

CHILE READS

Chile is a country of poets.

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10th of June 2019

Abstract

Consumption patterns between 2005 and 2017, provided by the Chilean National Survey of Cultural Participation (2017a) show a significant difference between literature and music, performing and visual arts. For the latter three, this research shows, less policy documents were published and significantly less public funding was directed to them. Access, a pre-conditioning variable, together with education, active participation, income, price, infrastructure and quality (perceived and technical), which are determinants that lead to cultural-artistic consumption, are analyzed through open coding and analytical memos in the policy documents. It is shown, that the stronger and more consistent attention on cultural policy and higher funding that literature has received can be related to the difference in consumption the sector has with music, performing and visual arts. However, they can't explain them in detail, as there are other factors that can have an influence as well. For instance, that literature and literacy are associated with economic development or that historically Chile's literature industry has been stronger than the other industries. Because Chile is a country of poets, where big names such as Pablo Neruda, Gabriela Mistral, Violeta Parra were born.

Keywords: cultural participation, cultural consumption, cultural policy, funding, model, Chile.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract and keywords

1. Introduction	4
2. Literature review:.....	7
2.1. Cultural Policy	7
2.2. Literature, music, visual arts and performing arts as cultural goods	8
2.3. Defining cultural participation:	9
2.4. The case of Chile	11
3. Theoretical framework	13
3.1. Cultural-artistic consumption model	13
<i>Access</i>	14
3.2. External theories	14
<i>Human capital theory</i>	14
<i>Taste formation</i>	15
<i>Rational addiction theory</i>	15
<i>Social capital theory</i>	16
<i>Cultural capital theory</i>	16
3.3. Six determinants that influence cultural-artistic consumption	17
<i>Education and active participation</i>	17
<i>Income and price</i>	18
<i>Infrastructure</i>	19
<i>Quality</i>	19
4. Methodology	21
4.1. Research question	21
4.2. Research strategy and design	21
4.3. Research method.....	22
5. The case of literature.....	25
5.1. Context.....	25
5.2. 2005: State policy for the book and reading	28
<i>Determinants</i>	28
<i>Education</i>	28
<i>Price</i>	28
<i>Infrastructure</i>	29
<i>Quality</i>	29
5.3. 2006-2010: National Policy of Book and Reading	29
<i>Education</i>	29
<i>Active participation</i>	30
<i>Price</i>	30

<i>Infrastructure</i>	30
5.4. 2011-2014 National Plan of Reading Promotion “Lee Chile Lee”	30
<i>Education</i>	31
<i>Infrastructure</i>	31
5.5. 2015-2020: National policy of reading and books and national reading plan	32
<i>Education</i>	32
<i>Active participation</i>	33
<i>Infrastructure</i>	33
<i>Perceived and technical quality</i>	33
5.6. Funding patterns.....	34
5.7. Analysis	35
<i>The most present determinants</i>	35
<i>The least present determinants</i>	36
5.8. Consumption patterns	38
6. Comparing music, performing and visual arts with literature	40
6.1. Context.....	41
<i>Music</i>	41
<i>Visual arts</i>	41
<i>Performing Arts</i>	42
6.2. Compared with literature	43
<i>Access</i>	44
<i>Education</i>	44
<i>Active participation</i>	45
<i>Price and Income</i>	46
<i>Infrastructure</i>	46
<i>Quality</i>	47
6.3. Funding patterns.....	48
7. Conclusion	51
8. Evaluation of research	52
9. Discussion.....	54
References	57
Appendix A: Coding scheme	62

1. INTRODUCTION

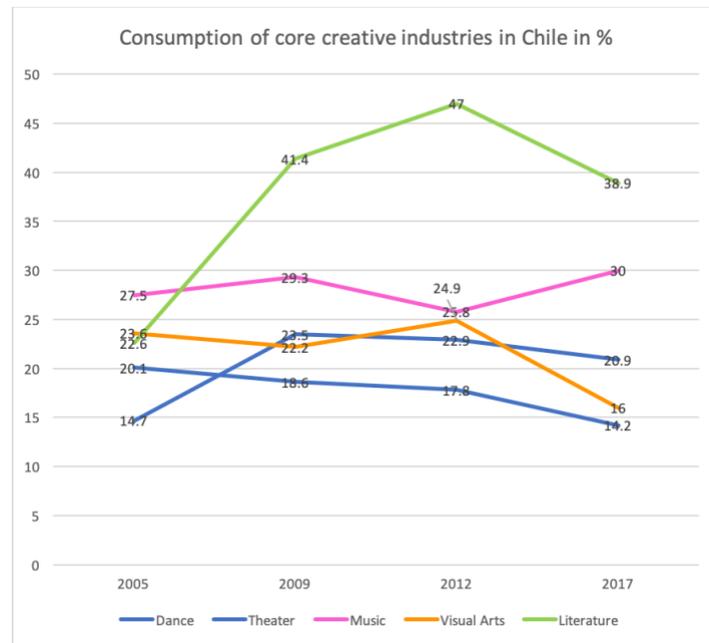
In Chile, since the creation of the National Council of Culture and the Arts (CNCA) in 2003, followed by the elaboration of the first document of public policy for culture titled “Chile wants more culture. Definition of Policies 2005-2010”, during Ricardo Lago’s social democrat government in 2005, the cultural sector has been rapidly developed and changed. The CNCA, even though a national council, was set as an autonomous service, functionally and territorially decentralized, whose highest authority received the rank of Minister (CNCA, 2005a). This is an important milestone in the development of cultural policy for Chile, as there was no previous formal institution dedicated to cultural affairs and policies, which were dispersed among different state organisms, such as the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry General Secretary of the Government¹ (Garretón, 2008). Additionally, since the return of democracy, the cultural sector is recovering from the “cultural blackout” Chile experienced during the dictatorship led by Augusto Pinochet between 1973 and 1981 (CNCA, 2005a). Furthermore, since the creation of the CNCA in 2003, it was debated whether or not to create a Ministry for Cultures, Arts and Heritage², which finally started functioning in March of 2018, replacing the CNCA. In spite of this development, the cultural sector faced a setback when Sebastian Piñera’s center-right government announced in 2018 a major cut in public expenditure for culture (www.radio.uchile.cl, 2018).

Together with the development of public policy for culture in Chile, so has the consumption of cultural goods and services within the creative industries developed accordingly. While, during the dictatorship, the “cultural blackout” meant a significant decrease in access and consumption, due to the strong military censorship and intervention (Aguirre 2007; Palominos 2013; Zamorano et al., 2014), the creation of a formal public institution for culture, in 2003, signified a growth in public financing and, consequently, an increased supply and demand for cultural goods and services, compared to the 70’s and 80’s.

¹ In Chile, the General Secretary of the Government is considered also a Ministry. Their function is to assess the main government authorities in matters of strategic communication, as well as supporting decision making processes coordinately with the executive power.

² It is called Ministry of Cultures (...) in plural, because through its name it aims to recognize the different (indigenous) cultures that coexist in the country. One of the ministry’s principles is to recognize culturally the indigenous people in Chile (www.cultura.gob.cl/ministerio/principios).

In fact, secondary data from CNCA and DIPRES (Budget Department of the Chilean Government) confirm that the general public expenditure for culture has been rising between 2005 and 2017, when the first and latest national cultural policy documents were published. Nevertheless, the results from the National Survey of Cultural Participation (2017a) show that the consumption of the arts, meaning music, literature, dance, theater and visual arts (Throsby, 2008), have (if) grown rather little, decreased or had a neutral impact from the public policies, programs, and increased funding.



Graph 1. Elaboration based on data from National Survey of Cultural Participation (2017a)

This is the case for all, except for literature. Books have shown a general and rapid growth in its consumption. Only in 2017 its consumption decreased. This, even though books, are considered to be luxury goods (Ringstad & Løyland, 2006) and are taxed up to 19% in Chile (www.radio.uchile.cl, 2016). However, as this creative industry is the main exception, it seems interesting to study it while taking into account two factors that could influence literature's higher consumption: (1) public policies and programs and (2) funding patterns. The characteristics of the artistic products themselves will be excluded as the National Survey of Cultural Participation, initiated by the Chilean government, doesn't provide insight on it and the questions asked were quite generic. For instance, to measure the consumption of literature, the "reading of at least one book in the past 12 months" was asked, without diving further into details such as genre, quality of the artistic product, themes, the nationality of the authors, etc. The same goes for music, visual arts, dance and theater: the survey limits to measure whether or not someone attended

a concert, exhibition or performance in the past year. The two factors mentioned will create the two research chapters of this thesis. Therefore, the following two research questions will be addressed in this thesis: (1) How does public policy and especially funding patterns relate to the general increase of consumption of literature in Chile between the years 2005 and 2017? (2) How are public policy and funding patterns from literature different from music, visual arts, dance and theater in terms of consumption? To answer these questions, a model was created, that includes access as a pre-conditioning variable and six determinants (education, active participation, income, price, infrastructure and quality) that influence cultural-artistic consumption. This model is the main tool, and together with consumption and funding patterns, the cultural policies of the four studied sectors are analyzed.

Taking into consideration Chile's history and still early phase of development in the cultural sector, if compared to European countries, it is a country which cultural policies are worth studying. The relevancy of this research lies in that it studies and analyses those determinants that lead to a cultural-artistic consumption, which is in general terms relatively low in Chile. With the results of this research, it becomes visible that six determinants could be included more in public policy for culture in order to increase cultural consumption, specially for music, performing and visual arts. Furthermore, it evidences the unequal funding distribution and the strong focus on one particular sector, namely literature, which can be a reason to include the six determinants in future policy making among all sectors. Also, this research's theoretical framework provides a cultural economic approach, while previous literature has mainly focused on the socio-cultural and political perspective of cultural policy in Chile (Güell, Morales & Peters, 2011; Peters, 2011; Nuñez, 2010). Lastly, in the National Survey of Cultural Participation (2017a), the government particularly only presents the results, but does not inquire on the reasons behind the consumption patterns of the different cultural sectors. The proposed research questions provide a way in which these differences could be understood better from a policy perspective. These differences were created by the same governments that fail to explain the (generally) low cultural-artistic consumption among Chileans.

This thesis first presents a literature review, followed by a theoretical framework in which the model 1 DCAC is elaborated on, and a methodology. Consequently, chapter 5 and 6 aim to respond the two research questions, which are later concluded. At least the research is evaluated and discussed.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW:

2.1. CULTURAL POLICY

Starting from the basics, it is interesting to define what cultural policy is if it is intended to research it. Mulcahy (2006) defines it basically as the sum of government activities and refers to Schuster (2003), who also defines it as a sum of government activities, but focused on the arts, humanities, and heritage, which he considers the prime components of (state) cultural policy. If these three components are included, cultural policy gets a wider range that it had traditionally when it was mostly concerned with giving financial support to arts, heritage and cultural institutions, among others (Mulcahy, 2006; Throsby, 2010). In other words, the spectrum of industries and activities that fall under the scope of cultural policy has expanded (Throsby, 2010). Creative industries have gained relevance, as a source of innovation, playing a relevant role in the creation of the new economy, generation of employment and urban development, regulation of intellectual property, establishing possibilities for public and private partnerships that support culture, etc. These are all components which are falling nowadays under the scope of cultural policy (Throsby, 2010). In general terms, public policy has developed from focusing on the support of creative arts towards the promotion of a creative economy (ibidem, 2010).

Furthermore, a distinction is made between explicit and implicit cultural policies, which means that policies deal directly or indirectly with culture (Throsby, 2009). Those policies that are implicit, and therefore not carried out by the ministry of culture, allow to extend the reach of cultural policies into areas that are not considered as obviously cultural, but still have a relevant cultural content (ibidem, 2009). The concept of implicit policies suggests as well that the scope of cultural policy is wider than those policies carried out by the ministry of culture. For this research, when using the concept of cultural policy, it will be understood as explicit policies. Hence, policies from the Chilean Ministry for Cultures, Arts and Heritage. Furthermore, the focus is set on those explicit cultural policies that target access, education, active participation, price, income, infrastructure, perceived and technical quality, of the inner circle (out of the four) of the concentric circle model by Throsby (2008). In the inner circle, the core creative industries, namely the arts (performing arts, visual arts, music, and literature) are found, which will be those whose policy, funding patterns and characteristics will be analyzed and compared in this research. Throsby (2008), as well as the Chilean government, separate the performing arts from music, reason why in this research, these will be treated as two separate industries. Also, in Throsby's (2008) concentric circle model in the performing arts, drama and dance are included as part of the core creative

arts. On the other hand, the National Policy of Performing Arts (2017) includes dance, theater, circus, oral narrations and puppeteers and the biggest public fund FONDART defines as performing arts theater, dance, circus, folklore and opera. However, the National Survey of Cultural Participation (2017a) measures (only) theater and dance separately. These inconsistencies will be discussed in chapter 6. In this research, performing arts will be understood as dance and theater (drama) unless explicitly mentioned otherwise.

2.2. LITERATURE, MUSIC, VISUAL ARTS AND PERFORMING ARTS AS CULTURAL GOODS

The above-mentioned arts produce goods, which can be considered *cultural* goods. But why not *creative* goods? Both concepts, *cultural* goods and *creative* goods, are often used interchangeably (Throsby, 2010; Galloway & Dunlop, 2007), which doesn't mean that there is no difference between both concepts. Defining *creativity* is not simple, because it can encompass and be present in diverse fields, e.g. artistic creativity and scientific creativity (Throsby, 2010). On the other hand, Galloway and Dunlop (2007) present five common criteria found in literature, to define *cultural* goods: creativity, intellectual property, use value, with symbolic goods and/ or symbolic meaning, and methods of production. Similarly, Throsby (2010) includes the presence of human creative input, symbolic messages and intellectual property as the main criteria to define *cultural* goods. Overall, he concludes that *cultural* goods are a sub-set of *creative* goods. For this research, the arts will be considered *cultural* goods, as the abovementioned criteria can be applied to them.

Furthermore, as this research is focused on the developments of consumption of cultural goods between 2005-2017, it is as well relevant to understand what the theoretical background of their demand dynamic is. Cultural goods (and services) have particular qualities that differ from those that other "regular" products have (e.g. retail), which is also a reason why it requires special policy attention (Throsby, 2010). Furthermore, for cultural goods, it is not possible to apply demand theory of neoclassical economics, as it is based on various assumptions, that due to the particularities of cultural goods cannot be applied to them (Towse, 2010). Cultural goods produce novelty and new experiences, which means that consumers cannot access to the goods information beforehand. That explains why consumers rely heavily on third parties, such as critics to decide whether or not to consume a cultural good (ibidem, 2010). Additionally, consumers either follow the crowd or try to set themselves apart from it (ibidem, 2010), due to the "buzz" that cultural goods can create because they are consumed within a social context (Caves, 2000). Frequently, the "buzz" around a cultural good is created through "word of mouth",

becoming the later phenomenon key for its success (ibidem, 2000). However, the logic of *nobody knows* also applies to the demand for cultural goods, due to the previously mentioned observed consumers' behaviors (ibidem, 2000). All these characteristics create uncertainty around the demand for cultural goods, which makes it hardly predictable (ibidem, 2000).

2.3. DEFINING CULTURAL PARTICIPATION:

As defining cultural participation is rather complex and its boundaries are blurry, it is relevant to understand first what culture is, in order to assess how the participation would take place (Cicerchia, 2017; UNESCO, 2012). UNESCO (2012) lists seven cultural domains: cultural and natural heritage, performance and celebration, visual arts and crafts, books and press, audio-visual and interactive media, design and creative services, and intangible cultural heritage. For this research, the participation in the arts (music, performing and visual arts and literature) fall under the domains of performance, visual arts, books.

Given that the research questions are based on the results of the National Survey of Cultural Participation, it is relevant to understand and discuss the concept cultural participation. O'Hagan (1996) depicts the concept starting from the basis of the three possible levels of *access* individuals can have: (1) equal access of participating in the supply of the arts, (2) equal access in participating in decision-making-processes, and (3) consumption. For the third level, the consumer can be classified as an active consumer, meaning that the consumer also creates and participates in art forms (e.g. play the piano, paint) or as a passive consumer (e.g. attending a play, visiting a gallery). Throsby (2010) and O'Hagan (2017) define similarly *participation*, as O'Hagan (1996) defines the third level (consumption) of access. According to Throsby (2010) participation is the generic heading that includes a range from passive attendance to active engagement in culture. Forms of passive consumption are readership, viewing and listening (Throsby, 2010), attendance (Throsby, 2010; O'Hagan, 2017) and consumption that involve a transaction (O'Hagan, 2017); active consumption is creative involvement, in other words 'making/doing' art (Throsby, 2010; O'Hagan, 2017).

For the Chilean Ministry of Cultures, Art, and Heritage, the definition of *participation* is also different. In Chile's National Policy for Culture 2017- 2022, cultural participation is defined in general terms as "a set of practices developed by the population which have a cultural sense or meaning" (CNCA, 2017, p. 66). These practices can be conceived as expressions that relate to features, ways of living and values. Also, the Chilean government considers cultural participation as a human right, following the

article 27 of the Universal Human Rights Declaration (ibidem, 2017). Additionally, the National Survey on Cultural Participation gives the following definition for cultural participation (2017):

“A set of manifestations from and between different people, groups, communities and bodies of citizenship, that form part of the creation and recreation of their cultural life, and who are deployed and visible through specific and limitable practices, which are observable through instruments.” (CNCA, 2017, p. 54).

Later on in that document, this definition for cultural participation is summarized in two branches: production and reception of cultural activities. These can be considered active and passive forms of participation. Therefore, for this research, *participation* will be used as a generic heading to refer to consumption on two different levels: active and passive (Throsby, 2010; O’Hagan, 2017), while in model 1 DCAC, in the theoretical framework, only active participation is included. Also, as the National Survey of Cultural Participation (2017a) questions that are of this research’s interest are focused on passive consumption (reading and attending), the concept *consumption* will always be understood as *passive* consumption. Additionally, when talking about *participation* and *consumption*, it will be assumed that the *access* is given ex ante.

In the theoretical framework of the National Survey on Cultural Participation (2017), it is explained that in order to measure and quantify cultural participation, the researchers mostly have focused on consumption and volume of the audience that attend cultural events or that purchase cultural goods and services (CNCA, 2017). Also, they argue that even though the definition of cultural participation is much wider, consumption and volume remain relevant to understand cultural participation.

Overall, it is argued that the arts make a contribution towards a more reflective and inclusive society, which is assumed to be the objective that public policy makers strive for when financing the cultural sector (Ateca-Amestoy, Ginsburgh, O’Hagan, Mazza & Prieto-Rodriguez, 2017). Also, it is claimed that culture has an enhancing role of human well-being and socio-economic development (Fernandez, 2017). Hence, considering that culture is beneficial for society, but also strongly depends on public funding, it is relevant to measure the effects that public policies and funding initiatives have on cultural participation. This explains why many countries carry out national cultural participation surveys, such as the Chilean National Survey of Cultural Participation, that is part of this research.

When these surveys are carried out, they also face issues regarding the definition of *participation*. Even though they are narrowed down to measuring participation in arts and culture, they often focus on different domains, meaning that the outcome can vary and be affected according to the domains included, making them hardly comparable (O'Hagan, 2017). Some authors even recommend that it should be thoroughly considered, whether sharing or not the definition of cultural activities and participation used in a particular survey, with the respondents (UNESCO, 2012). (Consumers could have different understandings of the concept of participation.)

2.4. THE CASE OF CHILE

Sociologist Garretón (2013) lays out the development that Chile has had in the past 20 years, giving a few examples. Chile went from an income per capita from 5.000 USD to 15.000 USD; it went from 50% of its people living in poor conditions to 15% and most of the children were born within a marriage, today most don't. Such a socio-economic and the political transformation Chile had, brings naturally a cultural transformation as well (ibidem, 2013). Also, the creation of the CNCA, as a unitary and organic institution, brought relevant advancements in the cultural field, for which, however, a basic general law, such as the existing education and environmental laws, was missing (ibidem, 2013). Among the relevant developments was the creation of the Law of the Book ("ley del libro"), the creation of the CNCA and the creation of today's Ministry of Cultures, Arts and Heritage in March 2018. The CNCA, who's policies will be analyzed in this research, had, among others, as a target to optimize the access to cultural goods. Furthermore, it is crucial to understand that, due to the dictatorship, culture in Chile nowadays is associated with a means of expressing a respectful treatment towards human rights, and therefore the state has to adopt the role of guaranteeing its circulation, consumption and expression (Salas, 2010).

In 2005, the first Survey on Cultural Consumption (2004/2005) was published delivering the first statistical data on access to cultural goods and services, showing the profound sociocultural inequality in cultural access (Peters, 2011). As a response, the government started implementing measures to improve the situation and as a follow-up in 2009, the National Survey on Participation and Cultural Consumption was carried out. This is up until today the most complete survey on this matter that has been done in Chile. It was followed by the National Survey on Cultural Participation in 2017, which is the latest national survey carried out on cultural participation and which also compares results (those that are comparable) from the two previous surveys. That is why the survey of 2017 is used in this research. Peters (2011) however, is critical on whether the efforts on access and cultural consumption on a national level have

had an impact on consumers or not. This could be explained by the poor monitoring and accountability on the cultural sector in Chile; a point on which Palominos (2016) and Antoine (2011, 2015) agree on: evaluations of cultural policies in Chile, are focused mainly on theoretical and methodological, institutional and operational issues and tend to evaluate the process, but very seldom the result, impact and satisfaction of the consumers (Antoine, 2011). So far, most of the academic studies on cultural consumption in Chile and Latin America are focused on a socio-cultural and political perspective (Güell, Morales & Peters, 2011; Peters, 2011; Nuñez, 2010) or, when it comes to literature as a creative industry, on the role the state has from a social rather than an economic point of view (Salas, 2010).

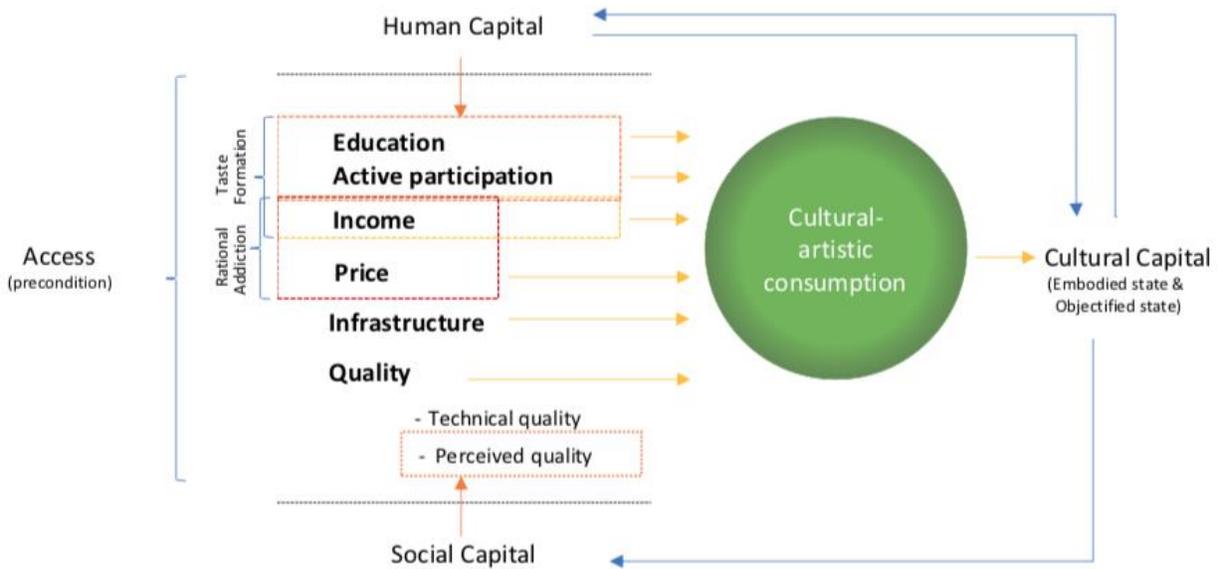
Taking the case of literature, from an economic point of view, the consumption of literature goes further than a mere indicator of participation and consumption: it serves as an indication of the development of human capital and hence, a source of economic growth, as it is linked to a country's alphabetization (Salas, 2010).

The literature review discussed and defined those concepts that are relevant and crucial for this thesis, namely, cultural policy, literature, music, visual arts and performing arts as cultural goods, cultural participation and the case of Chile. Based on this, the following theoretical framework was created, presenting the determinants that lead to cultural consumption.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. CULTURAL-ARTISTIC CONSUMPTION MODEL

The following model gathers the six determinants that influence cultural-artistic consumption which will be, together with *access* provide the framework to analyze the cultural policy documents published between 2005 and 2017: *education, active participation, income, price, infrastructure* and *quality* (technical quality and perceived quality).



Model 1. Determinants for Cultural-Artistic Consumption (DCAC)

This theoretical framework discusses the external theories and the six determinants that influence cultural-artistic consumption, while referring to model 1 DCAC, based on the outcomes of the literature review. To begin with, the reason why access is included as part of the analysis will be described briefly, followed by a general description of the four “external theories” that support some of the determinants that are studied. Then *education* and *active participation* that can be found in human capital theory (Becker, 1964), as well as in taste formation theory (Blaug, 2001; Baumol & Bowen, 1966; Dobson & West 1988; Dickenson, 1992), are described. *Income*, which is also part of taste formation theory, is described together with *price*, as both determinants are related and dependent on each other

and are part of rational addiction theory (Stigler & Becker, 1977). Furthermore, *infrastructure* and *quality* are discussed. In the case of *quality* there are two sub-determinants: *technical quality* and *perceived*. The reason why the six determinants point towards the circle of cultural-artistic consumption separately, is because no theory was found that claims that all of these determinants together or a particular combination is more or less efficient when influencing consumption of cultural-artistic goods. Diniz and Machado (2011) make a review on different determinants about which previous research has shown that they influence cultural consumption. Based on the determinants presented in that paper, the basis of the model 1 DCAC was created. Additionally, the four external theories and the consequent outcome of cultural-artistic consumption, namely cultural capital, was added, giving the six determinants a relevant theoretical support (Becker, 1964, 1993; Blaug, 2001; Bourdieu, 1968; McCain, 2003; Stigler & Becker, 1977; Throsby, 1999; Upright, 2004).

ACCESS

Access is considered a pre-conditioning variable. O'Hagan (1996), describes cultural participation by defining the different levels of access that individuals can have. The third one is access to consumption. In other words, if there is no possibility to access a cultural good, the remaining 6 determinants lose their relevancy when it comes to influencing the consumption of cultural-artistic goods. That is why, access is included within the document analysis, because it is not obvious / given in Chile.

3.2. EXTERNAL THEORIES

A short overview of the three theories that are externally related to part of the determinants that influence cultural-artistic consumption follows.

HUMAN CAPITAL THEORY

"Education and training are the most important investments in human capital." (Becker, 1964, p. 17). Becker (1964) showed that investing in high school and college education can greatly increase an individuals' income in the future. But not only that. Research have shown that investing in education promotes health, reduces smoking, even stimulates the ability to appreciate tennis, classical music and literature (Becker, 1993). The theory was identified from the realization that skills and experience that individuals hold are a capital stock that proves to be as relevant as physical capital, when it comes to producing economic output (Throsby, 1999). Furthermore, some activities influence future monetary

income and future psychic income, influencing consequently consumption. Those activities that can influence monetary and psychic income, are named investments in human capital (Becker, 1993).

Human capital theory has been the base for more theories and studies developed around the factors that (possibly) influence cultural-artistic consumption (Diniz & Machado, 2011). The details on how education and training can influence a cultural-artistic consumption are discussed later on.

TASTE FORMATION

Arts, just like whisky and wine are to be cultivated by taste (McCain, 2003). However, tastes cannot be directly observed (Blaug, 2001). Cultivating a taste means that preferences change over time through experience, particularly those preferences related to aesthetic experiences (McCain, 2003). Due to this change in preferences because of consumption experiences, performing an economic analysis on taste has shown to face several difficulties (ibidem, 2003). Even so, taste formation theory gathers three determinants that can influence consumption: education, income and participation in the arts during childhood. Furthermore, studies show direct evidence of variables that do directly influence the taste of individuals, such as those carried out by Baumol and Bowen (1966), Dobson and West (1988), and Dickenson (1992) that point out that consumers of the arts tend to be skewed to the right when it comes to income and levels of education. Age and occupation are also influencing taste formation (Blaug, 2001), but as cultural policies of the arts cannot affect or influence age or occupation, they are not considered in the document analysis.

RATIONAL ADDICTION THEORY

Stigler and Becker (1977) propose the hypothesis that “widespread and/ or persistent human behavior can be explained by a generalized calculus of utility-maximizing behavior” (p. 76). To support this hypothesis, they present various examples of phenomena that can be explained on the assumption of stable preference function (ibidem, 1977), which contrasts with the previously described taste formation theory. They argue that all changes in behavior can be explained by changes in prices and income. For that they consider that the real income of a household (money income deflated by the prices of market goods consumed), equals the full income of a household. Full income includes the maximum monetary income that a household can have by allocating its time and resources appropriately (ibidem, 1977). In their analysis, Stigler and Becker (1977) make a distinction between a “beneficial” addiction, using the example of music and a “harmful” addiction, such as heroin. In the case of a “beneficial” addiction, the consumption of a cultural good (e.g. music) rises the more an individual is exposed to it, not because her

or his tastes develop in favor of this good, but because the shadow price falls, due to the acquisition of skills and experience in the appreciation of the good through exposure (ibidem, 1977). In other words, the marginal utility of the time devoted to a “beneficial” addiction is increased by the incremented stock of the goods capital (e.g. music capital). This means that the consumption of (e.g.) music appreciation rises with exposure, due to the rise of the marginal utility of the time spent on music through exposure. It is pointed out though, that the effect of the exposure to a “beneficial” addiction on the accumulation of its capital, can depend on the level of education of an individual and on other elements of human capital. This can explain why more educated people might consume more “good” music, than less educated people (ibidem, 1977). Furthermore, it is explained that the addiction increases the time that is spent on (e.g.) music at a younger age. Time is considered to be an investment that increases future (music) capital. On the other side, the price will tend to fall with age, while the consumption rises. The time that is spent on a “beneficial” addiction must not rise with age, because the bigger (accumulated) capital means that the consumption rises, although the time spent on it decreases with age.

How rational addiction is included in the determinants price and income is described below.

SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY

Social capital is the aggregation of the resources that are linked to the possession of an individual’s social network and membership to (more or less) institutionalized relationships (Bourdieu, 1968). When it comes to the volume of social capital an individual can possess, it’s determined by the size of the network and connections she or he can mobilize. This network of social relationships can be useful in the short or long run and individuals established it consciously or unconsciously (ibidem, 1968).

Research on why arts participation and consumption varies have been influenced by Bourdieu’s (1968) work, not only by human and cultural capital, but social capital as well (Diniz & Machado, 2011). Individuals use their cultural capital to increase their social capital, by consuming culture and participating at cultural events, which could alter their networks and hence, their free-time activities (Upright, 2004). That is why the model 1 DCAC shows an arrow from cultural capital towards social capital. More details regarding how social capital influences the sub-determinant *quality perception*, are discussed below.

CULTURAL CAPITAL THEORY

Bourdieu (1986) presents three forms of cultural capital: the embodied state, the objectified state and the institutionalized state. The latter is not considered in the model, because it takes more than

solely cultural-artistic consumption to achieve that state³. The embodied state is the form of cultural capital that is represented, carried and accumulated by an individuals' body and mind (ibidem, 1986). This accumulation of cultural capital implies that a process of embodiment, incorporation, assimilation and inculcation, for which time and labor are invested, takes place (ibidem, 1986). Bourdieu (1986) compares it to the acquisition of a muscular physique. Throsby (1999) on the other hand defines it as intangible cultural capital, which consist of values, traditions, practices, ideas, beliefs, etc. However, both definitions point towards the same idea, namely that cultural capital is accumulated at an individual and intrinsic level.

The objectified state of cultural capital, defined by Bourdieu (1986), includes writings, paintings, monuments, instruments, etc., hence that material and tangible cultural capital (Throsby, 1999) that is transmissible just like cultural capital is. In this sense, it contrasts with the embodied state of cultural capital, which cannot be transmitted as an economic exchange, but must be accumulated over time or inherited through family (Bourdieu, 1986). However, having a legal ownership of an objectified cultural capital, does not mean that it can be *consumed* by the owner, as she/he requires embodied cultural capital to be able to *consume* it (ibidem, 1986).

Research frequently includes culture as one of the components of human capital (Throsby, 1999) and as discussed previously, education and training in the arts is an addition to human capital. That is why the model 1 DCAC shows an arrow going towards and from human capital to cultural capital. In short, the accumulation of embodied and objectified cultural capital is a consequence of cultural consumption, which is influenced by the six determinants shown in model DCAC.

3.3. SIX DETERMINANTS THAT INFLUENCE CULTURAL-ARTISTIC CONSUMPTION

EDUCATION AND ACTIVE PARTICIPATION

The variable education can be found in both human capital and taste formation theory (see model 1 DCAC) as a determinant that leads to cultural-artistic consumption.

The determinants of cultural-artistic consumption are mainly based on Becker's (1964) theory of human capital (Diniz & Machado, 2011). Education is a relevant component of human capital. Hence, parents' formal, artistic or cultural education and especially training in cultural activities (e.g. playing

³ The institutionalized state of cultural capital is recognized, for instance, in form of academic credentials (Throsby, 1999). In other words, it is an institutional guarantee for individuals' competences, through the attribution of diplomas, titles, membership to certain groups, etc. (Bourdieu, 1986)

piano) and the transmission of this knowledge and skills are relevant as they expose kids to cultural goods during childhood and adolescence and influence consumption (Diniz & Machado, 2011; Throsby, 2010; Ateca-Amestoy, 2008).

Furthermore, education in the arts increases children's awareness and helps forming their tastes and preferences (Throsby, 2010). Also, the years of schooling show to be a particularly relevant variable regarding taste formation (Blaug, 2001). It also has been studied how childhood participation can influence and predict the taste of individuals (Towse, 2010), which could be the starting point of individual's development of tastes, as it evolves and is polished through time and financial investment (Caves, 2000). Education is also the basis of future audiences that have a more diverse and rich cultural life in the future (Throsby, 2010). There are many researches done on how education influences cultural consumption and participation (Diniz & Machado, 2011); therefore this determinant is included and regarded as relevant for this research.

INCOME AND PRICE

An economic determinant that influences cultural consumption is the price, not only of the good itself but also of its substitutes, as well as individuals' income (Diniz & Machado, 2011). On the one hand, the price indicates not only the economic value of the good but the opportunity cost of its consumption, particularly matters of time⁴ (Borgonovi, 2004). Furthermore, the price of a cultural good includes other costs such as the cost of transportation to get there (Diniz & Machado, 2011). Also, the price of cultural goods brings a negative effect on consumption, while the rise in price of substitute goods (other leisure time activities) can have a positive effect on the same consumption (ibidem, 2011). According to rational addiction theory, for an individual that has a "beneficial" addiction on e.g. a given cultural good, over time and age the price will fall, as the consumption rises, due to the accumulation of the goods capital (Sigler & Becker, 1977). Furthermore, the time spent on the appreciation of a given good is more likely to be addictive, hence to increase with exposure, the more elastic the demand curve of that good is (ibidem, 1977).

On the other hand, income influences consumption, as cultural goods are considered to be luxury goods, and it is also part of the factors present in taste formation theory (Blaug, 2001). In taste formation

⁴ According to Borgonovi (2004), the opportunity cost of participating in performing arts, which is his subject of research, increases as the income of an individual increases, as the time would be spent at something else than on work.

theory, even though contrary to taste formation, income is a relevant variable⁵. Changes of behavior, for instance in cultural consumption (a “beneficial” addiction), can be partly explained by income. Full income is considered to be the maximum monetary income that a household or individual can have by assigning its time and resources appropriately (Stigler & Becker, 1977). Hence, the extent to which a household or individual can maximize the marginal utility of cultural consumption, depends on the (full) income (ibidem, 1977). However, the empirical evidence on the effect of income on cultural consumption remains mixed (Diniz & Machado, 2011).

INFRASTRUCTURE

Physical infrastructure for the arts, meaning places that host cultural-artistic activities, such as libraries, theaters, cultural centers, etc., have an influence on cultural supply as it provides the necessary spaces for cultural industries to develop and workers to find labor (Masters, Russel & Brooks, 2011). Furthermore, the relevance of physical infrastructure becomes evident when supply differences among regions are observed. These are common due to the differences in availability and quality of cultural infrastructures among regions (Diniz & Machado, 2011). Arguably, where is more supply, there is more possibility of consumption, as infrastructure provides a space for the audience to interact and, hence consume, cultural goods (ibidem, 2011).

QUALITY

A relevant factor that is part of an individual’s social capital should also be taken into consideration. This, because individuals take cues from their social network and environment while forming their preferences, which they tend to accumulate over time (Upright, 2004). Consequently, the perception of quality influences the consumption of cultural goods or services. As the content of a cultural good needs to be experienced (hence purchased beforehand) to assess its quality, the more risk-averse a consumer is, the less risky performances she or he will attend (Lévy-Garboua & Montmarquett, 2003). That is why the perception of the quality of a cultural good plays a relevant role: individuals respond to the taste of their peers, media, fashion, etc. (Diniz & Machado, 2011). The risk-adversity also explains why people respond to critics and herd behavior when consuming arts (Lévy-Garboua &

⁵ Taste formation theory claims that tastes and preferences can change and develop with time (McCain, 2003), while rational addiction argues that individuals continue consuming the same “beneficial” addictions, because it maximizing the utility of the good they consume (Stigler & Becker, 1977).

Montmarquett, 2003). Besides, the technicalities of the production, hence the technical quality, advertising and the supply also influence the quality of a cultural good or service (ibidem, 2003).

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. RESEARCH QUESTION

This research aims to respond the two following questions: (1) How does public policy and especially funding patterns relate to the general increase of consumption of literature in Chile between the years 2005 and 2017? (2) How are public policy and funding patterns from literature different from music, visual arts, dance and theater in terms of consumption?

As previously mentioned, the consumption of literature has shown to be higher than the consumption of music, performing and visual arts, which is why this research is focused on comparing these four cultural industries. Moreover, there are reasons to believe that the government has invested more in literature than in the remaining three cultural industries. For instance, Chile has a Council for the book and reading, while there are no councils for music, performing or visual arts. Furthermore, big campaigns such as “Lee Chile lee” (“Read Chile read”) and “Descubre que te gusta leer” (“Discover that you like to read”) have been launched together with the Ministry of Education. That is why also the funding patterns will be analyzed, to see whether they correlate to the higher policy activity surrounding this cultural good.

4.2. RESEARCH STRATEGY AND DESIGN

This research will be a longitudinal comparative case study of mainly qualitative character. A document analysis and secondary data analysis will be carried out, focusing on the arts (literature, music, performing and visual arts) between the years 2005 until 2017. The chosen time frame on which this research focuses is given by the first publication of cultural policy documents in Chile in 2005 and the last published documents in 2017. The creative industries that this research will focus on were chosen by using the concentric circle model by Throsby (2008). The focus of the comparison is set on the arts (music, literature, performing arts and visual arts), because it would not be feasible to cover all creative industries in the given research time. Also, Chile does not count with policies for all creative industries, which would make them hard to compare.

Moreover, Chile shows to be an interesting country to study its cultural policy, due to the fast recovery the cultural sector had from the dictatorship and the early stage the country is still in regarding cultural policy. In other words, the creation of the first public institution dedicated to cultural policy, in 2003, and the recent creation of a Ministry of Culture, Arts and Heritage in 2018, are examples of their young experience regarding cultural policy.

4.3. RESEARCH METHOD

The two research questions form the two chapters of this research, in which (1) analysis of cultural policies and (2) public funding patterns are analyzed, compared and discussed. As mentioned before, the factors (1) and (2) are analyzed within the established time frame: 2005-2017.

(1) The research method of this fifth chapter is document analysis, done through open coding and with the use of analytic memos. The analyzed documents and their textual data are categorized by the six determinants described in the theoretical framework, namely *access* (pre-condition), *education*, *active participation*, *income*, *price*, *infrastructure* and *quality* (*perceived and technical*) (see model 1 DCAC). Additionally, they are classified according to the date they were published and the cultural industry they belong to. The textual data is gathered in tables to make the four cultural industries comparable. Also, three filters are applied, in order to gather those policies that can be clearly categorized in one of the six determinants or in the determinant *access* and leaving out those that are cannot be categorized or are too vague. Because the data that the documents provides is quite large, this method helps to reduce and categorize the available data (Lawrence Neuman, 2007).

The documents gathered are all those, which policies are focused on the four studied cultural industries. Once requested to the ministry, not all were sent, reason why a second request was filled in. However, when the missing documents were requested, such as the national plans of music, visual and performing arts, the contact person of the Ministry of Cultures, Arts and Heritage of Chile argued that those plans were included in the national policy documents for those three industries. Contrarily, it does exist a National Plan for Reading (2015-2020). The Chilean government seems to lack of consistency when it comes to the creation and publication of cultural policy, reason why there are several gaps that cannot be analyzed. Table 1 shows the existing documents, published between 2005 and 2017. The reason why table 1 includes the years 2018- 2022 (in italics), is because the latest documents published are valid until that year. Furthermore, each creative industry has a different color. The national cultural policies are yellow, literature is green, music is pink, visual arts are orange and performing arts are blue. Note that the two policy documents for promotion of theater and dance, are in blue, as

both disciplines belong to the performing arts.

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022		
State Policy for Books and Reading	National Policy of Literature and Reading										National Policy of Literature and Reading									
						National Plan of Reading Promotion 'Lee Chile Lee'				National Plan of Reading										
							Policy for Promotion of Theater				National Policy of Performing Arts									
							Policy for Promotion of Dance													
														National Policy of Music						
		Policy of Promotion of National Music																		
														National Policy of Visual Arts						
						Policy for Promotion of the Visual Arts														

Table 1. Cultural Policies for Literature, Music, Performing Arts and Visual Arts 2005-2017

(2) This research also focuses on the analysis of secondary data regarding the funding patterns between 2005 and 2017 of the four cultural industries. The data was also requested via the law of transparency at the Ministry of Cultures, Arts and Heritage, who shared the estimated and realized budget of literature, music, performing and visual arts for the years 2005-2017. These are compared and visualized in form of graphs to be analyzed, together with the cultural policies. This can provide an insight in the possible difference between the funding patterns of the four studied cultural industries and can possibly help to understand the differences in consumption.

This research has two limitations, the first one is that it doesn't study how these cultural goods are socially perceived in Chile (Nuñez, 2010). This factor could have an influence on cultural participation, but would require an entire research on its own. The second one are the issues that O'Hagan (2017) presents regarding cultural participation surveys, meaning that details such as the wording of a question can also influence the outcome. That is why only those questions of the surveys that remained the same between 2005 and 2017 are included, reducing the data on consumption for this research to the percentage of people who have attended at least once to a performance, gallery, popular or modern music concert or have read a book in the past year. More detailed data on consumption exists, but only for 2017 and is,

due to the different focus of the questions not comparable (O'Hagan, 2017) and is hence not included. That is why only the National Survey of Cultural Participation is referred to throughout the research.

5. THE CASE OF LITERATURE

For this chapter, the focus is set on responding the first research question: How does public policy and especially funding patterns relate to the general increase of consumption of literature in Chile between the years 2005-2017? To achieve this, first the context of literature, books in reading of Chile is presented, followed by the analysis of the five published policy documents between 2005 and 2017, for which each document is analyzed based on the six determinants and access as a pre-conditioning variable.

It needs to be considered that the Chilean government has shown to be consistent in the formulation and publication of cultural policies on literature since 2005 until 2017. This transforms this industry in the one for which most public policy documents have been published up to date.

- 2005: State Policy for the Book and Reading
- 2006-2010: National Policy of Book and Reading
- 2011-2014: National Plan of Reading Promotion “Lee Chile Lee”
- 2015-2020: National Policy of Reading and Books
- 2015-2020: National Reading Plan

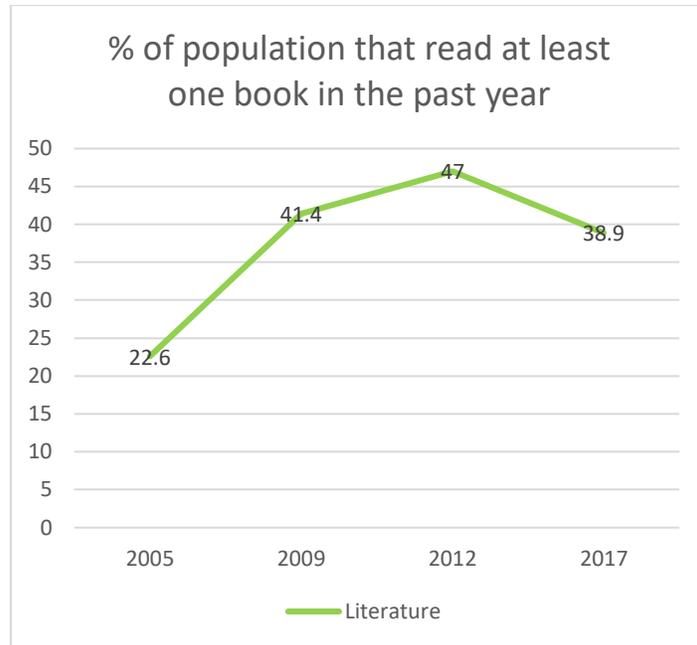
5.1. CONTEXT

In 1993, the Law of the Book (Law nº 19.227) was enacted, which determined the creation of the National Fund for the Promotion of the Book and Reading and the creation of the National Council of Books and Reading (CNCA, 2011, 2015b). Furthermore, there are several organizations and institutions, whose task is to promote reading. These are the Direction of Libraries, Archives and Museums (DIBAM), through the national system of public libraries, the Ministry of Education, through public school libraries and the National Council of Culture and Arts (CNCA), represented by the National Council of Books and Reading (CNCA, 2011).

In 2004, the CNCA followed the Latin American movement that favored promotion of reading and public policies for books, reading and libraries. Consequently, the Chilean government adhered to the Iberoamerican reading plan LIMITA, which was driven by the Regional Center for the Promotion of the book in Latin America and the Caribbean (CERLALC) and the Organization of Iberoamerican States (OEI), which laid the foundation and concrete actions for a National Plan of Reading Promotion (CNCA, 2005b). Moreover in 2005 the Chilean Association of Editors published, together with the Foundation Chile XXI,

the document State Policy for the Book and Reading (2005), which was recognized by the government and laid the foundations for the creation of the National Policy of the Book and Reading, reason why it is included in the analysis (CNCA, 2011).

During the year 2005, the first measurement of cultural participation and consumption was carried out by the government through the Cultural Consumption Survey 2004/2005. The result was that only a 22.6% of the population declared to have read one book in the past year (CNCA, 2017a). In the document, State Policy for the Book and Reading (2005) it is stated that books and reading is “a sector in crisis” (CNCA, 2005b, p.17). It is argued that the weaker economic situation of the country in the late 90’s is one of the factors that led to a stagnation and recoil of this industry in Chile. Furthermore, factors such as the poor levels of reading comprehension among the population, insufficient public and private institutions linked to literature, the invisibility of books in media, and the high taxes of books are also stated to have a negative impact on the sector. It is even stated that the crisis context of that time is a result of the absence public policy for books and reading (CNCA, 2005b). The government even states that this critical situation reflects on the intellectual, humanist, scientific and technological, social, economic and political state of the country. In other words, it does not allow Chile to develop towards a country that exports goods and services with an added value, but reduces the possibilities to exporting exclusively raw materials (ibidem, 2005b). This situation is considered to become a threat towards fundamental democratic principles, giving this first policy for books and reading a critical and urgent character (ibidem, 2005b). Between 2005 and 2009, those that declared to have read at least one book in the past year, went from a 22.6% to a 42.4%, percentage which grew up to 47% in 2012 and later decreased to 38.9% in 2017. Regardless the latest decrease, if the years 2005 and 2017 are compared, a general growth in percentage can be observed, from 22.6% to 38.9%. Still, the decrease between 2012 and 2017 is held into account in the analysis and whether or not there was a weaker focus on access and/or on the six determinants is looked for.



Graph 1. Elaboration based on data from National Survey of Cultural Participation (2017a)

In general terms, Chile has achieved relevant advancements in the development of reading competencies, for instance in 1895 the literacy rate was of 32%, while in 1940 it increased to 75%, in 1960 it was 85% and in 2002 the literacy rate increased to 96% (CNCA, 2015a). However, reading competencies and comprehension must be further developed (CNCA, 2015a). Therefore, the government launched diverse initiatives.

- Chile Quiere Leer (Chile wants to read) 2004
- Quijote de la lectura (Reading Quixote) 2005: program that was part of the Iberoamerican Year of Reading
- Yo Leo (I read) 2007: a sensibilization campaign
- Nacidos para Leer (Born to read) 2008-2010
- Maletín Literario (Literary briefcase) 2008-2010

5.2. 2005: STATE POLICY FOR THE BOOK AND READING

DETERMINANTS

Out of the six determinants presented in the theoretical framework, only the determinants education, price, infrastructure and the sub-determinant perceived quality were found as part of this public policy. That leaves active participation, income and technical quality excluded of this documents' analysis.

Access, as a pre-condition is present, it is aimed to improve the access to books and give them a central role in the country's development, which shows to be a reaction to the context the policy presents on the sector (CNCA, 2005b, p. 55, 71)

EDUCATION

The policies that fall into this determinant, focus on three groups: primary education, university education, and teachers. Regarding primary education, there are two policies that explicitly address the objective of promoting reading, writing, oral expression and creativity and creating literary academies in school contexts (CNCA, 2005b, p. 72). On the other hand, regarding education in universities, books are aimed to receive a central role in students' formation and they are considered to be the motor of educational and intellectual development in Chile. Therefore, projects are aimed to be developed, whose detail is not elaborated on (CNCA, 2005b, p. 74). For teachers, it is aimed to train them on techniques and strategies to animate reading among students. Furthermore, regarding education, no particular plans and programs or actions are described (CNCA, 2005b, p. 72). The policies seem to respond to the context that is presented in the same policy document.

PRICE

Regarding to the price, the objective of legislating towards a differentiated tax (4-7%) for books and towards a law of "fixed prices" for national and international books is presented (CNCA, 2005b, p. 60).⁶

⁶ Taxes on books were increased during the dictatorship to 19%. (www.radio.uchile.cl, 2016)

INFRASTRUCTURE

When it comes to infrastructure, the two policies that fall under the scope of this determinant, revolve around the creation of public libraries at a municipal level and at public schools, making the latter of obligatory character. Once again, these policies react towards the above-mentioned sector's context.

QUALITY

For this determinant, only one objective that is considered to be part of the determinant perceived quality was found. It is aimed to create a four-year campaign to promote reading and involving the media to strengthen the presence of books in them (CNCA, 2005b, p. 71-71).

5.3. 2006-2010: NATIONAL POLICY OF BOOK AND READING

DETERMINANTS

The second policy for books and reading that was published, builds up on the policies that the previous document presented. In the case of this policy, however, the two determinants that cannot be found in the document analysis are income and perceived quality. For the rest, they continue developing the previous policies and introduce new policy objectives that fall under the determinants education, active participation and price. The details of these new objectives are mentioned below. Access as a pre-conditioning variable that leads to consumption is present in two policy objectives, on the one hand it is aimed to create the conditions to assure the widest access possible to books and reading (CNCA, 2006, p. 8) and on the other hand the role of public libraries as a vehicle to assure this access needs to be consolidated as well (CNCA, 2006, p.8).

EDUCATION

In this policy, the focus is divided in three groups, primary school and university education, just like in 2005 and on elderly, but not for teachers. Regarding primary education, it is aimed to consolidate the libraries within public schools which was an objective that was part of the determinant infrastructure in the previous policy document. This seems to be a development, as it passes from an infrastructural character towards a focus on education. Furthermore, it is aimed to create and strengthen reading habits of children since early years (CNCA, 2006, p. 9). Another continuation from the previous policy is the aim

to boost literary academies at a school level. Also, for the first and also last time, the education of elderly who are illiterate is integrated as one of the policy objectives (CNCA, 2006, p.9).

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION

When it comes to active participation, the objectives presented focus specifically on strengthening and widening the civil participation in public libraries (CNCA, 2006, p. 10) and on creating literary workshops on a communal level (CNCA, 2006, p. 12). These are the first policies that are focused on this determinant, as in the previous policy document it was left out.

PRICE

Also on the determinant price, this policy follows up on the previous one, as its objective is to impulse the political and technical debate around and about the economic relevance of book taxes, with the aim of reducing it (CNCA, 2006, p. 10). Furthermore, the objective of generating a subsidy (voucher system) for those who benefit from scholarship for technical and university studies is presented (CNCA, 2006, p. 8). This policy objective is, however, not followed up in any other policies published since 2006.

INFRASTRUCTURE

Regarding this determinant, the aim of creating public libraries for each municipality is continued in this policy, giving each municipality the responsibility of creating and maintaining its own library (CNCA, 2006, p. 9). Whether there will be special funds dedicated to this policy, for it to be carried out, is not mentioned. These objectives relate with another objective that was categorized under the determinant of technical quality, which aims to widen, complete (the collections) and strengthen the municipal libraries (CNCA, 2006, p. 9). The policy does not mention any objectives regarding perceived quality or about the previous policy aim of creating a four-year campaign to promote reading.

5.4. 2011-2014 NATIONAL PLAN OF READING PROMOTION “LEE CHILE LEE”

In this policy documents, out of the six determinants active participation, price and income were not found during coding, and are therefore not included in this documents analysis. However, the remaining three determinants will be described and compared to those found in previous years. Access

was also strongly present in this policy, as it is until this date the year in which more policy objectives are focused on providing access to book and reading for the Chilean population.

While in the previous two policy documents the aims regarding access were first to improve access (CNCA, 2005b) and later to assure access (CNCA, 2006), in this policy the aim is to guarantee and democratize access to books and reading (CNCA, 2011, p. 25), from the cradle until the old age (ibidem, 2011, p. 31). Furthermore, public libraries are once again considered a relevant vehicle to achieve these objectives. A new objective is presented, which will be further developed in the coming policies, namely the one of creating a digital public library, which can provide access to digital books (CNCA, 2011, p. 37).

EDUCATION

In this policy, the groups that fall under the scope or education are two, children and teachers. The attention of policy focused on children has been consistent since the first policy document published. However, it has not been the case for the teachers as a group, as no policy was directed to their development in 2006 (-2010). Also, students of higher education and elderly do not receive any attention in this policy document. Nevertheless, the policies directed to children can be considered to develop previous policies further. For instance, in previous policies the aim was to create and establish libraries within public schools. Continuing on that line, it is an objective to promote their openness to the community, expanding their opening hours and increasing their collections to make it also of interest of students' families (CNCA, 2011, p. 34). Furthermore, it is presented to implement and increase public pre-school libraries in the country (CNCA, 2011, p 34).

When it comes to the second group policies are focused on, namely teachers, two objectives focus on providing training for primary and pre-school teachers and also personnel in charge of public schools' libraries (CNCA, 2011, p. 40).

INFRASTRUCTURE

This policy puts a strong focus on improving and strengthening libraries' infrastructure, by multiplying the places where people can borrow books (CNCA, 2011, p. 31), constructing and habilitating regional libraries in order to articular a municipal network of libraries outside of the capital city Santiago (ibidem, 2011, p.33). Also, it is aimed to implement a program that improves in an integral way the public municipal libraries, in order to strengthen them in terms of infrastructure, furnishing, and collections (CNCA, 2011, p. 33). It also becomes a policy aim to strengthen the red of *Bibliometro* (CNCA, 2011, p.

33), which is a collaborative project between the metro of Santiago (a private company) and the government (www.bibliometro.cl). Furthermore, for the first time the objective of implementing from 2012 onwards unconventional reading spaces, e.g. public hospitals, particularly where children attend, is presented (CNCA, 2011, p. 35).

5.5. 2015-2020: NATIONAL POLICY OF READING AND BOOKS AND NATIONAL READING PLAN

The public policy (2015a) and the national plan (2015b) are analyzed together, as they share a timeframe, and the national plan essentially presents programs and actions that relate to the national policy. Just like in the previous published policy, none of the two documents include objectives that fall under the scope of the determinants price and income.

Regarding access, while in the previous policy it was the objective to guarantee access, in this policy it is aimed to assure access and participation, in terms of books and reading, as a general policy objective (CNCA, 2015b, p. 26). Furthermore, it is aimed to strengthen and advance in a public management model with the goal of assuring universal and free access to books and reading (CNCA, 2015b, p. 29). Even though it mentions “free books”, that issue is not included in other policy objectives and remains a statement, more than a policy objective. Also, following the previous public policy, it is stated as an objective to facilitate access to the digital public library. The national plan, on the other hand proposes actions and programs to achieve the objectives proposed in the national policy, such as programs related to unconventional reading spaces for people between 7 and 19 years, public school libraries, regional libraries and the digital public library (CNCA, 2015a, p. 57).

EDUCATION

As a general policy objective related to education, it is aimed to strengthen schools and universities as places for training mediators of reading in printed in digital format (CNCA, 2015b, p. 30). Hence, the focus is not set on children, but those that “mediate”. There is however not a definition on what mediators do. Also, one of the specific objectives is the one of “promoting the incorporation of reading in educative projects, through academic communities, with a special focus on the teachers” (CNCA, 2015b, p. 30). Once again, the focus is set on teachers, which as previously argued can have a positive impact on students and consequently on their reading habits and consumption. However, there is not a single policy present in this national policy that focuses directly on developing reading habits, skills, literary academies (like in 2005 and 2006-2010), etc., for children.

Contrarily the national plan presents three programs that do focus on children, in order to promote reading of children between 0 and 5 (CNCA, 2015a, p. 60), opening schools during the summer break with reading spaces (CNCA, 2015a, p. 60) and for innovating in teaching methods of writing and reading in the municipalities of Arica and Pedro Aguirre Cerda (CNCA, 2015a, p. 67). Particularly the last one is narrowed down to only two municipalities, and therefore its impact is questioned. It is however part of the programs that fall under the determinant education within this document. Even though the national plan does include programs that target children, it is not consistent with the national policy document.

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION

As mentioned previously, assuring participation and access to books and reading is part of the general objective of this national policy (CNCA, 2015b, p. 26). Furthermore, in the national plan two goals are presented: to increase by 10% the population that reads in printed format and to increase from 26-28% the population that reads in digital format (CNCA, 2015b, p. 50). In the national plan, there are three programs that are considered to be part of the determinant active participation, namely the promotion of reading in jails (CNCA, 2015a, p. 60), autobiography writing workshops for elderly (CNCA, 2015a, p. 66) and a program that brings back the short stories contest children between 0 and 5 (CNCA, 2015a, p. 74).

INFRASTRUCTURE

Contrasting with the previous policy, this policy has only one objective that focuses on this item: to strengthen libraries and spaces for reading (CNCA, 2015b, p. 29). Nevertheless, the national plan presents two more objectives: to improve conventional and unconventional reading spaces (CNCA, 2015a, p. 45) and to update the collections of public school libraries (CNCA, 2015a, p. 66). Furthermore programs, that focus on regional libraries, *Bibliometro* automatization of public libraries improving integrally the municipal libraries (CNCA, 2015a, p. 58-62) are presented.

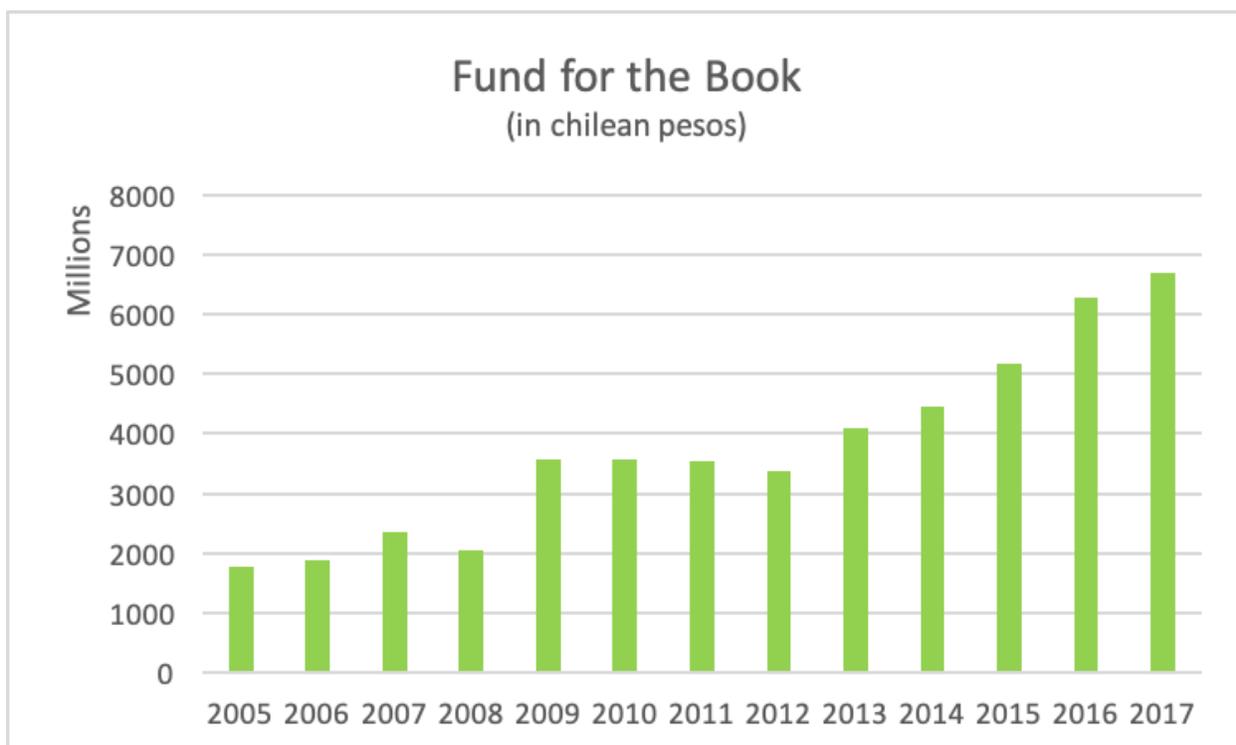
PERCEIVED AND TECHNICAL QUALITY

These two sub-determinants have not received much attention in previous policies. However, within this national policy and national plan, it can be found for the first time that both are present. Perceived quality is addressed through the objective of incentivizing campaigns and programs to promote reading in mass media (CNCA, 2015b, p. 29). In the national plan however, there is no program that

addresses this objective or addresses. The programs that are presented aim to make visible, and valorize public libraries (CNCA, 2015a, p. 74) and to promote reading within public schools (CNCA, 2015a, p. 72).

Regarding technical quality, for the first time the quality of books and not the one of libraries is addressed. The aim is to promote the improvement of the quality of the books that are produced in the editorial industry (CNCA, 2015b, p. 35).

5.6. FUNDING PATTERNS



Graph 2. Overview of the Fund for the Book 2005-2017. Elaboration based on data received through the Transparency Portal of the Chilean government (www.gobiernotransparente.gob.cl).

In the graph, the amount of money that was spent on the Fund for the Book⁷, between the years 2005 and 2017 can be observed. In general terms, the funding for this industry, including, projects, programs, initiatives, etc. has more than tripled between 2005 and 2017. The two biggest decreases in funding were in 2008 and 2012, and between 2009 and 2010 there was a slight decrease of a 0.19% in

⁷ The Fund for the Book is the main source of public funding for the industry of literature.

funding. Overall the funding for this sector has been increasing, even between 2012 and 2017, years in which the consumption decreased from 47% to 38.9% among the population, as it can be seen in graph 1.

5.7. ANALYSIS

THE MOST PRESENT DETERMINANTS

Overall, the pre-conditioning variable *access* is present in all the policy documents. The wording varies between ‘assuring’ and ‘guaranteeing’ and ‘democratizing’ access. Either how, this variable is consistently present as an objective of these policies. Regarding the determinants, education and infrastructure are the only two that are also consistently part of the policy documents from the period 2005-2017.

In the case of education, the focus groups vary among the years. In 2005, 2006 (-2010) and 2011 (-2014) policies that are directed to children as a group are present, through encouraging public school libraries, literary academies, etc. However, in the last policy published in 2015 (-2020) there are no objectives that target these groups, even though the national plan does include programs that are focused on children. Meanwhile policies directed to university students are only present in the years 2005 and 2006 (-2010) and policies directed to teachers are only present in the years 2005 and 2011 (-2014).

From the context description of the documents, it becomes clear that the Chilean government considers books and the practice and habit of reading as a fundamental factor and an important investment in the human capital development of the country (Becker, 1964). As the investment in education, in which reading and books are a critical part of, can have a positive impact on future income (ibidem, 1964), it has more than just an impact on the sector and on the level of cultural consumption, but on the development of the country (CNCA, 2005b). Furthermore, as education in arts, in this case the aim of making obligatory the existence of libraries at public primary schools, giving the kids access to books, is considered to increase children’s awareness and can be a relevant factor in their taste formation and therefore future consumption (Throsby, 2010). The same logic is applicable to those objectives that aim to give books a central role at university education. Also, training teachers to develop skills to animate children to read can influence the education and relation to and with books, and consequently impact on their taste formation and human capital in the future.

Furthermore in 2015 (-2020) there is a strong focus on so called “mediators”, who when active in an educational context, could have a positive impact on students. However, it is not exactly explained what they do and what their target groups are, hence for whom they “mediate”. Furthermore, the lack of

policies directed to children and students, could reflect in a setback when it comes to investing in human capital and taste formation.

As mentioned previously, infrastructure as a determinant was also present in each policy. A clear development can be observed from each policy period to the next. In 2005, the aim was to promote the creation of public libraries, followed by the objective of having municipal public libraries in 2006 (-2010). Later on, in 2011 (-2014) the policies build up upon the previous policy, by improving and strengthening the infrastructure of public (municipal) libraries. Also, attention was given to libraries in other regions (besides the Metropolitan region where Santiago is) and on the initiative *Bibliometro* and creating unconventional reading spaces. Lastly, the aim was to strengthen and improve the existing infrastructure, as well as the unconventional reading spaces and programs with a focus on regions, *Bibliometro* and improving the infrastructure, collection, etc. of the libraries are presented. In other words, there was a substantial development when it comes to policies that focus on this determinant, which can influence the cultural supply (Masters, Russel & Brooks, 2011) and bridge the gap among regions, allowing those who do not live in Santiago a greater access to literature as well (Diniz & Machado, 2011). As a consequence of increasing, improving and diversifying the available infrastructure related to this cultural good, consumption could be increased. This because it allows the audience and readers to find and interact in a physical space where cultural activities, in this case related to literature, are hosted (Diniz & Machado, 2011).

THE LEAST PRESENT DETERMINANTS

The determinants, price, income, active participation and quality (both perceived and technical) belong to those determinants that were found the less in the analyzed documents. The determinant income was not found at all. This is an interesting point, because Chile is one of the most unequal countries of the world when it comes to income. However, the policy documents consistently include the determinant access to “everyone” (CNCA, 2005b, 2011, 2015a, 2015b, 2017), and this determinant is not taken into consideration, as if the government would ignore that it is a relevant factor that enables people to access to (paid) culture.

When it comes to price as a determinant only the first two policies, hence in 2005 and 2006 (-2010) included policies that addressed this determinant. In both documents, it is argued to lower the taxes and consequently the prices of books in general. Taking into consideration that books, being cultural goods, are luxury goods (Blaug, 2001) and have a high price elasticity (Stigler & Becker, 1977), lower prices would increase their consumption. Also, if it is taken into account that books can be

considered a “beneficial addiction”, individuals should react positive to a reduction of taxes, because the cost of investing in their reading capital would decrease, increasing the marginal utility of consuming books (Stigler & Becker, 1977). However, these policies were not successful and the taxes on books remain at 19%. Hence, this determinant cannot relate to the general growth of consumption of literature in Chile.

Active participation is also only present in two policy documents, namely in the one of the period 2006-2010 and the latest published in 2015 (-2020). There is neither a direct relation between the policy objectives of both documents, meaning that there is no policy continuity found. In 2006, the aim is to promote civil participation in public libraries, while in 2015 the focus is set on increasing the percentage of those who read. Also in 2015, programs that foster the active participation of convicts, elderly and kids are presented. It seems however questionable, that there is a continued attention given to education but not to active participation, as the two determinants are closely related. Active participation, just like education, can be found in both human capital theory (Bourdieu, 1968) and in taste formation theory, as it contributes to both. Moreover, taking into consideration that the government considers the activity of reading as a motor for the countries development, it would be expected to create policies that include active participation consistently throughout the years. This, activities such as reading, can have a positive influence in future monetary and psychic income and are therefore crucial investments in a society’s human capital (Becker, 1993).

Regarding quality, with its two sub-determinants, perceived and technical quality, it is also present in only two policy documents. In 2005, the sub-determinant perceived quality is addressed. The aim is to create a four-year campaign; however, no details are given and no further elaboration is made on this campaign in the following policies. Furthermore, it is an objective to create a bigger presence of books in media, but once again, the objective is not developed further. There were campaigns launched by the government, mentioned previously, however, they are not included in the policies as aims or projects. In 2015, the objectives of incentivizing campaigns and programs to promote reading in mass media can be considered a late continuation of the first policy objective that fell under the scope of this sub-determinant.

Creating campaigns, sensitizing and promoting reading and books in the media, can influence the consumption of books, as it provides information about the good, prior to its consumption, which can lower individuals risk-adversity (Lévy-Garboua & Montmarquett, 2003). Furthermore, individuals respond to the taste of media, among others (Diniz & Machado, 2011) which can become a relevant tool to increase consumption.

Technical quality as a sub-determinant is only present in the policy of 2015 (-2020), in which the improvement of quality of books produced in the Chilean editorial industry (CNCA, 2015a) is an objective, which theoretically could lead to an increase of consumption (Lévy-Garboua & Montmarquett, 2003). However, this sub-determinant is the weakest among all the determinants, as it is only included once and the objective in which it is included remains general and superficial. No details nor programs on how it is going to be carried out are mentioned.

5.8. CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

Between the first Survey of Cultural Consumption (2005) and the Second Survey of Cultural Consumption (2009), the consumption of books (population that has read at least one book in the past year), almost doubled. It increased from 22.6% in 2005 to 41.4% in 2009. This can relate to public policy in the sense that before 2005 there was no public policy for books and literature and with the first two policies, the consumption increased. Furthermore, the public funding also increased by a 101% percent during that time. Moreover, in the National Survey of Cultural Participation (2017a) it can be observed that in the year 2012, the consumption of at least one book in the past year had increased to 47%, compared to the 41.4% that was measured in 2009. Even though, the funding had decreased a 5.8% between 2009 and 2012. Which gives reasons to argue, that even though the funding decreased between the surveys that measured consumption of books in 2009 and 2012, as it was still a 90% higher than in 2005, it did not have an impact on consumption. This implies that a financial setback does not have a strong effect on consumption patterns. It can be argued, that until this point there is indeed a positive relation between policy, with the strongest focus on education as a determinant, and a *general* increase of public funding and consumption of literature.

However, from 2012 on the consumption starts to drop consistently towards a 38.9% in 2017. Meanwhile the public funding increased once more significantly, namely a 98% between 2012 and 2017. Which means that the decreased consumption of books cannot be explained nor related to funding as a factor.

When it comes to cultural policy, it could be argued that in 2015, the national policy, did not include children, university students nor teachers as their target groups, but instead “mediators”. There are, however, programs in the National Plan of Reading 2015 that are focused on children. On the other side, the determinant active participation, which due to its relation of increasing human capital and playing a significant role in taste formation, should have had a positive impact. Also, the policies on

infrastructure were a continuation from the previous years and the both sub-determinants of quality were included for the first time in one policy period. However, it is important to take into consideration that the consumption started to fall from 2012 onwards and not only as from 2015. This implies, that there could be a delayed reaction in the consumption patterns to previous policies. Another plausible explanation is that other external factors, that are not included in this research, might have had an impact on the consumption pattern of literature. For instance, in 2011, Netflix expanded to South America (www.money.cnn.com). Another plausible explanation is that the survey only asked for books read in printed format, while many people might have shifted to the digital format or it could be the marginal impact of the policies and increased funding reached its maximum and started decreasing.

Even if the fall of consumption cannot be clearly explained by the policies that were active during those years, nor by the funding, they can still have had a positive impact on the increase of consumption between 2005 and 2012 and therefore do relate to a general increase of consumption, but cannot explain the fluctuations within the overall increase of consumption (22.6%, 38.9%).

6. COMPARING MUSIC, PERFORMING AND VISUAL ARTS WITH LITERATURE

This second chapter on research results aims to respond to the second research question: How are public policy and funding patterns from literature different from music, visual arts, dance and theater in terms of consumption? Therefore, the context of the three latter industries will be described first, followed by a comparison with literature, based on the six determinants and access as a pre-conditioning variable. Furthermore, the funding patterns are compared and analyzed. Finally, the relation to the consumption patterns will be discussed. It is important to hold into account that the only consumption data that is available and comparable between 2005-2017 is the one selected from the National Survey of Cultural Participation (2017a) for this research. These survey results measure the percentage of people who have attended at least once to a performance, gallery, popular or modern music concert or have read a book in the past year. These are the only questions that remained the same in all the surveys throughout the years. More detailed results on consumption exist, but are not comparable, due to change in wording of the questions, unity of measurement, etc. (O'Hagan, 2017).

At first glance, if compared with literature, the remaining three industries have received less attention from the Chilean government in matters of public policies, as it is shown in table 1 from the methodology chapter. Further details on the differences are analyzed below.

2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	
State Policy for Books and Reading	National Policy of Literature and Reading									National Policy of Literature and Reading								
					National Plan of Reading Promotion 'Lee Chile Lee'				National Plan of Reading									
													National Policy of Performing Arts					
							Policy for Promotion of Theater											
							Policy for Promotion of Dance											
													National Policy of Music					
	Policy of Promotion of National Music																	
													National Policy of Visual Arts					
						Policy for Promotion of the Visual Arts												

Table 1. Cultural Policies for Literature, Music, Performing Arts and Visual Arts 2005-2017

6.1. CONTEXT

MUSIC

In 2004, the law nº 19.928 was enacted, creating the Council for the Promotion of Music. Even though and in spite of the existence of Music Funds the sector faces precarious conditions for its development, particularly in regions outside of Santiago (CNCA, 2017d).

Furthermore, in Chile there is a lack of literacy and knowledge in terms of musical language, which makes musical formation amongst youngsters difficult and has a negative influence in the development of audiences. To fight this, youth orchestras play an important role, as there are 217 along the country, distributed in all 15 regions. They are considered to be a relevant space for talent development. However, if young orchestra participants would decide to dedicate themselves professionally to music, the labor is specific and scarce (CNCA, 2007).

Even though the attendance to a (popular or modern) music concert in Chile fluctuates between 27.5% in 2015 and 30% in 2017, more than 97% of Chileans older than 15 years, listens to music on average 6.1 days a week⁸ (CNCA, 2017d). The National Survey of Cultural Participation (2017a) only presents the results of the percentage of the population that attended a popular or modern concert in the past year, without going into details on what specific genres are included or how ‘popular’ and ‘modern’ are defined. Data on the consumption of specific genres is available in the Statistical Report of Music (2012) but is not comparable with the remaining three sector and is therefore excluded of this research.

In April 2015, the “law of 20%” was enacted, changing the law nº 19.928, to establish a minimum of Chilean music that has to be programmed on broadcasters and it declares the 4th of October as the “day of music and Chilean musicians” (CNCA, 2017d). Overall, the efforts in improving this sector lie in the youth orchestras and the promotion of national music.

VISUAL ARTS

In 1969 law nº 17.236 was enacted in order to protect and disseminate national art works, followed by the law nº 17.336 in 1970, to protect intellectual property. Besides, within what used to be

⁸ No similar data is available for literature in 2017 and can therefore not be compared.

the CNCA and today is the Ministry of Cultures, Arts and Heritage, there is a department of visual arts, that is exclusively focused on this particular sector.

Furthermore, primary education counts with only two weekly hours of artistic education and visual arts, even though the Ministry of Education proposed to give more attention to the education of arts (CNCA,2017d).

Also, the infrastructure available is quite limited. Santiago counts with most of the countries galleries, leaving the regions in a weak position in terms of infrastructure. In 2017, it is the first time that policies to improve and invest in infrastructure are proposed, thus it would be interesting to analyze in the future if these policies have had an effect on consumption.

Besides of this context both policy documents focus mainly on describing what visual art, plastic art is and how the difficulty of the concepts leads to difficulties in labor, production, financing, etc. and (CNCA, 2007, 2017d). Furthermore, it is indicated that in 2008 the CNCA informed about the existence of 109 spaces for exhibition of visual arts. Of these a 42.2% was established between 2000 and 2008. Overall, the sector is not yet established and is still at an initial phase of development.

PERFORMING ARTS

When it comes to this sector, the Chilean government shows to have significant inconsistencies in terms of what disciplines are considered to be performing arts. In the National Policy of Performing Arts (2017), the disciplines dance, theater, circus and oral narrations and puppeteers are included. Opera for instance, is left out. However, when they present the results of the National Survey of Cultural Participation (2017a) as part of the policies context, the number of performances of theater, dance, circus and opera are mentioned. This, even though, there are no public policies for opera. Similarly, the National Fund for the Development of Culture and Arts (FONDART), which is administered by the previous CNCA and current Ministry of Cultures, Arts and Heritage, created a Fund for the Promotion of Performing Arts. This fund, provides financing for theater, dance, circus, folklore and opera, leaving out oral narrators and puppeteers, for which specific policies were designed. Furthermore, the Ministry counts with a department of dance, one for theater and once for circus separately, excluding once again the other sub-disciplines. Either way, between 2014-2017 the National FONDART allocated between 35%

and 40% of the money to performing arts, becoming these disciplines that received the most funding⁹.

From the policy documents for dance and theater published in 2010, it becomes clear that prior to the dictatorship these sectors were active and developing, even though they did not count with a wide audience and stable financing (CNCA, 2010b, 2010c). Both disciplines are described to have almost vanished during the dictatorship, weakening the sector significantly. Dancers, actors, dramaturgs, directors, etc., were persecuted, exiled and many disappeared (CNCA, 2017b). From the 90's on a slow recovery of these sectors has been taking place. Today the labor conditions are considered to be worrying, precarious, with low and unstable incomes and working hours that go beyond the traditional workday hours (CNCA, 2015teatro, p. 17, 2015danza, p.20).

Currently, January is considered to be the month of the performing arts, due to the successful festival Santiago a Mil. However, along the year and regions the infrastructure and audiences for the performing arts remain scarce, for which policies that focus on decentralization are and will be of great relevance.

6.2. COMPARED WITH LITERATURE

There is an evident disbalance when it comes to the consistency in which the Chilean government has published public policies related to the arts. Since 2005 until 2017 public policies on books, reading and literature have been published without allowing gaps between them, while the scenario of the other three sectors is quite different, as it can be observed in table 1. The other three sectors have only had two policies published each so far. Between 2007 and 2010, besides the National Policy of Reading and Books, the only other sector for which a policy was published was music. Later on, in 2010 two separate policies for promotion of theater and dance were published, simultaneously with the policy of promotion of the visual arts. Then there was one year, 2016, in which the only active policy was for literature. Then following year, 2017, national policies for performing arts, music and visual arts were published. Notably, six years had passed since the previous policy period for music had ended. In other words, 2017 became the first year in which the four industries have an active policy.

⁹ In FONDART it is not possible to apply to funding for literature, only for theater, dance, visual arts, photography, circus, handcraft, gastronomy, design and architecture. For Music and Literature, two separate funds exist, namely the Fundo of Music and the Fund of Literature (www.fondosdecultura.cl)

ACCESS

This pre-conditioning variable, was already analyzed in the previous chapter for the sector of literature. From there, it becomes clear that access is a crucial element and has been strongly promoted by the Chilean government. On the other side, the remaining three industries, receive little attention in matters of access. Particularly in the case of music, the access is limited to access of national music (CNCA, 2007, p. 33), while for the visual arts it is limited to the access of information about the sector (CNCA, 2017c, p. 82). In the policies for performing arts on the other hand it is mentioned only once (CNCA, 2017b, p. 111). In neither of the cases, access is considered to be critical and urgent for the country's development, as it is the case of literature.

As described in the theoretical framework, access is considered to be a pre-conditioning variable. If there is no access to these cultural goods, hardly there will be consumption. Especially the context description of visual and performing arts shows that the consumption of these goods is weakly present in Chilean society and that the sectors require critical improvements. Therefore, it would be expected that access becomes a crucial issue within their policies, however it is not the case. This is a plausible explanation on the low consumption of visual and performing arts in Chile, as access is a pre-conditioning for consumption.

EDUCATION

One commonality that music, performing and visual arts have is that in all the policies published in 2017 there is a strong focus on integrating these disciplines into the curricular activities of schools in Chile (CNCA, 2007, p.11, 2017b, p. 109, 2017c, p. 85). The focus on schools and education, is just like in the case of literature, relatively strong compared to other groups. University students and elderly are not included as target groups in neither policy. However, teachers and professionals are included, mostly in terms of improving professional formation (CNCA, 2007, p. 11), and proposing this discipline's pedagogic development in regions where there are no possibilities of formation (CNCA, 2017c, p. 85).

In the case of literature, there is a continued effort regarding the public schools' libraries, which provide a space, an infrastructure for the activity to take place. That is not the case for the remaining three arts, even though their integration to the scholar curriculum is promoted. Also, in 2017, the aim is still to promote and to negotiate with the Ministry of Education, which gives to understand that they are not yet functioning, while there can be a clear development observed regarding public school libraries. First, they are promoted and in later years they are improved, collections updated, etc. In this sense, it is

shown that the integration of music, visual and performing arts in the school environment are happening later than the integration of literature and are still in an early stage.

As the integration of these three arts in school education is not established and integrated yet, it delays the process of taste formation and (music, visual arts, performing arts) capital accumulation of children in Chile. This means that the lack of artistic and cultural education in these fields will not increase their awareness and form their tastes and preferences (Throsby, 2010) which can have an influence in the future consumption (Diniz & Machado, 2011; Ateca-Amestoy, 2008). In other words, those kids that started assisting primary school in 2005, being 7 years old, once they reach the age of 19 in 2017, they will have had little education in music, visual and performing arts. In the long run, this will have an impact on the consumption patterns of these goods, which can already be observed in graph 1.

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION

Participation is part of the weakest determinants of literature, by not being present in each policy. However, in 2015 there are specific programs presented to promote the participation and reading amongst elderly, kids and convicts (CNCA, 2015a, p. 60- 75). In both music and performing arts (CNCA, 2010c) the strengthening and promotion of amateur and semi-professional activities are promoted (CNCA, 2010c, p. 41, 2017d, p.33 -35). While for music a relevant objective is to strengthen the youth orchestras and choirs, aiming to have at least one per region (CNCA, 2007, p. 35). Furthermore, the focus is also set on fostering the participation of vulnerable groups (CNCA, 2010a, p. 44, 2010b, p. 46, 2010c, p. 41). This is not the case of literature, as they only mainly describe participation to be focused on the civil society, remaining rather general.

Just like it is the case of education as a determinant that leads to cultural-artistic consumption, active participation is a relevant factor that influences the development of tastes and preferences and the accumulation of human capital. The case of youth orchestras is the clearest example of active participation, as they have a country wide reach and are aimed to be strengthened further. Those who participate in the orchestras will be more likely to consume music, as they practiced it since an early age (Diniz & Machado, 2011; Throsby, 2010; Ateca-Amestoy, 2008). Furthermore, the aims of strengthening amateur activities and fostering the participation of vulnerable groups should have as well a positive impact on those groups. The scope of reach of these policies and programs are unclear though, so it cannot be estimated how many people benefit from them.

PRICE AND INCOME

The determinant price can only be found in policies for literature and music. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the aim was to reduce taxes. However, the policies did not succeed and the taxes on books remained at 19%. Similarly, in the case of music, in 2007, the objectives of creating a fund that could finance tickets for concerts (CNCA, 2007, p. 34) was presented. For this objective, no more details were given, and no further policies or programs were created and just like the tax reduction on books, it was not achieved. Additionally, the determinant price was not found in policies for performing and visual arts and is hence considered to have no impact on consumption the patterns of any of the four arts.

Also, the determinant income was not present in any of the analyzed documents and it can be stated that it also has no influence on any of the studied consumption patterns.

INFRASTRUCTURE

Compared to literature, the remaining sectors also seem to have a delay in what respects the specialized infrastructure. For literature, the government has been constantly establishing policies that promote, strengthen and develop the public libraries along the country, while for the remaining arts infrastructure shows to be rather at an initial development phase. For all three, music, visual arts and performing arts, the aim of promoting financial instruments for the construction and creation of infrastructure at a regional level, is a common objective, still at a rather initial phase (CNCA, 2010b, p. 45, 2010c, p. 40, 2017c, p. 87, 2017d, p. 56). However, the idea of decentralizing the infrastructure is present in all four sectors. It is interesting, that the only policy that addresses infrastructure that is accessible for people with a disability is the one published in 2017 for visual arts.

Once again, the early stage music, visual and performing arts are in, namely still promoting financial instruments to finance infrastructure, implies that the existing infrastructure is not sufficient. The context of these three sector describes this as well. In other words, if there is a lack of places to host these activities, there is also a lack of places were these goods and activities can be supplied. Consequently, workers have limited spaces to find labor (Masters, Russel & Brooks, 2011) and audience have little options to interact and consume these cultural goods (Diniz & Machado, 2011). The situation, is worse in regions than in the metropolitan region (Santiago) giving limited possibilities for individuals to consume cultural goods.

QUALITY

Regarding the sub-determinant perceived quality, the government has launched several campaigns to promote reading, books and literature, and it has also been part of their objectives. This was also an objective of the 2007 policy for promotion of national music (CNCA, 2007, p. 35,57). When it comes to visual and performing arts, no campaigns have ever been launched. In the case of music and performing arts, however, the policy objectives have aimed to create a bigger presence of these disciplines in the media in order to promote their valorization (CNCA, 2010a, p. 44, 2017c, p. 107). In the visual and performing arts, the formation of critics has also received particular attention, which has not been the case of literature (CNCA, 2010a, p. 46, 2017b, p 46).

As it is described in the theoretical framework, critics and media are two ways in which people assess the quality of a given cultural good (Diniz & Machado, 2011; Lévy-Garboua & Montmarquett, 2003). Furthermore, critics, media but especially public campaigns (with a wide reach) create a familiarity around the cultural goods, lowering possibly the risk-adversity of the consumer (Lévy-Garboua & Montmarquett, 2003) and creating awareness among people. Here, the social network of an individual can play a relevant role. People follow the cues from their social network (that might have seen the campaign, media, or critics review) and hence form their preferences according to their network and environment (Upright, 2004). Hence, the reach of the media and campaigns is a critical factor.

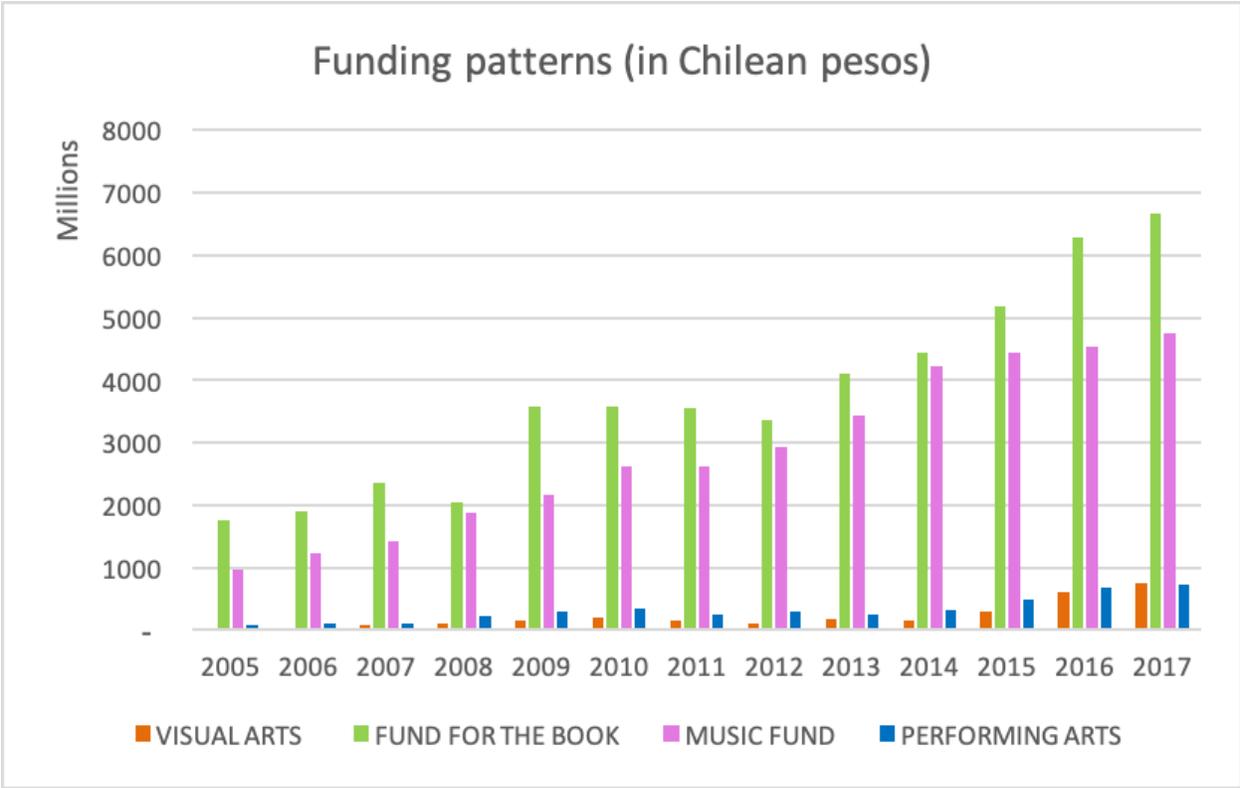
Furthermore, music and visual arts are the only ones, that, together with literature have objectives related to technical quality. Similarly to the aim of improving libraries, their collection and their equipment (CNCA, 2006, 2011, 2015a), in 2017 it was proposed to promote the inversion in softwares and equipment for the production of music. Meanwhile, in the visual arts it is aimed to improve the formation of professionals and promote the participation in formal arts education (CNCA, 2010a p. 44). As well as in literature, this sub-determinant is one of the weakest, as it is not addressed frequently or at all among the policy documents.

Overall, the analysis shows, that the three remaining sectors have received less attention from the government in matters of creation of public policies. Also, within the policies, the pre-conditioning variable access receives less importance than in literature and the determinants education and infrastructure show to be at an early stage of developing compared to these same determinants in the case of literature. Furthermore, the determinant active participation is particularly strong in the case of music, but not in the remaining cases. It seems, however that having one strong determinant is not

enough for a sector to increase its consumption. Additionally, in terms of perceived quality, more public campaigns have been launched to promote reading than in music (on campaign) and visual and performing arts (no campaigns). The determinant of income and price could not be included in the analysis as they are not present in the policies, except for the case of literature, whose objective of decreasing book taxes have not been achieved up until the present date.

6.3. FUNDING PATTERNS

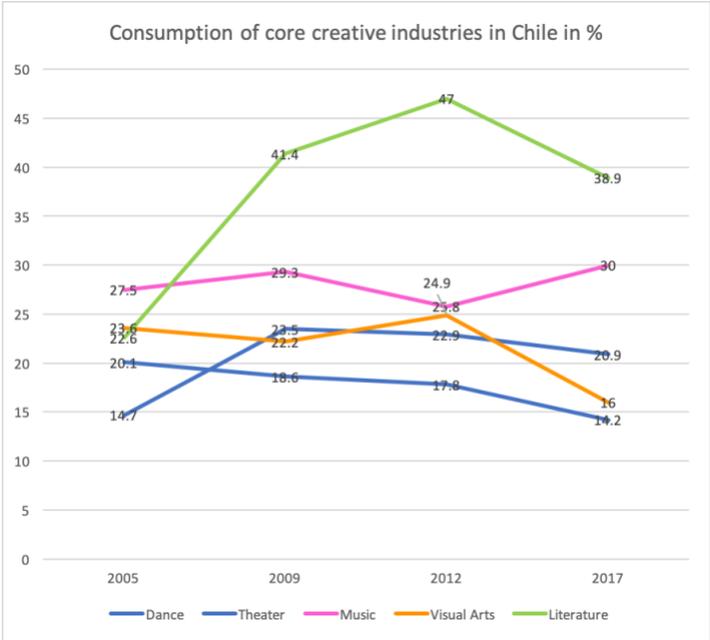
In the previous chapter, the funding patterns of the Fund of the Book were analyzed. Overall, including some minor fluctuations, the funding for this sector has more than tripled between 2005 and 2017. In order to compare the public funding patterns of literature with the ones of music, visual and performing arts, the data of these was added to the one of literature.



Graph 3. Public funding for literature, music, performing and visual arts 2005-2017. Elaboration based on data received through the Transparency Portal of the Chilean government (www.gobiernotransparente.gob.cl)

It can be observed, that music is the sector that from a funding perspective is the second strongest, after literature. It is also the one with the steadiest funding patterns. Contrarily, visual arts and

performing arts are the two sectors that in the studied time frame have received notoriously less funding from the government. In fact, the funding that visual arts received in the years 2005 and 2006 is not even perceivable on a graph. The funding in those years was of 36.826.344 and 20.466.948 Chilean Pesos (CLP) respectively. (This is approximately equivalent to € 48.000 and € 26.000). Even so, these two industries, visual and performing arts, have generally increased their funding between 2005 and 2017. The funding that visual arts received in 2017 is almost 20 times higher than in 2005, while the funding that performing arts received in 2017 is 8 times higher than in 2005 and the one of music is more than 4 times higher. Even though the growth of music and literature is less than the one of visual and performing arts, they remain being the two sectors that receive most of the public funding for the arts. In fact, the Fund of the Book received 799% more funding than the visual arts and 823% more the performing arts and is only 40% more than the Fund for Music.



Graph 4. Consumption of literature, music, visual arts, dance and theatre 2005-2017. Elaboration based on data from National Survey of Cultural Participation (2017a)

When compared with the consumption patterns, a correlation between funding and consumption patterns can be observed in the cases of literature and music. Literature is the sector that receives the most funding and has also the highest percentage of population that consume it. Following literature, music receives the second most funding from the government and is also the second most

consumed: between 27.5% and 30% of the Chileans attended a popular or modern music concert in the past year. Literature generally increased in both consumption and funding, and is also the one that at both factors has the highest numbers.

This correlation cannot be observed in the case of performing and visual arts. Visual arts is the sector that received the least funding in 2005, but had a higher consumption percentage than dance and theater, the performing arts. In 2005, 23.6% of the surveyed individuals declared to have attended at least one visual art exhibition in the past year, while only a 20.1% and 14.7% of the individuals declared to have attended a theater and dance performance, respectively. It can also be observed that the visual arts had a higher consumption percentage in 2012, namely 24.5%, than theater with a 17.8% and dance with a 22.9%. That year the funding that the visual arts received was 61% lower than the funding that the performing arts received.

Furthermore, in 2011 a commonality can be observed, namely, that the funding for literature, visual and performing arts decreased, while music only increased a 0.1%. And from 2013 onwards a recovery in the funding can be observed, as they start to rise again. When the consumption patterns are compared with this decrease in funding, it can be observed that in the case of literature and visual arts the consumption was increasing between 2011 and 2012, while for music, dance and theater it was decreasing. This makes hard to explain the consumption patterns through funding, even though there is a general relation to be observed. As mentioned previously, those two industries that received historically most funding, literature and music, have as well the highest consumption percentages, according to the National Survey of Cultural Participation (2017a).

7. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the public policy documents and funding patterns of literature, music, visual and performing arts responded to the two research questions. The first research question is: how does public policy and especially funding patterns relate to the general increase of consumption of literature in Chile between the years 2005 and 2017? The answer to the research question is that a relation can be observed. Particularly the pre-conditioning variable access and the determinants education and infrastructure receive most of the attention within the public policies of this sector. When it comes to access, it is considered to have a critical role, as literature is considered to be crucial for the country's development (CNCA, 2005b). While, education and infrastructure, are not only present in all the policies published between 2005 and 2017, but also relate to each other, as the creation, development and strengthening of public school libraries is an objective that is present all policies for literature. Furthermore, price, quality and active participation are determinants that are not present in all the policies, losing this way their continuity. The answer to the research question 1 is that there is a relation, but the increase of consumption cannot be explained by the policies. This because between 2012 and 2017 the consumption decreases, but policies are still existing and building upon the past policy objectives. The main difference is that the focus on education is not on children as a target group, but on "mediators". However, the investment in children's artistic and cultural education has a long-term effect and not short-term, and can therefore not explain the decrease in consumption.

The second research question that was responded was: how are public policy and funding patterns from literature different from music, performing and visual arts in terms of consumption? The analysis of documents and funding shows that in general terms there are less policies and less funding dedicated to music, visual and performing arts. This relates to the consumption patterns, which lie below the ones of literature. Furthermore, the sectors of music, visual and performing arts show to be in a more initial developing phase than literature and the pre-condition variable access receives little attention. Hence, the weaker attention the government has given to music, visual and performing arts in matters of funding and policies is reflected on the consumption patterns. Once again, and similarly to the first research question, no explanation can be supported by the policy and funding analysis, when it comes to certain details, for instance: while in 2011 there was an overall slight decrease in funding, the consumption was still increasing.

8. EVALUATION OF RESEARCH

One of the main limitations of this research is that there are other factors, such as digitalization, socio-economic developments, political situation, social phenomena and possibly even natural disasters that can influence consumption of the studied goods. The influence that other factors can have on cultural-artistic consumption are addressed in the discussion. Focusing on only two factors, that are even related to each other, limits the research and answer to the research questions. This explains why the answer can only be that it is indeed a relation found, but that it cannot be explained.

Furthermore, this research is based on the results of one particular survey, the National Survey of Cultural Participation (2017a) that gathers the results of the previous surveys carried out on this topic. It is stated that, due to change in phrasing and wording results of many questions differ from survey to survey and therefore they can only present those that have not changed along the surveys of 2005, 2009, 2012 and 2017. This issue is discussed by O'Hagan (2017) as one of the main difficulties of comparing cultural participation surveys. The response to this issue of the Chilean government to only present those results of questions that have not changed along the years, limits the scope of data significantly. That is why the percentage of those who read at least one book in the past year (literature) is compared with the percentage of those who attended at least one arts exhibition, popular or modern music concert and performing arts presentation. The latter three are all activities that require mobilization, and hence, additional costs, while reading a book doesn't. The survey does also not detail whether reading digital books was considered in the survey or not. Furthermore, particularly in the cases of literature and music, more detailed data on genres would be interesting to compare, as they could differ significantly. This limits the research to simply measuring 'books' and 'modern' and 'popular' music.

Future research on this topic, would be including more factors to understand the variations of consumption patterns in more detail. Also, surveys with more detailed data would be of great use for future research. This way the differences between the consumption of genres could be studied and the four sectors could be compared in more detail. This includes widening the surveys questions beyond the 'percentage of those who attended/ read in the past year', to surveying the frequency, the perceived value, etc. Regarding the model 1 DCAC, it would be interesting to apply it to other South American countries' policies and search for new determinants that could be added. It would be particularly interesting to apply this model to other countries' policies and funding, then compare those results with consumption patterns and also to the overall situation of specific cultural sectors, in order to understand which determinants have a greater impact and which have a lower impact. This way recommendations could be made regarding what determinants should receive more attention in order to increase a

country's consumption of cultural-artistic goods. Lastly, such a longitudinal comparative study could provide insight in terms of countries with a possible similar path dependency and institutional isomorphism, and it could provide an overview of the development and state of cultural policies among South American countries.

9. DISCUSSION

As mentioned in the conclusion, there are more factors that can have an effect on cultural-artistic consumption. In this research, the pre-conditioning variable access and six determinants (education, active participation, income, price, infrastructure, quality (perceived and technical)) were included in the analysis. However, there are other factors, such as age, gender, race/ethnicity and religion, among others, that can have a significant influence as well (Diniz & Machado, 2011). For instance, age can change due to the accumulation of human capital and the opportunity costs can change through age for individuals (ibidem, 2011). As policies cannot influence these factors through its objectives, they were not included. Another study researched how spouses have an influence on the attendance to art events. In other words, the more your spouse attends, the likelier you are to increase your cultural consumption. This effect varies, however, if the initiative comes from the woman or the man (Upright, 2004).

Understanding exactly how these factors and the six determinants influence cultural-artistic consumption and leads to an accumulation of cultural capital (model 1 DCAC) would be of great significance for governments. It would mean that policies could be created that focus and aim strategically and specifically to increase cultural consumption. This would lead to a, in the long-term, relevant increase in cultural consumption and accumulation of cultural capital. Even more, as shown in the model 1 DCAC, cultural capital leads to and from human capital, because it is considered to be a component of human capital (Throsby, 1999). Human capital then is related to education and education leads to cultural-artistic consumption, which once again increases the cultural capital. In brief, it would mean that a society's human capital would increase and lead to a higher development of the country, like it is described by the Chilean government in their first policy State Policy of Book and Reading (2005).

This implies, that the arts, human capital and creative capital can become a critical vehicle for regions and countries development (Florida, 2005).

Another point of discussion is whether the Chilean government faces institutional isomorphism in relation to other Latin American countries. Institutional Isomorphism is a concept that captures the process of homogenization (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). It suggests that one unit, in this case public cultural institution, resembles other that face similar conditions. The organizational characteristics, change according to the comparability with the environmental characteristics (ibidem, 1983). In the case of Chile, its environment would be South America, hence it is interesting to look firstly at its neighbor countries, Perú, Bolivia and Argentina. As a reminder, the Chilean Council for Arts and Culture (CNCA) was created in 2003, which was replaced by the Ministry of Cultures, Arts and Heritage in March 2018. In the case of Argentina, a Secretary of Culture was created in 2009, which in 2014 received the status of

Ministry of Culture. Later in 2017, center-right president Macri downgraded the Ministry to a Secretary again. This development is similar to the one in Chile, namely that in 2018 the center-right president Piñera significantly decreased the funding for the newly created Ministry of Cultures, Arts and Heritage significantly (www.radio.uchile.cl, 2018). Bolivia, contrarily to Argentina and Chile, joins tourism under the same ministry, which was created in 2009. It is named the Ministry of Cultures and Tourism. In Chile, the ministry is also named “ministry of cultures” and not “culture”, likely because of a similar argument than Bolivia might have: different cultures inhabit the country. Perú, on the other hand, does not have an updated website of its Ministry of Culture and no information is available, unless requested through the transparency portal. Even though this description mainly provides a timeline, there is a commonality in the time in which the ministries were created. None of the four countries had a ministry nor a council or secretary that was focused on Culture before the 2000. In fact, Chile seems to have been a pioneer among these four countries, when creating the CNCA in 2003. Following the concept of homogenization of DiMaggio and Powell (1983), it can be argued that these South American countries have followed a similar timeline, given to their shared environment, which creates a pressure among countries.

The country that has the most similar institutional structure in terms of culture to Chile is Uruguay, which was the first country in Latin America in creating a ministry of culture, in 1967, which in 1970 became the current Ministry of Education and Culture. Uruguay has a similar internal ministerial structure as the Chilean ministry. There are specific departments that are dedicated to the different cultural industries, music, literature, visual, performing arts, etc.

Furthermore, it could be argued that the delayed development of South American countries, if compared to European countries, in matter of creating an institution dedicated to culture, policies, etc. can be explained partly by path dependency theory (North, 1990). Path dependence is a result of the increased returns that keep and reinforce a particular direction, once it has a path (ibidem, 1990). This can explain the long dictatorships in Chile (1973-1990), Argentina (1976-1983) and Uruguay (1973-1985). These had a negative effect on the cultural sector, which in Chile was named the “cultural blackout”. For Chile, having the dictatorship eliminated culture almost completely from the country’s agenda, if path dependency theory is applied, a certain “lock-in” situation can be observed (North, 1990). This implies that political and social actors in Chile have experienced a difficulty in moving away and developing in a different (new) direction than their predecessors of the dictatorship (ibidem, 1990). This could play a relevant role in the perception of Chilean society of culture and consequently affect its consumption even today. It would be an interesting development if this “lock-in” would be broken and a new path, in which culture is a driving vehicle of Chile’s development, is initiated. Then, and after more research on the

influence of the six determinants on cultural-artistic consumption, the determinants could become a tool to do so.

On a personal note, I question myself what does this mean for Chile? How do the government's strong policy and funding investment in only one sector, literature, affect the cultural landscape in Chile? Chile is considered to be one of the most unequal countries in the world, having in 2016 a Gini index of 0.454 (out of 0.459) (www.oecd.org). Does the socio-economic inequality of Chile resemble to the inequality found among the arts? Literature was shown to have received notoriously more attention through public policy and funding, followed by music, leaving the performing and visual arts far behind, just like it happens on a socio-economic level. This means that the cultural and consequently human capital that Chileans accumulate is more likely to be related to literature and to music than to the remaining arts. In other words, there is not an integral accumulation of cultural capital among Chileans. Also the artists, those who do invest their labor into these arts are in disadvantage. There is less infrastructure, less financing, less audience for them. If no significant change is implemented, artists and the future generation of artists are doomed to work under poor and unstable labor conditions. On the other side, Chile is a "país de poetas" (country of poets), a reputation that Gabriela Mistral, Pablo Neruda and Violeta Parra have given the country, or at least so we think. There is a sense of being proud of Chilean poets. We are also proud that Isabel Allende, worldwide bestseller, and Nicanor Parra and Roberto Bolaño are Chileans.

In the policies for literature, it is made clear that literature, reading, books, etc. are a key element for Chile's development. That it is a crucial element to develop towards a country that exports goods and services with an added value (CNCA, 2005). Literature is considered to increase human capital and consequently the country's economic development. Clearly music, the performing and the visual arts are not considered to contribute to Chile's development. What the Chilean governments have missed out during 12 years, is that culture and the arts, all of them, not only literature, increase human capital and are a critical vehicle for a countries development. The challenge that the current and the future governments face is to lock the cultural sector out of this path that has kept them focusing only on literature and paying less and little attention to music, performing and visual arts.

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APPENDIX A: CODING SCHEME

N.P = National Policy // P= Plan

Literature	2005	2006-2010	2011-2014	2015-2020 (N.P)	2015-2020 (P)
Access					
Education					
Active Participation					
Income					
Price					
Infrastructure					
Perceived Quality					
Technical Quality					

Music	-	2007-2010	-	-	2017-2022
Access					
Education					
Active Participation					
Income					
Price					
Infrastructure					
Perceived Quality					
Technical Quality					

Visual Arts	-	-	2010-2015	-	2017-2022
Access					
Education					
Active Participation					
Income					
Price					
Infrastructure					
Perceived Quality					
Technical Quality					

Performing Arts	-	2010-2015 Theater	2010-2015 Dance	-	2017-2022
Access					
Education					
Active Participation					
Income					
Price					
Infrastructure					
Perceived Quality					
Technical Quality					