GIVING VOICE TO CULTURAL ENTERPRISES FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH

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ABSTRACT

Over the last decade-and-a-half there has been a rise in the amount of academic research exploring the conceptual and historical interactions of 'culture' and 'the market' (see for example Caves (2000), Cunningham (2002), Pratt (2004), Throsby (2008), O'Connor (2009), O'Connor (2010)). Although contentious, the impetus for this has largely been the establishment of the 'creative industry' discourse and how it has been applied globally in policy and practice (Cunningham 2009). Despite this, with only a few notable exceptions, the theory and concepts that underpin this discourse have largely been derived through research contexts that are Anglo/Euro-centric and metropolitan. The purpose of this paper is to initiate a new, open platform from which to critique the way arts enterprises operate with respect to a more global application. To achieve this, the paper merges Thornton, Ocasio & Loundsbury's (2012) Institutional Logics perspective and Osborne's (2006) New Public Governance approach to present an applied theoretical model of arts enterprise institutional alignment, which can equally be applied to arts enterprises from all over the world. The model gives credence to the multiple forces that shape, and are shaped by arts organizations from

the contexts they operate within. Using this model, the paper explores 3 cases of arts enterprises stemming from, what has been termed, the 'Global South' (Connell, 2007; Cunningham 2009), to provide a juxtaposition to the dominant discourse of arts enterprise analysis.

Key words: Global South, arts enterprises, cultural systems, hybrids

INTRODUCTION

Academic debate exploring the relationship between 'culture' and 'the market' has largely silenced the perspective of cultural enterprises in the 'Global South' (Connell, 2007). This paper seeks to break this silence by synthesising a collection of research that has explored the way in which 'culture' and 'enterprises' interact in three cases spanning the Pacific and South America. Acknowledging contention around broad paradigms, such as 'creative industries', or 'cultural industries,' this paper accepts that a generic or universal understanding of what 'cultural enterprises' may do, be and look like is impractical, overly reductionist, and can marginalize. As such, the paper presents a framework for analysing and comparing the way in which cultural enterprises are governed, and how they operate in relation to a) the market, b) the state and c) the community. This approach draws its foundation from New Public Governance research (Keast, Mandell et al. 2006, Osborne 2006), and bears a strong crossover to emerging theoretical positions such as the Institutional Logics Perspective (Thornton, Ocasio et al. 2012) while at the same time privileging voices from the Global South (see Connell's "Southern Theory") .

Ebewo and Sirayi (2009) propose that a stronger sense of how 'arts' and 'culture' act as an instrument or factor, in obtaining 'value' (economic, social, symbolic, pedagogic, etc.), is needed if we, as humans, are to respect these endeavors universally. In the West this has led to a stronger alignment between 'culture' and the 'market' (Cunningham 2002), and a move away form state- organized cultural facilitation (O'Connor 2010). These shifts have in turn, impacted on the organizational logics governing cultural enterprises. Kamara (2004), in his report to UNESCO on the role of cultural enterprise in developing economies defines them as:

A commercial venture, within the creative & cultural sectors [sic], that connects creators and artists to markets and consumers, providing the former with recognition and a source of income.

From Kamara (2004: 8).

While Kamara's definition is useful in providing a platform from which to understand cultural enterprise, we argue that this definition, opening as it does with its reference to "a commercial venture", emphasizes a market orientation criterion for organizations and enterprises that operate to 'create, maintain and trade' culture. Such definitions can act to homogenize organizational forms towards the constraints of a dominant group, without necessarily providing a framework for increased efficiency and effectiveness (DiMaggio and Powell 1983), especially when viewed from the perspective of entrepreneurs in developing, alternative, and non-cash/traditional economies. Rather than prescribe a new definition of cultural enterprises that may be universally applicable then, this paper investigates instances of 'enterprises' and their connection to 'culture,' as they exist and operate in the regions of the Pacific and South America. We offer this paper to stimulate further discussion and research into the standards and norms that impact on, and are impacted on by cultural enterprises in the Global South. We do so in order to develop a new and open platform from which to explore the construct of 'cultural enterprises' and 'cultural systems' in a global context, in comparison to what has been previously offered (see for example UNCTAD (2010)). As such this paper does not prescribe that cultural enterprises are the same across the Global South. It does however, draw some parallels with previous research conducted in South America and the Pacific, regarding the way cultural enterprises shape, and are shaped by, the context in which they are located.

This paper poses the following research question:

RQ) How do cultural enterprises shape, and how are they shaped by different institutional forces within the Global South?

To answer this research question the paper develops a theory-driven framework that accounts for the types of institutional forces at play in relation to cultural enterprises. It moves to apply this framework to three cases of cultural enterprises from the Global South; 1) the Leweton Cultural Group, Vanuatu; 2) the Iberoamerica Festival of Theater of Bogota, Colombia; and 3) the Amazonian Sairé Festival inBrazil. Through case study analysis this paper gives voice to some of the different forms that cultural enterprise takes within the Global South.

THE GLOBAL NORTH AND SOUTH

For the past 50 years, research situated in the "World System" and referencing "dependency theory" (see especially Wallerstein 1974, Leys 1977, and Brenner 1977) has explored contemporary geopolitics and positing a centre/periphery model, which assumes that the actions and processes emanating from European colonial 'metropoles' (Connell, 2007) and nations have profoundly affected other less powerful peoples. Researchers within the World System approach argue that the concentration of value in these metropoles – a value that has been generated through colonialism – "has given rise to a system in which political and economic domination of peripheral areas directly benefits the central nations, and facilitates the reproduction of relations of domination and subordination over the medium and long term" (Evans 2001).

Raewyn Connell's critique of the work of key sociological theorists James Coleman, Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu clearly identifies this "reproduction of relations of domination" in their work, in the form of: taking the Global South either as source of data about which to theories can be generated in the metropole, or as subjects of Northern theory the application of which is assumed to have universal validity. Linda Tuhiwai Smith also explains the oppressive nature of research from the perspective of indigenous peoples in her landmark book Decolonising Methodologies (1999) and Margaret Jolly (2008) suggests that notions of 'North' and 'South' like 'West' and 'East' uneasily connect geographical cardinal points with geopolitical potencies.
Further, she writes:

The designation of North and South refer both to the hemispheres above and below the equator in a conventional Mercator projection of the global, and the respective positions of rich and developing nations of Europe and North America and the poor and underdeveloped countries of Africa, Asia, South America and the Pacific.

For Connell, and for practically every single person from the Pacific Islands, all aspects of life are fundamentally about land. In the North people have been alienated and dispossessed of their land ... and so they reproduce and project these alienating and dispossessing activities in the guise of research, investment, resource exploitation, competitive tax regimes, religion, foreign aid, and sustainable development. As Evans explains,

While the general approach has been tremendously productive, recent critiques have stressed that the centre/periphery model is at risk of representing non-European peoples as passive victims and dupes of colonialism, and thus systematically under-represents the agency of so-called peripheral peoples.

In this article we attempt to privilege the voices of the people from the periphery of the World System by stripping out the "superstructural expression of imperialism" (Sahlins 1993, 3) in our research by unpacking the conceptual frameworks which have silenced cultural entrepreneurs in the Global South.

CULTURAL ENTERPRISES: IN SEARCH OF A THEORY

The term 'enterprise' is defined as:

a) A project or undertaking that is especially difficult, complicated, or risky
b) A unit of economic organization or activity; especially: a business organization. (Merriam-Webster.com 2013)
This definition is useful in de-coupling enterprises from a purely 'commercially driven organization' interpretation. Despite this, the vast quantity of research exploring enterprises emphasizes a commercial interpretation, often implying a level of 'market-orientation', as embodied in the commonly used terms 'Small to Medium Enterprise' (SME) and 'micro enterprises'. Public Administration research however, has reframed enterprises as entities that may have a variety of differing organizational forms, such as the social enterprise. In this regard, Osborne (2006) claims that a novel theory, which he terms 'New Public Governance', is emerging,

which gives credence to the multitude of organizations, sectors and networks that are involved in policy development and implementation. Within this context, enterprises can be seen to sit between the state, market and community/third sectors. To this end, Keast et al. (2006) highlight that an organization's orientation towards different sectors will likely influence the types of governance and modes, and therefore the organizational type of a specific enterprise. Cunningham (2009) suggests that enterprises in the cultural and creative industries are 'intrinsically hybrid'. Hybrid organizations mix features of the individual, community, state and market sectors (Van de Donk
2001), and the phenomena has been explored in public management research (see Brandsen and Karre (2011)).

Keast et al.'s (2006) position is related to the emerging Institutional Logics perspective (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012), which suggests that organizations will display particular orientations depending on the institutional framework in which they operate. Thornton and Ocasio (1999) define an institutional logic as:

The socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, including assumptions, values, and beliefs, by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality.
From Thornton & Ocasio (1999: 804)

Whilst Keast et al.'s (2006) position is useful as it provides an empirical statement regarding the possible orientations particular enterprises may adopts, Thornton et al.'s (2012) institutional logics perspective offers a more exploratory dimension that enables a deeper analysis of the underpinning factors that influence such forms. This paper blends these two theoretical positions to explore the possible organizational forms that enterprises adopt in the 'Global South.' To do this, the paper adopts the position that cultural enterprises are forms that contain a) governance (with varying degrees of formality), and b) these forms also sit within (at least) three 'vectors' of institutional logics; the state, the market and the community, that have bearing on the way that they operate. With respect to the institutional logics perspective, we note that a number of other 'vectors of institutional logics' are likely at play for cultural enterprises; however we have refined these to a common list (state; market; community) for the purpose of providing a platform for comparison.

GOVERNANCE AND CULTURAL ENTERPRISES

Kamara's (2004) definition of a cultural enterprise is primarily a commercial one. With reference to Osborne's (2006) New Public Governance approach, we offer a more open interpretation whereupon cultural organizations can take a great range of forms and organizational logics and institutional alignment. Included in this list are:

- Loosely and tightly affiliated networks working together for a common cultural goal,
- Community organizations including not-for-profits and non-government organization
- State subsidized and regulated arts boards, education facilities and iconic places of culture (such as opera houses and museums)
- Mixed ventures that blend elements of market, state and third sector organizations such as social enterprises, in addition to,
- Market orientated companies that exist for profit

As listed above differing organizational types can impact on the governance arrangements present in organizations (Keast et al. 2006). Keast et al. (2006) highlight the variety of governance arrangements as they appear in organizations that bear different orientations (i.e. state, market, community - see table 1: underpinning models of the three governance modes).

Table 1: Underpinning models of the three governance modes (Keast, Mandell & Brown, 2006)

GOVERNANCE MODES	STATE	MARKET	NETWORK/COMMUNITY
	Certainty	Efficiency	Reflexivity
Structural Arrangements	Public Organizations	Private Organizations	Collective/Communal Organizations
	Hierarchical Dependent	Contractual, Independent	Social/ Communal, Interdependent
Integrating Mechanism	Legal authority, Formal rules, Regulations, Mandates, Procedures, Policies	Arms length Contractual transactions, Price, Supply & demand	Social exchange, Common vision, Trust, Reciprocity
Institutional Arrangements	Departments, Committees, Task Forces	Partnerships, Merges, Alliances, Acquisitions	Compacts, Accords, Negotiation tables, Informal networking
	Routine	Intermediate Complexity	Complex
	To Polity & Public	To Self – Board	To Group – Internal

Research by Rhodes, Murphy et al. (2009) suggests that 'it is the mix that matters', noting that organizations that blend elements of the state, market and community adopt hybrid governance systems that are catered to each. The following paragraphs briefly unpack how the said sectors (i.e. state, market and community) have impacted on cultural enterprises, drawing from peer-reviewed literature from mostly Anglo-Euro centered research.

THE COMMUNITY

'Community Cultural Development', and 'Community Arts' are terms that have been used, particularly in Anglo/urban-Australasian contexts to describe arts and cultural practices that are embedded within the community sector (Rowse 1985). Typically, in the West, such activity is located within state-subsidized organizations. However, with the advent of the creative industries model, researchers and practitioners have noted a decrease in such funding, and an increase in the formalism required to be eligible for state support (Oakley 2006). However, questions such as 'what is community' and 'when does community constitute a sector' are perhaps more relevant for the thesis of this paper. We note that notions of the 'community sector' have largely been developed through the evolution of Western institutionalism (including things such as modernism, colonialism, and capitalism), and may note be readily recognizable in all regions of the Global South. For the purposes of this paper then, we identify the 'community' in relation to 'cultural enterprise', as the people (including family), groups and organizations that envelop and/or relate to a named or namable cultural endeavor/enterprise (noting that a legal/formal organizational form is not a criterion for determining the presence of a cultural enterprise).

THE MARKET

When an organization exists in this solely in the market sector they are underpinned by a profit orientation above all else. In relation to cultural enterprise, the creative industries paradigm has seen a growing discourse relating to the ways in which culture can be considered as a 'good', bearing commercial elements such as supply and demand, that can be consumed by a market (O'Connor 2009). Some academics have suggested that cultural enterprises can find 'a new freedom' by aligning more closely with the market, as these entities shift away from heavily bureaucratized public subsidy funding, however research has identified that the cultural and creative market place is fraught by a lack of regulation that has resulted in significant labor exploitation (Banks and Hesmondhalgh 2009).

Oakley (2006) notes an increasing trend in policy and academic publications that suggests that the creative industries (market-oriented arts and creative activity) can address social inclusion issues as well as economic development goals. However, she notes also notes that 'any association between these two goals is problematic at best.'

THE STATE

In western governments the role of arts and culture is enshrined in policy, often bearing a ministerial position and budgetary allocation. The state is also responsible for regulating (what has been termed-) the 'creative sector', and organizations within it (including not-for-profits, community organizations etc.).

A VECTORS FRAMEWORK FOR CULTURAL ENTERPRISES

Drawing from Keast et al. (2006) and Thornton et al. (2012) we can surmount that the community, market and state sectors act as vectors that influence the way cultural enterprises operate and how they are governed. We offer the following vector framework that seeks to display this visually (see figure 1). This model draws from Van de Donk's (2001_ENREF_22) social triangle model of

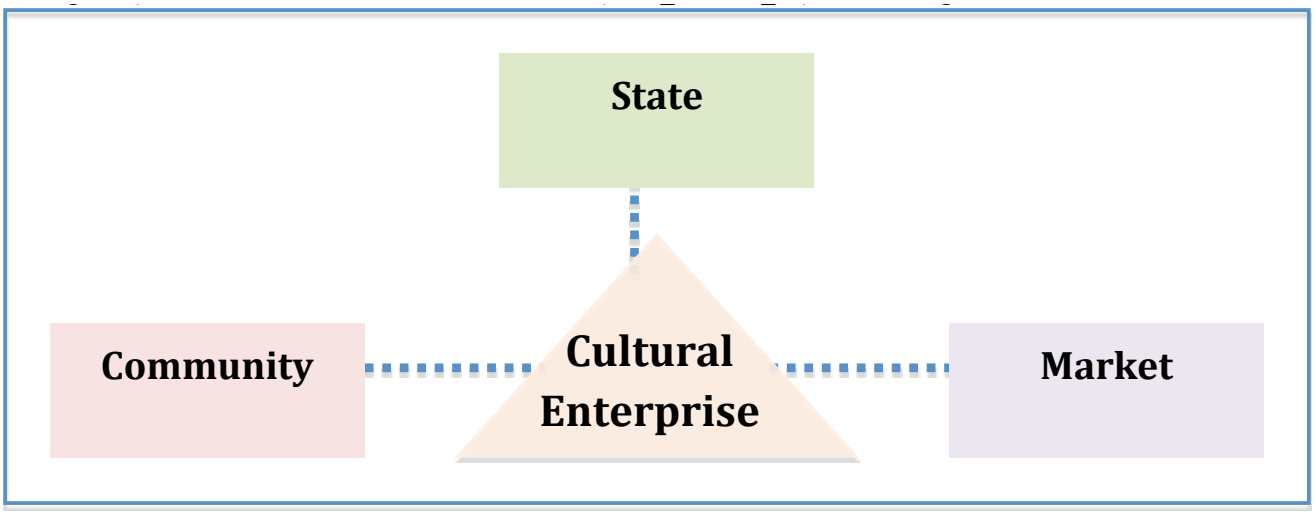

Figure 1: Vector Framework for the Institional Alignment of Cultural Enterprises

organizational hybridity, and thereby conceptualizes the dynamic motion that exists for cultural enterprises, as they align with different vectors (in accordance with their governance structure, and other orientations). The following sections use case study analysis to observe the way in which three organizations from the Global South operate in relation to these vectors, with respect to the above framework.

METHODOLOGY

Through a meta-analysis of previous literature stemming from cultural studies, tourism, anthropology, media and popular music research the paper seeks to give voice to the different forms that cultural enterprise takes in the Global South. Drawing from a body of research exploring hybrid organizations stemming from the public management literature, we authors locate four 'vectors' that influence the way in which cultural enterprise shape and are shaped in the Global South, these are: the Individual, the Community/Village, the Market & the State.

CASE STUDY 1: THE LEWETON CULTURAL GROUP

The case study concerns the island of Espiritu Santo, in the north of the Vanuatu archipelago in the South West Pacific. It has an international airport, currently with only one inward and one outward international flight weekly but numerous domestic flights. It is in fact the hub for access to all of the northern islands. It has several bars

and restaurants, hotels and resorts, mainly located around the town of Luganville and on the beaches around the coastline. Luganville is located on the south-east corner of the island on the Segond Channel, a 13 kilometers long waterway. Locals refer to Luganville as Canal, which reflects the importance of this strait in the heritage of the town, in terms of shipping, port and harbour services, wharves and its picturesque charm. It is also the site of one of the world's most accessible wreck dives.

Rural Espiritu Santo contains numerous indigenous villages, some of which are composed of people from islands other than Espiritu Santo. Everything from cabbages to kava is cultivated in village gardens, while there are also some larger farms mainly focused on cattle raising. Traditional customs are still of significant cultural importance.

The total population of Luganville at the last census in 2009 was just over 13000, while rural Espiritu Santo and its adjacent small islands contained over 45000 people. Those living permanently in Luganville and rural Espiritu Santo are predominantly indigenous Melanesian Ni- Vanuatu, but there are increasing numbers of expatriates (mainly Australians and New Zealanders) and tourists. Expatriates have significant control over resort governance.

Opportunities for transitioning cultural heritage for commercial profit have previously been seen as value-add experiences for diving tourists. However more recently cultural heritage activities, such as contemporary live music performances, village collective performances and traditional ceremonies featuring indigenous music and instruments performed by Ni-Vanuatu musicians have become a lucrative anchor in their own right. According to David Nalo (pers coms), former Project Manager with local cultural development agency Further Arts, this activity is being catalysed by the establishment of public access rehearsal studio (Canal Studio) at the Youth Centre in downtown Luganville.

Some villages within Espiritu Santo have been successful in developing performance pieces as tourist attractions. Perhaps the epitome is the Leweton Cultural Group - who after being filmed by cultural development agents attached to the Fest'Napuan festival- were offered paid performance opportunities in Borneo and Australia. Through this, the group and supporting actors are developing a sustainable framework for touring village-based ni-Vanuatu performers, including refining income streams and governance as potential income providers for their families.

The Leweton Cultural Group trace their heritage back to the remote northern tropical islands of Gaua and Mere Lava. The diasporic communities from these islands who are now resident in Luganville were brought together, under the "Leweton" moniker, by an enterprising member of their community a decade ago. They successfully raised the funds to establish a "cultural village" with a purpose-built pool, meeting place, dance arena and kitchen. The Leweton Cultural Group now travel the world performing the *Na Mao* and *Nelang* dances as a prelude to the *piece-de-resistance*, the water music, where a group of between 5 and 13 women – dressed in their traditional costumes made from flowers and leaves, coconuts and pandanus – stand waist deep in the ocean and create unique tonal and rhythmic percussion by slapping, splashing, and paddling the water.

More recently the Leweton Cultural Group have developed their performance to reimagine expressions of intangible cultural heritage in the form of *Matto* in a contemporary fusion of traditional beats and rhythms with contemporary ukulele-led melodies and soaring vocal harmonies. The Leweton Cultural Group also facilitate traditional weaving, cooking, percussion, and storytelling workshops

In 2009, despite the challenges of production and presentation that are inherent in a submarine musical performance, the Leweton Cultural Group initiated a strategy aimed at securing a performance at the Rainforest World Music Festival in Malaysia. The negotiations started in October 2009, at the European World Music Expo "WOMEX", where Vanuatu music delegates (with no official connection to the Leweton Cultural Group) presented several different videos of various Vanuatu musicians to Rainforest World Music Festival Director, Randy Raine-Reutsch. But it was not until the following year, again at WOMEX, that a proposal was made for the Leweton group to perform in the 2011 Rainforest World Music Festival. At this point, negotiations would not have been able to progress further without the assistance of the Village de Santo Resort, an ex- patriot owned resort situated approximately 1.5 kilometers south of downtown Luganville. Representatives of this firm provided the contact point and communication channel to the local Leweton group, facilitating the process of acquiring passports, and making visa applications. In return, the Vanuatu music industry delegates were able to negotiate

for representatives from the Village de Santo Resort to have access to a stall in the Malaysian festival grounds whereby they could provide promotional material to the attendees and, at the same time, act as tour manager for the Leweton Cultural Group. This collaborative and innovative approach demonstrates the importance of the partnership with the tourism industry while also demonstrating the mutual benefits that can accrue to network partners.

Perhaps the most significant positive development within the case study site is the formation of a local committee (actually a subcommittee of the Canal Studio organization) tasked with the coordination and production of a two-day event called the *Lukaotem Gud Santo Festival* (Look After Santo Festival) with a specific focus on raising community awareness around environmental management issues. The organizing committee of this festival, formed in August 2011, included members of the Canal Studio organisation, the owners of the Village de Santo resort, a representative from the Leweton community, local youth groups, and the community. In November 2011, the subcommittee successfully held their inaugural festival with plans to expand the event to three days in 2013.

We found that in line with this research, the Espiritu Santo community, through the festival organizing committee, was developing a strategy around creating a culture of high quality productions specifically geared towards traditional music. The success of the Leweton group had inspired other village groups to organise themselves into discrete performance entities (as opposed to large village communities). Many of these groups presented their own unique music and dance at the Lukaotem Gud Santo Festival. The members of the Canal Studio subcommittee pointed out that this was a part of the strategic design and the culture of the event – this was reflected in the name of the event, which in the local Creole: Bislama, has several meanings, one of which serves to distinguish the place, "Santo" from the capital, Port Vila. By extension, this was interpreted as a kind of institutional critique that Santo residents have of the capital as being too focused on money and losing sight of their roots and traditional values.

Since the first international tour of the Leweton Cultural Group to Malaysia, Leweton have performed in Australia twice more, they have produced a professional DVD to be released on the Wantok Music Foundation label, and they have a further two tours to Australia booked in within the next 9 months.

This case study shows the potential that exists for ni-Vanuatu cultural entrepreneurs if they can engage with the market and with the tourism industry. But there are challenges and limitations to this opportunity also. The day after the group returned back from their first tour to Malaysia, the Village de Santo owner was contacted by another expatriate resort owner in Luganville, who we shall refer to as TP. He asked for the Leweton Group to travel to the capital, Port Vila, to teach a group of ladies how to perform the water music for the purpose of entertaining the tourists from the cruise ships that come to Vila. In addition to owning a hotel/resort in Luganville, this person is also paid on commission as an agent for yet another ex-patriate owned tour company called Adventures in Paradise. TP is also a a member of the executive of the Espirtu Santo Tourism Association (ESTA), an expatriate run association established to manage the collective interests of the its members in the tourism industry. Importantly, his private company takes a large cut from the revenue generated by the lucrative cruise ship tours. This is in contrast to the Leweton Cultural Group, who perform all day for the tourists (on cruise ship days) and receive only 12% of the total fee paid by the tourist. The remaining 88% gets split between the cruise ship operators, the tour company (Adventures in Paradise), any agents involved (such as TP), and the transport operators.

Our research revealed that originally the Leweton group were happy with the arrangement because of the high volume of tourists coming through (between 100-150 people per ship). However, the arrangement started to show characteristics of a cartel. Leweton representatives related that recently the relationship had been terminated and that TP had supported a rival group to establish themselves with a pool and perform the water music for a reduced price and with an element of control over the operation ceded to TP. When asked why the relationship had been terminated, the Leweton representative explained that TP had asked them to ensure that all the tourists who attended their performances were delivered through the ESTA approved channels. The Leweton leader refused to comply with these demands on the grounds that they should be able to accept visitors who arrive through independent channels, such as yachting families, domestic tourists, and non-tourism visitors such as volunteers, researchers, ethnomusicologists, and producers – many of whom are likely to find their way to the village without ever becoming aware of the existence of ESTA.

Returning to the point of contact between the ESTA representative, TP and the Village de Santo owner, the Leweton leaders flatly refused to send the performers to the capital for the purposes of training a group of women to entertain tourists. The Leweton leader pointed out that this would be a violation of the system of rights that exist around the water music which are akin to intellectual property rights.

As the owner of Village de Santo explained:

"So you can imagine how I felt when he ask me to approach the ladies to give away their water music just so the cruise ship's can take advantage of the publicity the ladies have created for Vanuatu. I had to be very mindful that they have to make their own choices but I did get into protective mode, however I did say it's their choice and I will pass it on to them. This is when the Chief step in."

(pers. comms 2011)

These examples highlight the tensions between the market and the community in places such as Vanuatu. They also show the absence of any governmental regulation – in both the tourism industry and the cultural performance and creative industries. There are enormous power differential
between ESTA and the Leweton Cultural Group. ESTA is patronized by its membership which is made up of Australian, New Zealand, and French investors who have access to financial capital resources beyond the comprehension of the Leweton Cultural Group. However, the cultural capital resides with the Leweton Cultural Group and it is their intellectual property which has been leveraged to see them expand their horizon beyond the Vanuatu tourism industry to the point where they are now seen as international quality performers as opposed to a touristic cultural village. Notwithstanding the inherent value in the Leweton community, they are still subject to exploitation and exclusion by the more powerful elements of the market such as TP. With no regulation of this space there is little recourse for them in terms of regaining access to the tourism market, as this channel is controlled by non-indigenous commercial investors with little regard for community values. In particular, there is a strong colonial element to the actions of TP. When we asked the members of the Lukaotem Gud Santo Festival organizing committee about TP's actions they expressed their confusion as to why TP had not asked the Leweton village to contact their cousins based in the capital with a view to engaging them to perform, as opposed to TP's wish to teach it to an unrelated group. The Leweton leader's reaction seems to indicate that he believed that TP's proposal was just another form of colonial engagement with the expatriate attempting to appropriate the intangible cultural heritage of the Leweton community for his own personal gain.

CASE STUDY 2: ARTS MANAGEMENT AND LEARNING PROCESS - THE CASE OF THE IBEROAMERICAN THEATER FESTIVAL OF BOGOTA[1]

Arts management is a new field of knowledge in Latin America. Its development has been a consequence of management experiences in which trial and error have been the main instrument. The mini case presented below refers to an organizational learning experience. This experience takes place on the issue of management of sponsorships. The fundamental focus is to describe a process of bottom-up organizational learning. This learning process has enabled the Latin American Festival of Bogota (FITB) achieve a level of activity and resource management with exponential growth and an impact which far exceeds the excpectations of the organisers.

The Ibero-American Theater Festival of Bogotá (FITB) has evolved in a cultural institution representing the city of Bogota, capital of Colombia. This artistic event has become through its 12 presentations and 22 years of existence an ever-growing cultural enterprise with a significant impact on the city, the country and internationally. The first edition of the FITB took place in 1988 in observance of the 450th anniversary of the city's founding. Ever since, this cultural fair has occurred every two years for about fifteen days during Holy Week.

The festival's evolution has been impressive. The first version in 1988, which included 245 performances, had a total attendance of 900,880 people and 52 employees while the edition in April 2010, 22 years later, had a total of 1300 performances, a total attendance of 3,919,000, a staff of 439 workers[2] and a total estimated cost of U.S. $13 million. These figures show a very significant growth, leading to a series of considerations from various perspectives regarding the concepts of administrative productivity, organizational life cycle, and evolution in organizational structure, in the context of an arts and culture organization (Chang, 2010).

We collected quantitative data of the relevant variables for the 12 presentations of the FITB in its 22-year existence. The information came from a variety of sources. The primary one is an official publication produced for each version of the FITB, complemented by direct access to FITB files. This was the basis for the longitudinal series presented in Table 1 shown below. It displays the information for a set of internal variables and performance indicators.

1 The principal source of this case is a research work named" EL FESTIVAL IBEROAMERICANO DE TEATRO DE BOGOTÁ: ¡MÁS ALLÁ DE UN ACTO DE FE! GESTIÓN DE PATROCINIOS, APRENDIZAJE Y CAMBIO ORGANIZACIONAL. Author Alejandro Valderrama. Supervised by Jaime Ruiz-Gutierrez. School of Management. Universidad de los Andes. 2011. Bogota. Colombia

2 For the year 2008 total attendance at cultural activities in the province of Quebec Canada (non-profit organizations) was 2,879,934, taken from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/87f0003x/87f0003x2010001-eng.pdf, on 27/09/2010. For Australia, total attendance at museums was 3,611,900 in 2005, taken from: http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/4114.0 on 27/09/2010

Ibero-American Theater Festival of Bogotá. Statistical information												
	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010
CONTINENTS	3	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
COUNTRIES	21	27	31	28	32	36	33	30	33	41	43	40
COMPANIES	59	93	69	103	97	92	81	85	193	218	295	269
INTERNATIONAL GROUPS	22	37	41	40	45	52	44	40	52	64	83	81
NATIONAL GROUPS	23	56	28	63	32	40	37	45	141	154	212	188
STREET THEATER GROUPS	10	13	14	6	11	30	19	24	22	22	38	
CHILDREN'S THEATER GROUPS	4	8	9	14	9	7	8	5	16	16		
PARTICIPATING ARTISTS	1.625	1.720	3.700	1.800	1.800	1.800	1.250	1.760	2.180	3.100	3.500	
INTERNATIONAL TOURING INVITEES									54	44	58	107
TOURING COLOMBIAN GROUPS									75	50	50	
SPECIALLY SENT JOURNALISTS	10	25	38	10	20	49	53	12	45	84	50	90
ACCREDITED JOURNALISTS	175	320	340	280	450	560	580	285	540	636		
STUDENTS IN WORKSHOPS	403	342	420	350	814	900	1.000	760	820	1.204		
SPECIAL EVENTS PARTICIPANTS	200	1.300	1.450	450	2.000	8.000	8.500	7.500	7.500	12.000		6489
THEATER SPECTATORS	100.880	160.000	172.000	180.000	220.000	230.000	210.000	225.000	290.000	349.200	349.993	499.085
STREET SPECTATORS	800.000	1.200.000	1.500.000	1.125.000	1.200.000	1.600.000	1.700.000	2.500.000	2.600.000	2.140.800	2.200.800	3.000.000
PEOPLE IN THEATER CITY									280.000	610.000	531.000	420.000
TOTAL FESTIVAL ATTENDEES	900.880	1.360.000	1.672.000	1.305.000	1.420.000	1.830.000	1.910.000	2.725.000	3.170.000	3.100.000	3.100.000	3.919.085
THEATRICAL HALLS	10	16	17	13	14	17	15	16	16	26	22	21
OUTDOOR STAGES	9	16	16	11	19	17	29	38	20	38		49
COLISEUMS AND COMMUNITY CENTERS	0	0	2	1	4	4	6	5	6	5		4
TENTS	0	0	2	3	1	2	2	2	3	3		
LARGE CONCERTS									1	2	4	2
COLOMBIAN GROUP CONCERTS										46	71	84
SPECIAL STREET FUNCTIONS									38	3		
ORAL NARRATOR FUNCTIONS	0	35	40	40	0	4	0	0	0	36	68	104
THEATRICAL HALL FUNCTIONS	179	213	170	195	257	272	245	279	259	343	336	384
STREET THEATER FUNCTIONS	52	76	75	80	121	109	175	138	190	169		
CHILDREN'S THEATER FUNCTIONS	14	37	50	78	57	30	36	54	66	166		
COLISEUM & COMMUNITY CTR. FUNCTIONS	0	9	13	12	0	11	34	22	18	18	4	
TOTAL FUNCTIONS	**245**	**371**	**365**	**418**	**435**	**427**	**460**	**493**	**533**	**783**	**830**	**1300**
Total Personnel (Directors & staff per dept.)	52	90	98	86	106	114	340	336	394	Nd	516	439
Total organizational divisions of FITB	13	5	11	11	11	13	19	24	26	Nd	38	36
~~Logistics~~	~~6~~	~~10~~	~~12~~	~~6~~	~~10~~	~~10~~	~~11~~	~~14~~	~~13~~	~~Nd~~	~~15~~	~~19~~
~~Board of Directors~~	~~10~~	~~13~~	~~24~~	~~14~~	~~22~~	~~23~~	~~25~~	~~12~~	~~13~~	~~Nd~~	~~12~~	~~12~~
~~Admin. Dept.~~	~~3~~	~~4~~	~~13~~	~~21~~	~~27~~	~~12~~	~~15~~	~~15~~	~~17~~	~~Nd~~	~~17~~	~~10~~
~~Tech. Dept.~~	~~7~~	~~9~~	~~8~~	~~8~~	~~12~~	~~14~~	~~19~~	~~26~~	~~20~~	~~Nd~~	~~17~~	~~17~~
~~Press Relations~~	~~2~~	~~5~~	~~8~~	~~5~~	~~6~~	~~10~~	~~16~~	~~13~~	~~13~~	~~Nd~~	~~20~~	~~21~~
~~Special Events Group~~	~~4~~	~~6~~	~~4~~	~~5~~	~~8~~	~~7~~	~~4~~	~~5~~	~~4~~	~~Nd~~	~~6~~	~~8~~
~~Attendees per employee~~	~~17325~~	~~15111~~	~~17061~~	~~15174~~	~~13306~~	~~16053~~	~~5618~~	~~8110~~	~~8046~~	~~Nd~~	~~6008~~	~~8027~~
~~Longevity in years~~	~~0~~	~~2~~	~~4~~	~~6~~	~~8~~	~~10~~	~~12~~	~~14~~	~~16~~	~~18~~	~~20~~	~~22~~
~~Official sponsors~~	~~3~~	~~8~~	~~8~~	~~8~~	~~6~~	~~12~~	~~10~~	~~18~~	~~12~~	~~17~~	~~15~~	
~~Org. structure (decentralization index)~~	~~39~~	~~21~~	~~18~~	~~16~~	~~13~~	~~29~~	~~143~~	~~275~~	~~315~~	~~Nd~~	~~638~~	~~682~~

Table No 1 Descriptive variables dimension FITB

Several questions emerge from this data such as: How has this impressive growth been funded, in a less developed country, and in the context of a private owned festival? How is the FITB interrelated with its environment to achieve these resources? How has management secured sponsorship to finance the Iberoamerican Theater Festival of Bogota? How have the organizers of this event improved their management practices? Have they learned to interact with the market? If so, in what ways?

To answer these questions we examine a process of bottom-up organizational learning. This process has been structured through trial and error actions, in a participatory approach by the members of the organization. Organizational learning is disclosed as the ability of organizations to create, organize and process information to generate new knowledge to facilitate the conditions to develop new capabilities.

The research found that sponsorship management can be defined as the strategy of seeking economic resources or the equivalent, to finance all or part of an event. In return the event contributes to build an emotional relationship between the sponsor's image, the target audience and the event to be sponsored.

We identified several sources of learning in managing sponsorships of FITB. The principal sources were the repetitive financial crises. The different activities to solve these crises promoted organizational learning at different levels of the organization. This learning allowed the identification of seven sources of economic resources: private sponsorship; sponsorship by the district mayor; state contributions; international sponsorship; multilateral sponsorship; ticket office; and marketing promotional products.

The learning process in the financial resource management is divided into three periods corresponding to different strategies as described in Table 2. Revenue from sponsorships, official, private and international, are 52% of total

revenues. The 48% of other revenues are collected for ticket sales. The source of financing FITB, which has the highest growth potential are private sponsorships. The public sponsorship and box office both have limited growth. The box office revenues are conditioned by the price elasticity of demand. The official sponsorship, in a country like Colombia that has social basic needs is unlikely to have a significant increase every two years.

STRATEGY	PERIOD	SOURCES
Small hats and many sponsors	1988 – 2000	Private sponsorship; Sponsorship by the district mayor;State contributions; International sponsorship; Multilateral sponsorship; Ticket office; and Marketing promotional products
Big hat and few sponsors	2000 – 2006	
Advertainmen t y Filantro-capitalísmo	2008 – 2010	

Table 2: Financial Strategies

CASE STUDY 3: THE SAIRÉ FESTIVAL IN AMAZON: THE LEGEND OF THE DOLPHIN, ENCHANTMENT AND CULTURE MANAGEMENT.

On a full moon night the community was all excited because it was the feast of the Patron Saint of the village, and as usual, everyone put the best clothes and arranged for dancing. The cunhatãs[3] were the liveliest. In the middle of the party appears a very handsome man wearing white, a white hat, beautiful shoes and a very engaging fragrance - it was impossible not to notice such beauty. The boy

had already a chosen one, and danced with the prettiest girl in the community. Without anyone noticing, the beautiful boy and the cunhatã were gone. So a great mystery in the village was set. The charming cunhatã had fallen in the eye of the one who actually was the dolphin-shaped people. The cunhatã, once the most beautiful and appreciated in the village, was now to be cursed. The girl who is used by the dolphin and let by the river side now lives on hers own. The one who is enchanted by the dolphin gets despised by the family, just being accepted by the community healer[4] who, seeing the child's first breath of desire, sees also the last gasp of the one who dared to engage with the dolphin.
(Told by Almerindo Ribeiro Gomes, betrayed Village Community, Community of Big Lake, district of Santarém-PA. Text adapted).

The Sairé is a religious festival that has existed for over three hundred years and is guided by the myth narrated above. Braga (2013) states that it was inserted in the Amazonian culture through the Jesuits in their attempt to catechize the Indians and convert them to Christianity. For him, the way found by the church to evangelize the Indians was through dances and songs, which turned later into a pagan party: the Sairé. Since the second half of the eighteenth century Sairé is found in the records of the Jesuit John Daniel, depicting an existing Sairé in the lower Amazon Basin (Braga, 2013).

3 Young ladies with age between 12 and 18 years.
4 Lady with advanced age in the village, possessing knowledge of remedies and rituals and charms to cure illnesses afflicting the community.

Another author (Loureiro, 1995, p. 143), states that the Sairé «is a manifestation of religion and arts" rooted in indigenous tradition. The religious Catholics have turned the chants of Sairé in songs of devotion as a Christian catechism strategy. Pereira (1989, apud Nogueira, 2005) believes that the Sairé has its origin in the three Brazilian sources of emotion and religiosity: the Portuguese conquerors, the black slave and the animist and curious indian. These are known as the three social groups that formed the Brazilian nation. The Sairé celebration lasts for five days and is articulated around the narrative spell of Cunhatã by the Dolphin (an amazonian dolphin named Boto, and mythological figure). This story has been passed down by oral tradition through generations in Amazonian communities, and celebrations like Sairé reframe the myth every year.

In the 1999 edition of the Sairé, a closer dialogue was established between the religious tradition and the pagan aspects through specific performances, dances, costumes, and other tools that resemble another well know festival in Amazon: the Parintins Folklore Festival. In the Parintins Folklore Festival a dispute between two folkloric groups happens. In the Sairé, the dispute occurs between groups that represents two dolphins: the Pink Dolphin[5], and the Black Dolphin (named bu the community Tucuxi). The winning group earns the title of Best Festival of the Year. Over a few years, the Sairé was transferred from the village square to the new arena, named the Sairódromo[6], where the groups perform evolutions of colorful folk dances and songs (the Carimbó[7]). The performance is inspired in the dolphin legend, and has the dolphin as main icon. The allegories have themes and allegories of Amazon (Braga, 2013).

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT FOR THE FESTIVAL

The Sairé is fundamentally organized by Catholic leaders[8] and the community of the town of Alter do Chao, distant 30km from Santarém, on the banks of the Tapajós River. Community leaders are responsible for all the planning, organization and implementation of the event. They are the ones who develop the pilot project and centralize the responsibility for making the event happen and grow with each edition. Most of the community is directly involved in performing the tasks that form the Sairé. It is the community that develops the themes, the costumes, the adornments and the scenery. The responsibility for presenting the event is split between two legally constituted folk associations: The Pink Dolphin and the Tucuxi Dolphin.

The event begins with a procession which is led by the Saraipora[9], which carries the Sairé Arc and is accompanied by two girls holding ribbons. The figure of the 'Chasing Dog', accompanies the procession, as well as a group of players with boxes, fiddle, guitar, and other pilgrims. In this procession the destination is the river bank to pick up two wooden masts that will be fixed in the square: the mast of men and women (Braga, 2004). This activity reinforces the cultural value of equality between men and women in this community, which is represented by the equal height of the masts. Each group fits its mast with fruits and ribbons. The race starts in this scenario where both are equal, and the group that wins is the one that erect the mast faster, showing unity and harmony among people of society. This reinforces the importance of men and women in a complementary manner, and that each of them plays a different role in the community.

The Catholic Church is responsible for the religious part of the event, as the realization of the litanies, the organization of processions of faith, and the rituals and statements of faith and gratitude to God for the abundance in the region. There is even a group called the Community Coordination of Sairé, which supports the entire organization and the event turns out to be the link between the pagan and religious aspects of the festival.

5 Boto Cor-de-Rosa (Pink Dolphin) became known as the Red-Dolphin due to the urban influence of the documentary made by the French oceanographer Jacques Custeau on Amazon, in the 80´s.
6 The Sairódromo is a court with bleachers, and was built in 1997 by the city of Santarém, to host the Dolphin performances.
7 Carimbó dance is a dance of Indian origin. The beat comes from two drums of different sizes that cater to the basic rhythm accompaniment. In the Indian language "Carimbó» - Curi (stick) and Mbo (hollow) means stick that produces sound. It is a dance natural of the state of Pará.
8 Every two years an election takes place, where all leaders of associations and guild village has the right to vote and elect one of the groups that contribute to the coordination of Sairé.
9 Women with advanced age, responsible for driving the symbol Sairé, which is a is a semicircle made of twisted vines, surrounded by cotton and adorned with ribbons and colorful flowers. The symbol has three crosses inside the semicircle and another at the upper end, representing the three persons of the Holy Trinity, one God – it is and indigenous creation based on Portuguese signs.

The two folk associations (formal organizations) are responsible for scenic performances, music and dances that are presented in the main nights of the festival. Each year the two groups choose a theme for their presentation. A group of jurors is chosen, and they pass on the task of evaluating various items that compose the choice of the champion of Dolphin Festival taking into
consideration the evolution of dance, the power of the crowd, the music, among other items. It takes months of work for the entire festival to be ready in September.

SAIRÉ AND THE MARKET

Initially the Sairé festival of Alter do Chão happened in January, along with the feast of the patron saint of the village: Our Lady of Health. Later the community decided to move it to June, but this was also the time when the river is flooded, with few beaches and a rainy month. After 1999 the
two Dolphins' associations, along with the community, decided to hold the event in the second week
of September, giving the possibility of more fun for tourists, ensuring a more successful festival in addition to promoting the economy of the village of Alter do Chão (Nogueira, 2005). Therefore, the event was shaped by the market to be able to meet the demand for cultural consumption.

In conjunction with the preparation of the festivities, tents are available to the community members so they can enable a market of fresh food, drinks and souvenirs for all visitors and tourists. This market boosts income for the community during the days of the event. Moreover, on the first eve of the festivities they begin to mount the Shed of Sairé: a house-shaped structure in which a large part of the Sairé ritualistics take place. It is in the shed, or around it, that most of the activities occur: litanies, raising the masts, the procession to pick up two masts. Those activities end with the overthrow of the mast, the 'breaking cassava'[10], the distribution of *tarubá*'[11] and the arrival of the '*desfeiteira*'[12] (Braga, 2013).

While the religious activities of Sairé take place in the morning, the Festival of the Dolphins occurs at night. The afternoon is designated primarily to swim in the crystal clear waters of the Rio Tapajós which at the time of the festival is in its dry season, revealing the Enchanted Island (when it floods the island is completely submerged). The acces to the island is via canoe, a service offered on the banks of the village. The island, like the waterfront, has a structure of bars and restaurants and is the meeting place of different categories of people: pilgrims, tourists, locals, visitors of Santarém, hippies, and other visitors from the world (Braga, 2013).

Another market dynamic that shapes the Sairé is the one driven by tourism operators. Over the
years they have developed a cultural 'product' related to the site and it´s social groups, and that can be marketed and publicized through the media. In this sense, the religious procession turned into an accessory of the dolphins dispute that takes place in the Sairódromo. The show gained more value because of its tourism potential in synergy with the natural beauties of the place: beaches on the green river Tapajós (Nogueira, 2005). In recent editions surprises has been great in terms of audience for the festival. Many foreign tourists attend the event, along with tourists from around the country and the region itself. The Sairé is now the second largest cultural festival of northern Brazil.

The event has become a great source of income for the community, because during the months preceding the festival, much of the community is already working on preparations for the party. During the days of the event the community is directly involved in the implementation of the party and enabling the related markets. However, Nogueira (2005, p.63) believes that although satisfying "a market that moves millions of real people who produce and legitimize the event, they are not rewarded with improved quality of life." For him, the Sairé strongly involves the community, but is influenced by the dynamics of the market, and develops in the clash of interests between financial capital and local symbolic capital (tradition). "They are the result of conflicts, contacts, friction and collisions between a way of life, and other products, think, and related cosmologically" (Nogueira, 2005, p. 64).

10 Follows the overthrow of the mast - it's like a 'theft ritual' in which participants leave in procession toward the markets of food and beverage, requiring any kind of collaboration, such as money, food, beverage. The contribution with cachaça – a national drink- is the preferred.
11 This drinks can be alcoholic or not, and is made from the fermentation of manioc.
12 Type of rhythmic joke, usually accompanied by a band (in this case the group "Chasing Dog"), in which each participant when they are at home, they go to the center and improvise verses, both for friends, relatives, as well as for the rival dolphins. Who is offended by the jokes, feels the need to retaliate, also in verse form, giving a character if not competitive, at least as a ludic band.

If tourism is the villain that mischaracterizes the local culture, or the hero who promotes the rescue of the culture giving new meaning to it in forgotten places, Wrobel and Long (2001) criticize this reductionism: that underestimate the capacity of the community "to express their desire to dialogue with other stakeholders, to present their own interests in relation to markets provided by tourism". Neither villain nor hero, tourism would be only one of the several dynamics that are transforming cultures ever since the first social groupings in the territories. In this sense, the community of Alter do Chão has been showing very active and reflective about the commodification of Sairé. Critics are already present among some local leaders, and they criticize the excessive visibility given to the Dispute of Dolphins, shading other activities of the party, while the community seeks to strengthen the activities of religious nature. Thus, as a result of tourist interest and market forces has been strengthening community cohesion around the symbolic essential elements of the Sairé - the preservation of cultural identity. Resistance to the power of the market shapes contours of the Sairé seen as cultural enterprise.

STATE FORCES AND RESISTANCE

The government has a key role to enable the Sairé Festival. The bodies of governance provide most of the funds for the completion of the festival. Such organisms are based on public policies for preservation of intangible cultural heritage that are present in Brazil since the Decree 3.551 of 04
August 200013. These policies prioritize issues related to cultural expressions identified as popular, and are being expanded to also engage the ethnic element – particularly of Indigenous or African roots. Accordingly, operationalize the Article 215 of the Constitution of 1988, which in its Paragraph 1 states: "The State shall protect the expressions of popular cultures, indigenous and african-Brazilian, and other groups participating in the national civilizing process "(De Carvalho, 2013, p.1).

Through the distribution of public resources for the cultural sector, the State seeks to create and strengthen channels of dialogue and joint action with the community, in accordance with what is stipulated in Paragraph 1 of Article 216 of the Constitution: "The government, in collaboration with community, promotes and protects the Brazilian cultural heritage through inventories, records, surveillance, tipping and expropriation, and other forms of precaution and preservation (Nogueira, 2013, p.3).

Indeed, in the Sairé reality, various public bodies enabled financial resources for the event structure. The State of Pará provides public safety and infrastructure access to the event. The municipality is left with the responsibility of providing the local presentations, chemical toilets, construction of bleachers, security, sound system, and other details for holding the festival. Recalling that the Sairé was moved from a smaller yard to a specific space - the Sairódromo - it is noteworthy that this was built by the municipal administration of Santarém to host the festivities at the time when it became a spectacle and more interesting for a big tourism consumer market (Nogueira, 2005). So we also have the State forces modeling features of the Sairé Festival throughout history.

The joke becomes an act that requires all professional extreme performance. His revelers excel to make a spectacle technically perfect, they cannot fail in front of the audience. Then, if they start to suffer the pressure of the paying audience, it is evident that modifications to please them are adopted. Within the performing groups a willingness to perform always the best and therefore fill the viewer's eyes with a beautiful spectacle and win him over as a fan / supporter / sponsor. The ingredients of the show - costumes, props, floats, dances and rhythms etc. - are produced within a rational technical / professional that characterizes the distance between what is done by and for the community and what is done by the community for tourists, audiences and media (NOGUEIRA, 2005, p.67).

13 It is the Presidential Decree that established the registry of Intangible Cultural Property as an instrument of recognition and safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage, which made the National Inventory of Cultural References (INRC) as a methodology for the identification and documentation of assets that integrate, and created the National Intangible Heritage in order to channel resources and actions for its recovery.

If the municipal government and the State facilitate the event in Alter do Chão with interests in the income generated by the tourism industry, the community in turn has other plans. It envisions that the resources generated through Sairé will soon be enough for the village to seek emancipation from Santarém, and become an autonomous municipality. Thus, the income originated from the festival will remain in place, instead of favoring the municipality of Santarém and the State of Pará (which is one of the largest in Brazil) diluting the financial benefits of the party. It is observed in this ambition, again, a process of community resistance that is based on strengthening the Sairé as: a tool for strengthening the local communities identity; a market capable of generating resources that should remain in the community; trough the clash for the creation of a new local public management structure that should be more able to meet the particular needs of Alter do Chão and its empowered habitants.

DISCUSSION: CULTURAL ENTERPRISE IN A DIFFERENT WORLD

Interactions involving 'the market' and 'culture' to explain the concept of cultural enterprise is one perspective. The Latin-American experience is less "rational" and more "experiential". In the Latin- American experience 'culture' is sometimes the only resource of a social group to reach not only economic value, but in contrast it can realize significant "social" value. Brulotte (2012) identifies some other forces as identity politics that are beyond the commercial realm, inquiring what it means to be authentic cultural production in contexts of indigenous ethnicity. Confronting archeological discourse and community understanding of cultural production, this author expresses the force of social and racial classification systems to add value (or not) to artifacts and local arts, a debate that makes sense when opposing global north and south. These heuristic processes become more salient when we consider the hybrid concepts that appear in the case of FITB, Colombia (Table 2):

advertainment = advertisemnt + entertainemnt filantrocapitalism = philanthropy + capitalism
Such conceptual conjugation of terms appears to be able to describe the institutional hybridism present in the cases and theory of the Vectors Framework for Cultural Enterprises.

In Vanuatu, while many "indigenous groups are drawing on the resources of a global civil society to reconstitute themselves as traditional communities and retain their creativity and dynamism" (Pigliasco, 2009) they are also challenged to engage with the expatriate dominated tourism industry with both positive and negative outcomes. Indeed, contemporary cultural expressions provide a prism through which we can critically evaluate the nexus between traditional and contemporary perspectives, contextualized in the Geismar's uneasy "hybrid" (2005) relationships between traditional and contemporary artfroms.

This language is echoed in Cahn's (2008) findings in Samoa where microenterprises that successfully "blended" an entrepreneurial style that incorporated Samoan cultural and social forms of governance were able to enhance their sustainability. As Geismar writes, this

"complex, fusing together often polarised categories of thought and spheres of ni-Vanuatu experience. Joining together the national and the local, the urban and the rural, the customary and the commercial, contemporary art powerfully represents ideas about being indigenous in contemporary Vanuatu to outside observers. More and more ni-Vanuatu are turning to the production of contemporary art, forming artist's associations, exhibiting and selling their work (see Geismar 2004). In doing this, they materially unite ideas about kastom with the increasing incursions of urbanism and the cash economy into their everyday lives. Ni-Vanuatu artists make themselves local, national, and international simultaneously through representing and selling kastom to the outside world in national exhibitions and engendering international interest."
(Geismar 2009)

Framing entrepreneurial activity in this way evokes an organizational perspective of the creative ecology concept championed by Howkins (2007; 2009) which argues that CIs are more clearly associated with the notion of an ecology. While it is beyond the scope of this paper, an ecological framework for entrepreneurial activity in the Global South offers the prospect of broadening the scope of research in this field so as to incorporate the role of intangible cultural heritage, intellectual property, and the essential indivisibility of land and the environment, culture, language, and people.

But as Geismar states, this is a very complex dynamic (2009). If industries in the Global South can be said to show properties of an "ecology" then what does this say about the industries in the Global North? Are these "spaces of no culture" (Gershon and Taylor, 2008)? Does creativity in the North occur in a cultural vacuum? In her ethnographic account of the 2008 election campaign in the Port Vila constituency of the Vanuatu national election, Benedicta Rousseau critiques the perspective of observers from the Global North (in this case Australia) who she argues are "culturalist" in that they "dehistoricize" their understanding of what truly constitutes a Melanesian "style". She argues that "due attention must be given to our understandings of people's behaviour in relation to particular institutional settings" (Rousseau, 2012). For most people in Vanuatu concepts such as the Institutional Logics perspective and New Public Governance "remain a distant intellectualizing of what, on a daily basis, is accepted as a normal procedure underpinning local decisions about food, respect, genealogy, ceremony, schooling and development" (Dick and Meltherorong, 2011). Or as Rosanna Raymond writes: "To read about yourself labeled as hybrid and having your authenticity questioned by people outside of your community left me feeling disempowered" (Stevensen, 2011:
153).

Ni-Vanuatu musician and author, Marcel Meltherorong states that

"a lot of us artists in Vanuatu we try and bring the things from the past into the present so that th e future will be better for our children. But we are scared that one day we will lose this: sandrawing, bamboo flute, stories, dance. The meaning of the dance, how to cut the canoe. In Vanuatu we still have this knowledge this structure this kastom which is all about respect – respect of everything and respect of differences. So that's what I try to promote with my music.
(Dick and Meltherorong, 2011)

As we apply the Vectors Framework for Cultural Enterprises (see above) to these three case studies in the Global South, the importance of the power relations that permeate the model. The legacy of colonialism and Christian conversion looms large over each case study site. The Vectors in each site reflect an engagement with a colonizing force; at the same time the Vectors Framework helps us to reframe the engagement from the perspective of the southern cultural actors as a unique claim over the cultural space. The enterprises described in the case studies are each a powerful reminder that in the Global South, traditional culture is not something that exists in the past, a museum artifact, or a fossilized relic. The Vectors Framework for Cultural Enterprises and Van de Donk's hybridized social triangle organisational model (2001_ENREF_22) and the Vectors Framework provide a useful lens to help conceptualize the momentous and momentary modernism of contemporary expressions of living cultures – and the power relations that characterize interactions cultural enterprises in post-colonial settings. Are not the terms "traditional" and "indigenous" (as prefixes for culture) rendered obsolete in this framework? Because any within any of the relationships between the cultural enterprise and the market and/or state (and within the cultural enterprise and the individuals which constitute it) and the community there is a power dynamic at play – usually one that favours the colonizer or expatriate. In the context of this power dynamic, a resistance force may appear – a vector of cultural resistance, perhaps, that acts as a claim over (in/around) the cultural landscape reminding us that none of us come from a place of "no culture" (Gershon and Taylor, 2008). While external forces may act to decharacterize aspects of the festivals and groups (especially in the cases of Leweton and Sairé), as southern communities suffer many interferences of market/financial power, we can see that the cultural enterprises resist and re-claim these spaces and the essential values and traditions through expression of the indivisibility of their intangible cultural heritage and that of modern or contemporary culture.

One of the means to reclaim space is through Social entrepreneurship, another hybrid. According to Austin (2000)

Social Enterprise shows how business, working on its own or partnering with government and civil service organizations, may also contribute to bettering the course of mankind." Businesses, of course, contribute to social welfare by providing goods and services sought by consumers, generating employment, and paying taxes to fund public services. These benefits are inherent to doing business, but they do not turn business into a social enterprise. On the other hand, when business undertake actions with the explicit purpose of generating social value, they enter the realm of social enterprise. Such actions hold the potential for generating a wide range of benefits for companies, from consumer appeal to improved government relations, new product development, knowledge of the market, and success in employee recruitment, motivations, and retention. Whereas most CSOs

focus entirely on producing goods or services aimed at some form of social betterment, a business-based social enterprise functions within a company´s overall operations that are dedicated to social value creation (Austin, 2000).

What else emerges from the fog of uncertainty in these transformative and transforming societies? What emerges from these hyrbidised organizations? In the South American cases, the bottom-up trial and error learning process has a particular resonance. In these sites, the community learns about the potential benefits of commodifying culture, but at the same time they are forced to answer complex questions such as how to share these benfits, and what the community feels to be fair in the matter of income and other collective cost/benefit trade-offs such as maintenance of traditional intellectual property rights, for example.In this paper we have bravely hybridized where no southern community has hybridized before, merging new theories form public policy and governance literature to create a Vectors Framework for Cultural Enterprises. This Framework ma y be useful for illuminating the dynamics of engagement in the production and expression of living cultural heritage in post-colonial settings.

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