8%
Toys	23 4.0%	56 11.5%	150 7.3%	115 7.4%	101 4.1%	110 4.3%	26 3.6%	62 10.7%
New Media	17 3.0%	23 4.7%	193 9.5%	106 6.8%	292 11.8%	182 7.1%	13 1.8%	33 5.7%
Recording media	17 3.0%	19 3.9%	74 3.6%	63 4.0%	115 4.6%	73 2.8%	10 1.4%	25 4.3%
Videogames	1 0.2%	4 0.8%	119 5.8%	43 2.8%	176 7.1%	109 4.2%	3 0.4%	8 1.4%
Performing Arts	5 0.9%	1 0.2%	10 0.5%	9 0.6%	15 0.6%	12 0.5%	7 1.0%	8 1.4%
Publishing	33 5.8%	14 2.9%	639 31.3%	331 21.2%	601 24.2%	406 15.8%	47 6.5%	25 4.3%
Books	19 3.3%	7 1.4%	473 23.2%	251 16.1%	460 18.5%	320 12.4%	28 3.9%	16 2.8%
Newspapers and magazines	11 1.9%	1 0.2%	110 5.4%	39 2.5%	97 3.9%	43 1.7%	12 1.7%	2 0.3%
Other publishing	3 0.5%	6 1.2%	55 2.7%	42 2.7%	44 1.8%	44 1.7%	6 0.8%	7 1.2%
Visual arts	38 6.6%	50 10.3%	39 1.9%	82 5.3%	113 4.6%	510 19.8%	72 9.9%	166 28.6%
Antiques and collections	1 0.2%	1 0.2%	13 0.6%	2 0.1%	12 0.5%	275 10.7%	16 2.2%	15 2.6%
Painting	11 1.9%	25 5.1%	4 0.2%	51 3.3%	59 2.4%	167 6.5%	34 4.7%	106 18.3%
Photography	1 0.2%	1 0.2%	5 0.2%	6 0.4%	5 0.2%	8 0.3%	1 0.1%	3 0.5%
Sculpture	25 4.4%	23 4.7%	17 0.8%	23 1.5%	36 1.5%	60 2.3%	21 2.9%	42 7.2%

Source: Compilation based on UNCTADSTAT data on creative economy.

* UNCTADSTAT data on exports and imports among different regions are asymmetrical, due to limitations in the methodology of data collection. LAC does not include Anguilla, Aruba, Bermuda, Curaçao, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands and Montserrat. In the year 2015, many countries did not provide data, so the figures appear low in comparison with other years of the study.

As demonstrated through the chapter, foreign trade of cultural-creative goods between Latin America and the Caribbean and the European Union presents not only important imbalances due to their different weight at the global trade level, despite the limitations of data in some countries, but also in their bi-regional relations.

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HUMAN PROVIDES

10

PERFORMING THE FANTASY OF MOBILITY WHILE ENACTING THE VIOLENCE OF IMMOBILITY

Francisco GUEVARA

«The past, even if it is not (or ever will be) 'settled',
weighs continuously on the present»

Linda Bolton, *Facing the Other: Ethical Disruption and the American Mind*

Abstract

Cultural mobility has deep historical implications with long-lasting damaging consequences in Latin America and the Caribbean, most often concealing a skewed perspective on these regions, while romanticising the transformative potential of art in regard to the processes of art making and international encounters. This essay explores the ideological function of cultural mobility, especially in the context of the relations between Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean. Departing from the concept of freedom and its problematic legacy in the Americas, to begin unravelling the ideological biases behind the alleged universalising discourse of mobility. It addresses how mobility is capable of reproducing representational strategies with ideological effects, including the racialisation of spaces, and the spatialisation of class, particularly in Latin America and the Caribbean. Considering that there is no increase in movement without extensive systems of immobility, it presents different examples on the impacts and experiences on the practice of movement. The goal is to establish distance between the fantasy and fetish of mobility and re-insert pertinent questions regarding cultural cooperation to interrupt the tradition of movement at the expense of exploitation. Finally, it concentrates on the question of

cultural cooperation in Latin America and the Caribbean by focusing on the *Cultural Mobility Funding Guide* as a current reference and panorama of these regions, and to re-think the major obstacles we are facing.

10.1 Introduction

Beginning in 2017, Arquetopia Foundation and International Artist Residency sponsored and produced the *Cultural Mobility Funding Guide* for Latin America and the Caribbean in collaboration with the organisation On the Move. This guide is the first of its kind, focusing on these regions by mapping opportunities for international cultural mobility, and providing an overview of the different funding bodies and programmes (Guevara and Hernández, 2018). The task was quite a challenge, not only because of the scarcity of opportunities in Latin America and the Caribbean, but because funding, programmes and opportunities are in many cases unsteady and ephemeral. When we first compiled the guide's directory, it included approximately 250 opportunities from diverse funding bodies, by the time the guide was published in 2018, only 103 grants and scholarships remained in existence. In a period of 12 months, multiple opportunities expired and were not renewed, and several programmes became extinct. But why is such the case in these regions? When exploring this question, I began noticing implications and patterns in the ideological function of terms such as «cultural mobility», «cooperation», and «freedom», especially in international discourses. Through their global and regional policies, many multilateral organisations, including UNESCO and the Organisation of Ibero-American States, have had a fundamental role in consolidating such terminology, particularly in regard to the concept of development and specifically in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The organisation On the Move defines cultural mobility as «the temporary cross-border movement of artists and cultural professionals», understanding it as an integral part of their regular work life (On the Move, n.d.). Although seemingly universal, this concept functions as an enacted silence that fails to address the core of the issue of mobility by disguising ideology under an apparent solid definition, particularly in relation to the Americas. Cultural mobility has deep historical implications with long-lasting damaging consequences in Latin America and the Caribbean, most often concealing a skewed perspective on these regions, while romanticising the transformative potential of art in regard to the processes of art making and international encounters (Cash, Buick and Rojas, 2016; Trouillot and Carby, 2015). Because art and power are mutually implicated, in cultural mobility they very often enact a fantasy that creates distortions, inequalities, ideological biases, and blind spots, especially when engaging local communities in these regions and international artists (Bolton, 2010; Cash, Buick and Rojas, 2016; Holland, 2012; Nochlin, 1989; Jones and Stephenson, 1999; Rancière, 2009).

In this essay I explore the ideological function of cultural mobility, especially in the context of the relations between Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean. I depart from the concept of freedom and its problematic legacy in the Americas, to begin unraveling the ideological biases behind the alleged universalising discourse of mobility. I address how mobility is capable of reproducing representational strategies with ideological effects, including the racialisation of spaces, and the spatialisation of class, particularly in Latin America and the Caribbean. Considering that there is no increase in movement without extensive systems of immobility, I present different examples on the impacts and experiences on the practice of movement. My goal is to establish distance between the fantasy and fetish of mobility and re-insert pertinent questions regarding cultural cooperation to interrupt the tradition of movement at the expense of exploitation. Finally, I direct my attention to the question of cultural cooperation in Latin America and the Caribbean by focusing on the *Cultural Mobility Funding Guide* as a current reference and panorama of these regions, and to re-think the major obstacles we are facing.

10.2 The implications of mobility and freedom

When discussing the concept of freedom in the Americas, it is inevitable to stumble upon Thomas Jefferson as one of its ideological pillars. In the process of separation from the Hispanic Monarchy, and in the formation of new nations in Latin America and the Caribbean, Jefferson's ideas were a very important influence. These were cited in the various movements for independence, influenced the reform of governments, and have had an effect lasting several centuries.

In the U.S. Declaration of Independence, Jefferson wrote «we hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness» (United States, 1796: 1). This text became one of the most celebrated and influential in history, and the expression of individual and national freedom par excellence. However, when Thomas Jefferson participated in the drafting of the Declaration of Independence, 175 enslaved human beings were in his legal possession. The idea of Afro-Americans being unfit for freedom would become prevalent and would also be applied to many other groups. Jefferson was frequently critical of other independence movements, as he did not see the case and model of the United States applicable elsewhere. He would continuously express his doubts on the governments established in Latin America and the Caribbean, and the capacity of their people to enjoy liberty without intoxication (Jefferson and Bernstein, 2013). After all, «when discrimination succeeds, it does not stop with one group but rather becomes generalised as a social principle and practice» (Lipsitz, 2011: 13).

The principles of freedom by Jefferson were also an important influence when UNESCO emerged after World War II as the preminent educational and cultural organisation

for justice, liberty, and peace. Intersections between arts, culture, human rights, and social justice in its mandate would eventually lead to the crystallisation of the concept of «right to artistic freedom». In the following decades, UNESCO would successfully integrate Jefferson's ideal of individual freedom¹ in multiple declarations, recommendations, and forums; and finally, in 1987 the organisation would explicitly commemorate his legacy when Monticello and the University of Virginia, Jefferson's former plantation home and village, were inscribed in the World Heritage Site List for their outstanding universal value (Centre U.W., n.d.; Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, n.d.). How is it possible that today, a plantation built by the victims of enslavement culturally represents the ideals of freedom? How could one of the most important proponents of democracy, republicanism, and national freedom not fully advocate for the independence of Latin America? As Michael Taussig stated, redemption can never be final; «writing worth reading is built this way, writing being a continuous confrontation with the past that evoked it» (Taussig, 2009: 144).

Freedom and mobility are mutually invested in each other. The capacity to move implies the condition of freedom, the ability to freely move through time and space. However, mobility is never just the fact of movement, it is a representation that carries several burdens, including how it is experienced and its effects. Although mobility is argued as central to the world and our understanding of it, what mobility means and how it operates remains broad and vague (Cresswell, 1999). Although the issue of meaning generally remains absent from discussions about mobility, the relevance of the term as a concern, especially in regard to culture, has remained at the forefront of international discourses. In the last two decades, several multilateral conventions addressing culture, mobility, and fundamental freedoms have been signed. For instance, the *2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, is regarded as UNESCO's leading effort to strengthen the capacities for creation, production, and dissemination of culture, emphasising the importance of improving the mobility of artists, and promoting freedom and human rights (Carnaghan, 2006).

In 2008, the European Commission carried out a study on mobility incentives in the culture/creative sector, collecting information on trends in different regions of Europe, and developing a classification on the main types of mobility schemes. This report defines mobility «not simply as occasional movements across national borders that may be useful to gain professional experience required for career advancement, as well as advance artistic endeavour, but more as an integral part of the regular work life of artists and other cultural professionals» (Wiesand and ERICarts Institute, 2008). On a global scale, UNESCO published in 2018 *Re/Shaping Cultural Policies*, a report monitoring the *2005 Conven-*

¹ In her book *Facing the Other*, Linda Bolton explains the problems of Jefferson's ideal and individual freedom.

tion on the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, underlining the positive impact of innovative cultural policies on cultural governance, as well as pointing out the persistent inequalities, barriers, and vulnerability of artists, mostly in the Global South.² In this report, Khadija El Bennaoui addressed the paradoxes of mobility in detail, recognising the efforts to promote and support artistic mobility in the Global South, and urging the need for action if governments are to meet the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals. El Bennaoui listed several recommendations, including simplifying visa procedures for artists, raising awareness on the importance of artists mobility among visa officials, creating visa committees to facilitate processes, introduce policies to foster collaborations, and support initiatives advocating legal frameworks (El Bennaoui, 2017). While I agree with the recommendations and especially the urge to take action, the focal point in the discussions about mobility seems skewed. If mobility is «an integral part of regular work life», why are we failing to achieve it on a global scale? How are freedom and mobility functioning in context? As art historian Kirsten Buick stated, «freedom cannot be granted, it can only be taken away», and in places where imperialism has shaped societies, freedom is usually experienced at the expense of identified targeted groups (Buick, 2018). Claiming that the ideas of rights are universal, and in particular the right to mobility, disguises the conflation of liberty, freedom, citizenship, and mobility (Cresswell, 2010). At the core of the universalising discourse of mobility, historical abuse and injustice is entrenched, since notions of sameness and difference are intimately tied to the construction of categories such as citizen, refugee or immigrant (Chakrabarty, 1992). After all, «mobility as freedom – as liberty – lies right at the heart of some of the foundational ideologies of the modern world» (Cresswell, 2006: 166), and since the ability to move is legislated and supported by the authority with full force of national states, a construction of a seemingly universal notion is enshrined in the right to mobility, when in fact mobility is very specific.

The idea of the world becoming more mobile is a masquerade for the differences in which we experience mobility. As a social and cultural construction, mobility gets unevenly distributed as a resource; therefore, the fact of movement cannot be referred to as mobility but as the production of many mobilities. In this asymmetrical distribution of power, mobilities play an important role in the multiple processes of differentiation, producing social relations while also being produced by them (Buick, 2018; Chakrabarty, 1992; Cresswell, 2006). The interconnection between different mobilities and the implication of ideologies in the complex processes of differentiation (including genders, classes, nationalities, ethnicities, cultures) produce specific forms of representation; for instance, tourists, artists, athletes, backpackers, business people, international students, commuters, expats, immigrants, refugees, terrorists, etc. Though most of these representations have

² The term *Global South* is a term emerging from transnational and postcolonial studies to include regions and countries that share common histories of colonisation, and imperialism, confronting large inequalities.

been used to illustrate the contemporary concerns of a world in motion, each one tells something different about mobility and the social baggage that accompanies each representation (Cresswell, 1999). Different mobilities access different resources at different rates, and since they are interconnected, one person's rapid speed is someone else's slow pace. The question is not in how we privilege a mobile subjectivity, but rather in tracking the power of discourses and practices in creating effects of both movement and stasis (Elliott and Urry, 2010).

Mobility as a broad term, functions as a mechanism towards the safekeeping of a socio-political system; it is invested in a world of «progress», in perpetual motion for some, and immobility for others. «Those most able to benefit from their participation in global capitalism celebrate flexibility and mobility» (Ong, 2006: 19) emerging as their embodiment, with multiple passports, traveling back and forth across borders, while others are detained at international crossing points as a representation of a national threat. Ultimately, mobility as an idealisation of movement, is a fetish, dependent on the exclusion of others who are positioned as «not free in the same way» (Ahmed, 2014: 151).

10.3 Mobility as a constitutive narrative

With globalisation and the process of European integration in the second half of the 20th century, mobility surged as a preeminent narrative. In 1993, the European Union promised peace, prosperity, cooperation, and collective well-being by establishing a continental zone without internal borders under the principles of freedom, justice, and security (European Union, 2006). The right to mobility was placed at the core of the constitution of the EU, guaranteeing within the Union «the free movements of persons, services, goods and capital, and freedom of establishment» (*Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe*, 2005). Mobility became principal to European citizenship, and a central symbolic motif to European identity; a way in which becoming European is experiential through everyday practices, professional mobility, through the use of infrastructure and large networks that materialise movement. For instance, from the economic integration in 1993 until 2015, the EU has invested 90 billion euros in infrastructure to develop more than 18 thousand kilometres of roads, 20 thousand kilometres of railway, 38 airports, 13 seaports and 49 river ports (Majewska, 2014). Mobility has been manufactured to function as some sort of blank space standing as an alternative to place. In Benedict Anderson's terms, Europe has been constructing its own «imagined community» through practices, infrastructure, metaphors, and representations of mobility (Anderson, 1982). In that sense, «the ideal European citizen is someone with a thin connection to any single place – a rootless, flexible, highly educated, and well-travelled cosmopolitan, capable of maintaining long-distance and virtual relations without looking to the nation-state for protection» (Verstraete and Cresswell, 2007). The EU has crafted mobility as a device to experience Europeaness,

inscribing movement as the advantage of the Euro citizenship. However, with the commitment to freedom and mobility in the «Schengen space», also came an equal commitment to the fortification of its external borders.

On the cultural and education sphere, the establishment of mechanisms and institutions promoting movement on multiple levels, such as Erasmus+, as well as the initiatives supported by new Creative Europe, continue to reinforce mobility as a source of European identity. On the private level and non-profit sector, organisations such as the European Cultural Foundation, Res Artis, TransArtists, and On the Move, which are all based in Europe and originally prioritising European mobility, continue to promote mobility in the arts. Their aims are to display how practical and effortless it is to be European, how natural it is to move among member states, and how evident the process of moving can be (Novoa, 2014). Mobility has come to be a form of identification, and probably the most praised achievement of the EU, constructing a scenario that displays the world in terms of mobility and proximity, and produces an imagined European distinctiveness in contrast with other territorial limitations around the world. Although the abstract category of European mobility appears promising more cultural proximity and social interactions, it is also built upon diverse practices reproducing multiple forms of spatial injustice, including uneven distribution of power, and dynamics of immobility (Novoa, 2014). New limits, borders and policies, have been implemented to establish distinct differences between Europeans and non-Europeans, as the freedom of mobility for Euro citizens and certain kind of visitors, is only possible through the organised exclusion of others (Verstraete and Cresswell, 2007). The spatial reorganisation of Europe is enacted through a process of differentiation between authorised or unauthorised movement, which is only possible through the compliance of surveillance practices. Today, European citizenship represents endless possibilities of movement, not only within the Union, but also around the world, considering the minimal visa restrictions to EU passport holders, creating a new metaphor for the wandering nomad in search for new discoveries. In this respect, the representation of Europeans as nomads continues to reenact centuries of imperial gaze, reproducing representational strategies in opposition to others, and through an apparent universalisation of movement, the European observer is able to continue the legacy of colonialism by constructing an entirely Eurocentric view (Cresswell, 1999).

10.4 The elusive «West» and its inventions

Imaginations of mobility have informed judgments about people and their practices over the last several centuries in the «Western» world (Cresswell, 2010), and under the guise of the non-representational Europeans have been established as an elusive racialisation. «Because of practices that racialise space and spatialise race, whiteness is learned and legitimated, perceived as natural, necessary, and inevitable» (Lipsitz, 2011: 6).

Sociologist Ramón Grosfoguel states that «west», including «western», is no longer a geographical region, but a position in power relations (Grosfoguel, 1997); it is an ideological construction that enacts one of the most perverse silences in the history of humanity (Chakrabarty, 2008; Trouillot and Carby, 2015). In the elusive meaning of «west», a silence is implicit. It is in this process of ambivalence that colonial discourses and their close ties to domination and extermination continue to be relevant (Bhabha, 1983). Kirsten Buick³ explained how the “west” is the ideological culmination of everything horrific that has happened in the world, «every awful thing that it has done to people and groups of people», when «using ‘western’ as a euphemism for ‘European’ – it subsumes all other internal voices raised in protest such as indigenous and black» (Buick, 2018).

No one can elude the atrocities of ideologies, nobody is able to escape class, sexual, gender, spiritual, linguistic, geographical or racial hierarchies of the «modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world-system», we are all colonised subjects since the whole world is living under a Eurocentric project of modernity⁴ (Grosfoguel, 2013). Modernity through ideologies, has kidnapped and monopolised the definitions of Freedom, Democracy, Human Rights, Women’s Liberation, Cooperation, Development, Mobility, etc. Critiques of this system, bringing into question the racialisation of geo-historical constructions of locations framed as «underdeveloped» are not common to be found, especially considering that the current systems of knowledge were built through extermination and targeted epistemicides,⁵ establishing a male Eurocentric Christian structure of knowledge used as an excuse to «civilise» the rest of the world.

The imposition of Christianity in order to convert the so-called savages and barbarians in the 16th century, followed by the imposition of «white man’s burden» and «civilizing mission» in the 18th and 19th century, the imposition of the «developmentalist project» in the 20th century and, more recently, the imperial project of military interventions under the rhetoric of «democracy» and «human rights» in the 21st century, have all been imposed by militarism and violence under the rhetoric of modernity of saving the «other» from its own barbarianisms (Grosfoguel, 2011: 25).

In that sense, the idea of mobility established as a distinct maker of absolute differences between the coloniser and the colonised is also used to invent America as a new world (Rabasa, 1993; Cummins, 2002), and these kinds of representational practices are

³ I am especially grateful to Professor Kirsten Pai Buick for her wisdom, generous conversations in expanding the topic of mobility, and for contributing to a responsive art history.

⁴ Ramón Grosfoguel in his essay *The Structure of Knowledge in Westernized Universities* uses the term *Modernity* to explain the new historical system known as the Capitalist World-Economy.

⁵ Ramón Grosfoguel cites Boaventura de Sousa Santos’ concept of «epistemicide» to explain the destruction of knowledges tied to the destruction of peoples and ways of knowing.

still being used to ascertain distinctions such as «them» and «us» in popular culture. The history of the cultural relations between Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean (mobility included) is plagued with these representations and also linked to domination and extermination (Grosfoguel, 2004; Mignolo, 2012).

Latin America and the Caribbean have been the subject of imperial fantasies from the first moment of contact with Europeans in 1492, and since then, the visual culture and the inhabitants of the Americas has been burdened with representational meaning. The flora and fauna have been described and explained over and over again, and entire populations have been recognisably characterised through simplistic representations for internal and external audiences (Baddeley, 2009; Cummins 2002). For instance, America and Cannibals are almost simultaneous European inventions. Although anthropophagy happened in various times in European history, cannibalism is a localised term derived from the non-European words *canibales* or *caribes* (hence the name Caribbean), creating distinction and location to establish distance between Europe and the Americas (Cummins, 2002). The fantasy of cannibalism was fixed into European imagination through maps and descriptions as early as the 15th century, leading to discourses of idolatry (the lack of soul and humanity), and the production of depictions to establish distinction not only between the European self and alleged other, but between history and place, an apparent opposition between culture and nature that produces movement and stasis (Cummins, 2002; Grosfoguel, 2013; Rabasa, 1993). Time and space have been colonised and Europe has been constructed as the reference of global history (Grosfoguel, 1997; Mignolo, 2012), thus most terms used to explain the social, cultural, and political complexity in Americas are inventions, including «indigenous» and «indigeneity» (also a term used to racialise space and time). For instance, Mexico alone has 68 native languages and 350 dialects, all derived from 11 distinct language families (Mexico, Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas, 2008), despite the diversity of linguistic origins, none of this have a translation for the term «indigenous».

All these processes of definition and depiction, including language and art, are drawn from the shared heritage of symbolic representation. Even the term «Latin America» that became popular in the 19th century, and that remains in use, is a French ideological invention⁶ rooted in the legacy of colonisation. When the independent nations of Americas emerged with its new divisions, these were not established by the self-proclaimed independences as nation-states, but according to the imperial history of European domination in the continent (Mignolo, 2012).

⁶ The concept of *Latin America* was coined during the 19th century through the French idea of *latinité*, later adopted by Francophiles in the Americas and consolidated through independence movements.

10.5 A fantasy performance of mutual exchange and reciprocity

Although the dynamism of the 21st century could suggest a positive impact due to mobility, in reality there is no increase in movement without extensive systems of immobility (Sheller, 2012; Cresswell, 2006), especially considering that velocity and fixity are all interconnected and imbued with power distribution. This problem becomes even more complex when we address that distribution of power, as it can happen asymmetrically in the same subjectivity, and simultaneously render multiple ideological effects. How we perceive ourselves, and how we are perceived by others as a consequence of mobility, does not have the same distribution of power. Because the effects of mobility are perceived differently by everyone, several ideologies are always implicated in an encounter, thus creating multiple conditions for exploitation and oppression. Karen E. Fields and Barbara J. Fields explain how ideologies can function as monstrous fictions, in similar ways as witchcraft, «far from denying the rationality of those who have accepted either belief as truth about the world, we assume it» (Fields and Fields, 2014: 19). In that same sense, we assume cultural relations between the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean, without thinking about the crafting of ideology and the role this is playing in our perception. Cultural exchanges can become quite often a fantasy performance of mutual exchange and reciprocity, and cooperation becomes co-optation and appropriation (Buick, 2018), especially at artist residencies, where locality and mobility play such an important role. Therefore, no discussion about cultural mobility or cultural exchange, between the European Union, or even the United States, and Latin America and the Caribbean is complete without taking into account the implications of ideology.

The effects of ideology are profound and multidirectional, affecting everyone, especially when different ideologies intersect to create several perceptions about gender, class, race, culture, etc. in a specific place and context. I will present an example experienced at Arquetopia Foundation to illustrate such complexity. As part of our annual academic summer programme, Arquetopia hosted in Puebla, Mexico a guest scholar specialised in Modern/Contemporary Latin American Art History. She was born and raised in California, in Southern Los Angeles County, to Central American immigrant parents, self-identified as Latina, and had extensive experience traveling to Central America, as her research and pedagogy is focused on visual politics, activism in Latin America, and decolonising methodologies in art. The group of participants were a mix of international and local visual artists exploring the theme of transnational mobilities in the context of artist residencies. During the session, one of the attendees inquired on the prominence of class versus race in Mexico and Central America, and the guest scholar began explaining that the Americas have a complex history with many differences among the regions, concluding with a statement that could help exemplify the function of mobility and its multidirectional ideological effects, and that I have transcribed as follows:

I know at least in the US, everybody thinks that all Spanish-speaking people are Mexican, you know... You don't know how many times I've been told I'm Mexican, and I get... and I'm like... No offense to my Mexicano friends, but I'm afraid I'm not Mexican! Right, I'm Central... I have a whole history that's different, politics... It's not the same thing, no, no, no... (Arquetopia, n.d.).

If we think about the function of this statement, what is it revealing about the US/Mexico relations, and the relations between Mexico and Central America? How is mobility functioning here? Especially considering immigration, cooperation, and cultural exchanges in the context of Latin America. Because the multidirectional effects of mobility are a dialectical process of socialisation, individuals can internalise patterns of behaviour and contribute to the oppression of others and to their own subordination simultaneously (Lipsitz, 2011; Holland, 2012). While groups often challenge and contest oppression, they also can contribute to the oppression of themselves and others, allowing the perpetuation of the system. Latin America and the Caribbean are regions that share similar histories, however there are also complicated relationships between regions, countries, and communities, usually founded on a rigid class system that allows systemic exploitation and oppression. To understand the ideological investment in the new forms of mobility, we need to understand old forms of mobility and their legacy (Cresswell, 2006), for instance, how are race and class intertwined with mobility, especially in the context of Mexico and the United States, and Mexico and Central America.

The way we move through space determines how we are ascribed to specific forms of representation, and at the same time, the way we are represented and perceived determines the forms in which we can move. Because representations are also the product of historical ideological legacies, these are enabled by the explicit and implicit understandings of race, class, gender, etc., according to a specific space and time in history (Buick, 2018; Holland, 2012; Buttler, 1988; Pinder, 2002). Mobility and racialisation operate together, especially in places where imperialism formed their societies, such as the United States and Europe. George Lipsitz explains that race is produced by space, since place is necessary for racism to occur, and the relation between races are at the same time relations between places (Lipsitz, 2011). For example, Mexicans were racialised through the narratives of drug smuggling and delinquency that were originally fabricated in the 19th century for the purpose of invasion and exclusion during the Mexican American War, and those same narratives are still in use in mass media, continuing to function with new depictions that can be found on a daily basis on any news channel. Ideologies of scientific racism and imperialism became part of the popular culture in the 19th and 20th centuries, allowing the continuity of colonisation through migrations both in the countries of origin and diasporas in the new homelands (Rodríguez, 2005). Mixed groups with diverse ethnic origins, such as Mexicans or Puerto Ricans, are often racialised to tightly fit them into a

carefully constructed social grid (Grosfoguel, 2004; Rodriguez, 2005); even European ethnic migrants who were moving west of the United States were racialised as white (Buick, 2018), allowing them to invade previously occupied territories and exterminate Native Americans and Mexicans.

Today mobility continues to have different impacts on the experience of its practice; for instance, asylum seekers from Honduras are *Mexicanised* through their mobility by the U.S. (Buick, 2018) while Europeans are self-racialised through their endless mobility and the tight security at the EU borders against anyone non-European. «Whiteness can only dissolve its multiple ethnicities by racialising everyone else» (Buick, 2018). Over the years, the contention at borders has popularised a fear expressed in representations, such as immigrants, criminals, prostitutes, and wage-cutting labour (Garner, 2007; Cresswell, 2010). Ideologies create and maintain the conditions of oppression, «racism creates and maintains race, sexism creates and maintains gender» (Buick, 2018), as well as nationalism maintains the nation.

The diversity of independence movements in Latin America and the Caribbean, the complex processes of identification and differentiation of its inhabitants through the centuries, and also the interactions between all the different territories in the Americas, were factors leading to the emergence of new nations; however, they also constructed a very complex system of representations continuously enacting classist discrimination. Although these processes of identification function very differently from modern racial ideologies, over the centuries, class ideology in Latin America and the Caribbean has also perfected a system of power and coercion through forms of representation, and all forms of ideology require the active participation of everyone to effectively function. After all, we know colonialism cannot be interpreted as pure and simple domination, as all colonial systems required collusion and internal alliances with specific groups. As a result, the role of colonialism, both internal and external, has culturally codified political and social recognition through the spatialisation of class in Latin America and the Caribbean. For instance, asylum seekers such as Central Americans crossing through Mexico are racialised by the United States through their mobility, while in Mexico they are also class discriminated through space. Other examples are the perception and representation of Venezuelan immigrants in Peru. In trying to understand notions of class and race in Latin America, we have to think of these ideologies in the context of the five centuries of their transformation. As Malcom X expressed, «racism is like a Cadillac, they bring out a new model every year» (Lipsitz, 2011: 21). Although classism and racism are not equivalent, they function in similar ways; class, just like race, is also parasitic (attaching itself to other forms of ideologies) and chameleonic (changing form continuously) (Holt, 2002; Martínez, 2011; McCaa, 1984).

10.6 How do we move from here?

The question of cultural cooperation in Latin America and the Caribbean remains at the forefront as an immense challenge, especially when knowing not only that cultural mobility opportunities are limited in the region, but that such conditions are determined by the history of power and ideology. Res Artis, the largest international artist residency network with more than 700 programmes, and one of the most important organisations facilitating mobility, published in its 2017 annual report that only 8% of its members are in Latin America and the Caribbean, while European members amount to 66%, and those from US and Canada are 18% (Guevara, 2017). This speaks volumes on the legacy of colonisation and the effects of imperialism in the region, but also about the limited regional cooperation. In the last several years, the efforts for cultural cooperation in the regions of Latin America and the Caribbean have disintegrated. For instance, in 2013, *Residencias en Red*, the only artist residency network actively promoting cultural mobility at a regional level, ceased operations due to a lack of collaboration between its members, all from Latin America and the Caribbean (Arteinformado, 2012). In 2015, the *Artistic Residency Programme in Mexico for Ibero-American Creators*, one of the largest initiatives supporting the mobility of artist in the Americas, funded by the Government of Mexico and the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation, came to an end, leaving a huge vacuum in the cooperation of Mexico with other Latin American and Caribbean countries (Hannover, 2012). Currently, the only mobility opportunities in terms of residencies that the Mexican government is offering are to the United States and Canada (FONCA, n.d.), while the Peruvian government is not offering any opportunities whatsoever (Ministry of Culture – Peru, n.d.). How is it possible that Mexico and Peru, two of the largest historical territories in the world, with vast cultures and prominence in the region, are not prioritising cultural cooperation with Latin America and the Caribbean?

Published in 2018, in an effort to promote cultural mobility, Arquetopia Foundation sponsored and produced the *Cultural Mobility Funding Guide for Latin America and the Caribbean*, in collaboration with On the Move. The project took over a year for its completion, and although initially the research produced a listing of approximately 250 scholarships and opportunities, by the time of its final revision for its publication only 103 mobility opportunities remained in existence, as many of the initiatives and programmes in the region had disappeared or ceased operations (Guevara and Hernández, 2018). In contrast with other similar guides also published by On the Move, this one provides information on funding opportunities for artists and cultural professionals from Latin America and the Caribbean and for those interested in traveling to these regions. However, because of the scarcity of opportunities, the guide comprises any funding that includes cultural mobility even if these opportunities are not exclusively for that purpose. As a result, the guide provides a panorama to help us better understand the function of mobility in Latin

America and the Caribbean, especially with these considerations: origin of the funding, prioritised destinations and demographics, as well as exclusions.

The publication is divided into three sections: public, private, and mixed sources, according to the origin of the funding. Most of the opportunities are funded by private entities representing 47% of the total, followed by public organisations funding with 29%, and the remaining 24% corresponds to mixed funding. It is worth noting that the majority of funding comes from outside Latin America and the Caribbean; 41% comes from Europe, 15% from the U.S., 4% from multilateral organisations, while 41% comes from Latin America. Mixed funding opportunities also shows a similar ratio, having 70% coming from sources outside of these regions, and only 30% from Latin America. Having a preponderance of funding provided by private entities and the majority of the funding coming from outside of Latin America and the Caribbean shows that democratic control and access to cultural mobility in the region has been ceded to international actors. This could potentially be an effect of the deregulation and expansion of the market economy, as well as the rise of conservatism and neoliberal governments in the Americas.

Contrasting the private and public funding sources shows distinct differences. While most of the funding in the private sectors comes from abroad (United States 27%, Spain 25%, Germany 19%, France 10%) and only 14% comes from Latin America (Mexico 8%, Argentina 4%, and Uruguay 2%), in the public sector, it is the opposite; the majority of funding comes from within the region (Mexico 31%, Argentina 31%, Colombia 21%, and Chile 10%) while only 6% comes from outside (Spain 3% and UNESCO 2%). It is also important to note that no information regarding funding from the Caribbean was found. This contrast between private and public funding can also reveal important information in terms of public policy and specifically in the culture sector. On the one hand, it shows the lack of investment in culture from the private sector, probably due to a paternalist tradition of governments in Latin America inherited from colonial systems of production and the rigid class systems. On the other hand, the public sector shows the intersection of foreign policy and culture in specific countries in the region, that also have an interest in regional cooperation and a leadership position in regional integration efforts such as Argentina, Chile, and Colombia in Mercosur, and Mexico, Colombia, and Chile in the Pacific Alliance.

How destinations are prioritised is also very revealing: 37% of the mobility opportunities are specifically aimed to Europe, 17% to the United States and Canada, 21% to Latin America, 3% to Ibero-America, whereas 20% are open to any destination. Again, private funding prioritises Europe (50%) and the United States (21%), while only 13% of the opportunities contemplates Latin America as a destination. Looking at how regions are prioritised not only reveals the history of imperial domination in the Americas, it reflects also a lack or very limited interest in regional cooperation, probably due to class prejudic-

es in these regions, especially considering that all these opportunities are geared towards artists from Latin America and the Caribbean.

The scarcity of mobility opportunities for artists in these regions is also clearly shown in the demographic analysis. Although all funding and cultural mobility opportunities listed are open to citizens from Latin America and the Caribbean, actually 44% of these opportunities are offered to artists and cultural professionals from anywhere around the world, only 42% is offered specifically to Latin American and Caribbean citizens, while 9% includes citizens from Spain, and 6% is also offered to artists from other countries in Africa and Asia. From the opportunities offered to citizens from Latin America there are certain limitations, considering that 25% of these are only open to citizens from Argentina, 15% to Colombians, 12% to Mexicans, and 4% to Chileans. Thus, citizens from other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean have fewer opportunities, taking into account that the 38% of remaining opportunities is open to anyone from these regions, leaving fewer chances for support due to the large numbers of applicants.

Specifically focusing on the funding from Latin America, we can see that Argentina and Mexico are the leading countries offering 62% of the total cultural mobility opportunities in the region, followed by Colombia 19%, Chile 10%, and Uruguay 2%. Again, the Caribbean remains absent probably due to the lack of access to information regarding this kind of funding and programmes. The influence of imperial domination is also reflected in the chosen destinations for most public cultural mobility programmes. From the opportunities funded by governments in the region, 54% only consider the United States, Canada, and Europe, followed by 24% prioritising Ibero-America, and 20% corresponding to any destination around the world. The perception of dwindling cultural mobility opportunities in the region is also influenced by the increasing number of applicants, not only from Latin America and the Caribbean but other regions in the world.

This analysis reflects some of the functions of mobility, specifically in public policies, both from the private and public sector. Further research would be necessary to better understand trends and behaviours, especially why so many programmes have ceased operations. It would also be necessary to have relevant information regarding the specific demographic and destination choices for each programme, especially for those open to other regions and professionals from around the world. As mentioned in the guide, the listing is a first approximation to a mapping of funding opportunities for international cultural mobility in these regions, and a regular update would be necessary to keep opportunities offered up to date and to understand trends in these regions. After all, the guide's goal is to add to the conversations about resources in Latin America, bearing in mind that sustainability in the cultural sector, and especially social transformation, should not depend only on funding but in expanding the conversation of resources to consider other forms of reciprocal exchanges.

10.7 Conclusion

Freedom, cooperation, as well as cultural mobility are terms that are used under the assumption that we all understand the same thing, and quite often they enact ideological silences allowing historically rooted violence to prevail (Buick, 2018; Trouillot and Carby, 2015; Grosfoguel, 2011). Philosopher Emmanuel Levinas stated that real violence «does not consist so much in injuring and annihilating persons as in interrupting their continuity, making them play roles in which they no longer recognise themselves, making them betray not only commitments but their own substance, making them carry out actions that will destroy every possibility for action» (Bolton, 2010: 4). The long reach of European and US racialisation of Latin America and the Caribbean, and in general the spatialisation of class, are major obstacles for any kind of cooperation and transformation in these regions. Although Jefferson's ideas contributed to the independence of Latin America and the Caribbean, they also coined exploitation and stasis as the means for individual freedom. As Linda Bolton stated, «what happens when freedom eclipses justice, when freedom breeds injustice?» (Bolton, 2010: 2). The fact that justice does not emerge from our own intimacy is of critical importance, which could lead us to a radical commitment to the obligation with another (Levinas, 2011). «We need to rethink freedom as something other than autonomy, independence, and unfettered self-sufficiency. Indeed, we need eventually to go so far as to find the place where freedom discovers its investment in the responsibility for the Other⁷» (Bolton, 2010: 95).

In that same sense, international cultural cooperation between the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean is a highly political issue that concerns us all, not only from the perspective of colonisation but our own structures of discrimination and oppression in the region. In Levinas's words, «in every death is shown the nearness of the neighbour, and the responsibility of the survivor» (Bolton, 2010: 16). In his book *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Dipesh Chakrabarty stated that though it is necessary to recognise that Europe's acquisition of the idea of modernity for itself is also an integral part of the story of imperialism, we also need to acknowledge that «the understanding that this equating of a certain version of Europe with 'modernity' is not the work of Europeans alone; third-world nationalisms, as modernizing ideologies par excellence, have been equal partners in the process» (Chakrabarty, 1992: 21). Social change must also happen on the level of class, but because class is parasitic and chameleonic, mobilisation has been securely obstructed, and thus the illusion of a fight against racism, and gender discrimination in Latin America and the Caribbean, becomes an alter-

⁷ Levinas challenges European philosophy by providing an argument that displaces the assumption about the primacy of self-willed agency in the study of ethics, by presenting an alternative responsiveness to the Other. The «I» find its identity in response to the Other, as a result the «I» or self emerges as a by-product, a responsive derivative construction.

native that always falls short. Mobility in Latin America and the Caribbean is tied to the history and legacy of colonisation and imperialism, but also to how classism functions intertwined with both internal and external racism in these regions.

To present an alternative to the issue of cultural mobility in the context of the relations between the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean means that we need to commit to unraveling history from its investment with the grandiose narratives of citizenship, rights, nation-state, and public and private spheres, allowing to problematise Latin America and the Caribbean while also dismantling the central idea of Europe (Chakrabarty, 2008). Our goal should be to re-inscribe in history the contradictions, ambivalences, violence, ironies, and tragedies encompassing it. As Kirsten Buick stated, it is necessary to re-present patterns, to recognise patterns in systems of representation and understand their function (Cash et al., 2016).

Without a radical commitment to social change, mobility will continue to be a fantasy, a representation of movement also perpetuating exclusion and encapsulation by purposefully omitting those who experience these conditions. As we move in the cultural sector, we need to make sure that cultural mobility does not become cultural trafficking, movement at the expense of exploitation. When I read Levinas's statement «the Other concerns me as a neighbor» (Bolton, 2010: 16), I think of Latin America and the Caribbean, and just like Chakrabarty, I strive for a history that makes visible its repressive strategies in its own structure, allowing us to understand our own collusion and be able to assume our responsibility (Chakrabarty, 2008; Hamnett, 1997; Levinas, 2002).

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11

RELATIONS BETWEEN EUROPE, LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN IN THE SPHERE OF PERFORMING ARTS

Xavier MARCÉ CAROL

Abstract

This chapter aims to analyse the possibilities offered by a generous relationship between Europe, Latin America and the countries of the Caribbean in the sphere of performing arts, placing special emphasis on the development of business activities that can generate stable and sustainable show spaces. The central idea is to establish institutional policy activity as a starting point that multiplies the capacity of business environments acting in this sphere of artistic and cultural activity.

It is evident that this relationship is conditioned by very specific linguistic realities, but this factor does not act equally in the world of music or in that of the performing arts. Making the most of the factors that generate particular dynamics in each of these sectors, empowering the market vector in the musical section and favouring institutional activity that is linked to business environments in the field of theatre or dance is essential for expanding the presence of Latin American projects in Europe.

It makes no sense in the 21st century to act as though performing arts were a single reality and nor does it make sense to overlook the agents that can strengthen the potential markets of each of these cultural spheres. The goal of this chapter is, therefore, to stress the commercial potential of the Latin American performing arts in Europe beyond its strict reference value.

11.1 Introduction

Various treaties and agreements between Europe and the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean highlight the interest in expanding cultural relations between these two regions. These agreements have two basic aspects: firstly, everything referring to European cultural cooperation policies that generate specific programmes to support the development of culture and the arts in Latin America and secondly a series of policies for favouring cultural exchanges and the circulation of artistic contents. These are two parallel policies, but each of them has its own dynamics. The first represents a set of actions of a cooperative and assistance type, the second involves the private sectors, affects the market and has clearly commercial components.

We can deduce from prior elements included in this study that the most relevant problems for cultural cooperation between the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean come from the legal-administrative differential and the customs and fiscal obstacles that hinder the circulation of products and people with temporary contracts in different countries to that of their residence. The main advantages, for their part, come from the existence of stable support points based on the generalised presence of European cultural institutes in the majority of Latin American countries.

Relations with Europe mainly obey linguistic correlations, a phenomenon highlighted very especially in the case of Spanish (Ibero-America) and French (Francophone Caribbean), and to a lesser extent between Great Britain and the Anglophone Caribbean (which has a greater tendency towards cultural relations with the USA) and Portugal with respect to Brazil (in this case due to the enormous cultural weight of the latter). In the same way we observe a limited relationship with the countries of Eastern Europe or the Scandinavian region.

The most stable relationships are observed in sectors with a more solid industrial structure. The publishing, audiovisual and recording sectors are the spheres in which, with reasonable proportionalities, relationships are most consolidated. It is worth highlighting that often the production or distribution companies have European head offices, which facilitates international relations, although it may subtract added value from local industries. The drive of the cultural industries is also affected positively by the progressive consolidation of global audiovisual and music markets that eliminate the frontiers between the genuinely local and the global.

The heritage sphere is closely associated with tourism and the interest generated in Europe by the pre-Columbian cultures. Within this context the performing arts, with all its particularities and limitations, appear as one of the aspects requiring preferential treatment, either because of its capacity to generate cultural evocations, or because of its multiplying potential in terms of subsequent industrial consumption.

Traditionally the different cooperation agreements signed between the EU and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States established basic priorities for the exchange of cultural contents of an industrial nature insofar as they represented regulations related with the issues of preferential European interest: the MEDIA and Creative Europe programmes.

From 2015 onwards, the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) has been setting more precise goals in cultural matters. Within its action framework it has included, in addition to the creative industries and social development, a wide diversity of artistic expressions. Future collaboration agreements should result from this.

The reality shows that the intersections between performing arts and industrial-digital cultural activity are not precise in linear terms, or at least are not so in the same way in each of the cultural sectors. It is a good idea to clarify matters in this respect.

11.2 Cultural life in Latin America. Effects of European cultural cooperation policies

The majority of Latin American countries (except for those in the Anglophone Caribbean) have, like many European countries, cultural dynamics based on the pre-eminence of the State as a guarantee of general stability of the cultural production system. This is a model with which Europe has had a long experience, with numerous variants and not free of enormous contradictions, especially following the appearance of modern communication technologies and of the digital space. However, in Latin America a significant North American influence is perceivable that is manifested through a mixed cultural structure with a host of private initiatives through foundations and business investments and a very interactive relationship with the social media networks (this is the continent where cultural consumption via streaming is growing fastest).

This combination of elements of different legal natures (continental model with Anglicised practices) has a decisive influence on the structuring of the Latin American cultural «tempo», in which the consolidation of an internal market and the financial articulation of a business community capable of exporting depends, largely, on the complicity of the major communication systems and on their capacity to build international partnerships.

In Latin America, public cultural policies have a marked social accent and industrial products (those aimed directly at commercial consumption) must establish agreements with the major communication and distribution centres in order to survive since no big local markets or stable models of public support exist. This circumstance brings about enormous problems for the traditional analyses of European cultural policies, incapable of understanding and operating in the face of very fragile national realities (historically autarkic and with weak cultural protection). In contrast, it is «a godsend» for those artistic

and business proposals that understand and adapt to the functional considerations of the network and of global (multinational) phenomena. This is the reason for which a large quantity of Latino contents circulates around the world under North American distribution. Only in some cities with a sustainable cultural market (Mexico, Buenos Aires and Sao Paulo, basically) this eminently commercial proposal is only escaped by directly public productions and a few alternative exceptions.

For this reason, at a time of transition, like that which we are living through now, traditional cooperation policies should be harmonised with programmes of business development and co-production, based on policies of a financial type and on productive investments of a mixed (public-private) nature. In our judgement, the main virtue of this line of analysis is to break with the colonising sensation often perceived from Europe (or from each of the reference countries). This is a case of placing a greater accent on exchanges and co-productions, with the aim of being more efficient and plural.

The cooperation programmes that are run by diverse European countries are widely praised by the Latin American cultural sectors, although this may be motivated by the substitutional character that is sometimes derived from them. Effectively there are more than a few American projects that equip themselves mainly with European resources (especially international festivals and tours) which suggests a tendency towards dependency on international cooperation and towards the creation of associations and businesses specialising in its management.

In the Spanish case, repeatedly pointed out as the most relevant programmes are Ibermedia, Iberescena and programme of grants for training in Spain or in Latin America itself. Among these, Ibermedia is the one that has achieved the most relevant impact in local industries and especially in Argentina, Colombia (Mexican cinema focuses more on its relations with the USA), Peru and in its collaboration with Cuba. For some of these countries this programme has been fundamental for their incipient audiovisual industries.

The perception of usefulness and positioning of the European cost centres is more erratic and depends on the specific activity of each of them. In general, the Spanish centres are less valued than their international counterparts: the Goethe-Institut, the Alliance Française, the British Council and the American Institute. Perhaps this is due to the language phenomenon (except in Brazil, the Spanish centres do not offer language teaching) or the lack of presence of Spanish cultural productions of quality. These centres are seen as a possible, natural and to a certain point logical bridge with Europe, although this idea does not rule out aversion to a possible cultural neo-colonialism. In any case, cultural relations of an economic nature with Europe, although relevant, are scarce and have enormous potential for growth.

Because of all this, a widespread idea exists that relations with Europe should be more ambitious. This generic idea is very much associated with the relations existing from country

to country and very especially with Spain, France and to a lesser extent Portugal. The maintaining of a relations framework essentially based on the principles of governmental cooperation limits the expectations of the more industrialised sectors, to the point of reducing the possibilities of each reference country as a commercial bridge to the European market.

The perception of the EU (as a global institutional agent) as an institutional framework of reference is very weak, either because of the intermediary role of each country or because of the intrinsic difficulty involved in the legal and administrative differences between countries.

11.3 The Latin American internal markets. Cultural practices and habits

The observation of cultural practices and habits in Latin America with respect to performing arts gives us a clear example of the enormous diversity of the continent. In general, levels of cultural consumption are low, which enables us to establish a certain relationship with the socioeconomic development index of each country and obviously with the institutional one.

In table 11.1, some illustrative data are provided regarding attendance in performing arts in Latin America.

Figure 11.1. Attendance at performing arts activities in Latin America (2013). Percentage of the population.

	At some stage	In the last year
Uruguay	52%	19%
Argentina	51%	17%
Costa Rica	49%	19%
Chile	45%	13%
Colombia	40%	18%
Brazil	38%	15%
Mexico	31%	13%
Honduras	16%	6%
Nicaragua	14%	4%
South America	37%	13%
Central America	24%	9%
Latin America	33%	12%

Source: Compilation based on OEI (2013).

For the sake of comparison at the European level, in Spain 30% of the population attended at least at one performing arts' show during the last year (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2015). The reference to Spain illustrates an interesting comparison, inasmuch as the majority of Latin American countries pertains to the Spanish linguistic community and Spain could be considered as the main reference country.

Table 11.2. Attendance at musical shows in the last 12 months in Latin America (2013). Percentage of the population.

Argentina	45%
Uruguay	39%
Chile	42%
Peru	41%
Ecuador	40%
Colombia	39%
Costa Rica	37%
Mexico	34%
Brazil	20%
Honduras	12%
Nicaragua	12%
South America	35%
Central America	21%
Latin America	32%

Source: Compilation based on OEI (2013).

With respect to theatre and dance shows, it is observed that 67% of the Latin American population claims to have never attended (or at least not in the last 12 months) any performing arts show (OEI, 2013). If we break down South America (63%) and Central America (76%) we can observe an evident difference in terms of cultural development, although we cannot infer absolute conclusions from it. Uruguay (48%), Argentina (49%), Chile (55%) and Colombia (60%) are, in this order, the countries with the lowest share of performing arts non-attendance, with the interesting appearance of Costa Rica (51%). It is worth pointing out that indexes of non-attendance in countries such as Nicaragua (86%), Honduras (84%) and Guatemala (81%) should be viewed with considerable concern.

The reasons argued for not going to the theatre are diverse, but in no case is the perception of it being an expensive activity a priority. In this sense, a lack of time, or preference for another type of activity, is significantly more relevant. Except in countries where

the private market has a certain level of development (Argentina and Mexico especially) the price of the performing arts is very much within people's reach.

In the musical field, the situation is parallel. Argentina (55%), Chile (58%), Peru (59%) and Ecuador (60%) are the best positioned. Costa Rica has a rather more discreet percentage of absenteeism at 63%. Curiously, there is a surprisingly high index of failure of live music in Brazil, despite this being a country with an extremely powerful music industry.

The exporting of performing arts proposals runs parallel to the development of internal markets, given that this is not an activity of an industrial nature that could be a subject of interest for a multinational company, as may occur in the musical field. In this sense, a very important part of the music industries functions with directly international criteria, and local markets are more of an arrival point than a departure point.

11.4 Virtues and limits of European cultural cooperation

Thus then, the cultural relationship between Europe and the cultural sectors of the Latin American countries and those of the Caribbean is mainly focused from the perspective of cultural cooperation. Widespread opinion exists that culture contributes to the political regeneration of Latin American societies and that Europe, from its advanced position of development, must help by way of economic contributions that favour this type of process. This sensation has now evolved, with needs being perceived that exceed the traditional sphere of action of cooperation: greater mutual commitment, co-participation in the design of investment policies and, above all, exchanging of contents.

Such a point of view is globally desired from the Latin American culture. In fact, at successive OEI meetings, in the reports of MERCOSUR and at all kinds of international forums, culture emerges as an important point of support for encouraging the necessary Latin American social development without overlooking its major multiplication value on an economic scale. Investments in training, both *in situ* and through grants, so that Latin American managers can study at European universities, have been very important and are a good example of this.

The creation of Cultural Centres in various Latin American cities where with a certain frequency it is possible to see examples of European cultural activity has also been notable and ongoing, although the perception generated by these types of centres among Latin American opinion leaders is not always optimal.

The generalised perception of cooperation aid from European countries in Latin America is positive, but it is possible to observe a growing demand for more mature relations, based on co-production, economic exchange and the commercialisation of culture. A generation of culture professionals exists in Latin America who want to and can form

part of the commercial network that extends internationally, regardless of nationalities and protected markets. Filmmakers who produce for international companies, actors who share their time between Argentina and Spain, musicians who take no notice of defined frontiers and of course, publishing houses, television companies and businesses located in the real settings of the international cultural industries.

The most emblematic sector is, undoubtedly, that of music. The extraordinary creative capacity and enormous popular potential of Latin American music is evident, but (Brazil apart, of course) except for the stylistic musical phenomena (merengue, cumbia, salsa, etc.) the economic and industrial development of popular and signature music in the majority of Latin American countries depends on their integration into a universe of *World Music* controlled by Anglo-American record companies. In this case, the alibi of a long and expensive production process (as in the case of cinema) does not exist, nor the absence of a real market, but there is a lack of consolidation of powerful business platforms capable of positioning products of international interest in the global market.

The impact of training policies is equally worthy of highlight. An entire generation of Latin American cultural managers have studied in Spain, France or the UK or have been taught by European experts in their own countries. This is a fact that we must value positively even though teacher training policies are conspicuous by their very absence. Analysing the Latin American cultural reality, it is perceptible that the main problem lies not in the absence of intellectual bases nor conceptual foundations for cultural management. The training deficit of the Latin American cultural manager is essentially methodological and political.

Regarding all this, it is worth highlighting:

1. The low level of existing business development. Always with notable exceptions, the business scenario in Latin American culture is clearly deficient. This leads to enormous atomisation and a very limited economic flow that prevents the exporting of projects with leadership to Europe.
2. The lack of complicity between the communication and creation industries. Unlike in Europe, television companies have not been a real driving force for cultural development. In this sense, the European regulations for Television Without Frontiers are a crucial experience that, exceptions aside, have injected life into the sector, enabling its survival against the North American commercial whirlwind. Moreover, a large part of the television system of Latin American countries is private and situated outside of cultural complicity.
3. The lack of internal markets that ensure reasonable sustainability of the cultural production system. The cultural sustainability of a country and the manufacture of

exportable cultural products depends, largely, on the existence of a production structure with a broad base of internal audiences where experimentation, risk, success and failure all coexist. For this it is necessary to create circuits and extend the possibilities for local exploitation of the cultural productions of each country. The large part of Latin American cultural production takes place in urban environments that are apparently dense but with insufficient consumption levels.

4. A weak level of institutional development influenced by essentially sociocultural policies. Public culture policies in Latin America, although very active in legal areas, do not always enjoy the continuity necessary to consolidate processes of a structural nature. Contributing to this is the lack of any developed and powerful cultural municipalism plus the extreme competitiveness that arises in some countries between cultural policies of the capital (Buenos Aires, for example) and those of a national nature.
5. The limited international distribution and export capacity deriving from a situation of structural pseudo-colonisation. The scarce margin for manoeuvre of national companies in the international markets is determined by their structural and economic fragility and at the same time by the presence of international operators who, attracted by local talent and through very profitable investments, monopolise distribution rights in the European markets (cinema and music are a good example of this).

11.5 Prior annotations for defining the concept of performing arts

Cultural contents are basically expressed in two types of formats: live content and industrial contents. Live content should be understood as content that is formalised in a single and unrepeatable way, even if it could be done with a certain regularity. Industrial content, for its part, refers to a product that may be the subject of copies that do not alter the original in any way. Cultural activities that are expressed live include «performance» arts and expressions and a part of the plastic arts, although the latter sector is evolving quickly towards a closer, and at the same time all-enveloping idea, of visual arts that have a major connection with the digital technologies. Although this differentiation enables artistic contents to be classified into two major families, each of the sub-sectors concerned establishes relations between the industrial sphere and the performance sphere, which in some cases is limited to different formats of a single creativity or, in others, to experimental territories.

Thus: music is expressed both recorded (recording industry) and live (concerts), visual arts in singular formats (painting, sculpture) or audiovisual formats (video-creation, net art) while other territories are intrinsically not industrialisable (theatre or dance). It is worth pointing out, in order to delimit this last statement with precision, that recorded theatre or dance becomes audiovisual and consequently ceases to be a performance activity.

Theatre, dance, live music, circus, performing arts with objects, visual arts and all those creative manifestations that emerge from mixing and cross-border experimentation constitute the sphere of action of performing arts, in comparison to publishing, audiovisuals, recorded music, the visual arts associated with computer creation that constitute the work sphere of the cultural industries.

For the purposes of this study, the creative industries and their capacity to bring together an immense world of creative activities around design, hospitality, fashion, architecture, etc. are not included, even though we are aware that some of them have an unequivocal crafted nature. We will refer, therefore, in the coming pages, to sectors such as live music, theatre, dance and the performing arts in general insofar as they are the essential focus of the work of the European Community in its goal to facilitate a broader cooperation framework with the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean.

11.5.1 Major areas of influence

The circulation of Latin American live shows in Europe is affected by three main channels of action:

1. Relations incentivised by spheres of linguistic influence. These types of relations are related with the colonial past, the metropolitan nature of European countries and often by the existence of areas of influence that permit companies from a European country to administer with comparative advantages contents originating from a Latin American country. World music is a good example for understanding this relationship in which the major central operators highlight grassroots music created in developing countries (that generally do not have access to any powerful own music industry). There are four linguistic axes: Spanish, Portuguese, French and English.
2. Relations derived from the particularities of each national cultural policy, often the consequence of exchange programmes that emerge from the presence of European agencies in Latin American countries. The *Casas de España* in Spanish-speaking countries or the Instituto Cervantes in Brazil, the British Institute or the French Institute. Germany does not have linguistic matches in Latin America, but the presence of the Goethe-Institut is important in many countries, and a certain exchange relationship is derived from this. In this section, also influential is each country's greater or lesser capacity to take advantage of European Community grants to facilitate cultural exchange.
3. The role of the commercial markets, although this sphere of artistic circulation must be analysed in a very relative way. While music has an open commercial market – channelled by major multinationals and equipped with enormous media loud-

speakers that act on a global scale – theatre, dance, classical music, etc., obey more restricted formats, where the weight of public policies is nearly always a determining factor. While Latin American and especially Caribbean music genres have a notable presence in the European markets, the performing arts, with a few exceptions, depend on public contracts. In this respect, it is appropriate to point out the transcendental importance that the Mexican multinational CIE has had (and, previously, Argentina's Rock and Pop) for normalising the presence of great staged musicals in Spain. In 2005, CIE was acquired by the German multinational Stage Holding.

These three elements interact with frequency (except for the mainstream music market) and can be the focus of potential national strategies or of specific exchange agreements between countries.

11.6 Live music as a territory for intersection between the performing arts and the cultural industries

Having delimited the concept of performing arts, it is worth focusing on the world of music given that, due to its specificities, it is the sector where the relationship between industrial and performance aspects is most evident. Latin America is a permanent focus of musical creation as a rich source of contemporary culture. This is manifested in practically all spheres of music: traditional song, the typical and evolved genres of popular music (i.e. salsa, merengue, vallenato, reggaetón, rancheras, corridos, etc.), the militant and politically committed song, the immense universe of Brazilian music and obviously the fusion genres with music of English-language origin or influenced by Afro-American rhythms (i.e. reggae, ska, etc.). As for contemporary music, Latin America brings to the international all-star system an enormous number of artists, some on a global scale and others across broad international regions.

The influence of Latin music in the USA is very important, to the point of establishing a certain space for positioning and creation of added value in Miami, although in quite a few aspects this influence is determined from New York (especially that derived from the Northern Caribbean). The growing weight of Latino talent in the North American audiovisual market has contributed decisively to consolidating this relationship.

All of this means that music, both recorded and live, is converted into an important element within the regional creative industries, contributing a relevant part of added value to the commercial balance for culture between Latin America and the rest of the world.

Online streaming music platforms contribute towards multiplying income and directly promoting a booming market of live concerts. All of this contributes to Latin America currently being the world region with the greatest growth in its music industry.

Some data illustrate this clearly:

Table 11.3. *Music industry in Latin America. Boom in digital music – Profile (2016).*

Population: 626.7 million
Internet users: 378.2 million
Participation of Internet users with smartphones: 93%
Facebook subscribers: 321.8 million
Accumulated growth of recorded music between the years 2012 and 2015: 11%.

Source: PromocionMusical.es (2016).

Fortunately, the effects of piracy have been reduced in recent years, which has meant a notable increase in the musical spend per capita.

In table 11.4, the spend per capita (in dollars) on recorded music in the year 2015 in Latin America and the USA is exposed. To better understand the figures, it has to be considered that USA consumers spend 15.5 dollars per capita (PromocionMusical.es, 2016), an amount which is way higher than the spend in developing economies in Latin America.

Table 11.4. *Music industry in Latin America – spend per capita (2015).*

Argentina	3.3 US\$
Uruguay	2 US\$
Chile	1.8 US\$
Brazil	1.2 US\$
Mexico	1 US\$
Colombia	0,7 US\$
Central America - Caribbean	0.4 US\$
Peru	0,4 US\$
Ecuador	0,2 US\$
Venezuela	0.1 US\$

Source: PromocionMusical.es, (2016).

Table 11.5. *Music industry in Latin America – key markets (2015).*

Country	Population (mill.)	Income mill. USD	Growth rate	Int. Position
Brazil	207,7	247	-1,8 %	10
Argentina	44	141,6	34,8%	15
Mexico	130,2	126,4	14,4 %	16

Source: PromocionMusicales, (2016).

11.7 The performing arts. European showcases and stage circuits for Latin American theatre

The relationship between Latin American theatre and the European stage is weak and in general far removed from the commercial circuits. Usually its presence in Europe is only visible at festivals and in public programmes, and always in a sporadic fashion.

There is, however, an alternative Latin American theatre whose presence at small- and medium-format venues is more habitual, often taking advantage of trips and transports at the expense of a public programme that acts as a point of origin for a small tour. In Spain there are venues that programme Mexican or Argentinean shows with relative normality.

These types of relations of a casual nature should not surprise us, as they are proportionally similar to those that occur between the theatres of different European countries, where language differences limit the commercial circulation of many plays.

It should be taken into account that, in countries such as France or Germany, with a great presence of public or private theatres with stable agreements that enable them to function outside of strict commercial risk, programmes are planned in line with artistic logic and under pre-established budgets, which makes the programming of shows with very high fixed costs more difficult. The possibility of coordinating a tour that permits reasonable amortisation of these costs is not easy, which complicates the management of Latin American projects.

Another consideration is the circulation of directors and playwrights. In Spain, for example, director such as Claudio Tolcachir, Daniel Veronese and Javier Daulte have become part of the performing arts landscape and they direct productions with relative normality, sometimes with their own texts. In the same way, also habitual is the sale of rights either to original texts or those with intermediaries (the performance of French, English or Spanish texts is common in Latin America, as is the event of an Argentinian or Mexican company purchasing the rights to a North American text for the entire Spanish-speaking domain).

In some countries proposals have appeared for Latin American performing arts festivals whose main acts are artists and creators from the emigrant communities. These festivals may exceptionally programme shows originally from Latin America, although this is not their prime function.

The main circuits for the circulation of Latin American stage and musical shows in Europe are examined in the sections presented below.

11.7.1 Institutional support programmes for stage productions

As a consequence of cultural cooperation policies, some European countries have special programmes for helping Latin American cultural production, the co-production of contents and their circulation.

In Spain, highlights are the Iberescena programmes with grants for performing arts co-productions, festivals and theatre residency schemes. Also prominent are the grant programmes of the AECID (Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation) and the network of Cultural Centres that this same institution maintains in the main Spanish-speaking cities of Latin America. In countries with other languages, the institution in charge is the Instituto Cervantes (eight branches in Brazil), which combines the learning of Spanish with cultural promotion activities. Iberescena is a proposal of major strategic importance because it permits some Spanish and Latin American projects to co-produce shows, exponentially increasing their possibilities for international circulation. Their work is frequently related with some of the major theatre festivals.

Action from France in the cultural sphere and in terms of cooperation is also based on the 21 French Alliances in the region, on one French Institute (Haiti) and on two Lycée Français (in Haiti and the Dominican Republic). Thus, in 2007, the «Visas for creation» programme was born in Haiti, directed by Cultures France. The aim of this programme was to facilitate access by artists from the region to international circuits of dissemination, upgrade the resources of the French territorial organisations in the Americas and reinforce their artistic and cultural changes with the other countries in the region.

Great Britain does not have such an active policy in cultural matters with countries in the Anglophone Caribbean, largely due to the North American influence. However, the British Council has a very active presence in South America. It should also be taken into account that the statute of Commonwealth membership affords the member countries important facilities for mobility.

The Goethe-Institut is the main agency for a German presence in the region. Its functions, similar to those of the French and British institutes, prioritise the teaching of the language but their cultural activity is also relevant.

The presence of other countries is smaller, although reference should be made to the Italian Cultural Institutes which in some countries, such as Argentina, are very relevant.

11.7.2 *Performing arts and music festivals*

European performing arts and music festivals are the main meeting space for Latin American performance and musical (non-mainstream) activities. Some specialised festivals exist, but the presence of Latin American artistic projects, although minor due to the economic costs involved in transferring teams and casts, is relatively frequent. In some cases, the programming of a Latin American company is the consequence of a pre-produced tour (major ballet companies, for example) and in others, the consequence of a singular artistic decision. In any event, the programming of a show at a festival is usually the predecessor of a small tour around other festivals or regular programmes at the venue.

Some European festivals of reference in the performing arts are:

1. Latin American Festival of Brussels;
2. The Latin American Theatre Festival in Cadiz (since 1986);
3. Festival CASA, London (since 2007), aimed, in its origins, basically at promoting Latin American theatre produced by residents in the UK, it has evolved and is now a powerful driving force for the presence of Latin American companies.
4. There have been attempts to consolidate a festival in Barcelona, but the experience failed due to budgetary reasons. One example was the Festival Ulls, sponsored by Casa América, from 2006 to 2012;
5. Ibero-American Festival of Contemporary Theatre of Almagro (18th edition in 2018);
6. Transteatral Prague;
7. Adelante Festival in Heidelberg.

Festivals also exist as touring meeting points. Perhaps the most evident example is the Latin American Theatre Festival, organised by Corredor Latinoamericano de Teatro (CLT), a touring festival that brings together countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Spain. It is habitually held in Ibero-America, but also in Spain. In the year 2017 it was held in Logroño (FITLO) and programmed shows from eight different countries.

It is also a good idea to make reference to the emblematic value of some international theatre festivals held in Latin America and that have become important spaces for performing arts' exchanges with Europe. Although they do not directly involve the presence

of Latin American companies in Europe, their role as a base of mutual knowledge has meant an important starting point for the subsequent presence of Latin American theatre in European public festivals and programmes. These festivals are usually the subject of important contributions of cooperation funds from some European countries. Some of the main references are:

1. Festival Cervantino of Guanajuato (Mexico);
2. International Theatre Festival of Bogotá (Colombia). Biennial. Probably one of the biggest theatre festivals in the world;
3. Santiago a Mil Theatre Festival (FITAM). Santiago de Chile;
4. International Festival of Performing Arts in Rio;
5. International Festival of Buenos Aires (FIBA);
6. International Festival of Performing Arts FIDAE in Montevideo.

11.7.3 Institutional co-productions

Co-production is the direct consequence of a public policy, either as the result of a specific support programme (Iberescena) or of a conventional or alternative programme sponsored by public subsidies or agreements.

Performing arts co-productions may represent different types of relations between two or more institutional or artistic realities. In this sense, it is usual for the object of the co-production to be the adaptation of a text, the commission of a director or the revival of a play with the artistic team from the country reproducing it. In the world of theatre, these types of practices are common to the point of the co-production becoming an agreement on the management of publishing rights (what in performing arts terms become commercial rights). In the world of dance, where the added value of the artistic team is greater, the co-production habitually includes choreographers and dancers.

11.7.4 Private programming

Attention from the private European markets to the performing arts world in Latin America is reduced to the circulation of texts (very common between French, English and Spanish stages with Mexico and Buenos Aires especially) and to the circulation of clearly commercial products usually accompanied by a relevant media and industrial support. This is a very important section in the musical field where singers and musicians from the Caribbean (islanders and mainlanders), Brazilians, Argentinians and Mexicans essentially are authentic show business figures.

This mainstream reality opens its doors to all types of musical experiments, in some cases of a generic nature (tango, salsa, merengue) or in others with more experimental and alternative characteristics.

In the performing arts section, the private programming of Latin American shows is exceptional and in the majority of cases associated with the presence of artists of great prestige that are highly commercially attractive (for example, *Arte* with Ricardo Darin in Spain).

11.7.5 Public artistic programming

Whether the consequence or not of institutional co-productions, public programmes contemplate the possibility of scheduling leading international shows and in this sense the main problem with the programming of Latin American shows is economic. For this reason, the presence of Latin American theatre is less common than that of other European countries even though the advantage exists in certain cases of the same language (in the case of Spanish, Portuguese, French and English).

Some projects exist that are organised at the direct request of the State and that reveal the European interest in Latin American culture. Perhaps the most relevant European example is the «Latin American and Caribbean Week» held in France since the year 2011, organised directly by the Government at the request of the President of the Republic with the aim of strengthening ties between France and Latin America.

Ballet and classical music are two sectors habitually programmed by public theatres and institutions. Because of their high cost, their shows rarely circulate in the private sphere, although the attractiveness of their proposals is governed by commercial criteria. Names such as Julio Bocca have performed contemporary Argentinian ballet all over the world, exactly the same as now being done by Uruguayan María Ricetto and Argentinian Ludmila Pagliero, who won prizes in Moscow in 2017 at the «Benois de la danse» awards, considered the Oscars of dance.

In the classical music or orchestral conducting field, it is worth remembering such artists as Venezuelan Gustavo Dudamel, student of José Antonio Abreu, the creator of the System of Youth and Children's Orchestras of Venezuela (El Sistema).

These names are examples of artists very present on the European scene in this space of intersection between cultural policies and the world of showbusiness which, often, is managed by major public centres.

11.7.6 The performing arts and music markets

Markets are natural spaces for establishing sales relationships for cultural products. In Europe, there is a large number of them, to which should be added the market vector that

is implicitly incorporated into any festival where new acts are presented. Obviously, the performing arts markets have different characteristics to the musical ones, where in general the artist can present a new work that accompanies a whole career (which in many cases will continue to form the main part of future performances). In the performing arts field, past works are rarely recoverable, which affords the markets a function directly associated with future shows (ideas, projects in production or recently premiered).

The possibility of developing a «Guest Latin American Country» project would enable a certain pre-eminence of the music and performing arts products of this country at European artistic festivals and markets, which would help to optimise the possibility of establishing stable relations between European programmes and Latin American artistic projects.

On a European level, the great part of performing arts events are grouped around the IETM (International network for contemporary performing arts). In Spain, the Performing Arts Fairs and Markets are grouped under the COFAE and national associations exist that coordinate the festivals held in each country. This is the natural space for establishing the agreements necessary to ensure a greater presence of Latin American performing arts in Europe.

The agencies that are entrusted in each European country with promoting the internationalisation of cultural production maintain, in general, programmes of co-production and exchange. In the Spanish case, the ACE (Spanish Cultural Action) is the organisation in charge of this and it has specific programmes for this purpose, such as, for example, its Internationalisation of Spanish Culture Programme (PICE), which in its Visitors modality has as its objective facilitating the creation of ties of contact and knowledge between prescribers and international programmers from cultural institutions of prestige and Spanish professionals, artists and creators.

These institutions could adapt their goals to those of a reference programme such as that of «Guest Latin American Country (or City)», which undoubtedly would contribute towards optimising cultural relations.

11.7.7 *Communities of migrants*

An element of enormous importance for the circulation of shows is that which originates from the specific weight that a determined community of migrants may have in a certain country. In Barcelona, Paris, London or Berlin, authentic Dominican, Ecuadorian, or Central American live music circuits exist associated with migrant communities and with commercial displays, sponsorships and communication systems that are often highly endogamous but have great commercial effectiveness.

In some cases, these communities have favoured the appearance of cultural meetings and festivals where the artistic activity generated in the host countries and the invitation to artists from countries of origin is mixed with a certain normality. These festivals have not always managed to make the cosmopolitan leap, but they are relatively frequent.

11.8 Action proposals

The differences between the cultural policies of each country are a difficult obstacle to overcome in order to favour the circulation of live shows. This is so in the context of the European countries and is more evident when talking about relations between communitarian and non-communitarian countries.

The large part of French, German or Scandinavian theatre and a good part of Spanish and Italian theatre function with public criteria. Their budgets are conditioned to the receipt of important subsidies, when they are not directly public. Their programmes are seasonal, are planned well in advance and their production capacity is very high.

From the outset, these characteristics hinder the relationship between public and private proposals, insofar as a public project does not have an imperious need to recover the investment made in the show's production and often nor does it need to recover the operating costs. Evidently private shows, or those functioning on the basis of economic risk, do have this problem.

Outside of this majority conglomerate there remains a commercial theatre (boulevard theatre) that produces and programmes commercial shows, musicals, comedies and varieties. Exceptionally, these theatres may produce classical plays, usually according to the availability of major actors or actresses with an indisputable capacity to attract large audiences. These theatres are hired on a percentage or fixed-price basis, but they are usually large and not always adequate for less well-known or alternative shows.

The possibility for circulating international shows within this context is small, and the difficulty is greater when the shows originate from less well-known environments (as is the case of Latin American theatre). For this reason, the circulation of Latino shows is largely restricted to the framework of festivals and public programming.

Furthermore, the policies of stable public support by Latin American countries for their companies are much smaller than in Europe, which conditions the circulation of shows to the obtaining of grants from the international cooperation policies of each country. Europe-Latin America circulation is determined by the policies of the major European Institutes with a presence in Latin American countries (French Lycée, British Council, Goethe-Institut, or the Casas de España). Latin American circulation towards Europe is much more precarious and very much determined by the linguistic correspond-

ences between countries: Spain with the countries that are (in the majority) Spanish-speaking, France with those of the Francophone Caribbean, or the UK with the Anglophone ones and, although the cultural difference is the inverse, Brazil with Portugal. It is for this reason that Spain maintains stable programmes of aid for the co-production of performing arts (Iberescena), or regulations for aiding the circulation of shows and artists (AECID and INAEM).

Iberescena is an aid fund for Ibero-American performing arts that was created in November 2006 based on agreements regarding the promotion and encouragement of the performing arts reached at the Ibero-American Summit of Heads of State and Government held in Montevideo (Uruguay). It aims to foment the distribution, circulation and promotion of Ibero-American shows, incentivise co-productions of shows between public and private promoters from the Ibero-American scene and promote their presence in the international stage space. It also aims to expand the dissemination of creations by Ibero-American authors and support the stage venues and festivals of Ibero-America so that they prioritise in their programming productions from the region. Ultimately, the founding bases of the project refer to a wish to prioritise the gender perspective and issues relating to original or Afro-descendent populations that favour cohesion and social inclusion.¹

The problem, however, is that this type of aid serves to maintain a certain testimonial presence of Latin American performing arts at general or specialised European festivals, but it is not a determining factor in favouring a stable presence of shows with an objective capacity to function on the European commercial circuits.

Cultural actions for promoting the circulation of Latin American and Caribbean live shows in Europe depend, as has been noted up to now, on the capacity of essentially public programmers to follow the community regulations that exist, and the use of the mechanisms envisaged by each country according to the historical and linguistic alliances that exist in these Latin American regions. The result of these policies is essentially dissemination, exhibition and referential with little capacity to alter the dynamics inherent to each show (in terms of commercial exploitation) or to generate models of sustainable relations.

No specific regulations exist designed to incentivise private cooperation. To achieve this, we should add to the existing policies and regulations some programmes whose main aim is the creation of economies of scale, co-production between artists and the legal and fiscal harmonisation necessary to facilitate relations.

The main problem that must be tackled by European Community policy in matters of cultural cooperation with Latin American and Caribbean countries stems from the exist-

¹ For more information, see chapter 5 of this book.

ence of national policies that have very deep roots for historical (post-colonial processes) and linguistic reasons. These policies bring with them an enormous irregularity in the actions of the whole of the Union, given that the regulations that exist to favour contacts are not sufficiently attractive for those countries without solid cultural links with the Latin American region or that are directly used by those that already have their own relationship dynamics.

11.8.1 From unilateral to multilateral relations

The central objective that the European Union should establish is to change from unilateral to multilateral relations, favouring the creation of management structures that could work on a directly European scale. The context under which the EU promotes cultural exchanges with the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean is not free of certain complexities that it is a good idea to keep in mind in order to analyse the difficulties that exist.

The relationship between both regions is marked by a double vector that does not always facilitate the consolidation of artistic relations. On the one hand, the existence of relations based on major cooperation and development criteria sponsored by the European Community and the Organisation of Ibero-American States; on the other, the relations that are being handled country to country according to the specific political and cultural coordinates of each of them. From the combination of both dynamics it follows that the Latin American cultural reality is highly diverse and necessitates different operating sub-regions to be established.

The first vector has a clear supranational logic, but it forces us to separate the goals typical of cultural policies that are related normally with markets and consumption, from those more interested in strengthening the educational and foundational factors of the cultural phenomenon. From the view of a European programmer, the value of one option or another is a determining factor when configuring a proposal for artistic dissemination. In one case, the creative expressions originating from craftsmanship and indigenism will be determinants because they may be the subject of a certain commercial interest; on the other, in contrast, this type of proposal would be limited to the sphere of action of museums or of sociocultural programmes.

With regard to the second vector, we should be interested in the determining weight of some of the countries that generate cultural centrality in the region and the potential that this contributes from country to country. In the heritage sphere, it may be interesting for Spain to prioritise the relationship with Mexico, for example, because it means opening the doors to subsequent work with the Central American countries. Something similar would occur in other sectors with countries (or cities) such as Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo and Bogota.

For this reason, some of the proposals developed below directly influence the desire to clarify these difficulties. It is not a case of expanding and improving the current regulatory proposals, but of creating a new working scenario that permits the conditioning factors of preferential unilateral relations to be overcome or at least to be converted into a factor to strengthen multilateralism. And with a similar intensity, we focus on the circulation of cultural projects that may be valued under an artistic lens beyond their contribution to the sociocultural development of their country of reference.

Some proposals in this direction:

1. Guest Country project on the European scene.

One of the main challenges of Community policies is to generate European dynamics that contribute to globally modifying the particular policies of each country. It is not a case of conditioning them, but of optimising them and, above all, of converting them into an entry gateway for the whole of the European Union. In the field of cultural relations with the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, this is doubly important because they are conditioned by the historical and linguistic background of each region. If we consider this in terms of the circulation of live shows, ensuring that the interest in the activity has multinational meaning and also that it is carried out based on economy of scale (favouring tours, etc.) is a determining factor.

Spain should be the entry gateway for performing arts shows (theatre, dance and musicals) to the whole of Europe, in the same way that France should be so for the Francophone Caribbean or Portugal for Brazil. This function should represent a European vote of confidence towards Spanish, French, Portuguese or British policies, towards their operators and to a certain extent their cultural enterprises, whose duty it would be to establish the necessary alliances with their respective «natural partners» to generate circles on a continental scale.

Creating the programme «Guest Country (or City) in Europe» would help to resolve these problems. Inviting a Latin American or Caribbean country each year, on a European scale, would represent a global immersion in all its cultural potential: heritage, artistic and industrial. The proposal would enable a catalogue of proposals for live shows from the Latin American country or city to be produced with the aim of being programmed, during a certain period of time, by the maximum possible number of European operators, with the benefit of prices being subsidised by European funds.

Setting up such a project would mean:

1. Creating a selection committee;
2. Defining the timing;
3. Having a high number of associated European festivals and programmes;

4. Giving the project common communication guidelines;
5. Generating complicity with major Cultural Centres and Museums;
6. Developing a specialised multinational business community.

An annual programme of these characteristics would draw together various festivals, facilities and cultural agents of all kinds and would permit the stable programming of a reasonable number of shows that would tour around various countries. Obviously, the existence of countries of reference with which a linguistic coincidence exists should be an element to be taken into account to favour greater cultural consonance, at least in the first editions of a project of this nature.

2. Creation of a European Agency for the coordination of Latin American tours and shows in Europe.

The management of cultural information on a European scale is one of the European Community's main problems. We know what each theatre, each auditorium or each festival is going to programme in advance to a certain degree, but this is information of a communicative nature without interactive goals. The coordination between programmes is personal and depends on relations between professionals. It is rarely institutional, which represents enormous missed opportunities. If this occurs among European countries, it is possible to imagine that on the level of relations with other continents it is even worse.

For a show to be programmed in Paris, in Rome or in Stockholm does not represent any kind of competition. At present, for this to happen will depend on the capacity of the Commercial Office of each project, or the level of knowledge (the prestige) of each of them, but it is not the consequence of a planned process. But we all know that the harmonisation of tours is essential to amortise the costs of travel and the transfer of materials and a decisive factor for funding artistically ambitious projects.

For us to advance to tackle this goal is important on a European scale, but it is essential for the management of relations with other regions in the world. In this sense, it would be extremely useful to have an Office for the Coordination of International Tours of Latin American shows. It is not necessarily a case of an office to promote them (although this is important) but rather that it enables information on planned performances to be made available to all the European operators potentially interested in the programming of Latin American theatre and music shows. It could also be a database on shows interested in visiting Europe.

Thus, the programming of a show at the Almagro Festival (for example), may give rise to other contracts that enable advantage to be taken in order to reduce the fixed costs for the same show to be programmed in France, Italy or Germany. It is a question of knowing

in advance what is going to be programmed on the main European circuits in order to multiply the potential for circulation of each project.

This office will permit the planning of programmes for European operators and optimisation of the performance capacity of the Latin American companies insofar as it allows them greater communication with the set of European institutions. Extended programmes, which manage to bring together several countries in order to favour the tour of a Latin American show, could be the object of complementary help, as they result in an effort to reduce costs, besides the objective interest that may be represented by the programming of the activity itself.

In this sense, an Office such as that described above could help to organise the Europe/Latin America-Caribbean relational map, favouring more extensive and economical tours. An agency of this nature should not necessarily be institutional, although it should have European and American funds either on an institutional level or through the IDB.

Nowadays a host of associations and companies exist that are working in this direction without the necessary support, which means a considerable waste of energy and resources.

3. Creation of the Artistic Visa. Promotion and support for the circulation of creative talent.

In the same direction that France developed in the half of the first decade of the century, the idea of the cultural talent visa, one of the policies that would most help to develop a stable programme of exchanges between Latin American shows and European programmes, would be to favour the entrance into the European market of new Latin American artists, giving them the opportunity to participate in the numerous cultural development programmes that are run in Europe.

This means generating a specific framework that enables the improvement of some ordinary limitations of the standard visa in terms of duration, demand requirements, entries and exits, etc. This type of policies would also have great importance in the training sphere, although its objective seeks above all to facilitate internal movements within Europe and to favour a greater degree of labour incorporation.

The Artistic Visa should function with «cultural exception» criteria and should be extended by an international committee authorised to validate the potential of each artist not only in terms of their personal talent, but of their objective capacity for cultural return to their country of origin. The Visa should be a measure of intromission, of fusion, of collaboration and of joint learning.

Given its exceptional characteristics it could be accompanied by some objective requirements:

1. Letter of invitation from European operators/agents/cultural projects;
2. Admission to a training project;
3. Employment contract;
4. Securing of European Community aid funds or grants.

11.9 A look to the future

11.9.1 The role of intellectual and publishing rights management companies

Beyond the institutional proposals, to improve cultural relations between Europe, Latin American and the countries of the Caribbean, it is necessary to tackle other questions as much in the artistic as in the business and financial field. In fact, the cultural development of a community adapted to the requirements of the 21st century is based on the interaction of these three major vectors:

1. Talent development, which means artistic training, technologies for creation, debate and artistic interaction.
2. Sustainability, which means capacity for production, development of internal markets, promotion of demand and impetus for business.
3. Competitiveness, which means presence in the international markets and participation in the worldwide forums where trends are set, fashions generated, and aesthetics considered.

In the midst of the digital society, in which a growing quantity of contents are circulating on a planetary scale both in immediate and atemporal terms (access to content of the past and storage of contents for the future), the sum and combination of these three elements constitutes the functional essence of rights management companies. It is true that management companies live off the royalties that they collect, but without the previous points there would be few royalties to collect.

Promoting from the EU a strategic alliance of the main European rights management companies and especially those from countries with linguistic concordance with Latin America to structurally promote the above points would be fundamental for guaranteeing greater rigour in the direct management of rights, the fight against piracy and especially greater interaction between the contents from both regions both in synchronic (circulation of «physical» projects) and diachronic (insertion of these contents into digital networks for their deferred consumption, or the purchasing of options for productions) terms,

which would undoubtedly enrich the parties involved and the world of culture and the arts in general.

An associated management between management companies would enable them to:

1. Represent authors directly and assist internationally through collaboration agreements with those authors represented by local companies.
2. Contribute towards modernising the Latin American cultural industry from their European experience.
3. Lead public (European Community) and private (European companies with interests in Latin America) investments that facilitate local development and above all a more competitive level of production on an international scale.
4. Lead a collection of materials for its deferred exploitation, promoting it or exhibiting it at global commercial forums (markets and fairs).

A bigger role for rights management companies in the private leadership of cultural relations between Europe and Latin America would mean, furthermore, the direct involvement of the artistic sector, insofar as it is an active subject of the rights, in the promotion of international markets. It would also mean a very significant stimulus for the creation of private funds interested in investing in the cultural sphere. Some programmes to be explored are:

- a) Leading a major European-American private investment fund (risk capital) to promote the production of Latin American cultural contents with export potential.

Latin America and the Caribbean form an enormous breeding ground for talent and Europe is a major market. Evidently the market will grow in Latin America, and Europe should be concerned with its talent, but at this crossroads of conflicts there are common interests. Within the context of an increasingly globalised world and in the framework of cultural industries that tend to be concentrated, it is important to establish strategies to administrate the maximum number of contents.

Europe contributes to this strategy a differential fact with respect to the USA, or the Asian countries, insofar as its public cultural policies temper the very dynamics of the market and of the multinationals of cultural production and distribution. For a Latin American country, it would be preferable to be under the wing of a European «protectorate» than to place itself in the hands of North American businessmen. It is not a question of cultural, artistic or economic efficiency, but of establishing alliances that have the same legal structure, the same political logic and similar institutional environments. In general, Latin America and Central America are regions with cultural policies equivalent to European (continental) ones, although having very different levels of development.

For this reason it should be possible to propose the creation of a mixed (constituted by public and private capital) economic fund capable of selecting a reasonable number of artistic projects with potential capacity to position themselves in the world markets and establish with them agreements in the medium term that facilitate their development, creating a support and monitoring structure that permits minimisation of the risk and optimisation of their possibilities for success.

This Fund should be led by European rights management companies, with maximum institutional cooperation and with the economic support of the IDB. Its stakeholders could be major European multinational companies with interests and leadership in Latin America (i.e. banking, automotive, energy, telecoms, etc.). The objective of this Fund should focus on artistic projects in spheres such as that of music or the performing arts, always accompanied by a business structure for production and commercialisation. In this sense, it is essential to point out that an economic Fund is not a budgetary item for subsidies, which means creating, at origin, projects with a clear commercial vocation.

This process of indicative planning has given good results in other cultural realities: for example, the circus arts sector in the Region of Quebec (Canada), the audiovisual sector in Southeast Asia, publishing and printing in Korea or dance in the Netherlands. All of these examples have occurred in countries with an important economic capacity or with advanced cultural policies, but the main public role has been a determining factor. In all these cases the creation of projects with the capacity for sectorial leadership, with governmental economic impetus, and the development of powerful distribution platforms on a global scale has facilitated their consolidation.

Evidently this type of process cannot occur naturally in Latin America, and for this reason it is necessary to seek mixed solutions, led politically from the public sectors and supported economically from the private ones. Many European countries and their rights management companies, as concerned parties, should see in this possibility an opportunity and develop for the opportune purposes a programme of mixed investments that enables the development of Latin American talent and, at the same time, the mobilisation of European business interests in the area. It is also necessary to point out the potential for returns that this type of investment can offer in matters of collection of royalties.

- b) Create a specific classification for high-level cultural companies on a European scale. Create a census of European companies interested in investing resources in Latin American cultural development, generating the complicities necessary to ensure a greater international amplitude of Latin American cultural production.

In exactly the same way that it was necessary to create the ISO standards to measure the correct execution of the processes of creation and production that a company prefigured and on which it bases its credibility, it would be important for a certificate of excel-

lence to exist for cultural enterprises on a European scale. A certification that measures best practices, a commitment to capitalisation of a minimum percentage of profits, investments in contents creation, social responsibility, educational commitment, etc.

The objective of this census is to have a business map to enable improved relations between capital funds and contents producers. It would also permit specific projects to be developed such as, in the case that concerns us, cooperation with Latin America and the Caribbean.

Mobilising major European rights management companies and promoting the creation of a major economic fund to develop Latin American artistic projects only makes sense if in parallel business cooperation between both regions is increased. The circulation of shows and artistic projects cannot be limited to the action of public facilities. The private sector is decisive for the cultural market to grow and to do so in a diverse and plural way.

For this reason, it is important to create a census of companies interested in developing intercontinental projects, which means investing in Latin American talent and programmes and distributing its projects in Europe and the whole world, but also taking European products to Latin American countries. The business processes are inevitably a return journey.

Once conveniently registered on the census, based on a series of precise criteria, the companies that will form part of this map should be the focus of incentives and should have a privileged consideration in the awarding and management of funds for commercial and cultural development that are applied to expand relations between Europe, Latin America and the countries of the Caribbean.

Although the aim of this analysis is to reflect on the actions that could potentially be carried out from Europe, we should be aware that Mexico, Colombia, Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay especially are a production and export focus, but also an important receiving market. At present, the inter-relations between the two continents on a business scale is very limited.

Business development cannot be carried out only through subsidisation policies. It is necessary to promote credit policies and develop seed capital and risk capital funds. The programmes of creation of refundable, seed capital or risk capital funds are very experienced in the majority of sectors of the new economy. They have been decisive for developing software programmes and have had a notably intense presence in the creation of virtual services companies and networks.

However, their presence in the cultural world is scarce, which is somewhat paradoxical given their importance in the creation of added value and their potential in the gener-

ation of rights. There are some notable experiences of application of refundable capital (subsidies conditioned to the result of the project) and obviously some cultural sectors, especially the audiovisual, have been fuelled by public credits, generally of a fiscal nature. It is also important to point out that the financial sector has been reluctant to grant credit to the cultural sector, either due to considerate it a high-risk sector, or because the company capital of cultural enterprises is so small that the guarantees turn out to be personal properties.

A text, a master copy of a CD, a theatre play, a software prototype, the design of a virtual game, the ideas of a communicator or a film should be considered as a guarantee for awarding a credit or applying risk capital or simply for beginning a new creative adventure with a certain economic risk. The business capacity for self-financing and tackling the production of new cultural projects will depend on one consideration or the other. Having a register of companies on a European scale that fulfil a series of requirements, should represent in the medium term an incentive for certain capital funds to invest in culture.

Cultural exchange and the presence of European products in America and in turn the presence of Latin American cultural contents in Europe (and I am not referring to the circulation of artistic talent, but of finished products), is extremely limited, including between areas that share the same language. The creation of companies specialising in the circulation of products is necessary for the regeneration of this market. Besides the grants that they could be awarded, they should be receivers of a medium- and long-term credit policy that would make it possible.

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12

AUDIOVISUAL FLOWS IN LATIN AMERICA AND EUROPE

Guillermo MASTRINI and Fernando KRAKOWIAK

Abstract

The aim of this article is to analyse the current state of audiovisual flows, with special attention to the situation in Latin America and the European Union, regional blocks which have a relationship with strong cultural ties and scant economic significance. In the first section, the debate around the impact of audiovisual flows on the international scenario from the '60s until now is analysed. Later, the article studies how the European Union and Latin America established audiovisual policies with the aim to promote their productions. Then, a panorama of these flows in both blocks is presented, and finally an assessment is provided, with issues to tackle in order to promote and guarantee exchanges of audiovisual products that could constitute an alternative to Hollywood's global predominance.

12.1 Introduction

Cultural industries have faced dramatic changes since digitalisation. The process is contradictory and causes strong financial uncertainty. While production costs have dropped, and supply has expanded greatly, only a few producers can reach the audience levels needed to recover their investments. The emergence of global markets, where the audiovisual sector plays a key role, threatens local producers' positions, even for the largest groups.

Cultural policies have been essential throughout history to protect the production, distribution and consumption of various symbolic goods. An economic sector with struc-

tural market gaps to guarantee a competitive environment requires active policies that channel resources towards non-majority cultural consumptions. However, for over 20 years, culture has been increasingly considered to be just a product like any other.

The audio-visual industry has been international since its inception. The film industry, with its high production costs per unit, aimed at the global market, led by the United States and France. Few decades after its emergence, Hollywood had the greatest percentage of film circulation, with an integrated prevalence in production and distribution. In order to cope with this scenario, other countries implemented policies to protect the local film industry and secured at least a part of the market.

Television had its momentum after World War II. Although part of its programming was always managed by local production companies and stations, the flow of television films and series also attracted the interest of American producers. Public policies for the sector did not take long to appear, and screen quotas were present in legislations all over the world.

In the context of digitalisation and globalisation, public policies have started to move from the national arena to regional or multinational agreements in order to secure larger markets. Although in recent years the flow of audiovisual products from and among third countries has increased, Hollywood's predominance is still not challenged.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the current scenario of audiovisual products flow, with special focus on the situation in Latin America and the European Union, which have sustained a relationship that is based on strong cultural ties, although it has had little economic impact. The first section contains an analysis of the debate around the impact of audiovisual flows in the international arena from the '60s to the present. The following section studies how the European Union and Latin America have established audiovisual policies in order to promote their markets. There follows an overview of audiovisual flows in both regional blocks. The final section consists of an assessment, including proposed aspects to be taken into account in order to support the exchanges of audio-visual products that provide alternatives to Hollywood's dominance.

12.2 A historic debate

The impact caused by unequal audiovisual flows among countries has been part of the international organisations' agenda and a subject of debate since the '60s. In early 1972, UNESCO funded a project led by Kaarle Nordenstreng and Tapio Varis at Tampere University, aimed at establishing an inventory of television programme structure, in particular in terms of imports. By then, some academics were already talking about «cultural imperialism» (Schiller, 1969), but no quantitative data existed on a global scale about the propor-

tion of locally produced programmes and those imported in every country. The research work surveyed the television contents of 50 countries, where 90% of the TV receivers existing in the early '70s were concentrated.

The report estimated that the United States exported 150,000 annual hours of programming, followed by the UK and France that exported 20,000 hours each, and Germany, exporting 6,000 annual hours. Latin American contribution was insignificant and restricted mostly to sales by Mexico and Argentina to nearby countries. Regarding imports, the United States imported only 1% of its programming, while half of Latin American television programmes were of foreign origin, while considerable dispersion was observed from one country to another (Nordenstreng and Varis, 1974). This type of studies reinforced complaints, especially in Latin America, about the «cultural imperialism» exercised by the United States (Beltrán, 1978; Mattelart, 1974).

In 1980, an «International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems» led by Seán MacBride (1980), presented the report *Many Voices, One World* about the need to establish a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) to balance the production and circulation of news and other cultural products. Recommendations in the MacBride report were ignored in an international scenario marked by the «Welfare States» crisis, the momentum of neoliberal policies, and the privatisation of companies.

In this new scenario, some authors began to relativise the unilateral image of the «one-way flow» by highlighting the existence of regional flows and markets in areas with linguistic and cultural affinities. The purpose was to emphasise that, together with the development of a «hub» that dominated audiovisual markets on a global scale during the 20th century, there were always «regional contra-flows» led by intermediate powers. The cultural industries of Mexico and Brazil *vis à vis* Latin American television are an example of such «contra-flows» (Schement and Rogers, 1984; Straubhaar, 2001). This is why some authors prefer to speak about complex networks and circuits where the audiences' cultural and language preferences lead to producing more national programmes, and even to importing more content from countries in the same region (Straubhaar, 2007).

Daya Kishan Thussu (2010) proposes to classify flows into two categories: dominant flows, i.e. those from the United States, and contra-flows, which include transnational flows among countries other than those from the dominant flows, and geo-cultural flows emerged from those immigrant communities that privilege productions from their countries of origin, or at least in their language. He thus seeks to make clear that globalisation also opened possibilities for the development of new production niches and alternative media spaces. Enrique Uribe-Jongbloed and Hernán David Espinosa-Medina (2014) take a step further and propose to distinguish four types of flows: those emerging from core markets targeted at the same markets; those emerging from core markets towards peripheral ones; those going from

peripheral to core markets, and finally, flows among peripheral countries (see table 12.1). Only to mention a few examples, the Hollywood film industry could represent the first two types, Latin American soap operas (*telenovelas*) represent the third type of flows, and production exchanges circulating in some specific festivals, or even the successful case of the Nigerian film industry, known as Nollywood, represent the fourth type.

Table 12.1. *Types of audiovisual flows.*

Types of flow	Production source	Production target
Core markets	Dominant audiovisual production (United States, Western Europe and Japan)	Western Europe, Canada, United States and Japan
From core to peripheral markets	Dominant audiovisual production (United States, Western Europe and Japan)	Any country outside the core market
From peripheral to core markets	Regional or small production (Latin America, Asia, Eastern Europe)	Western Europe, Canada, United States and Japan
Peripheral markets	Countries with regional or small production (Latin America, Asia, Eastern Europe)	Any country outside the core market

Source: Uribe-Jongbloed and Espinosa (2014).

Globalisation has brought about an economistic and instrumental view of information and culture. Thus, the liberalisation of audiovisual services became part of the last phase of negotiations in the Uruguay Round (1986-1994), as part of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), leading to the General Agreement on Trade of Services (GATS).

The attempt to consider audiovisual productions as consumption goods was led by the United States and Japan and was opposed mainly by the European Community – especially France and Belgium – and Canada, who, while acknowledging the economic value of audiovisual services, also warned about their symbolic value and subsequent need to give them a special treatment.

Finally, the audiovisual sector remained within the GATS, which came into effect in January 1995, together with the World Trade Organisation (WTO), although countries did not undertake specific commitments to give free access to foreign audiovisual companies. Briefly, the *status quo* was maintained for audiovisual materials, but this was not a victory for the advocates of cultural exception, since the audiovisual sector was integrated into the upcoming liberalisation process as any other industry (Bonet, 2004).

Even having managed to implement a temporary barrier against liberalisation, including cultural services in the GATS required meeting the WTO general regulatory frame-

work, which commits the parties not to increase protectionism or plan new programmes that increase discrimination among the WTO members.

As pressure at the WTO increased to leave behind temporary commitments in the cultural sector, several countries, especially the French speaking ones, sought to overcome the concept of «cultural exception». Therefore, they decided to recover the notion of diversity to play a role in the globalisation debate, reaffirming an open and universal notion to secure a specific status for culture.

UNESCO moved forward by approving the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity in its 31st General Conference of 2001, and two years later, by drafting the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (hereinafter the Convention), which would be approved by an overriding majority in 2005. The decision to move from a declaration to a convention is explained because declarations are not legally binding, while a convention, in international law, is a binding agreement signed by the States, whereby they undertake a legal commitment.

The wide support that the agreement obtained and the curb set on the WTO negotiations strengthened the blocks policy over multilateralism in the realm of culture. Although the Convention did not work as a tool to amend the WTO law, it is clear that an environment of potential conflict arose. The audiovisual sector is far from being subject to a multilateral trade liberalisation scheme. Bilateral strategies and organisation in blocks of common interests prevail. However, not everybody has been able to regroup in defence of their interests as quickly and efficiently. In terms of the object of study hereof, it should be stated that Europe has been very active in promoting its cultural industry, while in Latin America cooperation programmes aimed at preserving and promoting the audiovisual sector are few and limited in resources.

12.3 Block politics in the global audiovisual scenario

12.3.1 European audiovisual policy

The Television without Frontiers Directive, approved by the Council of the European Economic Community in 1989, was a key step to seek to minimally harmonise the diversity and disparity of national European laws, and became the cornerstone of audiovisual policy. Its main objective was to encourage the free circulation of European television programmes in the common market based on the principle of regulation in the country of origin. In 2010 it became the Audiovisual Media Services Directive, and a new revision started in 2015, which was approved by the European Parliament in October 2018, to account for the convergence process between television and Internet services. The new

rules will not only apply to television, but also to digital platforms such as Netflix, YouTube, HBO, Amazon or Facebook, which will also have to comply with the legal scenario. Among other changes, a 30% minimum quota has been established for European content in video on demand service providers' catalogues. Video on demand platforms are also required to contribute to the development of European audiovisual productions, «either through direct investment in content or through contributions to national funds».

Simultaneously, among the international programmes that were promoted by Europe, a highly relevant one is MEDIA (*Mesures pour l'encouragement et le développement de l'industrie audiovisuelle*, [Measures to Encourage and Develop the Audio-visual Industry]), which started in 1991 to promote the collaboration among the audiovisual sector professionals and strengthen the European industry. In 2014, MEDIA became a sub-programme of Creative Europe, a European Commission initiative to support the European audiovisual industry. MEDIA has 817.6 million euros budget for the 2014-2020 period. Its goal is to support the distribution throughout the world of over 1,000 European films, through traditional and digital platforms, provide funding to audiovisual sector professionals to access international markets, and support the production of films and other audiovisual works with a trans-border circulation potential.

The European Union has also sought to promote audiovisual cooperation with third countries. In 2007, it launched the MEDIA International programme, with an annual budget of 2 million euros, and in 2009 it created MEDIA Mundus, a programme to support the exchange of information among professionals and to improve the transnational competitiveness and distribution of audiovisual works.

Multilateral cooperation with Latin America was also sought, through the creation of Ibermedia, a programme to stimulate the co-production of fiction and documentary films made by Spain, Portugal, Italy and 18 Latin American countries,¹ which started in 1998. Since then, the programme has made 25 calls and assisted 787 Ibero-American film projects, facilitating the screening of 298 films with an investment of US 93 million dollars.²

Supporting the audiovisual sector is considered to be strategic, because cultural and creative industries involve around 4.5% of the EU's GDP and 4% of employment (8.5 million jobs). «Europe is the world leader by a long way in exporting creative industry products. To stay in this position we need to invest in these sectors' capacity to operate beyond national borders» (European Economic and Social Committee, 2013: 6).

¹ Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Uruguay and Venezuela.

² Figures from <http://www.programaibermedia.com/el-programa/ibermedia-en-cifras/> (last accessed on October 28, 2018).

12.3.2 Latin American audiovisual policy

The situation in Latin America is different from that in Europe. This is largely because its political integration process is very limited in comparison to that developed in Europe. On the other hand, much is said in Latin America about the importance of promoting and protecting cultural industries in the region, while concrete actions are not so frequent. Most initiatives have been national in origin, and the main cooperative action is the Iber-media program – very important to promote production, but not so relevant for audiovisual flows. Attempts to establish common policies in the Southern Common Market (Mercosur) have had very limited results.

Although the audiovisual sector is included in the Cultural Integration Protocol signed in 1994, during the first years of Mercosur, the production of massive goods was neglected. Galperín (1999) points out that one symptomatic feature of cultural policies in Latin America is to have focused on the so called «high culture» and on preserving cultural heritage, instead of taking care of massive cultural products that are consumed by popular classes.

In terms of cultural industries, Galperín noted early something that time would prove right. Mercosur policies were focused on the film sector and had little incidence on television. This distinguishes Mercosur from the European Union. One factor that explains such difference is the weight of public television stations in Europe versus the market orientation of the television sector in Latin America. In fact, flows – mainly of *telenovelas* – were marked by private trade. The fact that public policy is oriented towards the film sector rather than television is not unimportant, since it involves focusing efforts on a sector that is consumed mainly by high and middle classes, while television is consumed by popular classes, and is much more widespread in the region.

Two recent papers (Moguillansky and Poggi, 2017; Poggi, 2018) account for the plurality of actions developed by Mercosur in the film industry:

- In 2003, public and private entities from member countries convened to create the Mercosur Film Authorities Forum, which was later formalised at the Specialised Meeting of Mercosur Film and Audiovisual Authorities (RECAM, as per its Spanish acronym).
- In 2004, the creation of a «Regional Screen Quota» for Mercosur was promoted but was never materialised. The Mercosur Audiovisual Observatory (OMA, as per its Spanish acronym), also started in 2004, was slightly more successful. Led by Octavio Getino, it had a promising start, but was closed three years later for lack of resources.
- The Mercosur Film Work Certificate was created in 2006 but was never applied.
- The Mercosur Audiovisual Programme was implemented in 2009 to leverage cooperation with Europe, the main and almost only funder. It was undoubtedly the most



important action conducted by Mercosur. The Digital Mercosur Programme was created soon afterwards to promote a single regulatory regime for electronic commerce.

- The creation of the Mercosur Digital Theatres Network (RSD, as per its Spanish acronym), with high definition projectors, was promoted in 2015, with little impact so far.

Poggi (2018) highlights the importance of the steps taken by Mercosur in terms of the film sector. In our opinion, although a constant concern for the area should be acknowledged, experiences evidence the region's difficulty to implement lasting and long-range policies to build new scenarios. At most, they evidence the constant desire of the emerging film industry, composed by filmmakers and small production companies, to maintain the public interest in the area.

The audiovisual policy described so far used the European Union's as a reference model (Crusafon, 2009). As Sarikakis and Ganter (2014) point out, the signature of the Cultural Integration Protocol was guided by the European logic of strengthening national and regional audiovisual industries. Crusafon points out that audiovisual became an important theme in the cooperation agenda between Mercosur and the European Union, adding:

In terms of the supranational political structure, great similarities are found around the focal point of actions by Mercosur and the EU. In fact, Mercosur actions remind us of the first definition stage of the European Audiovisual Policy, in the mid-'80s. Furthermore, the RECAM documents make clear reference to taking the European Union's audio-visual policy as a model (Crusafon, 2009: 101).

Mexico's audiovisual policy was defined by the country's signature of the NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement). As Galperin points out (1999), entering NAFTA did not modify the structure of the Mexican audiovisual market, which was already undergoing a liberalisation process by the PRI authorities. Sánchez Ruiz (2003) later documented how the audiovisual industry's involvement in the national market was weakened, especially in the film sector.

A different but recent experience is the launch of the Southern Cultural Industries Market (Micsur, as per its Spanish acronym), an initiative intended to promote the direct exchange of independent production companies at meetings funded by the States.

12.4 Audiovisual flows nowadays

Technology development and digitalisation have transformed the production, distribution and consumption capacity of film and television to levels unimagined at their inception. Public policies range between the protection of cultural goods and market liberalisation. The economic globalisation context has also promoted greater exchanges, and

audiovisual flows have therefore increased. Although this process seems to support the theories that minimise the idea of cultural imperialism, we will see that the difference between the countries that dominate the global market and the occasional participants is maintained.

The WTO notes that even though statistics on international trade of audiovisual services have limitations, some trends may be highlighted. Balance of payments data show that the trade of audiovisual and related services has grown rapidly in recent years. Global exports have increased on average by 8% annually since 2000, to reach 35 billion dollars in 2007. In turn, balance of payments data also indicate that the main exporters are the United States (15 billion dollars) and the European Community (9.9 billion dollars, or 4 billion dollars excluding intra-community trade), while other first-line exporters are developing countries such as China, Mexico and Argentina (WTO, 2010).

WTO also highlights that the global market of the audiovisual sector was estimated to be 516 billion dollars in 2008. The television segment represented the greatest share (68%, or 352 billion dollars), followed by films (16%, or 84 billion dollars). The audiovisual services trade accounts for only 1% of the total volume of the services sector. For the United States, it represents 3.2% of its total trade services exports, generating a trade surplus of 13.6 billion dollars in 2007 (WTO, 2010).

In this section, we will focus on audiovisual trade exchanges in the European Union and Latin America, in order to analyse the presence of foreign productions in their markets and the potential to insert European and Latin American cultural goods in other countries. A well-known problem for this type of studies is the lack of consolidated data from a single source. Working with different documentary sources involves the problem of statistics harmonisation.

12.4.1 Audiovisual market in the European Union

Europe is one of the largest producers worldwide, although considerably smaller than the United States. It has a market of over 300 million people, with a purchasing power higher than the global average. Both facts facilitate the development of economies of scale. However, language fragmentation and different cultural traditions are discouraging factors. Since the beginning of the film industry, several countries have been at the forefront of production: France, the UK, Italy and Germany. Television developed a public service model that encouraged national and local production. The television market was gradually deregulated since the '80s, and trade models prevail today, although public television continues to be an important producer.

Film flow from the European Union

Europe is a great film producer. According to a study by the European Audiovisual Observatory (2017), 5,939 European films were premiered in 2015. However, only 50% managed to be premiered outside their country of origin, with a total 2,990 films crossing the border. The most relevant figure in this study is that only 10% of European films premiered in 2015 reached at least one non-European market. Thus, the main flow of European films is restricted to the region. In terms of revenue collection, the global circuit is more relevant, since it represents 24% of tickets sold. In this regard, the effect of intra-European quotas should be questioned, since data shows that films premiered do not guarantee tickets sold. Extra-European markets are more important money-wise than in terms of film penetration. The quota of films exported by Europe to the rest of the world has been stable in recent years.

Film export to other regions is economically relevant for two countries: France and the United Kingdom. Combined, they sell 87% of all European film tickets abroad. They are followed from a distance by Germany (4%) and Spain (3%). The fifth European film producer, Italy, does not manage to place significantly its production in the international market (Kanzler, 2016). This data helps to understand the inefficiency of certain film promotion policies in terms of diversity.

Table 12.2. Screen quota of European films premiered outside the EU 2011-2015 (%).

Region/Year	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Average
Outside Europe	19%	19%	19%	21%	20%	19%
US & Canada	20%	21%	19%	24%	23%	21%
Latin America	25%	26%	24%	24%	26%	25%
Australia & New Zealand	22%	25%	22%	22%	21%	22%
China & South Korea	-	-	-	16%	12%	14%
Canada	21%	28%	23%	20%	19%	22%
United States	18%	18%	16%	23%	23%	20%
Argentina	20%	23%	17%	18%	23%	20%
Brazil	23%	18%	27%	26%	30%	27%
Chile	19%	16%	17%	16%	20%	17%
Colombia	21%	29%	26%	27%	29%	26%
Mexico	22%	28%	20%	23%	27%	14%
Venezuela	13%	21%	14%	12%	17%	15%

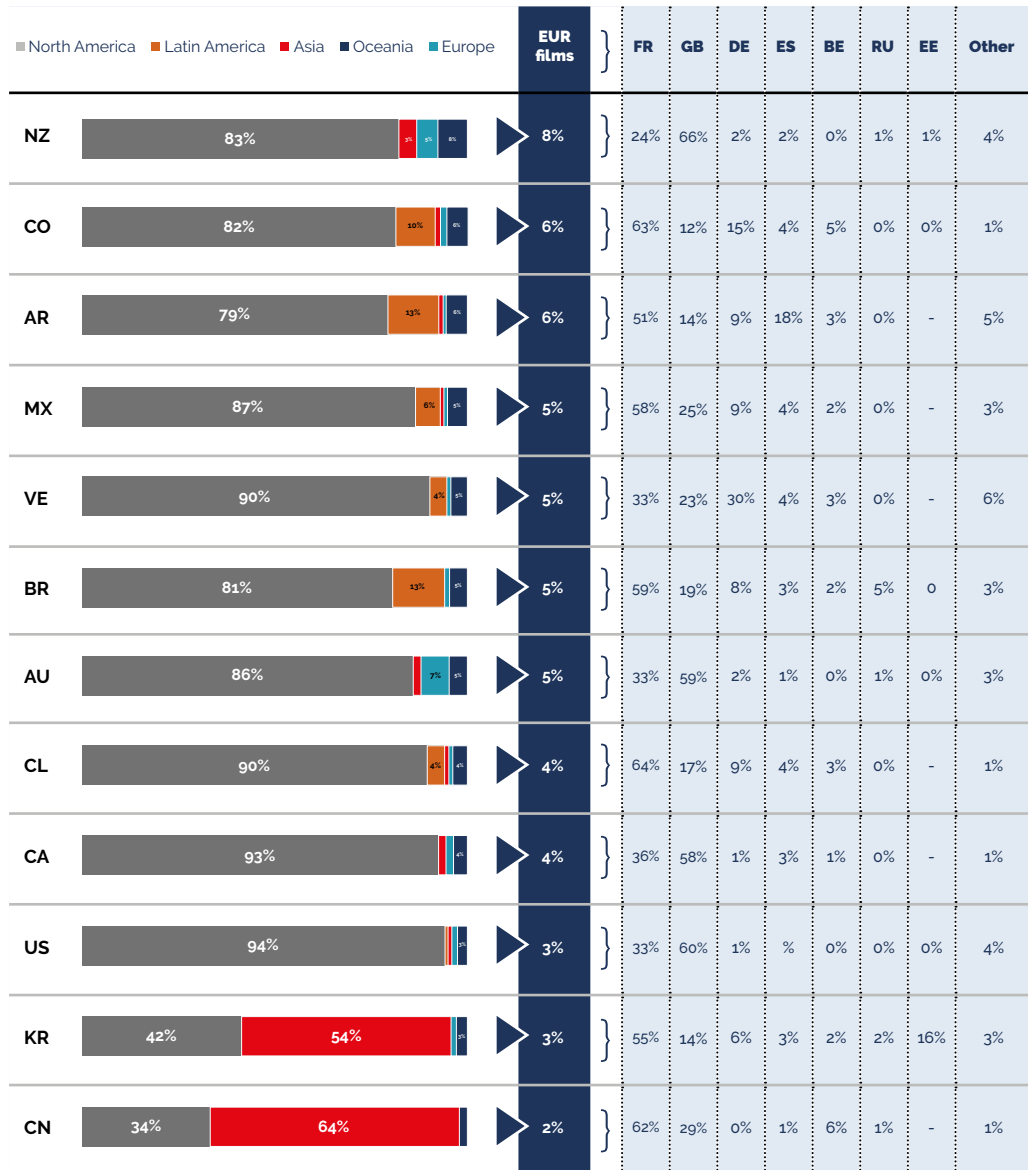
Source: Kanzler (2016), based on data from the European Audiovisual Observatory/LUMIERE, comScore.

Table 12.3. Market share of European films premiered outside the EU 2011-2015 (%).

Region/Year	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Average
Outside Europe	3%	5%	3%	3%	3%	3%
US & Canada	3%	5%	3%	2%	3%	3%
Latin America	4%	6%	4%	4%	5%	5%
Australia & New Zealand	6%	8%	6%	8%	5%	7%
China & South Korea	2%	4%	2%	2%	2%	3%
Canada	2%	5%	3%	3%	4%	3%
United States	3%	5%	3%	2%	3%	3%
Argentina	6%	9%	6%	4%	6%	6%
Brazil	4%	5%	4%	4%	5%	4%
Chile	3%	4%	4%	3%	4%	3%
Colombia	5%	8%	5%	5%	6%	6%
Mexico	4%	7%	3%	4%	5%	5%
Venezuela	3%	5%	2%	2%	5%	3%

Source: Kanzler (2016), based on data from the European Audiovisual Observatory/LUMIERE, comScore.

Tables 12.2 and 12.3 show respectively the screen quota attained by European films and the percentage of tickets sold in the main film markets worldwide, pursuant to a study by the European Audiovisual Observatory. Although European films attain a respectable screen quota of 20%, their market share in tickets sold is significantly lower. European films, which bear the auteur film mark, are related to high- and middle-class publics, *vis-à-vis* American blockbusters, developed for a massive public. In fact, the European film with more tickets sold in 2015 was the French *Taken 3*, which reproduces the narrative logic of American films. The next figure reproduces the quota share of tickets from different global film markets.

Figure 12.1. Market share in tickets of European Films – per region/country of origin (2015).


Source: Kanzler (2016), based on data from the European Audiovisual Observatory/LUMIERE, comScore.

The European share is low, exceeding only 5% in 3 of the 12 markets analysed. The table can be related to the cultural proximity thesis. Besides the clear dominance of American film in almost every country, national and regional factors are important. In Latin America, films from the region have a better market share (orange) than European films (blue). For example, Argentina has 13% of Latin American films and 6% of European films. On the other hand, the breakdown of European films share worldwide shows that two countries, France and the UK, account for over 70% of the market.

European films have little ability to reach other regions, but revenues collection is not negligible. 3% of the tickets sold in the US market make 287 million euros, three times the collection in Latin America, where it hardly exceeds 100 million euros. The Latin American country where European films have the highest collection is Mexico, with 41 million euros in 2015, followed by Brazil, with 30 million euros (EAO, 2017). The main problem is the excessive concentration of sales in a few movies, since 42 films (7%) out of 599 make up 90% of sales.

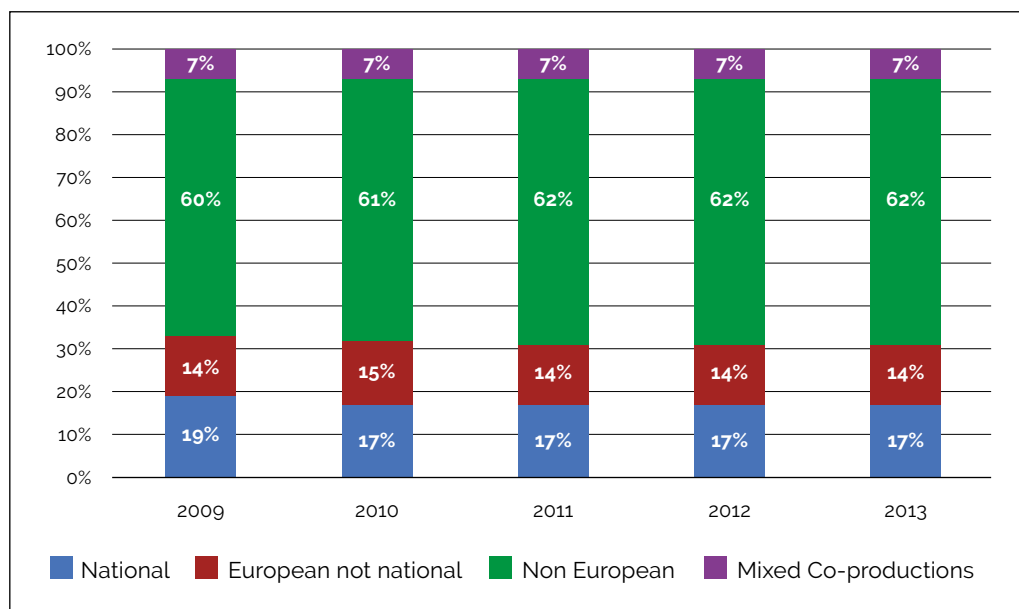
To complete the analysis of European film flows, the special role of Spain for Latin America should be considered. Although the share of Spanish films in the European context is not relevant, it has an important task in articulating with Spanish-speaking Latin American countries. To a lower degree, Portugal has a similar role with Brazil. Spain has been a pillar in the development of film co-productions between both regions. Co-production is a system that opens markets for producer countries, expanding the circulation of cultural products.

Flow of European television programmes

European television was marked by the public stations that were virtually monopolist until the '80s. These channels, created to promote national culture and identity, did not have an outstanding role in the international market, with the partial exception of the BBC. The main television flow from Europe was targeted to the ancient colonial systems. Doyle (2012) points out that throughout the 20th century, television was a national phenomenon.

The Television without Frontiers Green Paper was published in 1992 to establish European screen quotas, facilitating the flow of programmes within the community.

Data from the television industry is more limited and scattered than in the film industry. Pursuant to a study conducted by Martín Kanzler (2016) for the European Audiovisual Observatory, the presence of European fiction content is minor in the European Union television stations. Figure 12.2 shows a first approximation.

Figure 12.2. Share of European fiction programming in EU TV stations 2009-2013.

Source: European Audiovisual Observatory, based on information from ROVI International.

The European fiction content reached an average 31% of the total programmes aired in 2013, or 38% considering co-productions. When public and private TV stations are analysed, significant differences are appreciated. While national and European fiction exceeds 50% of programming in public stations, it hardly exceeds 20% in private stations (Kanzler, 2016). Private stations emerged in the '90s have to be funded by the advertising markets and cut production costs with less expensive content such as foreign canned programmes. Public stations invest much more money in production than private stations, since they usually have income from licenses. The problem of public stations is that their audience tends to be older in age, while the young prefer private stations.

Foreign programming is a majority in television series (67%) and in theatrical films (60%), while European products score better in television films (50%) and animations (38%) (Kanzler, 2016).

According to Fontaine (2016), one third of television stations and video on demand services in the European Union seek to reach foreign markets. 60% of the exporting stations are owned by European capitals, while the remaining 40% are owned by foreign capitals, mainly from the US. Within Europe, Great Britain stands out as a producer of stations aimed at the foreign market.

Although the streaming television market is still developing, the presence of European content is lower. A report by the European Audiovisual Observatory indicates that the circulation of films in TVOD is even lower than in film theatres (EAO, 2017). According to Fointaine (2016), video on demand services have a marginal role in fiction content production, with 1.2% of films and 0.4% of fiction hours produced in Europe in 2015 and 2016. The main producers in this area are Netflix, Amazon, ViaPlay and Canal Play.

In general terms, it could be said that European television has been a recipient rather than an exporter of audio-visual products. Although throughout history it has proven to have production capacity, external audio-visual flows have increased since the inception of private television, with a notable expansion of US programmes. Latin American programming has a marginal role, with the exception of *telenovelas*, which have gained off-prime-time space.

12.4.2. Audiovisual flows in Latin America

Latin American cultural industries have undergone fluctuations due to the unstable political and economic context in which they have been immersed. Although the most important countries in the region joined in cultural production early on, their history shows a winding road with periods of vast production and others of steep fall. The film industry was rapidly integrated in the global circuit, and Mexico and Argentina had their golden era as producers for the Latin American market in the '30s and '40s, when they placed their production throughout the region and competed with American films (González, 2015). In the early '90s the productive system was exhausted and production fell notably, although in the first years of the 21st century it has recovered. Television was a different case, since it has had a strong influence of the United States from its origins. In fact, the notion of cultural imperialism developed in the '70s in the region took the television market as a reference. However, as the television market expanded, it managed to generate original content that surpassed national and regional borders: the *telenovelas*.

The film industry in Latin America

The film sector has witnessed different moments and situations in Latin America. Prevalence of national programming until the '50s in Argentina and Mexico, predominance of American production since then, and considerable recovery of productive capacity in the early 21st Century, although not reflected in larger audiences. Argentina, Brazil and Mexico are among the 20 largest producers worldwide, while strongly dependent on public policies, especially for production funding.

Latin American film production has grown substantially in recent years. Pursuant to official figures from each country, between 2010 and 2017 the number of national films premiered grew 116.2% in Brazil, 81.8% in Argentina, and 57.1% in Mexico (see table 12.4).

Table 12.4. National films over total films premiered in Argentina, Brazil and Mexico (2010-2017).

Year/ country	Argentina			Brazil			Mexico		
	Films Premiered	National Films Premiered	%	Films Premiered	National Films Premiered	%	Films Premiered	National Films Premiered	%
2010	336	121	36.0%	303	74	24.4%	313	56	17.9%
2011	334	129	38.6%	337	100	29.7%	321	62	19.3%
2012	339	145	42.7%	327	83	25.4%	319	67	21.0%
2013	389	168	43.5%	397	129	32.5%	364	101	27.7%
2014	406	173	42.6%	393	114	29.0%	330	68	20.6%
2015	433	185	42.7%	446	129	28.9%	414	80	19.3%
2016	446	200	44.8%	457	143	31.3%	407	90	22.1%
2017	473	220	46.5%	463	160	34.6%	424	88	20.7%

Source: Compilation based on data from INCAA (Argentina), IMCINE (Mexico) and ANCINE (Brazil).

However, this increased productive capacity has not been reflected in a higher demand for national films. Between 2010 and 2017, national films premiered represented between 36 and 46.5% of total films in Argentina, but collection for national films ranged between 8.5 and 11.7%, with a 16.2% peak in 2014. The trend is similar in Brazil. National films represented between 24.4 and 34.6% of films premiered between 2010 and 2017, but collection for such films ranged between 17.9% in 2010 and 8.9% in 2017. Finally, national films premiered in Mexico represented, during the same period, between 17.9% and 27.7% depending on the year, but collection for those films was only 6% to 12% of the total tickets sold. The question should be raised whether public policies have not been too focused on production, and whether Latin American films are not being targeted mostly to middle and upper middle-class audiences, rather than to popular sectors.

Table 12.5. *Percentage of collection from national films over total collection from films premiered in Argentina, Brazil and Mexico (2010-2017).*

Year/Country	Argentina	Brazil	Mexico
2010	8,5%	17,9%	6,0%
2011	6,6%	11,1%	6,0%
2012	8,7%	9,8%	4,0%
2013	14,5%	16,9%	12,0%
2014	16,2%	11,3%	10,0%
2015	13,0%	11,8%	6,0%
2016	12,8%	13,9%	9,0%
2017	11,7%	8,9%	6,0%

Source: Compilation based on data from INCAA (Argentina), IMCINE (Mexico) and ANCINE (Brazil).

If Latin American films have trouble to enter their national markets, their insertion in the international market is even more complex. Neither in the Latin American environment nor in the European one they attain the global circuit, with a few exceptions. Latin American films market share in the region reaches only 1% in the best of cases. Mexico, Brazil and Argentina are the countries that manage to transcend their borders with over 10 films per year, although with few tickets sold.

Spain is the access door for Latin American films into Europe, largely due to the greater number of co-productions with Latin American countries, which can be premiered more easily in Spanish theatres. In co-production agreements, the income from tickets sold in Spain is for the Spanish producer. Therefore, in monetary terms, there are no special benefits besides the cost reduction. A study by Getino and Schargorodsky (2008) shows that between 2000 and 2005, 82% of tickets sold in Europe by Argentine films were in Spain, followed by France, with 9%.

De Mora (2009), based on data by Kanzler, Newman-Baudais and Lange (2008), states that from the 1,324 foreign films (not including EU or US productions) that were premiered in the EU between 2002 and 2006, only 172 were from Latin America. Non-US foreign films continue to be a minority, and in the 2002-2006 period, they only represented 2.3% of the total admissions to cinemas. However, Kanzler, Newman-Baudais and Lange observe growth from 1.6% in 2002 to 3.3% in 2006. Argentina is the only Latin American country that is among the 10 largest non-European film producers premiered in the EU. With 82 films and 4,171,251 tickets sold, it obtained a 0.12% market share in the EU.

Cooperation has become an essential tool to promote film development in Latin American countries in the early 21st Century. The Ibermedia programme has had a key role in this regard, with a system in place for the contribution and reception of funds that encourages the use of smaller film industries. Ibermedia's Annual Report for Fiscal Year 2016 informs that 19 countries participated and over 100 projects were approved.

Table 12.6. *Ibermedia programme funds 1998-2016.*

Country	Contributed US\$	Received US\$	Contributed %	Received %
Argentina	6,099,956	8,950,823	0.07	0.1
Bolivia	1,699,980	2,989,976	0.02	0.03
Brazil	10,842,947	9,124,689	0.12	0.1
Chile	2,447,634	4,892,869	0.03	0.05
Colombia	2,644,885	5,494,641	0.03	0.06
Costa Rica	1,100,000	2,044,677	0.01	0.02
Cuba	2,301,136	4,276,669	0.02	0.05
Dominican Rep.	1,075,000	1,445,709	0.01	0.02
Ecuador	1,319,273	2,424,884	0.01	0.03
Guatemala	100,000	415,000	0	0
Mexico	6,506,192	6,831,964	0.07	0.08
Panama	1,375,000	2,701,533	0.01	0.03
Paraguay	400,000	600,000	0	0.01
Peru	2,117,388	4,174,921	0.02	0.05
Portugal	4,850,000	5,297,513	0.05	0.06
Puerto Rico	1,800,000	1,986,999	0.02	0.02
Spain	37,523,205	15,721,682	0.4	0.17
Uruguay	2,375,000	4,345,446	0.03	0.05
Venezuela	6,112,094	6,450,749	0.07	0.07
Total	92,689,689	90,170,744		

Source: SEGIB, 2017.

In general terms, all Ibero-American countries have a balance of trade tipped towards imports in the film market, as a result of the weight of US imports. De Mora (2009) states that 67% of exports from Ibero-American countries are targeted at countries from the region. Latin America is a net importer of films and its balance of trade is negative.

Television flows in Latin America

Television in Latin America began by importing programmes. The market developed in the '60s when TV receivers became popular. Television adopted a commercial criterion, funded by advertisement, and strategies were guided by the cost-benefit logic.

Advertising investment was limited at the beginning, and TV stations resorted to alliances with large American networks. This affected fiction genres mostly – as they are the costliest, giving rise to the cultural imperialism theories. A study by Joseph Straubhaar *et al.* (2003) refers to a large presence of US content.

Table 12.7. Percentage of US imported content in Latin American countries programming.

	1962		1972		1982		1991		2001	
	Prime time	Global	Prime time	Global	Prime time	Global	Prime time	Global	Prime time	Global
Brazil	30%	31%	14%	44%	36%	37%	9%	20%	8%	19%
Chile	0%	4%	22%	38%	16%	28%	18%	22%	14%	31%
Colombia	31%	18%	11%	10%	14%	23%	/	/	13%	21%
Mexico	31%	38%	26%	26%	37%	35%	42%	24%	27%	27%
Venezuela	37%	40%	38%	39%	42%	36%	/	/	42%	32%

Source: Straubhaar *et al.*, 2003.

Although a relative reduction in the importance of foreign purchases can be appreciated, the study analyses general content, and lacks a specific analysis of fiction, where American productions have a leading role.

During the '70s, national production expanded in the main Latin American television markets. It was then that an original genre consolidated, which would later become the main source of exports for the region: the *telenovelas*. Like in the film industry, the three countries with the largest economies – and with largest economies of scale – were the main producers of programmes, and initially gained markets among their neighbour countries.

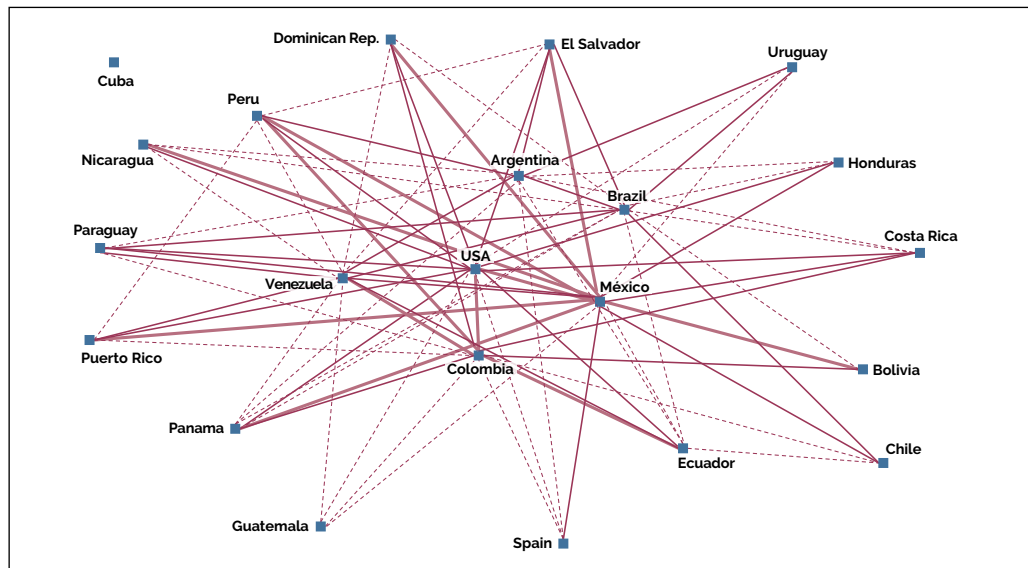
Since the '80s, the large multimedia groups started expanding, and the regional flow increased. The Mexican consortium Televisa, Globo from Brazil, and Cisneros from Venezuela consolidated as the main regional groups. Due to internal politics matters, the Argentine groups Clarín and Telefé only entered the market in the '90s.

The exports flow generated by *telenovelas* continued to expand to the rest of the world. Studies by Obitel (Latin American Observatory for Television Fiction, as per its

Spanish acronym) account for the growth in the production and trade of Latin American programmes. During 2016, Latin American free stations offered a total of 9,818 hours of national fiction programming and 20,766 Ibero-American hours (Franco, Gomez and Orozco, 2017).

Raúl de Mora's study (2009) graphically shows the exchanges of *telenovelas* among Latin American countries and the United States. The presence of the United States should be considered to be connected to its Spanish-speaking market. It must be one of the few cases where the audio-visual balance is reverted, being negative for the United States. On the other hand, it can be clearly noticed that the large producing countries in the region are at the centre of the exchange: Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela.

Figure 12.3. *Telenovelas distribution network.*



Source: De Mora, 2009.

Television in Latin America, even with its contrasts among countries, is an example of the ability to revert, at least partially, a situation of extreme dependence. By leveraging the development of original content and low comparative costs, private stations found in the production of *telenovelas* the development of content capable of generating economic resources and foreign currency for their countries. Although the television balance of trade continues to be negative in most cases, regional and international trade reached unsuspected levels in the '70s.

12.5 Closing remarks

The production, distribution and consumption of audiovisual content is a sector of growing importance in current society. Television is also an important source of information for people and enables robust public debate. National states have promoted the existence of content capable of stimulating a common collective identity through public policies that act on a market with economic imperfections. Businesses, on the other hand, are guided by cost-benefit logic, but interact with the State to attain better conditions for their development. The civil society has been less active. In the last 20 years, market orientation has prevailed in public policies, in a context of growing globalisation for the circulation of symbolic goods.

The analysis of audio-visual flows in Latin America and Europe teaches us a series of lessons, while presenting challenges to be taken into account both for the development of markets and for public policies.

What have we learned after over 100 years of symbolic exchanges among countries?

Special characteristics in the economy of cultural production involve restrictions for public policies. For cultural productions to be financially sustainable, they must reach a massive scale. Countries and businesses with large populations and/or markets have baseline conditions to develop strong cultural industries. As a result, the market is concentrated in a few companies. Globalisation changes the focus of consumption from national markets to a single global market. At the same time, digitalisation reduces costs and encourages new producers. The current scenario encompasses the paradox of growing supply and massive consumption focused on mega-productions.

The emergence of new contra-flows and emerging markets in the audio-visual sector has been proven. However, consumption of cultural goods continues to be mostly connected to large American productions.

Public policies are essential to promote supply diversity and facilitate access to cultural goods. This has been clearly proven in the film sector, while television has been guided rather by private business logic. However, public television is an example of what can be achieved by encouraging the diversity of programmes and programming. International cooperation policies have contributed to stimulating international circulation of symbolic goods and generating alternative flows.

What are the challenges ahead to guarantee the diversity of symbolic exchanges in culture?

Defining a strategy to maintain the current ability to implement culture and communication policies worldwide and among regions. The change from analogue to digital industry in the context of e-commerce liberalisation supported by supranational agreements and international agencies threatens cooperation scenarios.

Public policies for the audiovisual sector must tackle specifically the problem of intra-regional imbalances, protecting especially the smaller markets and countries. The idea of contra-flow has not always taken this problem into account. The promotion of «national» or «European champions» presents the same problem.

Public policies have proven to be efficient to increase cultural production. However, although flows have increased, the consumption of cultural goods regionally continues to be marginal. Public policies should strike a balance between promoting diversity, protecting minorities and innovation, and encouraging productions that connect with the preferences of the majority. Otherwise, they risk having low visibility and legitimacy.

Finally, implementing a policy to empower the use of New Information Technologies (NIT). Promoting access policies is not sufficient. Rather, best uses for such technologies should be developed to empower cultural resources. In this regard, cooperation has an important role in promoting articulation among countries for the advanced use of NIT, especially in terms of large indexing and search portals, as well as notification and classification services for the huge number of cultural products in the region. Otherwise, NITs would enlarge the existent gap in production and consumption of cultural products such as Netflix. The high cost of development for such initiatives and their strategic nature calls for a prompt resolution in a cooperative and collective manner.

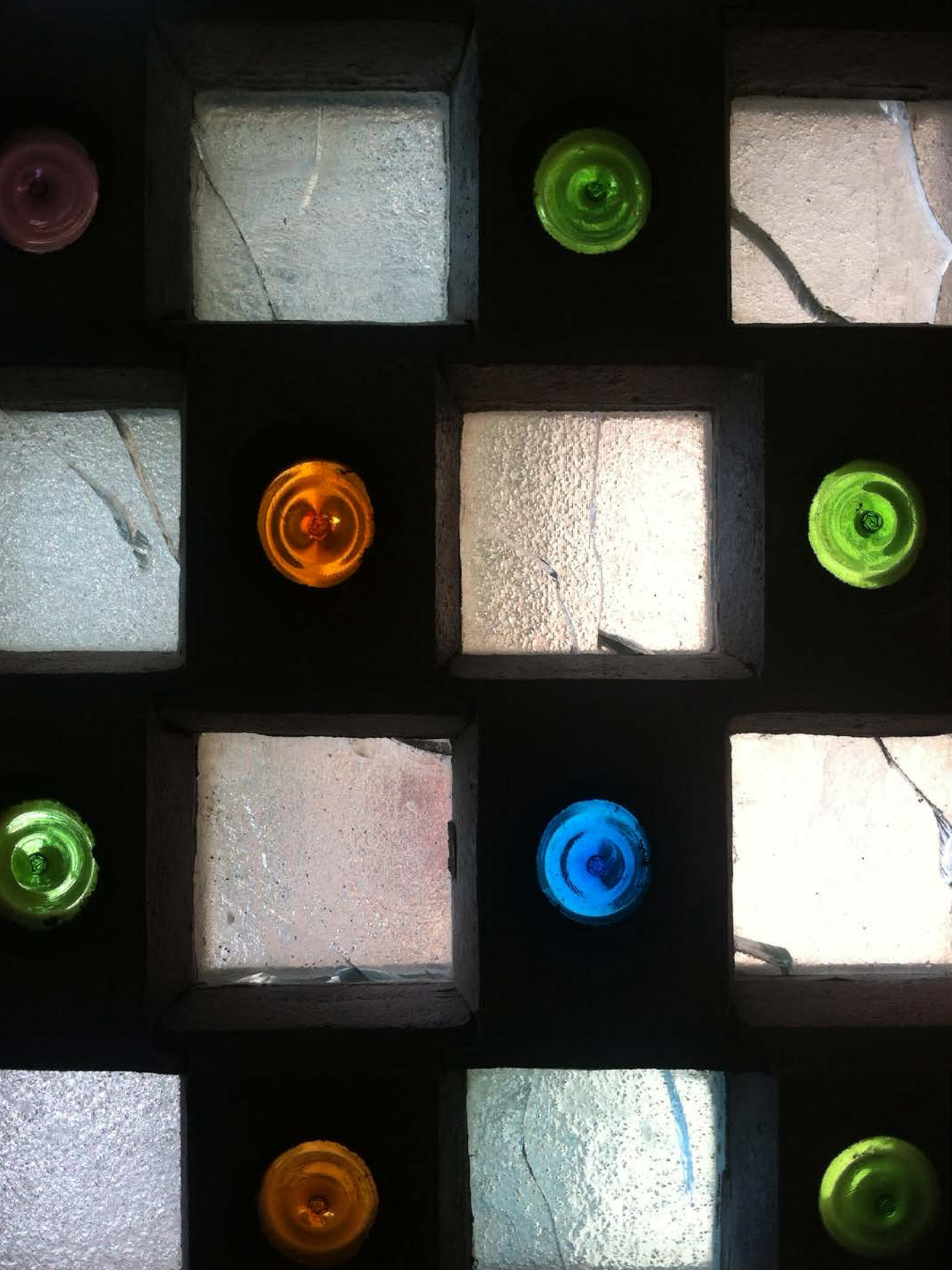
The communication and culture sector has become a strategic place in global economy. Eli Noam (2004: 433), the American specialist, predicts the consequences of not bearing this in mind: «failure to participate in global e-commerce means fundamental long-term economic stagnation». Having suffered this process repeatedly, the challenge is to prevent this from happening again.

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13

DIGITAL CULTURAL HERITAGE IN EU-LAC COUNTRIES: THE PROTECTION OF COPYRIGHT IN THE DIGITAL ENVIRONMENT

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Abstract

The EU-LAC countries have the opportunity to foster their cultural cooperation, through joint efforts for the creation, dissemination, preservation and online access to their digital heritage across borders. In this context, the digitisation of cultural materials has a key role. However, it faces some copyright challenges, especially due to the «digital revolution» which has made it necessary to reassess and adapt the underlying balances of copyright in the digital environment. Considering this scenario, this chapter aims to analyse how EU-LAC countries are reconciling the protection of copyright on digital cultural heritage, with special attention to the international initiatives and the European project of modernisation of copyright protection rules, observing its potential impact on the cultural exchange between the European Union and Latin American and The Caribbean. Initially, this chapter presents the challenges to safeguarding copyrighted works that compose the digital cultural heritage, especially with regard to the digitisation of cultural material. Then, the protection of copyright in the digital age is studied, with special attention to the copyright limitations and exceptions applied to digital cultural heritage in EU-LAC countries. This chapter concludes that although there have been advances in the international legal framework, there are still many pending issues in the international agenda, and broad differences in the national level regulations, not only in Latin America and the Caribbean, but also in the European Union. The question of exceptions and limitations in the digital environ-

ment, particularly in relation to cultural heritage institutions, is a global issue that could be handled jointly by EU-LAC countries in a manner to find a solution to the delicate balance between protection of copyright and access to digital cultural heritage.

13.1 Introduction

«We represent a vast set of nations that share roots and the rich heritage of a culture founded upon the sum of diverse peoples, bloodlines and credos» and «[our] aim of convergence rests not only upon a common cultural heritage, but also upon the richness of our origins and their plural expression» (OEI, 2006: 2) – these words which inspired the Iberomeric Cultural Charter in 2006 describe the strong cultural ties that historically connect European and Latin American and Caribbean (EU-LAC) countries.

Despite that, in practice, the range of cultural content available in one country does not reflect the breadth of cultural production of both regions. The diversity of works of EU-LAC countries is still far from realising its full potential. There is a number of works that would benefit from wider dissemination across the regions, but which cannot be found on any distribution channel, including digital channels.

The digital era, which promoted intense changes in society, largely affected the cultural landscape worldwide: the diversity of the media has enabled «cultural expressions to flourish within societies» (UNESCO, 2005: 2). The new technological context has dramatically reshaped the ways in which cultural contents are produced, distributed and accessed. While the new technological tools have expanded the resources for creation, opening the way «for a veritable explosion of creativity» (Kulesz, 2015: 81), people have now unprecedented opportunities to access cultural material, and institutions can expand their distribution by reaching out to broader audiences. The Internet has become a key distribution channel and a means to access creative contents, such as music, videos, games, images, movies, drama, literature, scientific writings, and other cultural materials.

Within this framework, digital cultural heritage has come to play a key role. Not only is it promoting cultural diversity, but it is also considered a driver for development, since cultural diversity «creates a rich and varied world, which increases the range of choices and nurtures human capacities and values, and therefore is a mainspring for sustainable development for communities, peoples and nations» (UNESCO, 2005: 1).

Considering this context, preserving the digital cultural heritage to ensure that it remains accessible to the public has become a priority for the international community, as it requires cooperation and coordinated action among nations, especially to create syner-

gies between national efforts «to enable all countries to ensure creation, dissemination, preservation and continued accessibility of their digital heritage» (UNESCO, 2003a).¹

However, safeguarding digital heritage faces some technical, economic and legal obstacles, one of which is related to the protection of copyright. Due to the fragmentation of territorial protection standards in the countries, the cross-border access to content and the circulation of works are significantly constrained. Also, different approaches in copyrights issues can hamper cross-border cooperation and the sharing of means of preservation, leading to an inefficient use of resources (Council of the European Union, 2018).

A way to safeguard and ensure a wide accessibility of digital cultural heritage is to reduce this fragmentation by promoting legal convergence on copyright issues among the EU-LAC countries, in a manner to provide a balanced protection of copyright in relation to digital culture heritage.

Based on this context, this article aims to analyse how EU-LAC countries are reconciling the protection of copyright on digital cultural heritage, with special attention to international initiatives and the European project of modernisation of copyright protection rules, observing its potential impact on the cultural exchange between the European Union and Latin American and the Caribbean. This analysis is developed in three sections. In the first section, this article presents the challenges to safeguarding copyrighted works that composes the digital cultural heritage, especially with regard to the digitisation of cultural material. In the second section, the protection of copyright in the digital age is analysed. In the third section, copyright limitations and exceptions applied to digital cultural heritage in EU-LAC countries are examined.

13.2 Copyrighted works in digital cultural heritage: the digitised works

Culture is defined as «the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society or social group. It includes not only arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs» (UNESCO, 1982). In practice, cultural diversity manifests itself in diverse ways in which the humanity's cultural heritage is expressed, augmented and transmitted through the variety of cultural expressions, and in varied modes of artistic creation, production, dissemination, distribution and enjoyment, whatever the means and technologies used (UNESCO, 2005).

¹ See Articles 4 and 11 of the Charter on the Preservation of the Digital Heritage (UNESCO, 2003a).

In this context, the former idea of cultural heritage included those sites, objects and intangible² things that have cultural, historical, aesthetic, archaeological, scientific, ethnological or anthropological value to groups and individuals (UNESCO, 1972). However, since the adoption of the World Heritage Convention, in 1972, the notion of what is regarded as cultural heritage has broadened, including, nowadays, digital heritage. It consists of digitally created or digitised resources of human knowledge or expression with lasting value and significance (UNESCO, 2003a).

Therefore, for cultural institutions traditionally involved in cultural heritage, the idea of safeguarding digital materials for future generations has become a matter of concern. Considering that a great part of digital heritage consists of the product of digitisation of pre-existing works, such as texts, images, and sounds, or which may be of an audiovisual, graphic, photographic or cinematographic nature (UNESCO, 2018), an issue has received special attention: the digitisation of cultural heritage.

Digitisation is a mean to preserve and enable access to cultural heritage in the digital era, promoting cultural diversity and wealth (UNESCO, 2003a). It can serve to distinct purposes, such as collection management, preservation, and public online access to heritage.

According to the twofold nature of culture (UNESCO, 2005), digitisation of cultural heritage offers enormous cultural and economic opportunities, including across national borders. It not only enhances value (Directive 2012/28/EU, European Parliament and Council of the European Union, 2012), lends the collections of museums, libraries and archives much greater visibility especially through online access, attracting new visitors, tourists and researchers, but also fosters business in regional economies. They are considered inputs for added-value products and services which can fuel innovation, especially

² The definition of intangible cultural heritage has been expanded with the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage adopted by the UNESCO General Conference held in 2003. At that time, the international community recognised the need to raise awareness about cultural manifestations and expressions that until then had no legal or programmatic framework to protect them. The 2003 Convention is aimed at safeguarding the «practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage» (art. 2(1) of the Convention). This intangible heritage is found in forms such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, and traditional craftsmanship (art. 2(2) of the Convention). This definition is provided in Article 2 of the Convention. «Safeguarding» means measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalisation of the various aspects of such heritage (art. 2(3), UNESCO, 2003b). Around the world, 150 States have joined the 2003 Convention, while it has been ratified or passed in 28 countries within Latin America and the Caribbean (group III). Through its acceptance, the countries agree to adopt a general policy aimed at highlighting the function of intangible cultural heritage in society.

for cultural and creative industries, including areas such as tourism, education, architecture, design, publishing, advertising and gaming (European Commission, 2017).

However, digitisation of cultural memory poses challenges of a legal, economic and technical nature, and one of the main challenges faced by cultural institutions is related to copyright. While technological development has multiplied and diversified the vectors for creation, production and exploitation of digital material, the protection of copyright does not evolve at the same pace, leaving gaps that generate uncertainties, affecting legal security in relation to the digitisation of cultural heritage, and the uses of this digital material (e.g. collection management, preservation and online accessibility).

In practice, a significant part of works composing the cultural heritage is protected by copyright. Since copyright is a key tool to stimulate creativity, cultural material should be digitised, managed, preserved and made accessible in full respect of copyright (European Commission, 2011).

Under many national legal frameworks, cultural heritage institutions do not necessarily enjoy a blanket exception from the right of reproduction for preservation purposes, including those applicable to digital context (Commission of the European Communities, 2008; WIPO, 2017a). In general, digitisation is considered a form of reproduction because changing the format of a work from analogue to digital requires a reproduction of the work. Reproduction is only allowed in specific cases, which do not always cover certain acts necessary for the preservation of works contained in the institutions' collections.

Some nations, for example, have restrictive exceptions for libraries and archives that permit a single copy of an item to be made, whereas digitisation inevitably implies multiple copies. On the one hand, this kind of exceptions does not always apply to museums; on the other hand, even if digitisation for preservation is allowed, it does not mean that digital material can be made available for public access online. Therefore, most of the cultural heritage institutions limit their digitisation projects to items in their collection that are either in the public domain, or to items where the copyright owner consented to reproduce the work (Corbett, 2011).

The collections of most institutions with items protected by copyright include: items whose copyright has been assigned to the institution, items whose copyright owner is known and traceable, and items whose copyright owner is either not known or is untraceable – the so-called orphan works. If the copyright owner is known and traceable, the institution can contact the rightsholder for permission to carry out its activities, such as digitisation; but in the case of orphan works this is particularly difficult, once owners cannot be identified or located. Protected works can become orphaned if data on the rightsholder is missing or outdated, which is often the case with works that are no longer exploited commercially, also known as out-of-commerce works (Commission of the Euro-

pean Communities, 2008). For orphan works, out-of-commerce works and works whose copyright owner refuses to give consent, the potential for digitisation of cultural heritage institutions is legally hampered.

So, despite the fact that digital technologies should facilitate cross-border access to cultural heritage, many obstacles remain, such as copyright fragmentation among nations. As a consequence of these obstacles, cultural exchange processes among EU-LAC countries are affected, and citizens miss opportunities to have access to a wide diversity of cultural material.

Although international efforts on these issues have changed since the adoption of the UNESCO's Charter for the Preservation of Digital Heritage, in 2003 – when the international community urged the adoption of legal, economic and technical measures to safeguard digital heritage –, the advances in the adoption of convergent rules on copyright issues in the digital environment, particularly those related to digital cultural heritage, have been quite limited.

13.3 The protection of copyright in the digital age

Copyright has its origins in the 18th century, when creators called for the recognition of their author's intellectual property rights to guarantee the fruits of their labour (Boncompain, 2001; Ladas, 1938). Nowadays, «copyright law relates not only to the rights of authors but refers to a much more complex legal situation» (Geiger, 2009: 2), including the rights granted to authors – known as copyright or authors' rights – and to performers, producers and broadcasters – also called related rights.

Copyright protection applies automatically, as soon as an author creates a work; no formalities are required. The protection is temporary, with duration varying in different countries and according to the type of work. International treaties generally require Member States to guarantee the duration of copyright protection for at least the author's lifetime plus an additional 50 years after death. Some countries protect copyright for 70, 80 or even 99 years after the creator's demise. Once that period expires, the creative work enters the public domain for use by anyone without a licence (Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, 1886; WTO, 1994).

Copyright includes the moral and the economic rights: while moral rights include, for instance, the right to claim authorship of the work and the right to object to any derogatory action in relation to the work; economic rights refer to the material rights of the authors, such as the exclusive rights to authorise or prohibit the making and distribution of copies as well as the communication to the public of their literary, artistic, musical and dramatic works, having the possibility of being remunerated for their use. Licensing is the

main mechanism for the exercise of copyright, which is most often granted directly by the rightholder or, according the situation, by collective management organisations. These exclusive rights are subject of limitations or exceptions – specific uses that do not require a licence from the copyright holder – that allow beneficiaries in specific circumstances to use protected material without authorisation (Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, 1886; WTO, 1994).

The author's right is recognised internationally as a fundamental human right, as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) declares in its article 27(2): «everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author» (United Nations, 1948). This right is also reinforced by the article 15(1)(c) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), which recognises the right of everyone «to benefit from the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author» (United Nations, 1966).

The main international instruments that regulates the copyright and related rights are the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works (1886) and the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) (WTO, 1994), which are supplemented by other international conventions, such as the International Convention for the Protection of Performers, Producers of Phonograms and Broadcasting Organisations, the WIPO Copyright Treaty (WCT, 1996), the WIPO Performances and Phonograms Treaty (WPPT, 1996) and the Beijing Treaty on Audiovisual Performances (2012).

The Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works (Berne Convention), adopted in 1886, deals with the protection of works and the rights of their authors. This Convention administered by the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) provides creators the protection of literary and artistic works, including the production in the literary, scientific and artistic domain, whatever may be the mode or form of its expression (Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, 1886).

Most elements of the Berne Convention have been incorporated by reference into the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), agreed in 1994. The TRIPS Agreement contains provisions on the means of enforcing intellectual property rights, including copyright, which are common standards applicable at international level and implemented in all Members of the World Trade Organisation (WTO, 1994).

The Rome Convention for the Protection of Performers, Producers of Phonograms and Broadcasting Organisations (1961) deals with the protection of performances for performers, of phonograms for producers of phonograms and of broadcasts for broadcasting organisations. WIPO is responsible for the administration of the convention jointly with the

International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).

The WCT³ and the WPPT⁴ are jointly known as the Internet Treaties. They have been adopted in 1996, under the auspices of the WIPO Diplomatic Conference in response to the impact of Internet and digital technology on copyright. These Treaties deal respectively with the protection of authors and the protection of performers and phonogram producers, updating the international protection for copyright and related rights, with special regard to the so-called «digital agenda», and improving the means to fight piracy worldwide. The WCT recognises the protection of computer programmes as literary works and protection of the arrangement and selection of material in databases. It also provides authors of works with control over their rental and distribution. Furthermore, it prohibits circumvention of technological measures for the protection of works and unauthorised modification of rights management information contained in works.

The Beijing Treaty on Audiovisual Performances, approved in 2012, complements the Rome Convention for the Protection of Performers, Producers of Phonograms and Broadcasting Organisations (1961), updating the protection for singers, musicians, dancers and actors in audio-visual performances for the digital era, and the provisions of the WPPT on the protection for performers and producers of phonograms.

The approval of these WIPO Internet treaties incentivised the multilateral debate on questions regarding copyright regulation in the digital environment,⁵ evidencing the limitations of the rules applicable to copyright in the face of challenges arising from new digital technologies. Regarding this scenario, the Latin American and Caribbean Group (GRULAC) presented in 2015 a proposal for the Standing Committee of Copyright and Related Rights (SCCR) of the WIPO to update the copyright regulation of digital related issues (SCCR/31/4) (WIPO, 2015).

Based on this GRULAC's proposal, the WIPO commissioned a scoping study on the impact of the digital environment on copyright legislation adopted by Member States between 2006 and 2016, whose results were published in 2017 (SCCR/35/4) (WIPO, 2017). The study pointed out that almost a hundred Member States have adopted and/or updated their copyright laws, particularly regarding technical components such as computer

³ During the earlier stage of negotiations, the WCT was seen as a protocol to the Berne Convention; however, as any amendment to the Berne Convention required unanimous consent of all parties, the WCT was conceptualised as an additional treaty which supplemented the Berne Convention.

⁴ See WIPO Performances and Phonograms Treaty (WPPT, 1996).

⁵ The WIPO framework applicable to digital rights management is: Articles 11 and 12 of the WCT, as well as the agreed statement concerning Article 12; Articles 18 and 19 of the WPPT; and Article 15 and 16 of the Beijing Treaty, as well as the agreed statement concerning Article 15 as it relates to Article 13.

programmes, databases and digital rights management (including the technological protection measures – TPMs), or to cover the rights of reproduction⁶ and communication and/or public access⁷ additional remuneration rights for digital communication (as the case may be, to one or various categories of rightsholders), as well as limitations and exceptions, such as temporary reproduction, in the digital environment.

In this context, 43% of Member States (31 Member States) have adopted provisions on limitations and exceptions specifically adapted to the digital environment, addressing for example online education and/or activities of libraries and archives (WIPO, 2017).

In relation to the Member States that have established limitations and exceptions for archives and libraries, their approaches vary widely, and in a few cases such exceptions reach other cultural institutions such as museums. In some situations, national legislations adopt general exceptions, like a general library exception, providing a broad and flexible provision that authorise a library or other institution to make copies of works, usually subject to specific conditions, but not limited to particular purposes. Among the most common library exceptions, national legislations authorise libraries to make copies of works for preservation, without necessarily requiring that the work be at risk (lost, damaged, deteriorated, or otherwise in jeopardy). In relation to copies for research and study, some legislations permit a library or other institution to make copies, usually single copies, at the request of a user, particularly for purposes of research or private study. Also, there are legislations that allows libraries to make digital works available to users on the premises, usually for their research or study. It is less common the exceptions that permit libraries to make copies of works to provide to other libraries for the libraries' use or for delivery to users at their request. In addition, among the countries that enacted provisions prohibiting the circumvention of technological protection measures, some of them have exemptions explicitly applicable to libraries. Furthermore, the provisions related to orphan works are also considered in several countries (WIPO, 2017).

This scoping study demonstrates the variety of national approaches related to the exceptions and limitations on copyright on activities of libraries and archives, pointing for the need for normative convergence in this issue in the international context. Proposals on this subject, through the adoption of minimum standards of copyright exceptions and

⁶ The WIPO framework regarding the right of reproduction is: Article 9(1) of the Berne Convention; Articles 7(1)(c) and 10 of the Rome Convention; the agreed statements of WCT relating to Article 1(4); Article 7 of the WPPT; and Article 7 of the Beijing Treaty. And regarding temporary reproductions is: Article 9(2) of the Berne Convention; Articles 1(4) and 10 of the WCT and the agreed statements to those provisions; and Articles 7, 11 and 16 of the WPPT and the agreed statements to those provisions.

⁷ The WIPO framework regarding the right of communication to the public, including the right of making available, is: Articles 11(1)(ii), 11bis(1)(i) and (ii), 11ter(1)(ii), 14(1)(ii) and 14bis(1) of the Berne Convention; Article 7(1)(a) of the Rome Convention; Article 8 of the WCT; Articles 2(g), 6 and 10 of the WPPT; and Articles 2(d) and 10 of the Beijing Treaty.

limitations for libraries and archives, have been subject of debate under the SCCR in the last decade (WIPO, 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014).

The current agenda of the forthcoming meetings of SCCR includes, among other issues, the limitations and exceptions for libraries and archives, as well as museums, education and research. In this context, some of the topics under debate are preservation, right of reproduction and safeguarding copies, orphan works, retracted and withdrawn works, and works out of commerce; in addition to library lending, legal deposit, parallel importations, limitations on liability for libraries and archives, technological protection measures, contracts, cross-border uses, and right to translate works. Also, the agenda comprise the issue of copyright in digital environment which also affects the limitations and exceptions for cultural heritage institutions (WIPO, 2018a).

The debate on copyright exceptions and limitations have rarely been the topic of international norm-setting. In practice, the States commonly observe their positive obligation to provide for a robust and flexible system of copyright exceptions and limitations based in the «three-step test», according to the international copyright law, particularly article 9(2) of the Berne Convention⁸, article 13 of TRIPS Agreement⁹ and article 10 of WCT¹⁰ – which suggests a more flexible approach to the three-step test in the digital environment.

Indeed, the development of the digital technologies has made essential a general rethinking of copyright legislation, including the limitations and exceptions that benefit cultural heritage institutions, as a manner to promote the broad access to cultural heritage in the digital environment. Within this framework, to encourage a legal and practical environment

⁸ Article 9(2): It shall be a matter for legislation in the countries of the Union to permit the reproduction of such works in certain special cases, provided that such reproduction does not conflict with a normal exploitation of the work and does not unreasonably prejudice the legitimate interests of the author (Berne Convention, 1886).

⁹ Article 13: Members shall confine limitations or exceptions to exclusive rights to certain special cases which do not conflict with a normal exploitation of the work and do not unreasonably prejudice the legitimate interests of the right holder (WTO, 1994).

¹⁰ Article 10 - Limitations and Exceptions

(1) Contracting Parties may, in their national legislation, provide for limitations of or exceptions to the rights granted to authors of literary and artistic works under this Treaty in certain special cases that do not conflict with a normal exploitation of the work and do not unreasonably prejudice the legitimate interests of the author.

(2) Contracting Parties shall, when applying the Berne Convention, confine any limitations of or exceptions to rights provided for therein to certain special cases that do not conflict with a normal exploitation of the work and do not unreasonably prejudice the legitimate interests of the author.

Agreed statement concerning Article 10: It is understood that the provisions of Article 10 permit Contracting Parties to carry forward and appropriately extend into the digital environment limitations and exceptions in their national laws which have been considered acceptable under the Berne Convention. Similarly, these provisions should be understood to permit Contracting Parties to devise new exceptions and limitations that are appropriate in the digital network environment.

It is also understood that Article 10(2) neither reduces nor extends the scope of applicability of the limitations and exceptions permitted by the Berne Convention (WCT, 1996).

to maximise accessibility to digital heritage, the UNESCO's Charter for the Preservation of Digital Heritage recognised the necessity of promoting a «fair balance between the legitimate rights of creators and other rights holders and the interests of the public to access digital heritage materials», urging governments, creators, publishers, relevant industries and heritage institutions to join efforts for the preservation of the digital heritage (UNESCO, 2003a).

Particularly in relation to copyright limitations and exceptions to libraries, archives, museums, education and research, the essence of the debate is to find an adequate balanced copyright system that combines the protection of authorship and cultural participation, both aspects of human rights recognised in article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and article 15 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966).

As mentioned, article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognises the right to the protection of the moral and material interests of the authors (article 27(2)), as well as it declares that «everyone has the right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits» (article 27(1), United Nations, 1948).

In the same way, article 15 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights reaffirm these rights, recognising the rights of everyone «to take part in cultural life» (article 15(1)(a)) and «to benefit from the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author» (article 15(1)(c)), underlining the principles of conservation, development and diffusion of science and culture, freedom as indispensable for the realisation of these rights and the importance of international cooperation to achieve them (article 15(2), (3) and (4), United Nations, 1966; United Nations, 2014).

Whithin this framework, considering the potential of cultural interchange among the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean, the interregional efforts to promote convergence on copyright issues in the digital environment, including those related to the limitations and exceptions applied to digital cultural heritage, could benefit the cultural exchange process among EU-LAC countries. However, it is a challenging task, due to the great diversity of regulations among the countries in both regions.

13.4 Copyright limitations and exceptions applied to digital cultural heritage in EU-LAC countries

In Latin American and Caribbean countries, it is possible to note not only broad asymmetries in copyright laws, but also the obsolescence and the lack of adaptation of copyright legislation to the new technological environment (WIPO, 2017; Fernández Molina

and Guimarães, 2010; Crews, 2014). Some countries have not even joined the WIPO Internet Treaties, among which Brazil, Bolivia, Cuba, Venezuela (WIPO, 2018b). Also, there are national legislations – including in countries that have a great cultural diversity to be disseminated around the world – that have not included limitations and exceptions in copyright law for libraries and archives, as well as museums, such as Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay and Costa Rica (WIPO, 2017).

In the European Union (EU), the approval on behalf of the European Community of the WCT and the WPPT was made by the Decision 2000/278/EC of 16 March 2000, of the Council of the European Union (2010), followed by the Directives which largely cover the subject matter of the treaties: Directive 91/250/EC, which implements the copyright protection for software; Directive 96/9/EC on copyright protection for databases; and Directive 2001/29/EC on the harmonisation of certain aspects of copyright and related rights in the information society (Council of the European Communities, 1991; European Parliament and Council of the European Union, 1996; 2001). Later, other Directives on related issues have been approved: Directive 2004/48/EC on the enforcement of intellectual property rights; Directive 2006/115/EC on rental right and lending right and on certain rights related to copyright in the field of intellectual property; Directive 2009/24/EC on the legal protection of computer programmes; Directive 2012/28/EU on certain permitted uses of orphan works; and Directive 2014/26/EU on collective management of copyright and related rights and multi-territorial licensing of rights in musical works for online use in the internal market (European Parliament and Council of the European Union 2004; 2006; 2009; 2012; 2014).

In 2008, the European Commission adopted a Green Paper on Copyright in the Knowledge Economy, in order to «foster a debate on how knowledge for research, science and education can best be disseminated in the online environment» (Commission of the European Communities, 2008: 3). The Green Paper aimed to «set out a number of issues connected with the role of copyright in the ‘knowledge economy’» (Commission of the European Communities, 2008: 3), dealing with general issues regarding exceptions to copyrights introduced in the Directive 2001/29/EC, including the exceptions related to libraries, archives and museums. In practice, this Directive strengthened the protection of copyright and related rights in the framework of the internal market, with particular emphasis on the digital environment, but left gaps with regard to the establishment of compulsory limitations and exceptions within this context, including in relation to cultural heritage institutions (European Parliament and Council of the European Union, 2001).

Directive 2001/29/EC establishes that the reproduction right «may» be object of some exceptions or limitations, including «in respect of specific acts of reproduction made by publicly accessible libraries, educational establishments or museums, or by archives, which are not for direct or indirect economic or commercial advantage» (article 5(2)(c) of the Directive 2001/29/EC). Similarly, it provides the possibility of adopting an exception

or limitation to the right of distribution in this case, to the extent justified by the purpose of the authorised act of reproduction. Based on the three-steps test, these exceptions shall only be applied in cases which do not conflict with a normal exploitation of the work or other subject-matter and do not unreasonably prejudice the legitimate interests of the rightsholder (article 5(4) and (5) of the Directive 2001/29/EC).

In particular, the right of communication to the public of works and the right of making available to the public other subject-matter (article 3 of the Directive 2001/29/EC), the Directive does not present any exception of limitation concerning cultural heritage institutions (article 5(3) of the Directive 2001/29/EC). Consequently, EU asymmetries on the issue were maintained.

In 2015, a Digital Single Market Strategy was adopted, considering the need «to reduce the differences between national copyright regimes and allow for wider online access to works by users across the EU» (European Commission, 2015a: 8). In the same year, the European Parliament adopted the Resolution of 9 July 2015 on the implementation of Directive 2001/29/EC on the harmonisation of certain aspects of copyright and related rights in the information society, emphasising the importance of strengthening «exceptions for institutions of public interest, such as libraries, museums and archives, in order to promote wide-ranging access to cultural heritage, including through online platforms» (Recital 39 of the Resolution) and calling upon «the Commission to assess the adoption of an exception allowing libraries to digitalise content for the purposes of consultation, cataloguing and archiving» (Recital 54 of the Resolution).¹¹

In December 2015, based on this Strategy, the European Union launched an ambitious process of modernisation of the EU copyright framework, based on the environment promoted by the digital age. The European Commission issued a Communication entitled *Towards a modern, more European copyright framework*, outlining targeted actions and a long-term vision to modernise EU copyright rules. This initiative was adopted with the objective «to achieve a wide availability of creative content across the EU, to make sure that EU copyright rules continue to provide a high level of protection for right holders, and to maintain a good balance with other public policy goals» (European Commission, 2015b: 2), like education, research and cultural heritage, or equal access for persons with disabilities, in the digital environment.¹²

¹¹ See European Parliament, 2015. Furthermore, by recognising the importance of libraries for access to knowledge, it «calls upon the Commission to assess the adoption of an exception allowing public and research libraries to legally lend works to the public in digital formats for personal use, for a limited duration, through the internet or the libraries' networks», and «recommends that authors should be fairly compensated for e-lending to the same extent as for the lending of physical books according to national territorial restrictions» (Recital 53 of the Directive 2001/29/EC) (European Commission, 2016).

¹² The Communication *Towards a modern, more European copyright framework* adopted on 9 December 2015 sets out the main political objectives and areas of action as well as the timeline, based on a step-by-step approach (European Commission, 2015b).

It takes in consideration the relevance of digitisation of cultural heritage, considering that «digitisation turns Europe's cultural resources into an important building block for the digital economy» (European Commission, 2017). As part of the Europe 2020 strategy, digitisation is considered an important mean for ensuring greater access to and use of cultural material (European Commission, 2011). According to estimates, around 20% of Europe's collections have been digitised. In this scenario, the «Europeana» initiative, launched in 2008, has become a common multilingual access point to Europe's digital cultural heritage, which aggregates and diffuses European cultural content (Council of the European Union, 2012). So, this strategy depends to a large extent on the way Member States and their cultural institutions feed this platform with content and make it visible to citizens. In this sense, measures to achieve this effect and promote a large-scale digitisation of cultural heritage have been encouraged.

Consequently, in 2016, it was introduced a Proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council on copyright in the Digital Single Market that focuses on allowing for wider online availability of content across the EU, adapting exceptions and limitations to the digital world, including exceptions and limitations related to cultural heritage institutions. The proposal provides for mandatory exceptions for Member States to implement and uses with a cross-border dimension, such as in the field of preservation of cultural heritage as well as in text and data mining for the purposes of scientific research (European Commission, 2016; Council of the European Union, 2018).¹³

In relation to the preservation of cultural heritage, the proposal establishes as a measure to adapt exceptions and limitations to the digital and cross-border environment that Member States shall provide for an exception to the right of reproduction «permitting cultural heritage institutions to make copies of any works or other subject-matter that are permanently in their collections, in any format or medium, for the sole purpose of the preservation of such works or other subject-matter and to the extent necessary for such preservation» (article 5 of the Proposal, European Commission, 2016).¹⁴ In this context, cultural heritage institution «means a publicly accessible library or museum, an archive or a film or audio heritage institution» (article 2(3) of the Proposal in European Commission, 2016).¹⁵

Regarding the acts of reproduction undertaken for purposes other than the preservation of works and other subject-matter in their permanent collections, the Proposal states

¹³ More than a year after the European Commission published its proposal, the discussion regarding its approval resulted in amendments on the original text (see Council of the European Union, 2018; European Parliament, 2018. See also Keller, 2017a, 2017b), reopening the debate on the provisions on a renewed basis.

¹⁴ See also Article 2 of Directive 2001/29/EC, Articles 5(a), 5(2)(c) and 7(1) of Directive 96/9/EC, Article 4(1)(a) of Directive 2009/24/EC and Articles 11(1) and 17(2) of the Proposal for Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council on Copyright in the Digital Single Market.

¹⁵ See also Recital 11a of the Proposal for Directive (European Commission, 2016).

that they should remain subject to the authorisation of rightsholders, except in the cases permitted by other exceptions or limitations provided by law (Recital 20 of the Proposal, Council of the European Union, 2018).¹⁶ However, Member States shall provide for an exception to the rights for reproductions and extractions made by cultural heritage institutions in order to «carry out text and data mining of works or other subject-matter to which they have lawful access, for the purposes of scientific research» (article 3(1) of the Proposal, Council of the European Union, 2018).

Currently, the European Directives do not explicitly contain a provision addressing preservation or text and data mining of works. In particular, Directive 2001/29/EC allows Member States to provide for exceptions or limitations to the reproduction right «in respect of specific acts of reproduction made by publicly accessible libraries, educational establishments or museums, or by archives, which are not for direct or indirect economic or commercial advantage» (article 5(2)(c) of Directive 2001/29/EC). This exception to the reproduction right for the benefit of libraries and archives, in practice, covers not only the reproduction for preservation, but also the use of material held in the collections of the institutions for both reprography and private copying (for private use), or for the sole purpose of illustration for teaching or scientific research (WIPO, 2013).

Concerning the reproduction for preservation, some States authorise a copy to replace a work whenever the original is damaged, lost, destroyed (United Kingdom, Estonia) or unusable (Lithuania, Estonia), or when the original work needs restoration (Finland, the Netherlands), or requires conversion from an obsolete format (format-shifting) or to avoid deterioration of the work's medium (anticipation). Many of them limit the exception to written texts (WIPO, 2013).

The mentioned provision of Directive 2001/29/EC clearly refers to a specific act of reproduction, it does not make any reference to acts of communication to the public or making available to the public (article 3 of the Directive). In practice, publicly accessible libraries, archives and museums only are beneficiated from a narrowly formulated exception to the right of communication to the public (or public accessibility) of works or other subject matter for the purpose of research or private study, by means of dedicated terminals located on the premises of such establishments (art. 5(3)(n) of Directive 2001/29/EC). This exception does not cover the electronic delivery of documents to end users remotely, as the Recital 40 of the Directive states that the exception for libraries and archives should not cover «uses made in the context of online delivery of protected works or other subject matter» (Recital 40 of Directive 2001/29/EC).

¹⁶ See version of the Proposal in: Council of the European Union (2018). See also Article 2 of Directive 2001/29/EC, Articles 5(a) and 7(1) of Directive 96/9/EC.

Another subject matter covered by the European Commission Proposal concerns the out-of-commerce works, namely the works which are «not available to the public through customary channels of commerce and cannot be reasonably expected to become so» (article 7(2) of the Proposal, Council of the European Union, 2018). This is a controversial issue (Keller, 2017a; 2017b), since the legislative solution proposes the introduction of Extended Collective Licensing (ECL) in the European Union national laws, without creating an explicit exception to the exclusive rights, for example, allowing cultural heritage institutions to make out-of-commerce works in their collections available online as part of their existing public task.

In relation to the use of out-of-commerce works by cultural heritage institutions, article 7(1) of the Proposal states that

Member States shall provide that a collective management organisation, in accordance with its mandates, may conclude a non-exclusive licence for non-commercial purposes with a cultural heritage institution for the reproduction, distribution, communication to the public or making available to the public of out-of-commerce works or other subject-matter permanently in the collection of the institution (Council of the European Union, 2018).

Furthermore, according to Recital 27 of the proposed Directive, as mass digitisation projects may involve significant investments, any licences granted to cultural heritage institutions under this mechanism «should not prevent them from generating reasonable revenues in order to cover the costs of the licence and the costs of digitising and disseminating the works and other subject-matter covered by the licence» (Council of the European Union, 2018).

This Proposal related to out-of-commerce works supplements Directive 2012/28/EU on certain permitted uses of orphan works, approved in 2012.¹⁷ This Directive adopts a common approach to determining the orphan work status and the permitted uses of these works in order to ensure legal certainty «with respect to the use of orphan works by publicly accessible libraries, educational establishments and museums, as well as by archives, film or audio heritage institutions and public-service broadcasting organisations» (Recital 9 of Directive 2012/28/EU). Accordingly, a work or a phonogram «shall be considered an orphan work if none of the rightsholders in that work or phonogram is

¹⁷ This Directive on orphan works substitutes the Commission Recommendation of 24 August 2006 on the digitisation and online accessibility of cultural content and digital preservation, 2006/585/EC, L 236/28, which calls up the Member States to create mechanisms to facilitate the use of orphan works and to promote the availability of lists of known orphan works (Numeral 6(a) and (c) of the Recommendation) (European Parliament and Council of the European Union, 2012). See also: Commission of the European Communities, 2008.

identified or, even if one or more of them is identified, none is located despite a diligent search¹⁸ for the rightsholders having been carried out and recorded» (article 2(1) of Directive 2012/28/EU).

Directive 2012/28/EU states a mandatory exception or limitation to the right of reproduction and the right of making available to the public which permits publicly accessible libraries, educational establishments and museums, as well as archives, film or audio heritage institutions and public-service broadcasting organisations to use orphan works contained in their collections for making the orphan work available to the public and for reproduction for the purposes of digitisation, making available, indexing, cataloguing, preservation or restoration (article 6(1) of Directive 2012/28/EU).¹⁹

In addition, in order to incentivise digitisation, the institutions beneficiaries may generate revenues in such uses, «for the exclusive purpose of covering their costs of digitising orphan works and making them available to the public» (article 6(2) and recital 21 of Directive 2012/28/EU).

At any time, a rightsholder in a work considered to be an orphan work «has the possibility of putting an end to the orphan work status in so far as his rights are concerned» (article 5 of Directive 2012/28/EU), and, in this case, the rightsholder has assured a fair compensation for the use that has been made by the institutions (article 6(5) of Directive 2012/28/EU).

Therefore, while in European Union the orphan works issue is currently considered both at the national and at the EU level, and the issues related to out-of-commerce works are under debate; in Latin America and the Caribbean these matters are not regulated in national legislations.

In practice, orphan works do not generate an economic benefit for their owner, while it is not possible to obtain their authorisation, even if there is a willingness to pay for their use. The lack of regulation of orphan works consolidates a situation in which nobody knows how to use an orphan work, in a manner that this work tends to be finally excluded from the market, limiting access to it by users. This uncertainty not only hamper the potential of use of a work, but also the interchange of cultural heritage.

¹⁸ According to Article 3(1) of Directive 2012/28/EU: «a diligent search is carried out in good faith in respect of each work or other protected subject-matter, by consulting the appropriate sources for the category of works and other protected subject-matter in question. The diligent search shall be carried out prior to the use of the work or phonogram» (European Parliament and Council of the European Union, 2012).

¹⁹ The orphan work shall be used «only in order to achieve aims related to their public-interest missions of the authorised organisations, in particular the preservation of, the restoration of, and the provision of cultural and educational access to, works and phonograms contained in their collection» (Article 6(2) of the Directive 2012/28/EU). (European Parliament and Council of the European Union, 2012).

Given this scenario, a joint effort of the countries in both regions to devise a more flexible copyright protection for orphan works and out-of-commerce works could incentive cross-border access to this type of works that are a significant part of cultural heritage of the nations.

13.5 Final considerations

Given this scenario, it is possible to observe the potential of EU-LAC countries in fostering their cultural cooperation, through joint efforts for the creation, dissemination, preservation and online access of their digital heritage across borders. In this context, the digitisation of cultural materials has a key role. However, it faces some copyright challenges, especially due to the «digital revolution» which has made it necessary to reassess and adapt the underlying balances of copyright in the digital environment.

Therefore, to increase legal certainty for digitisation projects and to promote a legal cross-border access to cultural content and the circulation of works in the digital environment, it is important to reduce the normative fragmentation by promoting legal convergence on copyright standards among EU-LAC countries, especially in issues related to the digital culture heritage.

Although there have been advances in the international legal framework, especially in the multilateral framework of the WIPO – where the countries of the GRULAC have been very active actors –, there are still many pending issues in the international agenda and broad differences in the national level regulations, not only in Latin America and the Caribbean, but also in the European Union.

The question of exceptions and limitations in the digital environment, particularly in relation to cultural heritage institutions, is a global issue that can be handled jointly by EU-LAC countries. So, a space for dialogue could be established among these countries with the purpose of promoting synergies among the nations in a manner to find a solution to the delicate balance between the protection of copyright and the access to digital cultural heritage. In this context, the European experience can be used as a reference to analyse, particularly in those issues that are not regulated in Latin American and Caribbean countries, such as orphan works.

Fostering convergence on copyright issues between the regions can reduce the fragmentation of territorial protection standards in the countries, in a manner to strengthen cultural cooperation, promote a wider dissemination of digital cultural heritage across the regions, incentivise collaborative large-scale digitisation projects, among other joint cultural initiatives.

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14

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN LOOK AT EUROPE IN THE JOURNEY OF THEIR CULTURAL PROPERTY

Inmaculada GONZÁLEZ GALEY

Abstract

While it is true that the definitions of Cultural Heritage provided by the legislations of different countries intend to give an increasingly broader vision of it, people's creative capacity evolves faster than their legal capacity and even much faster than their executive capacity. This leads us to believe that, if we wish to change the scenario, we are forced to try and break down the legal barriers among countries.

The relevant movement of works of art in the art market is a reality whereby thousands of cultural objects circulate both within the European customs territory and towards third countries such as Latin America or the Caribbean. Whether they do so freely or licentiously will depend on whether they decide to operate within the freedom of law compliance or, otherwise, prefer to take the shortcut of licentiousness hand in hand with law violation.

14.1 Historical background: art market and legislation

The Declaration of Santa Cruz, Bolivia, signed at the fourth Meeting of Ministers of Culture of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) on 6 and 7 October 2016, in sections 2 and 3 states as follows:

2. We confirm that culture is a major pillar for the eradication of poverty and the reduction of social inequalities in Latin America and the Caribbean, as part of

the process towards achieving more equitable societies better prepared to face the current challenges, incorporating strategies for sustainable development in harmony with nature.

3. We reaffirm the status of Latin America and the Caribbean as a zone of peace, where different cultures coexist in a dynamic process of dialogue that strengthens Latin American and Caribbean identities.

Along these lines, in the fourth Meeting of the South American Council of Culture held on 31 March 2017 in Quito, the Minister of Culture and Heritage of Ecuador, Raúl Vallejo, insisted on the role of culture in creating regional identity and building barriers against hegemonic practices, by protecting cultural goods produced in the region and enabling their circulation across the various markets in accordance with the regulation and against any kind of illegal trade.¹

In this sense and as a result of the awareness before the flagrant reality of South American cultural heritage, the South American Council of Culture approved the creation of a Technical Committee for the Prevention and Fight against Illicit Trafficking of Cultural Property MERCOSUR-UNASUR, as a space where the MERCOSUR's Technical Committee of Cultural Property and the UNASUR's Working Group on Illicit Trafficking of Cultural Heritage Property could work together. This is, certainly, a major step forward in the protection of South American cultural heritage from any kind of unlawful act. The fact that this initiative has had such strong institutional and political support is especially significant and it consolidates a policy that earnestly protects the South American cultural identity reflected on its heritage, which is practically non-existent in Europe. Although it is certain that the various national legislations in European countries strictly regulate the export of cultural property and in most of them the Security Bodies and Forces do an outstanding job in fighting against cultural heritage crimes – in an increasingly centralised and organised manner –, it would be necessary to broaden the power and sphere of competence of the fight against illicit trafficking of cultural property to make it what we could call «a State matter». At least, these countries would need to have a body, committee or commission of institutional and national nature in charge of fighting against the scourge that is dwindling cultural property, not as much in their territory as in the countries where cultural property comes from.

Based on these considerations, which envisage the practical and theoretical reality around the circulation of cultural property and its impact in the art market I deem it convenient to look back in history to trace the origin of trade relationships on the art market between Europe and the New Continent, particularly in South America.

¹ For more information, visit: <https://www.culturaypatrimonio.gob.ec>.

It is inevitable to track the origin of the transoceanic art market back to the American colonial period against a late Baroque backdrop. In those times, the demand for works of art from the New Continent was determined by the evangelising and didactic activities both by the religious establishment and the royal power, which manifested in all kinds of lavish arts – painting, sculpture, work on paper and decorative arts – that travelled from Spain and represented a redemption market for part of Spanish artists of the 17th century, who started sending works of art to the Americas during the crisis of the Golden Century.

However, when the colonies became independent during the 18th century, these trade bonds were severed mainly because the newly born countries rejected any trace that would bring back memories of the Spanish presence. It was not until the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century that we started to see a reverberation of the European art market in Latin America, from the Argentine Southern Cone to Mexico, going through Venezuela and the Caribbean.

As commercial bonds resurfaced, the presence of Spanish contemporary painting gained special importance. This is easy to understand considering the socio-economic and political context that encompassed the Spanish artistic landscape, led by a great number of artists who were starting their career and were studying in Provincial Academies or in the San Fernando Royal Academy of Fine Arts. This resulted in a broad artistic offer that the Spanish market, mainly centred in civil, state and provincial institutions, could not take charge of. As a consequence, Spanish artists were forced to emigrate to other European countries and, of course, to the Americas² where they would make a career not only as artists but also as teachers. An example of this is Pelegrí Clavé in Mexico.

In this sense, very interesting reference is made in an article written by Professor Fernández García to the document sent in 1911 by the San Fernando Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Madrid to the Ministry complaining about the excessive artistic production and the lack of a market for it, which caused the value of the works of art to decrease and their authors to emigrate. Revealingly, this document mentions the questionnaire answered by some artists who showed to be rather critical towards the market system – taking stances on the excessive production of art and the crisis the Spanish art sector was undergoing at the time – and urged the government to promote Spanish art abroad as other European countries had been doing, following the example of Germany in the United States.

Numerous were the voices that saw in this a possible resurfacing of the Spanish and European art market and its positioning in the Americas, as evidenced by the words of Fernando Álvarez de Sotomayor who, on his return from Santiago de Chile where he was

² I have taken as a reference a very accurate, clarifying vision that Professor Ana María Fernández García offers in her article *The Spanish Art Market in Latin America (1900-1930)* to learn about the revival of art trade flows between our country and the New Continent.

professor and director of the School of Fine Arts, in his admission speech at the San Fernando Academy of Fine Arts vindicated the need to rebuild and strengthen the relationships between Spanish artists and the Americas.

Thus, an exchange of works of art and Spanish artists unchained. They gradually gained broader and better acceptance by Latin American and Caribbean countries, thanks to the presence of a Spanish colony that had earned wealth through trade endeavours and constituted a bourgeoisie thirsty for art and reminders of their homeland. In addition, along with this group, there was a creole population whose taste for European artistic models was awakening.

This is how private art collecting started to grow, favouring the participation of intermediaries between artists and giving rise to art galleries where not only was art exhibited but also sold. In this sense, the role of José Artal in Buenos Aires was relevant as he was the promoter of the so-called «Spanish Art Exhibitions». The first Artal exhibition room was inaugurated at the Witcomb Gallery exhibiting works of art of Spanish artists: José Villegas or Sorolla. Doubtlessly, the Witcomb exhibition room in Buenos Aires, and later in Montevideo and Santiago de Chile, became the spearhead of a modern version of art trade between the Old and the New Continent. In the Caribbean, Cuba followed suit, fostering the business activities of Spanish artists such as Zuloaga, Pla or Rusiñol and promoting them in Mexico, Puerto Rico and the United States.

These were the foundations of a well-stocked artistic trade activity that would further develop during the 20th century and eventually become bidirectional.

14.1.1 Legislative background in the protection of historical heritage

Two-way trade developed when, in the Old Continent, interest in American Pre-Columbian art awakened and a great number of pieces, mostly archaeological, were looted and exported to enlarge private European collections.

In the face of this scenario, which will be addressed later on, many Latin American and Caribbean countries started to operate under a regulatory framework that protected their historical heritage. Among the first few countries to do so were Nicaragua, with decree No. 29 on the *Export of Archaeological Objects* of 1923, Costa Rica and its first bill of law of 1938 and Panama with *Law 67 by which a series of provisions regarding monuments and archaeological objects* of 1941.

These countries were followed by others such as Belize with *Ordinance 20 on antique monuments and antiques* of 1971; Honduras, with *Legislative Decree No. 81-84 on the Law for the Protection of the Nation's Cultural Heritage* of 1984, and Nicaragua with *Decree No. 1142 on the Law for the Protection of the Nation's Cultural Heritage* of 1980.

These countries endeavoured to develop a protectionist legal framework for their heritage, and Panama followed suit with *Law 14 on measures for the custody, preservation and administration of the Nation's historical heritage* of 1982; so did Guatemala with *Decree-Law No. 26-97 on the protection of the nation's cultural and natural heritage, which includes a section dedicated to the illicit export of cultural objects* of 1997, and Mexico with its *Federal Law on archaeological, artistic and historical monuments and areas* of 1972 and the *General Law of National Assets* of 1981.

However, in spite of the careful legislative efforts these countries made during the 20th century, nowadays most of them are obsolete regulations lacking punitive measures, which renders them insufficient in the intent to protect the national cultural heritage against illegal trade.

14.2 Current landscape of the art market, art collecting and historical heritage

Against this legislative background, lacking in effective measures, how does the art market move? Where is art collecting heading to? What is the cultural heritage status of these countries?

To answer these questions, we should begin by defining what the value of a work of art or cultural asset is, since value is the factor that will determine any movements based on market demand for the item, whether it may be collected or preserved, and whether it is considered national heritage.

In this regard, Luis Manuel Almeida³ makes very interesting considerations in his speech about the value of works of art and the distinction between valuation and appraisal: valuation involves measuring the value of an asset expressed in money and implies knowledge of it; appraisal is a much more complex concept which includes not only the value but also other considerations such as history, authenticity, subject-matter or cultural and artistic meaning (Almeida Luis, 2013: 9).

Therefore, when estimating the value of a cultural asset, it is important to factor in the cost of production, the revenue it may generate in the future and the comparative value against other similar objects. Likewise, to make an appraisal of a work of art a series of related criteria must be carefully considered: antiquity, historical period, authorship, conservation status, authenticity, format, repercussion at the heart of artistic and cultural movements, etc.

³ Luis Manuel Almeida Luis, in 2013, was Head of the Registration and Inventory Department of the National Registry of Cultural Property, Republic of Cuba and Assistant Professor of «Valuation and Appraisal of Works of Art» at the Higher Institute of Art (ISA), Havana, Cuba.

Given this distinction, it would not be insignificant to see its impacts on the cultural heritage of Latin America and the Caribbean, considering two main factors: the change in the economic model that some of these countries are undergoing and the pressing loss of heritage they are suffering due to illicit trafficking. This is why, in order to conceptualise the value of a work or art, it is necessary to look at its origin, history and antiquity, which, ultimately, bestow cultural meaning on the assets of pre-Columbian heritage.

However, we should always bear in mind the special and unique nature of historical heritage objects which, following the Gianini doctrine, are governed by a twofold concept of belonging; that is, on the one hand, they may belong to private owners under the laws of the market and thus, subject to article 33 of the Spanish Constitution;⁴ on the other hand, these objects belong to the whole community as their value derives primarily from the appreciation citizens have shown during the years and have transmitted over generations, converting them into heritage and a reflection of cultural and identity-building past, as stated clearly in the preamble of Law 16/1985, of 25 June on Spanish Historical Heritage.⁵ This is why heritage belongs to all and can not be defined in economic terms.

Under these considerations, we are in a better position to briefly address the art market landscape, considering that the sales of works of art and cultural objects – worth millions of euros – have increased significantly since the late 20th century, that, lately, sales have further increased on the online market, which makes lack of control even worse and favours illicit trafficking, and that South American and Caribbean countries are affected by a major loss of their heritage – mainly Pre-Columbian.

However, we cannot overlook that lately, some of these countries have become «countries of destination» that receive the exports of cultural objects coming from some European countries such as Spain. In relation to this, I will furnish some data disclosed in a report on Spanish art market in 2017 (McAndrew, 2018) which helps throw some light on the current state of trade of works of art and antiques in Spain and, by extrapolation, in other European and American countries.

According to this report, art trade in Spain accounts for barely 2% of the value of sales of cultural assets in the rest of the European Union; prices are lower than those in other similar countries, and galleries are the major venue for sales, accounting for 50% of the transaction. In spite of this, online and trade-fair sales are growing progressively.

⁴ Spanish constitution of 1978. Section 33:

1. *The right to private property and inheritance is recognised.*
2. *The social function of these rights shall determine the limits of their content in accordance with the law.*
3. *No one may be deprived of his or her property and rights, except on justified grounds of public utility or social interest and with a proper compensation in accordance with the law.*

⁵ Law 16/1985, of 25 June on Spanish Historical Heritage: «The Spanish historical heritage has been the main witness to the historical contribution made by Spaniards to universal civilisation and its contemporary creative capacity».

As regards auctions, commercial operations have remained stable and, in the sector of fine arts, contemporary and post-war works of art have shown the highest values, while modern works of art were the best sellers. Likewise, it is estimated that in Spain there are 3,000 companies working in the art market of which the largest share belongs to art galleries and the smallest to auction houses.⁶ Broadly speaking, we may say that Spain is an exporter of works of art and antiquities which has witnessed a progressive increase in the last few years, and, although imports are also increasing, they are doing so at a much slower pace.

To that effect, it is interesting to show some data that reflect the presence that Central America and the rest of Latin America have in the art market of the Old Continent, especially in Spain. In general, exports outside the European Union are predominant, and in the case of Spain, the United States have a prominent place accounting for over 40% of exports. However, although at a much lower percentage, some American countries are emerging as receivers, among which Mexico has a relevant presence with 3% of exports while the rest of Central and South American countries account for a total of 6%. These exports are not only driven or motivated by the art market, as one may think, but also by the proliferation of Spanish art exhibitions in Latin American countries that travel from country to country for a long period of time, including mainly Chile, Brazil and Mexico.

It would also be worth mentioning another issue that is not unaffected by the phenomenon of art trade which is the nationality of works-of-art buyers in Spain. It is interesting to see the growing number of buyers from Central and South America – mainly Mexicans, Colombians and Brazilians – that account for 20% of the sales. It should be noted, however, that this percentage includes a share of foreigners from those countries who reside in Spain, and the recently arrived Argentinians, Venezuelans and Peruvians who are also interested in buying art in Spain.

As can be seen, there are actually South American collectors in Spain who are active players in the art market and show diversified interests when participating in auctions held in the country. They are primarily interested in Spanish, European and Oriental works of art and they contribute to increasing exports in case they reside in their country of origin. However, it is high time we abandoned the stereotyped image which depicts Latin American countries as being merely interested in European art or in recovering the cultural property that was lost through unlawful means, since the reality of Latin American art collecting is broader and is composed by a large number of wealthy collectors who invest

⁶ For a better understanding of the data disclosed, it may be relevant to refer to the distinction the report makes between primary market – where the object sold belongs to living, well-established or emerging artists selling for the first time directly to the buyer or through an art gallery – and secondary market – where the work of art is resold long after being made by the artist at a higher price increased by the time elapsed and other variables such as antiquity, historic meaning and the artist's relevance.

their capital, looking at recently-produced contemporary Latin American art, and supporting well-established and emerging new artists and creators.

The philanthropic efforts of collectors are mainly centred on spreading Latin American art around the world, primarily in the United States and Europe, and above all in the United Kingdom, as it is the country that concentrates most of the commercial activity of the art market. This had led them to work jointly and to collaborate with different national and foreign museum institutions with the intent to promote the presence of Latin American artists.

They are art collectors who, for the most part, have a common profile and share unambiguous interests in addition to their quasi-philanthropy for art in their country of origin. According to the research conducted by *Arteinformato*⁷ (2017), presumably, there are 400 relevant personalities among the Latin American contemporary art collectors distributed across the various regions, from which the following 100 stand out: Argentina and Brazil, fourteen each; Mexico and Colombia, twelve; Peru, ten; Chile, Venezuela and Puerto Rico, six; Cuba, three; Guatemala and El Salvador, two; and one in most Caribbean countries.

The profile of these collectors is presumably a 70% male majority between 40 and 65 years of age at the height of professional success, who share the passion for art with their partners. Not only do they dedicate themselves to increasing their collections but also, they are getting more and more involved in the management and patronage of art institutions and the support of art projects, and, at times, they end up creating their own museums and private foundations. They reflect personal criteria and tastes that may be grouped in four artistic areas: Latin American and international geometric abstraction; international and Latin American contemporary art; contemporary video art and modern and contemporary photography.

Among the most relevant names are Carlos Slim and Andrés Blaistein from Mexico who have the largest collection of about eight thousand pieces; Luis Javier Castro from Costa Rica, Alberto and Ginette Rebaza from Peru, Aldo Rubino and Esteban Tedesco from Argentina, Ella Fontanals-Cisneros from Cuba, Mauricio Gómez Jaramillo from Colombia, Clara Ost from Uruguay and Patricia Phelps de Cisneros from Venezuela, who besides creating her own foundation, has made the largest donation of Latin American works of art to the MOMA museum in New York.

This summary of information shows that efforts are being made to position contemporary Latin American art by bringing the attention to it and the creating artists. The next step may be to stretch the positioning efforts to the global art market.

⁷ *Arteinformato* is a website dedicated to South American contemporary art that has published the report entitled *100 activos coleccionistas de arte latinoamericano. Artistas coleccionados. Cómo coleccionan.* (100 active collectors of Latin American Art. Collected artists. How they collect.).

14.3 The problem of illicit trafficking. Legal regulation on the trafficking of cultural property in Latin America and the Caribbean: export and import

14.3.1 The problem of illicit trafficking

The illicit trafficking of cultural property in Latin American countries originated at the time of the Spanish conquest during which archaeological treasures were plundered as if they had been war trophies. However, it was in the 1960s and 1970s that looting of archaeological sites proliferated, which increased the demand for looted items on the black market where local and foreign collectors purchased them as a symbol of wealth and prestige, unaware of the historic and identity damage they were causing to the Latin American culture. The looting has continued and has increased in the form of thefts from archaeological and history museums, focused not only on Pre-Columbian art but also on religious art – mainly colonial and viceregal – which has been the target of numerous acts of vandalism. Without a doubt, these art collections are the most vulnerable to plundering. They are approximately 1,200 distributed in 50% of the heritage institutions of the Latin American region (ILAM Foundation, n.d.).

This damage is to be combated from different fronts and, in order to do so, the ICOM has been putting together Red Lists that present the cultural objects with the highest market value so that they can be recognised in case of plunder. They are a tool with the right intent, still rather scarce or limited. It is worth highlighting the following Red Lists: Latin America, Central America and Mexico, Colombia, Argentina, Peru, Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

The best way to fight against heritage loss is to try and understand the root causes of the problem, among which we find: lack of security measures, lack of regulations or economic and human resources to enforce them, lack of training or education of the people in charge of protecting cultural objects, and the international black market greedy for this kind of collections.

However, in addition to these issues, there is one which is, virtually, at the endemic core of the problem and is the lack of identification, inventory and registration of the objects that compose each of these collections. This lack is mainly due to the lack of resources for the procurement of the right technology systems. In relation to this, the findings of the research work done by the ILAM in 2011 are quite explanatory (Tsagaraki, 2011). Research reveals that only 47% of the museums have an electronic database of their collections in place and out of the remaining 53%, 31% do not have a database system and 22% still have pen and paper databases.

This is the reason why these countries, even being aware of their own weakness in protecting their heritage, when attempting to recover an object that has been illicitly removed, always expect the burden of proof to fall on the party committing the illegal act or in possession of the object and not on themselves, as established in the *Central American Convention for the Restitution and Return of Archaeological, Historical and Art Objects* of 1995, thus countering the obligations set forth by international conventions which establish the protection of cultural objects as a fundamental requirement for claiming the recovery of an object.

14.3.2 Legal regulation

As can be seen, illicit trafficking of cultural property is a reality that has implied an authentic loss of cultural heritage in Latin America and the Caribbean, including objects removed from their country of origin and, driven by the art market, are now distributed mainly between the United States and Europe. However, in light of this scenario, what has been done and is being done by the countries which own this cultural heritage and are victims of illicit trafficking to protect it? What tools do they have to combat it?

Broadly, the law is the best weapon to fight against any kind of illegal act committed in this field. Although at first glance it may seem that it restricts freedom of trade by limiting the free circulation of art pieces, it is the law that really permits freedom of movement of works of art, as non-fulfilment does not imply freedom but licentiousness, which is a much shorter path.

These countries have become increasingly aware that the loss of their historical heritage meant a deterioration of their cultural identity and hence, the last third of the 20th century has been characterised by careful legislative efforts by countries to protect their heritage and restrict their circulation. Another issue to address and ponder over is why, in spite of such a large regulatory corpus, the removal of property is still happening, enlarging collections in the black market.

Let's now look at some of the legal instruments for the protection of cultural property and against illicit trafficking developed by only a part of these countries. It is not my intention to do a comparative-analytical study of their precepts – which would be more adequate to include in a chapter on comparative law related to this field – but rather to show how their informative texts reveal the situation of their cultural heritage, their deficiencies and the problems they have to face.

Guatemala:

National Regulations:

- 1997. *Decree No 26-97, Law for the Protection of the Cultural Patrimony of the Nation.*
- 2007. *Regulations for conducting archaeological research work and akin disciplines.*
- 2003. *Ministerial Agreement Number n.721-2003.*

Bilateral Agreements:

- 1976. *Agreement for the protection and restitution of archaeological, artistic and historic monuments between the Republic of Guatemala and Mexico.*
- 1995. *Technical operating agreement for the restitution of cultural heritage and the fight against illicit trafficking of archaeological, artistic and historic monuments between the Public Education Secretariat of the United States of Mexico and the Ministry of Culture and Sports of the Republic of Guatemala.*
- 1995. *Central American convention for the protection of cultural heritage.*
- 1995. *Central American convention for the restitution and return of archaeological, historic and art objects.*
- 1997. *Memorandum of understanding between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Guatemala concerning import restrictions of archaeological material or objects from Pre-Columbian cultures.*
- 1998. *Memorandum of understanding concerning archaeology, anthropology, protection and conservation of cultural heritage between the Government of the Republic of Guatemala and the Government of the United States of Mexico.*

Panama:

National Regulations:

- 1941. *Law 67 by which a series of provisions regarding monuments and archaeological objects are established.*
- 1967. *Law 21 on restrictions to imports of substitute items or imitations of national craftwork products.*
- 1982. *Resolution of the National Institute of Culture 43 on the Regulations concerning the making, duplication, distribution and sales of historic and archaeological replicas.*

- 1982. *Law 14 which establishes measures for the custody, preservation and administration of the Nation's historical heritage.*
- 1997. *Law 27 which establishes the protection, promotion and development of craft.*

Cuba:

National Regulations:

- 1983. *Decree No 118 on the Regulation for the enforcement of the Act on the Protection of the Cultural Heritage.*
- 1988. *Decree-Law No 106 on the work conditions of artists and the trade of plastic and applied arts objects.*
- 1989. *Resolution 3/89: Declaration of Cultural Heritage.*
- 1989. *Resolution 4/89: Declaration of Cultural Property.*
- 1991. *Resolution No 1/91 concerning the authorization of transfer of ownership or possession of cultural property.*
- 1994. *Resolution 57/94 on the export of undeclared cultural property.*

Bilateral Agreements:

- 2008. *Bilateral agreement between the Governments of Egypt and Cuba concerning the protection and restitution of illegally removed objects.*

Ecuador:

National Regulations:

- 1987. *Law No 82: Creation of the Cultural Heritage Rescue Fund.*
- 1997. *Codification of the law for the protection of craftspeople.*
- 2004. *Cultural Heritage Law: codification.*
- 2004. *Replacement of Decision 460 on the Protection and Recovery of the Cultural Heritage of the Andean Community Member Countries.*
- 2008. *Decree 1208. Rules concerning activities directed at underwater cultural heritage.*
- 2010. *Decree 277. The fight against illicit trafficking of cultural property is declared a state policy.*

Bilateral Agreements:

- 2008. *Bilateral agreement between the Governments of Egypt and Ecuador concerning the protection and restitution of object illegally removed from their country of origin.*
- 2011. *Agreement for the creation of the Latin America and the Caribbean Organisation for the preservation of historic centres.*

Colombia:

National Regulations:

- 1999. *Decision No 460 concerning the protection and recovery of archaeological, historic, ethnological, palaeontological, and artistic cultural heritage assets of the Andean Community.*
- 2008. *Rules regarding the protection of the cultural heritage of Colombia.*
- 2009. *Decree No 2941 whereby Law 1185 of 2008 amends Law 397 of 1997 on the regulation of the Nation's Cultural Heritage of Intangible Nature.*
- 2013. *Law No 1675 which regulates articles 63, 70 and 72 of the Colombian Constitution concerning underwater cultural heritage.*
- 2014. *Decree No 1698 which regulates Law 1675.*
- 2014. *Decree No 1080 which regulates the cultural sector.*

Bilateral Agreements:

- 2006. *Memorandum of understanding between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Colombia concerning the imposition of import restrictions on archaeological materials from the Pre-Columbian cultures and certain ecclesiastical material from the colonial period of Colombia.*
- 2010. *Agreement between the Swiss Federal Council and the Government of the Republic of Colombia on the import and repatriation of cultural property.*

Nicaragua:

National Regulations:

- 1980. *Law for the protection of the Cultural Heritage of the Nation.*
- 1983. *Amendments to the Law for the protection of the Cultural Heritage of the Nation.*

- 1995. *Central American convention for the protection of cultural heritage.*

Bilateral Agreements:

- 1999. *Decree 2379 for the approval of the agreement between the Republic of Nicaragua and the Government of the United States of America, concerning the imposition of import restrictions on archaeological material from the Pre-Hispanic cultures of the Republic of Nicaragua* (extended in 2010).

In this description of the regulatory corpus, I have intentionally excluded countries such as Peru and Argentina as they have long been at the forefront in the legal protection of cultural heritage and the fight against illicit trafficking in the Andean region and the Southern Cone respectively. These countries have carried out hard, belligerent activities translated in meticulous, restrictive regulatory standards, intense inventory work, and excellent pioneering social awareness actions which, doubtlessly, should be at the base of all initiatives to allow cultural property protection to be addressed in any country in a collective, polarised manner.

If we look closer at the summarised list of legislations, we may, broadly, make the following observations in regard to the existing regulations in those countries:

- They are particularly interested in protecting their archaeological heritage of Pre-Columbian cultures, as it is the most exposed to plundering and illegal transactions on the black market in art;
- The promotion of cultural traditions becomes relevant as can be seen in the efforts to preserve not only intangible heritage – as is the case with Colombia and its dedicated law – but also their craft productions that are being counterfeited and widely-sold, which is why some countries, like Panama, have limited their imports;
- They develop multiple bilateral agreements mainly intended to fight jointly against illicit trafficking of cultural property, to promote restitution to the country of origin and to restrict and control imports. All this is a clear evidence of the practical effectiveness of a bilateral policy focused on specific, definite interests which calls on cooperation within the framework of international conventions, although it is true that these conventions, in turn, call on collaborationist agreements between nations. It is also worth noticing how the legislations of these countries have regulations aimed at controlling and restricting imports, which counters the European legal landscape that depicts rather lenient national legislations mainly focused on controlling exports and permitting the import of objects coming from countries affected by armed conflict;
- As far as exports are concerned, focus should be made on *Ministerial Agreement No 721-2003* of Guatemala that establishes an especially restrictive prohibition of ex-

ports. This agreement exceeds the restrictiveness of national European legislations even though they are exaggeratedly protectionist; let us look at article 1: «to prohibit the temporary export for international exhibition, for any reason or motive, as well as lending pieces to national exhibitions that form part of the cultural patrimony of the Nation detailed as follows [...]».⁸

- These assets are classified according to the museum or collection where they belong. Article 2 urges the institutions which are home to these assets to take all necessary measures to guarantee protection and avoid the provisional export of said property. This stands out as an extraordinary kind of protectionism, considering that not even countries such as Spain with its strict legal control of exports prohibits temporary exports, and, conversely, allows the temporary removal of assets of cultural interest which are non-exportable by nature as long as they comply with the terms and conditions for their return.
- Lastly, a common aspect of the policies for the protection of cultural heritage of these Latin American countries is how they address the issue of illicit trafficking. In most countries it has become a national policy issue reflected in the creation of dedicated National Committees – as is the case in Uruguay, Venezuela or Ecuador, which declared it a Policy of State in 2010 – or the Latin American Network for the fight against illicit trafficking of cultural property, where technical and legal information is exchanged between countries like Peru, Mexico, Ecuador, Argentina, Honduras and Costa Rica.

14.4 Legal regulations on the trafficking of cultural property in Europe. Export and import

Analysing the European legal scenario concerning cultural property trafficking would require extensive research, which I consider really necessary. However, it is not within the scope of this chapter. It is well-known that Spain and other European countries in our environment are aware and familiar that cultural heritage is alive and moving and have been regulating its circulation for centuries with better or worse luck. This regulation has given way to a territorial polarisation defined by the following factors: the concept of historical heritage as defined by each country, the larger or smaller size of this kind of cultural wealth in each country, their policy concerning the management of cultural property acquisition, their economic contribution to the art market and the incorporation of the European legislation and international conventions in their national legislation. All this results in cultural property not having the same freedom across counties, even though, on the surface, there is free circulation in the European market.

⁸ *Ministerial Agreement No 721-2003*. Guatemala, 30 December 2003. In article 1, the agreement presents a long list of assets that are not allowed to be exported.

In spite of these factors, we may say broadly speaking that most legislations in European countries have focused on the regulation of cultural property exports by imposing very strict controls through coercive measures, adapted to the level of protection of their assets. They even have public bodies with responsibility in this field of action, such as the Spanish Historical Heritage Assets Classification, Valuation and Export Board, the French National Treasure Advisory Committee or the Arts Council England and the Export Licensing Unit in the UK.

As a consequence of export control, these countries engage in significant endeavours against illicit trafficking of cultural property resulting from law infringement and they do so by working jointly with customs officers and security bodies and forces in each State. This is also enriched by the incorporation of the European regulations to their national legislations concerning this subject, including mainly the *Council Regulation No 116/2009 of 18 December 2008 on the export of cultural goods* and *Directive 2014/60/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 15 May 2014 on the return of cultural objects unlawfully removed from the territory of a Member State*, amending EU Regulation No 1024/2012 (EU, 2014). With its renewal in 2014, this Directive introduced interesting new elements taken from the 1970 Convention and, most of all, from the UNIDROIT Convention, among which are: a new definition of cultural asset, the extension of the terms for the verification and restitution of objects, and the requirement of a certificate of «due diligence» from the owner as a proof of lawful purchase.

Likewise, in spite of the efforts by some countries such as France and its Office for the Fight against Illicit Trafficking in Cultural Goods, Italy and its database of unlawfully removed cultural property and Spain, where both the National Police and the Civil Guard have specialised groups dedicated to the protection of cultural heritage, Europe is far from making the fight against illicit trafficking of cultural property a relevant issue in the political agenda as it is happening in more and more Latin American countries. An example of this is the recent creation of a National Committee for the Prevention and Fight against Illicit Trafficking of Cultural Property in Uruguay. It would be wise to follow this example.

Although the regulations on the export of cultural property is fully developed, the same is not true for imports as the legislation in this matter is practically non-existent, except for France whose legislation addresses import control; however, it remains a pending matter for most European legislations which should be able to cope with the eventual arrival at European customs territory of cultural assets unlawfully removed from their country of origin or coming from countries affected by armed conflict which engage in illicit trade to finance terrorism.

To such an extent has this matter come into focus and become a pressing issue at the heart of the European Union that recently they have been working on a Legislation to

regulate and control imports of cultural property; the text has been finished but it is pending approval.⁹ The legislative proposal builds on the following key issues: to provide for a common definition of cultural goods in the context of imports, to ensure that EU importers exercise diligence when purchasing cultural goods from third countries, to establish standardised information to certify that the goods are lawful, to put in place effective deterrents to trafficking, and to strive for the active involvement of stakeholders in reducing trafficking.

It is evident that this Legislation is in response to – but not only – the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2347 of 24 March 2017 and the European Parliament Resolution of 30 April 2015 which urged for measures to be taken to combat illegal trafficking in cultural goods, and for judges, public servants and art merchants to be trained at European level in support of the preservation of cultural goods.

14.5 UNESCO in the fight against illicit trafficking of cultural property

As discussed so far, we may state that the illicit trafficking of cultural property is something that has happened all through history and that, unfortunately, is still happening nowadays and implies a loss that goes far beyond the damage to the physical integrity of the objects and the places that are plundered, as it directly affects the cultural identity of the peoples that see how the traces of their memory and the witnesses of their history gradually disappear. The objects that are unlawfully traded end up enlarging the black market in art at global level, which, in many cases, makes recovery difficult and even more so if we consider other factors such as the proliferation of online sales, improved transportation and technological means, the lack of inventories, and the lenient legislations in the country of origin.

Most of the countries called «heritage exporters» are in Latin America and the Caribbean. They were victims of constant looting for a long period of time and are working very actively in the fight against illicit trafficking on a national scale and call on the international community to work jointly to combat this cultural scourge. In regard to this matter, UNESCO is the quintessential competent authority mainly by way of the *1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property*,¹⁰ which is the first international legal instrument dedicated to the protection of movable cultural property against unlawful acts and is the framework of reference for any multilateral operation in this field.

⁹ This chapter has been revised for the last time in April 2019.

¹⁰ Hereinafter called the 1970 Convention.

It builds on three fundamental pillars which have to be observed by all ratifying States:

- To adopt measures to prevent illicit imports and exports of cultural property from their territories: inventories, export certificates, penalties or administrative sanctions, etc.
- To establish restitution provisions to recover and return cultural objects found in the territory that were unlawfully removed by another State Party.
- To create an international cooperation framework so that countries work jointly on the prevention and control of illicit trafficking of cultural property.

In spite of being the framework of reference, the 1970 Convention does not cover all aspects, as it mainly protects inventoried objects, is not retroactive, and only addresses disputes between countries, ignoring private law transactions. This is why it had to be supplemented with the *UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects* (UNIDROIT, 1995) which provides an impartial corpus of private law regulations regarding art trade. Under the UNIDROIT Convention, claims may be submitted by the claimant directly to the courts of the country where the claimed object is located, stolen objects are also protected thus broadening the concept of cultural object, and, most importantly, by introducing the concept of «due diligence» and «good faith», owners of claimed objects are to prove their lawful provenance.

This is, doubtlessly, one of the most controversial items in the face of the difficulty in proving diligence, which has caused many countries not to ratify.¹¹ Refusal to ratify is seen mostly among receiving countries rather than countries of origin and, in fact, many Latin America and Caribbean States have ratified.¹² These Latin American countries advocate for a more effective enforcement of the Convention, a revision of the concept of good-faith owner, and a redefinition of the concept of cultural object, considering that most of their plundered objects come from illegal excavations and therefore, are not inventoried, and their belonging to the territory is very difficult to prove.

¹¹ To the present day, the UNIDROIT Convention has been ratified by 45 States.

¹² The Latin American States which have ratified the Convention are: Argentina, (2002); Bolivia (1999); Brazil (1999); Colombia (2012); Ecuador (1998); El Salvador (2000); Guatemala (2004); Honduras (2014); Panama (2009); Paraguay (1998) and Peru (1998). However, it is surprising to notice how some European countries such as France or the United Kingdom have not ratified the Convention while others, such as Spain (2002), Germany (2011), Italy (2000), Portugal (2003), Norway (2002) and Sweden (2011) have, which may be interpreted as a varying influence of the art market dynamics across countries.

In spite of all this, the 1970 Convention is gradually increasing its degree of efficacy as reflected by the increasing number of ratifying States¹³ – 139 to the present day – and by the comprehensive training efforts aimed at strengthening capabilities in this matter, the social awareness campaigns, the creation of national and international networks, and the consistent mediation and cooperation initiatives among States in favour of the return of cultural objects to their country of origin. As a result of the 1970 Convention, there were important cases of restitution such as Spain returning over 600 works of art to Latin American countries, and more recent cases in the last few months such as the nearly 600 ex-votos that Italy has returned to Mexico, the Olmec pieces that Germany has returned to Mexico, the 40 pieces that the USA has returned to Colombia, the painting and the trunk that El Salvador has returned to Spain, and the archaeological objects that Peru and Ecuador have returned to each other.

14.6 Lessons learned and to be learned

At this point, we have learned that the various international legislations are not intended to hinder the circulation of cultural property but, quite the opposite, to safeguard the art market within lawful and unpolluted standards in balance with the preservation of cultural heritage, for which UNESCO has been, for years, holding training workshops across Latin American and Caribbean countries – where Spain has an active participation –, and waging major social awareness campaigns from which Europe should learn.

All this leads us to thinking that we should not leave historical heritage in the hands of random interests, ruled by biased, outdated legislations which depict a different scenario depending on the country where it is located. Our look on the various legislations should be not only open and receptive, but also renovating and critical, since only from this perspective will we be able to preserve the past heritage, enjoy it in the present, and build new heritage in the future.

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¹³ The main Latin American and Caribbean States which have ratified the 1970 Convention are: Ecuador (1971); Mexico (1972); Argentina (1973); Brazil (1973); Dominican Republic (1973); Panama (1973); Bolivia (1976); Nicaragua (1977); Uruguay (1977); El Salvador (1978); Granada (1992); Honduras (1979); Peru (1979) Cuba (1980); Guatemala (1985); Colombia (1988); Belize (1990); Costa Rica (1996); Paraguay (2004), Venezuela (2005); Haiti (2010); Chile (2014).

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15

SPORTS EXCHANGES BETWEEN EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA: FLOWS, MIGRATIONS AND INDIFFERENCES

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Abstract

Sports relationships between Europe and Latin America are old as sports themselves: the foundation of such practices is the result of the European influence in the subcontinent since the mid-19th century, and even in the few cases where the influence of the United States is more powerful, the European presence turns out to be decisive. However, after one and a half century of such relationships, they have become one-directional: originally based on foundational migration, they reverted since the 1920s to migration of Latin American athletes to Europe, and in an organisation of the flow that is fully governed by the different specific markets, disregarding in general public interventions or orientations that privilege other principles than the production of economic gain – even in the less profitable sports or those that are not professional. This study proposes to develop such description, both in historical and contemporary terms, highlighting some of the possibilities to revert and re-discuss such flow, through organisations and possibilities that exist or have to be developed.

15.1 A historical overview, which intends to explain the present

As Alan Guttmann (1994) points out, in a generally accepted classification, modern sports capture different types of traditional or archaic games and transform them into sports by including a series of specific features. They are:

- a. Secularism: sport loses connection with any type of religious rituals, which detaches it from its Greco-Roman or Pre-Columbian background. The fact that the persons who practise modern sports are believers or users of religious ritual practices, or that any of their organisers arrange this type of rituals together with the sports practice, does not imply that the sport is not strictly secular: its objectives are competition, success, prestige, fame, or money, or everything together, but not the homage to any present, past or future deity – except, precisely, for money.
- b. Equality: regulations are established with the dual purpose of establishing equality for contenders, and having all respect the rules equally. Thus, equality establishes a merit-based order, as the winner should inevitably be the best competitor. This bears a particular relationship with the progressive emergence of democratic institutions in societies in the 19th century: equality in sports reproduces the democratic equality translated into the right to vote, but at the same time it perfects such idea, since winning depends only on the sports performance. The degree to which this only is really unique is at the core of the democratic imaginary of sports – since we stubbornly know that it is not in the democratic imaginary of capitalist societies.
- c. Bureaucratisation: the modern sports institution includes the creation of organisations that first establish the rules and then administer such rules. But such administration also implies, as time goes by, organising the competition and administering everything around it; first locally, then at a regional level, later at a national level, and finally at an international level. This is what sets apart the establishment of the Cambridge Rules in 1848 from the creation of FIFA in 1904. Being included or not in the supervision of bureaucratic agencies is what distinguishes the «federated» athlete (i.e. bureaucratised by belonging to a club, therefore to a League or Association, therefore to a Confederation, and so on, until the highest level they can attain – usually, the International Olympic Committee) from the occasional or amateur athlete.
- d. Specialisation: modern sports involve specialisation in one practice. Sports ubiquity is a reality of pre-modern or early modern periods. As sports developed, specialisation was required, both in terms of the practice – the difference between rugby union, rugby league, soccer football, association football, American football, baseball, cricket, softball – and of the athletes. Bureaucratic or sports roles also had to specialise: players, referees, coaches, leaders.

- e. Rationalisation: contemporary to industrial capitalism and deprived from their ritual relationship with religion, modern sports involve rationalisation – i.e. being subject to organisations, regulations and administrations defined strictly by rationality, with a primary object (the administration of rules and of the equal treatment principle to control appropriate and fair sport performances), and a secondary object, derived from progressive professionalisation: obtaining capital gain. Sports rationality will transform with time – very soon – into pure capitalist rationality: obtaining gain. This does not obstruct the rationalisation – i.e. transforming the affection elements of identity, memory, narrative, or passion – into goods.
- f. Quantification: modern sports rapidly change from being simple competitions to become series of competitions. That is to say, tournaments, tournament series. Matches or performances, which in turn have to be quantified – as results: 1-0, 2.35 metres, 2 hours 45 minutes – are added as cumulative series: points per game, points per tournament, number of wins, number of defeats. The individual game – between two teams or two competitors, or the individual practice – is confined to the realm of non-bureaucracy: modern sports are mainly figures, tables, rankings, performance measurements.
- g. Obsession with records: consequently, if performance is quantified, the rationality of numbers brings about seeking to overcome the numbers recorded: more goals scored, fewer goals conceded, fewer minutes per lap, faster, higher, stronger. Such objectives have to be overcome, in an infinite wheel. The champion from last season had to overcome in points, games played and goals difference; the new goal scorer had to strike more goals than the one who had scored the most in a historical period.

It is well known that this transformation process of games into sports occurred in the mid-19th century around British Public Schools, extended later to British society through schools, religious institutions and industries (school, church, plant), and then to the rest of the European continent. The great Palestinian literary critic Edward Said (1996) states, in *Culture and Imperialism*, that the history of all cultures is the history of cultural loans. The expansion of modern sports seems to follow the same line in the case of Europe. Undoubtedly, the global dissemination of modern sports occurred at the same time as the creation of global markets and colonial empires, but the European countries that adopted English sports were not subject to imperial dominations or colonial or post-colonial situations. There seems to be, rather, a situation of cultural dominance, where sports emerge as an attractive practice organised by the prestige of the British school system to train the elites, and then are disseminated and become popular following the same model: from the Anglophile high classes, they become widespread by the middle classes, and finally the process is completed with the appropriation by the working classes, and are consequently abandoned by the elites. The Prussian case was different, reluctant to the British edu-

cational prestige, where migrant educators trained in Great Britain had a key role, as in Latin America.

For an imperial power that flooded the world with sports, the British Empire was quite reluctant to dominate the world organisations that were created since 1894. At the same time, this supports the Dutch historian Maarten Van Bottenburg's (2010) statements: although the invention was British, each sports culture – European, but also Latin American cultures – developed rather in autonomy. Even the two great figures of the international competitions boom were two Frenchmen: Pierre de Coubertin, the inventor of the modern Olympic Games, and Jules Rimet, the creator of the football World Cups.

Such statements do not imply abandoning the hypothesis of imperialism in the dissemination of sports outside Europe. There is an irrefutable fact: as Allen Gutmann (1994) points out, both Great Britain and the United States, the two big imperial powers in the transit from the 19th to the 20th century, are the only countries where the most important modern sports did not develop under the influence of foreign players or models. Either in the case of football or rugby, tennis, rowing, basketball, volleyball, American football, baseball, or even cricket, which is more relevant in the Caribbean, India and Oceania, all of them were «invented», which means coded, i.e. modernised, in one of either power. By the same token, the expansion map for such sports, especially football and baseball, is the map of their imperial expansion: especially, football responds to the British expansion, and baseball responds to the American expansion. In some cases, which seem more crude when imperialism is truly colonialist – i.e. with armed occupation of the colonial territory – sports emerge, as Guttmann points out, as a useful instrument for political purposes. This is the case of cricket in India, where the British Empire develops complex domination strategies that include the construction of local elite to act as mediators.

But even in such extreme cases, with the Empire occupying the local territory, it is difficult to state that the expansion of sports in the colonies or neo-colonies acted only as a tool for social control, or imperial control. In Latin America, such statement is contestable: it is not a simple reproduction of the metropolitan order, especially since there is no territorial occupation, except in the case of Cuba or Nicaragua, but even here it is «shared» occupation with the local dominant classes. It is not even a chastening imposition of the social and cultural rules of the imperial power, as there is mediation – crucial, without which the development of sports in our continent cannot be explained – of the local elites, which are not imposed anything, but deploy what the American sociologist Thorstein Veblen (1974) would call «emulation». A different analysis must be made of the roles of sports once the local elite accepted and disseminated them, and sports later became popular: the possibilities of social control re-emerge there, but no longer as colonial control, but strictly as local control. In the case of British football, the chastening force can be seen through school, religious and industrial institutions; in the American

case, which follows other lines related to commerce, a civil but religious institution such as the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) is key to disseminate basketball and volleyball.

It is true that modern sports cannot be seen as tools for political and economic repression, neither at imperial level nor at local level. In terms of their postcolonial expansion, from the late 19th century onwards, sports disseminated as they were adopted by the local elites from the imperial elites' practices, through either initiation journey or implanted reproduction. In principle and mostly, dissemination in Latin America occurred in the post-colonial stage, including the case of Cuba: sports settled in the independence stage, and the dispute with the Spanish metropolis was precisely one of the factors that favoured the success of baseball. Virtually everywhere in Central and South America, sports emerged in the transition from the 19th to the 20th century, when modern nations were more or less well established, with defined territories and unified governments, without imperial occupation. But in most of the Caribbean, direct imperial domination continued well into the 20th century, especially by part of Great Britain. This resulted in a larger influence of cricket, for example, and the total absence of baseball: for instance, football powers are Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, the only countries in the Antilles to have classified for a World Cup – together with Haiti and Cuba, once each – and both were British-dominated territories until 1961-1962. In Jamaica, the weight of British dominance until well into the 20th century enables to understand the predominance regarding the sub-continent of track and field, with which the British dominated activities widely known as athletics – and therefore, the world impact of its sprinters.

Guttman (1994) states that, in the field of sports, the dominated country may easily defeat the dominant country: what is more, only in the field of sports is such reversal possible. We cannot state that sports were invented and implemented to receive false victories from the old dominated or colonised countries. What the inventors and disseminators of modern sports never took into consideration was that, along with their chastening potential – to form good citizens with healthy minds in healthy bodies – sports could have unchastening potential: defeating the master, among others. Furthermore, what is going to be an important focus, sports rapidly proved to have narrative possibilities: not only as objects of the popular press – which they were, largely – but also for their ability to create and support stories of local or national identity. Guttman (1994) clarifies that, if nations are imagined communities, as the British historian Benedict Anderson (1991) stated, then modern sports were an important and popularly accessible help for this politically essential form of imagining. Because, being so good at narrating identities, sports managed to be great helpers to mark ethnic, religious or racial barriers. This enables us to analyse the role of African-Americans or original populations in modern Latin American sports, or the presumed «Football War» between Honduras and El Salvador in 1969.

The German historian Stefan Rinke (2007) highlights that the history of sports in Latin America is that of integration into the global capitalist market. This is an undeniable and irrefutable point of departure, which in turn enables us to see the high level of transnational interweaving in this early phase of globalisation. On the other hand, he states, sports «are an impressive proof of the rapid creolization of cultural influences in Latin America in the early 20th century» (Rinke, 2007: 90), to which the local role of the press, the radio, and finally television, should be added. But in turn, a general hypothesis may be stated: Latin American sports continue to depend on such integration in a market that today is proposed to be global; and sports relationships only change focus – between Europe and the U.S. first; with the Asian world, later – based on the different specific sports predominances.

The English historian Matthew Brown (2015) sharply points out that the Great Man theory – the Founding Father, the exceptional subject – as a driver of history has been abandoned by historiography, except in the case of sports. Latin American sports histories design a map of pioneers and founders: the institutions involved in the foundation of football in the continent are critical. There are always pioneers and migrants, and many natives, but what is important are the places where they deploy their pioneerism: institutions.

They are, at first, the British community clubs, later imitated by the local bourgeoisies; they are also the schools originally for expatriates, later replicated by the bourgeoisie's private schools or state-owned schools; as well as mining, railway or industrial companies. It is no surprise: the list of founders always follows this model, throughout the continent. There are no popular associations, political groups or neighbours' meetings. There are no prisons, but there are schools, barracks and factories, besides some churches. That is to say, places of discipline for bodies and minds – and souls, if possible.

Clubs were founded for recreation of the British community, following the metropolitan model. Therefore, the first ones were devoted to cricket, the oldest regulated sport (since 1787) and expanded to all colonies in the Empire. When the use of sports as an educational tool was installed – as we said, since the turn of the 19th century, in the Public Schools of British aristocracy and bourgeoisie – clubs were the space for their reproduction and expansion. Sports educated gentlemen in body and soul, in *mens sana in corpore sano*: bodies fit for the war, minds disciplined to serve the Crown and to exercise gentleman's morality – which included fair play, understood as respect for the rules and for the opponent. Local clubs, founded throughout the continent as epigones of the British model, were created on the same values: some Latin American clubs also took the *mens sana* explicitly as a motto (for example the *Gimnasia y Esgrima* clubs deployed throughout Argentina).

The expansion of sports in the continent also counted on community schools as a space for growth. Sports continued to have their role as chasteners and educators there,

in line with what happened in Great Britain, and former students later joined clubs or created new ones, filled with the same spirit since they were very young. In many Latin American countries, education models took these instructions since the early 20th century and replicated them even in popular schools. Armies were only a necessary extension of the above, especially those that were more related to the British model: sports optimised military training and resulted in bodies better prepared for battle. (This was not the case of armies based on the Prussian model, which replaced competitive sports with German gymnastics, although with the same objective).

This process is not identical to what happened in the space that we shall call the industrial plant, although it combines different places: the workshop, the railway, the mine, and sometimes merely the business company. Especially, because its specialty was football rather than any other sport, and recipients were the first popular groups to adopt it. At first, forefathers depended on the nationality of the capital: in this series, as we have pointed out in a specific story, we find railways, mining companies, meat processing plants, textile companies, all of British capitals. After the practice process started following actions by some migrant pioneer(s), these institutions admitted their extension to the working sectors, because this would allow developing solidarity among workers, and this solidarity should be extended to the company.

Churches were involved in the same process, and although different Catholic orders were involved in Latin America – Salesians, Jesuits, Dominicans, among others – they shared convictions with their Anglican peers: sports enabled to armour bodies in more ascetic behaviours than those expected from the working classes. Sports – especially football, but not exclusively – emerged as tools to keep workers away from alcohol, tobacco and sex. These were times of public health awareness, of redeeming beliefs about the dangers that threatened the poor. Such beliefs were shared by religious people, educators, military men and business leaders. And also, by some politicians: after some early rejection, even socialist groups ended up advocating sports practice as a means to keep popular groups away from the sinister dangers of dissipation. Today, this argument has been transformed into «keeping children away from the danger of drugs», as if sports fields had no severe addiction problems.

By reviewing the pioneers, we can see the wide range of European nationalities involved in the emergence of a Latin American sports field. In Argentina, the Scottish have had an enormous weight in football, and the English have influenced the other sports, while the Germans have been present throughout the process, and the Italians have deployed in specific niches, such as shooting and rowing. The story of the Hogg brothers is a perfect example of the whole process: Thomas and James, born in Yorkshire, but sons of an English businessman who settled in Buenos Aires, founded, together or separately, the Dreadnought Swimming Club in 1863, the Buenos Aires Athletic Sports in 1866 – which

organised the first track and field athletic event on May 1, 1867 –, and in the 1870s, the first Golf Club in Latin America. The same sources state that in 1866 they played squash for the first time, that on May 14, 1874 they played the first rugby match, in the Buenos Aires Cricket Club founded by their father years before, and in 1890 they played the first lawn tennis match. In May 9, 1867, the Hogg brothers founded the Buenos Aires Football Club and, through the English newspaper *The Standard*, called for a match that, after being postponed on May 25 due to rain, took place on June 20, 1867.

In Uruguay, the weight of Britain is almost absolute. In Brazil, the British are dominant, but they are usually children of the community that are raised in Europe, not only in the imperial metropolis, and are followed by other migrant communities – Germans in the South, Italians in the Sao Paulo region. In Chile, it was the British community, and the German community to a lower degree. In Peru, the British are the only driver – and they started early: the Lima Cricket Club was founded in 1857. In Paraguay, the first promoter of sports was a Dutchman, a physical education instructor in the *Escuela Normal* of Asunción. In Bolivia, promotion was done by natives who were employees of British companies. In Colombia there was an American – an Army colonel – but also British, French and Swiss citizens. In Ecuador, children of the British. In Venezuela, a Welsh teacher who organised activities at mining companies; in Honduras, the French. In Mexico, the British again, but followed by Belgians, Germans and Spanish – clubs of this community were dominant between 1920 and 1940.

15.2 Invention of international competition and reversal of the migrant flow

The final constitution of local «sports fields» occurs as a result of this migrant establishment. Associations were first dominated by the members of the European communities, to leave room to the local elites in the first years of the 20th century. Initially they were football organisations, then associations of other sports, finally, the Olympic Committees. In 1894 an International Olympic Committee was founded, and Latin American countries joined quite soon: Argentina was part of the IOC foundation, although not of the first Games in 1896. Only a Chilean athlete took part in these Games: Luis Subercasseaux, without official representation – since the Chilean Olympic Committee was founded in 1934 – and in 1900, several Cubans were present, although the local Olympic Committee was founded in 1926; since 1904 the rest of the Latin American countries started joining gradually.

The Argentine anthropologist Eduardo Archetti (2001) states that through the Olympic Games, and later through other competitions in different sports, the fiction of a «best of the world» coronation was imposed. Sports thus became a mirror where to look at oneself and to be looked at. Being among the first was important; but it was also crucial to «be

seen» representing «something different». The early globalisation of sports was not an equalisation process, but a space where to produce imaginaries, symbols and heroes who established differences: for themselves and for the rest – and from the rest. Latin American countries started to assert that difference early on, mainly in football – although in 1900 the Cuban fencer Ramón Fonst won a gold medal, it was the success of Uruguay in football in 1924 that installed the identity narrative successfully, both in the Latin American and European press.

This marks the end of the foundational European migration flow to Latin America – there were some exceptions, such as the Basque football migration during the Spanish Civil War in 1936-1939 – and the beginning of its reversal. Firstly, because Latin American sports assumed simultaneously their insertion in a context of primitive globalisation – at least, internationalisation – and favoured international competition as a form of asserting the above-mentioned differences; at a regional level – the South American Football Confederation was the first international sports organisation, founded in 1916 – and at a world level, mainly in the Olympic Games.¹ The Uruguayan historian Andrés Morales points out that

In the 1924 victory, the idea is constructed that a team of Hispanic-Latins, mainly composed of players of Spanish and Italian origin, had proven superiority and had defeated national representations of countries from the Anglo-Saxon trunk such as the Netherlands, the United States or Switzerland. It was proudly said that the team that had conquered the gold medal spoke Spanish. In 1928, the construction of identity was done in concentric circles. With the wins over the Netherlands and Germany, the idea of Hispanic-Latin superiority over the Anglo-Saxons was established in football. But after defeating Italy – where the encounter is taken as a clash between two powers of Latin football – basic alterity becomes America vs. Europe (Morales, 2013: 202).

Thus, the flow reconverted to alterity: Latin American sports had to compete with Europeans to prove their supposed or desired superiority. Furthermore, the birth of international sports as a competition among nations has another decisive consequence: how to state or imagine the exercise of complementarities and solidarities, mutual collaborations and associations, in a field organised by competition as a constructive principle?

Secondly, another element emerges, the first visibility of which occurs in football. From the years after these first Olympics, this sport had tended to professionalisation, derived basically from access by the popular classes to preeminence in practice. This new organisation occurred in Europe before Latin America, which enabled to seduce some ath-

¹ Regional multisport disputes came later: the first Pan-American Games date back to 1951.

letes, who were captured by the European market – mainly the Italian. The first reverse migration dates back to 1925: Argentine player Julio Libonatti leaves his natal Rosario to play in Italian Torino. After the first Football World Cup in 1930, a migration flow of Argentines, Uruguayans and Brazilians towards Italy is installed: the Brazilian anthropologist Carmen Rial states that

Saíram do Palestra Itália para a Itália quatorze dos vinte e seis jogadores brasileiros registrados como tendo saído do país entre 1929 e 1943 (...). Eles se dirigiram para a Itália, aproveitando as vantagens de um mercado que pagava salários bem mais vantajosos, e logo ganharam grande visibilidade no cenário futebolístico do país. Era tão grande a presença brasileira na Itália em alguns clubes que a Lazio, por exemplo, era chamada de Brazilazio (Rial, 2009: 10).²

This involves the emergence of the market as regulator of relationships between both continents, which would always be the case since then. The following process would take place progressively:

- a. The deployment of different sports practices locally – nationally or regionally, with different emphases relying on very different and complex local reasons, until the micro level. Football was installed virtually throughout the subcontinent as a great national sport, displaced by baseball in the areas where the United States were most influential, but other sports started gaining popularity and amateurs on the basis of a series of particular reasons: cycling in Colombia, for example,³ but skate hockey only in the Argentine province of San Juan; polo in the Pampas region of Argentina, rowing in every port capital, and so on throughout the continent.
- b. Once the practice was consolidated and extended, both popularly and in class enclaves – fencing never abandoned its condition of being a bourgeois or high-classes sport – local or national sports organisations tried to participate in international competitions as a way to dispute a national imaginary: until World War II, against the Europeans; after such war, the Soviet and American dominance became the focus in most sports, except specifically football and others of lower prestige. Purely regional or local experiences are irrelevant, with the exception of baseball, which concentrates its practice between the U.S. and the Caribbean: since the late 50s, Latin American national federations have focused all their efforts on international

² 14 of the 26 Brazilian players registered to have left the country between 1929 and 1943 left the Palestra Itália for Italy (...). They went to Italy, to benefit from the advantages of a market that paid better salaries, and gained great visibility in the football scene of that country. The presence of Brazilians was so important in some Italian clubs that Lazio, for example, was called the Brazilazio.

³ It should be pointed out that the invention of the Vuelta a Colombia in 1951 was based on Le Tour de France, created in 1903, the Giro d'Italia, in 1909, and the Vuelta a España, in 1935.

competitions at world instances, or plainly globalised ones – the Olympic Games and football.

- c. But with the advent of extended professionalisation in all sports, shyly since the 1960s, massively in the next decade, officially since 1988 for the IOC and Olympic disciplines, the flow became purely and simply migration of athletes, regulated by different «sports markets». The case of football, as we have pointed out, is more evident, and involves progressively more scandalous numbers, both in terms of individuals involved – today it is almost impossible to count the number of Latin American players in the European Leagues, and of transfers and contracts values, with the recent transfers of the Brazilian Neymar – from Santos, Sao Paulo to Barcelona, Spain, first, and then to Paris-Saint-Germain, France, as a climax. The Bosman ruling, in 1995, which extended recognition of labour rights to all European athletes for any League, radicalised this process with the emergence of «natives»: European-origin athletes – especially of Italian and Spanish origin – who acquired citizenship to access the resulting benefits. This process was evident in football again, including corruption cases and illegalities of different levels, but it was not the only sport where it took place: there are abundant cases in basketball and volleyball.
- d. Thus, sports «collaboration» between Europe and Latin America was established in a one-direction flow: migration in search for better labour markets. This includes sports with lower economic gain, but higher comparative development in technical terms: athletes seek better training methods at spaces of more prestige in every discipline. Occasionally, both are combined: access to European Leagues in highly professionalised sports simultaneously implies access to better labour markets and higher demand and technical preparation. Again, the flow is regulated by the market, not by public institutions: a good example of this is the recent case of the agreement signed between the Argentine Tennis Association and the Rafa Nadal Academy, that will receive young Argentine tennis players for their development. For some time, especially in the 1990s, this migration was established with prestigious American academies, such as Nick Bolletieri's; in any case, the model is the same. In the case of football, point-to-point associations between clubs (e.g. Millonarios in Colombia and Benfica in Portugal, Deportivo Cali in Colombia and Barcelona in Spain) ratify the migration trend, enabling talent hunts at younger ages.

Modern sport booms as a mass event around international competition, which is contemporary to local popularisation processes. Basically, every sport is structured on the basis of competition – even recreational sports include fair competition – sometimes, against the athlete's limits. But international competitions are the ones that definitely

promote sports practices towards massification in terms of show for the masses: the Olympic Games and the Football World Cups are the events that have become the core of contemporary sports organisations as privileged goods in the cultural industry. This fabric, which facilitates the exasperated commercialisation of all sports since the late 20th century, discourages at the same time exchange and collaboration experiences: in the hands of sports organisations, such experiences are incomplete, restricted to individual businesses governed by market rules. If athletes can access better training and retraining opportunities than what they have in their local territory – which is by far the rule in the balance between Europe and Latin America, with a few exceptions – and they can afford it, they will do it, through personal funding, in some cases with the support from sponsors, and in others by becoming goods themselves in the future. There is never collaboration between public institutions in these cases.

Such collaboration is restricted to isolated cases. In the 1960s, for example, a series of technical cooperation agreements between the governments of Colombia and Germany – the old GFR – enabled an educational mission to produce recommendations about the organisation of physical education in Colombia, which resulted in the creation of Coldeportes years later, which since then has been the government institution that mandates sports policies in said Latin American country. But this was an exceptional agreement.

Likewise, sports have quickly become, as we have pointed out, a highly profitable industry: mainly due to television (and advertising) capitals, and also due to a series of related industries – for example, gear or apparel – which in turn become advertising investments. Amounts invested are huge: a report from 2015 estimated the amount of advertising investment in sports at US 450 billion dollars. The recent Football World Cup in Russia added another US 2.4 billion dollars to the estimated annual turnover, according to journalist sources. Journalist calculations estimate a global GDP in sports of around US 700 billion dollars in 2015 (an estimate from 2012 threw a higher figure, 754 billion euros). Therefore, the direction of sports activities and policies at local levels or in international cooperation is highly governed by the market, which has been occurring increasingly, in dissimilar levels depending on the sport, since the professionalisation of football between 1920 and 1940. Any collaboration experience or proposal, exchange or interaction, although based on noble principles and high goals, must face this inevitable fact, and be able to overcome it.

An obvious exception to market regulation in sports was the Cuban case. In the 1990s, the so-called «special period» in Cuba motivated a series of agreements with Latin American countries for the «export» of sports coaches in disciplines where the Cuban policy had been especially successful. This was the only Latin American experience of intensive state planning in the field of sports: in Cuba, professional sport was abolished

in 1962, as it was claimed that professionalism is a typical capitalist phenomenon, as exploitation of individuals, and consequently could not take place in a socialist society. The National Sports, Physical Education and Recreation Institute (INDER) was created in 1961, to take over sports organisation and planning. This, among other consequences, resulted in the free-of-charge nature of sports practices and events. Sports have been included in other social institutions, besides, obviously, school and university: industries, armed forces, and rural production. The scheme is based on extended practice starting from school, where a talent detection process occurs, aiming mainly at success, international recognition, and prestige of the Revolution. Following the model developed by the Soviet Union since the 1950s and practised in the Cold War Eastern Europe by imitation, success in sports meant staging, in such a spectacularly global arena as international competitions, the benefits of the socialist mode of organisation. The consequences of these policies in Cuba were evident. In the Pan-American Games, Cuba grew from 20 medals in 1959 to 152 in 2003 (with a peak of 275 in 1975 before the European communism and Special Period crisis). In the Olympics, it jumped from one medal in 1964 to 29 in 2000. The masses policy also produced big individual stars: Alberto Juantorena, Javier Sotomayor or Teófilo Stevenson. In the case of the latter, the heroic narrative reached its summit, and was perfected: he was not only a boxer, with the mythical burden of humble origins, but a hero of socialism. Stevenson, an unbeatable heavyweight – the highest category in world boxing – Olympic champion, systematically rejected all temptations to become professional and compete outside Cuba, insisting on his revolutionary beliefs.

The Cuban model was reproduced in Sandinista Nicaragua, with a Sports Institute created less than two months after the beginning of the Revolution, and hundreds of Volunteer Sports Committees established all over the country, to develop local and community practice. The fall of Sandinism in 1990 caused the end of the experience, which prevented from proving whether the Cuban policy was enough to generate success in sports.

These experiences were quite isolated in Latin America, in spite of the proclaimed good intentions by their leaders and political elites. Only in certain enclaves did they attain important global achievements. A proof of this is the analysis of Olympic medals. If we focus on the Summer Games – Latin American nations do not attend the Winter Games massively – the most successful nation is Cuba, positioned No. 20 in the general ranking; but above it we find nations that no longer exist, such as the USSR, or the German Democratic Republic. It is followed by Brazil, in No. 29, below other disappeared nations such as the German Federal Republic or Czechoslovakia. Argentina and Mexico rank No. 41 and 42, preceded by the former Yugoslavia. Of course, the bulk of the European nations that are current members of the Union rank above all of them.

15.3 Conclusions: organisations and policies

In terms of public sports policy development, the situation in Latin America is quite complex and dissimilar: in some cases, agencies have a ministry rank; in others, Secretariats under ministries, in general the education ministry – as a result of the Latin American tradition of integrating sports into schools through physical education, but with no integration into the practice by the masses or into activities regulated by specific Federations, which in all cases are governed by private law. Not even the core of the practice is similar in every case: there is a model of sports club as civil association, with no owners or shares – the model in Argentina and Uruguay, privatised in Brazil and Chile, for example –; a private sports company, extended to the rest of the continent, especially in football; a school or university organisation; in a few cases, the city government is the main host of sports activities – in general, in charge of unprofitable or non-professional practices. Spaces are consequently varied, from the city premises to private facilities, and in some cases, state facilities for high-performance sports.

At a regional or continental level, organisations are also varied. There is ODESUR, South America Sports Organisation, founded in 1976, which gathers the Olympic Committees from South American countries; Panam Sports, Pan-American Sports Organisation, which gathers the Olympic Committees from the whole continent, and has organised the Pan-American Games since 1951 (with non-Latin American countries participating); there are Federations and Confederations of different disciplines, which organise continental or sub-continental tournaments. Public policies have been organised since 1993 under an Ibero-American Sports Council, which gathers the representatives of every National Sports Directorate or Secretariat in Ibero-American countries, including Spain and Portugal (which integrate an «Iberian Zone», together with the «South American Zone» and the «Central and Caribbean Zone»). Activities deployed have only been friendly relationships and the production of statements, but there are no specific cooperation or exchange programmes.

Simultaneously, the European Union does not seem to have created a special axis for sports development until recently. Only from the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009 did the Union include sports among its incumbencies, after producing the so-called *White Paper on Sport* in 2007 and the *Pierre de Coubertin Action Plan*, in 2008. The Treaty of Lisbon deployed these incumbencies in its article 165 and since then, emphasis has only been regional, with focus on educational exchange among the nations of the Treaty, the relationship between sport and health, the doping problem, the potential of sport as a mechanism for social inclusion, racism practices and sports violence, and national and continental sports governance. The concern about integrating migrant communities was included in documents from 2016, although the case of Latin American sports was not part of the

declaration. In the 2007-2013 and 2014-2020 action programmes, sport did not integrate the catalogue of possible actions for the research or production of new knowledge. Apparently, European sport is also organised centrally by market decisions.

The history of sports in Latin America shows the huge importance of European countries in their foundation, deployment and consolidation, both through pioneerism – the concurrence of «founding fathers» and promoters of modern sport in Latin American countries – and through their later becoming mirrors and models for alterity. With the exception of baseball, limited to the American influence in Central America and the Caribbean, even the sports created by the U.S. sports culture were subject to «model transplant», as is the case of basketball – until 15 years ago, the NBA was an inaccessible market both for Europeans and for Latin Americans, whereby the play of models and alterities took refuge in the world of the International Basketball Federation or FIBA, under European domination. The first migration of Latin American workers, in any sport, is to Europe; the U.S. only emerges as second option in certain sports – e.g. basketball – or through joining a university – although there are no figures available, they do not seem to be relevant data. Latin American sport was created looking at Europe, as it was looking at the father – following psychoanalytic theory – which it had to defeat so as to be acknowledged.

Consequently, the outlook does not seem to be, for either continent, very promising in terms of opportunities for collaboration and exchange. However, we understand that sport may be a privileged space for the production of collaboration experiences. On the one hand, due to its global language condition, as sports codes are easily shared among athletes from different places, and the same goes for viewers. On the other hand, since such global language is sport, it may become an excellent tool to improve the possibilities of mutual knowledge and respect among societies, especially in relationships so extended in history as those between Europe and Latin America. But this knowledge must overcome the stereotype trap. To this end, establishing well-founded and better-managed collaborations is crucial: a recent unedited study by Brazilian sociologist Ronaldo Helal (2018) proved that fixed stereotypes in the French press about Brazilian football in the 1938 World Cup – stereotypical representations organised by the principle of exotism and unveiled racism – were almost untouched in the 1998 Cup.

At the same time, there are largely agreed-upon social effects of sport: the biggest one is the global consensus reached with respect to the highly beneficial – if not essential – influence of practising sport on collective health. A certain myth established in the media about the potential of sports for the so-called «social inclusion» has not been proved: in general, users of this type of plans, affected or socially-excluded populations, only explore the possibilities to access paid professional practices, especially football, as

a form of social rise. But what is proven is the correlation between practising sports and health. Likewise, there is a correlation between human development and practising sports, but it is not incidental: the biggest HDI is evidenced in societies with high rates of sports practice, but in general this proves that such practice requires conditions of wealth and free time.

Therefore, if we share such principles – the close connection between sports, collective health, social well-being, mutual knowledge – it is clear that, going back to the item above, these items should not be left for the market or for mere philanthropy to decide. An example of this is sports practised by women: traditionally neglected in the sub-continent, they have depended largely on the work of athletes. Recently, the growth in female football practice, the most evident case in Latin American sports, has been possible as a result of the brave action by civil society organisations that would require much more support than what the leading elites or state policies have decided to provide. Strong state action is required or establishing close collaboration among public organisations at national or supranational levels, and civil society organisations that may efficiently deploy collaboration and supplementation actions. Although *mens sana in corpore sano* has been abandoned as an aristocratic or bourgeois motto, the democratic organisation and expansion of mass sports continues to be, or should be, a crucial objective in national and international cooperation policies for which neither the IOC nor FIFA expect to take responsibility.

Consequently, any collaboration, exchange and mutual strengthening policy should prioritise, firstly, a *de-footballisation* in lines of action, as a wide metaphor in terms of restricting sports development to the mutually limiting and exclusive rules of hyper-professionalism and the markets involved – mainly, television or largely the media, but also advertising and, within them, sponsoring. Whereas virtually all the high competition environment is organised by these rules and dominated, regulated and managed by the concurrence of concentrated capitals and supra-national and para-state sports organisations, actions should focus on organisations capable of designing public policies for mass sports, as well as on civil society.

As we have outlined, strengthening female sports practice is a good example of such fields of action. But, to cite another example that is quite urgent in the Latin American agenda, the relative failure of state control policies over sports violence should enable to envisage, in contrast, supporting civil society initiatives, matching organisations from both continents – highly developed in Europe – and encouraging their deployment. Likewise, another fertile field of action is the connection between mass sport and educational policies: indicators in Latin America tend to describe a growth in school attendance, which could be leveraged to prioritise such spaces for the development of mass sport practices in a more democratic – albeit universal – manner.

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