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Luis F. Aguado
Ana F. Machado
(Guest Editors)

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2025

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FOREWORD

CULTURAL ECONOMICS IN IBERO-AMERICA

Luis F. Aguado
Ana F. Machado
(Guest Editors)

This special issue devoted to the Economics of Culture in Ibero-America offers an excellent opportunity to gain insight into the current state of research and understanding of how the cultural sector operates in our countries, as analysed by economists from the region. As distinguished economists in the history of economic thought have suggested, culture is the essential ingredient for achieving a good society (Jevons, 1883; Keynes, 1936; Robbins, 1963). Cultural economics is a new subdiscipline —still hardly known in our countries— within the broader field of economics (Aguado et al., 2017; Espinal et al., 2025; Machado, 2016). It focuses on analysing culture as a specific area or sector of the economy. This subfield applies economic reasoning to the study of the creation, production, distribution, and consumption of cultural goods and services (Ginsburgh & Throsby, 2006; Towse, 2019), including the performing arts, visual arts, tangible and intangible heritage, cultural industries, and creative industries.

Its formal recognition as a subdiscipline of economics was consolidated in 1991, when the *Journal of Economic Literature* (JEL) incorporated a specific category within its classification system: Z (Other Special Topics), under the subcategory Z1: Cultural Economics. A decade later, in 2001, the subcategory Z11: Economics

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of the Arts and Literature was established (Towse, 2005). The critical mass of scholars in this field is organised within the Association for Cultural Economics International (ACEI), founded in 1973, whose official journal, the *Journal of Cultural Economics*, published its first issue in May 1977.

In the Ibero-American context, the Red Iberoamericana de Economía de la Cultura (RIEC) and the *Seminario Iberoamericano de Economía de la Cultura* (SIEC) were both created in 2017 and are affiliated with ACEI. The SIEC is held biennially and is now in its fourth edition. It has been hosted by the Schools of Economics at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia (Medellín campus), Universidad Austral de Chile (Valdivia), Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG, Belo Horizonte, Brazil), and, most recently, in 2024, by the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) through the Centro Regional de Investigaciones Multidisciplinarias (CRIM).

This special issue of *Cuadernos de Economía* presents ten articles derived from research projects first presented at the IV SIEC in Mexico. The contributions come from researchers affiliated with universities in five countries —Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Peru—and two of the papers are co-authored with academics from Spanish universities.

#	Country	Authors and Universities	Title
1	Colombia/ Spain	Jonathan Daniel Gómez–Zapata, Universidad Nacional de Colombia; María José del Barrio–Tellado, Universidad de Valladolid (España); Sergio Alejandro Sánchez–Martínez, Universidad Nacional de Colombia.	Towards Participatory Governance in the Management of Cultural Heritage Ecosystems: The Colombian Coffee Cultural Landscape.
2	Chile	Paulina Cruchett Pastrana,. Independent researcher in the cultural and creative sector in Chile.	Creative Economy Entrepreneurship: Political Rationalities in the New Public Management of Chile's Cultural Sector.
3	Colombia	Martha Alicia Yánez Contreras, Universidad del Atlántico (Colombia); Héctor Rafael Mendoza Guardo, Universidad del Atlántico (Colombia).	Cultural Consumer Profile in Colombia: An Approach of Cultural Omnivorousness in Colombia.
4	Chile	Andrea Báez, Universidad Austral de Chile.	Cultural and Leisure Expenditure in Chile: A Quantile Regression Analysis of Socioeconomic and Regional Disparities Using Household Budget Survey Microdata.

(*Continued*)

#	Country	Authors and Universities	Title
5	Argentina	Marina Tortul, Viviana Leonardi; Valentina Viego, Universidad Nacional del Sur (UNS), Argentina.	Economic Value of Intangible Cultural Heritage: An Analysis of Contingent Valuation in Bahía Blanca, Argentina.
6	Brazil	Rafael Dirques David Regis, Universidad Federal Fluminense (Brasil); Julio Cesar Valente Ferreira, Centro Federal de Educación Tecnológica Celso Suckow da Fonseca (Brasil).	Urban Transformations in the Liberdade Japanese Neighbourhood and the Confluence of Events in the Construction of Nipponophilic Capital in São Paulo.
7	Peru/Spain	Luis César Herrero Prieto, Universidad de Valladolid (España); Hristo Angelo Tamayo Gamboa, Universidad de Valladolid (España).	Culture and Economic Development: Building Indicators of Cultural Capital in Peru.
8	Colombia	Aaron Espinosa Espinosa, Paula Barrios Bueno, Universidad Tecnológica de Bolívar (Colombia); Luis Palma Martos, Universidad de Sevilla (España).	Micro-econometric Analysis of Book Reading in Urban and Unequal Contexts: The Case of Cartagena de Indias (Colombia).
9	Colombia	Mario Eduardo Hidalgo Villota, Universidad de Nariño (Colombia); Hernando Meneses Linares, Universidad de Nariño (Colombia).	The Quality of Artistic and Cultural Work in Colombia: From the Material to the Symbolic.
10	Argentina	Marina Tortul, Carolina Tarayre; Silvina Elías, Universidad Nacional del Sur (UNS), Argentina.	Measuring the Degree of Satisfaction of Cultural Events: The Case of the Night of the Museums 2023 in Bahía Blanca, Argentina.

The papers, focused on Latin American economies, address topics such as heritage management, cultural participation, cultural employment, public policies, and economic valuation. The authors' empirical strategies involved the use of latent class models, contingent valuation, and various regression techniques (Poisson, quantile, Tobit, and logistic), as well as multiple correspondence analysis, the construction of pseudo-panels and composite indices, complemented by qualitative case studies.

A joint synthesis of the results reveals that the community's willingness to engage in the sustainability of cultural heritage is conditioned by the degree of trust in governmental actions. The studies also demonstrate the profound influence of socioeconomic and geographical inequalities on access to and participation in cultural activities. Cultural participation is shown to be stratified by income, education, and geographic location. The research identifies structural labour precariousness within the cultural sector, despite its high symbolic value. Furthermore, the valuation of intangible cultural heritage is found to be more closely linked to social appreciation and collective perception than to individual cultural capital, suggesting support for heritage policy initiatives. Finally, the findings provide empirical evidence of the capacity of cultural events to stimulate local economies and strengthen urban identities.

Within the context of Latin American countries, these results combine empirical evidence and economic analysis, contributing to a better understanding of the dynamics of cultural production, consumption, and policy in this part of the world. Taken together, the findings both highlight the complexity of the region's cultural ecosystem —marked by territorial inequalities, access gaps, and labour instability— and contribute to the design and implementation of more equitable and sustainable cultural policies that strengthen the sector and, in doing so, aim to improve people's living conditions.

Undoubtedly, this special issue of *Cuadernos de Economía* marks a milestone for the subdiscipline of cultural economics in Latin America, helping to make visible and strengthen the community of researchers working in this applied field of economics. We hope it will foster greater interest among professional economists in applying economic approaches to the cultural sector and encourage their students to develop undergraduate and graduate research on the topic.

We extend our gratitude to all the authors of the papers, to the referees who evaluated them, and to the Scientific Committee of RIEC/SIEC. We could not close this editorial without acknowledging the warm and consistent support throughout this process from *Cuadernos de Economía*'s editor, Prof. Gonzalo Combita Mora, and editorial assistant, Daniela Cárdenas Sánchez. We are also grateful to Prof. Liliana Chicaíza Becerra, Dean of the Faculty of Economic Sciences at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia, for opening this distinguished faculty to cultural economics, which in 2027 will host the 24th *International Conference on Cultural Economics* of ACEI —taking place for the first time in Latin America.

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EDITORIAL

ECONOMÍA DE LA CULTURA EN IBEROAMÉRICA

Luis F. Aguado
Ana F. Machado
(editores invitados)

Este número especial, dedicado a la economía de la cultura en Iberoamérica, *representa* una excelente oportunidad para conocer los avances en la investigación y la comprensión del funcionamiento del sector cultural en los países de esta región, logrados por economistas de la región. Prestigiosos economistas en la historia del pensamiento económico, tales como Jevons (1883), Keynes (1936) y Robbins (1963), acertaron al afirmar que la cultura es el ingrediente básico para construir una sociedad saludable. En particular, la economía de la cultura es una subdisciplina joven de la economía y poco conocida en nuestros países (Aguado *et al.*, 2017; Machado, 2016; Espinal *et al.*, 2025). Se enfoca en el análisis de la cultura como un sector específico de la economía; y despliega el enfoque económico al estudio de la creación, la producción, la distribución y el consumo de bienes y servicios culturales: artes escénicas y visuales; patrimonio material e inmaterial; e industrias culturales y creativas (Ginsburgh y Throsby, 2006; Towse, 2019).

Su reconocimiento formal como subdisciplina de la economía se consolidó en 1991, cuando el *Journal of Economic Literature* (*JEL*) integró una categoría espe-

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cífica dentro de su sistema de clasificación: Z ("Otros temas especiales"), en la subcategoría Z1: Economía de la cultura. Una década más tarde, en 2001, se creó, a su vez, la subcategoría Z11: "Economía de las artes y la literatura" (Towse, 2005). Conviene agregar que los investigadores de esta rama de la economía se agrupan en la Association for Cultural Economics International (Acei), creada en 1973, y que su revista oficial es el *Journal of Cultural Economics*, cuya primera edición tuvo lugar en mayo de 1977.

En el contexto iberoamericano, se cuenta con la Red Iberoamericana de Economía de la Cultura (Riec) y el Seminario Iberoamericano de Economía de la Cultura (Siec), ambos creados en 2017 y articulados con la Acei. El seminario, que se realiza de manera bianual, ya ha tenido cuatro ediciones y ha sido hospedado por las facultades de economía de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia-Sede Medellín, la Universidad Austral de Chile (Valdivia), la Universidad Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG, Belo Horizonte, Brasil) y, en 2024, por la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Unam), a través del Centro Regional de Investigaciones Multidisciplinarias (Crim).

Este número especial de *Cuadernos de Economía* da a conocer diez artículos, en los que se exponen resultados de investigaciones presentadas en el IV Seminario Iberoamericano de Economía de la Cultura, en México. Los artículos derivan de investigadores de universidades de Argentina, Brasil, Chile, Colombia y Perú; además, dos artículos tienen coautoría de investigadores de universidades españolas:

N.°	País	Autores (institución)	Título del artículo
1	Colombia y España	Jonathan Daniel Gómez Zapata (Universidad Nacional de Colombia), María José del Barrio Tellado (Universidad de Valladolid, España) y Sergio Alejandro Sánchez Martínez (Universidad Nacional de Colombia)	Towards Participatory Governance in the Management of Cultural Heritage Ecosystems: The Colombian Coffee Cultural Landscape
2	Chile	Paulina Cruchett Pastrana (investigadora independiente del sector cultural y creativo en Chile)	Creative Economy Entrepreneurship: Political Rationalities in the New Public Management of Chile's Cultural Sector
3	Colombia	Martha Alicia Yánez Contreras y Héctor Rafael Mendoza Guardo (Universidad del Atlántico, Colombia)	Cultural Consumer Profile in Colombia: An Approach of Cultural Omnivorousness in Colombia

(*Continúa*)

N.°	País	Autores (institución)	Título del artículo
4	Chile	Andrea Báez (Universidad Austral de Chile)	Cultural and Leisure Expenditure in Chile: A Quantile Regression Analysis of Socioeconomic and Regional Disparities, Using Household Budget Survey Microdata
5	Argentina	Marina Tortul, Viviana Leonardi y Valentina Viego (Universidad Nacional del Sur, Argentina)	Economic Value of Intangible Cultural Heritage: An Analysis of Contingent Valuation in Bahía Blanca, Argentina
6	Brasil	Rafael Dirques David Regis (Universidad Federal Fluminense, Brasil) y Julio Cesar Valente Ferreira (Centro Federal de Educación Tecnológica Celso Suckow da Fonseca, Brasil)	Urban Transformations in the Liberdade Japanese Neighborhood and the Confluence of Events in the Construction of Nipophilic Capital in São Paulo
7	Perú y España	Luis César Herrero Prieto (Universidad de Valladolid, España) y Hristo Angelo Tamayo Gamboa (Universidad de Valladolid, España)	Culture and Economic Development: Building Indicators of Cultural Capital in Perú
8	Colombia	Aaron Espinosa Espinosa, Paula Barrios Bueno (Universidad Tecnológica de Bolívar, Colombia) y Luis Palma Martos (Universidad de Sevilla, España)	Microeconometric Analysis of Book Reading in Urban and Unequal Contexts: The Case of Cartagena de Indias (Colombia)
9	Colombia	Mario Eduardo Hidalgo Villota (Universidad de Nariño, Colombia) y Hernando Meneses Linares (Universidad de Nariño, Colombia)	The Quality of Artistic and Cultural Work in Colombia: From the Material to the Symbolic
10	Argentina	Marina Tortul, Carolina Tarayre y Silvina Elías (Universidad Nacional del Sur, Argentina)	Measuring the Degree of Satisfaction of Cultural Events: The Case of the Night of the Museums 2023 in Bahía Blanca, Argentina

Los artículos, todos centrados en economías de América Latina, exploran temáticas como la gestión patrimonial, la participación cultural, el empleo cultural, las políticas públicas y la valoración económica. La estrategia empírica de sus autores implicó el uso de modelos de clases latentes, valoración contingente, regresiones (Poisson, cuantílica, Tobit, logística), análisis de correspondencias múltiples y la construcción de seudopaneles e índices compuestos, complementados con estudios cualitativos de casos.

Una síntesis conjunta de los resultados pone en evidencia que la disposición de la comunidad a participar en la sostenibilidad del patrimonio cultural está condicionada por la confianza en las acciones gubernamentales. Así también, revelan la profunda influencia de las desigualdades socioeconómicas y geográficas en el acceso y la participación cultural. Se constata que la participación cultural está estratificada por ingreso, educación y localización geográfica. Se identifica la precariedad laboral estructural en el sector cultural frente a su alta valoración simbólica. Asimismo, se encuentra que la valoración del patrimonio cultural inmaterial está más vinculada a la valoración social y la percepción colectiva que al capital cultural individual, lo que lleva a sugerir el apoyo a políticas de patrimonialización. Por último, se ofrece evidencia empírica acerca de la capacidad de los eventos culturales para dinamizar economías locales y reforzar identidades urbanas.

Los anteriores resultados, del contexto latinoamericano, integran evidencia empírica y análisis económicos, de modo que aportan a una mejor comprensión de las dinámicas de producción, consumo y de política culturales en esta zona del globo. En conjunto, los resultados, de un lado, dan cuenta de la complejidad del ecosistema cultural en la región, caracterizado por desigualdades territoriales, brechas de acceso y precariedad laboral. Por otro lado, contribuyen al diseño e implementación de políticas culturales más equitativas y sostenibles que fortalecen al sector y, con ello, a mejorar las condiciones de vida de las personas.

Sin duda, este número especial de la revista, que marca un hito para la subdisciplina de la economía de la cultura en América Latina, contribuye a visibilizar y fortalecer la comunidad que investiga en esta área aplicada de la economía. Esperamos que, asimismo, despierte mayor interés de economistas profesionales por aplicar el enfoque económico al sector y que ellos animen a sus estudiantes a realizar sus trabajos de grado y tesis sobre esta materia.

Nuestros agradecimientos a todos los autores de los artículos, a los árbitros que los evaluaron y al Comité Científico de la Riec/Siec. No podríamos cerrar este editorial sin agradecer el cálido y permanente apoyo a lo largo de todo este proceso al profesor Gonzalo Combita Mora, editor de *Cuadernos de Economía,* a Daniela Cárdenas Sánchez, la asistente editorial de la revista. Asimismo, a la profesora Liliana Chicaíza Becerra, decana de la Facultad de Ciencias Económicas de la Universidad de Nacional de Colombia, por abrir esta importante facultad a la economía de la cultura, la cual, en 2027 hospedará a la *24th International Conference on Cultural Economics* de la ACEI que, por primera vez, se llevará a cabo en América Latina.

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ARTÍCULO

MICROECONOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF BOOK READING IN UNEQUAL URBAN CONTEXTS. THE CASE OF CARTAGENA DE INDIAS (COLOMBIA)

Aaron Espinosa Espinosa, Luis Palma Martos, Paula Barrios Bueno

Espinosa Espinosa, A., Palma Martos, L., & Barrios Bueno, P. (2025). Microeconometric analysis of book reading in unequal urban contexts. The case of Cartagena de Indias (Colombia). ***Cuadernos de Economía, 44*****(96), 1093-1123.**

Among the major Colombian cities, Cartagena de Indias exhibits the lowest book reading habit. This paper empirically analyses the factors associated with book reading as a form of cultural participation between 2011 and 2019. We evaluate the role of traditional and local variables in individual decisions to read, using microdata from the Cartagena Como Vamos (CCV) program to estimate a pseudo panel

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that models reading habit persistence. Book reading behaves atypically in relation to age and income. In addition to the effects of local variables, such as stratification, poverty, and social capital, time availability notoriously restricts the possibilities of enjoying reading.

Keywords: Reading books; cultural participation; probit models; pseudo-panel models; Cartagena de Indias.
JEL: C25, D12, R22, Z10, Z11.

Espinosa Espinosa, A., Palma Martos, L., & Barrios Bueno, P. (2025). Lectura de libros en contextos urbanos desiguales: un análisis microeconométrico de Cartagena de Indias. *Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1093-1123.

Entre las principales ciudades colombianas, Cartagena de Indias presenta el hábito de lectura de libros más bajo. Este artículo analiza, de manera empírica, los factores asociados a la lectura de libros como forma de participación cultural en esta ciudad caribeña colombiana entre 2011 y 2019. Se evalúa el papel de variables tradicionales y locales en la decisión individual de leer, y se utilizan microdatos del programa Cartagena Cómo Vamos para estimar un pseudopanel que modela la persistencia del hábito de lectura. La lectura de libros se comporta de manera atípica en relación con la edad y los ingresos; además de los efectos de variables locales como la estratificación, la pobreza y el capital social, es el tiempo disponible, sujeto al rol de los individuos, la variable que más restringe las posibilidades de disfrutar de la lectura.

Palabras clave: lectura de libros; participación cultural; modelos probit; modelos de pseudopanel, Cartagena de Indias.

JEL: C25, D12, R22, Z10, Z11.

INTRODUCTION

Books plays a fundamental role in cultural reflection. As Borges (1952, p. 27) noted, a book is not only "a verbal structure" but also "an infinite dialogue" between author and reader, shaped by interpretation. From an economic perspective, Throsby (2020, pp. 168-169) defines books as cultural goods that "embody, store, or yield cultural value" alongside their economic value, based on attributes such as aesthetic quality, symbolic meaning, and historical significance. Within the capability framework, reading constitutes a functioning —a state of well-being— that enables the fundamental freedom of literacy, which in turn contributes to improved outcomes in productivity, reproductive health, nutrition, political participation, and social interaction (Sen, 2005).

In the field of cultural economics, book reading is a key cultural activity, not only because of its educational and symbolic value but also from a cultural economics perspective. In addition to fostering human and cultural capital, it generates positive externalities, functions as an experience good, and contributes significantly to the development of cultural industries and broader cultural participation (Ateca-Amestoy, 2010; Cameron & Trivedi, 2005; Throsby, 2001).

This study examines Cartagena de Indias, a city with the highest levels of monetary poverty and social exclusion among Colombia's major urban centres (Ayala & Meisel, 2016). These challenges are compounded by pronounced ethnic and spatial segregation, limiting access to public and merit goods (Espinosa et al., 2018). According to the Cartagena Cómo Vamos (CCV) program, approximately 33 % of residents reported reading books in recent years—second only to newspapers (34 %)—although participation has sharply declined. By 2022, post-pandemic data showed that only 15 % reported reading a book in the past year, half the rate in Bogotá (31 %).

Several factors highlight the relevance of studying Cartagena. The decline in reading coincides with a sustained deterioration in education quality, as reflected in standardized test results (Meisel & Granger, 2022). Reading practices are also spatially and socially stratified, mirroring broader urban inequalities. Moreover, existing empirical studies (Gamboa & Reina, 2006; López, 2008; Palma et al., 2014) rely on nationally representative data with limited territorial disaggregation and often apply cross-sectional analysis. These limitations hinder the understanding of reading as a habit formed through repeat consumption and learning (Lévy-Garboua & Montmarquette, 2001).

This study aims to identify and empirically analyse the determinants of book reading in Cartagena using a cultural economics framework. Drawing on microdata from CCV, contextual variables, and a pseudo-panel estimation strategy, it assesses habit persistence in reading behaviour over time (2011–2019). The analysis considers both conventional factors—income, time, and cultural capital—and structural and territorial variables that capture intra-urban inequality.

The study makes three main contributions. First, it applies a replicable methodology to examine the persistence of reading habits, offering a model for similar unequal urban contexts in Colombia and Latin America. Second, it empirically evaluates a set of factors that expand both the conceptual and empirical reach of the traditional explanatory framework, grounded in models of rational addiction and learning-by-consuming (Becker, 1965, 1974; Becker & Murphy, 1988; Lévy-Garboua & Montmarquette, 1996). Finally, the study provides input for the design of spatially and territorially-informed public policies, thereby improving the targeting of actions by governments and other organizations to promote reading.

The next section of this paper presents the theoretical background and a review of the most relevant literature on this cultural activity. The third section explains the dataset, methodology, and empirical strategy used to address the research question. The fourth presents descriptive and empirical results obtained from the estimation of a continuous cross-sectional model (pseudo-panel). In the final section, the findings are discussed and the study's conclusions are presented.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

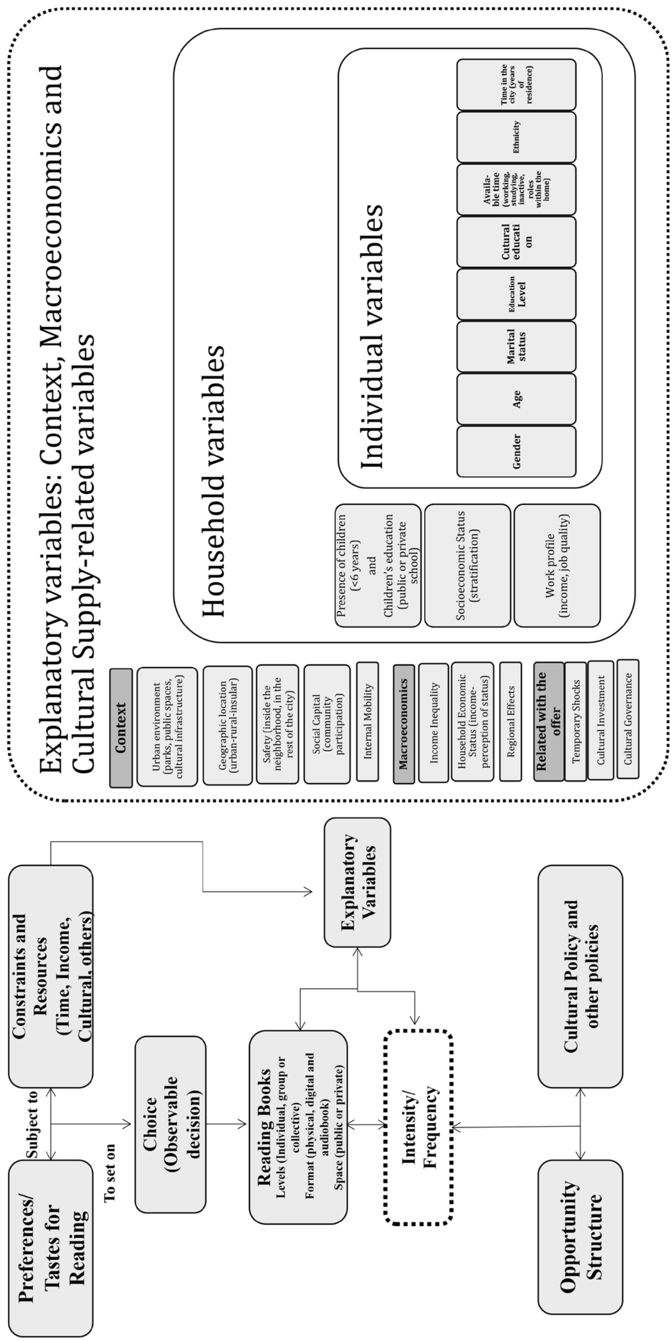
Book reading as an economic decision

This study is grounded in three key frameworks: the theory of demand for cultural goods by Lévy-Garboua and Montmarquette (1996, 2001), Throsby's concept of cultural capital, and Ateca-Amestoy's empirical research on cultural participation (2009, 2010, 2016). Lévy-Garboua and Montmarquette conceptualize cultural goods as experience goods, where utility is built through learning and habit formation. Cultural taste, they argue, is acquired—not innate—and shaped by education and socialization (Lévy-Garboua & Montmarquette, 2001).

Throsby (2001, 2020) defines cultural capital as a distinct form of capital that underpins both the supply and demand of cultural goods. It is cumulative, closely related to human capital, and contributes both economic (use, consumption, investment) and cultural (identity, memory, creativity, cohesion) value. This dual value justifies public intervention in cultural sectors—particularly where market failures prevent the full realization of social benefits, such as in reading policies in socioeconomically unequal cities (Throsby, 2001).

Ateca-Amestoy (2009, 2010) and Ateca-Amestoy et al. (2017) identify both individual (education, income, age, gender, family background) and contextual (geographic access, cultural infrastructure) factors as significant drivers of cultural participation. These perspectives coincide in emphasizing that cultural consumption is shaped not only by prices and income but also by preference formation, time allocation, and cultural capital accumulation.

Figure 1.
Explanatory factors and dimensions of cultural participation in book reading



With a focus on book reading—and following UNESCO's (1985) definition and Martinell's (2013) framework—participation can be analysed across levels, formats, and spaces (Figure 1). In the first dimension, the decision to engage in reading may be individual, group-based (e.g., reading clubs), or collective, as in the case of public or private reading promotion programs. The second dimension focuses on the medium through which reading occurs—whether traditional (print), digital, or newer formats such as audiobooks. Finally, book reading takes place in either private or public spaces, where reading conditions and the level of interaction vary (e.g., at home, in the workplace, or on public transport).

Reading is a deliberate, time-distributed activity aimed at enhancing individual capabilities through knowledge and cultural enrichment (Canoy et al., 2006). It involves the allocation of resources—such as time, access devices, or transportation—to attain cultural experiences that foster cognitive engagement and future cultural consumption (Fernández & Prieto, 2009).

Reading, as an economic decision, is driven by individual preferences and constrained by resources—primarily time and income (Figure 1). Books, as cultural goods, involve cumulative preferences that evolve through consumption (Gray, 2003; McCain, 2003; Throsby, 2001). This dynamic reflects mechanisms of rational addiction and experiential learning, where preferences are shaped through prior engagement (Levy-Garboua & Montmarquette, 1996).

Beyond time, income, and cultural capital, structural factors also influence reading behaviour. Aguado and Palma (2015) emphasize the role of broader determinants in shaping the economic and social valuation of cultural participation. Espinosa (2022) empirically identifies such factors—spanning individual (e.g., poverty, ethnicity, migration), household, and contextual dimensions (e.g., stratification, social capital, infrastructure)—and estimates their impact on cultural and sports participation in Colombia's five major cities. These findings highlight how leisure choices are embedded in wider inequalities in income and access, reflecting regional disparities (Meisel & Hanh, 2020).

Evidence from literature

Research on book reading has taken multiple approaches, generally situated within the framework of the economics of books (Canoy et al., 2006). Key areas of analysis include access mechanisms—primarily public library lending (Løyland & Ringstad, 2008, 2011)—and book demand, influenced by market variables such as price (Barrot et al., 2015; Ringstad & Løyland, 2006; Villarroya & Escardíbul, 2010). Early Scandinavian studies underscore the role of libraries in mitigating access barriers, treating books as merit goods. This effect is more pronounced when controlling for age and education.

A related strand focuses on consumption and participation, linking reading behaviour to microeconomic and individual-level variables (Canoy et al., 2006;

Fernández-Blanco & Prieto Rodríguez, 2009). These studies incorporate demographic and socioeconomic indicators, as well as proxies for cultural capital—both physical (e.g., reading devices) and specific (e.g., stated genre preferences).

Book reading also drives the creative economy, serving as an input for industries such as publishing, film, television, and gaming. Ateca-Amestoy (2010) highlights a positive correlation between reading habits and broader cultural participation, which strengthens local cultural ecosystems and generates employment in knowledge-intensive sectors.

In Colombia, the study by Palma et al. (2014) stands out for examining factors that influence book reading and library attendance using data from the Colombian National Department of Statistics (DANE) cultural consumption survey. The authors estimate multilevel logistic regressions, showing that educational level and socioeconomic status positively affect the decision to read. According to the variation measure estimated in the study, a significant proportion of the propensity to read can be attributed to unobserved neighbourhood factors, underscoring the role of the local environment in fostering reading habits (Palma et al., 2014). However, despite the progress represented by this work, the survey used lacks sufficient territorial representativeness, limiting its applicability for designing local public policies.

Another representative study on Colombia is that of Gamboa and Reina (2006). The study suggests a displacement of book reading toward other formats, particularly digital content on the internet, and highlights the substitutability between the two due to the time constraints faced by Colombians. It also proposes a hypothesis for the decline in reading rates in the country: the low purchasing power of the population.

METHODOLOGY: DATA SET AND EMPIRICAL STRATEGY

Data set

This study utilises microdata from the Encuesta de Percepción Ciudadana (EPC) of the CCV program, covering the period from 2011 to 2019. The EPC data are complemented with annual aggregated variables from DANE, such as household income. The survey is conducted annually across households, sampling between 1100 and 1250 individuals aged 18 and older that reside in dwellings across six socioeconomic strata. The sampling design is multi-stage, stratified by socioeconomic level, and clustered by cartographic sections, with a 95 % confidence level. It gathers self-reported information about household participation in book reading over the past year (Table 1, participation in cultural activities, option 10). Following Aguado and Palma (2015) and Espinosa (2022), a set of variables was included to better capture the structural factors that influence participation, as well as the heterogeneity and importance of the local context (Table 1).

Table 1.
Study variables (definition, characteristics, and typology)

Variable	Definition	Typology	Description	Factor/ Variable
Participation in cultural activities	Cultural activities take place in the city during the year. In which of the activities described in this card did you participate in the last year? 1. Theatre 2. Cinema 3. Concerts 4. Fairs 5. Conferences 6. Popular festivities 7. Gatherings 8. Carnival 9. Visit museums/galleries/libraries/ cultural houses 10. Read books 11. Read newspapers/magazines. 12. Visit monuments/historical sites. 13. Other. Which one? ______ 14. None	*Dummy* (D)	1 = Participates in activity 10 on the list; 0 = Does not participate in reading books	Dependent
Gender	Gender of the head of household	D	1= Male; 0= Female	Traditional
Age	Age range of those who participate in carnival activities	Ordered (O)	1= 18 to 25 years; 2= 26 to 35 years; 3= 36 to 45 years; 4= 46 to 55 years and 6= Older than 55 years.	Traditional

(*Continued*)

Variable	**Definition**	**Typology**	**Description**	**Factor/ Variable**
Time availability	Do you currently...?	D	1 = Retirees; 2 = Work outside the home; 3 = Work at home; 4 = Study; 5 = Work and study; and 6 = Head of household.	Traditional
Human capital	Educational level	O	1 = None; 2 = Primary education; 3 = High school; 4 = Tertiary education (university undergraduate + postgraduate: specialization, master's or doctorate).	Traditional
Income per inhabitant	Per capita income of the expenditure unit (household) of Cartagena	Continue (C)	In constant Colombian pesos of the year 2015.	Traditional
Objective poverty (Lack of food)	Did you skip any one of the three meals of the day in the past week?	D	1= Yes; 0=No	Structural
Subjective poverty (self-perception)	Do you consider yourself poor?	D	1= Yes; 0=No	Structural
Socioeconomic status	Socioeconomic stratification	O	Low level = strata 1 and 2; Medium: strata 3 and 4; High: 5 and 6	Structural
Social capital	Belongs to a community-based organization other than cultural (civic, professional, sports, religious, social clubs, among others.)	D	1= Yes; 0=No	Structural
Place of residence (Fixed effects)	*Dummy* by locality: 1) Virgen and Turística, 2) Histórica and Caribe Norte, 3) Industrial and de la Bahía).	D	1 = Yes (reference locality) 0 = Rest of localities	Structural

The dependent variable, book reading, adheres to UNESCO's definition: "a non-periodical printed publication consisting of at least 49 pages, [...] published in the country and made available to the public" (UNESCO, 1985, p. 147). However, the EPC also includes digital formats and audiobooks. Regarding the reasons for reading, the EPC aligns with the criteria established by DANE's cultural consumption survey, which includes motives such as enjoyment, work requirements, educational demands, general culture, and sharing with children, among others (DANE, 2023).

The model includes traditional variables such as gender, age, available time, human capital, and per capita household income. Human capital is defined following Ateca-Amestoy (2009) as a stock used to generate cultural consumption experiences—here, book reading—and is proxied by formal education, as the Cartagena Como Vamos- Citizen Perception Survey (CPS) lacks data on specific education on culture.

The time availability variable is inferred from household roles, as it is not directly measured by the survey. For example, individuals who work and study are assumed to have limited discretionary time, regardless of their income level. Household income corresponds to the expenditure unit income reported by DANE, which reflects intra-household income disparities.

Finally, structural variables include socioeconomic strata, poverty status, local security (at neighbourhood and city levels), and social capital, capturing contextual inequalities in access to resources and opportunities (Figure 1). Although book reading correlates positively with library use (Aguado et al., 2018; Palma et al., 2014), the survey aggregates this with museum and gallery visits, and is therefore excluded from the analysis.

Empirical strategy

Given the binary nature of the dependent variable, Probit models are estimated within a pseudo-panel framework. These models, grounded in the random utility theory (McFadden, 1973), assume individuals derive utility from engaging in cultural activities such as book reading. Estimating separate cross-sections poses endogeneity concerns due to omitted variables and simultaneity.

To address this, fixed effects can be introduced to control for unobserved time-invariant heterogeneity. Although true panel data are unavailable, a pseudo-panel approach (Deaton, 1985) enables consistent estimation under certain conditions (Verbeek, 2008). Common strategies include the use of cohort dummies (Collado, 1997) and instrumental variables (Deaton, 1985; Moffitt, 1993).

Following Moffitt (1993), Mardones & Zapata (2019), and Espinosa et al. (2021), the empirical specification models the probability of book reading participation for individuals in household i in locality j of Cartagena, using T repeated cross-sections:

$$Y_{ijt} = x'_{ijt}\beta + \emptyset_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ijt} \qquad i,j = 1, \dots N; \;\; t = 1, \dots T \tag{1}$$

In equation (1), Y_{ijt} is the dependent variable for observation *ij* at time *t*; β is the vector of coefficients representing the effects of the explanatory variables on the dependent variable; X_{ijt} is a K-dimensional vector of explanatory variables; and ε_{ijt} is the error term, which captures the unexplained differences between the dependent variable and the linear combination of the explanatory variables and their associated effects.

Instrumental variable (IV) estimation is a standard approach for identifying Equation 3 (Moffitt, 1993). Following Moffitt (1993) and Espinosa et al. (2021) in the context of Colombian leisure activities, the analysis employs dynamic binary choice models with IV estimators derived from cohort-time interactions. This pseudo-panel strategy, based on homogenous cohorts, enables fixed effects estimation. As Moffitt notes, the within-cohort estimator in this framework is equivalent to two-stage least squares using individual data, with cohort-time interactions serving as valid instruments.

Moffitt's procedure is equivalent to decomposing the individual fixed effects $\emptyset_{ij}$ into a cohort effect $\emptyset_{ct}$ and an individual-specific deviation:

$$\emptyset_{ij} = \sum_{c=1}^{C} \emptyset_c W_{cij} + \mu_{ij} \tag{2}$$

Where W_{cij} is a binary (dummy) variable equal to 1 if household *i* in locality *j* belongs to cohort *c*. This variable essentially identifies the cohort to which each household belongs, based on the available data.

Given that the proposed model is estimated by using a two-stage instrumental variables strategy, the corresponding equations for each stage are explicitly presented in line with the empirical structure of the analysis. The first stage models the relationship between potentially endogenous explanatory variables and a set of instruments constructed from cohort and time information. This stage is specified as follows:

$$X_{ijt} = \Gamma Z_{ct} + \eta_{ijt} \tag{3}$$

Where X_{ijt} is the vector of explanatory variables, Z_{ct} represents the instruments (such as cohort means or time dummies), Γ is the vector of parameters to be estimated, and η_{ijt} is the first-stage error term.

In the second stage, the explanatory variables are replaced with their predicted values from the first stage (x_{ijt}) and used in the structural equation of the model:

$$Y_{ijt} = x'_{ijt}\beta + \sum_{c=1}^{C} \emptyset_c W_{cij} + \mu_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ijt} \tag{4}$$

In equation (4), if $\emptyset_c$ is correlated with the vector of explanatory variables x'_{ijt}, then it is likely that the individual deviations μ_{ij} and x'_{ijt} are also correlated, which may bias the estimated coefficients. However, if the instruments for x'_{ijt} are assumed to be uncorrelated with $\mu_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ijt}$, then instrumental variable (IV) estimation yields consistent estimates.

To address potential endogeneity, social capital is instrumented, considering two primary sources: reverse causality—where reading may influence group participation and vice versa—and omitted variable bias, particularly the absence of variables such as specialized educational background (e.g., participation in literary or journalistic workshops) due to data constraints (Ateca, 2009). Instrumental variables also help correct for measurement error, a common issue in pseudo-panel data models.

The Moffitt estimation method is applied, constructing age cohorts by locality and year following Espinosa et al. (2021), based on the methodology of Guillerm (2017) and Mora and Muro (2014). This strategy maintains cohort representativeness while ensuring sample adequacy and mitigating selection bias. Moffitt's approach is preferred due to (a) its robustness to cohort size variability and (b) the interpretability of its estimators, analogous to Probit or Logit models in terms of predicted probabilities.

Guillerm (2017) proposes three criteria for defining cohorts: (a) Each individual must belong to only one cohort, (b) Similar individuals must remain in the same cohort over time, and (c) To minimize errors, a large number of cohorts with substantial observation sizes should be constructed. Verbeek and Nijman (1993) recommend at least 100 individuals per cohort to obtain robust estimates. As shown below, the sample includes 8302 observations divided into 40 cohorts for the three localities in Cartagena (Table 2).

Table 2.
Cohorts by age and localities by year in Cartagena de Indias, 2011-2019

Cohort / year	2011	2012	2013	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
18-25	241	197	220	185	204	207	228	152	1634
26-35	194	200	189	203	219	206	181	182	1574
36-45	193	168	170	269	166	223	180	205	1574
46-55	168	156	160	226	178	189	182	219	1478

(*Continued*)

Cohort / year	2011	2012	2013	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
More than 55	204	280	261	253	242	187	252	363	2042
Total	1000	1001	1000	1136	1009	1012	1023	1121	8302

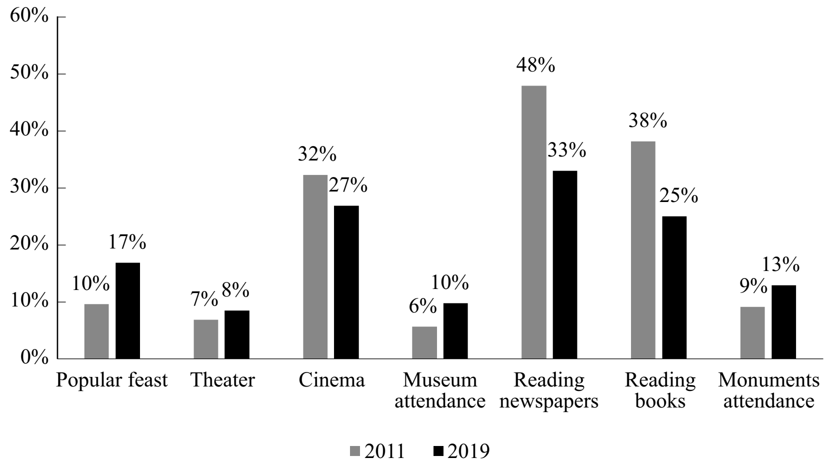
*: The year 2014 is omitted because that year the rural area was equated to a locality. With the addition of this year, the total number of observations is 9204 (see Annex 2).
**: Annual data include all three localities. The data are presented annually to show compliance with Verbeek and Nijman's recommendations.

RESULTS

Stylized facts

In Cartagena, book reading is the second most common cultural activity, though participation has declined over time (Figure 2). On average, 29 % of the population reported reading at least one book annually, slightly below newspaper reading (33 %), the highest reported activity. Both show high temporal variability (Annexes 1 and 2). As previously noted, Cartagena ranks below the national average in reading habits, reflecting the persistent shortcomings of its public education system (Meisel & Granger, 2022). According to DANE's National Reading Survey (2017), residents of Cartagena read an average of four books per year, compared to seven in Medellín and a national average of five.

Figure 2.
Evolution of participation in cultural activities in Cartagena de Indias, 2011-2019



As noted by Aguado et al. (2018) and Palma et al. (2014), book reading behaves as a complementary good to library attendance. Access occurs via public (libraries) and private (bookstores) channels. While the CPS does not track library attendance directly, data on the local library network was available. From an economic standpoint, public libraries may cease to act as merit goods when congested or poorly managed (Friehe & Baumann, 2019). Bookstores function as market mechanisms for book access, though high book prices increase demand for public borrowing (Løyland & Ringstad, 2008).

Cartagena has 19 public libraries, 13 (68 %) of which are in Locality 2 (La Virgen y Turística), the area with the highest incidence of poverty. The remaining libraries are evenly distributed between Locality 1 (Histórica y del Caribe Norte), which exhibits the highest living standards, and Locality 3 (Industrial y de la Bahía). Although both libraries and bookstores serve as key infrastructures that facilitate book reading, Cartagena exhibits one of the lowest rates of access to public libraries and bookstores among the major Colombian cities (Table 4).

Furthermore, the city registers the lowest density of libraries per square kilometre, highlighting the influence of factors such as urban mobility, time availability, and other local environmental conditions on this form of cultural participation. As shown in Table 3, when compared with Cali—a city of similar land area and twice the population, located in western Colombia —Cartagena has only half the number of bookstores and four times fewer public libraries.

Analysis of CPS-based cohorts reveals significant disparities in book reading across age groups and localities, with a notable decline from 2011 to 2019 (Figures 3A and 3B). In 2011, individuals aged 55 and over showed the highest participation but, by 2019, they recorded the lowest. Locally, the Histórica y Caribe Norte zone reported the highest reading rates, while the Virgen y Turística, and the Industrial y de la Bahía zones showed the lowest. These patterns suggest that book reading, as a cultural good, is strongly influenced by the population's socioeconomic conditions.

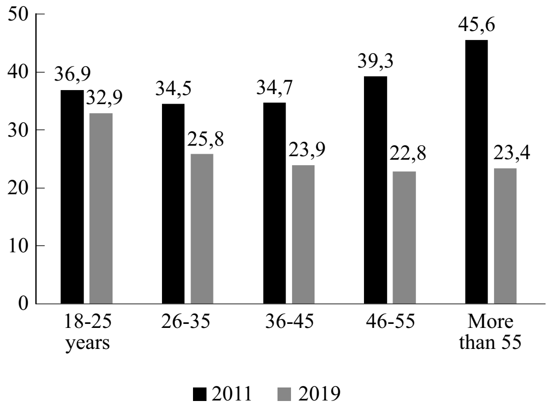
Despite these constraints, Cartagena has implemented reading promotion initiatives. The most notable is Leer el Caribe, a cultural policy program that for over 22 years has engaged approximately 11 000 public school students at the lower and middle education level. Aimed at stimulating cultural demand, the program provides access to literature by Caribbean Colombian authors, offering teacher training, literary analysis workshops, and student-author encounters in schools, libraries, and bookstores (Banco de la República, 2025).

Table 3.
Basic infrastructure to support reading in Cartagena and major Colombian cities (comparative)

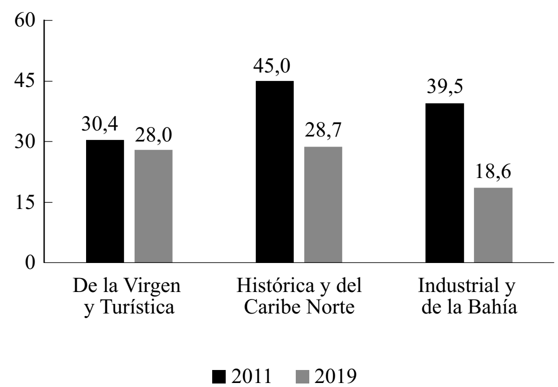
	Bookstore (N°)	**Public libraries (N°)**	**Neighbourhoods (N°)**	**Bookstore (per 100 000 inhabitants)**	**Public libraries (per 100 neighbourhoods)**	**Agglomeration (Bookstore + Libraries /Km2)**
Cartagena	29	19	205	2.76	6.83	0.08
Bogotá	192	27	1922	2.39	1.40	0.13
Medellín	130	26	275	4.81	9.45	0.41
Cali	54	64	249	2.37	25.70	0.19
Barranquilla	39	5	188	2.94	2.66	0.29
Bucaramanga	56	7	200	8.96	3.50	0.39

Figure 3.
Book reading by age and locality (cohorts), 2011–2019

3A. Reading rate by cohort according to age (%)



3B. Reading rate by cohort according to locality (%)



To deepen the analysis, the CPS data are explored to determine whether differences between book readers and non-readers are statistically significant within the sample collected during the study period. Specifically, whether these differences can be attributed to each variable theoretically linked to the decision to participate in this activity (Table 4).

The first result indicates that there are statistically significant differences between book readers and non-readers in Cartagena, based on the variables influencing the individual decision to participate in this cultural activity. Book consumers in Cartagena generally exhibit medium to high levels of cultural capital, as evidenced by the fact that over 80 % have secondary or higher education. More than half (55 %) of the participants have secondary education, indicating that book reading is not exclusively concentrated in the city's segments with the highest cultural capital.

Most readers are aged 55 and older, although this age group also represents the largest number of non-readers. Differences in time availability between readers and non-readers are significant and vary based on employment or educational status. For example, differences are notable among those who work and study, only study, or are theoretically more available, such as retirees and unemployed individuals.

Table 4.
Profile of book readers and non-readers in Cartagena (means difference test), 2011-2019

Variable: Reading books (No, Yes)	No (N = 5534)	Yes (N = 2768)	Mean Difference Tests
Gender (Male=1; Woman=0)	0.456	0.472	
Age			
18 - 25	0.184	0.211	**
26 - 35	0.196	0.178	*
36 - 45	0.200	0.173	**
46 - 55	0.183	0.171	
> 55	0.238	0.267	**
Educational Level			
None	0.022	0.012	***
Primary	0.160	0.115	***
Secondary	0.569	0.497	***
Tertiary	0.250	0.377	***
Available Time			
Work outside the home	0.323	0.313	**
Work at home	0.100	0.090	
Study	0.089	0.143	***
Study and Work	0.017	0.020	**
Retiree	0.054	0.112	***
Unemployed	0.158	0.091	***
Poverty			
Subjective (self-perception)	0.312	0.241	***

(*Continued*)

Variable: Reading books (No, Yes)	No (N = 5534)	Yes (N = 2768)	Mean Difference Tests
Objective (did not consume one of the three daily meals in the past week)	0.247	0.184	***
Socioeconomic Status (Stratification)			
Low (1 y 2)	0.531	0.449	***
Middle (3 y 4)	0.279	0.326	***
High (5 y 6)	0.071	0.132	***
Place of residence			
Histórica y del Caribe Norte	0.318	0.349	**
Virgen y Turística	0.350	0.312	***
Industrial de la Bahía	0.332	0.339	

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Finally, readers and non-readers differ according to structural variables, particularly the two types of poverty considered, socioeconomic strata, and place of residence. This is especially true in De la Virgen y Turística, which exhibit the highest levels of monetary and multidimensional poverty in the city. Notably, non-readers constitute most of the population in medium- and low-income strata (Table 4).

Empirical results

This section presents the empirical results obtained for book readers in Cartagena (Table 5). These results are shown across four models: (a) Pool Probit (without considering potential endogeneity issues), (b) IV-Probit including income, and (c) IV-Probit with the available time variable. The first two models are estimated for the full period (2011–2019), whereas the last model corresponds to the 2011–2015 period, given that after 2015 the CPS no longer includes this variable in its dataset.

As previously mentioned, cohorts constructed through dummies of age groups, locality, and years are used as instruments to capture fixed effects. The first step is to test whether the instrument is consistent, that is, whether it passes the exogeneity test. In other words, the instrument must be sufficiently correlated with the endogenous explanatory variables in the model. To ensure this condition (Mardones & Zapata, 2019), a test for weak instruments was conducted, yielding a test F-statistic well above the critical threshold proposed by Stock and Yogo (2005). Consequently, the null hypothesis of weak instruments is rejected, thereby validating the relevance of using the cohorts in the estimation process (see Wald test in Table 5).

We subsequently calculated the marginal effect of the set of variables considered. The models yield expected results in terms of signs and statistical significance, for both traditional variables such as human capital and leisure time and structural variables such as poverty, stratification, and social capital, as well as related goods. The estimated cohorts show a contrasting initial result: the probability of reading books increases with age, regardless of the locality where individuals reside. The reading gap between older individuals (reference group) and young people is larger when leisure time availability is included than when only the income effect is considered.

Regarding gender, the estimators indicate no significant differences between men and women in book reading, except in the model that includes per capita income. When this occurs, women have a higher probability of reading books than men, although the significance is weak. Regarding human capital applied to book reading, which is measured by education level, the results align with expectations: individuals with higher human capital are more inclined to read books. The probability of reading among those with tertiary education (reference group) increases significantly more when income is considered than when time availability variables are added to the estimation.

Regarding the per capita household income level in Cartagena (Model 2), which is considered a macroeconomic variable, the coefficients are consistently negative across the estimated models. This suggests that, in general terms, book reading may behave as an inferior good—its consumption decreases as income increases—rather than as a normal good, which becomes more desirable with higher income. When time availability variables are included in the estimation (Model 3), the negative effect of income becomes more pronounced.

Another result suggesting that time plays a key role in understanding individual decisions to read books connects with the so-called related goods According to the estimation, book readers also engage in other leisure activities, such as participating in sports (either through physical activity or as spectators at events), as well as in cultural activities like attending the theatre, going to the cinema, and, particularly, reading magazines. Consumption of these goods behaves as complementary; however, it reduces the probability of book reading when participation in popular festivals is considered.

Table 5.
Results of the pseudo-panel model of book reading participation in Cartagena

Dependent variable: Reading books/ Type of models	**Model 1 Pool Probit (2011-2019)**	**Model 2 Moffit (with household income) (2011-2019)**	**Model 3 Moffit (with time availability) (2011-2015)**
	Marginal Effects (Std. Err.)	**Marginal Effects (Std. Err.)**	**Marginal Effects (Std. Err.)**
Cohort (Cohort 5: reference)			

(*Continued*)

Dependent variable: Reading books/ Type of models	**Model 1 Pool Probit (2011-2019)**	**Model 2 Moffit (with household income) (2011-2019)**	**Model 3 Moffit (with time availability) (2011-2015)**
	Marginal Effects (Std. Err.)	**Marginal Effects (Std. Err.)**	**Marginal Effects (Std. Err.)**
Cohort 1 (18-25 years)	-0.077*** (0.016)	-0.168*** (0.049)	-0.327*** (0.064)
Cohort 2	-0.098*** 0.016	-0.224*** (0.048)	-0.304*** (0.056)
Cohort 3	-0.088*** (0.015)	-0.209*** (0.046)	-0.195*** (0.057)
Cohort 4	-0.044*** (0.015)	-0.102*** (0.045)	-0.132** (0.057)
Gender			
Gender (men=1; women=0)	-0.011 (0.010)	-0.047* (0.029)	0.002 (0.039)
Cultural capital (Educational level) (Tertiary: reference)			
None	-0.185*** (0.040)	-0.614*** (0.119)	-0.219*** (0.125)
Primary	-0.126*** (0.018)	-0.462*** (0.055)	-0.101** (0.110)
Secondary	-0.090*** (0.011)	-0,311*** (0.036)	-0.028* (0.110)
Income			
Income (per capita of expenditure unit)	-0.560*** (0.038	-1.167*** (0.114)	-1.406*** (0.270)
Related goods			
Passive (attendance as a spectator)	0.048*** (0.013)	0.214*** (0.041)	-0.162*** (0.051)
Active (physical activity)	0.036*** (0.012)	0.194*** (0.040)	-0.152*** (0.047)
Theatre	0.151*** (0.017)	0.517*** (0.053)	0.028 (0.084)
Cinema	0.043*** (0.011)	0.210*** (0.035)	0.031 (0.040)
Independence Day (popular historical feast)	-0.050*** (0.012)	-0.095*** (0.037)	-0.189** (0.044)
Reading newspapers	0.187*** (0.009)	0.651*** (0.031)	0.236** (0.050)

(*Continued*)

Dependent variable: Reading books/ Type of models	**Model 1 Pool Probit (2011-2019)**	**Model 2 Moffit (with household income) (2011-2019)**	**Model 3 Moffit (with time availability) (2011-2015)**
	Marginal Effects (Std. Err.)	**Marginal Effects (Std. Err.)**	**Marginal Effects (Std. Err.)**
Structural variables			
Poverty			
Subjective (self-perception)	-0.024** (0.011)	-0.071** (0.034)	0.058 (0.039)
Objective (did not consume one of the three daily meals in the past week)	0.008 (0.013)	0.057 (0.038)	-0.079** (0.051)
Socioeconomic status (Rural area: reference)			
Low Strata (1+2)	-0.001 (0.016)	-0.021 (0.050)	0.066 (0.050)
Middle Strata (3+4)	0.004*** (0.018)	0.022 (0.054)	0.096* (0.057)
High Strata (5+6)	0.023** (0.023)	0.087 (0.070)	0.043** (0.080)
Social capital (Community participation)	-0.695*** (0.111)	-0.308*** (0.128)	-0.654*** (0.035)
Leisure time (Unemployed: reference)			
Work out of home			-0.257*** (0.053)
Work at home			-0.057 (0.071)
Study			-0.047 (0.079)
Study and work			-0.367** (0.144)
Head of household			-0.078* (0.057)
Retirees			0.015 (0.017)
Well classified observations (%)	71.49%	71.95%	72.45%
Number of observations	8104	8104	4137

Significance level of the test: *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01.
Wald test of exogeneity Model 2 (/athrho = 0): chi2(1) = 63.08 Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
Wald test of exogeneity Model 3 (/athrho = 0): chi2(1) = 14.41 Prob > chi2 = 0.0001
Wald test of exogeneity Model 4 (/athrho = 0): chi2(1) = 16.18 Prob > chi2 = 0.0001

When controlling for the time variable, the results change significantly: participation in sports activities tends to decrease, while the degree of substitutability with popular festivals increases. The complementary relationship with magazine reading remains unchanged, although the probability of participation declines.

Regarding structural variables, the results are generally consistent. On the one hand, perceiving oneself as poor, without considering time constraints, reduces an individual's probability of reading books. On the other hand, when controlling for leisure time availability, it is objective poverty that reduces this probability of participation. In this regard, allocating more time to a time-intensive activity such as reading entails a high opportunity cost; therefore, individuals must prioritize addressing their most pressing need: obtaining food.

In the case of socioeconomic stratification, the estimates use Cartagena's rural population as the reference group, as this area of the city has historically recorded the highest poverty rates—surpassing even the most disadvantaged urban localities (Virgen y Turística, and Industrial y de la Bahía) (Alvis & Espinosa, 2013). The results are robust (correct sign and statistical significance) in Model 1 (Pooled Probit), while Model 2 (including income) and 3 (including time constraints) reveal wider participation gaps favouring the higher strata (5 and 6). As shown in Table 5, the introduction of fixed effects through cohort controls further accentuates the reading disparities in comparison to the lower strata of the city.

Finally, when analysing time availability (Model 3), the most affected groups are those working outside the home, individuals who both work and study, and heads of household. These groups share a common labour role, which enables them to generate some income; however, despite this apparent advantage, the negative sign of the marginal effect suggests they may face constraints in engaging in activities such as reading, which is time-intensive and asynchronous by nature.

DISCUSSION Y CONCLUSIONS

This article examines how both socioeconomic context and traditional rational choice variables influence book reading in Cartagena de Indias—one of Colombia's most unequal and impoverished cities. Drawing on a framework that models the persistence of time-intensive cultural consumption, it analyses reading decisions among comparable population groups over nearly a decade.

Book reading is shaped not only by standard socioeconomic factors—such as human capital relevant to cultural goods, age, income, and time availability—but also by contextual variables like multidimensional poverty, residential stratification, and forms of social capital that mediate cultural participation. A key contribution is the identification of specific dynamics often overlooked in studies from developed contexts. Notably, this study finds that in Cartagena, the likelihood of reading increases significantly after age 55—a pattern not captured in national analyses such as Palma et al. (2014), who do not identify this age cutoff point, making it difficult to focus any potential reading promotion policy on Cartagena's population.

Second, there is no significant and conclusive evidence about the role of gender in the probability of reading books, unlike studies conducted in Colombia and other countries (López, 2008; Villaroya & Escardíbul, 2010). In this sense, there is no indication of a lower time opportunity cost for women, such as housewives, since men are the heads of the household in many Cartagena households.

This fact leads to a third distinct difference in the present study, as leisure time availability has a clear effect on book reading decisions in the city. For those engaged in productive activities inside or outside the home, the probability of reading decreases. This is particularly noticeable for those who work outside the home and combine this activity with studies. The results described clearly highlight the effect of time constraints on participation decisions (Model 3), even in the presence of improved income for the local population (Model 2).

The specific weight of the time constraint is observed in the change in participation in complementary activities such as sports, theatre attendance, cinema, and magazine reading. When this constraint is not considered, the idea emerges that Cartagena residents are omnivorous (Fernández-Blanco & Prieto-Rodríguez, 2009), given that participation in other cultural activities increases the probability of reading books (Palma et al., 2014). However, under time constraints, only magazine reading maintains a positive complementary relationship.

Likewise, the statistical significance of the structural variables indicates that book reading is an activity constrained by individuals' perception of their own vulnerability (subjective poverty), and, in more extreme cases, when the opportunity cost of allocating resources to non-essential goods becomes too high due to subsistence needs (objective poverty).

Furthermore, the estimation results reveal that book reading is a stratified and unequally distributed activity within the local territory. The significance of socioeconomic strata and age cohorts suggests that both socioeconomic status and place of residence influence reading decisions. This implies that traditional determinants—such as gender, income, leisure time, and human capital—are not sufficient to fully explain differences in participation. As shown, Cartagena exhibits the lowest number of libraries per neighbourhood and the lowest concentration of libraries and bookstores per square kilometre among the country's major cities, which may represent a spatial barrier to access cultural goods like reading.

As recent studies on poverty and inequality in the city have shown (Ayala & Meisel, 2016; Espinosa et al., 2019; Meisel & Granger, 2022), along with earlier research (Alvis & Espinosa, 2013), these structural issues are reflected in the unequal distribution of opportunities, disproportionately affecting the populations of the Virgen y Turística and Industrial y de la Bahía localities, which exhibit the lowest endowments of merit goods and public services. In this context, both the lower rate of book reading and the limited access to libraries and bookstores in these areas are consistent with the spatial concentration patterns of such goods and services.

The discussion raises questions about the types of actions to be promoted to overcome existing barriers and expand reading in the local territory. The challenges of cultural policy involve understanding, first and foremost, that factors that improve reading go beyond individual will; in other words, actions must be coordinated with local governments' economic and social policies. Strategies that reduce poverty and expand secondary and university education coverage will improve reading.

This means there is ample room to create reading audiences in the lowest socioeconomic strata and rural areas, where participation rates are the lowest. A second action involves strengthening public investment on multiple fronts. First, in reading promotion programs in public schools and in collaboration with neighbourhood social organizations, particularly focusing on young and adult populations (18 to 45 years old) in rural areas and localities 1 and 2. And, second, in expanding infrastructure to improve access to libraries as spaces that allow low-cost participation and offer a broader range of cultural activities.

This study addresses some of the questions that, when answered, can help to uncover how individuals make decisions regarding book reading. Therefore, one of the challenges for future analyses is to incorporate reading frequency, which would open the door to further methodological contributions. Another challenge is to model the time variable more comprehensively and accurately. Although the variable available in the CPS allows for a partial observation of the constraints faced by individuals engaged in the labour market, there remains room for improvement through the design of more targeted and relevant survey instruments.

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ANNEX 1.

Descriptive statistics of book reading and the explanatory variables of participation, 2011-2019

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Reading books	8302	0.315	0.464	0	1
Gender (Men = 1)	8302	0.465	0.499	0	1
Subjective poverty (self-perception)	8280	0.286	0.452	0	1
Objective poverty (did not consume one of the three daily meals in the past week)	8302	0.223	0.416	0	1
Income per capita (log)	8302	13 293	0.122	13 103	13 449
Age					
18 – 25 years	8302	0.197	0.398	0	1
26 - 35	8302	0.190	0.392	0	1
36 - 45	8302	0.190	0.392	0	1
46 - 55	8302	0.178	0.383	0	1
> 55	8302	0.246	0.431	0	1
Educational Level					
None	8302	0.017	0.129	0	1
Primary	8302	0.145	0.352	0	1
Secondary	8302	0.565	0.496	0	1
Tertiary	8302	0.274	0.446	0	1
Available Time					
Work outside the home	4137	0.322	0.467	0	1
Work at home	4137	0.090	0.286	0	1
Study	4137	0.113	0.317	0	1
Study and Work	4137	0.018	0.134	0	1
Housewife	4137	0.075	0.263	0	1
Retiree	4137	0.130	0.336	0	1

(*Continued*)

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Socioeconomic Status (Stratification)					
High (5 y 6)	8302	0.510	0.500	0	1
Middle (3 y 4)	8302	0.293	0.455	0	1
Low (1 y 2)	8302	0.088	0.283	0	1
Place of residence (locality)					
Histórica y del Caribe Norte	8302	0.325	0.468	0	1
Virgen y Turística	8302	0.339	0.473	0	1
Industrial de la Bahía	8302	0.336	0.472	0	1

ANNEX 2.

Main cultural activities in Cartagena de Indias (statistical indicators), 2011-2019

	Popular festival	Theatre	Cinema	Museum attendance	Reading newspapers	Reading books	Monuments attendance
Mean	0.126	0.076	0.274	0.110	0.349	0.296	0.140
St. Deviation	0.040	0.033	0.033	0.057	0.086	0.085	0.067
Max	0.196	0.212	0.323	0.310	0.482	0.474	0.265
Min	0.046	0.034	0.175	0.032	0.117	0.127	0.019
St. Dev/Mean	0.317	0.427	0.121	0.520	0.247	0.286	0.480

ARTÍCULO

CREATIVE ECONOMY ENTREPRENEURSHIP: POLITICAL RATIONALITIES IN THE NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT OF CHILE'S CULTURAL SECTOR

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This research focuses on the analysis of political rationalities present in public policy instruments within the context of the creative economy and entrepreneurship in Chile. Using a qualitative documentary analysis approach, it examines various documents and public policies to identify how these rationalities and governance technologies shape the cultural and creative sector. Through this research, the aim is to provide an understanding of the dynamics between public policies and the creative sector.

Keywords: Technologies of governance; cultural public policies; creative entrepreneurship.
JEL: Z11, H83.

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Cruchett Pastrana, P. (2025). Emprendimiento en la economía creativa: racionalidades políticas en la nueva gestión pública del sector cultural de Chile. *Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1125-1156.

Esta investigación se centra en el análisis de las racionalidades políticas presentes en los instrumentos de política pública en el contexto de la economía creativa y el emprendimiento en Chile. Mediante un enfoque de análisis documental cualitativo, examina diversos documentos y políticas públicas para identificar cómo estas racionalidades y tecnologías de gobernanza configuran el sector cultural y creativo. A través de esta investigación, el objetivo es proporcionar una comprensión de la dinámica entre las políticas públicas y el sector creativo.

Palabras clave: tecnologías de gobierno; políticas públicas culturales; emprendimiento creativo.
JEL: Z11, H83.

INTRODUCTION

Although the creative economy is promoted by both national and international organisations as a sustainable development approach (Buitrago & Duque, 2013; CERLALC, 2002; Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, 2016; ONU, 2015; UNCTAD, 2004), there is significant opposition from some entrepreneurs towards adopting business terminology in the creative sector (Rowan, 2010). These cultural actors resist market pressures (Throsby, 2000) as they observe how commercial thinking invades not only the economy, but also social, cultural, and political domains (Lechner, 2002).

The relationship between public policies and entrepreneurship in Chile's creative industry reveals significant tensions influenced by neoliberal doctrine and New Public Management (NPM) (Morales, 2014). This research examines how entrepreneurial discourses, driven by neoliberal policies, have been integrated into Chile's cultural and artistic sector, transforming the practices and subjectivities of the actors involved.

The concept of entrepreneurship in Chile was consolidated during the implementation of neoliberalism, specifically under the civic-military dictatorship and the establishment of Chicago School monetary doctrine as a positive and neutral science (Campero, 2003). This approach allowed its advocates to claim authorship of a supposed economic success and to position the entrepreneur as the primary agent of development, replacing the worker figure consolidated during the 20th century.

While some artists distance themselves from the commercialization of their creations, others depend on it by producing goods and services, integrating economic activity into their work and generating activities across various value chain links, from creation to sales (Throsby, 2000). Thus, a market composed of supply and demand is concretely established, contributing significantly to the local economy while possessing distinctive characteristics compared to other industries, such as its symbolic value (García-Canclini, 1979).

In the cultural sector, this entrepreneurial logic has unique characteristics. Artists and young people represent the anthropological composition of immaterial labour characteristic of current societies (Karmy *et al.*, 2013). On one side, there are highly precarious workers, and on the other, cultural entrepreneurs who understand market structures but maintain the specificity and dominance of cultural fields. Those who undertake ventures in this sector are motivated by cultural values and by the desire for independence rather than profit (Pinochet & Gerber, 2012; Rowan, 2010; Zafra, 2017).

Through a documentary analysis of public policy instruments (Pérez & Solanas, 2015), this research examines hegemonic discourses related to creative entrepreneurship and how they might shape the political subjectivities of workers and entrepreneurs in the creative/cultural sector. The research draws on Foucault's notion of government technologies, exploring how social political rationalities (De Marinis, 1999; Foucault, 1982; Sandoval, 2012) can manifest and shape the subjectivities of cultural actors. The documents studied are interpreted not only as representations of public administration of cultural work and entrepreneurship, but also as elements that structure and configure the cultural field. Through a discursive analysis of these documents, it becomes evident how these instruments outline the development of a creative entrepreneurial self, requiring creative sector workers to actively engage in competitive processes and entrepreneurship.

Additionally, Néstor García Canclini's (1983) paradigms of cultural policies will be used to contextualize and understand the observed discourses and practices. These paradigms include liberal patronage, patrimonial traditionalism, populist statism, neoconservative privatization, cultural democratization, and participatory democracy, each with its own conceptions and objectives for cultural development.

Thus, this research aims to analyse and classify the different discourses present in public policy instruments within the creative economy sector, identifying underlying cultural paradigms and their relationship to NPM practices. The research question guiding this analysis is: how do discourses manifest and differ in public policy instruments within the creative economy sector, and what underlying cultural paradigms can be identified in relation to NPM practices? This research seeks to offer an understanding of the discursive and cultural dynamics shaping policies in Chile's creative sector, providing a foundation for evaluating the effectiveness and implications of such policies within the NPM context.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To contextualize the analysis, the theoretical framework organises its content into six sections, moving from the general to the specific. Firstly, it presents the evolution of the concept of the creative economy and its relationship with public cultural policies, which makes it possible to delineate the main milestones and operational definitions of the Chilean creative sector. Secondly, it reviews the paradigms of cultural policies in Latin America and Chile based on Néstor García Canclini's typology (1983), with the aim of identifying the ideological matrices underlying State action. The third section introduces NPM as an administrative paradigm that reconfigures cultural devices according to criteria of efficiency and competitiveness. Fourthly, the text addresses the rationalities and technologies of government, drawing on Foucault and Anglo-Foucauldian literature to explain how these rationalities materialize in instruments of public action and shape subjectivities in the cultural sphere. The fifth section of this research examines the logic of entrepreneurship and creative entrepreneurship in Chile, highlighting the tensions between the market, creativity, and job insecurity. This integrated framework incorporates these concepts and establishes a cohesive framework within to examine the documents and empirical data.

This sequence facilitates a progression from the conceptual foundations to the analytical tools that guide the research, thereby elucidating for the reader the nexus between cultural policies, government rationalities and the dynamics of creative entrepreneurship.

Creative economy and cultural public policies

The creative economy is the generation of goods and services based on ideas and intellectual property. It lies at the intersection of symbolic value and economic value (UNCTAD, 2004). From the perspective of cultural policies —defined as the set of State mechanisms that regulate access to, production, and circulation of culture— this sector is an important area for public intervention. This is due to the fact that it offers opportunities for growth and represents public goods that require protection (García-Canclini, 2012). This association has been further reinforced by various multilateral organisations. In this regard, reports published by UNCTAD emphasize the potential for income generation and employment opportunities. In contrast, UNESCO's (2010) reports focus on the role of tourism in fostering cultural diversity. In the domain of the economy of culture and creativity, a convergence emerges between cultural and commercial dimensions within the paradigm of creative goods. This intrinsic duality serves as a foundation for the implementation of financing and regulatory mechanisms by the state, as previously theorized by Throsby (2000). In this manner, the correlation between the creative economy and cultural policies establishes a normative axis that serves as the foundation for this research. The research illustrates how public intervention achieves a balance between competitiveness and cultural preservation.

The perspective adopted in cultural studies —and consequently theories from the cultural sector— continuously interacts with the formulation and implementation of public policies. Tomás Peters (2020) highlights that, in the field of sociology of art, despite tensions and distances, dialogues and contributions are more frequent than generally perceived. Since their inception as public-institutional decisions, cultural policies have required, in recent decades, concepts, methodologies and resources from academia, and vice versa.

One of the first works that began discussions around what is now called creative economy is the 1936 essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (Benjamin, 2003). This work introduced the concept of cultural industry by analysing how tools such as film and photography eliminated the aura of the artwork, defined by its uniqueness and authenticity. This transformation turned the audience into active spectators, generating both nostalgia for what was lost and optimism for new social possibilities. Adorno and Horkheimer, in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (2007), expanded this notion with a critical perspective, arguing that the cultural industry leads to standardization and commodifies art, sacrificing its autonomy. According to Adorno and Morin (1967), the cultural industry functions as a mechanism of social control, integrating consumers under the illusion of individualization while limiting the formation of autonomous individuals.

An overabundance of interrelations exists between economics and culture, both in theoretical and methodological terms. One such example is the *economic dilemma, or cost disease* —as identified by Baumol and Bowen in 1966. This concept underscores the market failure inherent in the performing arts, wherein the physical productivity of a play or ballet company remains constant over time, while labour costs escalate at a rate commensurate with sectors of the economy where productivity does increase. Consequently, unit costs in the arts sector escalate without a proportional increase in revenue, leading to structural deficits. The second theatrical performance does not reduce the cost of the first; rather, it doubles the expenditure. This dynamic provides a rationale for public intervention through direct subsidies, tax exemptions, development funds, or demand incentives, mechanisms that correct the positive externality derived from cultural production. Consequently, the cost problem signifies not merely an economic constraint, but also offers a robust theoretical foundation for formulating policies that ensure access, sustainability and diversification of cultural offerings for the benefit of citizens.

This analysis underscores the need for specific public policies to mitigate these costs and foster cultural development. From the 1970s onwards, organisations like UNESCO integrated the concept of cultural industries into their policies, highlighting their capacity to drive economic development. In 1982, UNESCO defined cultural industries as those where cultural goods and services are produced and distributed under industrial and commercial criteria. A landmark case is that of the United Kingdom, where the Department of Culture, Media, and Sport in 1997 included the definition of creative industries as "those requiring creativity, skill, and talent, with the potential to generate wealth and employment through the exploitation of intellectual property" (Throsby, 2000, p. 128).

UNESCO's *Framework for Cultural Statistics* defines cultural and creative industries as "sectors of organized activity whose main objective is the production, reproduction, promotion, distribution, and commercialization of goods, services, and activities of cultural, artistic, or heritage content" (2010, p. 15). Furthermore, the concept of creative economy has gained prominence over the past twenty years in various public action instruments, promoted as a strategy for productivity and social development by agencies such as UNESCO, UNCTAD, and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), under the term *orange economy*. Although there is no universal consensus on a definition, it is identified as the sector arising from the exchange of products and/or services with symbolic value (García-Canclini, 2012). Howkins (2001), in *The Creative Economy: How People Make Money from Ideas*, advocated for the value of idea creation and its potential to generate benefits through the development of industrial property and copyright.

In a changing environment, the way we approach culture is evolving, with technology gradually replacing traditional methods of cultural production and dissemination, and bringing about significant changes in how culture is practiced. New interpretations of culture are therefore emerging, such as that proposed by George Yúdice (2002), who defined culture as a resource that contributes to economic and social development. This perspective, which also supports this research, suggests that culture, beyond being merely commercial, has significant added value. Yúdice argued that, given rapid globalization, it is appropriate to consider culture as a resource that can be leveraged to improve social conditions or drive economic growth through cultural development initiatives. This is in line with the 2004 UNCTAD report on the creative economy, which states that it is based on creative resources potentially capable of generating economic growth and development, driving income generation, job creation, and the promotion of cultural diversity. The IDB, in 2013, developed the concept of *orange economy*, defining it as a set of activities that allow ideas to become goods and services, with intellectual property at its core (Buitrago & Duque, 2013).

In the context of Chilean public policies, the definition of creative economy focuses on a set of economic activities with added value generated by both individuals and collectives, identifying the symbolic content realized through intellectual property (Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, 2014, 2016, 2017; Corporación de Fomento a la Producción, 2019). This definition is primarily based on guidelines established by organisations such as UNESCO and the IDB. These organisations differentiate the role of the creative economy according to the perspective of the Chilean Ministerio de Economía, Fomento y Turismo, which emphasizes its contribution to economic development, and that of the Ministerio de las Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio, which includes aspects of human development such as democracy, values, social relations, heritage, and territory (Cruchett, 2019).

Cultural policies in Latin America and Chile

Cultural policies can be defined as the set of actions and strategies implemented by the State and other institutions to manage, promote, and regulate culture and the arts within a society. These policies aim not only to foster artistic production, but also to preserve cultural heritage, democratize access to cultural goods and services, and use culture as a tool for social cohesion and community development. In the Latin American context, cultural policies have evolved under the influence of international organisations such as UNESCO and respond to the specific demands of each country, encompassing everything from the creation of cultural institutions to the implementation of educational and cultural democratization programs (Peters, 2020).

Cultural policies, in their most basic sense, are related to Foucault's concept of governmentality (Peters, 2020), which implies the normalization of individuals through imposed and internalized norms. They function as administrators of human life, defining the logics of care and protection for citizens. Thus, teaching and other forms of cultural transmission become cultural policies that shape personal tastes and national narratives, employing symbolic power rather than direct coercion.

The relationship between politics and culture has historically been marked by tension — on the one hand, from the political world that prioritizes other areas, especially more productive ones, and on the other hand, from artists who perceive politics as a threat to their creative development. However, according to Néstor García Canclini (1983), the redefinition of culture in broader terms has allowed its importance in social and political transformation to be recognized.

In his seminal text *Cultural Policies in Latin America*, García Canclini delineates the principal paradigms that define cultural policies in the region: liberal patronage, patrimonial traditionalism, populist statism, neoconservative privatization, cultural democratization, and participatory democracy. These approaches offer different ways of promoting and managing culture, reflecting the struggles and aspirations of various historical and socioeconomic contexts.

Liberal patronage, as one of the first modern forms of cultural promotion, allowed a freer relationship between artists and patrons, guided by ideals of gratuity and autonomous creation, though it did not conceive cultural development as a collective effort (García-Canclini, 1983). *Patrimonial traditionalism*, on the other hand, was characterized by oligarchic states and nationalist right-wing movements, which preserved elitist interests through aristocratic interpretations of the past, justifying privileges in the context of industrialization and urbanization (García-Canclini, 1983). In contrast, *populist statism* reflected national identity within the state, seeking to unite the people and bourgeois sectors against the oligarchy. However, it subordinated popular initiatives to State interests. In Chile, this paradigm was used to legitimize the *coup d'*état, constructing a narrative of Chilean culture opposed to Marxism, attempting to return to the cultural foundations of the 19th century under the influence of the armed forces and an Ibáñez-style corporatist ideology that advocated for the State as a harmonizing force, without political parties but with active State participation (Donoso, 2019).

Neoconservative privatization, identified as part of the current hegemonic trend, aligns with the monetarist reorganisation in Latin America, reducing the state's role in culture by delegating its financing and orientation to private companies, adapting content to a commercialized and spectacular logic (Donoso, 2019; García-Canclini, 1983). This trend is also observed in State administration, where large mass events are prioritized over non-profitable cultural activities, such as theatre and experimental visual arts.

Moreover, *cultural democratization* sought to popularize art and high culture through the State and independent institutions, but it has been criticized for its elitist approach, which unilaterally imposes a symbolic heritage (Peters, December 11, 2023). In response, the *participatory democracy* paradigm emphasizes active and self-managed cultural action, promoting egalitarian relationships between multiple cultures and improving social conditions to foster collective creativity (García-Canclini, 1983).

New public management (NPM)

In Chile, NPM was introduced in 1998 and further reinforced in 2004 with the implementation of performance evaluation systems and high-level public administration. This global paradigm aimed to enhance government efficiency by adopting practices rooted in private-sector principles such as performance and competition (Morales, 2014). As a framework, NPM represents a shift in public administration, emphasizing results-oriented strategies and streamlined operations.

Although the origins of NPM remain unclear and are largely observed through its practical application, understanding its implementation requires an examination of key concepts. This analysis draws on works such as: *La rendición de cuentas (accountability) y la retórica de la nueva gestión pública* by Toledo (2009), *Nueva Gestión Pública en Chile: orígenes y efectos* by Morales (2014) and *Atravesando la burocracia: una nueva perspectiva de la administración pública* by Barzelay (1998). These texts provide a comprehensive overview of the concepts, orientations, and strategies that define managerial reform, offering insights into how NPM has been integrated into public administration.

The first pillar of NPM is *efficiency and results orientation*, which aims to improve public sector performance while restoring trust in government institutions. By focusing on results-based management and linking evaluations to economic incentives, NPM transforms budgetary processes into strategic management tools (Morales, 2014). According to Hood's (1991) typology of *sigma, theta and lambda values*, the primacy of efficiency *(sigma)* tends to take precedence over considerations of equity and security, creating a permanent tension between performance and distributive justice in Chilean public administration. Inspired by critiques of the bureaucratic paradigm and debates on deregulation to increase flexibility (Barzelay, 1998), NPM promotes reforms that optimize administrative processes and rebuild public confidence (Toledo, 2009).

The concept of *transparency and accountability* requires public officials to report and justify their actions. This principle strengthens trust in institutions through transparency laws and oversight mechanisms (Toledo, 2009). According to Barzelay (1998), accountability involves understanding relationships with citizens, identifying satisfactory behaviours and outcomes, providing feedback on performance, and adjusting relationships based on new circumstances and experiences.

The *client-oriented approach* demands that public officials justify their actions, reinforcing institutional trust through transparency laws and strong oversight mechanisms (Toledo, 2009). Barzelay (1998) highlights that accountability encompasses understanding the relationship with citizens, recognizing effective behaviours, providing feedback, and adapting strategies to evolving circumstances.

Professional management within NPM introduces private sector management practices into the public sector, prioritizing effectiveness over bureaucratic procedures to improve administrative quality and efficiency (Barzelay, 1998). In Chile, the implementation of the Senior Public Management System (SADP) was proposed, appointing senior officials based on professional qualifications and experience, reducing political influence and corruption. This system links the tenure and remuneration of managers to performance, fostering autonomy and results-based contracts (Morales, 2014).

Decentralization and autonomy grant flexibility and responsiveness at the local level, allowing entities to adapt resource management and responsibilities to specific community needs, thereby improving efficiency and adaptability (Toledo, 2009). Finally, the concept of *competition and market principles* incorporates economic efficiency and privatization principles, promoting innovation and improving service quality through private sector participation (Barzelay, 1998).

In the cultural sphere, NPM adopts management practices such as performance evaluation and results-based pay, fostering professional prototypes. The paradigm of neoconservative privatization (García-Canclini, 1983) encourages decentralization and diversified financing, promoting market participation as the main regulator to enhance efficiency and competitiveness while reducing State dependency. When this cultural privatization is superimposed on the '*sigma*' logic of the NPM (Hood, 1991), the central tension of this research becomes apparent: the pursuit of efficiency can conflict with the principles of equity and access that have traditionally formed the basis of Chilean cultural policy.

Rationalities and technologies of government

Michel Foucault extensively developed the concept of *biopolitics* (Foucault, 2023), primarily referring to the strategies and mechanisms through which modern power regulates the lives of populations. Biopolitics focuses on the control of bodies and the management of life, implementing power techniques that go beyond traditional sovereignty to include aspects such as health, hygiene, birthrates, and mortality. However, as the crisis of the welfare State unfolded during the 20th century, new political rationalities and technologies of government emerged or were reactivated, often described as *neoliberal* or *advanced liberal* by scholars influenced by Foucault (De Marinis, 1999). These new forms of governance, aimed at restructuring the relationship between public and private spheres, are collectively known as neoliberalism. This term encompasses the commodification of much of the public system —healthcare, culture, pensions— and the creation of labour flexibilization mechanisms, focusing more on markets and less on social welfare (De Marinis, 1999).

Similarly, Byung-Chul Han expands Foucauldian theory by introducing the concept of *psychopolitics* (Han, 2021), arguing that contemporary societies have evolved beyond biopolitics into subtler and more internalized forms of control. In *psychopolitics*, power not only disciplines bodies but also shapes subjectivities by controlling desires, emotions, and thoughts. *Psychopolitics* manifests through digital technologies, marketing strategies, and surveillance mechanisms that penetrate individuals' psychological lives, promoting self-optimization and performance. This transition reflects a shift in political rationalities, moving from the management of biological life to the governance of psychic life, signifying a refinement and sophistication of power techniques aimed at shaping human behaviour holistically.

As Foucault explains, power is manifested through governance, and governmentality provides the conceptual framework to understand this manifestation in its entirety. In this context, power is not merely a top-down structure of domination, but is also a network of relationships extending throughout society, influencing and regulating individual behaviour. Governance refers to the techniques and strategies employed to guide and manage populations, a concept Foucault (1982) described as the *conduct of conduct*.

While *governance* focuses on the direct practice of managing and directing behaviours, *governmentality* examines the historical and technical conditions that make this management possible. The main difference between governance and governmentality, according to Foucault (1982), lies in their scope and complexity. Governance refers to the concrete practice of directing and managing behaviours, encompassing both political and personal realms. Moreover, governmentality is a broader theoretical concept that includes not only governance practices, but also the discourses, knowledge, institutions, and strategies that enable and sustain these practices. It serves to analyse how power is exercised and legitimized in society.

According to De Marinis (1999), the *notion of governmentality* can be understood in three argumentative steps. The first one has an empirical-sociological nature, and views governmentality as a set of institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections that enable this specific form of power, known as governance, which focuses on the population and draws its primary knowledge from political economy, utilizing security devices as essential tools. The second step, with a historical-tendential focus, sees governmentality as a trend in the West that predominates over other forms of power, such as sovereignty and discipline, shaping different governance apparatuses and a body of knowledge. The third step, like the second, analyses the process through which the State has become increasingly *governmentalized.*

To analyse governmentality, De Marinis (1999) proposes focusing on two main aspects. The first involves political rationalities, understood as dynamic discursive frameworks within which conceptualizations of power are formed. The second focuses on technologies of government, which are practical procedures through which knowledge is embedded into the exercise of power, authority, or control, functioning as a microphysics of power through real, localized mechanisms.

In the context of NPM and the cultural sector, political rationalities emerge influenced by *technologies of government* (De Marinis, 1999; Foucault, 1982; Sandoval, 2012). These rationalities represent discursive frameworks that vary based on conceptualizations of power (Rose & Miller, 2010). One way these *technologies of government* materialize is through *public policy instruments*, which are tools and mechanisms used by governments to implement and execute policies and programs aimed at managing and regulating specific aspects of society (Pérez & Solanas, 2015). Examples of these instruments include laws, regulations, economic incentives, public information campaigns, and other measures employed to achieve policy objectives.

Through these political rationalities embedded in technologies of government, *public policy instruments* emerge as mechanisms that shape subjectivities. Subjectivities refer to individuals' capacity to shape themselves by choosing and resisting dominant logics, whether economic, political, social, or technological (Wieviorka, 2004). The adoption of NPM entails incorporating subjectivities aligned with values such as autonomy, initiative, and versatility, particularly in liberal societies. These subjectivities are constructed and reconfigured through public policy instruments that organize the relationships between public power and its recipients, relying on representations and meanings (Pérez & Solanas, 2015).

In the cultural sector, political subjectivities form through the interaction of public policies, market dynamics, and cultural practices. The implementation of NPM, with its principles of efficiency, transparency, and results orientation, reconfigures the identities and expectations of cultural actors, who must balance market demands with their cultural values.

The logic of entrepreneurship and creative ventures in Chile

The concept of entrepreneurship in Chile was solidified during the implementation of neoliberalism, specifically under the civic-military dictatorship, with the adoption of the Chicago monetarist doctrine as a neutral and positive science (Campero, 2003). This paradigm allowed its proponents to claim credit for an alleged economic success and to position the entrepreneur as the central figure of development, thereby replacing the worker figure that had prevailed throughout the 20th century.

In the cultural sphere, this entrepreneurial logic has distinctive characteristics. Artists and young people with university degrees embody the anthropological composition of immaterial labour typical of contemporary societies (Karmy-Bolton *et al.*, 2013). On one hand, there are highly precarious workers; on the other, there are cultural entrepreneurs who, while understanding market dynamics, maintain the specificity and autonomy of cultural fields. These entrepreneurs are driven by cultural values and a desire for independence rather than the pursuit of economic profit (Pinochet & Gerber, 2012; Zafra, 2017).

Integration of concepts

The integration of these concepts into the analysis of the cultural sector in Chile facilitates a more profound comprehension of the interplay between public policies and creative entrepreneurship. The tension between traditional cultural management and NPM reflects a paradigm shift in public administration, where subjectivities and political rationalities play a crucial role in the formulation and reception of cultural policies.

This provides a basis for understanding the analysis of how creative entrepreneurship policies are shaped and how the adoption of NPM and a specific cultural policy paradigm are presented as a clear manifestation of a particular political rationality. To provide an illustration of this hypothesis, consider a cultural policy that exhibits characteristics associated with the neoconservative privatization paradigm, emphasizing values such as efficiency, performance measurement, and results-oriented management. This political rationality is influenced by neoliberal ideologies, which promote the reduction of the role of the State and greater participation of the private sector in the provision of public services. Evidence of this influence can be seen in various instruments and technologies of government.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Methodological approach

This research employs qualitative content analysis as its primary method, as this approach allows for a systematic and in-depth examination of the documents comprising the public policy instruments within Chile's creative and cultural sector. According to Pablo Cáceres (2003), this method provides a robust and flexible framework for interpreting and understanding the complexities of public communications and policies. This technique, focused on the interpretation and analysis of texts within their communicative contexts, aligns perfectly with the research's objectives.

Document selection

The documents selected for analysis include policies, strategic plans, programs, projects, and administrative guidelines relevant to entrepreneurship and cultural management in Chile. These documents were sourced from official platforms to ensure authenticity and reliability. The selection focused on documents published from 2017 onward, coinciding with the implementation of the *Plan Nacional de Fomento a la Economía Creativa* (National Plan for the Promotion of the Creative Economy). This document is the result of the first collaboration between different ministries on public policy focused on the creative economy. This is the reason why it has been selected as a strategic guide for the current research.

Analysis process

Initial organisation of documents

Relevant public policy documents were collected and assessed for their pertinence through a preliminary review to ensure they met the inclusion criteria: timeframe, document type, and thematic relevance.

References: Dirección de Presupuestos, Gobierno de Chile (Budget Directorate, Government of Chile): www.dipres.gob.cl; Mercado Público (Public Procurement Platform): www.mercadopublico.cl; Observatorio Cultural (Cultural Observatory): https://observatorio.cultura.gob.cl; and official websites of relevant institutions.

Issuers: This research included the main public institutions involved in the development and implementation of policies and programs promoting the creative economy (see Table 1). These institutions are members of the *Plan Nacional de Fomento a la Economía Creativa.*

Table 1.
List of public institutions involved in the National Plan for the Promotion of the Creative Economy

Ministry	Technical Counterpart
Ministry of Culture, Arts, and Heritage (*Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, CNCA*)[1]	Executive Secretariat for the Promotion of the Creative Economy (*Secretaría Ejecutiva de Fomento a la Economía Creativa*)
Ministry of Economy, Development, and Tourism (*Ministerio de Economía, Fomento y Turismo*)	Small Business Division (*División de Empresas de Menor Tamaño*)
	Associativity and Social Economy Division (*División de Asociatividad y Economía Social, DAES*)
	Production Development Corporation (*Corporación de Fomento de la Producción, CORFO*)
	Technical Cooperation Service (Sercotec) (*Servicio de Cooperación Técnica*)
	National Institute of Industrial Property (*Instituto Nacional de Propiedad Industrial, INAPI*)
	Trade and Industrial Policy Division - Research Unit (*División de Política Comercial e Industrial - Unidad de Estudios*)
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*)	Chilean Export Promotion Program (*Programa de Fomento a las Exportaciones Chilenas, ProChile*)
	General Directorate of International Economic Relations (*Dirección General de Relaciones Económicas Internacionales, DIRECON*)
	Directorate of Cultural Affairs (*Dirección de Asuntos Culturales, DIRAC*)
	Imagen de Chile Foundation (*Fundación Imagen de Chile*)
Ministry of Education (*Ministerio de Educación*)	Executive Secretariat for Technical and Vocational Training (*Secretaría Ejecutiva de Formación Técnico Profesional*)
	Directorate of Libraries, Archives, and Museums (*Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos, DIBAM*)

(*Continued*)

[1] On November 3, 2017, the law creating the *Ministerio de las Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio* (Law 21.045) was enacted.

Ministry	Technical Counterpart
Ministry of Agriculture (*Ministerio de Agricultura*)	National Institute for Agricultural Development (*Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo Agropecuario, INDAP*)
Ministry of the Interior and Public Security (*Ministerio del Interior y Seguridad Pública*)	Undersecretariat for Regional and Administrative Development (*Subsecretaría de Desarrollo Regional y Administrativo, SUBDERE*)
Ministry of Finance (*Ministerio de Hacienda*)	Public-Private Technical Committee for the Export of Services (*Comité Técnico Público-Privado de Exportación de Servicios*)

Source: National Plan for the Promotion of the Creative Economy.

Definition of units of analysis

This research defined units of analysis to include words, phrases, paragraphs, or specific themes within the documents. These units are essential for coding and subsequent analysis. The values of NPM and the paradigms of cultural policies —as outlined by Néstor García Canclini (1983)— were used as a basis to narrow and structure the units of analysis.

For each selected document, documentary analysis sheets were created to record key information such as the document's title, the responsible institution, publication date, main topics, and relevant observations.

Identification of codes and categories

Based on the documentary analysis sheets, the current research identified and refined initial codes and categories (see Table 2).

Table 2.
Codebook

Code	Description	Example
Category: Values of New Public Management		
Efficiency and Results Orientation	Text excerpts mentioning efficiency goals, performance indicators, and expected outcomes.	Phrases discussing improving the efficiency of the public apparatus, restoring government legitimacy, and results-based management.
Transparency and Accountability	Sections addressing public officials' responsibility, transparency laws, and oversight structures.	Fragments describing accountability mechanisms and the obligation to justify government actions.

(*Continued*)

Code	Description	Example
Category: Values of New Public Management		
Client Focus	Texts treating citizens as clients and emphasizing the satisfaction of their needs.	Descriptions of public services adapted to real demands and policies aimed at improving the citizen's experience.
Professional Management	Passages mentioning private sector management practices applied in the public sector.	References to dynamic management, efficiency, and professionalization of public administration.
Decentralization and Autonomy	Texts discussing the decentralization of public management and the autonomy of local entities.	Mentions of flexibility, local responsiveness, and the autonomous management of resources and responsibilities.
Competition and Market	Fragments discussing the introduction of market principles into public administration.	Passages on competition, privatization, and the pursuit of economic efficiency.
Category: Cultural Policy Paradigms		
Liberal Patronage	Passages promoting the dissemination of heritage and individual creativity.	Texts discussing free creativity and cultural development through individual initiatives.
Patrimonial Traditionalism	Sections focusing on the preservation of folkloric heritage as national identity.	Descriptions of policies aimed at conserving and promoting traditional cultural heritage.
Populist Statism	Texts affirming national-popular cultural trends that contribute to the balanced reproduction of the system.	Passages addressing popular culture and its integration into national policies.
Neoconservative Privatization	Fragments reorganizing culture under market laws.	Mentions of individual participation in cultural consumption and market-oriented policies.
Cultural Democratization	Texts promoting equal access to cultural goods.	Passages discussing policies to ensure cultural access for all groups and individuals.
Participatory Democracy	Sections addressing the plural development of cultures in relation to their needs.	Descriptions of initiatives seeking the active participation of all groups in cultural development.

Source: Own elaboration.

Development of a systematization table

The current research created a table to organize and systematize the information, facilitating detailed subsequent analysis. This table included the selected documents, emerging codes and categories, and any relevant observations that justified the inclusion or exclusion of documents.

Establishment of analysis rules and classification codes

Rules were defined for the systematic coding of documents, using Atlas.ti to ensure consistency and manage coded data. With a deductive approach based on prior theory, predefined codes were applied only to relevant excerpts, contextualizing each one. Additionally, a codebook with definitions and examples was developed (see Table 2) to ensure a coherent and structured analysis.

RESULTS

Data analysis

The research on the creative economy and public policies in Chile selected 15 key documents from an evaluation of 48 preselected ones, applying criteria of *thematic relevance* (TR), *impact and reach* (IR), and *quality and clarity* (QC), with a scale from 1 to 7 (see Table 3). Among the values of NPM, the most frequent codes were the following: "Competition and Market" (278), "Professional Management" (251), and "Efficiency and Results Orientation" (206), while in the cultural policy paradigms (García-Canclini, 1983), "Participatory Democracy" (138) and "Neoconservative Privatization" (105) stood out, reflecting a balance between cultural rights and the market (see Figure 1).

The co-occurrence analysis (see Table 4) showed that "Competition and Market" has high co-occurrence with "Neoconservative Privatization" (50), highlighting the connection between market values and privatizing policies. Similarly, "Professional Management" co-occurs with "Neoconservative Privatization" (19), while "Decentralization and Autonomy" is associated with "Participatory Democracy" (16), suggesting links between local management and citizen participation. Additionally, "Efficiency and Results Orientation" co-occurs with both "Participatory Democracy" (16) and "Neoconservative Privatization" (6), indicating a shared focus on results, albeit with different objectives.

These findings reveal that NPM values, such as market competition and professional management, are related to "Neoconservative Privatization," promoting private management in cultural policies. On the other hand, values like decentralization and autonomy align with "Participatory Democracy," emphasizing the importance of citizen participation in the cultural field. Together, the analysis demonstrates how NPM rationalities influence cultural policies, generating tensions and synergies between market approaches and democratizing paradigms.

Table 3.
Selected public action instruments on the creative economy documents

Document name/Research file	Ministry	Data source type	Year	Main topics	TR	IR	QC	Total Score
Plan Nacional de Fomento a la Economía Creativa (National Plan for the Promotion of the Creative Economy) / 001MINCAP01	Ministerio de las Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio	National Plan, Public Policy	2017	Creative Economy - Policy Guidelines	7	7	7	21
Laboratorio de Territorios Creativos 2021 (Creative Territories Laboratory 2021) / 003MINCAP02	Ministerio de las Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio	Study	2021	Territory/ Creative Ecosystem	7	7	7	21
Fondart Nacional 2022 – Fomento a la Economía Creativa (National Fondart 2022 – Creative Economy Promotion) / 005MINCAP03	Ministerio de las Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio	Competitive Funding Bases	2021	Culture Funds	7	7	7	21
Economía Creativa y Territorios (Creative Economy and Territories) / 007 MINCAP04	Ministerio de las Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio	Study	2023	Creative Ecosystems	7	7	7	21
Manual para diseño e implementación de estrategias de fomento productivo, emprendimiento e innovación de las municipalidades de Chile (Manual for the Design and Implementation of Productive Development, Entrepreneurship, and Innovation Strategies in Chilean Municipalities) / 039SUBDERE01	Ministerio del Interior y Seguridad Pública	Manual	2021	Entrepreneurship – Productive Development	7	7	7	21

(*Continued*)

Document name/Research file	Ministry	Data source type	Year	Main topics	TR	IR	QC	Total Score
Programa de Financiamiento Temprano para el Emprendimiento (Early Financing Program for Entrepreneurship) / 041DIPRES02	Ministerio de Hacienda	Evaluation	2021	Evaluation - Entrepreneurship	7	7	7	21
Implementación plan formación economía creativa (Implementation of the Creative Economy Training Plan) / 046MINCAP24	Ministerio de las Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio	Public Procurement	2022	Creative Economy	7	7	7	21
Guía de formalización para el emprendedor creativo: Tu creación en cultura también es innovación (Formalization Guide for the Creative Entrepreneur: Your Creation in Culture Is Also Innovation) / 027MINCAPMINECOM	Ministerio de Economía, Fomento y Turismo	Manual	2018	Creative Entrepreneurship	7	7	7	21
Creación y Fortalecimiento de Redes en el Ecosistema Creativo (Creation and Strengthening of Networks in the Creative Ecosystem) / 028MINCAP21	Ministerio de las Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio	Competitive Funding Bases	2024	Creative Ecosystem	7	7	7	21
Política Nacional de Cultura 2017-2022 (National Cultural Policy 2017-2022) / 019MINCAP13	Ministerio de las Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio	National Policy	2017	Culture – Policy Guidelines	7	6	6	19

(*Continued*)

Document name/Research file	Ministry	Data source type	Year	Main topics	TR	IR	QC	Total Score
Definiciones y marco técnico del rubro artesanías, incorporado en diversos instrumentos y convenios (Definitions and Technical Framework for the Crafts Sector, Incorporated into Various Instruments and Agreements) / 038INDAP01	Ministerio de Agricultura	Technical Framework	2017	Culture – Crafts - Entrepreneurship	7	6	6	19
Crece fondo de desarrollo de negocios "Industria creativa" (Growth Fund for Business Development "Creative Industry") / 036SERCOTEC01	Ministerio de Economía, Fomento y Turismo	Competitive Funding Bases	2023	Creative Industries - Entrepreneurship	7	6	6	19
Hoja de Ruta Futuro (Future Roadmap) / 029CORFO03	Ministerio de Economía, Fomento y Turismo	Report	2023	Entrepreneurship	6	6	6	18
Estudio de caracterización de empresas MIPE Creativas en Chile (Characterization Study of MIPE Creative Companies in Chile) / 031CORFO05	Ministerio de Economía, Fomento y Turismo	Study	2022	Entrepreneurship	6	6	6	18
Política Cultural Regional Valparaíso 2017-2022 (Regional Cultural Policy Valparaíso 2017-2022) / 020MINCAP14	Ministerio de las Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio	National Policy	2017	Culture – Policy Guidelines	6	6	6	18

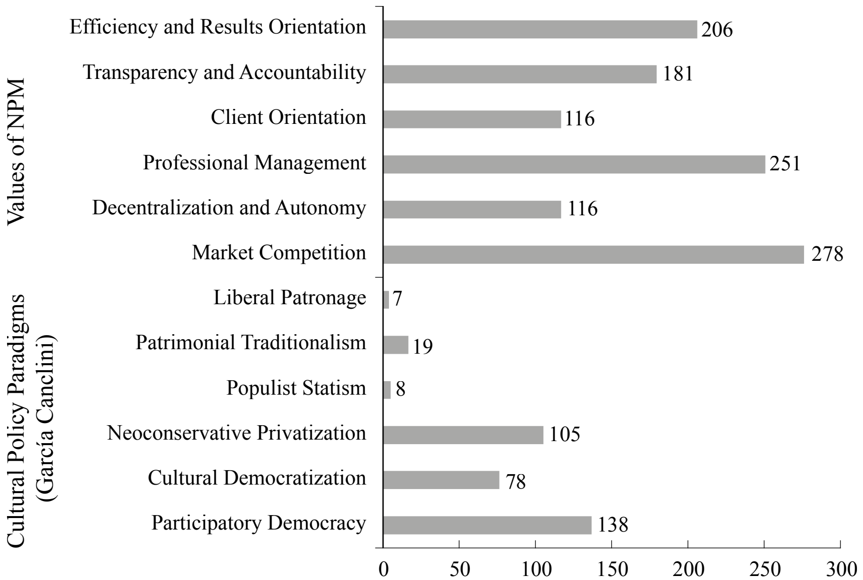
Note. Thematic relevance (TR), impact and reach (IR), quality and clarity (QC).
Source: Own elaboration.

Table 4.
Table of co-occurrences between codes

Category		Values of NPM						Cultural Policy Paradigms					
		ERO	TA	CO	PM	DA	MC	LP	PT	PS	NP	CD	PD
Values of NPM	Efficiency and Results Orientation (ERO) (Gr=206)	0	29	13	21	6	24	0	0	0	6	1	0
	Transparency and Accountability (TA) (Gr=181)	29	0	5	10	2	6	0	0	0	2	0	1
	Client Orientation (CO) (Gr=116)	13	5	0	39	4	19	1	0	2	4	9	2
	Professional Management (PM) (Gr=251)	21	10	39	0	6	55	2	0	0	19	3	7
	Decentralization and Autonomy (DA) (Gr=116)	6	2	4	6	0	15	0	2	0	2	4	16
	Market Competition (MC) (Gr=278)	24	6	19	55	15	0	1	4	0	50	8	10
Cultural Policy Paradigms	Liberal Patronage (LP) (Gr=7)	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	0
	Patrimonial Traditionalism (PT) (Gr=19)	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	2	4	1
	Populist Statism (PS) (Gr=8)	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
	Neoconservative Privatization (NP) (Gr=105)	6	2	4	19	2	50	6	2	1	0	3	4
	Cultural Democratization (CD) (Gr=78)	1	0	9	3	4	8	0	4	1	3	0	9
	Participatory Democracy (PD) (Gr=138)	0	1	2	7	16	10	0	1	0	4	9	0

Source: Own elaboration.

Figure 1.
Frequency of codes by category



Source: Own elaboration.

Paradigms of cultural policies

The analysis of the documents reveals a coexistence between *neoconservative privatization*, focused on efficiency and private management, and the approaches of *cultural democratization and participatory democracy*, which promote inclusion and citizen participation. This tension reflects the challenge of balancing market orientation with equitable and plural access to cultural goods in Chilean policies.

Liberal patronage, although infrequent, is linked to *neoconservative privatization*. It stands out for offering creative freedom and fostering innovation through private financing, promoting cultural diversity and individuality. However, it can create dependency on patrons, marginalize unprofitable projects, and lead to inequalities in access to resources, limiting cultural expressions that require State support: “Presence and coverage of financing funds designed from the territory, both public and private” (007MINCAP04, p. 85).

Patrimonial traditionalism reinforces folklore and cultural identity by conserving traditions, prioritizing a static vision of culture that emphasizes authenticity and purity. However, it limits the integration of contemporary cultural dynamics and can fossilize living cultures in a neoliberal and globalized context, where this stance often seeks to legitimize policies oriented toward tourism and cultural capital: "One of the areas in the literature where the economic opportunities of heritage goods and expressions have been most investigated is the study of the relationship between heritage and territory" (007MINCAP04, p. 30)

Populist statism appears only marginally in the analysed documents, mainly highlighting the active role of the State in promoting national culture and preserving the country's identity and values. Although sporadic, this stance underscores the State's function in ensuring equitable access to cultural goods and fostering an inclusive culture for all citizens: "In this way, the State can generate increasingly precise public policies and transform the creative ecosystem into an active sector of the economy, making you a participant in the country's economic, social, and cultural order" (027MINCAPMINECON, p. 14).

The document analysis reveals that *neoconservative privatization* in the cultural sector emerges as a strategy to enhance efficiency and reduce costs through private management of cultural services. This approach promotes the reorganisation of culture under market laws, encouraging individual participation in cultural consumption and fostering private investment in the sector. While it is argued that this perspective can boost competitiveness, innovation, and adaptability in the cultural field, it also poses significant risks. Dependence on private funding and management can marginalize less profitable cultural projects and exacerbate inequalities in access to cultural resources. Furthermore, treating culture as an economic development engine can subordinate its intrinsic values to market criteria, affecting cultural diversity and richness. This approach aligns closely with NPM principles, emphasizing quantifiable objectives and market- and competition-oriented approaches, potentially increasing the disconnection between those working in culture and rights-based approaches:

> There are also other public and private organizations that offer benefits and resources to creative entrepreneurs, as well as to artists and managers acting as individuals in the different sectors of cultural industries. (027MINCAPMINECOM p. 67)

> Public-private partnerships will also be promoted to strengthen the negotiating power of the creative industry in relation to global platforms and improve the distribution of benefits for creators. (029CORFO03, p. 124)

> Strengthening human capital, managing knowledge to foster innovation, and disseminating technological advances is an opportunity to leverage market creation enabled by new digital technologies. (001MINCAP01, p. 19)

As a fundamental focus in the development of cultural policies, *cultural democratization policies* promote equal access to cultural goods and services as a fundamental right guaranteed by the State. This approach seeks to eliminate economic, social, and geographic barriers, fostering equity, social justice, and the active inclusion of all citizens in cultural life:

> To showcase territories, their unique characteristics, identity, and cultural heritage based on the participation of their people. (003MINCAP02, p. 49)

> The central concept in building this policy is cultural citizenship, which arises from the need to contribute to the full participation of individuals and communities in the creation, enjoyment, and distribution of cultural goods and services. (019MINCAP13, p. 7)

The document analysis reveals that *participatory democracy* is one of the most quantified codes in the overall analysis, reflecting a substantial focus on inclusion and citizen engagement in cultural development. This approach implies the plural development of cultures in relation to their needs and aspirations, emphasizing the importance of active participation from all social groups. Cultural policies must foster participation and citizen engagement, promoting plurality and inclusion. Community participation in cultural decision-making is essential for the legitimacy and effectiveness of policies, ensuring that all citizens' voices are heard and considered in cultural development. This approach highlights the need for inclusive and pluralistic cultural management, where active citizen participation strengthens democracy and promotes a more diverse and representative culture:

> The creative sector can foster greater social cohesion, civic values, and active participation in our democracy, something so necessary in the current climate of distrust toward institutions, whether public or private. (001MINCAP01, p.16)

> The development strategies and programs of each territory must be conceived, constructed, and led from the ground up, from the territory itself, while interacting and dialoguing with sup aterritorial dynamics of all kinds. (007MINCAP04, p. 18)

New public management (NPM) values

The research reveals that the analysed documents, considered *public policy instruments* (Pérez & Solanas, 2015) and *technologies of government* (De Marinis, 1999; Foucault, 1982; Sandoval, 2012), present a discourse focused on NPM-oriented values. These values include *competition and market*, *transparency and accountability*, *decentralization and autonomy*, *efficiency and results orientation*, *client-centred focus*, and *professional management*. This orientation integrates into public cultural management and the creative economy sector, reflecting a conceptualization of power exercise rooted in political rationality centred on commercial and neoliberal expressions. Although this perspective can foster growth within the creative economy, it reduces culture to a commodity, marginalizing equally valuable cultural expressions that do not align with profitability criteria.

The document analysis reveals that *competition and the market* are central aspects of policies and programs aimed at fostering the creative economy in Chile. The promotion of competition and market orientation is not limited to traditional economic sectors but is also deeply integrated into the cultural domain, highlighting a multidimensional approach to public management:

> Positioning the Los Ríos Region globally as an attractive environment for businesses and talent in the audiovisual industry, information technologies, design, and culture, creating business opportunities, better jobs, and quality of life in the region. (007MINCAP04, p. 37)
>
> Promotion of innovative business activities to generate wealth and employment. (039SUBDERE01, p. 26)

Chilean public policies have adopted an approach aimed at boosting competitiveness and innovation through the creation of ecosystems that foster collaboration and exchange. The promotion of creative clusters and participation in international markets are recurrent strategies that emphasize positioning Chile as a leader in the creative economy regionally and globally: "The region considers, in its Regional Innovation Strategy, creative industries as one of the poles of competitiveness, considering its unique assets, development potential, and diversification of the productive matrix" (020MINCAP14, p. 51).

This approach promotes the creation of new enterprises and the continuous improvement of cultural products and services, driving the quality and diversity of the sector. Additionally, the availability of financing that encourages innovation and the scaling of creative projects supports long-term economic sustainability.

Another important aspect is the emphasis placed on transparency and accountability. This focus seeks to promote open and accessible cultural management, with transparency laws and oversight structures that allow for the timely detection and correction of irregularities. This ensures public trust in cultural policies and facilitates informed participation: "A fundamental aspect will be strengthening transparency, accountability, and citizen participation in public functions, placing the citizenry at the centre through concerted monitoring" (020MINCAP14, p. 130).

The *decentralization and autonomy code* stands out as key in cultural policies linked to the creative economy in Chile. It promotes flexibility, adaptation to local needs, active community participation, and greater equity in access to cultural goods and services. However, in a neoliberal context, it may justify the withdrawal of the State, reduction of public spending, and privatization of services, negatively impacting the most vulnerable communities. Additionally, the lack of financial and technical support in regions raises doubts about their capacity to effectively manage cultural resources, potentially leading to inequality and territorial fragmentation:

> We will prioritize projects primarily focused on working and strengthening regional and interregional ties, where at least 60% of your network

> must consist of regions in the country outside the Metropolitan Region. (005MINCAP03, p. 4)

> Programs are designed to promote decentralized and economically sustainable development of entrepreneurship in the creative sector. (027MINCAPMINECOM, p. 52)

Efficiency and results orientation prioritize resource optimization and impact measurement in cultural policies. However, this may overlook essential qualitative and contextual aspects for inclusive cultural development. This approach, focused on quantitative metrics, risks relegating the intrinsic value of cultural activities fundamental to the community fabric:

> Results orientation is key to measuring the impact of cultural policies. (001MINCAP01, p. 12)

> The Subsecretariat reserves the authority to interpret various matters related to these bidding terms, according to equitable criteria deemed appropriate, while always considering the need for maximum effectiveness, efficiency, and cost-saving in the tender process, without necessarily awarding the offer with the lowest cost. (046MINCAP24, p. 2)

Results orientation in cultural management can narrow the vision of success, focusing on predefined objectives that fail to capture the complexity and diversity of cultural expressions, especially in contexts like Chile. The *client-centred focus*, characteristic of NPM, adapts cultural services to the population's demands, aiming to improve their quality and relevance. However, prioritizing *user satisfaction* as the primary indicator can lead to homogenization of the cultural offering, favouring more popular or profitable activities at the expense of less commercial yet equally valuable expressions. Additionally, subordinating cultural development to market criteria can distort the mission of cultural policies and overlook the needs of minority groups:

> The goal is to progressively build public policy instruments that respond to heterogeneous and changing demands and needs. (019MINCAP13, p. 36)

> Enhancing skills to detect the needs of different segments or target audiences. (039SUBDERE01, p. 50)

> The Regional Craft Sector Coordinator, or alternatively the National Sector Coordinator, as appropriate, will direct investment calls or investment requirements in the sector according to the gaps identified at the various levels previously defined, or specific needs identified in sector-specific advisories. (038INDAP01, p. 9)

Regarding the concept of *professional management*, it emphasizes the professionalization and continuous training within the cultural sector to ensure efficient and transparent resource administration. This aims to improve the quality and sustainability of programs. However, this vision may bureaucratize culture, restricting creativity and innovation. Additionally, it could marginalize actors without formal education but with valuable experience, reducing cultural diversity. The focus on efficiency and transparency also risks prioritizing quantifiable outcomes over essential qualitative aspects of cultural development:

> This guideline includes actions, initiatives, or programs to increase the formalization rate in the sector, learning or training opportunities (workshops, courses, advisory sessions, mentoring, training, among others), development of certification profiles, creation of manuals and learning tools in the sector, development of content and curricula in management tools, and events promoting associativity and cooperativism. (001MINCAP01, p. 48)

> Through advisory and training, INDAP aims to equip users with the technical and practical knowledge necessary for the development and positioning of quality products (obtaining and managing raw materials, production quality, adding value, quality control, innovation, and creation of new products, commercialization strategies, business administrative management, among others). (038INDAP01, p. 7)

> The beneficiary will receive support from the Operating Agent to ensure the successful implementation of the project, proper use of awarded resources, assistance in the resource reporting process, and opportunities to enhance entrepreneurial knowledge and capabilities. (036SERCOTEC01, p. 21)

KEY FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The document analysis reveals a significant coexistence and tension between neoconservative privatization policies and cultural democratization and participatory democracy initiatives in Chile. While neoconservative privatization promotes efficiency, competitiveness, and private management of cultural services, democratization and participatory democracy policies focus on ensuring inclusion, equity, and active citizen participation in cultural development. This contrast reflects an attempt to balance market demands with the need for broad and fair access to cultural resources.

Moreover, efforts to promote transparency, accountability, and decentralization, as well as efficiency and results-oriented strategies, are highlighted. However, these strategies present potential risks, such as the marginalization of less profitable cultural projects and an excessive focus on quantifying achievements, which could overlook fundamental qualitative aspects essential for inclusive cultural development. Thus, the research provides a comprehensive view of the dynamics between public policies and the creative sector, emphasizing the implications of these rationalities for the shaping of cultural policies.

Additionally, the findings illuminate the way creative entrepreneurship connects the market logic of the NPM with cultural policy goals. By incorporating the term "cultural entrepreneur" into its support tools, the government introduces values such as self-efficacy, competitiveness, and risk management from the private sector into the arts sector. This discursive translation process serves to legitimize the allocation of funds conditional on performance indicators, thereby creating a regulatory bridge that connects public incentives with market dynamics. This, in turn, serves to deepen the tension between efficiency and equity, as previously noted.

Entrepreneurship, therefore, cannot be considered a simple "future issue", but must be analysed as an explanatory variable for how neoliberal rationality shapes the subjectivities of artists and managers. It is imperative to acknowledge the interconnection between entrepreneurship, NPM, and cultural policies to formulate interventions that address disparities in access and prevent the suppression of the intrinsic values of cultural creation by business rhetoric.

Thus, governance technologies linked to governmentality —such as performance indicators, competitive funding and conditional financing— operate as devices that shape the practices and subjectivities of cultural agents. By requiring artists and organisations to adopt productivity and risk management metrics, these technologies transfer business rationality to the cultural sphere, making the logic of remote governance tangible. Creative entrepreneurship is not only a discourse of modernization, but also a governmental technique that guides behaviour and distributes opportunities within the cultural ecosystem.

The conclusions of this research highlight the coexistence and tension between cultural democratization and participatory policies and neoconservative privatization along with NPM. While cultural democratization and participatory democracy aim to ensure equitable and inclusive access to cultural assets, promoting diversity and active citizen participation, neoconservative privatization and NPM emphasize efficiency, competitiveness, and private management. This dichotomy presents significant challenges, as market-oriented approaches risk marginalizing less profitable cultural projects and subordinating intrinsic cultural values to economic criteria.

The relevance of this research lies in its contribution to understanding the dynamics between public policies and the creative sector, emphasizing the implications of these rationalities for the shaping of cultural policies. By exploring how political rationalities manifest in public policy instruments, the research reveals the construction of a hegemonic power discourse. This analysis is crucial for understanding how public resources are directed and how innovative projects in the cultural sector are implemented from a sustainable development perspective. Consequently, this research provides essential groundwork for the sustainable management of projects and innovation in the cultural field, proposing a research agenda that bridges theory and practice at the intersection of public policies and the creative economy, addressing interdisciplinary applications in society.

The research has three key limitations: firstly, it was solely based on documentary sources, thus failing to capture the subjectivities of artists and cultural managers; secondly, although the corpus covers 2016-2023, the analysis was cross-sectional, meaning that the temporal evolution of the adoption of the NPM was not examined; and thirdly, the selection favoured official and academic documents, excluding media and records from grassroots organisations that also influence the cultural field. Future research could address these gaps through qualitative fieldwork, longitudinal analysis, and more diverse documentary sampling.

Future research will explore how these tensions are reflected in the political subjectivities of cultural entrepreneurs, contributing to the sustainable development of the sector. This approach will not only enrich the theoretical understanding of cultural policies, but will also offer practical applications for the formulation of more balanced policies that account for both efficiency and inclusion and diversity.

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ARTÍCULO

TOWARDS PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE IN THE MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE ECOSYSTEMS: THE COLOMBIAN COFFEE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

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Gómez-Zapata, J. D., del Barrio-Tellado, M. J., & Sánchez-Martínez, S. A. (2025). Towards participatory governance in the management of cultural heritage ecosystems: The Colombian Coffee Cultural Landscape. *Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1157-1192.

We analyse the propensity to engage in the sustainability and enhancement of a cultural heritage ecosystem –the Colombian Coffee Cultural Landscape– from a

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demand-side perspective. Using survey data collected from visitors and residents, we innovatively integrate two methodologies for audience classification: latent class models and multiple correspondence analysis. Our findings reveal three distinct segments based on varying degrees of propensity to participate and valuation intensity. Moreover, the perceptions each group holds regarding government actions significantly influence their decision to become involved. This highlights the need to implement participatory governance models in cultural heritage management and reveals their impact on local economic development.

Keywords: Cultural heritage ecosystems; social participation; latent class models; multiple correspondence analysis; heritage management.
JEL: Z11, Z18, C38.

Gómez-Zapata, J. D., del Barrio-Tellado, M. J., & Sánchez-Martínez, S. A. (2025). Hacia una gobernanza participativa en la gestión de los ecosistemas del patrimonio cultural: el paisaje cultural cafetero colombiano. *Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1157-1192.

Este artículo analiza la propensión a participar en la sostenibilidad y mejora de un ecosistema de patrimonio cultural —el paisaje cultural cafetero de Colombia— desde la perspectiva de la demanda. Utilizando datos de encuestas realizadas a visitantes y residentes, integramos de forma innovadora dos metodologías para la clasificación del público: los modelos de clases latentes y el análisis de correspondencias múltiples. Nuestros resultados revelan la existencia de tres segmentos distintos basados en diferentes grados de propensión a participar y de intensidad de valoración. Además, las percepciones que cada grupo tiene de las acciones gubernamentales influyen de manera significativa en su decisión de participar. Todo ello pone de relieve la necesidad de implantar modelos de gobernanza participativa en la gestión del patrimonio cultural y revela sus repercusiones en el desarrollo económico local.

Palabras clave: ecosistemas del patrimonio cultural; participación social; modelos de clases latentes; análisis de correspondencias múltiples; gestión del patrimonio.
JEL: Z11, Z18, C38.

INTRODUCTION

The literature has repeatedly dealt with the relationship between cultural heritage and economic development in an effort to identify the mechanisms that make it possible to generate growth from cultural heritage resources. Despite the existence of different approaches, the easiest transmission element to identify is cultural tourism, due to its ability to generate demand for goods and services and thereby stimulate the local economy (Ashworth, 2013; Cerisola, 2019; Herrero et al., 2006; Snowball, 2013). However, although the advantages of tourism development in terms of economic prosperity seem evident, other undesirable consequences associated with tourism may deteriorate heritage elements, even more so when it comes to ecosystems, and may affect the quality of life of residents and even affect the very survival of the heritage (Bonet, 2013; Giannoni, 2009; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Karayazi et al., 2024).

Rizzo and Throsby (2006) analyse heritage as a capital asset that incorporates economic and cultural values and point out the analogies between cultural capital and natural capital. This parallelism between the two concepts evidences the need for long-term management of cultural heritage, adopting criteria equivalent to those applied to natural heritage –in line with the thesis of sustainable development– and guided by the principles of conservation and precaution. Furthermore, the characteristics that define heritage assets as public goods or club goods (Gómez-Zapata et al., 2018) prevent the costs derived from their conservation from being borne by market forces. Together with the classification of heritage assets as assets of merit (Musgrave, 1959), this justifies State intervention in their maintenance (Benhamou, 2013).

There are different means through which public intervention is involved with regard to heritage assets (Benhamou, 2013; Klamer et al., 2013; Rizzo & Throsby, 2006). While the provision of public funds, taxation, and regulation are the usual public intervention tools, there is a trend towards reducing public presence and towards recognising the role that the private sector can play in heritage conservation and in stimulating people's participation (Klamer et al., 2013; Mignosa, 2016). This trend aligns with the new participatory models of management in which the different stakeholders take part –to a greater or lesser extent– in management decisions and in financing interventions, ensuring that public preferences are taken into account in the choices made concerning heritage (Peacock, 1994, Zubrow, 2016).

This turn in public policies that affect heritage is supported by the willingness to participate of the agents involved and of citizens in particular. However, some authors have pointed to the value of heritage assets in terms of contributing to national prestige and the benefits associated with their use, legacy, and existence value (Throsby, 2001; Towse, 1994) in order to explain the lack of incentives for citizen participation in heritage protection, either by revealing their preferences, or even by contributing the necessary funds required for maintenance (Mignosa, 2016). Other authors, however, identify emotional motivations for participating in heritage sustainment beyond those governed by economic criteria, and which are based on people's attachment to places derived from experiences and satisfaction level (Tan et al., 2018). Knowing to what extent citizens are willing to contribute to maintaining heritage assets is thus key to policy design and evaluation. Although economic valuation studies applied to cultural heritage (Báez & Herrero, 2012; Herrero et al., 2003; Throsby et al., 2021) do provide a measure of this willingness in monetary terms, to the best of our knowledge no studies have yet explored public propensity to participate (in monetary and non-monetary terms) in protecting cultural heritage ecosystems. It also seems clear that such willingness will not be uniform but will be affected by certain contextual variables.

Based on these foundations, our work seeks to analyse citizen propensity to participate in the sustainability of a cultural heritage ecosystem. As a case study, we take the Colombian Coffee Cultural Landscape (CCL), which is an ecosystem that combines natural, economic, and cultural elements with a high degree of uniformity regarding coffee production. The CCL was declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2011 and, accordingly, has public-private plans for its conservation. To achieve our objective, we propose a methodological approach that allows us to identify the determinants of citizens' propensity to participate and their classification into standardised groups according to this propensity. For this, we make novel and integrated use of two techniques: latent class models and multiple correspondence analysis. Results indicate three differentiated groups based on the level of involvement: high, moderate, and low involvement. We found that the valuation of tourism services and the perception of the government's role in the area have a significant influence on the willingness to participate. In addition, as a robustness test we estimated each group's willingness to contribute monetarily to preserve the ecosystem, and we found a direct relationship. These findings are valuable in that they direct public policies and focus attention on the implementation of sustainable strategies that contribute to tourism and heritage conservation and that promote local economic development.

The paper is organised as follows: section 2 presents a review of previous literature, followed by the considerations of our case study. In section 4, the method is set out as an integrated proposal of latent class models and multiple correspondence analysis. Section 5 presents the analysis of the results of the methodological application. The paper ends with the conclusions.

LITERATURE REVIEW

As mentioned, the process of de-statisation of cultural heritage policies and the subsequent incorporation of the private sector (Klamer et al., 2006, 2013; Mignosa, 2016) has materialised in different ways. One possibility involves an approach to communities and individuals, which contributes to sustainability from different perspectives and enables the budgetary restrictions inherent to public intervention to be overcome to a certain extent. In this sense, participation in heritage approximates the valuation that visitors make of an element, from which –in principle– their willingness to contribute to its conservation and sustainability may be induced (Ateca-Amestoy et al., 2020; Gómez-Zapata et al., 2024a). There are numerous studies on participation in heritage that adopt different approaches, and which are geared towards different types of tangible (natural, cultural, and mixed) as well as intangible heritage elements. Some of these studies seek to identify the socioeconomic factors that may drive or hinder cultural participation (Ateca-Amestoy et al, 2020; Falk & Katz-Gerro, 2016; Gayo, 2017; Walker et al, 2023), while others seek to assess what impact participation has on issues such as individual well-being (Brown et al., 2015; Hand, 2018; Wheatley & Bickerton, 2019) or social cohesion (Otte, 2019; Van de Vyver & Abrams, 2018).

In some of these papers, a more limited cultural element or phenomenon is taken as a case study in order to examine the unobserved heterogeneity that induces different choice patterns and participation, mainly using latent class models. Examples of this line of work include studies by Van der Ark and Richards (2006) for cultural activities in a group of European cities, Ateca-Amestoy (2008) and Grisolía and Willes (2012) for theatre attendance, Fernández-Blanco et al. (2009) for cinema attendance, or Del Barrio-Tellado et al. (2025) for the demand for reading and libraries in Peru. Adopting a different methodology, Brida et al. (2016) study the motivations that guide museum attendance, using multiple correspondence analysis. Finally, Palma et al. (2013) take as a case study the Spring Festival of Seville in order to identify which determinants shape attendance intensity by means of estimating a zero-truncated count data model. Finally, some participation studies introduce the concept of conservation by materialising it through intervention preferences. In this sense, Tan et al. (2018) establish a relationship between people's commitment to protecting heritage elements and their affective ties with a place, from which preferences and valuations can be derived.

In general, the works referred to use a concept of participation defined in terms of access to heritage assets. However, in practice, ways of relating to cultural heritage are not limited to access or visits to heritage assets or sites. The European ESSnet-CULTURE project for the development and improvement of cultural statistics (Bína et al., 2012) identifies three possible dimensions for cultural practices: amateur practices, which involve artistic activities in leisure time; attending cultural events and following them through the media; and social participation/volunteering, which involves belonging to a group or doing voluntary work for a cultural institution. This codification of cultural practices underlines how the concept of cultural participation has expanded to incorporate a more active perspective of what it means to engage in cultural practices. While in the most common expression of cultural participation, the public contributes their time –plus the cost of admission– to the co-production of the service, new forms of participation involve the additional contribution of temporary and monetary resources (volunteering to carry out activities and donations), and even cultural capital in the form of skills for decision-making related to management (co-governance).

Various studies have examined voluntary contributions of resources through charitable and philanthropic initiatives (Andreoni, 1998; Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; Brooks, 2003; De Wit & Bekkers, 2017). In the cultural heritage sector, some of these studies have attempted to explain this type of behaviour from a purely economic perspective focused on monetary incentives (Revelli, 2013; Schuster, 2006), while others have considered other social motivations such as altruism or moral criteria. One study worth mentioning is that of Bertacchini et al. (2011), who look at both intrinsic motivations (derived from the object of the contribution and the act of giving) and extrinsic motivations (linked to monetary or reputational compensation and social recognition) in contributions to cultural heritage, as well as the external factors that influence these decisions. Eça de Abreu et al. (2015) study prosocial behaviour, understood as a form of behaviour that is perceived as beneficial to other people, and the role of religiousness in contribution decisions. Herrero-Prieto and Sanz-Lara (2025) also take a religious event as a reference and explore the motivations that drive contributions of time and money to maintain a common cultural asset. Ch'ng et al. (2014) study how the availability of information about the value of a heritage asset can affect the decision to contribute towards preserving it. In a similar vein, Cavalieri et al. (2022) take the cathedral of Monreale (Sicily) as a case study in order to examine how the possibility of observing restoration work and obtaining information about these activities can affect the valuation of the visit and the willingness to pay. The results show that visitors value being in contact with restoration activities, and that the value is higher when they receive technical and historical information. Some studies identify regular patterns in the sociodemographic characteristics that influence donations of money and time (Bauer et al., 2013; Bekkers, 2010), and find significant differences in willingness to contribute according to age, education, income, gender, or nationality. Along these lines, Chen et al. (2017) present a study on the landscape of the Ryukyu Islands that evaluates willingness to contribute to financing landscape conservation and its socioeconomic determinants.

The trend towards incorporating new agents into conservation activities has also led to the adoption of new management models in which users can participate to a greater or lesser extent in decision-making regarding the conservation of heritage assets. The work of Throsby et al. (2021) explores this avenue and proposes a discrete choice experiment to assess public preferences for alternative conservation programmes. Beyond providing information, other forms of participation involve co-decision processes in the intervention. Ferretti and Gandino (2018) propose the use of stakeholder analysis and choice experiments to jointly design –together with stakeholders and the local community– possible strategies to regenerate abandoned rural buildings scattered around the heart of a World Heritage Site in northern Italy.

Our work aims to provide insights into the sociodemographic features that influence contribution decisions, using a particular heritage ecosystem –the CCL– as a case study. We propose an analysis of the propensity to contribute to the sustainability of this heritage asset and we identify specific profiles through latent class and multiple correspondence analysis. These techniques make it possible to classify individuals in a population according to an estimate of their probability of choosing one response or another. In addition, introducing covariates allows us to estimate the extent to which class probabilities are affected by other sociodemographic variables. At a time when stakeholder involvement in conserving and protecting cultural heritage is being sought, our work provides a useful tool for political decision-making by estimating visitors and citizens' general degree of commitment to protect heritage elements, measured in terms of monetary contributions and in terms of attitudes that favour the conservation of such elements.

CASE STUDY: COLOMBIAN COFFEE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The Colombian Coffee Cultural Landscape (CCL) was declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2011 as an expression of the human and territorial fabric around the practices and traditions of coffee production, and because it forms a cultural ecosystem in which natural, socioeconomic and patrimonial characteristics converge, thereby making it a key object of analysis for public policy design. As an ecosystem, the CCL has helped to economically boost the region –expressed through multiple tourist activities– and shape the area's cultural identity.

As a declared World Heritage site, the CCL has conservation and protection plans, most of which come under a traditional public management approach that considers local governments and administrations as the ones responsible for managing said heritage (Bonet & Négrier, 2018). However, these efforts are not always sufficient and new alternatives must be sought to ensure their sustainability, for example, through new models of participatory governance, where both citizens and the private sector take on an active role in financing, promoting, and preserving these cultural heritage ecosystems. We thus take the CCL as a representative and extrapolated case for analysing other ecosystems globally. We also seek to contribute to the literature by broadening the analysis of cultural heritage assets, taking in this case a broader and more complex territorial delimitation where tangible and intangible manifestations of heritage converge, as well as the public and private provision of goods. Understanding attitudes towards preserving this ecosystem offers a relevant contribution to the formulation and evaluation of cultural policies.

METHOD

To identify segments of a population, different statistical methodologies have been developed based on observable variables as a proxy for an unobservable condition such as the desire to become involved in preserving cultural heritage ecosystems. One methodological approach is latent class models (LCM), known as a model-based statistical technique and introduced by Lazarsfeld (1950) and systematised by Hagenaars and McCutcheon (2002). The aim of this technique is to detect unobservable heterogeneity in samples and to empirically identify the probability that each observational unit belongs to the latent subgroups that constitute this heterogeneity (Weller et al., 2020). The technique has frequently been used to design medical strategies, identify social patterns, and evaluate public policy strategies (Cazorla-Artiles & Eugenio-Martín, 2023; Mäntymaa et al., 2018; Ritchie et al., 2021). However, it has also been employed to analyse cultural demand and attitudes towards cultural tourism (Grisolía & Willis, 2012; Pulido-Fernández & Sánchez-Rivero, 2010).

Following Cameron and Trivedi (2005), suppose $i \in \{1,2,\ldots,N\}$, $j \in \{1,2,\ldots,J\}$ and $k \in \{1,2,\ldots,K_j\}$. Let Y_{ijk} be a categorical variable that expresses the response of individual i in category k of variable j. Given an independent and identically distributed sample, the probability of i responding Y_{jk} follows a joint multinomial distribution with parametric space $\boldsymbol{\pi}$, defined as:

$$P(\boldsymbol{Y_i}|\boldsymbol{\pi}) = \prod_{j=1}^{J} \prod_{k=1}^{K_j} \pi_{jk}^{1\{Y_{ij}=k\}} \tag{1}$$

However, the virtue of the LCM approach is that it allows that probability to be conditioned on the latent class or subgroup of which the individual is believed to be a part. Let $c = \{1,2,\ldots C\}$ and p the parametric space of the weights that each class c has in the sample. It then follows that

$$P(\boldsymbol{Y}_i|\boldsymbol{\pi},\boldsymbol{p}) = \sum_{c=1}^{C} p_c \prod_{j=1}^{J} \prod_{k=1}^{K_j} \pi_{jkc}^{1\{Y_{ij}=k\}} \tag{2}$$

expresses the probability density across the classes that an individual i belonging to the class c responds Y_{ijk}.

Note that the fundamental identifying assumption in this type of modelling is conditional independence, i.e., homogeneity in the distribution within each latent class (Linzer & Lewis, 2011). Additionally, the flexibility of this specification not only allows unobservable heterogeneity to be modelled but also enables observable covariates that may influence the response probability to be included. Hence:

$$P(\boldsymbol{Y}_i|\boldsymbol{\pi},\boldsymbol{p},\boldsymbol{\beta},\boldsymbol{X}_i) = \sum_{c=1}^{C} p_c|\boldsymbol{X}_i \prod_{j=1}^{J} \prod_{k=1}^{K_j} \pi_{jkc}^{1\{Y_{ij} = k|\boldsymbol{X_i}\}} \tag{3}$$

This implies estimating additional parameters that increase as the model becomes more complex, such that a parsimony criterion is required for estimation (Linzer & Lewis, 2011). Finally, estimation of this type of model is performed with the expectation-maximisation algorithm[1].

[1] The expectation-maximisation (EM) algorithm is an estimation method that iteratively updates the posterior probabilities of a likelihood function dependent on unobservable variables (Cameron & Trivedi, 2005).

Another methodological approach involves constructing indicators from observable characteristics of individuals based on multiple correspondence analysis (MCA). This technique allows us to construct preference profiles on different sets of categorical data and to generate a quantitative indicator-type measure that synthesises the information contained in the observable variables of the sample. A continuous measure is thus obtained that allows us to identify more directly the intensity of the propensity to participate manifested in our observation units (Le Roux & Rouanet, 2010). MCA is based on analysing the similarity of survey responses, calculating geometrically the distance between individuals and the categories of the variables. This methodology allows the representation of scatter diagrams in a multidimensional space, where the proximity or distance between points indicates the similarity or dissimilarity between individuals and categories (Abdi & Valentin, 2007). MCA has often been applied in social science studies, where it is used as an exploratory and synthesis technique for categorical data. For example, Asselin (2009) proposes constructing multidimensional poverty indicators; Ulman and Dobay (2020) use it to measure the degree of environmental awareness and participation of Romanian citizens. In the cultural field, Richards and Van der Ark (2013) segment the dimensions of cultural consumption among tourists using geometric spaces.

The rationale of MCA assumes that $i \in \{1, 2,\dots, N\}$, $j \in \{1, 2,\dots, J\}$ and $k \in \{1, 2,\dots, K_j\}$. Let Y_{ijk} be a categorical variable that expresses the response of individual i in category k of variable j. For each j, it is possible to construct K_j binary indicators and stack them in matrix X of N cases and $\sum_{j=1}^{J} K_j$ columns. Following Greenacre and Blasius (2006), MCA is based on analysing the full contingency matrix associated with X, known as Burt's matrix:

$$B = X^T X \tag{4}$$

Matrix B contains the co-occurrence frequencies of pairs of categories between the different variables, such that matrix $P = N^{-1}B$ contains the relative frequency of co-occurrence between the different categories of the variables. Based on the above, it is possible to construct profiles of categories or individuals through a geometric measure: Pearson's chi-square distance,

$$d(i, i') = \sum_{k=1}^{K} \frac{\left(x_{ik} - x_{i'k}\right)^2}{p_k} \tag{5}$$

where p_k is the marginal proportion of category k at P. According to Greenacre and Blasius (2006), in order to compute this distance using a matrix, the singular value decomposition is computed to project the profiles of categories and observations into a low-dimensional space that maximises the variation explained by the associations between variables, with the distances in this space reflecting the associations between categories (for variables) and between observations (for individuals).

Finally, these coordinates are used as factor scores to aggregate the *J* variables into a composite indicator that allows the information contained in them to be summed up and interpreted:

$$PPI_i = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^{J}\sum_{k=1}^{K_j} w_k^{\alpha,j} x_{i,k}^{j}}{J} \tag{6}$$

where PPI_i is the propensity to participate indicator for individual *i*, $w^{\alpha,j}_{k}$ is the normalised score of category *k* of variable j from α-th factorial axis, and $x^{j}_{i,k}$ represents the binary indicator of category *k* of variable *j* for the *i*-th individual[2].

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Data and variables

The data used in this research come from a survey applied in person to residents and visitors during two specific periods in 2023 (April and September 2023) at 15 sites that are representative of the Colombian Coffee Cultural Landscape (see Gómez-Zapata et al., 2024b). In line with the population of the area, a standard random sampling estimated the need for 385 surveys, although 588 people were eventually surveyed[3]. The survey consisted of 26 questions distributed in four segments: the first addresses aspects of contextualisation and knowledge of the CCL; the second contains an economic valuation exercise of the main attributes that make up this cultural ecosystem; the third includes questions about the level of satisfaction, experience and expenses incurred during the visit; finally, the fourth segment includes sociodemographic variables pertaining to respondents (see Table 1).

Table 1.
Descriptive statistics of the sample

Variable	Level	Frequency	%	Gini*
Gender	Female	293	50%	0.50
	Male	295	50%	

(*Continued*)

[2] Note that –by construction– the propensity indicator is a simple average of the weighted sum of the different categories of each of the variables in the analysis, which can be normalised between 0 and 1 for ease of interpretation.

[3] While the sample is statistically significant, there may be some limitations in representing the whole population of the area. This bias has been controlled for by including a representation of people with different sociodemographic characteristics.

Variable	Level	Frequency	%	Gini*
Income**	0-268.2 USD	265	45%	0.71
	268.2-536.4 USD	148	25%	
	536.4-804.6 USD	72	12%	
	804.6-1072.8 USD	30	5%	
	1072.8-1341 USD	20	3%	
	1341-1609.2 USD	10	2%	
	1609.2-1877 USD	20	3%	
	> 1877 USD	23	4%	
CCL Municipality	Resides in the CCL	225	38%	0.47
	Does not reside in the CCL	363	62%	
Status	Colombian	532	90%	0.18
	Foreigner	56	10%	
Labour sector	None	344	59%	0.61
	Public sector	71	12%	
	Education	57	10%	
	Heritage	57	10%	
	Tourism	22	4%	
	Environment	21	4%	
	N/A	22	3%	
Occupation	Employee	272	46%	0.72
	Independent	109	19%	
	Study	55	9%	
	Study and work	48	8%	
	Housewife	45	7%	
	Unemployed	59	10%	
Variable	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max
Age	39.21	16.32	18-99	99
Household size	3.19	1.69	1	11

N: 588
* Ranges from 0 to 1, where 0 indicates total concentration (all responses fall into a single category) and values closer to 1 reflect greater dispersion or heterogeneity across categories.
** 1 SMMLV 2023 = 1'160.000 COP – Average Exchange Rate 2023: 1 USD = 4.235 COP

To conduct our methodological exercise, we start based on the assumption that the population who live in or visit this ecosystem declared as a World Heritage Site display economic, historical, and/or altruistic reasons for participating in activities aimed at promoting and protecting it (Klamer et al., 2013; Mignosa, 2016;

Tan et al., 2018; Throsby et al., 2021). Nevertheless, and as already mentioned, this willingness to participate is directly unobservable. We therefore took a set of variables that indirectly express this propensity and that are related to four fundamental aspects: cultural motivation and consumption (Berkes, 2004; Santana, 2020), valuation of experiences with the services enjoyed (Cazorla-Artiles & Eugenio-Martín, 2023), willingness to make monetary contributions to preserve the ecosystem (Chafla Martínez, 2019; Gómez-Zapata et al., 2024b; Soini et al., 2012), and perception of government (Navarro, 2015; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011). Table 2 shows a statistical summary of the variables considered when carrying out our analysis as well as the justification for their inclusion, based on the literature.

Table 2.
Variables for LCM

Variable	Description	Theoretical support	Level	Percentage
VECVIS	How many times have you visited the CCL?	Soini et al. (2012); Ateca-Amestoy et al. (2020)	First time	14.97
			2-3 times	30.61
			4-6 times	12.07
			7-10 times	6.46
			More than 10 times	35.88
DISF	Your reason for visiting is to enjoy the tourist and cultural attractions.	Navarro (2015); Santana (2020)	Yes	45.07
			No	54.93
PCCL	People should be involved in caring for the CCL and its sustainability	Zubrow (2016)	Indifferent	2.04
			Agree	5.78
			Completely agree	92.18
DCCL	It is necessary to raise awareness of the CCL at a national and international level	Navarro (2015)	Totally disagree	0.34
			Slightly agree	0.85
			Indifferent	2.72
			Agree	9.35
			Totally agree	86.73
WTP	Would you be willing to make an annual monetary contribution to preserve the CCL?	Hoyos et al. (2009); Chafla Martínez (2019); Gómez-Zapata et al. (2024b)	No	31.29
			Yes	68.71

(*Continued*)

Variable	Description	Theoretical support	Level	Percentage
CULCAF	Rate your experience of the coffee culture	Berkes (2004); Pretty and Smith (2004)	Not used	25.85
			Completely dissatisfied	2.21
			Dissatisfied	3.4
			Indifferent	10.37
			Satisfied	21.43
			Completely satisfied	36.73
CONPAI	Rate your experience of the natural landscape	Berkes (2004); Soini et al. (2012)	Not used	2.38
			Completely dissatisfied	0.17
			Dissatisfied	1.02
			Indifferent	3.23
			Satisfied	9.69
			Completely satisfied	83.5
SITCUL	Rate your experience of the cultural sites	Chafla Martínez (2019)	Not used	49.32
			Completely dissatisfied	0.68
			Dissatisfied	1.02
			Indifferent	2.55
			Satisfied	10.88
			Completely satisfied	35.54
ATUR	Rate your experience of the tourist attractions	Berkes (2004)	Not used	37.24
			Completely dissatisfied	0.34
			Dissatisfied	0.51
			Indifferent	3.57
			Satisfied	8.5
			Completely satisfied	49.83

(*Continued*)

Variable	Description	Theoretical support	Level	Percentage
DIFCCL	Rate your experience in terms of the promotion and dissemination of the CCL	Berkes (2004); Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2011)	Not used	15.31
			Completely dissatisfied	7.99
			Dissatisfied	6.63
			Indifferent	14.97
			Satisfied	21.43
			Completely satisfied	33.67
PGOB	Rate your experience of the government's presence and partnership with entrepreneurs	Berkes (2004); Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2011)	Not used	54.76
			Completely dissatisfied	16.84
			Dissatisfied	5.27
			Indifferent	9.01
			Satisfied	5.61
			Completely satisfied	8.5
OFITUR	Rate your experience of the offices and sites for visitor and tourist services	Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2011); Cazorla-Artiles and Eugenio-Martín (2023)	Not used	55.27
			Completely dissatisfied	11.73
			Dissatisfied	2.89
			Indifferent	7.99
			Satisfied	9.69
			Completely satisfied	12.41

Classification of groups according to their propensity to participate

In order to determine the optimal number of segments that characterise individuals' preferences and attitudes toward participation in CCL sustainability, the Akaike (AIC) and Schwarz (BIC) information criteria were used. Table 3 shows the results, with the conclusion being that $C = 3$ is an adequate number of segments to estimate equation (3)[4].

[4] This point is also chosen considering a parsimony criterion, since the AIC was still decreasing, while the BIC in class three contrasts this trend. We thus obtain greater explanatory capacity when applying the regression models after classifying the sample.

Table 3.
Information criteria by model

No. of latent classes	Log-Lik	AIC	BIC	Npar	df
1	-4978.7	10037.47	10212.54	40	548
2	-4778.4	9756.80	10194.48	100	488
3	-4648.1	9617.022	10317.3	160	428
4	-4571.3	9582.69	10545.57	220	368

We then iteratively estimate LCMs with and without covariates. The inclusion of covariates allows us to analyse the specific effects of each variable on participation probabilities, which contributes to a more detailed understanding of the factors that influence individuals' behaviour. When estimating the model, we found plausible differences in the observable variables, suggesting that the three latent classes represent well-differentiated segments within the sample. Maximum likelihood estimates for $p_c\,|X_i$ indicate that 39.7% of the sample belong to $c = 1$; 31.6% belong to class $c = 2$, and finally that 28.7% are part of class $c = 3$. The estimated probabilities π_{jkc} for each variable Y_{jk} of the model are shown in Table 4 and reveal marked differences between the three latent classes, especially in terms of satisfaction regarding government presence and associativity, the quality of services in tourist offices and sites, and the frequency of visits to the cultural ecosystem.

Table 4.
Conditional response probabilities for each variable by class

Variable	Level	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
VECVIS	First time	0.08	0.00	**0.40**
	2-3 times	0.31	0.23	0.38
	4-6 times	0.13	0.12	0.11
	7-10 times	0.09	0.10	0.00
	More than 10 times	**0.39**	**0.56**	0.10
DISF	Yes	**0.52**	**0.61**	0.18
	No	0.48	0.39	**0.82**
PCCL	Indifferent	0.00	0.05	0.02
	Agree	0.00	0.11	0.07
	Completely agree	**1.00**	**0.84**	**0.91**

(*Continued*)

Variable	Level	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
DCCL	Total disagreement	0.00	0.01	0.00
	Little agreement	0.00	0.02	0.01
	Indifferent	0.00	0.04	0.04
	Agree	0.03	0.11	0.16
	Completely agree	**0.97**	**0.81**	**0.79**
WTP	No	0.23	0.35	0.39
	Yes	**0.77**	**0.65**	**0.61**
CULCAF	Completely dissatisfied	0.01	0.07	0.02
	Dissatisfied	0.01	0.12	0.02
	Indifferent	0.07	0.27	0.11
	Satisfied	0.19	**0.42**	0.30
	Completely satisfied	**0.72**	0.11	**0.55**
CONPAI	Completely dissatisfied	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Dissatisfied	0.01	0.03	0.00
	Indifferent	0.00	0.06	0.05
	Satisfied	0.05	0.25	0.01
	Completely satisfied	**0.94**	**0.66**	**0.94**
SITCUL	Completely dissatisfied	0.02	0.03	0.00
	Dissatisfied	0.00	0.06	0.01
	Indifferent	0.01	0.13	0.03
	Satisfied	0.09	**0.53**	0.11
	Completely satisfied	**0.88**	0.25	**0.85**
ATUR	Completely dissatisfied	0.00	0.02	0.00
	Dissatisfied	0.01	0.02	0.00
	Indifferent	0.00	0.16	0.04
	Satisfied	0.06	0.33	0.06
	Completely satisfied	**0.93**	**0.47**	**0.90**

(*Continued*)

Variable	Level	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
DIFCCL	Completely dissatisfied	0.03	0.15	0.13
	Dissatisfied	0.00	0.13	0.13
	Indifferent	0.07	**0.30**	0.18
	Satisfied	0.22	0.30	0.24
	Completely satisfied	**0.68**	0.13	**0.32**
PGOB	Completely dissatisfied	0.15	**0.34**	**0.64**
	Dissatisfied	0.08	0.19	0.08
	Indifferent	0.19	0.28	0.12
	Satisfied	0.17	0.15	0.05
	Completely satisfied	**0.41**	0.05	0.11
OFITUR	Completely dissatisfied	0.02	**0.29**	**0.56**
	Dissatisfied	0.00	0.14	0.08
	Indifferent	0.10	0.28	0.18
	Satisfied	0.27	0.26	0.10
	Completely satisfied	**0.61**	0.04	0.08

Class 1: Highly likely to participate; **Class 2:** Moderately likely to participate; **Class 3:** Not likely to participate.

Individuals in $c = 1$ show a high probability of satisfaction and participation. For example, they show an 88% probability of being completely satisfied with the tourist sites, and a 72% probability of being completely satisfied with the attractions related to coffee culture. Likewise, their high probability (48%) of visiting this landscape seven or more times indicates recurrent familiarity and participation in the cultural ecosystem domain, suggesting they are a group with a high propensity of becoming involved in its sustainability. In contrast, individuals in class $c = 2$ show a moderate propensity to participate, with a 53% probability of satisfaction with cultural sites and a moderate probability (34%) of being dissatisfied with government presence and associativity, respectively. This indicates a group with sustained participation but not as high as in class $c = 1$.

Finally, individuals in class $c = 3$ display a very high likelihood of low satisfaction and lower frequency of visits. For example, 56% of those in this class report being completely dissatisfied with the tourist office services, while 63% are dissatisfied with government presence, and with 40% reporting being in the cultural ecosystem for the first time.

Table 5 presents the relevant patterns in the relationship between the covariates considered and the latent propensity to participate in CCL sustainability. This relationship is represented in the log-odds coefficients derived from the logit link function of the latent class model.

Table 5.
Estimated parameters for each covariable (logit link)

Covariate		Class 2		Class 3	
Intercept		1.37	(2.02)	2.39	(2.31)
Gender (female)		-0.40	(0.33)	0.67*	(0.39)
Educational attainment		0.42**	(0.19)	0.42**	(0.19)
Retired		0.54	(0.75)	-1.66	(1.51)
Worker		0.03	(0.45)	-0.82*	(0.47)
Resides in CCL		0.43	(0.44)	-1.29***	(0.45)
Foreigner		-14.06***	(0.00)	0.77	(0.89)
Attribute valuation	Coffee crops	-0.32*	(0.17)	-0.32*	(0.19)
	Landscape	-0.07	(0.17)	-0.07	(0.21)
	Cultural expressions	-0.25	(0.19)	-0.28	(0.23)
	Tourism infrastructure	-0.25	(0.18)	-0.27	(0.21)
Income	268.2-536.4 USD	-0.86*	(0.45)	0.07	(0.51)
	536.4-804.6 USD	-0.55	(0.65)	0.36	(0.63)
	804.6-1072.8 USD	-0.44	(0.76)	-2.31**	(0.98)
	1072.8-1341 USD	10.85***	(0.47)	11.06***	(0.47)
	1341-1609.2 USD	-13.44***	(0.00)	-0.14	(1.13)
	1609.2-1877 USD	-0.12	(1.36)	-0.37	(1.25)
	1877 or more	13.03***	(0.82)	10.69***	(0.82)

(*Continued*)

Covariate		Class 2		Class 3	
Labour sector	Education	0.14	(0.75)	1.05*	(0.60)
	Tourism	1.34*	(0.72)	-11.52***	(0.00)
	Environment	0.03	(0.70)	-1.12	(1.13)
	Heritage	1.34**	(0.54)	1.10	(0.75)

Note. Class 1 is the reference class.
Standard errors in parenthesis.
*** 1% significance level.
** 5% significance level.
* 10% significance level.
Number of cases: 588
Number of fully observed cases: 90

Number of estimated parameters: 164
Residual degrees of freedom: 424
Maximum log-likelihood: -4643.9
AIC (3): 9615.763
BIC (3): 10333.55
$\chi 2$ (3): 15800091
$\chi 2$ p-value: < 0.001

When analysing the results in relation to the covariates, we find no significant difference in terms of gender between men and women in the probability of being moderately likely to participate, compared to those who are highly likely to. However, women show a higher relative probability of belonging to the low propensity to participate group when compared to men.

In terms of educational attainment, individuals with higher levels of education tend to have a lower propensity to participate. This may be because they have a more critical perspective towards associativity and the role of the government in managing the cultural landscape, which leads them to appear in the class with a lower propensity to participate. As regards place of residence, inhabitants of the municipalities that make up the CCL have a lower probability of belonging to the low propensity class compared to the high propensity class, while foreigners show a higher –albeit not significant– probability of being less likely to participate. This trend seems logical, since residents might have a greater motivation to preserve their cultural heritage as this offers valuable resources for territorial economic development.

As regards income level, an interesting pattern emerges concerning the propensity to participate in conservation. Individuals with incomes below or equal to 536 USD present a negative and significant coefficient in class 2, which suggests a greater likelihood of belonging to the high participation class. In contrast, those with higher incomes (1072.8-1341 USD) have a higher relative probability of belonging to the low and moderate propensity classes, respectively. This could be interpreted as an indication that individuals in lower income ranges –who tend to be more dependent on local resources and environmental conservation– may be motivated to participate in conservation activities. On the other hand, those with higher incomes might consider their participation to be less relevant as they perceive that their welfare does not directly depend on how well preserved the cultural landscape is, since their purchasing power would allow them to make other substitute consumptions.

Finally, as regards respondents' employment sector, the results indicate that working in the heritage sector increases the probability of belonging to the moderately likely class as opposed to the highly likely class. In contrast, being employed in education is associated with a higher probability of a low propensity to participate, while working in the environmental sector shows no significant differences among the three propensity levels. However, respondents working in the tourism sector show a higher relative likelihood of being actively involved in promoting and disseminating the cultural ecosystem.

Continuing with our methodological proposal, we proceed to the MCA, keeping the LCM variables, which allows us to estimate the coordinates and factorial contributions for each variable –as shown in Appendix 1– and their subsequent representation in a Cartesian plane (see Figure 2). Interpreting the factorial axes requires examining the proportion of information captured by each axis as well as the variables and categories that contribute most significantly to each dimension. After selecting the most relevant axis for our case study, its coordinates were used as weights to construct the participation propensity index (PPI), as previously established in equation (6).

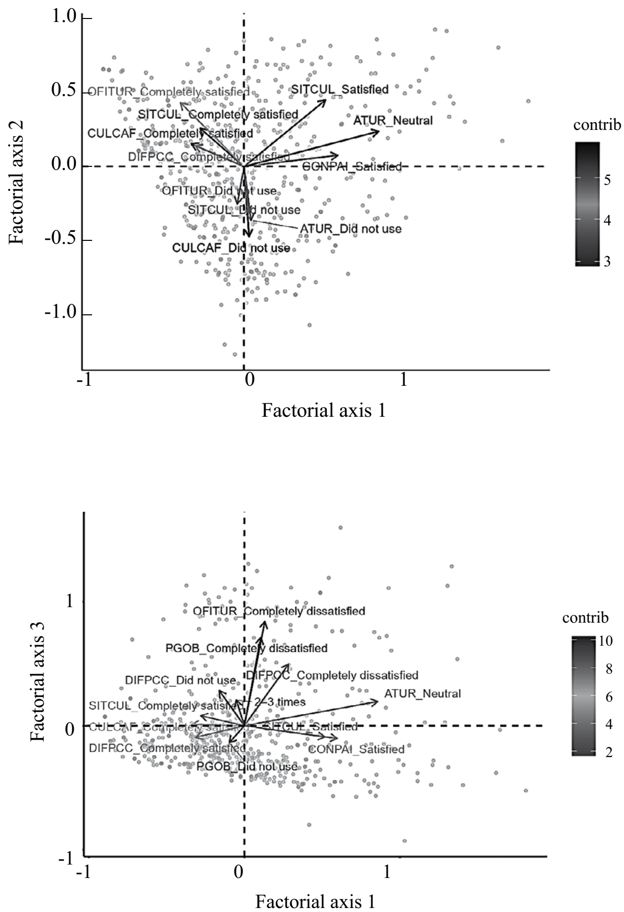
Based on Figure 1, we can conclude that the first factorial axis is marked by visitors' appreciation in terms of promoting the destination and the perception of tourism infrastructure and services, with a clear split between those who rate natural-landscape and cultural-site satisfaction highly versus those who emphasise coffee-culture experiences and promoting the destination. Variables related to government presence and willingness to help preserve the CCL show no direct relationship with this dimension.

The second factorial axis similarly reflects satisfaction with infrastructure and services related to tourism and culture in the CCL; its strongest contributors are satisfaction with cultural sites (SITCUL), tourism offices (OFITUR), and coffee culture (CULCAF), while "did not use" categories load on the opposite side. The third factorial axis is defined mainly by variables related to respondents' satisfaction with government presence and associativity as well as with tourism offices and sites. This axis isolates a small cluster of "institutionally dissatisfied" visitors (e.g., OFITUR and PGOB completely dissatisfied) versus those with high overall satisfaction, aligning closely with the LCM class least likely to participate.

The results of the MCA allow us to identify clear patterns in the data, where people with positive evaluations of cultural and tourism aspects present associations that can be interpreted as more likely to participate in preserving the CCL. The third dimension also shows that both appreciation for the cultural environment and the perception of government administration play a crucial role in attitudes towards heritage protection, such that we constructed the propensity-to-participate index of equation (6) making use of this factorial axis ($\alpha=3$).

Figure 2 presents the histogram of the PPI, which shows that the distribution of this variable in individuals presents negative skewness (fat left tail), suggesting that most individuals have a high propensity to participate. However, there are many observations regarding a PPI of 0.25, which indicates the existence of a proportion of individuals with a low propensity to participate –in agreement with class 3 identified in the LCM.

Figure 1.
Bi-plots of coordinates and contributions for the first three factorial axes



Although there seems to be consistency in the results obtained by both techniques, we proposed a regression analysis to determine the degree of association between the results obtained by MCA and those derived from LCM, as shown in Table 6.

Figure 2.
Histogram of the Propensity to Participate Index (PPI)

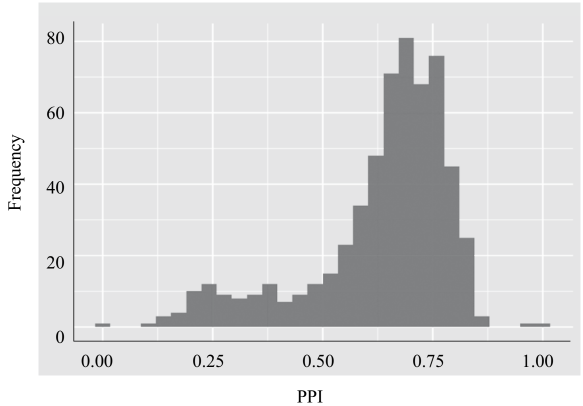


Table 6.
Association between PPI and the latent classes identified

	PPI	
Intercept	0.688***	(0.049)
Class 2	-0.029**	(0.015)
Class 3	-0.168***	(0.014)

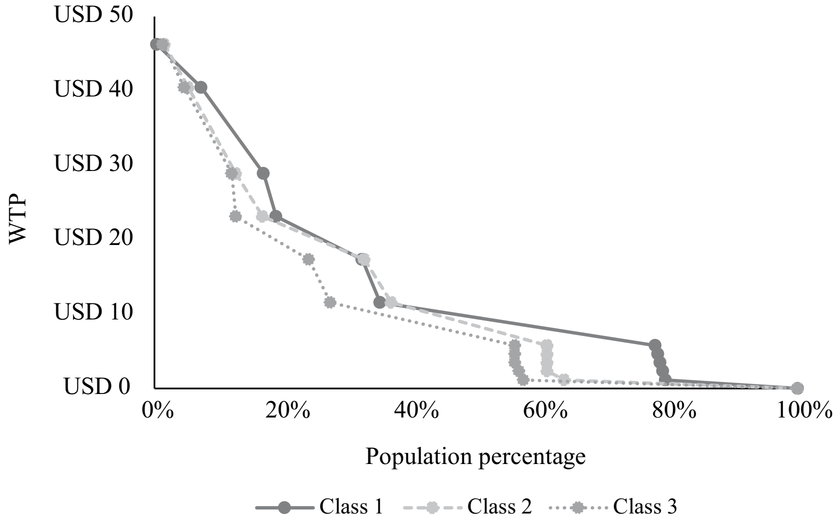
HC1 standard errors in parenthesis.
N: 588
R2: 0.193
Adjusted R2: 0.191
Residual standard error: 0.145
F statistic: 70.12

In class 1, the PPI takes a value of 0.69, which is consistent with the result of the latent class analysis, given that this class corresponds to the one with the highest propensity to participate. On average, belonging to class 2 is associated with a decrease of 0.029 units in the PPI, suggesting that the propensity to participate is slightly lower in this group, which is consistent with the previous characterisation of class 2 as being moderately likely to participate. Finally, membership in class 3 is associated with a reduction of 0.168 units in the propensity index which implies that, on average, individuals in this class present a PPI of 0.5. This finding is consistent with identifying class 3 as having the lowest propensity to participate.

Estimation of each group's willingness to pay

Finally, we refer to the works of Hoyos et al. (2009), Soini et al. (2012) and Chafla Martínez (2019) where willingness to participate in managing common resources is manifested in the willingness to make monetary contributions. Accordingly, as a robustness test, we propose estimating the willingness to pay to preserve the CCL for each of the three population segments. For this, we applied a contingent valuation-type exercise presenting as a scenario of change the need to obtain new resources to guarantee the conservation and sustainability of this cultural heritage ecosystem (see Gómez-Zapata et al., 2024b). This scenario has a participatory governance approach, complemented by the recent experience of interviewees in the CCL. An annual donation that would be administered through an association of heritage watchdogs was defined as a payment vehicle[5]. To estimate the mean WTP, we used the non-parametric method proposed by Kriström (1990) through the survival function constructed by means of the vector of declared payments and their respective acceptance proportions. For this purpose, the Pooled Adjacent Violator Algorithm –PAVA (Ayer et al. 1955)– technique was applied, which yielded the survival curves in Figure 3, and which have a monotonic trend rather than an increasing trend, as might be expected.

Figure 3.
Survival curve of WTP for each class



[5] Previous studies of non-market asset valuations in emerging economies, such as Colombia, indicate that an increase in taxes and/or charges by the state generates protests and rejection by respondents.

The results of the mean WTP estimates have a direct relationship with the classification of the groups, i.e., the highly participation-prone class 1 reported the greatest willingness to contribute through an annual donation to preserve and improve the CCL (35.6 USD), whereas classes 2 and 3 reported a mean WTP of 30.9 USD and 26 USD, respectively. This shows that the higher the propensity to participate the higher the willingness to pay to guarantee the conservation, dissemination, and promotion of this cultural heritage ecosystem. Our results are consistent with those of Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2011) who note that community satisfaction and trust in institutions influence community support for a programme. In a similar vein, Bertacchini et al. (2011) confirm the positive effect that trust in institutions has on perceived donations to support cultural heritage. Although the decreasing trend between the classes who are less likely to participate and the lowest WTP is consistent, it is important to highlight that, in general, the intensity of the WTP figures is appreciable and reveals: (i) the social preference for conserving and sustaining this cultural heritage ecosystem; (ii) the positive public response (>60% in each class) in terms of becoming involved in CCL conservation actions, thereby going beyond what is merely a contemplation and enjoyment position towards this heritage; (iii) as indicators, they also evidence the legitimacy of public investment in these territories and the recognition of new models of participatory governance.

CONCLUSIONS

Implementing participatory governance models is a key challenge in the field of cultural policies, since such policies have the capacity to shape individual action as well as trust relationships and the norms and connections required to obtain positive results in terms of preserving and enhancing cultural assets. This is even more the case when it comes to heritage ecosystems that not only constitute an element of identity and territorial branding but which are also an important resource for promoting economic activities (for example, tourism) that in some way determine local development structures.

In this work, we examine citizen propensity to become involved in the sustainability and improvement of a cultural heritage ecosystem –the Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia, declared a World Heritage Site in 2011. We start based on the understanding that social participation is necessary for heritage management and that it is required if new public governance is to be implemented. Our research aim was thus to classify and identify the determinants of various public communities according to their likelihood of participating. Based on a survey of 588 people –including residents and visitors to the area– at two seasonal moments in 2023, we implemented a novel methodological design that integrates two population segmentation techniques: LCM and MCA.

The results indicate the presence of three different participation groups: first, those who are highly likely to become involved, and which corresponds to people with medium and high-income levels, a better perception of and satisfaction with tourism and cultural services, involvement in tourism and heritage activities and who display a greater accumulation of cultural consumption, which could be related to being mainly residents of the area. The second group contains those who are moderately likely to become involved. They manifest constant cultural consumption but are less satisfied with the provision of services, added to which they display medium and medium-low income levels. Finally, the low propensity group is made up of citizens with low-income levels. They are dissatisfied with the tourist services and display less intensity in terms of visiting the CCL, since most of them seem to be international tourists. The results of this segmentation are consistent and allow public managers and administrators to establish actions to improve heritage management while encouraging greater citizen participation. Some of these actions can be carried out by consolidating a group of volunteers who are willing to conserve the CCL, either with a monetary contribution or by contributing their time as a guardian of the heritage services of this area.

One of the most significant results might be that the MCA indicates that one of the most influential factors for clustering is the perception that people have of governments; that is, the more they value the presence of the State, the more likely they are to become involved in caring for the CCL. This result is also useful as input for public evaluation and as a signal for those in power to make an effort and to include in their programmes actions focused on culture and heritage. Finally –and once the groupings and determinants of the classes had been validated– we estimated each group's willingness to pay to preserve and improve the CCL, both as a robustness test and on the understanding that monetary contributions are an observable and tangible expression of participation. Results indicate a direct relationship, since the highly likely group reports a mean WTP of 35.6 USD, while the moderate and low likelihood groups reach a mean WTP of 30.9 USD and 26 USD, respectively. These findings validate the segmentation of the classes and reflect logical behaviour. Finally, the research opens up the possibility of analysing co-financing and resource management mechanisms.

While our quantitative approach offers significant explanatory power, a fuller understanding of participatory governance in cultural heritage contexts would benefit from complementary qualitative methods. Techniques such as thematic content analysis, in-depth interviews, or participatory observation could provide richer insights into motivations, tensions and/or forms of agency that are not easily quantifiable. Future research could explore these qualitative avenues to uncover insights and complement measurements and indicators constructed with applied techniques.

To conclude, we show that the techniques applied are both useful and adequate to respond to our research objective. We consider that analysing cultural landscapes as well as citizens' preferences towards them can provide necessary input for the formulation and evaluation of policies and plans for their sustainability. Through this exercise, we help to study an expression of heritage that has thus far been scarcely addressed in the literature –a cultural ecosystem– and, more especially, its impact in regions such as Ibero and Latin America, where there is an important presence of these ecosystems. It is also important to explore this aspect because they are a capital stock that can strongly influence territorial economic development. Creating policies that align with social preferences will thus allow for a better guarantee of their sustainability.

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APPENDIX 1.

Factorial coordinates and contributions

Variable		1 Axis		2 Axis		3 Axis		4 Axis	
Eigenvalue		0.04		0.04		0.03		0.02	
Percentage of variance (%)		10.89		9.57		6.81		5.10	
	Level	Coord.	Contrib.	Coord.	Contrib.	Coord.	Contrib.	Coord.	Contrib.
VECVIS	First time	-0.11	0.34	-0.07	0.14	0.08	0.33	0.10	0.67
	2-3 times	-0.05	0.16	0.08	0.43	0.21	4.01	-0.13	1.96
	4-6 times	0.02	0.01	0.08	0.15	-0.11	0.44	0.07	0.25
	7-10 times	-0.03	0.01	0.13	0.24	-0.06	0.07	0.06	0.10
	More than 10 times	0.09	0.53	-0.09	0.63	-0.16	2.96	0.03	0.12
DISF	Yes	0.08	0.56	0.07	0.54	-0.15	2.94	0.00	0.00
	No	-0.07	0.46	-0.06	0.44	0.12	2.41	0.00	0.00
PCCL	Indifferent	0.18	0.12	-0.13	0.08	-0.28	0.48	0.35	1.03
	Agree	0.66	4.80	0.11	0.15	0.19	0.62	-0.27	1.68
	Completely agree	-0.05	0.36	0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
DCCL	Total disagreement	0.72	0.34	-0.71	0.37	-0.86	0.78	0.16	0.03
	Little agreement	0.21	0.07	0.03	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.12	0.05
	Indifferent	0.51	1.37	0.29	0.51	0.00	0.00	0.48	2.58
	Agree	0.26	1.25	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.56	-0.08	0.25
	Completely agree	-0.05	0.41	-0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.04	-0.01	0.02

(*Continued*)

Variable		1 Axis		2 Axis		3 Axis		4 Axis	
WTP	No	0.11	0.75	-0.10	0.75	0.03	0.08	0.06	0.41
	Yes	-0.05	0.34	0.05	0.34	-0.01	0.04	-0.03	0.19
CULCAF	Not used	0.03	0.05	-0.47	12.43	0.00	0.00	-0.05	0.27
	Completely dissatisfied	0.13	0.07	0.06	0.02	0.57	2.21	-0.30	0.83
	Dissatisfied	0.60	2.37	-0.15	0.16	-0.01	0.00	0.37	1.94
	Indifferent	0.39	3.00	0.13	0.40	-0.06	0.12	0.33	4.48
	Satisfied	0.24	2.39	0.26	3.12	-0.05	0.16	-0.17	2.60
	Completely satisfied	-0.34	7.97	0.15	1.86	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.12
CONPAI	Not used	-0.19	0.16	-0.61	1.90	0.30	0.66	-0.22	0.47
	Completely dissatisfied	-0.79	0.20	0.37	0.05	0.30	0.05	0.17	0.02
	Dissatisfied	0.10	0.02	-0.01	0.00	0.24	0.18	-0.69	1.99
	Indifferent	0.67	2.74	-0.01	0.00	0.56	3.15	0.33	1.41
	Satisfied	0.60	6.61	0.08	0.12	-0.10	0.32	-0.21	1.70
	Completely satisfied	-0.09	1.28	0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.12	0.03	0.23
SITCUL	Not used	0.03	0.06	-0.31	10.38	-0.02	0.07	-0.07	0.85
	Completely dissatisfied	0.41	0.22	0.69	0.70	-0.34	0.24	0.00	0.00
	Dissatisfied	1.21	2.87	0.17	0.06	-0.08	0.02	1.41	8.26
	Indifferent	0.59	1.68	0.26	0.37	-0.19	0.29	0.74	5.77
	Satisfied	0.52	5.59	0.45	4.76	-0.09	0.27	-0.36	5.66
	Completely satisfied	-0.28	5.32	0.26	5.14	0.08	0.70	0.11	1.62

(Continued)

Variable		1 Axis		2 Axis		3 Axis		4 Axis	
ATUR	Not used	0.04	0.14	-0.36	10.61	-0.03	0.10	-0.08	0.98
	Completely dissatisfied	1.22	0.97	0.05	0.00	0.12	0.02	1.55	3.33
	Dissatisfied	0.54	0.29	0.36	0.15	0.17	0.05	-1.15	2.74
	Indifferent	0.86	5.03	0.24	0.44	0.20	0.42	0.71	7.33
	Satisfied	0.55	4.87	0.26	1.26	0.06	0.09	-0.32	3.46
	Completely satisfied	-0.20	3.87	0.20	4.55	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.84
DIFCCL	Not used	-0.16	0.77	-0.04	0.05	0.28	3.76	-0.03	0.04
	Completely dissatisfied	0.28	1.23	-0.29	1.43	0.49	5.99	-0.21	1.39
	Dissatisfied	0.24	0.72	-0.55	4.44	0.12	0.31	0.24	1.54
	Indifferent	0.30	2.63	-0.10	0.33	-0.16	1.14	0.21	2.62
	Satisfied	0.22	1.92	0.15	1.09	-0.17	1.85	-0.20	3.67
	Completely satisfied	-0.31	6.31	0.14	1.47	-0.09	0.90	0.05	0.38
PGOB	Not used	-0.10	0.98	-0.17	3.59	-0.14	3.15	0.01	0.03
	Completely dissatisfied	0.11	0.36	0.10	0.39	0.71	26.10	0.01	0.00
	Dissatisfied	0.33	1.07	0.05	0.03	-0.11	0.21	0.46	4.47
	Indifferent	0.37	2.33	0.37	2.63	-0.26	1.81	0.02	0.02
	Satisfied	0.27	0.79	0.32	1.25	-0.20	0.67	-0.64	9.29
	Completely satisfied	-0.36	2.07	0.28	1.50	-0.05	0.07	0.02	0.02

(*Continued*)

Variable		1 Axis		2 Axis		3 Axis		4 Axis	
OFITUR	Not used	-0.04	0.20	-0.25	7.64	-0.10	1.64	-0.01	0.01
	Completely dissatisfied	0.13	0.39	0.12	0.36	0.84	25.31	0.11	0.54
	Dissatisfied	0.56	1.76	0.42	1.12	-0.24	0.53	0.42	2.07
	Indifferent	0.42	2.75	0.32	1.78	-0.16	0.65	0.16	0.87
	Satisfied	0.09	0.15	0.35	2.59	-0.15	0.71	-0.41	6.62
	Completely satisfied	-0.41	3.92	0.43	5.04	-0.07	0.21	0.05	0.13

ARTÍCULO

THE QUALITY OF ARTISTIC AND CULTURAL WORK IN COLOMBIA: FROM THE MATERIAL TO THE SYMBOLIC

Mario Eduardo Hidalgo Villota
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Hidalgo Villota, M. E., & Meneses Linares, H. (2025). The quality of artistic and cultural work in Colombia: From the material to the symbolic. *Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1193-1218.

This article analyses the quality of artistic and cultural work in Colombia during the period 2018–2024, based on two composite indices—objective and subjective—constructed using anonymised microdata from the Great Integrated Household Survey (GEIH) conducted by DANE. The adopted methodology enables comparisons with similar studies in other contexts. The results show that the quality of artistic and cultural employment is low and falls far short of international standards defined for decent work. While many workers express symbolic satisfac-

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tion with their activity, the material conditions are precarious and reveal a labour structure with no prospects for improvement.

Keywords: Art market; culture; employment; employment conditions; labour.
JEL: J31, J44, J48, J53, J58, J81.

Hidalgo Villota, M. E., & Meneses Linares, H. (2025). La calidad del trabajo artístico y cultural en Colombia: de lo material a lo simbólico. *Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1193-1218.

Este artículo analiza la calidad del trabajo artístico y cultural en Colombia durante el periodo 2018-2024, a partir de dos índices compuestos —objetivo y subjetivo— construidos con microdatos anonimizados de la Gran Encuesta Integrada de Hogares (GEIH) del DANE. La metodología adoptada permite establecer comparaciones con estudios similares en otros contextos. Los resultados muestran que la calidad del empleo cultural y artístico es baja y se encuentra lejos de los estándares internacionales definidos para el trabajo decente. Si bien muchos trabajadores expresan satisfacción simbólica con su labor, las condiciones materiales son precarias y revelan una estructura laboral sin perspectivas de mejora.

Palabras clave: condiciones de empleo; cultura; empleo; mercado del arte; trabajo.
JEL: J31, J44, J48, J53, J58, J81.

INTRODUCTION

Work is therefore, essential in the production of goods and services to meet needs, ranging from the most basic and essential—such as food and clothing—to the most luxurious—such as customised cars or exclusive jewelry. Work plays a role in the creation of highly useful and dignifying objects, such as medicines used to prevent and cure diseases, as well as in the production of less useful and more controversial items, for instance weapons that destroy life. It becomes visible in the making of something as simple as a pencil—an extremely useful tool for taking the first steps in writing—as well as in a classical music concert that delights the spirit of specialised audiences. In these and many other cases, work is present as the physical or mental capacity of free men and women to produce things that are either immensely valuable or of little use to humanity.

Work throughout history has not always been the same. There were times when it was carried out forcibly and unpleasantly. Fortunately, today, work is performed freely and voluntarily—sometimes out of necessity and at other times out of passion and satisfaction, as is often the case in the artistic and cultural world. The transition from feudalism to a capitalist economy marked the birth of wage labour, a modern form of labour integration that has been both praised and deeply criticised. In the feudal system, for example, landless peasant serfs, deprived of access to the means of production, were forced to sell their labour power to the emerging industrial bourgeoisie, joining textile factories and other highly prosperous economic activities in the late 18th century due to the boom in commerce, advancements in maritime navigation, and the emergence of property rights.

However, in modern times, millions of people still depend exclusively on their labour power to survive—under increasingly unstable conditions. Since the 1980s, the world of work has faced rapid processes of flexibilisation, informality, and lack of protection, driven by the imperatives of global competitiveness. This neoliberal turn has had direct effects on job quality, limiting the capacity of states to guarantee universal labour rights (Sehnbruch et al., 2020).

Although studies on job quality have become more frequent in this century, largely due to the advance of neoliberal ideology, progress in improving working conditions has been modest and, at times, regressive. What is most concerning is that job quality is not improving, and current governments are increasingly indifferent to workers' demands. Cultural and artistic workers are not exempt from this reality. On the contrary, they face specific forms of precariousness associated with income discontinuity, self-employment, lack of social protection, and the symbolic undervaluation of their work (Abbing, 2002; Menger, 1999).

In Latin America, precariousness is intensified by institutional weakness, structural informality, and poor coordination between cultural and labour policies. As Boekhout van Solinge (2019) warns, cultural work in the region is characterised by constant turnover, low unionisation, and limited opportunities for professional sustainability. In the Colombian case, analysis of artistic and cultural work has been fragmented and mostly focused on qualitative diagnoses or sectoral studies. This article seeks to address that gap through a quantitative approach based on the analysis of microdata from DANE's Great Integrated Household Survey (GEIH) for the period between 2018 and 2024. Using two composite indices—one objective and one subjective—the quality of employment in the cultural sector is characterised, addressing both material conditions and workers' subjective perceptions.

This analysis brings together perspectives from cultural economics (Blaug, 2001; Throsby, 2001; Throsby, 2008; Towse, 2011), labour sociology (Antunes, 1999; Oakley, 2009), and gender studies (Banks & Milestone, 2011; Conor et al., 2015) to provide a complex and situated view of the tensions between autonomy, vocation, and structural precariousness. It also revisits debates on the dematerialisation of work, inequality, and the need for comprehensive cultural policies (García Canclini, 2014).

In this manuscript, we first present a literature review relevant to the subject of study; then, we describe the methodological process used to assess work quality; next, we analyse the results in light of existing knowledge; and finally, we offer some conclusions intended to provoke academic reflection and contribute to future research in this area.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Artistic and cultural work has traditionally been considered an atypical form of employment, situated between vocation and profession, between autonomy and precariousness. In classical economics, Smith (1958) made a distinction between productive and unproductive labour, placing art and culture in the latter category. Although Smith (1958) acknowledged the social value of artistic professions, he argued that the economic value of a musician's or actor's work vanished at the very moment of its performance. This view reflects an economy focused on material goods, where services—and particularly symbolic ones—were considered marginal.

With the emergence of cultural and creative industries, this boundary has become blurred. Since then, artistic labour has not only been examined in terms of productivity. Scholars such as Throsby (2008) and Towse (2011) have proposed specific theoretical frameworks for cultural industries, incorporating the concept of "cultural value" and recognising non-monetary dimensions of work. For instance, Throsby (2008) distinguishes between performing and non-performing artists, highlighting structural inequality within the artistic field. According to him, while some have access to formal employment and social benefits, most face instability, multiple job holding, and low income. In this context, risk, vocation, and informal learning shape career paths marked by uncertainty.

From a sociological perspective, Menger (1999) argues that artistic markets operate under a regime of structural uncertainty. Artistic work is characterised by discontinuity, an oversupply of qualified labour, and a low probability of sustained economic success. This precariousness is not incidental but rather constitutive of the functioning of the artistic field, where symbolic value and autonomy serve as mechanisms that legitimise fragile labour conditions. Along these lines, Abbing (2002) claims that artists internalise an exceptional economy, in which the pursuit of recognition and authenticity justifies low remuneration—creating a paradox between intensive training and low economic returns.

Oakley (2009) analyses how neoliberal policies have exacerbated this structural precariousness by promoting models of self-exploitation and creative entrepreneurship. Under the discourse of autonomy, an individualising logic prevails that shifts responsibility for labour well-being from the state to the creative subject. In Latin America, this situation is aggravated by institutional weakness, high informality, and the fragmentation of the cultural sector. Boekhout van Solinge (2019) emphasises that informality is a structural condition of cultural work in the region, associated with intermittent employment, low social protection, and the absence of sustained public policies.

In this context, the study of employment quality in the arts and culture must adopt a multidimensional and integrated perspective, as proposed by Sehnbruch et al. (2020), who developed a comprehensive framework for assessing job quality in Latin America. Their approach includes both objective variables (income, hours, stability, and social security) and subjective ones (job satisfaction, work-life compatibility, and perceived recognition), showing that employment quality cannot be captured by a single indicator. This framework allows us to think about cultural work beyond its visible precariousness, considering elements such as autonomy, vocation, identity, and agency that coexist with adverse material conditions.

In turn, Quintana et al. (2020) analyse labour precariousness from a comparative regional perspective in Brazil, Mexico, and Ecuador, highlighting how territorial inequality exacerbates informality and job insecurity. This analysis draws parallels with the Colombian case, where cultural workers in peripheral regions face additional structural barriers to accessing decent and stable employment—thus shaping a territorially embedded artistic precariat. Indeed, cultural precariousness also has an aesthetic and political dimension. This perspective allows us to see vulnerability not only as a material deficit but also as a symbolic inscription in bodies, artworks, and territories.

Furthermore, the gender dimension has gained centrality in the analysis of artistic labour. Conor et al. (2015) demonstrate how creative industries reproduce gender inequalities under a rhetoric of meritocracy and passion. Women, particularly in subsectors such as music, film, and contemporary art, face persistent symbolic and material barriers. Meanwhile, Banks and Milestone (2011) analyse how the individualising logic and the cult of creative entrepreneurship obscure reproductive and affective labour, deepening gender inequalities.

Smith (2016) also warns about the role of universities in producing precarious workers for the creative economy. Although higher artistic education offers legitimacy and networking opportunities, it also contributes to labour oversupply in a saturated market, fostering a highly qualified "cultural precariat" with limited prospects for stable employment. This tension between intensive training and structural precariousness is one of the critical issues facing contemporary artistic work.

From a philosophical-aesthetic perspective, García Canclini (2014) proposes reflecting on artistic labour within a society without a unifying narrative, where fragmentation, immediacy, and obsolescence shape new ways of life and cultural production. In this scenario, artistic work expresses both the unfulfiled promises of modernity and the potential to imagine alternative ways of existence.

Taken together, this review suggests that artistic and cultural work must be analysed as a specific form of labour in late capitalism—marked by the hybridisation of economic and symbolic value, regimes of structural instability, and inequality dynamics rooted in class, gender, and territory. The inclusion of Latin American comparative frameworks, such as those proposed by Sehnbruch et al. (2020) and Quintana et al. (2020), broadens the analysis beyond national specificities and reveals structural patterns that affect cultural workers throughout the region. Therefore, the study of the quality of artistic and cultural employment in Colombia must integrate these dimensions in order to understand and transform the working conditions of those who produce meaning, memory, and collective imagination.

Table 1 presents a comparison between the labour force in the overall Colombian economy and the labour force in the cultural sector during the 2015–2021 period. While total formal employment grew at an average annual rate of 4.9 %, formal employment in the cultural sector grew by only 2.0 %. General informal employment growth was quite dramatic, with an average annual rate of 11.6 %, compared to just 1.9 % in the cultural sector. Additionally, during the period analysed, artistic and cultural workers accounted for only 4.6 % of the total labour force on average. In 2021, cultural workers represented just 2.8 %, with a downward trend, particularly in informal cultural employment.

Recent studies have highlighted that artistic and cultural work operates under structural logics of precariousness and informality. In this regard, Brook et al. (2020) emphasise that cultural industries reinforce social inequalities through exclusionary networks and unpaid labour. McRobbie (2016) underscores that the neoliberal mandate of creativity transforms the artist into an entrepreneur of themselves, legitimising self-exploitation. In a similar vein, Gielen and De Bruyne (2012) warn that current cultural policies instrumentalise art for economic growth, thereby weakening labour rights. These perspectives allow us to place the Colombian case within a global framework where cultural employment must be understood through comprehensive approaches linking economy, culture, and power.

Table 1.
Population employed in the culture sector by occupational category in Colombia 2015-2021pr.

Year	Workers employed in the total economy (thousands)					Workers employed in the culture sector (in thousands of people)					Percentage of workers in the culture sector in the total number of employed (%)		
	Salaried worker	%	Self- employed	%	Total	Salaried worker	%	Self- employed	%	Total	Salaried worker	Self- employed	Total
2015	6220	51,5	5.847	48,5	12.067	266	50,6	259	49,4	525	4,3	4,4	4,3
2016	6.215	51,3	5.893	48,7	12.108	302	51,6	283	48,4	585	4,9	4,8	4,8
2017	6.227	51,7	5.818	48,3	12.046	321	52,7	288	47,3	609	5,2	4,9	5,1
2018	6.233	51,8	5.792	48,2	12.025	319	51,2	304	48,8	623	5,1	5,2	5,2
2019	6.362	52,4	5.781	47,6	12.143	327	50,7	318	49,3	644	5,1	5,5	5,3
2020	5.717	51,0	5.485	49,0	11.202	276	51,1	264	48,9	540	4,8	4,8	4,8
2021	8.687	40,8	12.595	59,2	21.282	306	50,9	295	49,1	601	3,5	2,3	2,8
Average	6.523	50,1	6.745	49,9	13.268	302	51,3	287	48,7	589	4,7	4,6	4,6
AAGR	4,9		11,6		8,4	2,0		1,9		2,0	-2,7	-8,7	-6,0

Pr: Preliminary
Source: Hidalgo (2024). AAGR: Average Annual Growth Rate.

METHODOLOGY

This research employs a quantitative, descriptive-exploratory approach aimed at analysing the objective and subjective conditions of job quality in the artistic and cultural sector in Colombia. The methodological strategy relies on the use of official secondary sources, particularly anonymised microdata from the Gran Encuesta Integrada de Hogares (GEIH) provided by the Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE) for the period 2018–2024. The analysis focuses on data from the month of June each year, as this period experiences lower seasonal variability in labour market indicators (Pineda & Acosta, 2011), thus allowing for greater comparative consistency, which strengthens the internal validity of the analysis (see Table 2).

Table 2.
Microdata analysed GEIH-DANE 2018-2024

Survey	Municipal seat	Rural	Total
GEIH-2018	16.552.866	4.964.001	21.516.867
GEIH-2019	16.823.384	4.865.908	21.689.292
GEIH-2020	14.448.397	4.384.923	18.833.320
GEIH-2021	15.743.711	4.329.100	20.072.811
GEIH-2022	17.360.583	4.662.013	22.022.596
GEIH-2023	18.274.073	4.778.183	23.052.256
GEIH-2024	18.226.230	4.695.726	22.921.956
Municipal microdata		117.429.244	78,2 %
Rural microdata		32.679.854	21,8 %
Total microdata		150.109.098	100,0 %

The GEIH is a widely recognised source due to its national coverage, statistical representativeness, and ability to break down data by economic activity and occupational characteristics. It is important to clarify that, although the Gran Encuesta Integrada de Hogares (Large Integrated Household Survey [LIHS]) has national representativeness, this study limited the analysis to urban areas only, given that the presence of cultural sector workers in rural areas is marginal or non-existent, and many artistic or creative occupations are not categorised as registered economic activities in these territories. This territorial delimitation enhances the accuracy of the results by focusing on urban contexts where the majority of cultural supply and demand is concentrated in the country.

The difficulty in measuring job quality lies in the fact that job quality is a latent variable that cannot be directly observed, but must be inferred from a set of perceptible indicators that capture different dimensions of the work experience. In line with the specialised literature, Sehnbruch et al. (2020) propose an objective job quality index based on variables reflecting compliance with minimum standards of decent work, as defined by the International Labour Organisation (ILO,

1999) and the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals, particularly SDG 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth.

To operationalise this measurement, six key dimensions were considered: (1) monetary compensation, (2) job stability, (3) social protection, (4) adequate working hours, (5) access to paid vacations, and (6) representation and social dialogue. These dimensions not only capture the formality of the employment relationship, but also material conditions that directly affect the quality of life of cultural workers. On the other hand, the identification of cultural workers was made based on the International Standard Industrial Classification (ISIC), using its Rev. 3 A.C. and Rev. 4 A.C. versions, taking into account two main groups: a) Creative, artistic, and entertainment activities, which include literary, musical, theatrical, audiovisual creation, visual arts, as well as performing arts and live musical performances; and b) Activities of libraries, archives, museums, and other cultural activities, such as libraries, museums, heritage conservation, and the operation of botanical gardens, zoos, and nature reserves.

Table 3 shows the structure of the index based on the distribution of the examined variables and their percentage weighting. The allocation of weights to each dimension was done using an arbitrary but consistent criterion, grounded in the proposals of Farné (2003), Mora and Ulloa (2011), Sehnbruch et al. (2020), Hidalgo and Tarapuez (2022), and Hidalgo (2024), as well as in the specific conditions of the Colombian cultural sector, with specific weights according to data availability. This methodology provides a comprehensive view of job quality in the sector, integrating economic, social, and symbolic dimensions that define the work experience of artists, creators, and cultural workers. For example, the dimension of unionisation was assigned a lower weight due to its limited impact and effective representation in the sector, though this does not diminish its normative relevance.

In this regard, the decision was made to construct a composite objective index adapted to the Colombian context and validated by its applicability to the GEIH. The methodological strategy applied here facilitates capturing the tensions between symbolic autonomy and material precariousness in cultural work; thus, generating robust empirical evidence to support the design of policies aimed at improving job quality in the sector. In this logic, two indices were constructed to estimate job quality: an objective decent work index composed of variables related to remuneration, stability, social protection, working hours, vacations, and union representation; and a subjective job satisfaction index based on perceptions about income, security, and the compatibility between personal and work life.

The use of composite indices responds to the need to integrate various dimensions of job quality that cannot be adequately captured through a single indicator. This methodological strategy has been validated in previous studies in Latin America (Boekhout van Solinge, 2019; allowing for a richer and more comparative reading of labour phenomena in cultural sectors characterised by their heterogeneity and fragmentation. This analysis is complemented by a critical reading of the results in

Table 3.
Structure of the composite index used to measure the quality of cultural work in Colombia

Dimensions	Indicators	Criteria	Attributes	Score distribution Salaried employees	Score assigned to salaried employees	Score distribution of self-employed workers	Score assigned to self-employed workers
Sufficient income	Monthly labour income	Less than 2.3 minimum wages	Precarious income	35,0 %	5,0 %	44,0 %	4,0 %
		Equal to 2.3 minimum wages	Average income		10,0 %		25,0 %
		Greater than 2.3 minimum wages	Higher income		20,0 %		15,0 %
Stability at work	Contractual relationship	Contract duration	Indefinite-term written contract.	25,0 %	15,0 %	6,0 %	4,0 %
			Fixed-term written contract.		10,0 %		2,0 %
			Verbal contract		0,0 %		0,0 %
Social security and protection	Social protection	Health insurance affiliation (contributory or subsidised)	Comprehensive coverage	25,0 %	7,5 %	35,0 %	20,0 %
		Retirement affiliation	Partial coverage		10,0 %		10,0 %
		Occupational risk affiliation	Partial coverage		7,5 %		5,0 %

(*Continued*)

Dimensions	Indicators	Criteria	Attributes	Score distribution Salaried employees	Score assigned to salaried employees	Score distribution of self-employed workers	Score assigned to self-employed workers
Decent working day	Number of working hours per week	Up to 48 hours per week*.	Legal working day	5,0 %	5,0 %	15,0 %	15,0 %
	Paid vacations	More than 48 hours per week	Excessive working day		0,0 %		0,0 %
		Workers on paid annual leave	Vacations	5,0 %	5,0 %	0,0 %	0,0 %
Dialogue and social representation	Union representation	Membership in a trade union or union association	Unionisation	5,0 %	5,0 %	0,0 %	0,0 %
		Total		100,0 %	100,0 %	100,0 %	100,0 %

Law 2101 of 2021 gradually reduces the working week from 48 hours per week to 42 hours per week as of July 2023, starting with 47 hours per week in 2023 and ending with 42 hours per week in July 2026, as follows: 46 hours per week as of July 15, 2024, 44 hours per week as of July 15, 2025, and finally 42 hours per week as of July 15, 2026.

Source: Adapted from Farné (2003) and Hidalgo (2024).

light of the specialised literature, seeking to articulate the empirical findings with contemporary discussions on precariousness, cultural value, and symbolic work.

Finally, the methodological approach recognises its limitations, including: the underrepresentation of certain cultural practices not recorded as formal occupations in official surveys, the absence of qualitative variables related to the subjective well-being of cultural workers, and the invisibility of hybrid or informal practices not categorised by the ISIC. Despite these limitations, the results provide a solid characterisation of the labour conditions of a representative part of the Colombian artistic and cultural sector, offering an empirical basis for the formulation of more effective public policies.

RESULTS

Since the 1980s, the rise of neoliberal policies has structurally transformed labour market conditions globally. The transition from the protected work of the Welfare State to increasingly flexible, intermittent, and unprotected forms of labour led to the widely documented phenomenon of precariousness (Antunes, 1999; Harvey, 2005). This new scenario marked a shift in focus from the quality and sustainability of employment to productive efficiency and market liberalisation. In Latin America, the implementation of the Washington Consensus promoted structural reforms that, while incentivising certain growth indicators, deepened inequality and dismantled social labour ties (Castel, 1995; Offe, 1992).

In Colombia, labour and tax reforms implemented since the 1990s have not led to sustained improvements in job quality. As Hidalgo (2024) states, indicators related to decent work —such as social security, adequate income, and formalisation— continue to be deficient, particularly in sectors such as culture, where labour relations tend to be informal, discontinuous, and marked by self-exploitation. Thus, the quantitative aspect —the number of jobs generated— gradually displaced the qualitative: the dignity and stability of work.

In fact, authors such as Menger (1999) and Abbing (2002) warn that artistic work operates under an economy of expectations: a structural disposition towards risk, irregularity, and income scarcity, compensated by the symbolic, identity-based, or vocational value of creative work. This phenomenon, sometimes called the "paradox of the poor artist," is observable in Colombia. Indeed, cultural workers report high subjective satisfaction despite objective precarious conditions, which aligns with findings from Throsby (2008) and Oakley (2009) in their comparative studies.

The disaggregation of results by gender reveals a troubling trend: female artists face higher levels of informality, multiple job holding, and lower incomes compared to their male counterparts, in line with the findings of Conor et al. (2015), who analyse how the meritocratic rhetoric of cultural industries masks deep structural gender inequalities. Similarly, the data suggest that women are overrepresented in cultural management or artistic education activities, which are less economically valued than the more visible professions in the artistic field.

Taken together, the empirical results reflect a cultural sector characterised by a permanent tension between symbolic autonomy and economic subordination. While art and culture generate alternative forms of social value, recognition, and professional identity, the current institutional framework fails to guarantee basic labour rights for those engaged in these activities, limiting their long-term sustainability prospects.

Table 4 presents a comparison between the overall employment quality in the country and the quality of work in the artistic and cultural sector, based on the composite index constructed in this study. Although in both cases the results fall below the 60 % threshold considered acceptable, the calculated index reveals that the quality of work in the cultural sector is systematically lower. This difference is accentuated when broken down by employment type: self-employed workers in the artistic sector obtain better scores than salaried workers, which challenges the conventional logic that associates self-employment with greater precariousness. This suggests that, within the cultural sector, freelance work may be associated with greater creative autonomy, though not necessarily better material conditions.

From an objective perspective, the results of the employment quality index starkly reveal the material conditions of cultural workers. On average, 87.6 % of those employed in the sector earn less than 2.3 current minimum monthly legal wages (SMMLV) —an estimated threshold required for a four-person household to access two basic family baskets. This figure is broken down into 21.4 % for salaried workers and 66.1 % for self-employed workers, highlighting a precarious salary structure that affects the sector as a whole.

Additionally, a high proportion of informal contractual ties exist: 36.5 % of cultural workers report having only verbal contracts, which hinders access to fundamental rights. Pension system affiliation reaches only 30.9 % of the total, split into 15.5 % for salaried workers and 15.4 % for self-employed workers. Although the majority (88.2 %) work up to 48 hours per week, benefits associated with working time are limited: only 43.2 % receive paid vacation. A particularly alarming situation is the very low affiliation to unions or professional organisations, which stands at just 3.8 %, significantly limiting the collective capacity to defend labour rights and revealing a weak culture of sectorial organisation (see Annex 1).

From a subjective approach, the work quality perception index yields equally important results. This index was constructed from three key dimensions: a) Remuneration: satisfaction with income and benefits; b) Security and stability: satisfaction with the current job, type of contract, and job stability; c) Work hours: satisfaction with work schedules and compatibility with family responsibilities.

As presented in Table 5, while subjective index scores are higher than objective ones, they still fall below the 60 % threshold, reinforcing the diagnosis of

Table 4.
Objective index of the quality of cultural work in Colombia 2018-2024

Year	A. Total number of workers*						B. Workers in the arts and culture					
	Salaried worker			Self-employed			Salaried worker			Self-employed		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
2018	35,9 %	36,3 %	36,1 %	16,6 %	16,5 %	16,6 %	9,1 %	7,8 %	16,9 %	13,8 %	14,9 %	28,7 %
2019	33,9 %	34,2 %	34,1 %	15,8 %	15,9 %	15,9 %	11,6 %	10,5 %	22,1 %	11,1 %	14,9 %	26,0 %
2020	35,2 %	35,4 %	35,3 %	16,6 %	16,8 %	16,7 %	9,3 %	6,9 %	16,2 %	24,8 %	5,3 %	30,1 %
2021	35,1 %	35,0 %	35,2 %	16,6 %	16,9 %	16,8 %	6,7 %	15,1 %	21,8 %	17,2 %	14,4 %	31,6 %
2022	37,2 %	37,4 %	37,4 %	16,7 %	17,1 %	16,9 %	5,2 %	6,5 %	11,8 %	15,4 %	18,7 %	34,1 %
2023	36,1 %	36,2 %	36,3 %	16,7 %	17,0 %	16,9 %	3,9 %	9,3 %	13,2 %	13,9 %	17,9 %	31,8 %
2024	36,6 %	36,8 %	36,8 %	16,7 %	17,1 %	16,9 %	5,3 %	4,9 %	10,2 %	20,5 %	10,9 %	31,4 %
Average	35,7 %	35,9 %	35,9 %	16,5 %	16,8 %	16,7 %	7,3 %	8,7 %	16,0 %	16,7 %	13,9 %	30,5 %
AAGR	0,3 %	0,2 %	0,3 %	0,0 %	0,5 %	0,3 %	-7,3 %	-6,5 %	-6,9 %	5,8 %	-4,4 %	1,3 %

*Data taken from Hidalgo (2024).

structural precariousness. Notably, self-employed cultural workers report higher satisfaction levels than their self-employed counterparts in the rest of the economy, achieving a relative advantage of 63 %. This highlights the presence of a distinct professional rationality, more oriented towards personal and symbolic fulfilment than towards stability or direct economic profitability. In contrast, salaried cultural workers report significantly lower perceptions than the average salaried worker in the country, reflecting frustration stemming from adverse working conditions that do not compensate for the demands of artistic and cultural work.

These findings align with those of authors such as Oakley (2009), Abbing (2002), and Menger (1999), who describe artistic work as a field marked by the tension between symbolic autonomy and material insecurity. Additionally, the low level of unionisation points to the persistence of an individualistic mindset in the artistic field, where notions of “vocation” or “gift” often hinder the development of structured collective demands. The combination of these factors constitutes a pattern of normalised precariousness, where the symbolic value of art conceals, or even justifies, the economic fragility of those who produce it.

These findings are consistent with those pointed out by authors such as Oakley (2009), Abbing (2002), and Menger (1999), who describe artistic work as a field marked by the tension between symbolic autonomy and material insecurity. Additionally, the low level of unionisation points to the persistence of an individualistic mindset in the artistic field, where notions of “vocation” or “gift” tend to hinder the development of structured collective demands. The combination of these factors constitutes a pattern of normalised precariousness, where the symbolic value of art conceals, or even justifies, the economic fragility of those who produce it.

When breaking down the results of the subjective index by dimensions (see Annex 2), a better positioning of self-employed workers compared to salaried workers in the cultural sector is evident in terms of their perception of work quality. In the remuneration dimension, 44.1 % of self-employed workers express satisfaction with the benefits and compensation they receive, compared to only 19.5 % of salaried workers. This subjective satisfaction is more pronounced among male workers, suggesting the persistence of gender gaps in the perception of labour well-being. Regarding security and stability, 69.2 % of self-employed workers are satisfied with their current contract, compared to 60.3 % of salaried workers, and 44.7 % of self-employed workers express contentment with job stability, while only 19.6 % of salaried workers do.

Finally, in the work hours dimension, 63.5 % of self-employed workers report satisfaction with their current workload, and 70.0 % state that they can adequately balance their work schedule with their family responsibilities. These results confirm that the self-employed work model, despite its institutional fragility, offers margins of autonomy and flexibility that are positively valued by artists and cultural workers, especially when compared to traditional salaried models. This particular configuration of work in the cultural sector reflects a hybrid model where identity,

Table 5.
Subjective index of the quality of cultural work in Colombia 2018-2024

Year	A. Total number of workers*						B. Workers in the arts and culture					
	Salaried worker			Self-employed			Salaried worker			Self-employed		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
2018	44,4 %	45,3 %	44,9 %	34,0 %	33,9 %	33,9 %	14,3 %	14,4 %	28,8 %	20,4 %	25,9 %	46,3 %
2019	46,5 %	44,0 %	46,3 %	32,4 %	31,9 %	32,1 %	19,2 %	17,7 %	37,0 %	19,4 %	23,4 %	42,8 %
2020	44,1 %	44,1 %	44,1 %	32,9 %	32,7 %	32,8 %	19,6 %	6,3 %	25,9 %	42,1 %	9,5 %	51,6 %
2021	44,5 %	44,6 %	44,6 %	31,8 %	31,5 %	31,6 %	8,2 %	19,0 %	27,3 %	30,5 %	24,7 %	55,2 %
2022	46,4 %	45,9 %	46,1 %	30,0 %	30,4 %	30,2 %	10,6 %	8,3 %	18,9 %	26,7 %	30,9 %	57,6 %
2023	45,5 %	45,3 %	45,4 %	30,9 %	31,0 %	30,9 %	8,5 %	15,2 %	23,7 %	22,7 %	27,2 %	50,0 %
2024	46,0 %	45,6 %	45,8 %	30,4 %	30,7 %	30,6 %	8,7 %	8,0 %	16,7 %	40,1 %	19,6 %	59,7 %
Average	45,3 %	45,0 %	45,3 %	31,7 %	31,7 %	31,7 %	12,7 %	12,7 %	25,5 %	28,9 %	23,0 %	51,9 %
AAGR	0,5 %	0,1 %	0,3 %	-1,6 %	-1,4 %	-1,5 %	-6,8 %	-8,1 %	-7,5 %	10,1 %	-3,9 %	3,7 %

*Data taken from Hidalgo (2024). TCAM: Average annual growth rate creative freedom, and self-fulfilment hold significant weight compared to economic incentives or institutional stability.

DISCUSSION

Human labour embodies a dual nature. It can represent a source of intrinsic satisfaction—through self-realisation, creativity, and personal development—or it can be experienced as an extrinsic obligation, a means to earn income and ensure subsistence. This ambivalence permeates the entire work experience and becomes especially complex in the case of cultural workers, whose activities lie at the intersection of the symbolic and the economic (Guerra, 2001; Throsby, 2008). For many artists and creators, the meaning of work is not limited to monetary exchange but is loaded with subjective, community, and expressive meanings that escape conventional labour market metrics.

Dominant economic theory has tended to homogenise labour services under assumptions of instrumental rationality and perfect competition; however, labour markets in the arts and culture exhibit structurally atypical traits, such as: low substitutability between workers (due to their unique style and creativity), high income uncertainty, structural precariousness, and strong non-monetary motivation (Abbing, 2002; Banhamou, 2005). Therefore, the economics of art must be treated with differentiated analytical categories that recognise the specificity of creative processes, their discontinuous temporality, their weak institutional articulation, and their dependence on factors such as symbolic recognition, social capital, or access to circulation networks (Ginsburgh & Throsby, 2013; Oakley, 2009).

From this perspective, cultural work should not be treated as a mere input in a manufacturing process. Its creative dynamics cannot be programmed or optimised using Taylorist methods or typical industrial productivity schemes. The "cost disease" notion formulated by Baumol and Bowen (1966) illustrates this condition well: in many cultural activities, it is not possible to reduce production time without affecting quality, nor to exploit economies of scale as in industrial sectors. Therefore, public funding is essential to ensure the sustainability of cultural practices, without shifting all the costs onto the consumer or imposing a purely commercial logic on art.

It should be noted that there is still no full international consensus on how to measure the quality of employment. The ILO has proposed broad frameworks, but their implementation has been limited due to the heterogeneity of national statistical systems and the availability of comparable data. More recent approaches—such as that of Sehnbruch et al. (2020)—propose a multidimensional and regionally contextualised reading, particularly useful for Latin American countries, as it includes both objective indicators and subjective dimensions that allow for a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon.

What is certain is that the results obtained in this research confirm the persistence of poor labour conditions in the artistic and cultural sector in Colombia. To be clear, precarious incomes, high informality, limited social security coverage, and very low unionisation are recorded; however, a revealing paradox is evident: independent cultural workers present subjective labour satisfaction indicators that are higher than their salaried counterparts, especially in dimensions such as perceived stability, compatibility between work and family life, and the symbolic value of their profession. This paradox aligns with what authors such as Cardoso and Salas (2024) have described as “an asymmetry between the material and the symbolic” in cultural work; that is, an occupation that, despite its economic precariousness, maintains high identity and vocational value.

The Colombian case also shows that cultural work is predominantly exercised as a liberal profession, characterised by autonomy, flexible hours, and strong self-identification. Far from representing a structural disadvantage, this type of labour insertion can be an opportunity to reconfigure sustainable employment creation models, especially in contexts where the state and the market fail to guarantee stability. However, this requires differentiated public policies that recognise the heterogeneity of cultural work, encourage formalisation without stripping workers of autonomy, and ensure access to basic rights such as health, pensions, and paid leave (Menger, 1999).

Ultimately, this empirical analysis reinforces what has already been documented in previous studies on the quality of employment in Colombia, namely: Farné (2003), Farné et al. (2012), Farné et al. (2013), Farné and Vergara (2007), Hidalgo and Tarapuez (2022) and Pineda and Acosta (2011). Certainly, labour reforms implemented since the 1990s in the country have not substantially improved the quality of work, especially in informal or culturally specific sectors. In response, it is necessary to shift the focus of labour and cultural policies, which should not only address quantitative aspects of employment but also incorporate its symbolic, emotional, and social dimensions. The quality of artistic and cultural work should be measured not only by income or contracts but also by recognition, creative freedom, and the conditions to exercise art as a right, not just as a livelihood.

Although this research offers a rigorous analysis of the quality of work in the cultural sector, it also presents limitations inherent to the quantitative approach and the use of secondary sources. The insufficiency of qualitative information prevents capturing the deeper subjective dimensions of artistic work, particularly experiences of precariousness, exclusion, or symbolic satisfaction not recorded by standard indicators. Moreover, the GEIH data does not fully identify the conditions of informal cultural workers or those with hybrid trajectories, as the GEIH does not specialise in the artistic and cultural workforce but applies to the general Colombian labour force.

CONCLUSIONS

Artistic and cultural work in Colombia, while a driving force for symbolic expression, collective identity, and intangible wealth, remains largely immersed in precarious conditions from both a socio-economic and a labour perspective. The results fail to meet the 60 % threshold established as a benchmark for identifying dignified labour conditions. In particular, salaried cultural work exhibits the lowest levels of labour quality, including income, stability, and social protection, falling below even the general averages of Colombia's labour market.

However, this diagnosis should not lead to simplistic conclusions. Cultural work cannot be analysed solely through traditional productivist criteria, as it is a sector predominantly composed of freelance professions marked by strong vocation, a high degree of autonomy, and deep commitment to the symbolic value of the activities carried out. This cultural specificity – as argued by authors such as Throsby (2008) and Menger (1999) – implies that despite the precariousness, cultural workers highly value their work for personal fulfilment, the social purpose of their practice, and creative autonomy, even when the objective conditions of employment are deficient.

Moreover, unlike other sectors, independent artistic and cultural work should not automatically be interpreted as a disadvantage. Many workers in the arts and culture find in independence a form of reconciliation between personal and professional life, an expression of freedom, and a way to preserve the meaning and authenticity of their practice, though this does not mean that there are no conditions that need improvement. Certainly, the gaps in access to social security, lack of basic labour guarantees, low union coverage, and the absence of comprehensive protection policies become significant structural challenges.

In this context, it is imperative that public policies and regulatory frameworks recognise the unique nature of artistic and cultural work and that differentiated strategies for promotion, protection, and strengthening be designed. The concept of decent work cannot remain a distant horizon; on the contrary, urgent action is required to move towards forms of protection that combine symbolic recognition with the dignification of material conditions. This demands comprehensive approaches, inter-institutional coordination, and, above all, political will to recognise artists and cultural workers as essential agents in building the social and democratic fabric of the country.

In conclusion, it is suggested to complement this analysis with qualitative studies that explore the labour trajectories, sustainability strategies, and organisational practices of cultural workers. Additionally, regional research is needed to acknowledge the territorial and ethnic-cultural specificities of artistic work in Colombia. With that in mind, it is crucial to promote research that evaluates the impact of public cultural policies on improving labour conditions in the sector, beyond what traditional indicators show.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest in the publication of this article.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1.

Objective dimensions of the quality of cultural work in Colombia 2018-2024

A. Sufficient income							B. Job stability						
	Salaried worker			Self-employed				Salaried worker			Self-employed		
Year	**Less than 2.3 minimum wages**	**Equal to 2.3 minimum wages**	**Greater than 2.3 minimum wages**	**Less than 2.3 minimum wages**	**Equal to 2.3 minimum wages**	**Greater than 2.3 minimum wages**	**Year**	**Indefinite-term written contract**	**Fixed-term written contract**	**Verbal contract**	**Indefinite-term written contract**	**Fixed-term written contract**	**Verbal contract**
2018	28,3 %	0,8 %	2,4 %	63,8 %	0,0 %	4,7 %	2018	32,3 %	12,9 %	27,4 %	1,6 %	14,5 %	11,3 %
2019	31,5 %	0,6 %	4,8 %	52,7 %	0,0 %	10,3 %	2019	33,8 %	23,8 %	18,8 %	0,0 %	13,8 %	10,0 %
2020	21,4 %	0,0 %	5,7 %	61,4 %	5,7 %	5,7 %	2020	34,6 %	7,7 %	26,9 %	0,0 %	19,2 %	11,5 %
2021	13,6 %	0,0 %	8,5 %	71,2 %	0,0 %	6,8 %	2021	60,0 %	13,3 %	13,3 %	0,0 %	13,3 %	0,0 %
2022	18,7 %	0,0 %	1,1 %	68,1 %	0,0 %	12,1 %	2022	17,2 %	20,7 %	24,1 %	0,0 %	20,7 %	17,2 %
2023	19,3 %	0,0 %	1,8 %	72,5 %	0,0 %	6,4 %	2023	22,6 %	19,4 %	32,3 %	0,0 %	16,1 %	9,7 %
2024	17,3 %	0,0 %	1,9 %	73,1 %	1,9 %	5,8 %	2024	16,7 %	13,9 %	25,0 %	2,8 %	13,9 %	27,8 %
Average	21,4 %	0,2 %	3,8 %	66,1 %	1,1 %	7,4 %	Average	31,0 %	15,9 %	24,0 %	0,6 %	15,9 %	12,5 %
AAGR	-6,8 %	-100,0 %	-2,9 %	2,0 %	-	2,9 %	AAGR	-9,0 %	1,1 %	-1,3 %	8,1 %	-0,6 %	13,7 %

(Continued)

C. Social protection							D. Working day						
Year	Salaried worker			Self-employed			Year	Salaried worker			Self-employed		
	Health insurance affiliation	Retirement affiliation	Occupational risk affiliation	Health insurance affiliation	Retirement affiliation	Occupational risk affiliation		Up to 48 hours per week	More than 48 hours per week	Workers on paid annual leave	Up to 48 hours per week	More than 48 hours per week	Workers on paid annual leave
2018	28,1 %	19,0 %	19,6 %	66,7 %	17,0 %	11,1 %	2018	26,1 %	3,3 %	38,7 %	63,4 %	7,2 %	1,6 %
2019	33,8 %	23,8 %	18,8 %	0,0 %	13,8 %	10,0 %	2019	30,9 %	6,1 %	58,8 %	54,5 %	8,5 %	0,0 %
2020	23,9 %	15,9 %	17,4 %	65,7 %	14,5 %	11,6 %	2020	22,9 %	4,3 %	38,5 %	65,7 %	7,1 %	0,0 %
2021	20,3 %	16,9 %	18,6 %	71,2 %	18,6 %	13,6 %	2021	20,3 %	1,7 %	66,7 %	71,2 %	6,8 %	0,0 %
2022	15,7 %	12,1 %	11,2 %	74,2 %	13,2 %	29,2 %	2022	19,8 %	0,0 %	34,5 %	76,9 %	4,4 %	0,0 %
2023	21,1 %	11,0 %	11,9 %	73,4 %	17,4 %	14,7 %	2023	21,1 %	0,0 %	38,7 %	69,7 %	9,2 %	0,0 %
2024	19,2 %	9,6 %	8,7 %	78,8 %	13,5 %	7,7 %	2024	13,5 %	5,8 %	25,0 %	61,5 %	19,2 %	0,0 %
Average	23,2 %	15,5 %	15,2 %	61,4 %	15,4 %	14,0 %	Average	22,1 %	3,0 %	43,0 %	66,1 %	8,9 %	0,2 %
AAGR	-5,3 %	-9,2 %	-11,0 %	2,4 %	-3,3 %	-5,1 %	AAGR	-9,0 %	8,5 %	-6,1 %	-0,4 %	15,1 %	-100,0 %

E. Dialogue and social representation (unionisation)

Year	Salaried worker			Self-employed		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
2018	0,0 %	0,7 %	0,7 %	1,3 %	1,3 %	2,6 %
2019	0,6 %	0,6 %	1,2 %	1,2 %	0,6 %	1,8 %
2020	1,4 %	1,4 %	2,9 %	1,4 %	0,0 %	1,4 %
2021	0,0 %	1,7 %	1,7 %	0,0 %	5,1 %	5,1 %
2022	0,0 %	0,0 %	0,0 %	4,4 %	0,0 %	4,4 %
2023	0,0 %	0,0 %	0,0 %	1,8 %	0,9 %	2,8 %
2024	0,0 %	1,0 %	1,0 %	1,0 %	0,0 %	1,0 %
Average	0,3 %	0,8 %	1,1 %	1,6 %	1,1 %	2,7 %
AAGR	-	4,6 %	4,6 %	-4,2 %	-100,0 %	-13,2 %

Annex 2.
Subjective dimensions of the quality of cultural work in Colombia 2018-2024

A. Compensation for work: satisfaction with benefits and benefits received.							B. Job security and stability						
Salaried worker				Self-employed			Salaried worker				Self-employed		
Year	**Men**	**Women**	**Total**	**Men**	**Women**	**Total**	**Year**	**Satisfaction with current job**	**Satisfaction with current contract type**	**Satisfaction with job stability**	**Satisfaction with current job**	**Satisfaction with current contract type**	**Satisfaction with job stability**
2018	9,2 %	11,1 %	20,3 %	15,0 %	20,9 %	35,9 %	2018	26,8 %	64,5 %	25,5 %	60,8 %	17,7 %	41,2 %
2019	17,0 %	14,5 %	31,5 %	15,8 %	18,2 %	33,9 %	2019	35,2 %	68,8 %	31,5 %	57,6 %	20,0 %	39,4 %
2020	15,9 %	7,2 %	23,2 %	34,8 %	8,7 %	43,5 %	2020	24,6 %	53,8 %	21,7 %	68,1 %	23,1 %	44,9 %
2021	6,8 %	13,6 %	20,3 %	27,1 %	23,7 %	50,8 %	2021	22,0 %	80,0 %	18,6 %	74,6 %	6,7 %	49,2 %
2022	6,6 %	6,6 %	13,2 %	23,1 %	30,8 %	53,8 %	2022	17,6 %	48,3 %	12,1 %	74,7 %	24,1 %	44,0 %
2023	6,4 %	10,1 %	16,5 %	20,2 %	20,2 %	40,4 %	2023	20,2 %	67,7 %	16,5 %	72,5 %	19,4 %	41,3 %
2024	6,7 %	4,8 %	11,5 %	33,7 %	16,3 %	50,0 %	2024	16,3 %	38,9 %	11,5 %	76,0 %	33,3 %	52,9 %
Average	9,8 %	9,7 %	19,5 %	24,2 %	19,8 %	44,1 %	Average	23,2 %	60,3 %	19,6 %	69,2 %	20,6 %	44,7 %
AAGR	-4,3 %	-11,3 %	-7,7 %	12,2 %	-	4,8 %	AAGR	-6,9 %	-7,0 %	-10,8 %	3,2 %	9,4 %	3,6 %

(Continued)

C. Working day				
	Salaried worker		**Self-employed**	
Year	**Satisfaction with the current working day**	**Compatibility between work schedule and family commitments and duties**	**Satisfaction with the current working day**	**Compatibility between work schedule and family commitments and duties**
2018	27,5 %	26,8 %	60,1 %	66,0 %
2019	34,5 %	33,9 %	51,5 %	59,4 %
2020	21,7 %	20,3 %	63,8 %	68,1 %
2021	22,0 %	20,3 %	66,1 %	76,3 %
2022	17,6 %	17,6 %	70,3 %	72,5 %
2023	19,3 %	20,2 %	61,5 %	68,8 %
2024	16,3 %	16,3 %	71,2 %	78,8 %
Average	22,7 %	22,2 %	63,5 %	70,0 %
AAGR	-7,1 %	-6,8 %	2,4 %	2,6 %

ARTÍCULO

CULTURAL CONSUMER PROFILE IN COLOMBIA: AN APPROACH OF CULTURAL OMNIVOROUSNESS

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Yánez Contreras, M., & Mendoza Guardo, H. R. (2025). Cultural consumer profile in Colombia: An approach of cultural omnivorousness. *Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1219-1241.

Cultural consumption analysis focuses on factors related to consumption decisions, providing valuable insights for both industry and cultural policies. In this research, we analysed characteristics associated with cultural omnivorousness consumption in Colombia. We use data from the 2017 DANE Cultural Consumption Survey, covering 16 cultural activities, along with socioeconomic and demographic information about participants. Based on this, a volume-based omnivorousness variable

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was established for each individual, considering the number of distinct cultural activities consumed. The analysis employed Poisson regressions to identify factors associated with greater participation in distinct cultural activities, complemented with logistic regressions to characterize the profile of non-consumers. The results highlight that variables such as income, socioeconomic status, educational level, and age are significantly linked to both omnivorous cultural consumption and the likelihood of being part of the non-consuming group.

Keywords: Cultural consumption; cultural omnivorousness; socioeconomic features; cultural industry; Colombia.
JEL: Z10, D12, L82.

Yánez Contreras, M., & Mendoza Guardo, H. R. (2025). Características del consumidor cultural colombiano: un enfoque desde la omnivoridad cultural. *Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1219-1241.

El estudio del consumo cultural permite comprender los factores que influyen en las decisiones de consumo, aportando información valiosa para el sector cultural y la formulación de políticas públicas. Este artículo aborda las características asociadas al consumo cultural omnívoro en Colombia. A partir de datos de la Encuesta de Consumo Cultural del DANE para 2017, se empleó información de participación para 16 actividades culturales, junto a datos demográficos y socioeconómicos de los individuos. Con base en ello, se estableció la variable de omnivoridad por volumen de cada individuo, considerando el número de distintas actividades culturales consumidas. Para el análisis estadístico, se emplearon regresiones de Poisson para identificar los factores relacionados con una mayor participación en distintas actividades culturales, complementados con regresiones logísticas para determinar el perfil de los no consumidores. Los resultados destacan que variables como el ingreso, el nivel socioeconómico, el nivel educativo y la edad están significativamente asociadas tanto al consumo cultural omnívoro como a la probabilidad de pertenecer al grupo de no consumidores.

Palabras clave: consumo cultural; omnivoridad cultural; factores socioeconómicos; industria cultural; Colombia.
JEL: Z10, D12, L82.

INTRODUCTION

The research of consumer behaviour applied to the cultural market allows the analysis of social and economic factors that influence personal decisions when consuming cultural goods and services (Towse, 2010). Research in this area is crucial for policy formulation aimed at increasing engagement with the arts and culture, especially in societies with structural inequalities that affect cultural consumption. This is particularly relevant given that art and culture have often been used as markers of social differentiation (Bourdieu, 1987, 2006; García-Canclini, 1999; Wilensky, 1964). In Colombia, various studies have examined specific cultural activities to identify the characteristics driving their demand (Andrade et al., 2023; Espinal et al., 2020; Gómez et al., 2020). However, while these studies help understand factors influencing attendance at specific activities, they do not consider the cultural consumer as an individual who, based on personal preferences, can select a range of activities from the entire cultural offering. Therefore, these studies do not provide insights into overall cultural demand and the consumption patterns adopted by individuals.

The gap between low and high cultural consumption has led in recent years to discussions about creating a basic cultural package in several Latin American countries (Güell & Peters, 2012). This discussion becomes even more important when we look at differences in participation in high-status cultural activities, where socioeconomic factors play a big role in who can access and enjoy these cultural experiences (Espinal et al., 2020; Gómez et al., 2020; Hidalgo, 2018). However, research by Peterson (1992) offers an alternative view, suggesting that social differences can also be seen in the variety of cultural activities people participate in. In other words, the range of cultural interests and activities people engage in shows a broader social segmentation or what is known as *omnivorous cultural consumption* (Lizardo, 2014; Olivos & Wang, 2022; Voronin & Lutter, 2024).

In this research, we analysed characteristics associated with cultural omnivorousness in Colombia, based on the number of cultural activities consumed by individuals. The effects of socioeconomic and demographic factors on the number of cultural activities consumed were identified using Poisson regressions, while the impact of these factors on the probability of not participating in cultural activities was analysed through logistic regressions. Socioeconomic and demographic variables were associated with cultural omnivorousness of individuals, leading to the hypothesis that in Colombia the inequalities in cultural activities are influenced by these factors. To our knowledge, this is the first research to address cultural omnivorousness in Colombia from a quantitative perspective.

The research is organised into three main sections. The first section covers the theoretical and empirical framework of cultural activity demand and consumption, exploring consumption determinants from economic theory and Bourdieu's (2006) concept of taste-based social segmentation. The second section details the methodology, including data sources, variables, their statistical description, and the execution of Poisson and logistic regressions. Finally, the results of the regressions are presented, discussed in relation to similar theoretical and empirical studies in the literature, and concluded.

THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL FRAMEWORK

Culture encompasses the activities performed by people and the products derived from them, relating to the intellectual, moral, and artistic aspects of human life. This definition allows the use of "cultural" as an adjective in economic contexts, referring to goods, services, industries, and cultural consumers (Throsby, 2000). Cultural goods and services can be supplied and demanded like any other goods or services, with their production involving creative work and their value not always being expressible in monetary terms (Palma & Aguado, 2010). Thus, cultural consumption refers to the effective demand for cultural goods and services offered in the market. This has been studied from various disciplines, incorporating elements of economic theory and rational choice, as well as sociological perspectives on social stratification. This framework outlines both theoretical perspectives with the aim of identifying the variables associated with cultural consumption.

CULTURAL CONSUMPTION EXPLAINED BY ECONOMIC THEORY

The value as the primary motivation behind economic behaviour allows to identify the utility an individual assigns to goods and services, as well as the price they are willing to pay for them. In the cultural field, value can be assigned to specific or general properties of a cultural good, either individually or collectively, which explains individual consumption decisions (Throsby, 2000). This valuation enables the application of economic theory elements to the demand for cultural goods and services, where consumers aim to maximize their total utility considering available resources, such as income, available time, consumption habits, and cultural capital, which are most relevant to cultural consumption.

Income is the primary economic variable explaining consumption, as it allows individuals to acquire more goods, thereby increasing overall utility and expanding the variety of goods and services beyond basic needs, and surpassing the price threshold for cultural goods and services (Rathnayaka et al., 2022). Overcoming these barriers leads to an increase in the marginal demand for cultural goods and services, even causing less sensitivity to price variations (Yang & Wang, 2023). Conversely, individuals or households with insufficient income experience a lower probability of consuming these goods, as well as higher demand elasticity regarding price, explained by a redistribution of expenditure to non-cultural goods.

However, other variables also influence individuals' choices to consume cultural goods, even when income exceeds the price threshold, and they affect elasticity.

Preferences or tastes are one such factor and can influence the maximum price a person is willing to pay for a cultural good or service. Thus, the greater an individual's taste for a good, the less price affects them, leading to higher willingness to pay and more inelastic demand. Temporary goods, such as attending specific artists' concerts or movie premieres, exemplify this, where individuals may show a higher willingness to pay for consumption (Hellmanzik, 2020).

Cultural activities also require dedicating time for consumption, differentiating them from other types of goods. Therefore, the time available to a person, usually considered as free time, is significant in the individual's evaluation of whether to consume a particular cultural good or service, being incorporated as an opportunity cost (Becker, 1965; Machado et al., 2017). Some studies analysing the relationship between available time and cultural consumption have used occupation as an explanatory variable, considering the available time associated with each occupation (Chen & Tang, 2021). For instance, Espinal et al. (2020) found that Colombian students, within their occupational scheme, have a higher probability of attending activities like movies, due to a lower opportunity cost of time spent on cultural consumption, and fewer family and work responsibilities. However, in economic theory, higher income also increases the cost of time spent on cultural activities, resulting in restrictions on attending long-duration activities even when income is not a barrier, making highly elastic activities regarding income rare (Hellmanzik, 2020).

On the other hand, satisfaction from consuming cultural goods is associated with an individual's ability to interpret the symbolic, aesthetic, and historical values these goods embody, assuming everyone has cultural capital enabling them to understand the implicit meaning in cultural goods (Christin, 2012; Díaz et al., 2023). This capital comes from the experience and contact a person has had with cultural activities, which requires investing time throughout their life (Bourdieu, 1987). The acquisition of cultural capital has been studied from perspectives such as the formation of tastes and habits (Lévy-Garboua & Montmarquette, 1996; Machado et al., 2017; Pollak, 1970; Seaman, 2006), rational addiction (Becker, 1965), school education, and family heritage (Pérez, 2008).

In the formation of habits and tastes, it is recognized that the goods consumed by an individual depend on their historical consumption, thus conditioned by past consumption experiences, which may also be influenced by the historical consumption of those close to them (Biondo et al., 2020). Tastes develop from the accumulation of satisfying experiences throughout life (Lévy-Garboua & Montmarquette, 1996), while habits are formed from immediate or recent past consumption, allowing individuals to adjust their habits based on market conditions (Pollak, 1970, p. 751). In both cases, current demand for cultural goods is framed within a historical consumption model (Palma & Aguado, 2010).

Empirical studies of these variables consider early socialization and participation in artistic and cultural activities as factors representing greater exposure and accumulated experience, which develops cultural capital. In this regard, the consumer acts as a domestic producer making decisions based on their consumption history for each good, which allows them to satisfy needs with fewer resources (Becker & Murphy, 1988; Chen & Tang, 2021; Machado et al., 2017; Palma & Aguado, 2010). Christin (2012) concludes in a research applied to the United States that early socialization in cultural activities, reflected in receiving art lessons during childhood, leads to higher cultural consumption and is one of the factors explaining the greater participation of women in cultural activities.

Cultural capital and social segmentation

Bourdieu (1987) notes that the formation of habits overlooks the role of inherited cultural capital, which represents an individual's differentiated opportunities to understand symbolic meanings. This capital affects (or hinders) aspects such as early initiation, the accumulation of cultural capital, and the ability to meet cultural demands. In other words, the interpretation of habits ignores that each person is grounded in the cultural capital inherited from their family, which contributes to social inequalities in the interpretation and appropriation of cultural goods and services, leading to invisible social segmentation and the maintenance of social boundaries (Katz-Gerro, 2004).

Cultural capital can accumulate and be transmitted through its three states: incorporated, objectified, and institutionalized. The incorporated state is acquired by investing time in cultural activities, closely related to the formation of habits or tastes, as it involves personal assimilation. In this state, cultural capital is associated with the person and cannot be transmitted immediately, but is subjected to progressive hereditary transmission, on which individuals build through their life experiences and investments (Bourdieu, 1987).

Objectified cultural capital refers to symbolic and cultural elements that can be transmitted materially and thus resemble the transmission of an economic good. Although this state does not imply the ability to understand and consume a cultural good, it facilitates the accumulated acquisition of incorporated cultural capital. Lastly, institutionalized cultural capital is linked to the individual through credentials that provide symbolic and material benefits. Educational degrees, for example, determine the exchange value of an individual's labour in the market and can be converted into cultural capital, distinguishing individuals from others (Bourdieu, 1987).

One way to observe social segmentation by cultural capital is through consumption patterns (Goldberg, 2011; Machado et al., 2017; Yaish & Katz-Gerro, 2012). These patterns can create a sense of connection, identity, and place (Hellmanzik, 2020; Throsby, 2000), but also exclusion based on one's position in the economic space (Bourdieu, 1987). This position is determined by variables related to production relations —such as profession, income, and education level— and to auxiliary characteristics that function as principles of selection or exclusion, such as gender, ethnicity, age, or geographic origin (Bourdieu, 2006).

One of the early proposed expressions of cultural consumption is homologous consumption, defined as the link between socioeconomic characteristics and specific cultural repertoires (Vanzella-Yang, 2018). In this expression, cultural repertoires gain significance based on the cultural capital of their audience, categorized as elite or popular tastes (*highbrow* and *lowbrow* in English). However, alternative perspectives, such as cultural omnivorousness, have emerged to explain social segmentation through broader patterns of consumption.

Cultural omnivorousness framework

Proposed by Peterson (1992), cultural omnivore is a modern theory that explains how social elites distinguish themselves by adopting an inclusive orientation towards a wide range of cultural activities, and not through the exclusion of popular culture. This marked a major shift explaining cultural consumption in elites, from an exclusive preference for *high culture* —addressed in Bourdieu's works— to the embrace of diverse cultural repertoires.

Since its introduction, the notion of cultural omnivorousness has been expanded and updated in theory and research. The original idea proposed that omnivores show an expansive array of cultural preferences, contrasting with *univores* who are often located in lower occupational groups and tend to prefer only a narrow set of non-elite cultural activities (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007; De Vries & Reeves, 2020; Peterson & Kern, 1996).

A *volume-based* perspective describes cultural omnivorousness as the total number of cultural activities consumed (Lizardo, 2014; Vanzella-Yang, 2018). Alternatively, a *composition-based* perspective focuses on heterogeneity of cultural preferences, especially how people mix elite and popular activities. Within this framework, two interpretative variants have arisen. The *weak* version, where elites exhibit greater cultural engagement and sometimes consume activities or genres outside its social class, and the *strong* version, where elites completely reject all class-based limits and equally value all cultural activities (De Vries & Reeves, 2020).

A different perspective comes from Lizardo (2014), who proposes a network-based model to describe omnivorousness as a capacity to bridge *cultural holes*, linking disparate cultural areas within wider symbolic or social frameworks. In this perspective, omnivores are viewed as connectors who integrate different cultural fields, thereby enhancing the structural diversity of cultural capital.

Applied research on cultural omnivorousness has tried to test and improve these theories, by exploring how cultural consumption relates to social and economic status, aiming to improve the conceptual and methodological precision of omnivorousness and to examine its interaction with demographic and social variables (Brisson, 2019; Herrera-Usagre, 2011). Most findings confirm that socioeconomic status consistently emerges as a primary explanatory factor (Olivos & Wang, 2022), with education and income identified as robust positive predictors of both omnivorousness and general cultural participation (DiMaggio, 1987;

Herrera-Usagre, 2011; Katz-Guerro, 2004; Vanzella-Yang, 2018; Weingartner & Rössel, 2019). While other factors such as age, gender, race, ethnicity, and marital status can also affect patterns of participation, depending on the specific context.

Despite having common factors associated, applied studies shows that omnivorousness —as a pattern of consumption observed in real scenarios— isn't empirically uniform or standardized. For example, in Flanders, Vander Stiechele and Laermans (2006) distinguishes between two kinds of cultural omnivores in the arts: *omnivore incidental art participants* and more committed *omnivore art participants*. In England, Chan and Goldthorpe (2007) uses the categories *omnivore-listeners* and *true omnivores* to describe two type of omnivorousness in music listeners. Along musical preferences patterns, Vanzella-Yang (2018) proposes *semi-omnivores*, *highbrow omnivores*, and *selective omnivores* that reveals further internal differentiation in Canada's consumers; meanwhile in Spain, Herrera-Usagre (2011) contrasts *traditional univores* with *modern univores*. Finally, for visual arts, Chan and Goldthorpe (2007) introduces *paucivores* as consumers whose repertoire exceeds that of *univores*, but does not meet the threshold for full omnivorousness.

These examples support the De Vries and Revees (2020) idea that the *strong model* of omnivorousness isn't common. In many cases, elites still avoid certain low-status cultural forms, meaning that class-based boundaries remain, and that omnivorousness may serve as a new type of distinction, thereby maintaining symbolic boundaries.

METHODOLOGY

This research used data from the Cultural Consumption Survey (ECC, Spanish acronym), conducted by the *Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística* (DANE), which aims to characterize the cultural practices related to the consumption of the Colombian population through a probabilistic, multistage, stratified, and cluster sampling method (DANE, 2018). The analysis utilized data from the 2017 survey, a probabilistic national sample that covered a total of 8,532 households, comprising 26,805 individuals residing in the municipal capitals of Colombia. The structure of the ECC data is organised into three hierarchical levels: first, housing; second, households; and finally, individuals. In this research, a cultural good is defined as a product with specific characteristics that can be represented as either a good or a service, considering whether these are tangible or intangible, whether they persist over time or are consumed immediately, and whether they allow for consumer appropriation (Throsby, 2000; DANE, 2018).

For the analysis, individuals under 18 years old were excluded, as well as those who did not report their income or educational level, resulting in a final sample of 16,719 individuals from 7,819 households. The cultural activities analysed include those reported in the module on presentations and performances, as well as other general cultural activities mentioned in the survey, such as attending movies, reading books, and visiting national monuments, historic centres, or archaeological sites. In total, 16 cultural activities were considered, with a binary variable indicating whether an individual participated in each type of cultural activity in the past 12 months (see Table 1).

Table 1.
Percentage of consumption of cultural activities

Cultural consumption concept	**By individuals** (%)
Theatre, opera or dance	16.27%
Concerts, recitals, music presentations	33.17%
Exhibitions, fairs or exhibitions of photography, painting, engraving, drawing, sculpture or graphic arts	10.89%
Craft fairs or exhibitions	30.34%
Bullfighting fairs, bullfights, coleo or corralejas	9.12%
Festivals, publication fairs (books) or audiovisual fairs (cinema, television...)	7.18%
Carnivals, festivals or national events	19.61%
Puppets or storytellers	8.79%
Parks, nature reserves or zoos	28.36%
Gastronomic festivals	9.59%
Municipal or departmental festivals	32.12%
Circus	8.92%
Theme park or amusement park	19.06%
Cinema	33.76%
Books	43.86%
Visits to historical or archaeological sites	16.94%

Note. The table details each cultural activity evaluated in the research, along with the percentage of participants who engaged in, attended, or consumed each activity.
Source: ECC Survey conducted by DANE (2018).

Based on these activities, a variable was developed to measure the number of cultural activities consumed, referred to as *cultural omnivorism by volume* (Lizardo, 2014). This variable represents the total count of different types of cultural activities that each person reported participating in or consuming over the past 12 months (see Table 2). This measure is one method used to assess cultural omnivorism, which contrasts individuals with a broad range of cultural activities against those who engage in more specific or limited types of consumption (Peterson, 1992). In terms of its calculation, cultural consumption by volume is a count variable that, from an economic perspective, reflects the diverse range of cultural goods or services consumed by individuals (Vanzella-Yang, 2018).

Table 2.
Frequency distribution of number of cultural activities consumed (cultural omnivorism by volume)

Number of cultural activities consumed	Relative frequency (in percentages)	Cumulative frequency (in percentages)
0	17.64	17.64
1	17.20	34.84
2	14.17	49.01
3	12.73	61.74
4	9.79	71.53
5	7.80	79.33
6	6.05	85.38
7	4.37	89.74
8	3.37	93.11
9	2.27	95.38
10	1.81	97.19
11	1.24	98.43
12	0.74	99.16
13	0.47	99.64
14	0.26	99.89
15	0.08	99.98
16	0.02	100.0

Note. This table presents relative frequency distribution of the number of cultural activities consumed by individuals. It shows that 61,74% of individuals consume 3 activities or less, while only 0,0281% consumes more than 10 activities.
Source: Own elaboration based on 2017 ECC Survey data (DANE, 2018).

Additionally, variables from the Cultural Consumption Survey were used to identify the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of individuals. Numerical variables included income, years of education, and age. Dichotomous variables included whether individuals belong to socio-economic strata 1 to 3 or 4 to 6, literacy status, gender, ethnic group affiliation, employment status, marital status, and educational level. Furthermore, individuals were grouped in four categories based on their volume of cultural consumption, as follows: Group 1: Individuals who did not consume any cultural activities; Group 2: Individuals who consumed between 1 and 3 cultural activities; Group 3: Individuals who consumed between 4 and 6 cultural activities, and Group 4: Individuals who consumed more than 7 cultural activities.

Table 3 presents the average values of each variable. The right last column contains data encompassing all individuals, while the subsequent columns provide information for individuals categorized by the number of activities they engage in.

Table 3.
Demographic and socio-economic statistics of general and grouped individuals

Variable	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	General
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Consumption by volume					
Cultural consumption by volume	-	1.90	4.84	8.88	3.28
	-	(*0.82*)	(*0.80*)	(*1.89*)	(*2.98*)
B. Numerical variables					
Income (in minimum wage from 2017)[1]	0.57	0.80	1.09	1.53	0.93
	(*0.83*)	(*1.19*)	(*1.80*)	(*2.10*)	(*1.50*)
Years of education	11.15	13.94	15.26	16.24	14.09
	(*5.57*)	(*3.68*)	(*2.70*)	(*2.31*)	(*4.06*)
Age	54.26	43.54	38.07	36.18	43.06
	(*18.99*)	(*16.70*)	(*15.30*)	(*14.35*)	(*17.52*)
C. Dichotomous variables					
C.1. General dichotomies					
Stratum (1: Stratum 4 to 6; 0: Stratum 0 to 3)[2]	0.03	0.04	0.07	0.14	0.06
Sex (1: Woman; 0: Man)	0.54	0.57	0.56	0.55	0.56
Affiliation with ethnic groups (1: Yes; 0: No)	0.15	0.16	0.15	0.14	0.15
Employment status: Work (1: Yes; 0: Other case)	0.45	0.57	0.60	0.64	0.56
Marital status: Single (1: Yes; 0: No)	0.18	0.24	0.33	0.40	0.27
C.2. Dichotomies of educational level					
None or preschool	0.18	0.05	0.01	0.00	0.05
Primary (1st to 5th grade)	0.38	0.24	0.11	0.05	0.21
Middle school (6th to 9th grade)	0.14	0.15	0.12	0.05	0.13
High school (10th to 11th grade)	0.21	0.32	0.31	0.23	0.28
Bachelor	0.09	0.24	0.41	0.57	0.30
Postgraduate (*Specialization, Master or PhD*)	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.10	0.03
D. Individuals					
Individuals	2,950	7,373	3,951	2,445	16,719
Percentage relative to total individuals	0.17	0.44	0.24	0.15	1.00

[1] Minimum wage (MW) established for 2017 in Colombia is $737,717 COP.
[2] In the ECC, the stratum variable is determined using the electricity service tariff assigned to the household. This tariff ranges from 1 to 6 and is used to classify homes based on their physical condition and the characteristics of their surrounding urban area. A value of 0 is

assigned to homes that do not have electricity service or do not receive an official electricity bill from a service provider.
Note. The table presents the mean and standard deviation for all individuals in the sample, along with those grouped into four distinct categories: Group 1 comprises individuals who did not participate in cultural activities, Group 2 includes those who engaged in 1 to 3 cultural activities, Group 3 consists of individuals who took part in 4 to 6 cultural activities, and Group 4 encompasses individuals who participated in more than 7 cultural activities. The data characteristics for Panels B and C are derived from the 2017 ECC Survey.
Source: ECC Survey conducted by DANE (2018).

Statistical analysis

Given that the target variable is a count-based numeric variable, a regression analysis was conducted using a generalized linear model with a Poisson distribution. This approach allows the examination of the relationship between socioeconomic and demographic characteristics and the number of cultural activities consumed. The researchers incorporated robust errors into the model based on the clustering structure of the cultural consumption survey, accounting for housing and household levels, to assess the reliability and precision of the estimated parameters.

Thus, regressions were performed for a total of 16,719 individuals, with variance in the estimates controlled for the housing-household cluster established for the survey sampling. The estimated model is presented in Equation (1).

$$
\begin{gathered}
OV_i = Y_i \sim \lambda_i = exp(\beta_0 + \beta_k X_{ki}) \\
\ln(\lambda_i) = \beta_0 + \beta_k X_{ki} \\
\beta_k X_{ki} = \beta_1 NE_i + \beta_2 St_i + \beta_3 I_i + \beta_4 E_i + \beta_5 S_i + \beta_6 G_i + \beta_7 T_i + \beta_8 Ec_i
\end{gathered} \tag{1}
$$

Where, OV: Cultural consumption volume, NE: Educational level (a coefficient was calculated for each level), St: Socioeconomic strata 4, 5, or 6, I: Income, E: Age, S: Gender, G: Affiliation with ethnic groups, T: Employment status, Ec: Marital status.

The subscript i represents the individual, n = {0, 1, 2, …, n}, and the subscript k denotes the variable number studied, k = {1, 2, …, k}.

Variables were incorporated into the model using forward stepwise regression, evaluating the contribution of each variable by assessing the reduction in the Chi-Square statistic relative to the previous nested model. Additionally, a regression including all variables was conducted to assess the consistency of the results. To interpret the results of the final stepwise regression analysis, incidence rate ratios (*r*) were calculated by exponentiating the beta coefficients. These ratios were then interpreted according to the formula presented in Equation (2). These ratios provide a multiplicative expression of the relationship between the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics considered.

$$r_k = (\exp(\beta_k) - 1) * 100\% \tag{2}$$

Also, quantile linear regressions were also performed for the 30th, 90th, and 99th percentiles, which, as explained by Koenker and Hallock (2001), allows us to understand how independent variables influence various parts of the cultural omnivorism by volume distribution. This method estimates a conditional quantile function by minimizing a sum of asymmetrically weighted absolute residuals to model specific quantiles of the conditional distribution of the response variable.

Finally, logistic regressions were carried out for each identified group (see Table 3). The goal was to determine the probability of an individual belonging to each group based on their socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, with particular emphasis on the group that did not engage in cultural activities. In the results section, these logistic regressions are presented as marginal effects.

RESULTS

The regression using the Poisson distribution seeks to establish the relationship between socioeconomic and demographic variables, as well as the volume of cultural consumption of individuals (see Table 4). The variables labelled as A.1 present the results of the covariates related to educational levels, while A.2 shows the results of the other variables considered. Columns 1 to 6 present the results of the stepwise regressions, and column 7 shows the results of the regression with all the variables. Finally, column 8 presents the incidence rates (*r*) for the regression results shown in column 6.

In column 6, readers can observe that educational levels, age, socioeconomic status, and income are statistically significant variables positively related to the volume of cultural consumption. Educational levels show a positive relationship with cultural consumption, which increases with each additional level of education.

Age is the only significant demographic variable, presenting a negative relationship with the volume of cultural consumption. Regarding socioeconomic variables, income and belonging to strata 4, 5, or 6 were also significant and positive. Finally, in the regression with all variables, gender, ethnic group, marital status as single, and employment showed no relationship with the volume of cultural consumption, and their inclusion did not result in changes to the other variables.

Table 4.
Regression results for Poisson distribution

Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	r (6)
Y = Volume of cultural consumption								
A.1. Covariates of educational level								
Primary		0.711***	0.661***	0.660***	0.651***	0.651***	0.654***	1.918***
Middle school		1.068***	0.912***	0.902***	0.884***	0.884***	0.888***	2.420***
High school		1.298***	1.096***	1.081***	1.056***	1.056***	1.059***	2.875***
Bachelor		1.711***	1.490***	1.457***	1.418***	1.418***	1.418***	4.130***
Postgraduate		2.024***	1.880***	1.804***	1.701***	1.701***	1.700***	5.481***
A.2. Other covariates								
Age			-0.008***	-0.009***	-0.009***	-0.009***	-0.009***	0.991***
Stratum = 4, 5 or 6				0.203***	0.172***	0.172***	0.173***	1.187***
Income (in MW)					0.027***	0.027***	0.026***	1.027***
Sex = Woman							0.008	
Affiliation with Ethnic groups							0.012	
Employee status = Work							0.022*	
Marital status = Single							0.036***	
Constant	1.188***	-0.137***	0.371***	0.400***	0.426***	0.426***	0.375***	1.532***
B. Statistics								
Remarks	16.719	16.719	16.719	16.719	16.719	16.719	16.719	16.719

Note. Betas in *r*(6) are presented as incident ratios.
* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$
Source: Own elaboration based on 2017 ECC Survey data (DANE, 2018).

The incidence rates (*r*) from the regression in column 6 show, in relative magnitudes, the effects of an additional unit on the consumed cultural activities. It is observed that each additional educational level increases the probability of consuming a greater number of activities. Thus, having a bachelor education degree or a postgraduate degree increases the number of activities consumed by 413% and 548%, respectively, which corresponds to a consumption 5.13 and 6.48 times greater than that of an individual without education.

Among the demographic aspects, age showed a negative relationship with the number of activities consumed, indicating that for each additional year, consumption decreases by 0.9%. On the other hand, belonging to strata 4, 5, and 6 has a positive effect, with cultural consumption being 18.7% higher compared to individuals from strata 0, 1, 2, and 3. Additionally, income also reflects a positive effect, suggesting that for each additional legal minimum wage earned, a 2.7% increase in cultural activities consumed is expected.

The same regression analysis was conducted for each region, consistently showing similar statistical significance results for education level, age, and income (see Table 5). This indicates that the general model worked similarly across all regions. Ethnic group affiliation revealed a notable pattern, particularly in the Pacific region, where individuals affiliated with ethnic groups showed lower levels of consumption, supported by a statistically significant beta coefficient ($p = 0.001$). Here, on average, these individuals consumed 14.1% less than those who are not affiliated. A relevant result given that 32.36% of individuals in Pacific region were affiliated to an ethnic group.

When performing regressions for the 30th, 90th, and 99th percentiles of cultural consumption distribution (see Table 6), this research will observe consistency with the significance of the Poisson regression results, especially regarding educational levels, age, and income. In the regression for the 30th and 90th percentiles, marital status as single shows a positive relationship with cultural consumption. In both cases, these variables reflect the availability of time to enjoy cultural activities, with coherent results: positive for single marital status and negative for being employed. Finally, in the regression for the 99th percentile, a greater effect of income is observed, indicating that in the higher percentiles of cultural consumption, this factor is more relevant.

The logistic regression for the groups allows us to identify the characteristics of individuals who consume a certain number of cultural activities (see Table 7). In Group 1, which did not consume cultural activities, it is less likely to find individuals with education levels above primary school. Each additional year of age increases the probability of being in this group by 0.3%, while each additional legal minimum wage decreases this probability by 1.8%. Moreover, being female implies a 2.5% lower probability of belonging to this group.

In contrast, in Group 4 (those who consume more than 7 activities), an inverse relationship is observed within the variables. A higher educational level, especially at the bachelor and postgraduate levels, increases the probability of belonging to this group by 23.3% and 40.6%, respectively. Each additional year of life is associated with a 0.2% reduction in this probability, while each additional minimum wage earned increases the probability by 0.8%. These findings reflect consistency with the results from the previous regressions using the Poisson distribution, where education, income, and age play a significant role in the consumption of cultural activities.

Table 5.
Regression results for Poisson distribution by region (Spanish names in parenthesis)

Variable	Bogota (Bogotá D.C.)	Caribbean (*Caribe*)	Eastern (*Oriental*)	Central (*Central*)	Pacific (*Pacífico*)	Amazon & Orinoquia (*Amazonía y Orinoquía*)
Y = Volume of cultural consumption						
A.1. Covariates of educational level						
Primary	1,352	2,241***	2,491***	1,825***	2,017***	1,459**
Middle school	2,148***	2,831***	2,799***	2,184***	2,500***	2,096***
High school	2,647***	3,497***	3,670***	2,633***	2,905***	2,308***
Bachelor	4,606***	4,875***	5,137***	3,842***	4,257***	2,744***
Postgraduate	5,923***	6,385***	7,368***	5,021***	5,211***	3,290***
A.2. Other covariates						
Age	0,993***	0,991***	0,992***	0,990***	0,991***	0,994***
Stratum = 4, 5 or 6	1,208***	1,239***	1,143*	1,041	1,287***	1,362**
Income (in MW)	1,015*	1,031**	1,066***	1,058***	1,032*	1,029**
Sex = Woman	1,010	1,013	0,961	1,059	1,054	0,959
Affiliation with Ethnic groups	1,212*	0,985	1,241*	0,872*	0,859***	1,020
Employee status = Work	1,000	1,021	0,934	0,969	1,075*	1,046
Marital status = Single	1,058	1,093**	1,106*	0,963	1,014	1,029
Constant	1,190	1,157	1,044	1,767***	1,563**	2,084***
B. Statistics						
Remarks	2.671	3.307	2.678	2.964	2.902	2.197
Percentage of individuals affiliated Ethnics group	4,42%	21,02%	2,88%	8,33%	32,36%	22,80%

Note. Beta values are presented as incidence rates. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$
Source: Authors with data from ECC Survey conducted by DANE (2018).

Table 6.
Percentile regression analysis for cultural omnivorism by volume

Variable	30th Percentile	90th Percentile	99th Percentile
Y = Volume of cultural consumption			
A.1. Covariates of educational level			
Primary	0.256***	1.757***	2.426***
Middle school	0.507***	2.473***	3.527***
High school	0.769***	3.390***	4.654***
Bachelor	1.923***	5.694***	6.488***
Postgraduate	3.818***	6.694***	6.838***
A.2. Other covariates			
Age	-0.022***	-0.028***	-0.029**
Stratum = 4, 5 or 6	0.368*	0.861***	0.179***
Income (in MW)	0.087***	0.205***	0.421***
Sex = Woman	0.112***	0.105	0.009
Affiliation with Ethnic groups	0.046	0.199	0.380
Employee status = Work	-0.074	0.078	-0.408
Marital status = Single	0.148*	0.327*	0.317
Constant	1.358***	4.005***	7.359***
B. Statistics			
Remarks	16.719	16.719	16.719

* p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001
Source: Own elaboration based on 2017 ECC Survey data (DANE, 2018).

Table 7.
Logistic regression results for each group based on number of activities consumed

Variable	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
Y = Volume of cultural consumption				
A.1. Covariates of educational level				
Primary	-0.185***	0.140***	0.089***	0.037***
Middle school	-0.239***	0.145***	0.165***	0.058***
High school	-0.280***	0.129***	0.180***	0.106***
Bachelor	-0.358***	-0.001	0.234***	0.233***
Postgraduate	-0.410***	-0.156***	0.233***	0.406***
A.2. Other covariates				
Age	0.003***	0.000	-0.002***	-0.002***

(*Continued*)

Variable	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
Stratum = 4, 5 or 6	-0.045**	-0.036	-0.008	0.056***
Income (in MW)	-0.018***	-0.016***	0.008**	0.008***
Sex = Woman	-0.025***	0.015	0.003	0.002
Affiliation with Ethnic groups	-0.009	0.008	0.000	0.005
Employee status = Work	-0.001	0.035***	-0.009	0.004
Marital status = Single	0.016	-0.057***	-0.006	0.022***
B. Statistics				
Number of individuals	16.719	16.719	16.719	16.719

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$
Note. The table presents the results of logistic regression with corrected errors, the beta values are presented as marginal effects. The categories indicate the number of cultural activities an individual engaged in, as follows: Group 1: Individuals with no cultural activity consumption. Group 2: Individuals who participated in 1 to 3 cultural activities. Group 3: Individuals who engaged in 4 to 6 cultural activities. Group 4: Individuals who took part in more than 7 cultural activities.
Source: Own elaboration based on 2017 ECC Survey data (DANE, 2018).

DISCUSSION

The results showed a significant effect of the income and educational level variables, considered as socioeconomic variables that explain cultural consumption, in line with Bourdieu's assertions (1987, 2006). Both variables presented positive signs, suggesting a higher probability of being consumers of more cultural activities among individuals with higher educational levels and incomes. This was consistent with findings from other authors in different contexts (Hellmazik, 2020; Vanzella-Yang, 2018; Yang & Wang, 2023).

The analysis of income revealed that it is a determinant of cultural consumption, identifying two approaches based on the results. The first, from the Poisson regression and the regression by percentiles, showed that each additional minimum wage increases the probability of consuming more cultural activities, also being consistent across all regions. The second, through logistic regression, indicated that individuals with higher incomes had a lower probability of not consuming cultural activities, highlighting its relevance in consumption, similar to Rosa De Almeida et al. (2020) research. However, considering that the analysed cultural activities include free or subsidized events, the significance of income on consumption cannot be interpreted as a direct consequence of having surpassed the price threshold, as suggested by Yang and Wang (2023).

The results regarding educational levels show that the acquisition of cultural capital in its institutionalized state (Bourdieu, 1987) is significantly relevant to cultural consumption in Colombia, and consistent between its regions. This finding aligns with those of Lizardo (2014), which indicate that individuals with higher education and postgraduate degrees are more likely to have a greater sense of cultural omnivorousness.

Among the demographic variables, age was a significant factor in all regressions, showing a negative effect. This is consistent with studies found in the literature (Vanzella-Yang, 2018; Yang & Wang, 2023), suggesting that older individuals tend to be more selective in the cultural activities they consume, while younger individuals are more likely to explore different types of activities. Since the research is not longitudinal, it does not allow for understanding whether these patterns are due to changes in cultural consumption among younger generations.

On the other hand, no evidence was found in general regression to suggest that being female or belonging to ethnic groups leads to greater cultural consumption. However, in the logistic regression models, it is observed that being female decreases the probability of not consuming cultural activities, which indicates that the first influences the likelihood of being a cultural consumer, but does not determine the quantity of activities consumed. Also, in regional regressions, the affiliation to ethnic groups displays a negative relationship with omnivore consumption in the Pacific region, especially considering that here a third of sample recognizes themselves as part of these groups, which is interesting considering that Chocó, a predominantly afrocolombian population department, is in this region. Given that in the ECC the variable for ethnic groups is based on self-identification, general regression of this variable may be biased due to low recognition. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out new studies over time to better understand this pattern of behaviour.

CONCLUSIONS

This research analysed the consumption of cultural activities in Colombia as an approach to the cultural omnivorous consumption framework. The results show that income, socioeconomic status, educational level, and age are significant explanatory variables for the number of cultural activities consumed by individuals. Both income and educational level have a positive effect on the number of cultural activities consumed, indicating that the consumption of various cultural activities is directly associated with individuals' socioeconomic variables. Therefore, it can be concluded that individuals with higher income and educational levels in Colombia are more likely to be cultural omnivores, reinforcing theories of social segmentation in the cultural landscape.

Among the demographic aspects, only age yielded significant results, showing a negative effect on the number of activities consumed. This implies that older individuals are more likely to consume fewer cultural activities, while younger individuals tend to diversify their cultural consumption. However, since the data is cross-sectional, it is not possible to conclude whether this effect is due to generational change. Variables such as gender and ethnic group membership did not demonstrate significant effects, leading to the conclusion that they are not associated with omnivorous consumption, only ethnic group membership had a significant effect on the Pacific region regression.

Furthermore, the results of the logistic regression analysis indicated that the probability of belonging to the population that does not consume cultural activities increases among individuals with lower income, lower or no education, and older age; these findings are consistent with the Poisson regression analysis. However, in this case, women experience a lower probability of not being cultural consumers compared to men. In this context, the development of policies and programs to enhance access to and diversification of cultural consumption should consider two scenarios: first, addressing the lack of demand for cultural activities, and second, promoting the diversification of cultural activities consumed by individuals. Both should seek to reduce and eliminate the effects of socioeconomic variables.

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ARTÍCULO

CULTURE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: BUILDING INDICATORS OF CULTURAL CAPITAL IN PERU

Luis César Herrero Prieto, Hristo Angelo Tamayo Gamboa

Herrero Prieto, L. C., & Tamayo Gamboa, H. A. (2025). Culture and economic development: Building indicators of cultural capital in Peru. *Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1243-1274.

We aim to construct cultural capital synthetic indicators considering cultural resources from a wide perspective and with spatial specification in order to assess their impact on economic development and spatial disparities. As a case study, we take Peru, a country boasting great cultural diversity throughout its regional division, ranging from material heritage to immaterial elements together with valuable cultural and creative entrepreneurship initiatives. We apply multivariate analysis to construct composite indices and clustering regions, and interpret the results by

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comparing them with economic disparities. We also examine the interaction and drivers between cultural capital and economic development at a regional scale.

Keywords: Cultural capital indicators; economic development; regional disparities; Peru.
JEL: Z11, R10, O12, L83.

Herrero Prieto, L. C., & Tamayo Gamboa, H. A. (2025). Cultura y desarrollo económico: creación de indicadores del capital cultural en Perú. *Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1243-1274.

El objetivo de este artículo es crear indicadores sintéticos de capital cultural que tengan en cuenta los recursos culturales desde una amplia perspectiva y con especificación territorial, a fin de evaluar su impacto en el desarrollo económico y las disparidades espaciales. Tomamos como caso de estudio Perú, un país que cuenta con una gran diversidad cultural en todas sus regiones, desde patrimonio material hasta elementos inmateriales, junto con valiosas iniciativas de emprendimiento cultural y creativo. Aplicamos análisis estadístico multivariante para crear índices compuestos y agrupar regiones e interpretamos los resultados en comparación con las disparidades económicas. También examinamos la interacción entre capital cultural y desarrollo económico a escala regional.

Palabras clave: indicadores de capital cultural; desarrollo económico, disparidades regionales, Perú.
JEL: Z11, R10, O12, L83.

INTRODUCTION

Cultural economics is a scientific discipline that is becoming a very fertile field for theoretical analysis and empirical research addressing the behaviour of individuals, institutions, and markets with regard to culture and derived goods. However, the evolution of the discipline (Cameron, 2019; Ginsburgh & Throsby, 2006, 2014) has been mainly driven by analyses from a microeconomic perspective, considering culture as a consumer good, a creative resource or an area of activity for management and intervention. In contrast, relatively less attention has been given to studies aimed at measuring how and to what extent culture contributes to economic growth and to explaining the spatial disparities that occur in this regard. From this perspective, culture is understood as a productive resource capable of determining part of the economic flows of a territorial enclave, and even its long-term potential growth (Bille & Schulze, 2006; Cerisola, 2018; Herrero, 2011).

In this field of study, there has been a proliferation of economic impact studies restricted to the scope of specific cultural events (Herrero et al., 2006; Lafuente et al., 2017) or to emblematic heritage prototypes (Murillo et al., 2008; Plaza, 2010), and also in Latin America (Aguado et al., 2017, 2024; Devesa et al., 2012). Likewise, broadening the territorial spectrum, there is a proliferation of studies on the capacity of the cultural and creative sector to generate economic development processes, showing the importance of the spatial interaction of these activities, which maintain a pattern of concentrated spatial location, where agglomeration economies and territorial proximity effects prevail (Boal & Herrero 2018; Boix et al., 2015; Coll et al., 2019). However, few studies seek to estimate the impact of culture on economic growth processes, i.e., as a resource that forms part of a society's production function. Some studies examine the interrelated effects of cultural amenities, human capital and acquired skills to explain the reasons for economic growth (Backman & Nilson, 2016; Bucci et al., 2014; Falck et al., 2011; Machado et al., 2013), while others extend the notion of culture to the attitudes, beliefs and traditions that define the idiosyncrasies of a society, and also determine its possibilities for long-term economic growth. In this line we find works based on the concept of cultural diversity and its impact on innovation and entrepreneurship (Bakens et al., 2015; Guiso et al., 2006; Tabellini, 2010). To the best of our knowledge, in Latin America there are few works on this issue, except for those focused more on social capital (Valencia et al., 2020) and quality of life indicators (Somarriba Arechavala & Zarozosa Espina, 2016). We also have the so-called Culture Based Development (Tubadji, 2012; Tubadji et al., 2015, 2022) that uses a more extensive and comprehensive definition of cultural capital, integrating the anthropological and institutional dimension together with indicators of cultural participation and endowment in order to analyse the contribution to the spatially differentiated economic development of regions.

Our research follows this line of work to some extent, as the purpose is to build synthetic indicators of cultural capital to explain the spatial distribution of cultural disparities and analyse interaction with regional economic development. The empirical application is carried out on an emblematic country –Peru– a country internationally known for its historical heritage, cultural diversity, and biodiversity. Throughout its regional divisions it offers a rich and varied typology of cultural heritage, ranging from material (immovable and natural heritage) to immaterial elements (languages, traditions, festivities, etc.) as well as valuable entrepreneurial initiatives in related fields such as gastronomy, handicrafts, ethnic performing arts, etc. This work therefore offers an initial attempt to identify Peruvian cultural capital, both in terms of its distribution over the territory as well as compiling a large array of primary variables that identify cultural idiosyncrasy and that are not commonly endorsed by national accounting because they are simply cultural expressions, but which might have significant economic effects. We therefore propose a three-fold stage approach for our study purpose. First, we compile primary variables into four dimensions that give us a full picture of Peruvian cultural capital: cultural heritage resources, immaterial historical identity, cultural and creative facilities, and collective identity and entrepreneurship. Secondly –and applying multivariate techniques– we build composite indicators of cultural capital with territorial specification in order to analyse spatial distribution and disparities as well as identify macro regions with different potential and characterisation of cultural capital. Finally, we compare the results with the regional distribution of economic activity in terms of GDP and analyse the interaction and drivers between cultural disparities and economic development.

Based on these premises, the paper is divided into five sections. Following this introduction, section 2 provides a literature review on the spatial dimension of cultural capital and its economic implications. Section 3 presents the case study and the multivariate construction of composite indicators of cultural capital for Peru and its spatial distribution. Section 4 interprets and discusses the results by comparing cultural and economic disparities. Section 5 concludes.

THE SPATIAL DIMENSION OF CULTURAL CAPITAL: LITERATURE REVIEW

Since our purpose is to build indicators of cultural capital, it should be clarified that there are two interpretations in this sense. Firstly –and following Stigler and Becker (1977)– cultural capital can be considered as a personal stock that determines cultural consumption and which depends on the level of education and past consumption experiences. From this meaning emerges one of the most prolific branches of cultural economics, namely cultural participation studies (Seaman, 2006) that seeks to characterise the demand for cultural goods by considering a hypothesis of rational addiction based both on the learning acquired through previous consumption experiences and on the level of human capital, which includes general education and specific training. However, if we address culture as a determinant of human progress in general, or of a part of economic flows in particular, we should consider cultural capital as a version of the capital stock of an economic system, i.e., as an input. In this way –and following Throsby (1999)– we can define cultural capital as a set of tangible and intangible elements that are an expression of a society's ingenuity, history or identification process, and that can be understood as a fixed resource, an asset that yields income in the form of a flow of derived goods and services, and that can depreciate if not cared for, or that can accumulate if improved and invested in. As an input, cultural capital is an economic phenomenon, as it intervenes in the production function of an economy and has alternative uses and a substitution character with other options or resources. It is therefore susceptible to collective evaluation and choice because of its contribution to the economic development of a society.

Our working hypothesis is therefore (i) that the stock of cultural capital in a territorial area is a result of the cultural identity accumulated throughout history and expressed in the form of a broad and diverse legacy of cultural heritage, and also of the set of initiatives, activities and cultural endowments in this field to date; (ii) that it has a significant impact on economic growth and well-being; and (iii) that it has been modelled in a differentiated way over time, giving rise to territorial inequalities closely related to economic disparities. Here, we take up the explanations based on the centre-periphery model (Myrdal, 1957) to understand the origin and maintaining of spatial disparities in this field: rich regions and countries have a dynamic and productive cultural sector, while less developed regions and countries have a more meagre and not very dynamic cultural sector.

The channels through which cultural capital can impact local economic development are essentially threefold. Firstly, it is able to determine part of the short- and long-term economic flows associated both with cultural and creative activity itself, and specially part of the derived flows from tourism related to cultural attractions. (Figueroa et al., 2018; Patuelli et al., 2013). Secondly, cultural capital has an impact on the concentration and quality of human capital, not only because cultural amenities and a skilled environment may attract talent (Backman & Nilsson, 2016; Falck et al., 2011; Machado et al., 2013) but also because skills and entrepreneurship take on a more creative and versatile profile (Woronkowick, 2021). Finally, cultural capital affects the efficiency with which the remaining production factors are used and also contributes to the increase in the total productivity of the economic system. However, the mere existence thereof is not enough; it must be fertilised by creativity and by an environment of innovation (Cerisola, 2018; Cerisola & Panzera, 2021). It is also important to have a critical mass of cultural capital because, only when its presence in the economy is sufficiently pervasive and exceeds human capital does culture truly become an engine of economic growth (Bucci et al., 2014).

BUILDING CULTURAL CAPITAL INDICATORS IN PERU: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND APPLICATION

Approach and data

Grounded on these premises, our approach to compute cultural capital indicators is based on a multidimensional notion, but with two differential characteristics compared to other related works. First, we aim to characterise a region's cultural capital by considering elements that have no explicit value in current national accounts because they are simply cultural expressions, and second, these components reflect regional cultural identity and societal background, not only from an anthropological point of view but from the mass of inherited cultural resources -material, intangible, and collective. With this, we aim to contribute to the discussion and computation of missing capital (Coyle & Wdowin, 2025), i.e., those resources that are difficult to compute due to the absence of any exchange value in the market, but which generate economic externalities that are difficult to compute. Our proposal aims to build comprehensive cultural capital indicators with a territorial reference, as they are based on the compilation of numerous primary variables from different cultural capital profiles that do not usually appear in national accounts because they are simply cultural expressions referring to a territorial entity. We therefore focus on a more specific meaning in the field of arts and cultural manifestations with a symbolic and aesthetic significance. These are the two novelties we contribute, and on the basis of this approach, the cultural capital of a region can in our opinion be explained from four dimensions of identity (Herrero 2017; Herrero et al., 2023). Namely:

I. Dimension of territorial identity. This refers to the main endowments of natural and cultural resources of a region, or a mixture of both as a result of human intervention and creativity. It is about defining the idiosyncrasy of a territory on the basis of its existing physical endowments.

II. Dimension of historical identity. It aims to synthesise the accumulated and immaterial cultural peculiarity of a society, which can be expressed through historical commemorations, civic and religious festivities and celebrations, cultural routes, manifestations of intangible cultural heritage, etc. In this case, it is a matter of seeking the branding of the territory as regards intangible expressions, which are also accumulated through generations.

III. Dimension of cultural identity. This refers to the number and scope of cultural institutions and initiatives in this field. They constitute a factor of identity in that they reflect the capacity for decision making and interaction of individuals with their cultural environment, but also express the dimension of their cultural activity and institutions.

IV. Dimension of collective cultural identity. Cultural capital is considered here as a relational factor which is expressive of the scope and variety of social and corporate networks in the cultural sphere, the level of education in artistic specialties, and the accumulation of talent.

By compiling primary variables in these four dimensions of characterisation, we aim to ensure that the derived composite index of cultural capital is comprehensive and exhaustive, as it seeks to compile all possible profiles of cultural capital, with an explicit territorial reference. We do not seek to measure the value of cultural capital, but rather the intensity with which it manifests itself in each territorial entity. Therefore, our purpose is to adapt this approach to the reality of Peru, following the pattern of Figure 1: firstly, by compiling as many primary variables as possible to characterise each of the specified dimensions of cultural capital, which can then be aggregated into more operational variables with which to finally construct synthetic indicators of cultural capital. Compilation has proven exhaustive and laborious, firstly because we have sought to gather primary indicators that do not mean a score in national accounting, but simply identity records; secondly because they had to be obtained with territorial specification, which is not always easy –particularly in the case of those referring to the administrative division of Peru, i.e., 25 regions; and thirdly, because it has entailed consulting different sources of information, considering the thematic diversity and institutional origin of the variables. Table A1 in the Annex shows a total of 40 variables collected, all referring to 2019, together with the source of information. However, to make the estimation model more operative and avoid repetitive information in the estimations, 26 summary variables have been established, as shown in Table 1. These are the ones which will characterise the dimensions of cultural capital and that will make up the subsequent composite indicator.

Figure 1.
Characterisation of Peruvian cultural capital

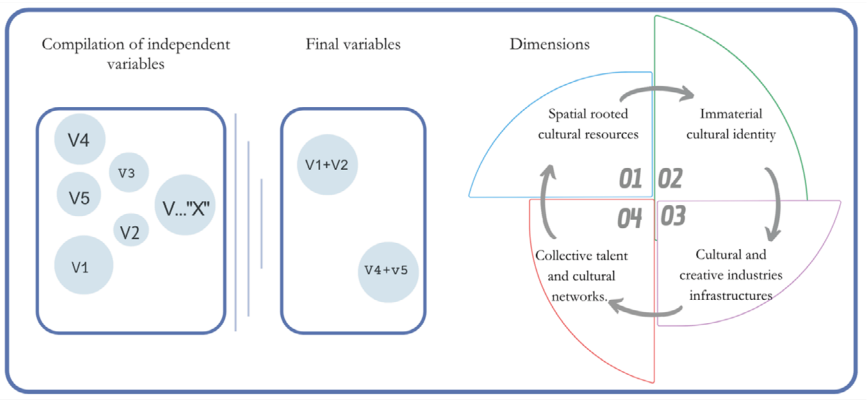


Table 1.
Primary variables and dimensions of cultural capital

<table>
<tr><th>Primary variables</th><th>Final variable</th><th>Dimensions</th></tr>
<tr><td>Immovable historical heritage</td><td rowspan="3">Cultural heritage endowments</td><td rowspan="10">Spatial rooted cultural resources</td></tr>
<tr><td>Immovable archaeological heritage</td></tr>
<tr><td>Properties inscribed on the World Heritage List</td></tr>
<tr><td>Registered movable cultural assets</td><td>Movable cultural heritage</td></tr>
<tr><td>National Parks
National Reserves
National Sanctuaries
Cultural Landscapes</td><td>Protected natural areas</td></tr>
<tr><td>Protected designation of origin</td><td rowspan="2">Appellations of origin</td></tr>
<tr><td>Collective marks</td></tr>
<tr><td>Typical dishes, beverages & sweets registered</td><td>Gastronomy</td></tr>
<tr><td>Carnivals</td><td rowspan="3">Historical events and commemorations</td><td rowspan="8">Immaterial historical identity</td></tr>
<tr><td>Religious festivities</td></tr>
<tr><td>Festivals and fairs</td></tr>
<tr><td>Traditional ceremonies
Rites
Festivities</td><td>Manifestations of intangible cultural heritage</td></tr>
<tr><td>Languages</td><td>Linguistic diversity</td></tr>
<tr><td>Presence of indigenous or native peoples</td><td>Multiculturalism</td></tr>
<tr><td>Indigenous peoples’ localities</td><td>Indigenous location</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museums</td><td>Museums</td><td rowspan="10">Cultural institutions and Creative Industries</td></tr>
<tr><td>Theatres and scenic and musical venues</td><td>Theatres</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cultural centres</td><td>Cultural centres</td></tr>
<tr><td>Municipal public libraries</td><td>Libraries</td></tr>
<tr><td>Archives, documentary heritage</td><td>Archives</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bookstores</td><td rowspan="2">Book industry</td></tr>
<tr><td>Publishers</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cinemas</td><td>Cinemas</td></tr>
<tr><td>Radio stations</td><td>Radio</td></tr>
<tr><td>Television stations</td><td>Television</td></tr>
</table>

(*Continued*)

Primary variables	Final variable	Dimensions
Creative cities	Cultural awards and prizes	Collective talent and cultural networks
Economic incentives for culture		
Universities (Talent / Creativity)	Universities	
Cultural and sports foundations	Cultural networks	
Culture Points. Non-profit communities for art and culture	Non-profit cultural participation	
Safety and security	Safety	
Population with higher education (%)	Education	
Literate population (%)	Literacy	

Characterisation of cultural capital vectors –adapted to the reality of Peru– is as follows. The first dimension is closely related to the territory, as it includes the whole cultural heritage inherited from previous generations in the form of rooted cultural endowments, together with outstanding natural spaces, which also characterise the peculiarity of an area. We also consider a combination of natural resources and cultural creativity in the form of the number of *appellations* of origin as well as typical dishes, and registered drinks and sweets, as a way to consider gastronomy as a kind of cultural creativity, because it represents the human capacity to produce and operate with natural resources on the basis of accumulated cultural and technical knowledge as well as permanent creative innovation. The second dimension is characterised by the intangible culture of the people and regions. Within this dimension we consider carnivals, religious festivities, festivals and fairs that take place throughout the country. We also take account of the most traditional manifestations of immaterial heritage linked to indigenous heritage, such as the array of languages, the presence of native peoples, and the number of localities of indigenous inhabitants. The third dimension specifically deals with cultural facilities and institutions accumulated over time, since it reflects the number of active cultural heritage institutions (museums, archives and libraries), performing arts (theatres, auditoriums) and cultural industries (publishing and communication). All these variables are indicators of cultural infrastructures but are also an expression of the capacity of both individuals and society for entrepreneurship and interaction with cultural heritage, and in a certain way also measure the level of cultural activity in the region[1]. Finally, the fourth dimension captures a notion of collective cultural identity in the form of accumulated talent, networks of associations and

[1] This dimension might cover variables that are closer to national accounting, as they deal with operating institutions. However, they are in no way represented by their volume of business, but simply by their degree of presence in a region. They are therefore pure indicators of cultural facilities, which are in turn the result of accumulated cultural initiatives (public or private) and can also demonstrate, on the demand side, a degree of cultural participation.

foundations, points of cultural community participation and population characteristics (education and safety).

These are our four interrelated dimensions, with particular characteristics and each is related to different forms of cultural capital: two of the dimensions are mainly related to people (dimensions 3 and 4) while the other two are more strongly related to material and endowment (dimensions 1 and 2). We consider this classification to represent all the relevant aspects of the country's cultural capital in a broad scope. Table 2 presents the descriptive statistics for all the variables finally considered when characterising cultural capital.

Table 2.
Descriptive statistics of primary variables

Variables (*)	Mean	Median	Stand. Dev.	Range	Sum
Cultural heritage endowments	751.7	475	846.26	3,834	18,792
Movable cultural heritage	12,566	1,426	44,698.73	225,632	314,154
Protected natural areas	9.96	6	10.949	44	249
Appellations of origin	227.8	198	212.16	902	5,695
Gastronomy	9.72	3	24.06	123	243
Historical events & commemorations	14.32	8	16.27	58	358
Manifestations of intangible heritage	17.08	13	12.56	50	427
Linguistic diversity	4.52	2	7.35	33	113
Multiculturalism	4.24	2	6.67	30	106
Indigenous location	2,676	1,800	3,426.01	12,874	66,905
Museums	12.64	9	15.37	76	316
Cultural centres	4.32	1	12.67	64	108
Theatres	2.36	0	7.36	37	59
Libraries	19.68	15	16.71	70	492
Archives	2.16	1	2.81	12	54
Book industry	9.6	2	34.78	176	240
Cinemas	2.24	1	7.11	36	56
Radio	110.1	90	68.82	234	2,752
Television	45.76	36	27.21	113	1,144
Cultural awards and prizes	11.84	3	41.84	212	296
Universities	3.8	2	7.03	36	95

(*Continued*)

Variables (*)	Mean	Median	Stand. Dev.	Range	Sum
Cultural networks	4.64	1	14.78	75	116
Non-profit cultural participation	2.32	1	5.77	29	58
Safety	1E+05	4,47	265,001.80	1E+06	2,934,06
Education	47.05	46.3	11.87	38.12	1,176.3
Literacy	90.9	92.26	5.96	19.88	2,272.47

(*) Measurement units based on Table A1.

Building partial indicators of cultural capital for Peru

Since we are considering a multidimensional notion of cultural capital, our purpose is to summarise the information from primary variables into synthetic indicators of cultural capital. The use of synthetic indicators has become increasingly popular, and their use in the field of cultural economics is widespread, particularly with territorially-based applications such as indices of cultural quality and performance (Gómez & Herrero, 2019; Srakar et al., 2017), creativity and talent (Boal & Herrero, 2020; Navarro et al., 2014), well-being and quality of life (Herrero et al., 2019; Nissi & Serra, 2016), etc. The methodological approach followed in our case study uses multivariate analysis, both to build a composite index of cultural capital through factorial analysis and to identify macro-regions that have a similar concentration of capital, through cluster analysis. We then follow a BoD hypothesis, i.e., letting the data speak for itself, as we are not considering any weight or ex-ante determinism criterion[2].

Table 3.
Factor analysis: Extraction of main components

	Initial Extraction Eigenvalues			Rotation Varimax		
Component	**Total**	**% Variance**	**Cumulative %**	**Total**	**% of Variance**	**Cumulative %**
1	9.8	54.444	54.444	9.261	51.452	51.452
2	3.067	17.036	71.481	3.123	17.348	68.8
3	2.584	14.357	85.838	3.067	17.038	85.838
4	0.849	4.719	90.556			
5	0.556	3.088	93.644			
6	0.341	1.897	95.541			
7	0.321	1.783	97.323			

(*Continued*)

[2] There are interesting alternatives for building synthetic indicators of cultural capital using data envelopment analysis (DEA) (Herrero et al., 2019, 2023). However, we have opted to provide a homogeneous approach within multivariate statistical analysis, using factor analysis to build the composite index and cluster analysis to determine homogeneous areas.

	Initial Extraction Eigenvalues			Rotation Varimax		
Component	**Total**	**% Variance**	**Cumulative %**	**Total**	**% of Variance**	**Cumulative %**
8	0.203	1.13	98.454			
9	0.098	0.545	98.999			
10	0.094	0.524	99.522			
11	0.034	0.189	99.711			
12	0.019	0.105	99.816			
13	0.013	0.075	99.891			
14	0.008	0.044	99.934			
15	0.005	0.027	99.961			
16	0.004	0.022	99.984			
17	0.003	0.016	99.999			
18	0	0.001	100			

Multivariate factor analysis consists of a synthetic representation of primary information through factorial axes that are a linear combination of the original variables and that are independent of each other, which facilitates interpretation (Nardo et al., 2008). It basically involves three stages: extraction of factors, which concentrate most of the primary information measured in terms of variance; rotation, which consists of a transformation (orthogonal, varimax method) of the factors to make them more interpretable; and factor interpretation by means of correlations with the original variables. Table 3 shows the factor extraction figures[3], with the eigenvalue associated with each factor in the extraction and in the rotation. Considering only the factors with an eigenvalue of over one, we then obtain three factors that summarise all the information, and which reach a percentage of explained variance of 85.8%, such that the objective of achieving a synthesis has been amply achieved. It should also be stressed that different factorial exercises were carried out wherein variables with redundant information were eliminated. This was the case for historical events and communication, education, the book industry, and cultural awards. Several other variables did not improve the analysis due to low communality or because they complicate interpretation –such that they were also removed. This included gastronomy, appellations of origin, safety and non-profit cultural entities. As robustness tests of the result, all communalities can be said to be high, above 0.6 (Table 4) and both the KMO measure of sampling adequacy and Bartlet's test of Sphericity yield favourable results. Finally, the most refined

[3] It should be noted that factor analysis has been applied to the full set of primary variables as a whole, rather than on a dimension-by-dimension basis, as the tests conducted in this option provide less robust results. Nevertheless, the interpretation of the factors will prove to be quite accommodating to the established notions of cultural capital.

presentation in accordance with the research purposes was adjusted to 18 primary variables, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4.
Factor analysis: Variable communalities and correlations with factors

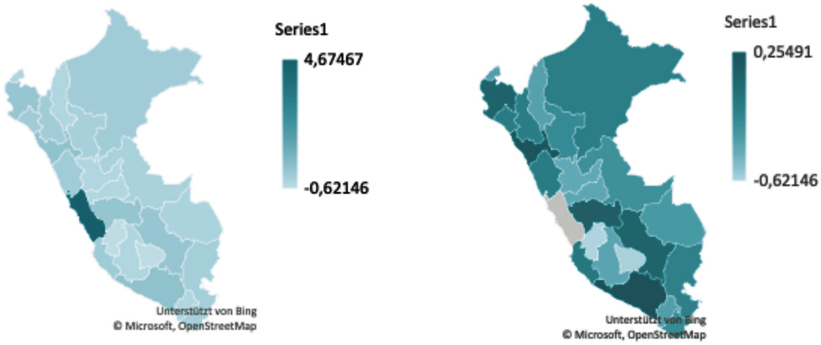
Final Variables	Communality	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Cultural centres	0.980	0.989		
Cultural network	0.975	0.987		
Cinemas	0.975	0.885		
Universities	0.963	0.980		
Theatres	0.960	0.979		
Movable cultural heritage	0.958	0.978		
Museums	0.924	0.928		
Cultural heritage endowments	0.783	0.815		
Archives	0.810	0.783	0.437	
Libraries	0.753	0.671	0.538	
Literacy	0.607	0.324	- 0.708	
Radio	0.759	0.525	0.695	
Television	0.865	0.655	0.660	
Intangible cultural heritage	0.811		0.886	
Indigenous location	0.807		0.398	0.791
Multiculturalism	0942			0.946
Linguistic diversity	0.945			0.943
Protected natural areas	0.636			0.767

Note. Varimax Rotation. Eigenvalues > 0.3.

To interpret the main factors, we consider the correlation matrix between the factors obtained and the original variables, based on a rotated factorial solution by the Varimax method, which facilitates analysis (Table 4). In the interpretation, we take into account the correlations that contribute most to define the factor (factor loadings greater than 0.3) and pure factor variables, those whose factorial weight resides mainly in only one factor. The factors are thus defined as follows.

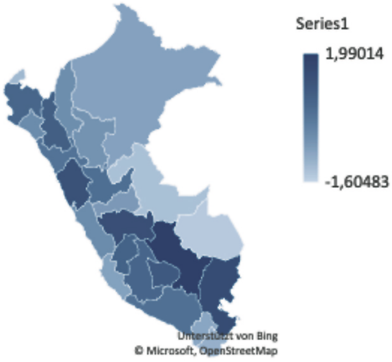
The first factor groups the largest number of variables, both the endowments of cultural heritage, public institutions and centres providing cultural goods and services, and also the main industries and enterprises in the cultural sector. We call this factor *concentration of cultural resources* as it represents the most classical and ordered meaning of cultural capital, focused on endowments, institutions and entrepreneurship. Logically, the spatial distribution follows what seems to be a faithful representation of Peruvian reality, which is the almost absolute concentration of cultural capital in Lima. For this reason, we decided to represent the geographical distribution of the factor in the country with and without the capital of the State (Figure 2), which therefore displays other departments with the main cities of Peru: Arequipa, Junín, Cuzco, and La Libertad. This confirms that it is a factor associated with the most populated, most urban areas and those with higher levels of development.

Figure 2
Factor of cultural resources and institutions



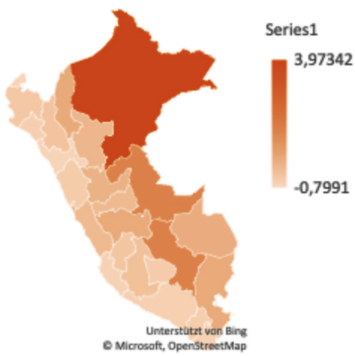
The second main factor identifies intangible cultural heritage and the location of indigenous peoples as pure factor variables, although it also has high correlations with classical heritage institutions (archives and libraries) and radio and television entities. It also shows a high negative correlation with the literacy rate, indicating the existence of significant illiteracy rates. The distribution of this component (Figure 3) –called *the intangible heritage factor*– is related to the location of the great Andean civilisations and the intangible legacy of present-day peoples; hence its location in the highland departments of Peru (Cuzco, Puno, Junín, Ancash, Cajamarca, Apurimac, Huancabelica).

Figure 3.
Factor of immaterial heritage



Finally, the third factor exclusively groups variables related to ethnic, linguistic and natural protected area diversity, and also correlates significantly with the location of indigenous peoples. This factor is strongly related to indigenous heritage and biodiversity in Peru, and is identified with the departments of the Peruvian Amazon (Loreto and Uyancali) (Figure 4).

Figure 4.
Factor of ethnic diversity



A composite index of cultural capital

Given the thematic complementarity of these three factors –which in essence clearly allude to the main underlying concepts of the dimensions of cultural capital defined in the introduction– it seems justified to elaborate a composite indicator based on these factors, and which serves as a synthetic definition of the cultural capital of the regions, understood as a stock of their present and accumulated cultural identity. We opted for one of the simplest and most comprehensible versions to construct a composite indicator: namely through a weighted average of the main factors according to the weight of each of them when explaining total variance. In other words, each component is multiplied by its own eigenvalue in the rotated solution of the factor extraction process (Table 3). To mitigate the impact of the first factor and obtain a more balanced representation –if possible– the square root of the eigenvalues was used, in accordance with the following formula:

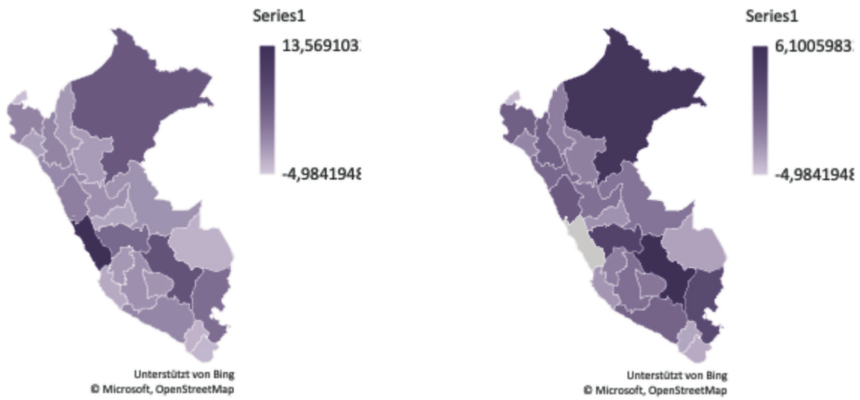
$$ICC = (F1 * \sqrt{\text{Eigenvalue 1}}) + (F2 * \sqrt{\text{Eigenvalue 2}}) + (F3 * \sqrt{\text{Eigenvalue 3}})$$

Both the scores of the main factors and the values of the composite indicator for each region of Peru can be found in Table A2 in the Annex. Figure 5 shows the geographical distribution of the synthetic index of cultural capital. A strong concentration can be seen in the departments of Lima, Cuzco, and Loreto. Each corresponds to a natural region of the country: coast, mountains and jungle, respectively. In

Lima –as in many state capitals in Latin America– cultural and creative industries are concentrated, as well as cultural public services related to the first factor. Cuzco, the former capital of the Inca Empire, is the central point of the archaeological and intangible heritage area of the Peruvian Andes. Loreto, which is the most important department of the Peruvian Amazon, has a strong concentration of intangible heritage, ethnic, and linguistic diversity. The remaining departments have different levels of cultural capital, even though they show a certain concentration in the coastal and highland regions.

Figure 5.

Regional distribution of the composite index of cultural capital



Regional heterogeneity of cultural capital: Cluster analysis

As a final step, a confirmatory analysis of the results was carried out by applying cluster analysis to the original data in order to obtain homogeneous spaces in the regional distribution of cultural capital in Peru. The k-means method is followed based on the similarity of data vis-à-vis the centroids of each group by means of Euclidean distance. The process iterates until the centroids stabilise, assigning each value to the nearest cluster. The number of clusters was determined through iterative analysis until the most reasonable interpretation was found. The optimal number of homogeneous groups was finally six, whose geographical representation is shown in Figure 6. By comparing the means of the variables of the analysis and the factor scores for each of the clusters, the following characterisation is reached.

Figure 6
Cluster analysis of cultural capital in Peru

Cluster 1: Amazon macro-region. It comprises the six departments of the Peruvian jungle (Loreto, Ucayali, Madre de Dios, Pasco, San Martin, and Amazonas), whose common characteristics are its great ethnic and linguistic diversity and the presence of indigenous peoples, all settled in large protected natural areas, which are fundamentally the properties of characterisation factor 3. It is a natural region renowned for its tropical climate and multicultural population, which does not have highly developed cultural endowments, while the manifestations of intangible heritage have not been as well recognised as in the highland departments due to problems of access and the presence of indigenous peoples in voluntary isolation.

Cluster 2: Macro-region Sierra Transversal. It comprises six highland departments and two coastal departments: Puno, Apurimac, Ayacucho, Huancavelica, Junín, Junín, Áncash, Cajamarca, and Piura. It is characterised by expressions of intangible heritage and significant tourism potential. These are the geographical areas where the main Inca and pre-Inca civilisations settled. There seems to be a link between the intangible heritage of these peoples and the cultural manifestations of the current populations of these areas. This macro-region presents positive values in factor 2, but negative values in factors 1 and 3.

Cluster 3: Costa Chica macro-region. It comprises three coastal departments: Arequipa, Lambayeque, and La Libertad. These are populated departments with a high concentration of infrastructure and cultural service institutions, but also with a relevant presence of intangible heritage and tourist attractiveness, which is why they score positively in characterisation factors 1 and 2.

Cluster 4: Macro-region of Peruvian highland capitals. It comprises the departments of Ayacucho and Cuzco, whose capitals are recognised for their cultural and tourist attractiveness. In the case of Cuzco, this is the geographical area where the capital of the largest pre-Columbian civilisation in South America, the Inca Empire, was established. The heritage of this civilisation is palpable in the type and number of manifestations of tangible and intangible heritage, which are widely recognised and attractive for tourists. On the other hand, Ayacucho is the only creative city in the Peruvian highlands declared by UNESCO for its diversity in handicrafts and manifestations of intangible heritage, such as Holy Week and others.

Cluster 5. Central Coast macro-region. These are the two departments (Lima and Ica) on the Peruvian coast with the highest concentration of cultural activity and cultural institutions in the country. They are areas with little indigenous presence and manifestations of intangible heritage, but which concentrate almost all the infrastructure of the nation's cultural capital: both cultural and creative industries, cultural entrepreneurship initiatives and foundations, universities and higher education centres, as well as a large part of public cultural institutions. As the most populated areas, they are also home to numerous cultural service entities (museums, theatres, cinemas, etc.).

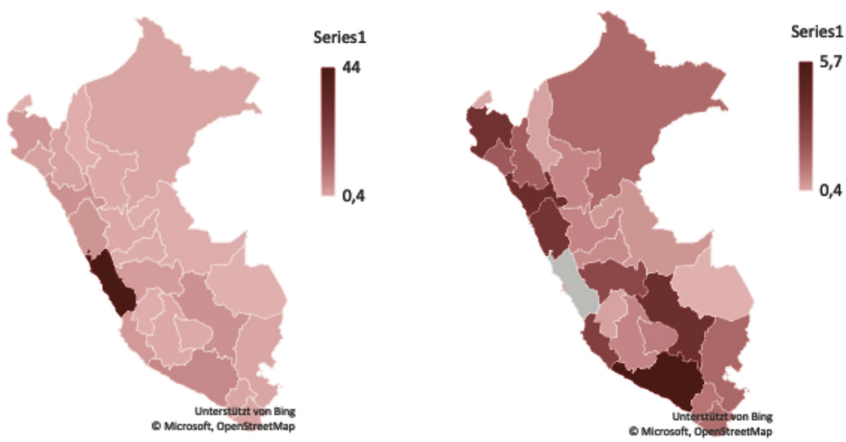
Cluster 6: Peripheral macro-region and Callao. These are the three departments furthest from the capital and with the lowest concentration of cultural capital in general: Tacna, Moquegua, and Tumbes. The Constitutional Province of Callao is included in this cluster.

ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DISPARITIES IN PERU: DRIVERS AND DISCUSSION

Considering that our elaboration of the cultural capital index is not limited to the distribution of monuments and cultural endowments –tangible and intangible– but that it also considers the agglomeration of cultural institutions, cultural and creative entrepreneurship initiatives, concentration of talent and training, corporate networks in this field, etc., all these issues are closely related to the concept of economic development in a broad sense. Therefore, it is now a question of testing the relationship between the regional distribution of cultural capital and spatial economic disparities in Peru.

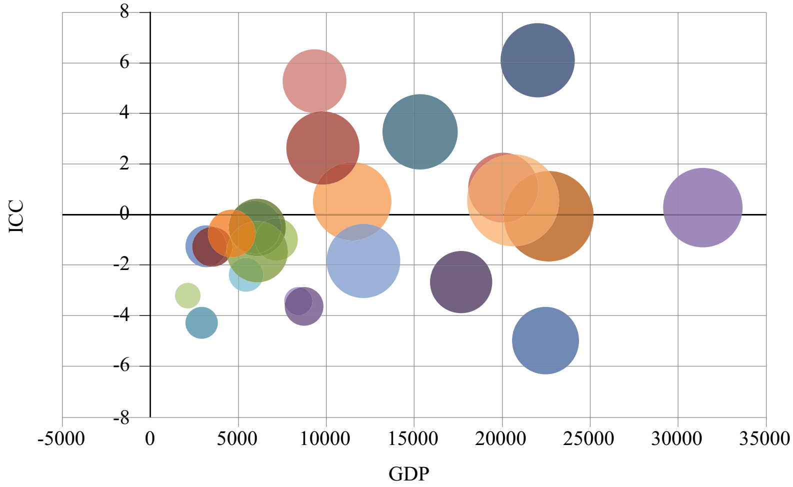
As a first approach, Figure 7 shows the mapping of regional GDP levels. As expected, there is a high concentration in the department of Lima, which for reasons of over-dimension has been excluded from the map in its second version, followed by the regions of Arequipa, La Libertad, Cuzco, Piura, Junín, Ica, and Ancash, which also show significant levels of GDP. Generally, the distribution of economic development is concentrated on the coastal regions and central highlands, which coincide with the most populated areas and the most active capitals. In general, there is a distribution of economic development concentrated in the regions of the coast and central highlands, which coincide with the most populated areas and the most active capitals, while there are large areas of the country that make little contribution to GDP, such as the Amazon and the northern and western highlands. If we compare this with the distribution of the composite indicator of cultural capital, ICC (Figure 5), we find certain similarities in terms of the concentration of cultural capital in these same GDP-leading regions. However, this actually follows the cultural capital profile of characterisation factor 1, i.e., accumulation of infrastructure, public institutions and cultural services as well as creative industry and cultural centres. However, there is one difference that merits highlighting since, in fact, the ICC detects two complementary areas of cultural capital accumulation that refer, fundamentally, to the manifestations of intangible heritage and ethnic and linguistic diversity, which are located in less developed areas and contribute less to GDP: namely, the highland and Amazonian jungle regions, respectively.

Figure 7.
Regional distribution of GDP in Peru



This is a novelty of the results of this research, as it corroborates that there is a part of cultural capital that –interacting with the demand for cultural goods and services and in particular as exploiting tourist use and appeal– generates significant economic flows and contributes to the economic development of the territories. However, there is another profile of cultural capital, identified in our case with expressions of intangible heritage, ethnic and linguistic diversity, and to a certain extent combined with natural resources and biodiversity, which are more difficult to turn into consumer goods and services, and which for the moment perhaps have less tourist appeal, as they are fundamentally features of collective and individual cultural characterisation in certain territories. The justification for protecting this profile of cultural capital is beyond doubt, even more so because of the risk of extinction or trivialisation.

Figure 8.
Scatter plot of Peru's regions based on GDP, ICC, and population



Source: Based on data from Table A2. Lima is excluded for the sake of clarity.

Figure 8 shows the scatter plot of Peru's regions based on three variables, ICC and GDP on the axes, and regional population in the size of the ball. The interpretation complements and confirms the previous results, as we can distinguish, in general terms, four groups of regions: (a) more populated regions with high GDP but with a cultural capital index that is not very relevant (Arequipa, La Libertad, Piura, Áncash); (b) relatively populated regions with an intermediate level of GDP and a low level of cultural capital (El Callao, Ica, and Lambaleque); (c) populated regions with a high intermediate GDP and a high cultural capital index (Cuzco, Junín, Puno, and Loreto); and (d) poorly populated regions with a low level of development and scarce cultural capital (Tacna, Tumbes, Madre de Dios, San Martín). To detect possible effects of spatial autocorrelation, Moran's index was calculated for regional distribution data for GDP, ICC, and factors F1 to F3. Only the indices for ICC and F1 were significant, but with negative values close to zero (-0.312 and -0.1509 respectively), while F3 had a positive value (0.2161). This indicates that areas with strong intangible identity and ethnic diversity tend to be grouped together, while regions with some indicators of cultural capital are disparate.

As a complement to the approach of this research, we estimate the correlations (Pearson, Spearman and Kendall) between the synthetic indicator of cultural capital and certain explanatory variables that we consider to be key drivers according to comparative literature (Backman & Nilson, 2016; Bucci et al., 2014; Falck et al., 2011); namely, GDP per capita, population size and human capital, to which we add other variables excluded from the factor analysis and that may also be of interest now. These are safety levels (number of crimes), cultural talent awards, gastronomy variables and designations/*appellations* of origin, and finally the number of historical events and commemorations (carnivals, religious festivities, festivals and fairs), which are a version of intangible cultural heritage. The results are shown in Tables 5 to 7, and the following can be highlighted.

First, the ICC is logically correlated with the characterisation factors (F1 to F3), but not between them, as they are linearly independent. The ICC indicator is positively correlated with GDP, population size and with the complementary cultural capital variables, as expected. There is no significant relationship with the level of human capital (percentage of population with higher education), although there is in the characterisation factors –positively with F1 and negatively with F2 and F3– showing the duality in the distribution of cultural capital: institutional profile and cultural goods and services are consolidated in populated and more developed areas, whereas intangible profile and ethnic diversity are associated with less populated areas and lower ratios of education. This is also the case for safety (number of crimes), which only has significant and positive correlations with ICC and F1. As for the complementary cultural capital variables that we add, all have only positive correlations with ICC and F1, except for intangible events and *appellations* of origin, which mainly affect F2. This implies that the cultural awards and gastronomy variables are also associated with the institutional and market-oriented cultural capital profile and areas.

CONCLUSIONS

Culture, understood in a broad sense as a set of tangible and intangible elements that are the expression of the ingenuity, history or identity of a society, can be considered as a production factor capable of determining part of the economic flows within a region and also its possibilities for long-term economic development. We aim to estimate the stock of cultural capital in the regions of Peru, a country internationally known for its historical heritage, cultural diversity and biodiversity, on the basis of the above wide-ranging notion of cultural heritage, which can consequently be broken down into four perspectives: cultural heritage resources, immaterial historical identity, cultural and creative facilities and institutions, and collective identity and networks. Part of the novelty of this proposal lies in compiling a large and diverse set of elements that identify the idiosyncrasy and cultural capital of regions, and which are not commonly endorsed by national accounting because they are simply cultural expressions and characterisations, but which might no doubt have significant economic effects. We have also sought to consider a territorial specification of these indicators in order to analyse spatial disparities in cultural resources and their relationship with economic imbalances.

Table 5.
Pearson correlation matrix. Regional analysis

Variables	ICC	Fact 1	Fact 2	Fact 3	GDP	Inhabitants	Higher Education	Safety	Cultural Awards	Gastronomy	*Appellation* Origin	Events
ICC	1											
Fact 1	0.7742***	1										
Fact 2	0.4496**	0	1									
Fact 3	0.4455**	0	0	1								
GDP	0.7457***	0.9909***	0.0002	-0.0484	1							
Inhabi-tants	0.7905***	0.9876***	0.0786	-0.0213	0.9848***	1						
High Education	-0.0201	0.4021**	-0.4927**	-0.2468	0.4072**	0.3173	1					
Safety	0.7244***	0.9898***	-0.0339	-0.0599	0.9957***	0.986***	0.3977**	1				
Cult. awards	0.7359***	0.9858***	-0.0357	-0.0254	0.9926***	0.9759***	0.3659*	0.9912***	1			
Gastro-nomy	0.7567***	0.9878***	-0.0221	0.0043	0.9883***	0.9801***	0.3698*	0.9883***	0.9865***	1		
App. Origin	0.2607	0.1501	0.4286**	-0.1082	0.0904	0.1508	0.0456	0.0848	0.0686	0.0529	1	
Events	0.6412***	0.5684**	0.4366**	0.0109	0.5465***	0.5721***	0.1549	0.5482***	0.4981**	0.5479***	0.3124	1

Note. ***. ** . * denote statistical significance at 1%, 5%, 10% respectively.

Table 6.
Spearman correlation matrix. Regional analysis

Variables	ICC	Fact 1	Fact 2	Fact 3	GDP	Inhabitants	Higher Education	Safety	Cultural Awards	Gastronomy	*Appellation* Origin	Events
ICC	1											
Fact 1	0.5454***	1										
Fact 2	0.6977***	0.2169	1									
Fact 3	0.5692***	-0.0415	0.2685	1								
GDP	0.4823**	0.8285***	0.3123	-0.2546	1							
Inhabitants	0.7169***	0.8323***	0.5000**	0.0254	0.8577***	1						
High Education	-0.2997	0.3893*	-0.5078***	-0.4278**	0.3712*	0.0296	1					
Safety	0.3838*	0.8477***	0.1223	-0.2208	0.8200***	0.8423***	0.3335	1				
Cult. awards	0.5310***	0.8113***	0.3176	-0.1318	0.9011***	0.8599***	0.2401	0.7293***	1			
Gastronomy	0.4975**	0.8215***	0.1154	-0.0801	0.6729***	0.6930***	0.3137	0.7286***	0.5754***	1		
App. Origin	0.4100**	0.4785**	0.5054**	0.0700	0.3985**	0.5092***	-0.0100	0.3462*	0.5120***	0.2304	1	
Events	0.4700**	0.5362***	0.5212***	0.0208	0.5378***	0.5643***	0.0772	0.4919**	0.3794*	0.5721***	0.4064**	1

Note. ***. ** . * denote statistical significance at 1%, 5%, 10% respectively.

Table 7.
Kendall correlation matrix. Regional analysis

Variables	ICC	Fact 1	Fact 2	Fact 3	GDP	Inhabitants	Higher Education	Safety	Cultural Awards	Gastronomy	*Appellation* Origin	Events
ICC	1											
Fact 1	0.3467**	1										
Fact 2	0.5800***	0.1267	1									
Fact 3	0.4200***	-0.0200	0.2133	1								
GDP	0.3267**	0.6600***	0.2267	-0.1867	1							
Inhabitants	0.5200***	0.6267***	0.3133**	0.0200	0.6733***	1						
High Education	-0.2237	0.2771*	-0.3506**	-0.3105**	0.2705*	0.0434	1					
Safety	0.2667*	0.6800***	0.0867	-0.1400	0.6600***	0.6533***	0.2504*	1				
Cult. awards	0.3612**	0.6208***	0.2280	-0.0947	0.7681***	0.7120***	0.1897	0.5787 ***	1			
Gastro-nomy	0.3450**	0.6418***	0.0759	-0.0345	0.5106***	0.5106***	0.2246	0.5590***	0.4284***	1		
App. Origin	0.2867**	0.3133**	0.3733***	0.0267	0.2933**	0.3667**	0.0100	0.2733*	0.3963***	0.1518	1	
Events	0.3474**	0.3474**	0.3407**	-0.0034	0.4014***	0.4081***	0.0811	0.3474**	0.2910*	0.4190***	0.3002**	1

Note. ***. ** . * denote statistical significance at 1%, 5%, 10% respectively.

In this way –and in the empirical application to the reality of Peru– a notable effort has been made to compile primary indicators, which have been synthesised using multivariate statistical analysis into three main characterisation factors. These tie in well with the notions of accumulation of cultural resources, infrastructures and institutions, expressions of intangible cultural heritage, and ethnic and biodiversity heritage, respectively. Subsequently, a composite index of cultural capital is constructed by weighted aggregation of the above factors according to their importance, i.e., following non-deterministic assumptions and allowing the data to explain themselves naturally. The geographical distribution of the cultural capital index follows an eminently concentrated pattern, with the highest levels being found in the metropolitan region of Lima, the Andean department of Cuzco, and the Amazonian region of Loreto. A more detailed analysis, excluding the oversized effect of Lima, indicates a somewhat greater distribution of cultural capital levels in the coastal and central highland departments. Confirmatory analysis was carried out using cluster analysis, which led to a classification in six macro-regions that group together departments which are homogeneous in terms of cultural capital endowment and characterisation.

In general terms, it can be said that there are several profiles of cultural capital, with different patterns of localisation and iteration with economic development. First, a profile of accumulation of cultural resources and institutions providing related goods and services, which are eminently located in the most developed and populated areas of the country, thus displaying a common pattern of spatial concentration and endowment distance from other regions. On the other hand, another profile of cultural capital can also be distinguished, identified with expressions of intangible heritage and ethnic diversity, linguistic richness, and protected natural ecosystems. This profile rather characterises the peripheral and less developed regions. Consequently, a positive correlation is found between this first market-oriented cultural capital profile with GDP, level of human capital and population density, as well as with any cultural entrepreneurship initiatives. Conversely, the profile of ethnic diversity and inherited intangible heritage –as a factor of individual and collective characterisation– is not likely to be easily turned into market goods and services, or at least they do not have enough tourist appeal for the moment as material cultural heritage resources. It therefore has less capacity to generate economic activity and hence a lower interaction with the degree of economic development and the capacity to generate growth.

Consequently, it seems clear that cultural capital –insofar as it can become or produce goods and services for demand– generates flows and economic activity and can determine part of economic development. This is evident in Peru; not only in the more developed areas, where the institutional cultural sector and the cultural and creative industries are established (Lima and coastal regions) but also in areas with a wealth of monumental or archaeological heritage which, due to their ability to attract tourists, become a profitable and vibrant sector of economic activity (Cuzco, Puno and Junín). However, when cultural capital is purely a matter of ethnic characterisation, linguistic wealth or inherited intangible expressions, it has less chance of becoming market products and, therefore, sees less economic interaction (Amazon regions such as Loreto and Ucayali).

This result should not lead to erroneous conclusions of prioritising one profile over the other. On the contrary, it should lead us to try to safeguard both, in the medium and long-term, where the main threats may come from both the risk of extinction and trivialisation due to overexploitation. This research has sought to recognise these cultural capital profiles and to explain their relationship with regional economic disparities in Peru. It can also serve as inspiration for public policies to protect and promote cultural heritage, whilst remaining aware that heritage is a key driver of economic growth when it produces market goods and services under entrepreneurial initiatives. However, this does not underestimate the need to also protect less profitable cultural heritage, since in essence it constitutes inalienable wealth, which is in danger of disappearing. The same risk can also arise from the overexploitation of the most attractive resources, i.e., their trivialisation. This is why public policies must consider this dual profile of cultural capital, and this dual sense of sustainability. Cultural heritage that is at risk of extinction must be protected through documentation and registration standards as well as through a legal framework to safeguard it against the risk of loss, damage or deterioration. However, as much of this cultural heritage is intangible and ethnic in nature, support for the communities that keep it alive is crucial. Here, collective management of communal resources has proven to be more efficient than the market or public intervention. In addition, cultural policy must also address the risks of trivialisation and overexploitation of profitable cultural heritage. Controlling tourist flows through prices, tolls, and taxes does not seem to contain demand at very iconic sites. However, there is an opportunity to control supply by limiting the excessive increase in tourist accommodations and services, ensuring cultural identity standards at heritage sites, and diversifying the cultural offer to avoid passive tourism and encourage active tourism.

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ANNEX

Table A1.
Set of primary variables to characterise cultural capital in Peru. 2019

Independent variables	Sources
Immovable historical heritage	Ministry of Culture of Peru - Geoportal.
Immovable archaeological heritage	Ministry of Culture of Peru - Geoportal.
Properties inscribed on the World Heritage List	UNESCO - World Heritage List.
Protected natural areas (National parks, reserves, sanctuaries and cultural landscapes)	Ministry of Environment of Peru - List of Natural Protected Areas.
Protected designation of origin	National Institute for the Defence of Competition and Protection of Intellectual Property (INDECOPI). Interactive map of collective marks.
Collective marks	
Registered movable cultural goods	Ministry of Culture of Peru - National Platform of Open Data.
Gastronomy awards/ performances	The Complete List of Mistura Restaurants.
Typical dishes, drinks and sweets registered	Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism of Peru - Map of the location of tourism resources and rural community-based tourism enterprises.
Carnivals	
Patron saint religious festivities	
Festivals and fairs	
Manifestations of intangible cultural heritage (traditional ceremonies, rites and festivities)	Ministry of Culture of Peru - Statistical Information Platform of the Cultural Sector.
Languages	Ministry of Culture of Peru - Map of Indigenous Peoples of Peru.
Presence of indigenous or native peoples	Ministry of Culture of Peru - BDPI (Indigenous Peoples Database).
Indigenous peoples' localities	Ministry of Culture - Cultural Sector Statistical Information Platform.
Districts with Afro-Peruvian population.	Ministry of Culture of Peru - Vice-Ministry of Interculturality.
Museums	Inter-American Development Bank and Ministry of Culture of Peru- Atlas of Infrastructure and Cultural Heritage of the Americas - Peru
Theatres and scenic and musical venues	
Municipal public libraries	National Library of Peru - National System of Libraries.

(*Continued*)

Independent variables	Sources
Cultural centres	Inter-American Development Bank and Ministry of Culture of Peru- Atlas of infrastructure and cultural heritage of the Americas -Peru.
Archives	
Bookstores	
Publishers	
Cinemas	
Radio stations	
Television stations	
Creative cities	UNESCO - List of the creative cities of Peru.
Economic incentives for culture	Ministry of Culture -List of economic stimuli for culture, 2019.
Universities	Superintendencia Nacional de Educación Superior Universitaria
Cultural and sports foundations	Ministry of Justice and Human Rights. National Directory of Cultural and Sports Foundations of Peru.
Culture Points. Community non-profit entities for art and culture	Ministry of Culture - Statistical information platform for the cultural sector.
Safety/crime	National Institute of Statistics and Computing (INEI) - Statistics on crime reports by department.
Population with higher education (%)	Inter-American Development Bank and Ministry of Culture of Peru- Atlas of Infrastructure and Cultural Heritage of the Americas - Peru
Literate population (%)	

Table A2.
Factor scores ICC scores, GDP and population by regions of Peru

Regions	FAC1	FAC2	FAC3	ICC	GDP	Population
Amazonas	-0.36633	-0.34906	0.26897	-1.2606275	3,169	379,384
Áncash	-0.10934	1.26882	-0.48335	1.06303418	20,059	1,083,519
Apurímac	-0.60635	0.99521	-0.51361	-0.9859791	7,170	405,759
Arequipa	0.25491	0.3079	-0.60008	0.26894933	31,404	1,382,730
Ayacucho	-0.38025	0.62417	-0.25342	-0.4979494	5,932	616,176
Cajamarca	-0.12242	0.8198	-0.31807	0.51917302	11,480	1,341,012
Cusco	0.08276	1.99014	1.33146	6.10059833	22,007	1,205,527
Huancavelica	-0.62146	0.73695	-0.39044	-1.2726532	3,528	347,639
Huánuco	-0.41444	0.34574	0.07538	-0.5182153	6,081	721,047
Ica	-0.08163	-0.71941	-0.65776	-2.6716831	17,656	850,765
Junín	0.13417	1.33505	0.29071	3.27672275	15,330	1,246,038
La Libertad	0.21369	0.26335	-0.67443	-0.0654278	22,637	1,778,080
Lambayeque	-0.11215	-0.2823	-0.56919	-1.8369886	12,114	1,197,260
Lima	4.67467	-0.28606	-0.08638	13.5691033	218,040	9,485,405
Loreto	-0.13024	-0.72632	3.97342	5.2786933	9,336	883,510
Madre de Dios	-0.31037	-1.45751	0.17538	-3.2130876	2,125	141,070
Moquegua	-0.35706	-0.80124	-0.52329	-3.4189834	8,417	174,863
Pasco	-0.38975	-0.59411	-0.08895	-2.3917717	5,444	254,065
Piura	0.07584	0.5885	-0.40059	0.569246	20,626	1,856,809
Prov. Const. del Callao	-0.24602	-1.60483	-0.7991	-4.9841949	22,458	994,494
Puno	-0.15613	1.466	0.29267	2.62813246	9,804	1,172,697
San Martín	-0.21314	-0.45436	-0.01297	-1.474285	6,081	813,381
Tacna	-0.21707	-1.02757	-0.66526	-3.641568	8,737	329,332
Tumbes	-0.34726	-1.1383	-0.69665	-4.2884158	2,920	224,863
Ucayali	-0.25463	-1.30055	1.32556	-0.7517871	4,625	496,459

Note. GDP in Millions of Soles in 2019. Population in 2019.

ARTÍCULO

URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE LIBERDADE JAPANESE NEIGHBOURHOOD AND THE CONFLUENCE OF EVENTS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF NIPPONOPHILIC CAPITAL IN SÃO PAULO

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This study analyses the urban and cultural transformation of São Paulo and its Liberdade neighborhood—home to the largest Japanese diaspora—through public policies and Japan-themed events such as Tanabata Matsuri, Anime Friends, and the Festival do Japão. It introduces the concept of Nipponophilic capital, integrating Bourdieu's forms of capital with theories of Disneyfication, tactics, and memory spaces. Drawing on literature review, fieldwork, and photographic analysis, the article examines how Japanese pop culture, tourism, and gentrification reshape Liberdade, highlighting its central role in São Paulo's identity and economy, positioning it as the main Japanese hub in the Americas and reinforcing its global image aligned with Japan's branding while revealing underlying tensions.

Keywords: Japanese pop culture; themed spaces; cultural events; urban intervention; symbolic economy.
JEL: O54, Z10, Z30, Z32.

Regis, R. D. D., & Ferreira, J. C. V. (2025). Las transformaciones urbanas en el barrio japonés de Liberdade y la confluencia de acontecimientos en la construcción del capital nipponófilo en São Paulo. *Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1275-1330.

Este estudio analiza la transformación urbana y cultural de São Paulo y su barrio de Liberdade —hogar de la mayor diáspora japonesa— a través de políticas públicas y eventos de temática japonesa como el Tanabata Matsuri, el Anime Friends y el Festival do Japão. Introduce el concepto de capital nipofílico, integrando las formas de capital de Bourdieu con las teorías de la disneyficación, las tácticas y los espacios de memoria. Basándose en la revisión de la literatura, el trabajo de campo y el análisis fotográfico, el artículo examina cómo la cultura pop japonesa, el turismo y la gentrificación están remodelando Liberdade, destacando su papel central en la identidad y la economía de São Paulo, posicionándolo como el principal centro japonés en América y reforzando su imagen global alineada con la marca de Japón, al tiempo que revela las tensiones subyacentes.

Palabras clave: cultura pop japonesa; espacios temáticos; eventos culturales; intervención urbana; economía simbólica.
JEL: O54, Z10, Z30, Z32.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past two decades, there has been a significant increase in the global circulation of Japanese pop culture products and symbols, such as anime, manga, video games, cuisine, and visual aesthetics. This phenomenon is part of what scholars and Japanese policymakers have termed Cool Japan, a state-led strategy aimed at promoting Japan's cultural assets as vectors of geopolitical, economic, and symbolic influence (Condry, 2013; Galbraith, 2019; Japan's Intellectual Property Strategy Headquarters, 2024; Tamaki, 2019). In the Latin American context, Brazil —and more specifically the city of São Paulo— plays a central role in this process, not only because it is home to the largest Nikkei (Japanese descendent) community outside Japan (MOFA, 2023), but also because it has fostered an urban ecosystem conducive to the reception and local reconfiguration of these cultural expressions. Within this context, the Liberdade neighbourhood stands out as a key symbolic space for the consumption and thematisation of Japanese culture (Barone, 2021; Bocci, 2009; Nakagawa et al., 2011; Sakurai & Coelho, 2008).

This article examines the symbolic, urban, and economic mechanisms that frame the Liberdade neighbourhood as a themed territory associated with Japanese culture. Drawing from the intersection of urban anthropology, the symbolic economy, and cultural studies, it is argued that Liberdade cannot be understood merely as a traditional ethnic enclave, but rather as a space aesthetically and discursively reconstructed—one in which various forms of cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital are activated, negotiated, and instrumentalised. To address this complexity, the article adopts the concept of Nipponophilic capital as its analytical axis —a hybrid form of economic, social, symbolic, and cultural capital accumulated by individuals, organisations, and territories that associate themselves—legitimately or strategically —with Japanese culture, its aesthetics, and values, leveraging the recent global ascent of the "Japan" brand and its corresponding pop culture (Brand Finance, 2023; Ipsos, 2022).

Methodologically, this study combines a narrative literature review with empirical observation and documentary analysis. Three annual events held in São Paulo were selected for their distinct ways of mobilising imaginaries regarding Japanese culture: Anime Friends, Tanabata Matsuri, and the Festival do Japão (Japan's Festival). The research draws on tourism and economic impact data produced by São Paulo Turismo (SPTuris), the municipal agency responsible for promoting tourism and events in the city. These data were complemented by fieldwork involving participant observation and photographic documentation of cultural practices. Nonetheless, several methodological limitations are acknowledged: the reliance on secondary data from public and private institutions with irregular collection intervals, the small number of events analysed, and the brief duration of field observation, limited to four days due to logistical constraints. Even so, the combination of methods and qualitative analysis enables the identification of relevant trends concerning urban thematisation (Gottdiener, 2001) and the circulation of symbolic capital in São Paulo, which are giving rise to increasingly intense urban interventions.

In addition, the article seeks to engage critically with the debate on cultural clusters and the creative economy. Although Liberdade is frequently promoted as a cultural and ethnic hub and tourist destination in the city, its configuration does not meet the technical criteria to be classified as a cultural or creative cluster, as defined by Mommaas (2004), Stern and Seifert (2010), Coll-Martínez et al. (2019), and Liu et al. (2022). The neighbourhood is not included in the official "Creative District Sé/República" programme, despite the presence of cultural artifacts. These are not embedded in a formalised network geared towards endogenous cultural production, nor are there publicly available indicators demonstrating public or governmental interest in such a designation (Moretini, 2023). Instead, Liberdade functions as a themed and highly aestheticised consumption territory, whose image is extensively leveraged by both public and private actors as a commercial and touristic asset. The concept of Nipponophile capital is therefore proposed as an innovative analytical tool for interpreting this specificity.

Finally, the article outlines how Liberdade differs from other Japantowns (Japanese ethnic neighbourhoods) across the Americas, most of which are undergoing processes of erasure and/or displacement of Nikkei populations and their cultural traces, as seen in Los Angeles and San Francisco (Curwen, 2024; Jenks, 2008; Oda, 2012; Oda, 2014), or have become largely faded, as in the cases of Lima and Sacramento (Flores, 2005; Miyashiro Salas, 2019; Torres, 2022; Wildie, 2013).

In this regard, examining the Liberdade neighbourhood in São Paulo through the lens of Japanese cultural dissemination fills an important gap in the literature on ethnicity, urban culture, and the symbolic economy. Liberdade's case challenges the erasure trends observed in other Japantowns, offering an analytical opportunity to understand how Nipponophile capital can be mobilised as a resource for urban branding, territorial identity formation, marketing, and the economy of thematisation.

METHODOLOGY

This analysis was developed using an interdisciplinary theoretical framework, encompassing fields such as human geography, urban studies, cultural studies, political economy, and tourism. This theoretical repertoire was constructed through a narrative literature review (Onwuegbuzie & Frels, 2016) of scholarly articles, news reports, government documents, and private sector publications, supported by the authors' experience regarding the topics addressed —particularly within the field of East Asian studies— as well as a cultural photographic study conducted in the field to evoke memories related to the interventions, impacts, and dimensions of the events (Pereira & Nascimento, 2020).

Based on this theoretical construct, three events were selected according to criteria such as the number of participants, temporal alignment, and touristic relevance grounded in symbolic and economic values associated with Japan: (i) Tanabata Matsuri, (ii) Anime Friends, and (iii) Festival do Japão. Although other events with strong pop culture appeal — both Western and Japanese — are held in São Paulo around the same period (such as Gamescom Latam, Retrocon, and Perifacon), their scales and cultural specificities differ significantly. The selected festivals focus explicitly on Japanese culture, each drawing more than 100,000 attendees per edition, and are consistently held during the month of July (Festival do Japão, 2023a; Portal Nippon Já, 2023; SPTuris, 2022a; SPTuris, 2022b; Yizima, 2023).

With that in mind, the fieldwork aimed to observe, document, and interpret the symbolic and material transformations of São Paulo's urban space during these large-scale cultural events centred on Japanese themes. The in-person portion of the field research was conducted between July 13 and 16, 2023, coinciding with the Anime Friends and Tanabata Matsuri festivals. The Festival do Japão was monitored remotely due to logistical constraints. When comparing the three events, the Festival do Japão presents the most conventional format, resembling that of a trade fair, where exhibitor organisations showcase their products alongside cultural performances aligned with the event's objectives. It is not a street festival nor is it designed to cater to a specific profile of visitor or consumer, and it is not held in an urban public space.

The fieldwork activities included:

- Systematic photographic documentation of urban and thematic interventions;
- Direct observation of audience behaviour, spatial appropriation, and the symbolic density of the environment;
- Field diary notes capturing qualitative impressions of the physical setting, cultural expressions, interactions among key stakeholders (merchants, associations, sponsors, public institutions), and crowd dynamics;
- Informal mapping of institutional presence, including actions undertaken by public authorities and private partners.

To guide the observation process, a structured protocol was developed based on five analytical dimensions: (i) aesthetic and architectural characteristics, (ii) material and symbolic uses of space, (iii) forms of capital mobilised (economic, cultural, social, and symbolic), (iv) cultural practices specific to each event, and (v) spatial markers of Japanese identity.

The materials collected were subsequently analysed in dialogue with the theoretical framework mobilised in the article —particularly the concepts of economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital in Bourdieu (1986, 1989), the Disneyfication of space in Harvey (2005), strategy and tactics in Certeau (1998), and lieu de mémoire (memory space) in Nora (1993)— with the aim of identifying how cultural events influence urban identity, the symbolic value of territory, and place-making processes.

As for the limitations of the methodological approach employed in this study, the short duration of in-person fieldwork (four days) is acknowledged. Additionally, the limited number of events analysed (n = 3) constrains the ability to draw broader inferences from a macroeconomic perspective on São Paulo's event tourism sector. Nevertheless, the objective of this research is not to establish statistical causal relationships, but rather to offer an exploratory interpretation of the role of cultural events in shaping a distinctive urban symbolic economy in São Paulo, which, notably, is transforming the city's branding and its corresponding tourism promotion strategy.

On the other hand, the quantitative data analysed in this study were drawn from documents provided by public agencies responsible for tourism in the city of São Paulo (SPTuris) and by private organisations. In particular, secondary data were used from in-person surveys conducted by SPTuris in 2022 with 1,210 respondents at the Festival do Japão and 1,222 respondents at Anime Friends. These surveys were administered randomly and include indicators such as consumer behaviour, visitor profiles, and satisfaction levels. While these data provide valuable insights, a significant methodological limitation lies in the absence of historical series, as the municipal government did not conduct comparable surveys in previous or subsequent years.

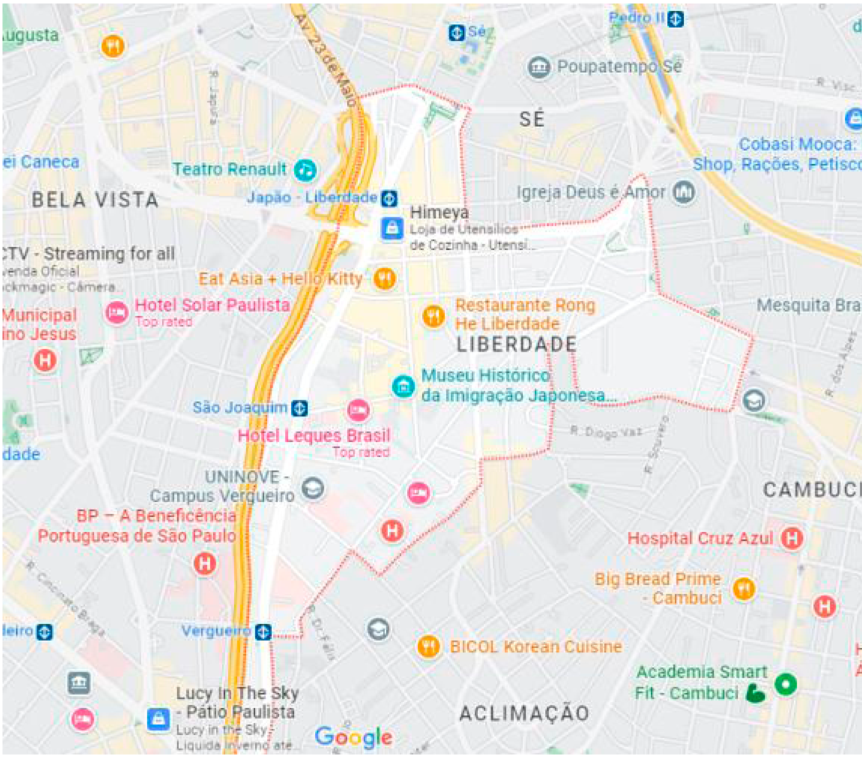
LIBERDADE AS A JAPANESE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Initially, it is essential to territorially delineate the social space that constitutes the Liberdade neighbourhood, as indicated in Figure 1, with particular emphasis on the metro station "Japão-Liberdade" (translated as "Japan-Liberdade") a controversial name change implemented in 2018 (Machado, 2018). This area is bounded by Praça João Mendes and Sé to the north, Avenida 23 de Maio to the west, the Cambuci neighbourhood to the east, and the Aclimação neighbourhood to the south.

Distinct from the Liberdade district —a much larger administrative area encompassing other neighbourhoods for municipal governance purposes— this study focuses specifically on the neighbourhood itself. It's within this smaller area that population flows and urban interventions occur, establishing its identity as the "Japanese neighbourhood".

Before Liberdade became recognised in its material spatial substrate as São Paulo's Japantown, this territory, until the early 20th century, was predominantly marked by a Black population. For instance, Liberdade was home to the headquarters of the Frente Negra Brasileira (Brazilian Black Front) and the newspaper A Voz da Raça, as well as the first samba school in São Paulo, Lavapés (Barone, 2021). In fact, this occupation dates to the colonial period, during which the area's slave history was gradually erased architecturally, leaving only a few structures, such as the

Figure 1.
Map of neighbourhood of Liberdade



Source: Google Maps. Accessed on July 20, 2023.

Church of Santa Cruz das Almas dos Enforcados and the Chapel of Nossa Senhora dos Aflitos (Figure 2), which are in permanent dispute with the Japanese thematic of the neighbourhood. This dispute can be observed in Figure 2, where the chapel's road (Rua dos Aflitos) contrasts with the more recent Japanese pop culture theme of Liberdade. This chapel marks the site of the former slave cemetery and is an important site of memory and heritage for Black Brazilians.

This concept of territory aligns with the framework outlined by Souza (2013), which identifies territorial configurations as being shaped by power relations — how domination or influence prioritises a specific social space. With public and private urban interventions in the second half of the 20th century and various waves of immigration, particularly Japanese, the neighbourhood's ethnic makeup transformed. This shift was driven not only by demographic changes but also by the establishment of an architectural ensemble that creates a landscape experienced sensorially as Japanese (Souza, 2013). Thus, Liberdade has become a key neighbourhood for the Japanese-Brazilian community (Barone, 2021; Bocci, 2009).

Figure 2.
Chapel of Nossa Senhora dos Aflitos with the Japanese lights at the front (left), entrance of Rua dos Aflitos, highlighting how the Japanese pop culture and themed Liberdade are downplaying the aspect of the historical chapel (right) (July 16, 2023)

It is important to highlight that Liberdade represents a rare case among the so-called "Japantowns" in the Americas, where Japanese cultural heritage has not only been preserved throughout the 20th century but has also been continuously reinforced in the 21st century. The neighbourhood maintains an active circulation of audiences, practices, and events that renew its symbolic Japanese identity, even as this dynamism is shaped by political disputes, commodification, and urban tensions. Despite its contradictions, this symbolic and economic vitality is one of the key reasons why the São Paulo city government has been promoting the city as the "Japanese hub of the Americas" —a strategic positioning that sets it apart from other contexts across the continent.

In particular, following the end of large-scale migratory flows from Japan, many Japantowns across the Americas have experienced processes of decline or reconfiguration. Key contributing factors include historical erasure, political persecution, the loss of Nikkei population density, urban de-characterisation, and gentrification —phenomena that, to varying degrees, have dispersed ethnic communities and weakened the cultural role of these neighbourhoods.

This is exemplified by the Japantowns of San Francisco and Los Angeles, which endured intense government repression during the 1940s and 1950s, in the context of and following World War II, including forced removals, internment, and property confiscation. Today, both these neighbourhoods face intense real estate speculation, contributing to the ongoing closure of traditional establishments and the erosion of their historical and cultural memory (Jenks, 2008; Oda, 2012; Oda, 2014). In the 2000 census, for example, only 11% of residents in San Francisco's Japantown identified as ethnically Japanese, while the neighbouring Chinatown retained a population that was approximately 90% of Chinese origin (Oda, 2012). Since the 1990s, campaigns such as "Save Japantown" have attempted to counteract this cultural disappearance (Oda, 2012), culminating in the neighbourhood's designation in 2018 as one of San Francisco's creative districts. This designation aimed to support cultural preservation, urban renewal, and tourism promotion — though with limited impact (Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development, 2022; Palacios, 2024).

In Los Angeles, the Little Tokyo neighbourhood was included in 2024 on the National Trust for Historic Preservation's list of "America's 11 Most Endangered Historic Places," after recording the closure of more than 50 historic businesses between 2008 and 2023 (Curwen, 2024; Higashiyama, 2025). In response, community organisations have been developing resistance strategies —such as affordable housing projects, heritage preservation funds, and cultural promotion initiatives— though these efforts face significant structural limitations (Johnston, 2024). Despite the ongoing processes of erasure, demolition, and gentrification, the area remains one of Los Angeles' leading tourist destinations, attracting over 10 million visitors annually, and has increasingly turned to contemporary Japanese pop culture in an attempt of symbolic and economic revitalisation (Johnston, 2024).

Other contexts reveal an even more severe process of erasure. In Lima, the former Japantown in the Barrios Altos district was subjected to state policies of repression, expulsion, and denial of citizenship between the 1930s and 1950s, which led to the dispersal of the Japanese-Peruvian community and secondary migrations to the United States and Japan (Flores, 2005; Miyashiro Salas, 2019; Torres, 2022). Similarly, Sacramento's Japantown, located in the capital of California, was entirely dismantled in the postwar period due to racial tensions and exclusionary urban planning (Wildie, 2013).

In light of these examples, the trajectory of São Paulo's Liberdade neighbourhood stands out as a significant exception. In contrast to the cultural erosion observed in many other Nikkei enclaves across the Americas, Liberdade underwent a process of symbolic thematisation that transformed it into a cultural reference point for Japanese identity nationally. This transformation was neither immediate nor spontaneous. Between the 1950s and 1970s, Liberdade was regarded by local authorities merely as an ethnic commercial centre, receiving little political attention or structural investment —unlike the persecution experienced by other Japantowns in the Americas. The transformation of this social space began in 1974, when the

Liberdade Merchants Association (ACAL) —formed primarily by Japanese-Brazilians— collaborated with the São Paulo City Hall to implement the so-called "Plan for the Orientalisation of Liberdade" (Bocci, 2009). The objective was clear: to reconfigure the neighbourhood visually and symbolically as a "Little Tokyo" or officially recognised Japantown through the adoption of architectural elements, themed signage, and incentives for cultural tourism.

Following these reforms, Liberdade became consolidated in the city's collective imagination as São Paulo's primary Japanese space, crystallising a symbolic transformation that had begun in the 1940s with the growing institutional and commercial presence of the Japanese Brazilian community in the area. Therefore, unlike other Japantowns that underwent processes of erasure, persecution, community fragmentation, or symbolic reconfiguration, the Liberdade neighbourhood emerged as a unique case of continuity and expansion.

Figure 3.
Osaka City Torii Overpass (left), and facade of shops characterised architecturally as Japanese (right) – (July 16, 2023)

Source: Authors, Magalhães (2021), Mendes (2023).

In this context of symbolic transformation and urban thematisation, various interventions have been carried out from the 1970s to the present day, including the installation of Japanese-style lanterns replacing traditional streetlights, the placement of Japanese heraldry, and the construction of the Torii gate on Viaduto Cidade de Osaka, which has become a city landmark, as illustrated in Figure 3 (Barone, 2021; Bocci, 2009; Nakagawa et al., 2011). These transformations of the material spatial substrate (Souza, 2013) —understood here as substantive and positional changes rationally designed to alter the spatial configuration— include elements such as Livraria Sol (Sol Bookshop), the Japanese Immigration Museum, Praça da Liberdade (Liberdade Square), the Ginza Hotel/Condominium (named after a Tokyo neighbourhood), and the Oriental Garden. Collectively, these features further cement Liberdade as the territory described above.

In 2008, to commemorate the centenary of Japanese immigration to Brazil, the São Paulo municipal government launched the "Emperor's Path" project (Nakagawa et al., 2011). This project included renovations to the neighbourhood's public walkways and green spaces, the installation of additional Japanese Torii gates, and, most notably, the refurbishment of building and storefront façades to adopt a more distinctly "Japanese" character. The project was sponsored by Bradesco Bank, which even redesigned its own façade, as illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4.
Bradesco Bank in Liberdade: Before (2004) and After (2011)

Source: Nakagawa et al. (2011) and Du@rt (2011).

All these interventions have consolidated the perception and memory among São Paulo residents and Brazilians that Liberdade is a territory under Japanese influence, endowing it with symbolic capital. As a thematic neighbourhood with a high influx of tourists, it has become one of the main attractions in the São Paulo City Tourist Guide, thereby boosting the economic capital circulating in the area, particularly in the service sector, while highlighting the cultural confluence between Brazil and Japan. This perception is embraced by local merchants, even those without Japanese origins, as the neighbourhood also hosts other ethnic presences. These merchants sell products associated with both "traditional" and "pop" Japanese culture and design their façades and storefronts with decorations that reinforce this collective imagination. These shops play a crucial role in shaping the neighbourhood's Nipponophilic identity (Santos & Cavenaghi, 2018; Santos, 2017).

In light of these elements, it is worth highlighting the critical analysis developed by Nakagawa et al. (2011), who introduce the concepts of orientalisation ("orientalização") and urban orientalness ("orientalidade") to explain the duality between the past and present of the Liberdade neighbourhood. According to the authors, orientalness represents the authentic cultural heritage built by Japanese immigrants and their descendants — including their businesses, traditions, and histories of resistance. In contrast, orientalisation refers to the more recent market-driven appropriation of this space (post-1974), in which cultural symbols and practices are re-signified as "made in Japan" commodities, detached from their original historical contexts and instrumentalised for economic purposes. A notable example highlighted by Nakagawa et al. (2011) is the torii located at the Cidade de Osaka overpass, depicted in Figure 3. In Japan, toriis are traditionally erected in sacred or religious sites, such as shrines, or in places marking the transition between the physical and spiritual realms. In Liberdade, however, they were constructed removed from their original spiritual context. Thus, this social space has increasingly been transformed into a stage for stereotyped and/or themed representations, where the indiscriminate reproduction of Japanese cultural icons often neglects the living memory of the Japanese Brazilian community that has fundamentally shaped the neighbourhood's identity.

Nakagawa et al. (2011) further emphasise that this process of orientalisation in Liberdade is not merely a matter of landscape transformation, but rather a complex phenomenon of cultural re-signification. The authors argue that the commodified appropriation of the Japanese imaginary gives rise to a form of "consumption Japan" — a superficial representation that privileges media-driven stereotypes (such as those found in anime and manga) at the expense of traditional cultural expressions maintained by the Japanese Brazilian community. This phenomenon has also been noted by Iwabuchi (2002), Condry (2013), Santos (2017), Diniz et al. (2022), and Ferreira et al. (2022), who point out that exported Japanese pop culture does not necessarily reflect the real Japan, but rather an artificial construct designed for mass consumption. This dynamic creates a persistent tension between, on the one hand, long-standing establishments from the 1940s to 1960s that preserve Nippon-centred cultural practices (such as stores selling tea ceremony utensils or bookstores specialising in Japanese literature), and, on the other hand, newer businesses that market a generic, decontextualised "Japaneseness" aimed at mass tourism. Interestingly, this process of orientalisation produces a paradox: while it consolidates the neighbourhood's image as a stronghold of Japanese culture, it simultaneously dilutes the most ancestral elements of that culture through its market-driven spectacularisation (Nakagawa et al., 2011).

The convergence of these processes has allowed for the establishment of a distinct "proper place" (Certeau, 1998), a site of enunciation where strategies—elaborations based on rational projections of the forces acting within a given field—are defined for sustained capitalisation. In this context, the concept of monopolistic rent of space (Harvey, 2005) becomes pertinent. This concept describes how certain social spaces gain exponential increments in their use value due to specific characteristics that make them particularly attractive for monetary activities. For this article, the notion holds particular relevance by emphasising that capital accumulation is not limited to the productive aspects of the economy but is also heavily influenced by the strategic control of space through the proper place. This phenomenon manifests in urban and regional areas that become centres of wealth accumulation due to their central location, access to natural resources, developed infrastructure, or concentration of economic activities crucial to this purpose (Harvey, 2005).

Another concept proposed by Harvey (2005) adopted in this article is "landmarks of distinction", which pertains to the material spatial substrate, specifically the built environment, with effects on modifying the possibilities of accruing economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capitals. This operation is shaped by concrete interventions in buildings with iconic characteristics, architectural developments, and gentrification policies. Such a space becomes aspirational, attracting demand not only for properties but also for a sense of belonging to a culturally and economically distinct collective, which becomes frequented and desired (Harvey, 2005). It is important to highlight that the concept of landmarks of distinction intersects with the concept of "places of memory" proposed by Nora (1993), activating the field of collective memory. In the process of reconfiguring the economic matrix of a social space, the strong inclusion of its symbolic elements also enhances local productive sectors by amplifying its use value through the collective memory that permeates the social space and the social relations established there (Ortiz, 1994).

Thus, the concept of symbolic economy, as discussed by Farias (2011), among others, represents a regime of practices where economy and culture act as structural and structuring elements of the dynamics of a public sphere capable of making values visible and rendering the invisible—emotions, affections, knowledge, and so on—tangible. This sphere is focused on the self-images of individuals, groups, and spaces in the exchange of information technologically made available. It allows for the construction of a systemic approach where the framework of information and communication, data, and indicators point to the robustness of certain productive forces, goods, and societal relations and hierarchies. This necessitates the formulation of public policies for tourism and creative economies, among others, to attract a variety of productive sectors that start with symbolic capital, projecting interventions in other social spaces beyond the place itself (in this case, the Liberdade neighbourhood).

Another aspect that involves the use of the space in question is the process of touristification of Liberdade as a Japanese-themed neighbourhood, which is already consolidated in the popular imagination and widely promoted. It is important to emphasise that the public administration of the city of São Paulo increasingly relies on the reproduction of this constructed fantasy of a cultural heritage that does indeed exist and was built by an immigrant ethnic community, but is also highly induced artificially (Cavenaghi, 2018; Santos, 2017). To recognise this process, we turn to Barreto (2007), who defines tourism, within the field of symbolic economy, as a product of such magnitude that presupposes the existence of a contingent of people, called tourists, who travel outside their usual place of residence for a period of time to enjoy a series of services that are typically not utilised in their daily existence. Given the impossibility demonstrated by Barreto (2007) of defining tourism through more rigid boundary conditions, the assertion presented allows us to think about this process in the Liberdade neighbourhood, even enabling the inclusion of the approach known as micro-tourism (Zhao, 2022). This theoretical extension places all external movement towards the neighbourhood under the category of tourism, aligning with the goals of the urban interventions promoted in this social space.

More specifically, given the concentration of interventions in the material spatial substrate of the Liberdade neighbourhood to thematise it as a Japanese neighbourhood, it is essential to incorporate into the theoretical framework of this work the concept of "Disneyfication" (Harvey, 2005), which refers to the transformation of urban spaces into highly thematic environments focused on entertainment, similar to Disney theme parks, creating spaces with strong appeal for consumption. Disneyfied areas ultimately become destinations, generating excessive demand for properties and infrastructure, which, in turn, reinforces the monopolistic rent of the space. This includes micro-tourism, where local residents begin to view the neighbourhood they live in through a touristified lens, distinguishing it from mere places for random strolls or visits (Barreto, 2007). Due to the strong appeal to consumption generated in these areas, Disneyfication reveals a standardised process of entertainment, experienced with rising income levels in relation to the time spent and the investment required for such standardised adjustments (Matusitz & Palermo, 2014). In a tourism context, these areas become particularly valuable due to the influx of visitors. The combination of demand for properties and the construction of landmarks of distinction in Disneyfied areas contributes to the creation of a gentrifying cycle (Gottdiener, 2001; Harvey, 2005), where low-income communities are displaced to make way for commercial and tourist activities. In the case of the Liberdade neighbourhood, the progressive displacement of the Black population occurred, but not without resistance, continually fueled by public and private agents interested in the gentrification process.

Additionally, despite its strong symbolic charge and visual association with Japanese culture, the Liberdade neighbourhood cannot be classified as a cultural cluster in the strict sense proposed by urban and cultural policy frameworks. The concept of a cultural cluster is grounded in the idea of economic and industrial clusters, which entails the geographic concentration of interconnected enterprises, educational institutions, and cultural actors within a shared social space — facilitating collaboration, innovation, and development in the cultural sector, as well as urban renewal in neglected areas and the stimulation of creative economy segments (Coll-Martínez et al., 2019; Fung & Erni, 2013; Liu et al., 2022; Mommaas, 2004; Stern & Seifert, 2010; Wang, 2012; White & Xu, 2012). The development of such cultural hubs typically involves government incentives, investments in specialised infrastructure, and the attraction of both local and international creative industries, fostering knowledge exchange and enhancing local cultural production.

The case of Liberdade also diverges significantly from models of culture-led urban regeneration. According to Chiu et al. (2019), Vassalli (2020), and Kanai and Ortega-Alcázar (2009), culture-led urban regeneration refers to the revitalisation of degraded urban areas through culture as a central axis, combining heritage preservation, economic dynamisation, and the activation of creative uses of space. This strategy often entails the adaptive reuse of underutilised historic buildings, transforming them into cultural and commercial hubs without completely stripping them of their original identity —though such efforts have been critiqued for their excessive commodification and limited community participation, as in the case of the Old House Cultural Movement in Taipei (Chiu et al., 2019).

This phenomenon, however, does not apply to the case of Liberdade in São Paulo. While culture-led urban regeneration typically arises in contexts of abandonment and decay, Liberdade has always maintained its status as a commercially active and densely populated neighbourhood. As such, recent interventions —such as orientalist thematisation, the installation of decorative elements (e.g., red lanterns), and the proliferation of pop culture tourism-oriented establishments— assume a performative rather than revitalising character. In this sense, what is occurring is not a process of regeneration, but rather the amplification of an existing thematic narrative, aimed at reinforcing tourism and consumption, with this connection not fully interconnected with the history and experience of the community residing there in the last decades (Nakagawa et al., 2011).

Moreover, the ongoing process in Liberdade cannot be fully compared to other urban renewal experiments in Latin America, such as Puerto Madero in Buenos Aires (Guevara, 2013), Monterrey (Rodríguez et al., 2020), or Medellín's culture parks (Franco, 2015), nor even to the aforementioned Japantown in San Francisco (Palacios, 2024). Unlike those cases, the transformation in Liberdade does not involve the revitalisation of degraded urban areas, preservation, the mitigation of urban violence, or the expansion of democratic access to cultural facilities and more equitable income distribution (Kanai & Ortega-Alcázar, 2009; Vassalli, 2020). Rather, it involves the thematisation and reinforcement of an already present cultural signifier in a neighbourhood that has been commercially vibrant and heavily frequented since the 1950s, with a robust and politically influential local merchants' association active since the 1970s (Bocci, 2009; Nakagawa et al., 2011). As such, the Liberdade case aligns more closely with the concept of Disneyfication (Harvey, 2005).

The most relevant parallel between these Latin American cases and the Liberdade neighbourhood lies in the promotion of tourism and the rebranding of neighbourhoods and cities resulting from these initiatives, which have helped reshape local urban imaginaries by replacing former identities with that of "creative cities" (Franco, 2015; Vassalli, 2020). However, in Liberdade's case, this transformation is largely confined to an associative branding strategy linking Japanese culture to the city of São Paulo. It therefore aligns more closely with the concept of cultural marketing (Ramírez, 2007), akin to the cases of historic immigrant-founded towns in Brazil that have undergone processes of thematisation for tourism purposes, such as Gramado, Penedo, and Holambra (Azambuja & Mecca, 2017; Fagerlande, 2014; Fagerlande, 2015).

Therefore, although the Liberdade neighbourhood fulfils some of the criteria associated with cultural clusters or culture-led urban regeneration —such as being a themed space, undergoing limited revitalisation, stimulating tourism, and containing cultural artifacts— it does not meet the requirements to be formally classified under either category. The absence of a coherent public policy aimed at integration, cultural mapping, and the promotion of local cultural production restricts the neighbourhood's function primarily to the commercial trade of goods and services, although it houses a significant amount of cultural equipment, such as one cinema (Cinema Sato) —specialised in East Asian films and commonly used as the venue for Japanese film premieres in Brazil; one museum (Historical Museum of Japanese Immigration in Brazil); three cultural centres (Centro Cultural São Paulo – CCSP, Centro Cultural Hiroshima do Brasil, and Espaço Cultural Bunkyo); one small public park (Jardim Oriental da Liberdade); four theatres (Teatro Liberdade, Teatro FECAP, Teatro Santo Agostinho, and the CCSP theatre); one major public square for events (Praça da Liberdade); and a new large-scale event venue currently under construction (Esplanada Oriental). Additionally, the neighbourhood is home to various educational and cultural businesses, including bookstores specialising in Japanese language and culture (Livraria Sol and Livraria Fonomag), as well as a range of Japanese language schools. That said, public interventions to date have largely focused on thematising the neighbourhood, strengthening the city's branding, promoting street-level commerce, and developing tourist attractions —positioning Liberdade as a centre for cultural consumption and themed tourism, rather than as an integrated cultural production ecosystem.

In addition to all the considerations previously discussed, it is also important to note that the Liberdade neighbourhood has not been designated by the São Paulo city government as eligible to be classified as a district of cultural and creative production under the "Creative District" programme. This initiative is part of the city's 2014 Strategic Master Plan, which aims to recognise and support areas with a high density of cultural producers, creative entrepreneurs, and cultural infrastructure (Moretini, 2023).

However, it is necessary to understand how the São Paulo municipal government defines "Creative Districts" and "Creative Economy Hubs." In the Strategic Master Plan of the Municipality of São Paulo (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2014), the formation of Creative Economy Hubs is framed as part of a broader project to "expand the protection, articulation, and revitalisation of cultural, affective, and symbolic spaces of great importance to the memory, identity, and cultural life of São Paulo's residents" (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2014, p. 103). In this document, creative hubs are described as:

> (...) territories designated for the promotion and development of economic activities that constitute the creative economy, understood as the cycle of creation, production, and distribution of tangible or intangible goods and services that use creativity, skill, and the talent of individuals or groups as primary inputs. These are knowledge-based economic activities capable of generating wealth, creating employment, and distributing income. (Author's translation).

In this plan, only one creative hub is formally outlined, encompassing the neighbourhoods of Sé and República, explicitly excluding the Liberdade neighbourhood. The implementation of this hub has been fraught with a series of challenges, which are thoroughly examined by Moretini (2023). At no point in the plan —not even within the sections concerning cultural policy —is Liberdade mentioned. Furthermore, the document that outlines the intermediate revision of the Strategic Master Plan of the Municipality of São Paulo (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2023) makes no reference to creative hubs or to the Liberdade neighbourhood whatsoever.

In the case of the Municipal Cultural Plan of São Paulo (SMC, 2016), it adopts a different perspective, acknowledging the pre-existence of creative territories (p. 223), which are:

> "Neighbourhoods, cities, or regions that possess creative cultural potential capable of promoting integral and sustainable development by combining the preservation and promotion of their cultural and environmental values." (Author's translation).

We consider this conceptualisation to be shallow, particularly given that it is part of a sector-specific cultural plan, thereby reinforcing our hypothesis that the municipal government lacks effective planning for any constructed social space within the domain of the creative economy. Once again, the Liberdade neighbourhood is not mentioned at any point.

Finally, in the Municipal Economic Development Plan (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2022), there are only brief references to the project for the formation of cultural districts (a term that has replaced the earlier "creative hubs" [*polos criativos*]), understood as part of a strategy to implement "an effective territorial economic activation policy, with the targeted identification of sectors and territories that already present potentialities" (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2022, p. 132). However, the plan lacks further elaboration on which specific spaces would undergo such transformation, as well as the criteria and procedures for implementation. It is worth noting that this plan does propose an increase in the number of cultural districts to be established —from one in the Strategic Master Plan of the Municipality of São Paulo (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2014) to four— but without specifying where or how these districts would be configured.

Based on the work of Moretini (2023), it is understood that the Liberdade neighbourhood was neither mentioned nor considered by policymakers as a potential candidate for designation as a Creative District. This exclusion is attributed both to a lack of public sector interest —given that the possibility was not brought to public consultation— and to the limited official criteria established by the São Paulo city government, which prioritised the urban revitalisation of degraded areas already containing numerous active or deactivated cultural assets. Furthermore, Liberdade does not meet the parameters of this programme, as it is already a densely populated neighbourhood with substantial existing infrastructure, active cultural institutions, and a strong commercial profile. From the perspective of municipal authorities, Liberdade is perceived more as a tourist attraction and commercial zone than as a cultural production hub.

It can thus be affirmed that successive municipal administrations in São Paulo have shown little interest in mapping and officially establishing creative and cultural spaces across the city, or in fostering large-scale cultural production. In fact, there exists a cultural informational vacuum not only in Liberdade but throughout São Paulo when it comes to urban cultural spaces. Current initiatives are limited in scope, such as the Creative District programme, which was applied only in the Sé and República neighbourhoods and yielded unsatisfactory outcomes in terms of urban renewal, despite the relocation of cultural agents and producers to these areas (Moretini, 2023).

Crucial data —such as the number of cultural agents including artists, educators, and cultural producers by neighbourhood, which could serve as a basis for calculating the Cultural Asset Index (CAI), a key indicator of a region's cultural vitality (Stern & Seifert, 2010)— are entirely lacking for Liberdade. Such data have been partially mapped only for the Sé and República neighbourhoods, not for the city of São Paulo as a whole. Consequently, under the current conditions, it is not possible to draw any data-driven inferences regarding Liberdade's cultural infrastructure due to the absence of reliable quantitative information.

This lack of information and absence of successful case studies has resulted in São Paulo being excluded from the list of Brazilian Creative Cities recognised by UNESCO —unlike Brasília, Curitiba, Fortaleza, Belém, Paraty, Florianópolis, Belo Horizonte, João Pessoa, Campina Grande, Santos, Salvador, Recife, and Rio de Janeiro. In São Paulo, cultural interventions have been largely limited to the construction and renovation of cultural facilities that are disconnected from one another and from the socio-cultural realities of their respective neighbourhoods, as well as to changes in zoning regulations and urban building codes (Moretini, 2023). This distinction is critical to understanding the limitations of São Paulo's position within the symbolic economy. While it is a space marked by aestheticisation and commodification, it is not structurally integrated into broader networks of creative labour, cultural policy, or long-term development, despite its latent potential for such integration.

Therefore, in the end, rather than functioning as a living ecosystem of artistic production, the Liberdade neighbourhood primarily operates as a themed commercial and tourist zone, where symbols of Japanese culture and its Nikkei community are mobilised for purposes of spectacle, consumption, and marketing.

RISE OF RECENT JAPANESE POP CULTURE AND ITS SPECIALISATION IN THE CITY OF SÃO PAULO

Japanese pop culture (J-Pop, manga, anime, VTubers, and games, among other products supported technologically by digital devices) began to be widely exported to the West from the 1990s onwards (Diniz et al., 2022; Ferreira et al., 2022; Iwabuchi, 2002; Regis et al., 2024), creating a new and distinct Western fan culture derived from Japan's otaku fan culture. This shift is reflected in the transformation of the symbolic capital associated with the consumption of this fan culture. In Japan, the term "otaku" originally refers to individuals deeply immersed in their hobbies, such as anime, games, and manga. In the West, however, the symbolic capital of this identity has evolved to denote simply a fan and consumer of Japanese pop culture (Azuma, 2009; Condry, 2013; Diniz et al., 2022; Ferreira et al., 2022, Galbraith, 2019; Iwabuchi, 2002; Regis et al., 2024; Santos, 2017). In Brazil, this fan culture has been reinterpreted, giving rise to a socially dynamic otaku culture in both physical and digital social spaces, which are distinct from its original Japanese counterpart (Monte, 2024; Santos, 2017). In particular, in the physical realm, the Liberdade neighbourhood has become the locus of socialisation and belonging for individuals connected to otaku culture in Brazil.

In this commercial and consumer context, Liberdade has emerged as a Latin American reference point for official and unofficial Japanese pop culture products, as illustrated in Figure 5. A significant influx of people visits the neighbourhood to socialise within their otaku tribes, shop for a variety of items, and seek Japanese cultural entertainment, making it a space for gathering, consumption, and socialisation. Throughout the year, this movement of people and consumption remains steady. However, during June and July, this flow intensifies due to the occurrence of major events, in terms of audience size, related to Japanese culture. Even when these events are not directly hosted in Liberdade, the neighbourhood experiences an increase in visitor activity as it becomes incorporated into tourist itineraries, regardless of their scale.

Figure 5.
Japanese pop culture products for sale in Liberdade: Dakimakuras (character body pillows) (left), and action figures (right) – (July 16, 2023)

To illustrate the commercial and consumer capacity of this expanding system, which began establishing itself as a symbolic economic framework in the early 21st century, by 2005, the revenue generated through licensing and marketing characters across other media and products (such as games, cosmetics, toys, art, action figures, and more) was ten times greater than that from the serialisation of anime itself (Condry, 2013), and this logic is currently being further reinforced by the increasing implementation of new products targeting otaku consumers, as well as by the growing use of UGC (User Generated Content) strategies surrounding their favourite franchises (Regis *et al*, 2024), which takes advantage of fans' need for more narratives and cultural media to consume a variety of their favourite works, creating a participatory culture in which fans generate much of this unofficial parallel content derived from the original Japanese media, stimulating strong emotional connections with the media and its characters (Azuma, 2009; Diniz et al*.,* 2022; Galbraith, 2019; Regis et al*.,* 2024).

Thus, when it comes to street commerce, the Liberdade neighbourhood has seen notable growth in the opening of new franchises and stores specialising in products and experiences linked to Japanese pop culture. This trend includes both major retail chains specialising in anime-related merchandise, such as Akiba Station, which operates two locations in the neighbourhood, one of them spread across three floors, and official Japanese franchises that have chosen Liberdade as either their unique location in the Americas or their point of entry into the continent. Notable examples include the themed restaurants East Asia Hello Kitty and

Hello Kitty and Friends 2D, the only official Hello Kitty establishments in Latin America (Maria, 2023); the Cardcaptor Sakura Café, the only official venue dedicated to the franchise outside Japan (Garcia, 2025); and the Maid Café Chest of Wonders, which replicates the aesthetic and service style of Akihabara's maid cafés in Tokyo (Macedo, 2022), with Akihabara being recognised as the epicentre of Japanese otaku culture (Galbraith, 2019), explaining the inspiration of these stores. International franchises have also adapted to the neighbourhood's unique cultural landscape, as in the case of Liberdade's McDonald's (CNN Brasil, 2023a). These establishments and their themed designs are illustrated in Figure 6.

Figure 6.
Restaurant Hello Kitty and Friends 2d, (b) Restaurant East Asia Hello Kitty, (c) Maid Café Chest of Wonders, (d) McDonald's Liberdade, (e) otaku culture store Akiba Station, (f) Café Cardcaptor Sakura

Source: (a) Maria (2023), (b) Authors (July 16, 2023), (c) Chestmaids (2024), (d) CNN Brasil (2023a), (e) Akiba Station (n/d), (f) Garcia (2025) and Anjos (2025).

These initiatives reveal the strong influence of Akihabara on Liberdade, through the importation of practices, aesthetics, and experiences that contribute to the increasing thematisation of the urban space —bringing it closer to the logic of Disneyfication (Harvey, 2005). It is also noteworthy that some of these franchises actively participate in the three events analysed in this study, thereby strengthening their ties to the neighbourhood's cultural and commercial ecosystem.

Analysing Japanese exports, in 2014, licensing and character merchandising revenues were 450% higher than revenues from animation licensing and distribution—$900 million compared to $200 million, respectively (METI, 2016). Domestically, in 2021, the top 100 characters in official merchandise generated total revenue of ¥663.1 billion ($4.42 billion), while combined revenue from anime distribution across streaming platforms (¥154.3 billion or $1.03 billion), physical media (¥66.2 billion or $0.44 billion), cinema (¥60.2 billion or $0.40 billion), and television (¥90.6 billion or $0.60 billion) totalled ¥371.6 billion ($2.47 billion) (AJA, 2023). In other words, revenue from merchandise tied to the most popular characters was 78% higher than revenue from the serialisation of the animation itself. Other recent data indicated that more than 50% of all Netflix users in the world watch Japanese anime regularly, with the platform investing more in licensing, production, localisation (dubbing) and distribution for more countries, including Brazil (Brzeski, 2025). Recently Disney announced at Anime Friends 2025 that they are investing in more anime for their catalogues in Brazil too, being the first time Disney is represented in the major anime event in Brazil (Pontes, 2025). These actions are in concordance with the information that was highlighted by Urbano and Araujo (2021) and Monte (2024), namely that the streaming services were essential to popularisation and massification of anime and Japanese pop culture in Brazil in the last 10 years, contributing to new cultural references for the youth.

Finally, further evidence of São Paulo's growing status as a consumer hub and event centre for Japanese pop culture is the increasingly frequent presence of major J-pop (Japanese pop) and J-rock (Japanese rock) concerts in the city over the past three years. Japanese bands and artists such as RADWIMPS, Babymetal, One Ok Rock, Flow, Sabbat, Acid Mothers Temple, and more recently the singer Ado have either performed or announced performances in São Paulo between 2023 and 2025 alone —a remarkable influx of Japanese artists that was rare in the previous decade, when appearances were sporadic at best.

It is worth noting that the international success of J-pop has been explicitly incorporated as an official objective in the most recent development plan of the Japanese government's Cool Japan policy (Japan's Intellectual Property Strategy Headquarters, 2024), framing this phenomenon as part of a broader, integrated soft power strategy. Another relevant point is that many of these concerts are sponsored and organised by the anime streaming platform Crunchyroll, which has partnered on performances such as those by RADWIMPS and Ado (Figure 7) (Crunchyroll, 2024a; Crunchyroll, 2024b). This reinforces the indication of a strong alliance between global streaming companies and Japanese media and music industries in advancing this form of musical consumption in Brazil.

Figure 7.
Big shows of Japanese J-pop and J-rock artists in São Paulo between 2024 and 2025: Babymetal in 2024 (at left), RADWIMPS in 2024 (at centre), and Ado in 2025 (at right)

Source: EAlessan (2024); Bunkyo (2024); Crunchyroll (2024b).

THE STRENGTH OF EVENTS IN THE DIRECT AND INDIRECT TRANSFORMATIONS OF SOCIAL SPACE IN SÃO PAULO

Events function as strategic devices in the production of symbolic, cultural, and territorial value in contemporary cities. According to Getz (2008) and Attanasi et al. (2013), they act as engines of visibility and differentiation, capable of attracting temporary flows of people, reinforcing collective identities, and enhancing the recognition of a location as a tourist destination. In the case of São Paulo, the Festival do Japão, Tanabata Matsuri, and Anime Friends have become major fixtures on the city's annual cultural calendar, promoted by both public and private entities not only as cultural celebrations but also as tourism assets and tools for urban branding. Their high levels of attendance —including visitors from outside the city— and their direct and indirect economic impacts, such as increased local consumption and the activation of public and private spaces, attest to their strategic importance.

These three events can be classified as major events in the terms proposed by Oklobdžija (2015), as they exhibit characteristics such as large-scale attendance (over 100,000 people), substantial media coverage, institutional and logistical support from the state, and significant impacts on regional tourism. More than isolated occurrences, they mobilise networks of cultural production, fandoms, institutions, and transnational corporations —especially those connected to the otaku economy and the Cool Japan policy (Galbraith, 2019; Regis et al., 2024). In this context, São Paulo projects itself as a multicultural centre and asserts its position as the "Japanese hub of the Americas," inserting itself into global circuits of circulation for Japanese cultural goods and symbols. Here, Japanese culture moves beyond a purely ethnic or identity-based function and becomes an economic, political, social, and symbolic resource.

That said, increasingly globalised Japanese pop culture events (Severino et al., 2024) have become multifunctional spaces that articulate cultural production, tourism, and sociability. Scholars such as Yamato (2016), Simon et al. (2016), Severino and Silva (2023), Diniz et al. (2023), Severino et al. (2024), and Regis et al. (2024) argue that these events differ from other forms of tourism by offering experiences that go beyond immediate entertainment. They create affective environments highly tailored to the tastes, niches, and sub-niches within fan communities —ranging from fans of specific anime and manga to cosplayers and cosmakers (Barboza & Da Silva, 2013), VTubers (Virtual YouTubers), J-games, Otome Games, J-pop, J-rock, and Japanese language enthusiasts. These experiences are shaped by collective narratives, symbolic consumption, and participatory practices such as cosplay, fanart, and performance, which transform attendees into co-authors of the touristic experience. In this context, Japanese pop culture functions as a mediator of emotional bonds and a sense of belonging to transnational communities, fostering networks of recurrent and loyal tourism. The logic of consumption at these events extends beyond the mere acquisition of goods— it involves the sharing of values, lifestyles, and hybrid identities, thereby positioning such festivals within a cultural economy operating at the intersection of symbolic, affective, market-driven, and epistemic dimensions.

Investigating anime and gaming events in Malaysia, Yamato (2016) identifies a ritualistic and performative character, in which audience participation entails subjective and relational transformations. These events are experienced as spaces where conventional norms are suspended and values such as authenticity, aesthetic freedom, and community become central. This perspective is further developed by Severino et al. (2024), who understand Japanese pop culture events as platforms for cultural hybridisation and territorial activation —promoting not only consumption but also the symbolic re-signification of urban spaces. Embedded within soft power strategies linked to Japanese cultural diplomacy, these events contribute to the global expansion of the Cool Japan imaginary, anchoring identity meanings in local urban contexts.

From a tourism studies standpoint, these practices signal a theoretical shift from mass tourism to models of experiential, emotional, and co-produced tourism, in which visitors cease to be mere spectators and instead become active agents in the construction of meaning for the territories and events they attend (Severino & Silva, 2023; Severino et al., 2024; Simon et al., 2016; Yamato, 2016). This is particularly evident in one of the main attractions of anime conventions such as Anime Friends: The Artist's Alley, where independent artists sell a variety of fan-created artworks based on their favourite works to a wide public.

From a perspective that extends beyond the confines of the events themselves and their promotional functions, these festivals also play an active role in the thematisation of urban space. By performatively staging aesthetic elements of Japanese culture — such as lanterns, traditional costumes, food, music, and ritual practices — they construct a visual imaginary that contributes to the consolidation of spaces like Liberdade as symbolically "Japanese" territories. This logic aligns with the concept of Disneyfication as proposed by Harvey (2005), in which urban space is transformed into a standardised stage, aesthetically oriented towards consumption. In this process, events function as catalysts for symbolic experience, continually renewing the visual and affective repertoire associated with the neighbourhood and reinforcing its tourist and media-oriented functions (Ferreira, 2020).

From a geographical standpoint, events of this nature are understood by Santos (2014) not merely as phenomena that occupy space, but as occurrences that transform its structure and meaning. They are agents of territorial and identity reconfiguration, shaping the uses of public space and fostering the emergence of new social relations. In this light, the Festival do Japão, Tanabata Matsuri, and Anime Friends should be regarded as phenomena that not only activate temporary flows and practices but also leave lasting legacies in the symbolic and material organisation of the city. These events give rise to specific forms of urban sociability that articulate leisure, consumption, and collective belonging.

According to Attanasi et al. (2013), these lasting legacies can also be understood as the result of ephemeral social capital —a form of temporary yet intense social connection formed during cultural events, which can catalyse enduring collaborative networks even after the event has ended. In the case of São Paulo's Liberdade neighbourhood and events such as Anime Friends, Festival do Japão, and Tanabata Matsuri, these occasions function as platforms for instant sociability, where fans, artists, entrepreneurs, and tourists form bonds based on shared interests in Japanese pop culture and its various sub-niches.

Though brief, these interactions strengthen the cohesion of specific communities —such as cosplay collectives (Barboza & Da Silva, 2013; Simon et al., 2016), specialty retailers (Lima, 2013; Severino et al., 2024), and content creators (Severino et al., 2024)— which continue to operate beyond the events themselves, through social media, collaborative projects, or subsequent festival editions. Combined with the neighbourhood's ongoing thematisation, the annual recurrence of these gatherings gradually transforms initially ephemeral social capital into long-term adhesion, thereby consolidating Liberdade, in particular, as a reference hub for Japanese culture in Brazil for these communities.

These concepts applied to these events emphasise the interplay between time and space, illustrating how singular occurrences can have long-lasting and transformative impacts on geographic organisation and configuration. As temporary interventions, events can contribute to creating more inclusive and welcoming public spaces by configuring urban areas in the socio-spatial sense (Souza, 2013), often building on previous developments. In the context of otaku culture, such connections are exponentially strengthened through the use of information technologies, amplifying the social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital of these places.

In this study, this process of Japanese cultural localisation reinforces the Japanese territoriality of the Liberdade neighbourhood. By combining the elements of place and territory within the same social space, urban friendliness becomes evident for those frequenting the area —urban friendliness referring to spaces designed for shared living. According to Fontes (2012), urban friendliness is a concept that denotes the quality of public spaces subject to temporary interventions, characterised by connections and interactions between people and space, in contrast to the individualism often seen in contemporary collective living.

Therefore, urban friendliness can be seen as an important legacy of the temporary interventions practiced in public spaces, which enhance the emergence of others, always aiming to configure a social space as the gathering of "pieces," as coined by Magnani (2008), of more amicable collectives.

Such a device, when properly activated, enables new societal arrangements and worldviews, which are also reflected in reinforced or novel forms of consumption that intertwine leisure, business, and recreation (Farias, 2011), thereby configuring new cultural elaborations considered in their substantive and epistemological centrality. In alignment with Ortiz (1994), this process establishes new roles for the organisation and expression of cultural elaborations and references to collective identities, whether national or popular. This occurs because the state faces intense competition from other social forces in asserting primacy over the legitimisation of collective actions. This scenario directly impacts cultural production and fosters a sense of belonging that shapes multifaceted identities, characteristic of contemporary societies where late modernity emerges as a hermeneutic paradigm.

At this stage, the intention is to delve more comprehensively into the three previously mentioned events. We align with Latour's (2012) perspective, which highlights that all our interactions with others are mediated through objects. Consequently, a relational product, or sociotechnical assemblage, emerges, incorporating both human and non-human actors and actants. To address the uncertainties inherent in scientific research – such as the nature of groups, actions, objects, and facts – Latour (2012) emphasises the importance of narratives. Regardless of the risks such writing may entail, as it reflects the perspective of the writer, these narratives foreground the act of description itself, a component often absent in the production of applied social and human sciences, constrained by word limits in their publications.

The text, therefore, becomes a mediator. In the context of this article, the collection of documents and photographs produced or gathered during and about the events under analysis does not aim to uncover a singular truth or objectivity. It is essential to acknowledge that the fabricated and artificial nature of these materials —constructed at a specific moment— does not signify a lack of objectivity but rather represents reality as it was experienced and recorded by the researcher. This is not "just a story" or a collection of subjective observations noted in a field diary (Latour, 2012, p. 187). Instead, it resists abandoning the pursuit of accuracy, fidelity, interest, or objectivity. As Latour points out, a narrative that neglects to address the interplay between fact and interest renounces the attempt to translate the four sources of uncertainty he identifies: (i) Groups do not exist inherently but are constantly in formation; (ii) Action is not natural but assumed; (iii) Objects, not just humans, act; and (iv) it is crucial to confront the tension between matters of fact and matters of concern.

Thus, even within the constraints imposed by the word limit of the article, efforts were made to ensure that all steps in our analysis were carefully considered, including those related to the production of the description itself. What is often naturalised as "objective" is not merely a reified collection of concrete elements. According to Latour (2012), a return to empiricism offers a wealth of data that is not always fully explored in our research due to the pressures of analytical urgency.

Tanabata Matsuri

The Tanabata Matsuri, also known as the Star Festival, is an annual cultural event organised by the Cultural and Assistance Association of Liberdade (ACAL) with support from the São Paulo municipal government since 1979 (CNN Brasil, 2023b). It draws inspiration from its namesake festivals held in Japan every July since the year 700 (Brown & Brown, 2006). This festival holds significant symbolic and social capital for the Japanese-Brazilian community, primarily aiming to create a space for ethnic reaffirmation (Lima, 2013). Inspired by the traditional Japanese festival of the same name, the event aims to celebrate ancestral values, foster the integration of the Japanese Brazilian community, and preserve cultural practices rooted in Japanese heritage. With strong involvement from volunteers, local merchants, and cultural institutions, Tanabata Matsuri emphasises the symbolic and affective dimensions of Japanese legacy, establishing itself as a neighbourhood festival marked by rituals, traditional decorations, and artistic performances that evoke memory and identity (Brown & Brown, 2006; Lima, 2013).

As described by Brown and Brown (2006), the Tanabata Matsuri has its origins in a fusion of Japanese and Chinese traditions and is associated with the ancient Tanabata legend, which dates back to the Nara period (710–794) in Japan. It also incorporates Chinese influences through the "Qixi" legend, similarly known as the "Star Festival." The central narrative features Orihime (the star Vega), daughter of the Sky God, and Hikoboshi (the star Altair), a humble cowherd, who fell in love. However, their union caused them to neglect their duties, angering the Sky God, who separated them across the Milky Way (Brown & Brown, 2006). Saddened by their separation, Orihime and Hikoboshi were allowed by the Sky God to meet only once a year, on the seventh night of the seventh lunar month, provided they responsibly fulfiled their tasks throughout the rest of the year (Brown & Brown, 2006).

During the festival, people write their wishes on colourful strips of paper known as Tanzaku and hang them on bamboo branches. In São Paulo's Tanabata Matsuri, this tradition has been adapted, with wishes being placed on various types of trees spread throughout the neighbourhood, as illustrated in Figure 8. Municipal employees distribute pens and colourful papers, enabling tourists, residents, and passersby to leave their wishes on the trees. This also allows individuals to read the wishes of others, fostering conversations around the trees and creating socio-spatial places of social connectivity. This practice reinforces the original Japanese objective of the festival: to emphasize the importance of love, hope, and human connection, and to inspire happiness and goodwill for oneself and others (Brown & Brown, 2006; Lima, 2013).

Figure 8.

"Tanzakus" at Liberdade's Tanabata Matsuri 2023 – (July 16, 2023)

Additionally, the festival features parades, theatrical performances, dance shows, and Japanese musical presentations (both traditional and pop), which also take place in Praça da Liberdade, as shown in Figure 9. Figure 10 illustrates the large influx of attendees to the event, further exemplifying the abundance and vibrancy of decorative adornments.

The Tanabata Matsuri is a vibrant and festive celebration, during which the Liberdade neighbourhood is adorned with plants, lights, colourful banners, posters, globes, and silver stars. This transforms the socio-spatial landscape and reinforces Japanese identity ties (Figure 9). Considering the elements previously mentioned, this event contributes to the strategy of shaping this social space into a distinct place of Japanese enunciation (Certeau, 1998).

This set of temporary transformations plays a significant role in underpinning the Japanese-inspired urban conviviality, establishing the Liberdade neighbourhood as a territory of circulation and consolidation for Nipponophile capital —symbolic, social, cultural, and economic. Consequently, it configures the area as a place of encounter, socialisation, and rediscovery by both tourists and locals.

The 2023 Tanabata Matsuri attracted approximately 200,000 attendees over two days, according to ACAL (Portal Nippon Já, 2023; Yizima, 2023). The signifi-

Figure 9.
Tanabata Matsuri Performance Stage – (July 16, 2023)

cant influx of visitors caused considerable congestion, making movement through the neighbourhood's narrow streets challenging, particularly at major convergence points such as the Praça da Liberdade and the Viaduto Cidade de Osaka (Figure 11).

The festival's current grandeur is the result of ACAL's efforts, which did not directly involve municipal entities responsible for culture and tourism. Until the early 2010s, the event was managed by a modest team of 15 individuals. For instance, in 2012, ACAL estimated an audience of 10,000 people attending the festival (Lima, 2013). However, beginning in 2019, a narrative shift occurred, with the festival now being highlighted as the largest Japanese festival in the world outside Japan (CNN Brasil, 2023b; R7, 2022; VEJA São Paulo, 2022). This contrasts with earlier reports, which emphasised the festival's traditionality and exotic curiosity (G1 SP, 2015; G1 SP, 2017; Sá, 2007).

Finally, the festival's significant impact on commerce in the Liberdade neighbourhood is noteworthy. Various shops and restaurants benefit from the influx of visitors, particularly those seeking items related to Japanese, Korean, or Chinese pop and traditional cultures. These combined initiatives reinforce the transformation of Liberdade into a distinct and symbolic "oriental neighbourhood" within Brazil (Santos & Cavenaghi, 2018).

Anime Friends

Anime Friends is considered the largest anime (Japanese animation) event in Latin America, with an estimated audience of 120,000 people. Organised since 2003 by Yamato Comunicações e Eventos, a Brazilian company specialising in organising

Figure 10.
Street decorations during Tanabata Matsuri – (July 16, 2023)

events related to Japanese pop culture (Urbano, 2017), the event typically takes place in July, during the school holidays in Brazil, in São Paulo, a city with the highest concentration of anime fans in the country. It also draws many visitors to the Liberdade neighbourhood, a popular area for anime enthusiasts.

Its format is highly commercial, featuring ticket sales, corporate brand booths, merchandise from independent artists, international performances, and marketing activations. The audience is predominantly young (Simon et al., 2016; SPTuris, 2022a), and closely aligned with global trends in the consumption of Japanese

Figure 11.
Heavy flow of people at Liberty Square (left) and Osaka City Viaduct (right) – (July 16, 2023)

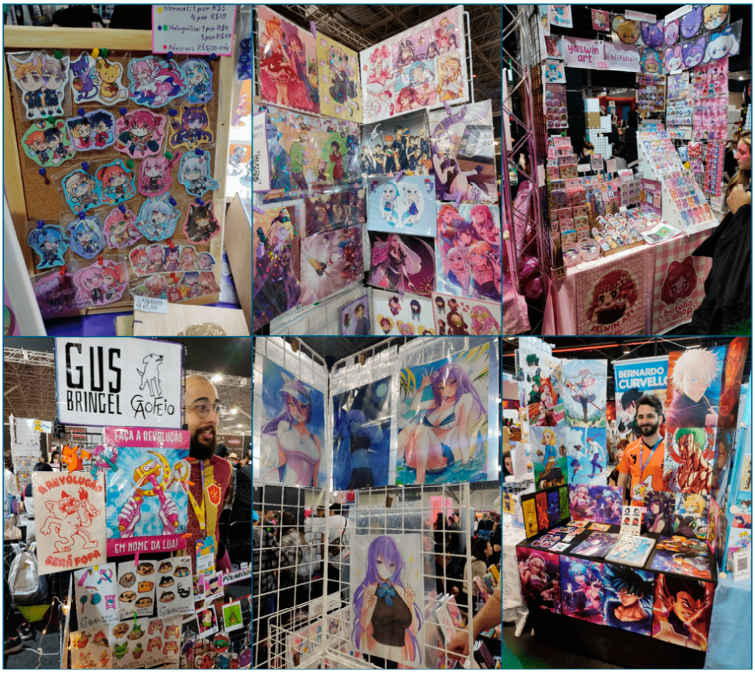
cultural products. The event functions as a platform of convergence between industry, fandom, and entertainment, operating within the logic of the creative economy and the commodification of cultural symbols. It attracts major media companies and hosts performances by Japanese artists (Anime Friends, 2025).

Focusing almost exclusively on Japanese pop culture (anime, manga, games, music, films, and other products), the event attracts media companies linked to this niche, such as Crunchyroll, the largest global streaming platform for anime, which has recently promoted the release of works with Brazilian Portuguese dubbing (Fraiha, 2023; Monte; 2024; Urbano & Araujo, 2021), as shown in Figure 12. The event also features publishers specialising in manga, such as Panini, New Pop, and JBC. Another highlight is the participation of independent producers and vendors of action figures, fanzines, fan art, and products for fans of Japanese pop culture, as illustrated in Figure 13.

Additionally, Anime Friends offers a wide range of activities and attractions for participants, including: (i) Themed rooms for lectures, panels with voice actors, scriptwriters, and other anime industry professionals, as well as anime screenings; (ii) A Cosplay Space for cosplay exhibitions and contests (Figure 11); (iii) A product fair (Figure 14); (iv) Shows and performances featuring bands and Japanese singers, as well as cultural performances such as traditional Japanese dances, concluding each day with an “otaku” party (Figure 15); (v) Food areas offering

Figure 12.
Crunchyroll's presence on Anime Friends highlighting the Brazilian Portuguese dubs of its animes – (July 15, 2023)

Figure 13.
Otaku culture artist booths in at Artist's Alley during Anime Friends – (July 15, 2023)



a variety of Japanese and other Asian cuisine; (vi) Video game and card game tournaments; (vii) Booths from organisations and educational institutions focused on promoting Japanese culture and language, as well as opportunities to study in Japan, along with the presentation of new technologies, exemplified by a conversation with a virtual avatar about scholarships in Japan by Japan Foundation (Figure 16), marking the participation of Japanese public institutions in the event.

Figure 14.
Cosplaying at Anime Friends 2023 – (July 15, 2023)

Figure 15.
Anime Friends 2023 Otaku Show and Party – (July 15, 2023)

Figure 16.
Chatting with a VTuber (Virtual YouTuber) about scholarships in Japan – (July 15, 2023)

Anime Friends has become a gathering point for Japanese pop culture in Latin America, where Japanese artists, who rarely tour outside the Global North, perform in Latin America. However, according to data from the São Paulo City Tourism Department, most of the event's audience in the 2022 edition came from the São Paulo metropolitan area (SPTuris, 2022a), as shown in Table 1, with an estimated audience of 90,000. In 2023, this number increased to 120,000 attendees, a rise also attributed to the more acute phase of the COVID-19 pandemic passing.

Table 1.
Anime Friends 2022 Audience Origin

Origin	%
São Paulo city	58.5%
São Paulo metropolitan region	22.3%
Countryside of São Paulo state	14.7%
Other states of Brazil	4.3%
Other countries	0.2%

Source: SPTuris (2022a).

On the other hand, in their analysis of Anime Friends 2011, Simon et al. (2016) had already demonstrated that, even in the early 2010s —when the event was significantly smaller but already arena based— it functioned as a focal point for niche cultural tourism. It attracted tens of thousands of visitors with strong emotional and identity-based engagement, who regarded the event as a space of freedom for socialising within their affinity groups. The study revealed that 71% of the 2011 Anime Friends audience resided outside the São Paulo metropolitan region, with 27% coming from the interior of São Paulo State and 44% from other states, particularly Paraná, Minas Gerais, and Rio de Janeiro, neighbouring states that still lack major specialised events. This data indicates a significant pattern of regional and interstate mobility driven by the event.

Moreover, approximately 60% of respondents reported having attended previous editions, pointing to a logic of repeat visitation and audience loyalty. The economic impact was already notable: around 89% of visitors declared expenditures on food, transportation, and merchandise in the vicinity of the event, in addition to seeking out attractions in the city of São Paulo. One hypothesis for the decrease in the proportion of non-local attendees at the 2022 edition of Anime Friends, according to SPTuris (2022a), is the increased popularisation of the event among São Paulo residents and the emergence of similar events in other states that now partially meet local fan demand. Nevertheless, Anime Friends remains to this day one of Brazil's premier anime events at the national level, with 150,000 attendants in 2025 (Fiore, 2025).

The SPTuris' report highlights other additional information about the event: Instagram was the primary platform used to promote the event, the average expenditure of attendees at the event was R$ 186.88, and tourists who attended the event spent an average of R$ 563.72 in the city during their stay. They also engaged in various other activities, with a focus on gastronomy and shopping, as shown in Table 2. Furthermore, 94.3% of the audience intended to return for the 2023 edition (SPTuris, 2022a).

Table 2.

Other activities of tourists in São Paulo besides Anime Friends

Type of activity	%
Gastronomy	70.8%
Shopping	33.3%
Visiting friends/relatives	30.6%
Nightlife/bars	27.8%
Parks/green areas	22.2%
Theatre/movies/concerts	11.1%
Museums	8.3%
Business/events	8.3%
Other (to buy games at Paulista Ave.)	1.4%
None – just came for the event	0.0%

Source: SPTuris (2022a).

Finally, the report highlights an economic impact of R$ 9.7 million in the city, based on the estimated 90,000 attendees at the event and their previously mentioned average spending in the city (SPTuris, 2022a). It's important to note that the City of São Paulo supports the event, as shown in Figure 17, with the slogan "Vai de Anime? Vai de São Paulo" (translated as "Going to Anime? Go to São Paulo"), both in its organisation and execution, as well as in the tourism promotions during the month of July, the school holiday period in Brazil

Figure 17.
Support from the City of São Paulo to Anime Friends ("Going to Anime? Go to São Paulo!") – (July 15, 2023)

Festival do Japão

The week before Anime Friends, the Japan Festival takes place, as shown in Figure 18, the largest Japanese Culture event in São Paulo, organised by Kenren (Federation of Associations of Japanese Provinces in Brazil) since 1998. Its aim is to promote Japanese culture and pass on traditions and cultural knowledge to new generations (Lima, 2013; SPTuris, 2022b). In 2013, the event attracted an estimated audience of 200,000 people (Lima, 2013), with 182,000 attendees in the 2022 edition, the first after the pandemic (SPTuris, 2022b), and 185,000 in the 2023 edition, which took place between July 7 and 9 (Festival do Japão, 2023a).

The Japan Festival is an event that has been professionally managed for many years, with a much greater focus on technology and even on marketing and commercial aspects, receiving sponsorship and support from several Japanese companies. It is widely recognised as the main event for the Japanese community in Brazil (Lima, 2013). Additionally, the Japan Festival boasts a more extensive and efficient infrastructure, both in terms of physical facilities and financial backing from sponsors, which significantly increases its reach and justifies its undisputed title, contrasting with the Tanabata Matsuri, which has a much more cultural and community-oriented aspect and is on its way to professionalisation (Lima, 2013).

Unlike Anime Friends, which focuses almost exclusively on pop culture, the Japan Festival aims to showcase both traditional Japanese culture, such as the tea ceremony, and new products and technologies from that country, while also giving space to pop culture. In the 2023 edition, the cosplay championship, #FJTAON, and Akibaspace stood out, being areas for the commercialisation and leisure involving these items (Festival do Japão, 2023a; 2023b). The latter refers to the Akihabara district in Tokyo, a famous area for the sale of otaku pop culture (Galbraith, 2019).

The festival is sponsored by Bradesco through the Cultural Incentive Law, as well as the Ministry of Culture and the Government of the State of São Paulo, through

Figure 18.
Japanese Torii at the 21th Japan Festival 2018

Source: Estela (2018).

the Secretariat of Culture and Creative Economy. It also receives sponsorship from several Japanese companies such as Toyota, Honda, Nissan, Yamaha, Mr. Jeff, Mitsubishi Corporation, Mitsubishi Electric, Aisin, Alfa Alimentos, Sakura Nakaya, Kikkoman, Hinomoto, SMC, Sumitomo Chemical, Niterra, Towa, Yakult, Panasonic, Julio Okubo, Biore, Longway, Castella, and E-Japan (Festival do Japão, 2022a), as shown in the image example in Figure 19.

As highlighted, the involvement of various companies results in an event with much more robust infrastructure and promotional capacity. Its publicity goes beyond social media (with Instagram standing out) and word of mouth (SPTuris, 2022b), as seen with Anime Friends and Tanabata Matsuri, to include radio, television commercials, and news outlets (Lima, 2013).

According to SPTuris (2022b), the Festival do Japão in 2022 also saw the majority of participants coming from the São Paulo metropolitan area, as illustrated in Table 3. The average expenditure per person at the event was R$ 134.92, while spending in the city during the event days averaged R$ 406.32. Additionally, 95% of respondents stated they would return for the 2023 edition, and 38% reported it was their first time attending the festival. The economic impact on the city in 2022 was estimated at R$ 10.1 million, which was considered excellent by the São Paulo City Hall (SPTuris, 2022b).

Figure 19.
Japanese companies participating in the Festival do Japão

Source: QG do Automóvel (2022), Mundo Cosplayer (2022).

Table 3.
Festival do Japão 2022 Audience Origin

Origin	%
São Paulo city	64.3%
São Paulo metropolitan region	22.0%
Countryside of São Paulo state	11.2%
Other states of Brazil	2.3%
Other countries	0.2%

Source: SPTuris (2022b).

Finally, the more commercial and technological nature of the festival is also reflected in the post-event activities of its attendees in the city, with shopping being the primary activity, followed closely by gastronomy, as illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4.
Other activities of tourists in São Paulo besides Festival do Japão.

Type of activity	%
Shopping	60.0%
Gastronomy	55.0%
Visiting friends/relatives	30.0%
Tours	22.5%
Nightlife/bars	20.0%
Museums	20.0%
None – just came for the event	17.5%
Theatre/movies/concerts	12.5%
Business/events	12.5%

(*Continued*)

Type of activity	%
Parks/green areas	12.5%
Others (soccer match)	5.0%

Source: SPTuris (2022b).

Lastly, as demonstrated by Lima (2013), the Festival do Japão is a highly market-oriented event, serving as a platform for various companies to showcase the future of Japan and the relations between Brazil and Japan. Moreover, it is a strategically significant event for the government, aiming to attract future Japanese investments in Brazil, particularly in the state of São Paulo.

PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE AND BRANDING

The commercial, cultural, and tourism success (notably including what is termed micro-tourism) of these Japanese-themed festivals in São Paulo demonstrates consistent growth in terms of audience engagement. As outlined in the descriptions of the events in the preceding sections of this study, there is an unequivocal connection with the rise of Japanese pop culture in recent decades. This includes both mass-market products such as anime and manga (Monte; 2024; Santos, 2017; Urbano, 2017; Urbano & Araujo, 2021) and more niche and recent phenomena in massification like VTubers (Diniz et al., 2022; Ferreira et al., 2022; Regis, 2021; Regis et al., 2024).

These factors, combined with the establishment of a reinterpreted Japanese-themed territory by social actors since the mid-20th century, have strengthened São Paulo's position as the ideal social space for events underpinned by Nipponophile capital. This context has also fostered a strategic adjustment of the scheduling for the three major events analysed in this article. Table 5 illustrates that, in recent years, significant efforts have been made to ensure that the events' dates no longer overlap, thereby expanding the promotional calendar. This adjustment has enhanced exposure and alignment with the audience, media outlets, and investors, maximising their impact.

Table 5.
Dates of the main events linked to Japanese culture in the city of São Paulo (MM/DD format) in the last seven years, always in July

Event /Date	2017	2018	2019	2022	2023	2024	2025
Tanabata Matsuri	07/15 – 07/16	07/28 – 07/29	07/13 – 07/14	07/09 – 07/10	07/15 – 07/16	07/06 – 07/07	07/05 – 07/06
Anime Friends	07/07 – 07/09	07/06 – 07/09	07/12 – 07/14	07/08 – 07/10	07/13 – 07/16	07/18 – 07/21	07/03 – 07/06

(*Continued*)

Event /Date	2017	2018	2019	2022	2023	2024	2025
Festival do Japão	07/07 – 07/09	07/20 – 07/22	07/05 – 07/07	07/15 – 07/17	07/07 – 07/09	07/12 – 07/14	07/11 – 07/13

Moreover, the "Japan" branding has seen significant growth in recent years. The nation's brand value has risen considerably, placing it among the most valuable national brands globally. According to the consultancy Brand Finance (2023), Japan ranks fifth worldwide, and according to Ipsos (2022), it was the second most valuable national branding globally, trailing only Germany and ahead of the United States. This enhanced valuation has been significantly driven by the global popularisation of Japanese pop culture, which aligns with the objectives of the Cool Japan state policy initiatives (Galbraith, 2019; Tamaki, 2019).

São Paulo leverages the rising prominence of Japanese culture in its branding strategy for national and international promotion. This is evident in the findings of Santos and Cavenaghi (2018), who analysed São Paulo's official tourist guide and highlighted the importance of the Liberdade neighbourhood as a must-visit attraction.

In this context, further urban interventions are planned for the city, including the creation of "The Largest Oriental Esplanade in the World": a 12,000 m² cultural corridor and event space to be constructed between the viaducts of Avenida Liberdade and Rua Conselheiro Furtado, above the Evaristo Comolatti Road Complex, to be called "Esplanada Oriental". As illustrated in Figure 17, a public tender for its construction has already been announced. This space for large-scale events addresses a longstanding demand from local merchants and cultural associations, aiming to establish a new landmark for the city (Mengue, 2022). The proposed landscape-architectural model is explicitly inspired by Japanese aesthetics, as depicted in Figure 20.

With the public tender already scheduled for June 2025, the city government estimates a cost of R$ 338 million Brazilian reais for the construction of the Esplanada Oriental, including a six-story annex building intended for events and conventions. This investment will be carried out through a public-private partnership, in which the concessionaire will be responsible for organising events in the area as well as maintaining the facilities. The municipality expects that this initiative will not only increase the visitor capacity of the Liberdade neighbourhood — whose narrow streets are increasingly overcrowded — but will also transform the area into a new hub for major events, similar to what has already occurred on Avenida Paulista, another major attraction and iconic landmark of São Paulo. Furthermore, the project aims to permanently reinforce the symbolic and institutional connection between São Paulo and Japan (CNN Brasil, 2025; Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2025). It is worth noting that, despite these future interventions, there are still no plans to designate Liberdade as a creative district or similar entity, reinforcing the argument that these public and private investments are primarily aimed at tourism attraction and spatial thematisation, as previously discussed.

Figure 20.
Location of the future "Oriental Esplanade" of São Paulo

Source: Mengue (2022).

THE CONCEPT OF NIPPONOPHILE CAPITAL AS A BASIS FOR ANALYSING THE SPATIAL TRANSFORMATIONS BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE CONSUMPTION OF JAPANESE CULTURE

All of these dynamics of power, spread, and influence and materialise through the generation, accumulation, and management of various forms of capital, delineated into four types, synthesising the contributions of Bourdieu (1986; 1989). First, economic capital refers to the sum of material and financial resources available. Second, cultural capital arises from lived practices and significant practices, which may be institutionalised, embodied, or acquired. Third, social capital represents the network of social relationships an agent possesses. Finally, symbolic capital relates to recognition, expressed through non-monetary valuation. On the other hand, in connection, we observe: (i) the spatial transformation of the Liberdade neighbourhood, which has followed principles aligned with the concept of Disneyfication of space, as proposed by Harvey (2005); (ii) the strategic actions of private actors —particularly the ACAL (Liberdade Merchants Association)— in seeking to establish the neighbourhood as a site of enunciation for Japaneseness and in employing tactics to attract public investment, in line with the concepts of strategy and tactics defined by Certeau (1998); and (iii) the reinforcement of Japanese cultural elements aimed at transforming Liberdade into a *lieu de mémoire* of Japanese heritage, a notion formulated by Nora (1993).

Based on this theoretical framework, we propose the concept of “Nipponophile capital” as a hybrid and thematised form of economic, social, symbolic, and cultural capital accumulated by individuals, organisations, and territories that associate themselves —either legitimately or strategically— with Japanese culture, particularly by capitalising on its global ascent and popularisation. In the case of the Liberdade neighborhood and the events analysed, this capital manifests in the capacity to mobilise Japanese signs, practices, and aesthetics as sources of social and market value. It can be activated by event organisers, commercial establishments, cultural institutions, and even public authorities as a touristic and marketing asset, even when not tied to endogenous cultural production.

Drawing on Bourdieu’s (1986; 1989) typology, as illustrated in Table 6, Nipponophile capital materialises, for example, as embodied cultural capital (individuals with deep knowledge of Japanese culture, such as cosplayers, artists, and fans of Japanese pop culture), social capital (networks among Japanese Brazilian associations, cultural enterprises, and fan communities (Regis et al., 2024), often formed during the events themselves (Attanasi et al., 2013), and symbolic capital (the prestige associated with occupying a space culturally recognised as “Japanese” or with cultural authority). These forms of capital are effectively converted into economic capital, as evidenced by the popularisation of such events, increased tourism, rising commercial revenues, growth of fanbase, and the strengthening of the branding and marketing of both the neighbourhood and the city. In this context, Liberdade functions as a site of contestation and legitimation for these forms of capital, even if it does not operate as a creative production cluster in the canonical sense.

That said, Nipponophile capital can be understood as a form of social energy that has intensified alongside the expansion of Japanese cultural exports in recent decades — a movement that accelerated during the 2010s, transforming the "Japan" brand into something "cool" and highly valued. Particularly popular among the youth, this movement has formed large groups of fans and consumers who are highly engaged regarding various Japanese cultural products, due to the emotional-affective nature of these cultural products, enhancing a latent consumption and tourism capacity that can transform markets and territories (Condry, 2013; Galbraith, 2019; Regis et al., 2024; Santos, 2017; Urbano, 2017; Urbano & Araujo, 2021).

This consumption-driven, economic, cultural, social, and symbolic force has produced both cultural and infrastructural transformations —especially in São Paulo, where the strong native presence of Japanese culture is further amplified by the city's role as the largest urban and consumer market in the country. Moreover, the preservation and promotion of Japanese heritage in the Liberdade neighbourhood, as well as its thematisation and orientalisation since the 1970s (Nakagawa et al., 2011), have gradually contributed to the symbolic association between São Paulo and Japan in the collective imagination, particularly among consumers of Japanese pop culture. This is reinforced by the exclusivity of Japanese products and their derivatives, which until recently could only be found in Liberdade, and whose demand has continued to grow with the accelerated expansion of Japanese pop media in Brazil, especially through streaming platforms (Monte, 2024; Urbano & Araujo, 2021).

Although it is not yet fully coordinated among the public institutions, associations, companies, and networks that mobilise it for their own promotional or territorial purposes, Nipponophile capital is increasingly shaping the infrastructure, culture, and image of the city of São Paulo. Both the state and the public are progressively reimagining Liberdade as the Japanese space of Brazil —perhaps even of the Americas— thereby consolidating both São Paulo and the neighbourhood as idealised sites for mass, themed consumption of (pop) Japanese culture. This has resulted in growing infrastructure investments aimed at reinforcing this vision of the locality —and potentially the city itself— as illustrated by projects such as the forthcoming Esplanada Oriental.

CONCLUSIONS

The conceptual proposal of Nipponophilic capital offers a distinctive perspective for discussions in urban, economic, and cultural studies by articulating Bourdieu's theory of capital with contemporary phenomena such as the globalisation of Japanese pop culture, the otaku economy, and affective and event-based tourism. This theoretical synthesis allows for an understanding of how Japanese cultural signs

Table 6.
Types of capital to describe Nipponophile capital

Types of Capital	Definition	Indicators in the case of São Paulo	Empirical examples
Economic	Financial and material resources that can be converted into money.	Event revenue; increased local consumption; private investment in stores and storefronts; attracting investment to the Liberdade neighbourhood.	Average spending per visitor at events; estimated impact of R$9.7 to R$10.1 million (SPTuris, 2022a; SPTuris, 2022b); redevelopment sponsored by the city government and private associations (Bocci, 2009; Nakagawa *et al*, 2011); increase in tourism; expansion of Japanese franchises in Liberdade (Garcia, 2025; Maria, 2023); increasing orientalisation of Liberdade (Nakagawa et al., 2011); greater frequency of shows by Japanese artists in São Paulo.
Cultural	Knowledge, skills, traditions, languages, and cultural assets. Can be institutionalised (diplomas), incorporated (habits), or objectified (assets).	Transmission of Japanese traditions; practice of cosplay; consumption and propagation of Japanese pop culture and its values; presence of temples and museums.	Tanabata Matsuri consolidated as a São Paulo tradition (Lima, 2013); Japanese language bookstores and schools; Japanese pop culture naturalised and valorised in Brazil (Urbano & Araujo, 2021); Attraction of Japanese artists to events in São Paulo.
Social	Network of relationships and social connections that enables exchanges, collaborations and access.	Relationship between associations (ACAL, Bunkyo), entrepreneurs, public authorities and sponsoring companies; otaku fan networks.	Joint organisation of events; coordination between events and brands such as Crunchyroll, Disney, Netflix, and Panini (Pontes, 2025); relationships between companies in the Japanese industrial and media complex and the city of São Paulo; use of the city as a meeting place for fans (Simon et al., 2016).
Symbolic	Recognition, prestige and socially perceived distinction — generally resulting from the conversion of other capitals.	Recognition of Liberdade as an official “Japantown” and tourist destination; visibility in tourist guides; political use of Japanese identity; “Japan” branding associated with São Paulo and Liberdade.	The subway station was renamed Japan-Liberdade; slogans included “Largest Japanese festival outside of Japan”; Japanese culture was featured in city hall materials; the slogan: “Going to Anime? Go to São Paulo”.

are mobilised, accumulated, and converted into prestige, income, and symbolic authority by diverse actors in urban contexts beyond Japan's national borders. By linking cultural practices to dynamics of territorial branding and themed consumption, the concept provides a robust analytical lens through which to examine the growing significance of East Asian transnational cultures in reshaping cities and constructing new urban imaginaries.

Driven by urban interventions and events, the growing association between the city of São Paulo and Japan may also be interpreted through the lens of the theory of monopoly rent from themed space. This theory highlights the economic advantages such symbolic processes bring to cities and to specific economic groups by attracting tourists and promoting the consumption of themed spaces, along with the deliberate reinterpretation of spatial meanings.

It is also crucial to note, though not fully explored within the scope of this study, that such reinterpretation is not without contestation and conflict. Associations and groups advocating for Afro-Brazilian causes have denounced the erasure of Black memory in this region and are actively engaged in historical reparative actions, particularly concerning material heritage in the Liberdade neighbourhood. These interethnic frictions challenge the project of constructing a territorial site of enunciation centred on Japaneseness in Liberdade, despite the fact that a predominantly Nippon-centric imaginary continues to prevail in this locality.

It is nonetheless evident that São Paulo is undergoing an increasingly rapid transformation into the Japanese hub of the Americas, offering the closest possible experience to Japan —or at least a Japanese Brazilian experience— outside of the East Asian country itself. This positioning seeks to capitalise on the meteoric commercial rise of Japan's cultural industries over the past few decades. Within this context, São Paulo has identified a significant competitive advantage for its urban brand in the arenas of tourism, exhibitions, and both national and international imaginaries, leveraging large-scale Japan-themed events to establish itself as the continent's leading Japanese cultural hub. Targeting, in particular, the consumer-driven otaku culture, the city facilitates a significant flow of capital —reflecting the global economic impact of this cultural segment, which generates billions of dollars worldwide.

This process creates economic opportunities and cultural intersections, driven by the growing participation, engagement, and identification of Brazilian youth with Japanese pop culture. However, the full potential of this reinterpretation remains unrealised due to the limited role of the public sector, which hampers the opportunities emerging from the creative economy. The absence of a cohesive plan to transform Liberdade into a creative hub or Japanese cultural cluster dissipates its possibilities. Throughout this study, it became evident that all the necessary actors are already present and active, leveraging economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital. What remains lacking, however, is a vision on the part of the municipal government to perceive this ecosystem not merely through the lens of tourism, but as the foundation for a more synergistic model of urban development.

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CULTURAL AND LEISURE EXPENDITURE IN CHILE: A QUANTILE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF SOCIOECONOMIC AND REGIONAL DISPARITIES USING HOUSEHOLD BUDGET SURVEY MICRODATA

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Báez Montenegro, A., Moraga Cárdenas, M., & Colther Marino, C. (2025). Cultural and leisure expenditure in Chile: A quantile regression analysis of socioeconomic and regional disparities using household budget survey microdata. *Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1331-1352.

This study analyses the socioeconomic determinants of household spending on cultural and leisure activities in Chile via microdata from the IX Family Budget Survey 2021-22. A quantile regression model is applied to capture how these

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determinants vary across different levels of spending. The results show that total income, higher education and residence in metropolitan areas positively influence cultural spending, with a greater impact on income in households with lower spending levels. However, in higher quantiles, a decreasing elasticity of spending relative to income is observed, whereas geographical location becomes more relevant in higher-income households. These findings provide valuable insights for the design of public policies that promote cultural participation and reduce regional disparities in access to culture.

Keywords: Cultural expenditure; leisure; quantile regression; household budget survey; Chile.
JEL: Z10, C01, C21.

Báez Montenegro, A., Moraga Cárdenas, M., & Colther Marino, C. (2025). Gasto cultural y de ocio en Chile: análisis de regresión cuantílica de las disparidades socioeconómicas y regionales utilizando microdatos de la Encuesta de Presupuestos Familiares. *Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1331-1352.

Este artículo analiza los determinantes socioeconómicos del gasto de los hogares en actividades culturales y de ocio en Chile a partir de microdatos de la IX Encuesta de Presupuestos Familiares 2021-2022. Se aplica un modelo de regresión cuantílica para captar cómo varían estos determinantes en función de los diferentes niveles de gasto. Los resultados muestran que los ingresos totales, la educación superior y la residencia en áreas metropolitanas influyen de manera positiva en el gasto cultural, con un mayor impacto en los ingresos de los hogares con niveles de gasto más bajos. Sin embargo, en los cuantiles más altos, se observa una elasticidad decreciente del gasto en relación con los ingresos, mientras que la ubicación geográfica cobra mayor relevancia en los hogares con ingresos más altos. Estos hallazgos proporcionan información valiosa para el diseño de políticas públicas que promuevan la participación cultural y reduzcan las disparidades regionales en el acceso a la cultura.

Palabras clave: Gasto cultural; ocio; regresión cuantílica; encuesta de presupuesto familiar; Chile.
JEL: Z10, C01, C21.

INTRODUCTION

Cultural heritage and cultural activities constitute essential and integral components of individuals, societies and political communities. In the last two decades, increasing attention has been given to the possible beneficial effects of cultural expressions, both in their tangible and intangible forms (Cerisola & Panzera, 2022).

In addition, international organisations such as UNESCO have emphasised the need to promote equitable access to culture as an essential human right and as a key element to achieve sustainable development (UNESCO, 1991).

The importance of guaranteeing this equitable access to culture is further reinforced by positive impacts on education, economic development and mental health (Aguado et al., 2024). In the educational field, exposure to various cultural manifestations stimulates critical thinking, empathy and intercultural understanding (Dumitru, 2019).

On the other hand, studies have shown that access to cultural activities has positive effects on people's well-being and life satisfaction (Lee et al., 2021) and recent studies have explored its benefit to mental health (Fancourt & Baxter, 2020); additionally, cultural access unexpectedly ranks as the second most important determinant of psychological well-being, immediately after the absence or presence of diseases, and the performance of factors such as work, age, income, marital status, education, stage of life and other important factors (Grossi et al., 2012).

In economic terms, the cultural and creative industry is a significant source of employment and economic growth, generating opportunities in both developed and developing economies (Bilan et al., 2019; Campi et al., 2024). The literature has shown that cultural goods and services contribute to improving people's quality of life, reinforcing social cohesion and generating income and jobs (Heredia-Carroza et al., 2023). In addition, recent studies link cultural goods and services to the achievement of the sustainable development goals at the local level (Benito et al., 2025).

Despite the benefits of cultural consumption, some studies have shown that there are important differences in terms of a population's access to culture due to factors such as geographic location, socioeconomic status, education and language barriers (Quintero & Martos, 2015). These inequalities generate gaps in access to cultural resources and limit the positive impact of culture on certain groups, especially in communities far from cultural centres or capitals and among populations with lower incomes and people in vulnerable situations (Raspadori, 2011).

In Latin America, the dynamics of cultural consumption present particular characteristics, marked by considerable heterogeneity between countries and within the nations themselves. However, there is a growing interest in strengthening public policies aimed at democratising access to culture and promoting its role as an engine of economic development, which has led to an increase in the supply and diversity of cultural activities and leisure (Guzmán-Cárdenas, 2015; Quartesan et al., 2007).

In this context, Chile has experienced remarkable cultural and leisure development in recent decades, with an increase in the number of cultural events and the creation of new spaces for recreation and artistic dissemination. However, important regional differences persist in access to and consumption of cultural goods and services, reflecting the uneven socioeconomic development between the different macrozones of the country (Ministerio de las Culturas, 2017).

Analysing the patterns of consumption of cultural goods and services of families is essential for understanding cultural consumption habits and detecting possible inequalities in access to these goods among different sectors of society. This makes it possible to identify gaps that limit equitable access to culture. This information contributes to the better formulation of public policies that can promote development that encourages the equitable participation of all social groups in cultural activities (Quintero & Martos, 2015).

This research focuses on identifying the socioeconomic factors that determine the level of spending of Chilean households on cultural and leisure activities, how these determinants vary with the distribution of spending and whether these determinants are similar in different territories of the country. The main objective is to analyse the socioeconomic determinants of household spending on cultural and leisure activities in Chile by estimating a quantile regression model using the microdata of the IX Chilean Family Budget Survey (EPF) from 2021–22.

The main contribution of the research is related to two aspects. First, the identification of differential factors in cultural and leisure spending can contribute to the understanding of how sociodemographic variables differentially influence household spending on cultural goods and leisure activities. The second is related to providing information on the differences in consumption patterns observed in the capital of the country versus different macrozones in the country and differences or similarities in terms of their determinants.

Having this type of information can facilitate the design of public policies for cultural promotion with a territorial approach, based on empirical evidence on the identified determinants and with the aim of developing specific recommendations that encourage cultural consumption and help reduce disparities around the consumption of culture.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, we briefly review relevant aspects of the literature on cultural consumption as an emerging sector of the economy and its dynamics, and a brief summary that contextualises the selected case study.

Theoretical approaches to cultural consumption

The theoretical framework used by Katz-Gerro (2002) is structured around three main approaches to understanding the relationship between social class and cultural consumption in post-industrial societies. The first is the *class reproduction approach*, rooted in the work of Bourdieu (2001) and Weber (1978). This perspective argues that cultural consumption —especially of highbrow culture— serves as a form of social distinction that reflects and reproduces class position. Based on the notion of cultural capital, it maintains that cultural preferences are socially structured and closely linked to education, habits and access to both economic and symbolic resources (Bourdieu, 2001).

The second is *the individualisation and new identities approach*, which contends that class-based distinctions have lost their centrality and that cultural consumption has become increasingly fragmented. According to this view, other social factors such as gender, ethnicity, religion or lifestyle now play a more prominent role (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). Cultural identities are seen as more fluid and cultural practices are no longer exclusive markers of class.

The third approach focuses on *welfare state regimes and structural inequalities*. It examines how institutional configurations —particularly welfare systems— influence access to cultural goods. This perspective argues that the state can either reduce or reinforce cultural inequalities, depending on the nature of its cultural and social policies (Featherstone, 1990; 2007)

Culture and leisure as an emerging sector of the economy

The consumption of goods and services by families is the main source of resources for the economy from the perspective of aggregate demand, which is usually analysed from a microeconomic perspective but can be extended to the macroeconomic level by aggregation. Both of their consumption habits are relevant for analysis since they guide the present and future configuration of goods and services that will be produced in the economy (Foster, 2021; Kemp-Benedict, 2013).

Within the spending structure of families, consumption related to food and housing represents important percentages as a means of satisfying their basic maintenance and protection needs and, depending on the country and the provision of social protection coverage, spending on education, health and transportation is important (Baxter & Moosa, 1996).

However, an emerging item is family spending as relates to culture, which has gone from being an elitist and minority activity to becoming part of the habitual consumption of most families. Increasingly in demand, this spending is part of the income and activity flows of an economic system and can be considered a wealth generating activity (Herrero, 2011).

From a formal point of view, activities related to culture can be defined as cultural and creative industries whose main objective is the production or reproduction, promotion, dissemination and/or commercialisation of goods, services and content activities that are cultural, artistic or patrimonial (Stenou, 2002).

Culture is unique in several aspects: a) it is not related to satisfying basic needs or social protection, b) it cannot be stored physically since it is associated with an experience, c) it is considered a luxury or luxury consumption in societies (but, nonetheless, generalized access to it is considered desirable) and d) it is difficult to account for since national statistics do not consider it a sector on its own.

Owing to the particular characteristics of cultural goods and services, there was no further development in their economic study until the contribution of Baumol and Bowen (1968), who applied theories and tools of economic analysis to cultural goods and services.

Aguado-Quintero (2010) mentioned that these types of goods and services, by nature, have two important gaps to be considered when promoting them: the income gap generated by an increase in production costs that cannot be covered by prices, and the participation gap, where those who consume these types of goods and services correspond to a socioeconomic profile of higher income and education levels.

Cultural goods, as objects of demand, are inputs used to produce a cultural experience that, similar to services, are immaterial and result deciphering and interpreting visual, auditory or symbolic stimuli through images, sounds and signs claimants (Aguado-Quintero, 2010). However, despite their immaterial and experiential nature, cultural goods require productive factors such as work and inputs (goods) to create them, with an impact on economic activity (Herrero, 2011).

In addition, goods and services associated with leisure and culture are characterised by having added value, which is generally greater than that of other types of goods and services, possibly because of the type of cultural experience that they facilitate, the singularity of their (unique, unrepeatable, non-transferable or interchangeable) characteristics or the subjective characteristics of their use or enjoyment, which allows them to be economically valuable. Furthermore, the more unique the goods and services, the more economic value they will have. On the other hand, there is a rich variety of goods and services that can be considered part of this sector and that the reader can find in detail in several specialised texts (Heilbrun & Gray, 2001; Towse, 2019). Nonetheless, there is initial difficulty in characterising the consumption associated with culture as it relates to leisure and, in general, there are limited and scarce statistics about this type of good and service and about the workings of its supply and demand.

Despite these findings, there is a consensus on the benefits of the consumption of culture in society, its potential contribution to human development and the well-being that it generates (Baumol, 2011). As such, there exists at the international level a setting that promotes cultural development through public policies that subsidise activities and aim to make culture and leisure consumption accessible to the population (Heilbrun & Gray, 2001). Additionally, the protection of unique cultural elements and copyright and creativity is essential to facilitate the existence of a culture and leisure market that can be developed in economic terms.

In economic terms and from a demand perspective, it may be useful to analyse the cultural sector in terms of the type and structure of family consumption and associated economic resources. From a supply perspective, it may be interesting to analyse the diversity of the cultural offerings of goods and services, the sensitivity of their demand with respect to price (elasticity) or the sophistication of the goods and services put out by the sector in terms of added value and economic performance. Among these elements, in this article we are concerned with analysing consumption from the perspective of demand.

The literature indicates that the consumption of culture by individuals/families depends on multiple factors, including income, educational level, family configuration, age, environmental factors such as population size and density and the available cultural offering, among others (Amestoy, 2009; Ateca-Amestoy et al., 2020; Herrero-Prieto & Gómez-Vega, 2017; Warde, 2014; Zhang, 2017).

Determinants of spending on culture in Chile

In terms of culture, the country has seen an increase in the supply of cultural events such as music festivals, art exhibitions, plays and dance performances. In addition, new cultural spaces have been opened such as theatres, art galleries and cultural centres, which offer a variety of activities for the public. In terms of leisure, options have been increasing, especially in urban areas. Parks, shopping centres, restaurants, cafes and bars have been developed that offer various entertainment and recreation options.

In addition, internal and external tourism has contributed to the development of leisure activities, such as ecotourism, adventure tourism and outdoor activities. Various studies have shown that there are important differences in the degree of socioeconomic development at the regional (subnational) level, particularly with respect to spending on culture and leisure.

In Chile's case, and according to data from the only available study (Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, 2016), the culture sector had sales to the tune of CLP 7,818.8 million pesos (USD$ 13,031.4 million), which represented 1.5% of the sales of all companies nationwide, equivalent to 2.1% of GDP in 2013 and 529,441 jobs, which would amount to 7.3% of total employment, and a negative trade balance with exports of CLP74,923 million dollars, equivalent to 0.3% of exports at the national level in 2014 and 72.831 million dollars of imports, which represents 4.6% of total product imports at the national level in 2014. Public spending on culture was CLP123,353 million pesos in 2014, which represents 0.4% of total public spending, and is equivalent to 0.08% of the national GDP in 2014. Estimates of regional financing for culture reached CLP102,028 million pesos, which would have contributed to 1.2% of the government's total budget during 2015.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

This study adopts a methodological approach inspired by the analysis developed by Katz-Gerro (2002), who examined cultural consumption using national microdata and a set of sociodemographic and territorial variables to explain differentiated access patterns. Although the econometric technique used here—quantile regression—differs from the linear models employed in Katz-Gerro's work, the analytical rationale remains the same: to understand how factors such as income, education, gender, age and geographic location influence household cultural behaviour. In particular, this study builds upon the comparative and multidimensional logic of Katz-Gerro's framework, adapting it to the Chilean context through data from the 2021–22 Household Budget Survey (Encuesta de Presupuestos Familiares 2021-22, https://www.ine.cl/estadisticas/ingresos-y-gastos/epf) with the aim of identifying and informing on structural inequalities.

The Household Budget Study is applied to households and contains information on the expenses of families toward the consumption of goods and services and family income and socioeconomic characteristics in four macroregions: the metropolitan region, north macrozone, central macrozone and south macrozone.

The geographic estimation areas for the IX EPF correspond to the total national, metropolitan and north, central and south macrozones. Of the total number of dwellings encompassed by the survey, 14,961 were interviewed, including 15,134 households. These households represent 4,420,864 households in the urban areas of the country.

This survey uses a Classification of Individual Consumption by Purpose (CCIF), which follows the international standards indicated by the European Union Statistical Office in its manual, "Household Budget Surveys in the EU" (Eurostat, 2023), to classify and thus standardise the goods and services captured by the survey. In this case, the goods and services consumed by families are classified into 12 categories: food and non-alcoholic beverages; alcoholic beverages; tobacco and narcotics; clothing and footwear; accommodation; water, electricity, gas and other fuels; furniture; articles for the home and for the maintenance of the home; health; transportation; communications; sports, recreation and culture; education; restaurants and hotels; and miscellaneous goods and services.

For this study, households that consumed Class 9 goods and services and subclasses 5 to 8 (culture and leisure), were selected; the total database included 8,332 households. The variables considered are presented in Table 1, with a brief explanation of each of them.

Table 1.
Characterisation of the sample (n = 8,332)

Demographic Items	Frequency	%	Demographic Items	Frequency	%
Sex			***Income (CLP $)***		
Man	4,528	54.4	Less than 500 thousand	2,213	26.56
Woman	3,801	45.6	Between 500 thousand and 1 million	2,745	32.95
Age (years)			Between 1 - 1.5 million	1,257	15.09
18-29	702	8.4	Between 1.5 - 2.5 million	1,102	13.23
30-39	2,002	24.0	Between 2.5 - 4 million	588	7.06
40-49	2,019	24.2	More than 4 million	427	5.12
50-59	1,577	18.9	***Spending on culture***		
60–69	1,159	13.9	Less than 10 thousand	4,292	51.51
70-79	656	7.9	Between 10 - 20 thousand	1,347	16.17
Older than 79	217	2.6	Between 20 - 30 thousand	748	8.98
Higher education			Between 30 - 100 thousand	1,397	16.77
Has	5,239	62.87	Between 100 - 500 thousand	512	6.14
Does not have	3,093	37.13	More than 500 thousand	36	0.43
			No. of people in the household		
Macrozone			1	902	10.83
North	1,422	17.07	2	1,998	23.98
Metropolitan	3,441	41.3	3	2,118	25.42
Central	2,199	26.39	4	1,956	23.48
South	1,270	15.24	More than 4	1,358	16.30

Source: Own elaboration.

Model

The model considered in the study correlates the level of expenditure in Chilean pesos and the natural logarithm of expenditure, which are considered influential factors of cultural consumption by the literature (Featherstone, 2007; Katz-Gerro, 2002; van Hek & Kraaykamp, 2013; Warde, 2014):

$$ln(C_i) = \beta_0 + \beta_0 ln(I_i) + \sum_i \beta_i X_i + \sum_j \beta_j Z_j + \varepsilon_i \text{, i = 1,…, n, j = 0.1} \qquad (1)$$

where C_i is the expenditure on culture and leisure by household; I_i is the total income of family *i*, which includes the income and income of all family members; X_i is a control vector with socioeconomic characteristics (no. people and children where 1 denotes having children and 0 not having them), educational level (1 has higher education, 0 does not), sex of the main breadwinner of the family (1 for man and 0 for woman); and Z_j is a vector of control related to geographic context characteristics (1 when hailing from the metropolitan region and 0 from outside it).

Equation (1) was estimated through ordinary least squares (OLS) and by regression in quantiles to the extent that, owing to the distribution characteristics of some variables considered in the study, they are asymmetric tail weights (income and expenditure on culture) and therefore may bias the results of the coefficients. Quantile regression (QR) will also be used.

The use of a quantile regression instead of an OLS model is justified, mainly because it allows us to analyse how socioeconomic determinants influence the distribution of spending on cultural and leisure activities differently. While OLS estimates only the average effect of the independent variables on the dependent variable, quantile regression offers a more complete view by estimating the effects at different points of the distribution (such as the 10th, 25th, 50th, 75th, and 90th percentiles; Koenker, 2017).

This is crucial in the context of cultural spending since variables such as income, household size, and education can have different impacts on households with low and high spending levels, which OLS does not capture. In addition, quantile regression is more robust against the presence of outliers or heterogeneity in the variance of the errors, which improves the precision of the estimates when the data distribution is not symmetric or skewed (Colther et al., 2024). In this case, spending on culture may have a distribution skewed to the right, with a concentration of households that spend little, and a minority that spend a great deal.

Quantile regression allows us to model these disparities, identifying how socioeconomic determinants affect the extremes of the distribution more intensely, providing a better understanding of cultural consumption patterns than an OLS model cannot provide. The flexibility offered by quantile regression is quite useful for analysing large microeconomic databases from surveys that may contain problems of heteroscedasticity, structural changes or atypical data (Koenker, 2017). On the other hand, quantile regression does not require a parametric distribution assumption for the error distribution, which is useful in cases where the independence assumption is not met (Sánchez et al., 2021).

If we assume that we have a sample of observations of a variable Y with a distribution $F(.)$, Y_t: $t = 1, 2, ..., N$, we will have the quantile θ of the sample, with $0 <$

θ <1, such that value b leaves a proportion θ of observations below and a proportion (1 - θ) above. For example, in the case of the median θ = 0.5, 50% of the data will be below b = Me, and 50% of the data will be above. If we use the first quartile (θ = 0.25), 25% of the values of *Y* would be below b = Q1 and 75% above, and similarly and inversely with the third quartile. The quartiles divide the sample into four parts, but we can divide the sample into 10 parts with the following deciles: θ = 0.1, 0.2; …; 0.9 or any other ratio.

These divisions are what we call quantiles. An alternative way of expressing the definition of quantiles, which is also a first approximation to the quantile regression estimation method, is represented by the following:

$$\left[\sum_{Y_{i\geq b}} \theta|y_i - b| + \sum_{Y_{i\leq b}} (1-\theta)|y_i - b|\right]$$

where θ is the quantile (0.10 for the first decile, 0.25 for the first quartile, 0.50 for the median, etc.) and the observed values of the sample for the variable determine the value *b* that minimises the corresponding expression. It can easily be shown that b is the value that leaves a proportion θ of the sample observations below and a proportion (1-θ) above. Therefore, θ represents a value between 0 and 1, corresponding to the quantile that you want to estimate.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Table 2 shows descriptive statistics related to spending on culture and the level of income disaggregated by macrozones.

Table 2.
Descriptive statistics according to macrozone for quantitative variables

Statisticians	Macrozone	Income (CL $)	Spending on culture
Mean	North	1,161,020	30,354
	Metropolitan	1,585,267	35,645
	Centre	1,046,411	26,588
	South	1,157,193	23,882
Std. mean error	North	32,675	2,574
	Metropolitan	35,020	1,285
	Centre	23,494	1,698
	South	32.342	2,217

(*Continued*)

Statisticians	Macrozone	Income (CL $)	Spending on culture
CV (%)	North	106.1	319.7
	Metropolitan	129.6	211.5
	Centre	105.3	299.4
	South	99.6	3330.9
Median	North	782,500	8,830
	Metropolitan	904,698	11,689
	Centre	693,500	8,653
	South	800,000	7,137
n	North	1422	1422
	Metropolitan	3441	3441
	Centre	2199	2199
	South	1270	1270

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of data from EPF (2022).

From the above table, important differences can be observed between the macrozones in terms of income, number of people per household and expenditure on culture. In terms of income, the metropolitan region has the highest average income of $1,430,611 pesos (US $1,635 dollars), which reflects its role as the economic centre of the country. The Central macrozone, on the other hand, has the lowest average income of $966,678 pesos (US $1,105 dollars). This inequality is also observed in spending on culture, with the metropolitan area showing the highest average spending of $88,131 pesos (US $101 dollars) and the south macrozone the lowest of $63,410 pesos (US $73 dollars) in 2022.

The coefficient of variation (CV) indicates high dispersion, especially in the income of the metropolitan region (133.8%) and in the expenditure on culture in all regions (over 150%), which suggests strong internal inequality. Furthermore, the difference between the mean and the median in income and expenditure on culture suggests an asymmetric distribution, with a few high-income households raising the averages.

At the demographic level, the number of people per household is quite homogeneous, with an average of close to three in all regions. These antecedents provide evidence of disparities in terms of both income and cultural consumption among macrozones, with a marked concentration of resources in the metropolitan region.

Table 3 presents the estimates of the cultural consumption model (Eq. 1) through a regression in quantiles, considering the quantiles 0.1, 0.25, 0.5, 0.75, and 0.9.

The results of the estimations in the case of the OLS estimation show that the coefficient of the logarithm of total income is positive and significant (0.44150), which indicates that an increase of 1% in income is associated with an increase of

0.44% in the dependent variable. Other variables, such as the number of people in the household (No. people), children and higher education level (Eduhig), also have positive and significant effects, especially higher education, which has high impact (0.58263).

Table 3.
Estimates of the culture and leisure consumption model in Chile

Variables	OLS	P10	P25	P50	P75	P90
Intercept	2.70538 ** (0.27719)	-1.46516* (.62614)	0.78851. (.41324)	2.37385 ** (.31248)	3.93562 ** (.32821)	6.05508 ** (0.86644)
Log (income)	0.39482 ** (0.02115)	0.52599 ** (0.04679)	0.45210 ** (0.03120)	0.43091 ** (0.02383)	0.39100 ** (0.02495)	0.30441 ** (0.04481)
No. people	0.13112 ** (0.01476)	0.14604** (0.03312)	0.13667 ** (0.02104)	0.12549 ** (0.01354)	0.13006 ** (0.01664)	0.08565 ** (0.02760)
Children	0.29703** (0.04747)	0.63545 * (0.09895)	0.46405 ** (0.07478)	0.26543 ** (0.05253)	0.10400 (0.05426)	0.08987 (0.08832)
Eduhig	0.77323** (0.04747)	0.78436 ** (0.08998)	0.78719 ** (0.06127)	0.72504 ** (0.04652)	0.71310 ** (0.04078)	0.76749 ** (0.07005)
Sex	0.017357 (0.00926)	0.018099 (0.02744)	0.02877 ** (0.05364)	0.01209 ** (0.04004)	0.01149 (0.0443)	0.02140 (0.22573)
Zmetro	0.14218 ** (0.03619)	0.01658 (0.08548	0.21093** (0.05375)	0.13609 ** (0.04008)	0.20683 ** (0.04029)	0.23649 ** (0.05492)
Pseudo R 2	0.1584	0.083988	0.084535	0.091761	0.0955939	0.093653
Syx	1.608 df=8325					

Note. p value < 0.10; * p value < 0.05; ** p value < 0.01
Source: Own elaboration on the basis of data from EPF 2022.

On the other hand, being a woman (Sex) has a negative and significant effect (-0.2620), suggesting the existence of a gender gap in the behaviour of the dependent variable. In addition, living in the metropolitan region (Zmetro) has a positive impact (0.10150), which indicates that households in Santiago (the country's capital) experience better dependent variable results.

However, these results should be evaluated with caution, given the evidence of high dispersion in the income and expenditures of families at the macrozone level, which limits a consistent estimation of the regression coefficients. To overcome this problem, it has been estimated through a regression in quantiles.

Regarding the results of the regression in quantiles, how the impact of the variables varies along the distribution of the dependent variable was observed. In this case, the coefficient of log (total income) is higher in the low quantiles (P10: 0.68613) and progressively decreases to P90 (0.29597), which implies that income has a greater impact on households with low dependent variable values. This effect is attenuated in households with higher values. The number of people in the household has a relatively constant effect on all quantiles, indicating that its influence is homogeneous throughout the distribution.

However, the effect of having children is greater in the lower quantiles (P10: 0.25571) and fades in the upper quantiles, P90 (0.02501). This suggests that, in households with low values of the dependent variable, children have a positive effect, but in households with higher values, the effect is neutral or even negative. With respect to higher education, its impact is positive and significant in all quantiles, although it decreases slightly toward the higher quantiles, indicating that its effect is more pronounced in households in the lower part of the distribution.

Finally, the effect of living in a metropolitan area is stronger in the upper quantiles (P90: 0.15799), which suggests that the benefit of living in urban areas is more relevant for households with better results in the dependent variable.

On the other hand, the analysis of the regression results presents important differences between the estimation by OLS and the regression in quantiles, revealing heterogeneity in the effects of the explanatory variables on the dependent variable, whereas the regression OLS provides an average analysis of the effects of the explanatory variables.

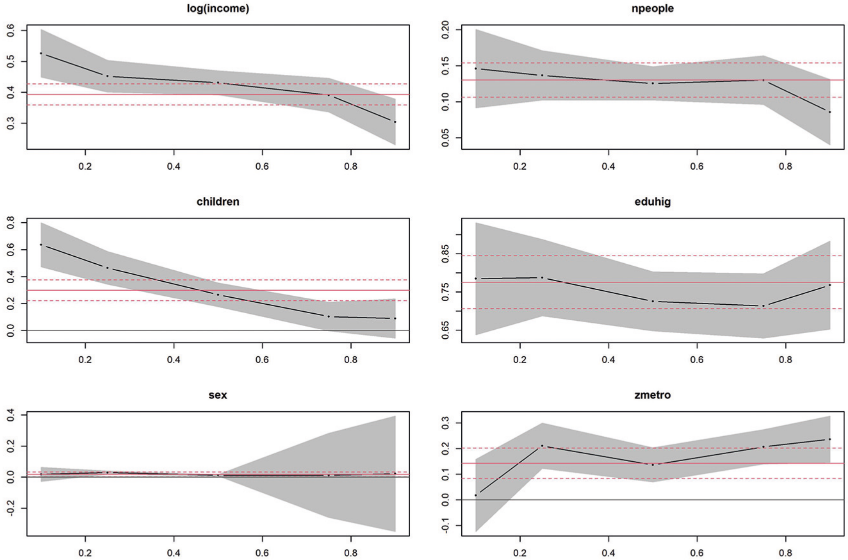
The regression in quantiles reveals greater complexity, showing how the effects of these variables change at different points in the distribution of the dependent variable. This allows us to capture the heterogeneity in the relationships between the variables, highlighting the importance of factors such as income, household size and education in different segments of the population.

Figure 1 illustrates the quantile regression coefficients for the dependent variable (cultural consumption) as a function of the independent variables: intercept, log(income) (logarithm of total income), npeople (number of people in the household), children, eduhig (higher education attainment), sex (gender), and zmetro (residence in a metropolitan area). The shaded regions represent the confidence intervals, and the horizontal zero line indicates the threshold for statistical significance.

The intercept shows significant variation across quantiles, reflecting baseline differences in cultural consumption along its distribution. For log (income) the coefficient decreases across quantiles, suggesting that income has a diminishing marginal effect on cultural consumption as one moves higher in the distribution. This implies that while income strongly influences cultural consumption among individuals or households with lower levels of consumption, its impact lessens for those already engaging heavily in cultural activities. This relationship is statistically significant in the lower and middle quantiles, as the confidence intervals do not cross the zero threshold, but it becomes less significant at the upper quantiles.

The number of people in the household (npeople) exhibits a negative relationship with cultural consumption across most quantiles. This effect becomes more pronounced in the higher quantiles, indicating that larger households may face constraints—such as financial or logistical barriers—that limit their ability to engage in cultural activities, particularly among those with higher baseline levels of consumption. Similarly, the number of children hows a decreasing trend in its effect, with a stronger negative relationship at the lower quantiles. This suggests that households with more children face greater constraints on cultural consumption, with the effect being more pronounced for those with lower levels of participation.

Figure 1.
Quantile regression of scores



Source: Own elaboration.

Higher education attainment (edusup) consistently demonstrates a positive and significant effect on cultural consumption across most quantiles, particularly in the middle and upper quantiles. This highlights the pivotal role of education in fostering cultural engagement, as individuals with higher education are more likely to prioritise and access cultural activities. On the other hand, gender (sex) does not show significant variation across quantiles, as the confidence intervals largely overlap with the zero line, indicating no substantial differences between men and women in their relationship with cultural consumption.

Residence in a metropolitan area (zmetro) exhibits notable variation across quantiles, with significant effects at specific points in the distribution. This suggests that living in a metropolitan area facilitates access to cultural opportunities, though the magnitude of this effect varies depending on the level of cultural consumption. For example, metropolitan residence might have a stronger impact on households with moderate or high levels of engagement, likely due to the greater availability and diversity of cultural activities in urban centres.

In summary, the quantile regression results highlight the non-uniform effects of the independent variables on cultural consumption across its distribution. Variables such as income, household size and education exhibit varying relationships depending on the quantile, emphasising the importance of considering distributional effects beyond average estimates. The findings reveal significant heterogeneity in the determinants of cultural consumption and underscore the need for tailored policy interventions. For instance, improving access to cultural activities for low-income households or for those with children could increase participation in the lower quantiles, while fostering educational attainment and expanding urban cultural infrastructure could yield broader benefits across the middle and upper quantiles of cultural consumption.

DISCUSSION

The analysis of the results obtained through ordinary least squares (OLS) regression and quantile regression provides a nuanced understanding of how socioeconomic factors influence cultural spending in Chilean households. While the OLS results indicate a positive and significant average impact of total income on cultural spending, the quantile regression reveals a decreasing elasticity of income, particularly in households with higher levels of expenditure (P90). This implies that for households with high cultural spending, income plays a relatively small role compared to households with lower spending levels. This trend aligns with the theory of consumption, which posits that as income increases, the proportion allocated to nonessential goods, such as cultural activities, decreases.

Regarding the number of people in the household, the findings from both OLS and quantile regression show a positive relationship across the distribution of cultural spending. However, this effect diminishes slightly in the higher quantiles, suggesting that household size is less relevant in cultural spending decisions among more affluent households. This could indicate that households with greater economic capacity face fewer financial constraints and are therefore less affected by household size.

The impact of the number of children is more pronounced in the lower quantiles (P10 and P25), reflecting the significance of childcare-related costs in households with limited cultural spending. For households with higher spending capacity, this effect disappears, suggesting that cultural consumption decisions in these households are less influenced by the presence of children.

Higher education emerges as a consistently strong determinant of cultural spending, with a positive and significant effect across all quantiles. This finding supports the hypothesis that individuals with higher education levels are more likely to consume cultural goods, likely due to a greater appreciation and awareness of cultural activities. The uniformity of this effect across the distribution underscores the pivotal role of education in fostering cultural engagement.

The gender variable (sex) does not show a significant effect in most quantiles, except for P75, where a slight influence is observed. This suggests that gender differences in cultural spending are minimal, except among households with higher spending levels, potentially due to differences in consumption preferences between men and women.

Residence in a metropolitan area has an increasingly positive effect as one moves up the distribution of cultural spending. The effect is more pronounced among households with higher cultural spending, highlighting greater access to and opportunities for cultural engagement in urban areas. This finding reinforces the idea that metropolitan households, due to proximity to cultural offerings, are more likely to engage in cultural consumption, particularly those with greater economic resources.

The estimation results show that income level, higher education and residing in the metropolitan region significantly influence household spending on culture and leisure, although their impact varies across the distribution of spending. In particular, income shows greater elasticity in households with lower cultural spending, while its effect diminishes in higher-spending households, suggesting relative saturation. Higher education has a positive and significant effect across all quantiles, indicating that it acts as a structural determinant of access to cultural goods and services beyond income level.

These findings are consistent with those of Katz-Gerro (2002) who, in a cross-national study of five countries, identified education as the most important explanatory factor for highbrow cultural consumption, surpassing even income. She also found that the influence of income on cultural consumption is not uniform across countries; in contexts such as Israel and the U.S., higher levels of cultural engagement are concentrated at the top of the social structure, whereas in Italy and West Germany, the distribution is broader. This diversity of patterns complements the evidence from Chile, where income is indeed relevant but exhibits decreasing elasticity, suggesting a potential saturation effect among higher-income households.

Regarding territorial variables, the fact that metropolitan households show higher cultural spending confirms the persistence of regional disparities, reinforcing the need for public policies with a territorial approach. Katz-Gerro also highlights the role of national and institutional contexts in shaping cultural consumption patterns, including welfare state configurations and the availability of cultural infrastructure, which aligns closely with the Chilean case, where cultural spending is concentrated in the capital and is lower in peripheral regions.

The use of quantile regression provides a more detailed view of the determinants of cultural consumption, revealing how income, household composition and education influence different levels of spending. This approach highlights the heterogeneity in cultural consumption across households, emphasising that one-size-fits-all policies may not be effective. Instead, targeted interventions should be designed to address the needs of households at different levels of cultural spending. For example, households with lower cultural spending, which exhibit greater income sensitivity, could benefit from direct subsidies or free access to cultural events. Similarly, extending cultural offerings to regions outside the metropolitan area could reduce geographic disparities and promote broader participation in cultural life.

In the context of unequal cultural access among territories, the welfare state gains relevance; the state's role in society and its cultural policy manifest in various ways, such as subsidies for artists, public employment programs and investment in cultural infrastructure. The role of the state encompasses the regulation of cultural activities, the provision of services and the subsidisation of cultural products. However, cultural sectors' increasing privatisation and pluralism mean that cultural development is now collaboratively determined by government, corporate actors and civil society. This has intensified debates about the balance between artistic autonomy and the role of state intervention in promoting equity and access to culture, especially through decentralisation initiatives and social stratification (Barrios & Muttis, 2025; Katz-Gerro, 2002).

CONCLUSIONS

This study analyses the cultural spending of Chilean households using data from the 2021–2022 Household Budget Survey, disaggregating results by macrozone and employing both OLS and quantile regression approaches. The findings reveal that total income, household size and educational level are key determinants of cultural spending, with variations in their impact across the distribution of spending. Income shows a diminishing influence in households with higher spending levels, while higher education consistently has a positive effect across all quantiles. Metropolitan residence significantly increases cultural spending, particularly in households with greater economic capacity.

These results underscore the importance of adopting segmented policy approaches to promote cultural consumption, tailored to the needs of households at different levels of cultural spending. For lower-spending households, direct subsidies or free access to cultural events could reduce economic barriers and foster participation. Addressing geographic disparities through cultural extension programs in macrozones outside the metropolitan area could also enhance access to cultural opportunities. For larger families, discounts for cultural and recreational activities could alleviate financial constraints and encourage greater engagement. Strengthening cultural education through accessible programs, especially for underserved populations, is another promising strategy to stimulate cultural participation.

While this study provides valuable insights, it has several limitations. The analysis is based on data from a specific time period and changes in economic or cultural contexts could alter the findings. Additionally, the quality and diversity of the cultural offerings were not directly evaluated, which could significantly influence spending patterns. Digital access to cultural goods, an increasingly important aspect of cultural consumption, was not either considered, potentially underestimating its impact.

Future research should address these limitations by exploring the role of cultural quality and diversity and by analysing both in-person and digital offerings. Investigating individual preferences and cultural habits through qualitative methods could also provide deeper insights into cultural consumption patterns. Evaluating the effectiveness of existing cultural policies, such as subsidies and extension programs, would help refine strategies to reduce disparities and promote equitable access to cultural goods and services. These efforts would contribute to fostering a more inclusive and dynamic cultural life in Chile.

There are aspects of territorial inequalities that are linked to class structures and other social linchpins, so it may be relevant to incorporate variables such as ethnic origin, cultural identity or religiosity, which can help explain territorial differences in cultural consumption in Chile.

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ARTÍCULO

ECONOMIC VALUE OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE: A CONTINGENT VALUATION ANALYSIS IN BAHIA BLANCA, ARGENTINA

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Tortul, M., Leonardi, V., & Viego, V. (2025). Economic value of intangible cultural heritage: A contingent valuation analysis in Bahia Blanca, Argentina. *Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1353-1376.

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Intangible cultural heritage has characteristics of public goods, which complicates both the determination of its economic value and the design of public policies. Such is the case of the Organismos Artísticos del Sur in Bahía Blanca, Argentina. This study applies the contingent valuation method to estimate the willingness to pay to keep this institution operating, using a Tobit model. The findings show that economic value is more strongly related to residents' perception and social appreciation of the artistic ensembles than to their own cultural capital. This result legitimises actions aimed at advancing their patrimonialisation process.

Keywords: Intangible cultural heritage; economic value; contingent valuation method; Tobit model; Bahia Blanca.
JEL: Z1, C24.

Tortul, M., Leonardi, V., & Viego, V. (2025). Valor económico del patrimonio cultural inmaterial: un análisis de valoración contingente en Bahía Blanca, Argentina. ***Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1353-1376.**

El patrimonio cultural inmaterial posee características propias de los bienes públicos, lo que dificulta tanto la estimación de su valor económico como el diseño de políticas públicas adecuadas. Tal es el caso de los Organismos Artísticos del Sur, en Bahía Blanca, Argentina. Este estudio aplica el método de valoración contingente, mediante un modelo Tobit, para estimar la disposición a pagar destinada a garantizar la continuidad de la institución. Los resultados muestran que el valor económico se explica principalmente por la percepción y la valoración social que los residentes otorgan a los cuerpos artísticos, más que por su capital cultural individual. Este hallazgo respalda la legitimidad de las acciones orientadas a consolidar su proceso de patrimonialización.

Palabras clave: patrimonio cultural inmaterial; valor económico; método de valoración contingente; modelo Tobit; Bahía Blanca.
JEL: Z1, C24.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, a series of transformations in the productive economy have been taking place worldwide, expressed through the relative loss of importance of the manufacturing sector in favour of the service industries, which includes the group of activities related to culture, leisure, and recreation (Herrero Prieto, 2001). Therefore, it is possible to conceive of a new paradigm of production and consumption, associated with society´s contemporary behaviour concerning culture.

In this context, cultural heritage (CH), in both its tangible and intangible forms (hereinafter referred to as TCH and ICH, respectively), emerges as a key resource for the economic diversification of territories in the face of globalisation processes. The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the ICH (2003) recognises it as a driver of sustainable development, while it also warns about the threats posed by the commodification of public goods. This perspective positions CH as a form of symbolic and social capital, comparable to human, manufactured, and natural capital—each essential for an inclusive development (Vondolia et al., 2022). Within this framework, it becomes relevant to explore the value that communities assign to their cultural expressions.

The debate surrounding the value of cultural heritage has evolved. Numerous authors agree that it arises from the interaction between its cultural, social, and economic dimensions, invoking comprehensive approaches both in research and in management (Ballart et al., 1996; Greffe, 1990; Montagut Marqués, 2015; Rojas, 2000; Throsby, 2001; Vicente & de Frutos, 2011; Villaça, 2015).

From the field of cultural economics, Angelini and Castellani (2019) provide a state-of-the-art overview of the distinction between cultural value and economic value. Cultural value is the benefit derived by community members from being in the presence of an object considered beautiful. It is typically perceived by both experts and members of the community. In turn, economic value entails some kind of monetary expression about the use value, the non-use value, and the induced value (Herrero Prieto, 2001; Throsby, 2001, 2008; among others). Use value derives from the current utilisation of the good by society, while non-use value corresponds to the desire of individuals to preserve the good, even if they do not make direct use of its services or functions at present.

While Bonus and Ronte (1997), among others, consider that cultural value is incorporated in the economic dimension, Throsby (2001) posit that economic value constitutes a distinct dimension. Throsby's (2001) argument for detaching cultural from economic value is grounded in a demand-based conception of economic value, particularly focused on the spectators' willingness to pay. Nonetheless, economic value also incorporates elements from the labour theory of value, which considers the production costs of heritage goods—an aspect that could potentially influence other forms of value.

A third kind of value is the sociocultural one, closely linked to the consumer aesthetic experience. This experience enables the activation and recognition of various dimensions of perceived value, such as aesthetic, symbolic, cognitive, and social dimensions (Heredia-Carroza et al., 2021). These authors also argue that the recognition of sociocultural value largely depends on the ability of communities to identify and assign meaning to these dimensions, upon which their own cultural identity is built and reinforced. Furthermore, the degree to which individuals can appropriate cultural goods is mediated by their cultural and symbolic capital—that is, their ability to understand, reinterpret, and engage with these goods based on their own knowledge, life paths, and identities (Ibacache, 2019). Although these elements enrich the notion of value attributed to cultural goods, these aspects are difficult to conceptualise and even more so to measure (Rojas, 2000).

This study assumes that cultural, social, and economic values constitute distinct yet interrelated dimensions. In other words, although each one has specific characteristics, their development and expression influence one another, generating cross-cutting effects in the production, circulation, and appropriation of cultural goods.

Regarding the economic dimension, there are various methods for estimating use and non-use values. Among them are revealed preference methods (such as the travel cost method, hedonic pricing method, and replacement cost method) and stated preference methods (such as the contingent valuation method –CVM– and choice experiments). Finally, the induced value is usually approximated with the economic impact method. Herrero Prieto et al. (2003) argue that the CVM is particularly important for measuring the economic value of goods that do not have an identified market. The CVM seeks to estimate people's willingness to pay (WTP) by creating hypothetical scenarios. This method has been widely applied to estimate WTP for cultural goods and services in Europe and, more restrictedly, in Latin America. Also, empirical research on WTP applied to cultural economics has focused on TCH. The reference also highlights the paucity of studies on the valuation of ICH.

The objective of this paper is to analyse the economic value of ICH. Specifically, it seeks to estimate the economic value of ICH related to the performing arts in Bahía Blanca, Argentina.

The city of Bahía Blanca is a particularly interesting case study. It is an intermediate, port, and an industrial city. It constitutes a relevant communications node that positions it as one of the most solid and dynamic economic, social, and cultural hubs in the south of the country (Diez & Pasciaroni, 2018). Its cultural offering is wide and thriving, provided by independent and public artists and cultural institutions (museums, libraries, folklore studios, theatre companies, art education schools, etc.).

In particular, the artistic bodies of the Provincial Cultural Institute, known as the *Organismos Artísticos del Sur* (OAS), operate in the city. The OAS are composed of three artistic bodies of great importance. They are the Ballet del Sur, the Bahía Blanca Symphony Orchestra, and the Bahía Blanca Stable Choir. The Ballet del Sur and the Symphony Orchestra were created more than 50 years ago, while the Choir was formed in the 1990s. They have a permanent artistic staff and auxiliary artistic, technical, administrative, and general maintenance personnel; they employ approximately 300 workers and give more than 50 performances a year, some of which are free and others recompensed.

Although the OAS offer high-quality performances, arbitrarily distinguished as "high culture", the lack of knowledge about the value and meaning that society attaches to them prevents reflection on the adequacy of the budgets they receive for their management, as well as on the possible policies to advance access to these goods.

In this context, we offer estimations of the value attributed to the OAS by the local community. We estimate the WTP for maintaining these artistic bodies by means of the CVM, using a model known as Tobit. The data come from our own survey carried out in 2022. The main hypothesis is that the economic value of the OAS is an increasing function of people's perception and social valuation of the bodies and, to a lesser extent, of their own cultural capital.

The balance of the paper is structured as follows. Following this introduction, the theoretical framework and background on the use of the CVM to estimate the economic value of cultural goods is presented. Third, the methodology of the paper is explained. Fourth, the results are presented and discussed. Finally, some final reflections are presented.

FRAME OF REFERENCE

Economic valuation methods for cultural and heritage assets without an identified market

Environmental economics provides tools for assigning monetary values to public and quasi-public goods and services, which have also been applied in the field of cultural and heritage economics. Among these, the CVM is particularly important because it provides information about the non-use and use value of goods that do not have a defined market. The economic value of non-use is associated with the value that citizens attach to the existence of a certain cultural good or service or to a change in its quality (Herrero Prieto et al., 2003). The value of use is associated with the value generated by the actual consumption, as an element of recreation and the use of free time.

The CVM consists of the simulation of a hypothetical or contingent market in order to determine the price of non-traded goods. One of the ways of simulating this market is by conducting surveys, where the interviewee is asked to declare his or her WTP for maintaining or possibly using a certain asset or service (Montagut

Marqués, 2015). In other words, it is not the value of its effective use but rather the right-to-use.

In general, the CVM has several advantages over other methods of estimating the value of non-market goods. Among them: it is a direct method of valuation, through which the individuals interviewed express a WTP for preserving the characteristics of the asset in question. In other words, it allows us to know the use and non-use value (existence value, or value for bequeathing the asset to future generations). In short, it accounts for the total value of the asset and not a partial value. Moreover, it can be applied to almost all cases (Herrero Prieto et al., 2003; Montagut Marqués, 2015).

On the other hand, the main drawback is the presence of biases linked to the application of the instruments, the design of the study, and the hypothetical nature of the assessment exercise. This derives from the use of surveys as a means of data collection. In these cases, the WTP responses may be biased depending upon the way in which they are asked. In particular, bias due to the starting point, bias due to the means or vehicle of payment, interviewer bias, order bias, and information bias. In turn, the biases arising from the hypothetical nature of the exercise refer to the non-response bias originating in the fatigue or lack of understanding of the participant (Osorio Múnera & Correa Restrepo, 2009).

Thus, a critical aspect of the method is the way in which the valuation question is posed, which subsequently allows the WTP to be estimated. In fact, there are different alternatives. One of them is to ask an open-ended question, where the respondent directly reports his/her individual WTP. The WTP thus obtained is calculated as the mean or median of the distribution of reported payments (Willis, 2014). This WTP can also be estimated through parametric models, specifying a censored regression model known as Tobit, which allows establishing that a considerable portion of respondents are not willing to pay anything to keep the cultural assets or services. This is the alternative used in this paper.

Another option is to pose a discrete choice, where different specific prices are proposed and the respondent must decide whether to accept them or not. The latter variant is known as a discrete choice question. WTP can be estimated using either non-parametric or parametric methods. Herrero Prieto et al. (2003) and Montagut Marqués (2015) review different options to estimate discrete choice models.

Some authors point out certain advantages of estimating WTP using an open-ended question. For example, Parra et al. (2005) indicate that it is a more flexible format as it does not require any assumptions. Moreover, descriptive or inferential statistics can be used for estimation (Jaramillo-Villanueva et al., 2013). Also, by not presenting guide prices, instrument application biases are reduced. Table 1 summarises the estimation methods that can be used to calculate WTP according to the type of question defined in the questionnaires.

Table 1.
Methods to estimate WTP

Open question	**Discrete choice question / Open question**	**Discrete choice question**
Parametric methods: • Average reported payments • Median reported payments • Tobit model (Tobin, 1958)	**Non-parametric methods:** • Algorithm of An and Ayala (1966) • Algorithm of Ayer et al. (1955) • Algorithm of Turnbull (1976)	**Parametric methods:** • Logit model • Probit model • Spike model

Background

In the field of cultural economics, a vast number of studies have been carried out with the aim of estimating the economic value of cultural assets and services that do not have an identified market, such as heritage. Methods based on revealed or stated preference, grouped by the CVM approach, have been widely disseminated in this field. Noonan (2003) finds that 53 academic papers using the CVM to estimate the WTP for cultural assets were published in the period 1972-2002.

However, empirical evidence shows that most research applied to cultural heritage focus on TCH and estimate WTP from a discrete choice question. A smaller number of studies estimate the WTP for TCH from an open-ended question and then calculate the mean and median as estimates of the WTP. For example, Roche (1999) with regards to the SODRE theatre (Montevideo, Uruguay), Santagata and Singorello (2000) on Napoli Musei Aperti, Herrero Prieto et al. (2003) on the National Museum of Sculpture and the Patio Herreriano Museum of Contemporary Art, located in Valladolid (Spain), Montagut Marqués (2015) on three architectural cultural assets of the Valencian local heritage in Spain, among others.

Research on the economic value of ICH has been less extensively explored. In this regard, the CVM stands out as a common approach, as seen in the works of Hansen (1997), Thompson et al. (2002), Snowball (2005), Hidalgo (2019), and Vondolia et al. (2022), discussed below. Other methods, such as the total economic method applied by Aguado et al. (2024) or Tortul and Leonardi (2023), are based on input-output relations and require a shock to be transmitted through a chain of connected industries linked or specially prepared for a cultural event (kiosks, gifts, accommodations, etc.). These methods are better suited to value massive cultural events. Conversely, they are less suitable for ICH organised with a permanent supply, like regular artistic bodies.

Regarding the studies that use the CVM, one of the pioneering works is that of Hansen (1997), who obtained economic value estimates for the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen, Denmark, by assessing non-use values through an open-ended question. Three performing arts companies operate in this theatre: an orchestra, a ballet, and an opera. The results indicate that, although a large proportion of the

Danish population (93%) had not visited the theatre in the year prior to the study, they were still willing to pay an option price for its non-use value (existence, legacy, prestige).

In turn, Thompson et al. (2002) estimate the economic value of artistic performances in Kentucky (USA), conducting surveys with local residents and arts-supporting households. Different scenarios are proposed to participants requiring information about their WTP, either to increase artistic supply by a given figure or to prevent a reduction of different sizes in supply. They are also asked to indicate their level of certainty regarding the donation. The authors provide different estimation strategies; in the conditional variant, they include explanatory variables for WTP such as income level, education, attendance at artistic events, and indirect consumption of artistic activities (TV, radio, etc.). The study finds that WTP increases with frequency of attendance, household income, indirect use, and decreases as the amount of public subsidy increases. These effects are robust to the estimation method.

Notable advances in the study of the economic value of ICH in developing countries include the works of Snowball (2005), Hidalgo (2019), and Vondolia et al. (2022). Snowball (2005) estimates the economic value of two festivals periodically organised in two towns in South Africa. The author surveys the community to determine whether they would be willing to pay higher taxes to prevent a 25% reduction in the festival's activities, aiming to capture the option value of future consumption. The WTP is estimated using a Logit model, with monthly WTP values ranging from USD 1 to USD 2.7 dollars. A conditional WTP is also estimated. The variables considered include the number of performances attended, the amount of money spent on shows, the hours spent at the festival (including both free and paid events), education, age, gender, among others. The author finds that income influences WTP, but individuals with low income may be willing to pay if they perceive symbolic or social value in the event. Additionally, education influences both the ability to understand and appreciate artistic proposals, and personal interest or emotional connection with the type of artistic expression also affects the WTP. These findings suggest that cultural, social, and economic values are recognised as distinct yet interdependent dimensions.

Hidalgo (2019) researched the Carnival of Negros y Blancos, held in Pasto, Colombia. The determinants or factors associated with these point values are not analysed. The author found that 56% of local spectators were willing to pay a hypothetical monetary amount to enjoy the parades during their stay in the city of Pasto. The others were not willing to pay any amount, as they believed that the Carnival is a popular celebration that should be fully funded with public resources. The average WTP is around USD 6 dollars. Upper-middle-class women, young people aged 19 to 28, university graduates with postgraduate degrees, and individuals earning between 4 and 5 minimum wages per month reveal the highest WTP. Tourists are willing to pay nearly 4 times more than residents.

More recently, Vondolia et al. (2022) estimated the WTP for preserving the traditional "*kente*" cloth of Ghana using the CVM. The authors applied a Logit model to analyse the probability that respondents would agree (yes/no) to pay a given amount as part of their stated WTP. More than 60% of respondents expressed support for the creation of national centres to preserve and promote the textile activity. The average annual WTP per household was approximately USD 5 dollars. As expected, households with higher levels of formal education show a greater willingness to pay. Also, individuals who are familiar with the *kente* and recognise its CH are also more likely to contribute to its preservation. WTP remains high even among those who do not live near *kente* production centres, suggesting that its value exceeds the local boundaries and achieves national relevance.

Given this background, we set forth the following hypothesis: the economic value of the OAS is an increasing function of people's perception and social valuation of organisms, rather than their own cultural capital.

METHODOLOGY

To empirically estimate the WTP for the classical art expressions provided by the OAS, the methodology of this study is divided into four stages: (1) Valuation method, (2) Design of the empirical work, (3) Data collection and (4) Data analysis (Table 2).

Table 2.
Study methodology

Empirical estimation of WTP		
1. Valuation method: Choice of valuation method	**2. Methodology for the design and implementation of the empirical work:** • Questionnaire design • Choice of sampling method • Fieldwork	**3. Methodology for data analysis:** • Evaluation of the sample • Construction of relevant variables • Description of the sample • Estimation of the WTP

Valuation method

The methodology used to estimate the value that the BB population places on the expressions of classical art provided by the OAS is the CVM. We estimate the WTP based on an open question. Specifically, we asked what is the maximum amount they would be willing to pay to support the activities of these artistic bodies. This will allow us to analyse the non-use value.

Methodology for designing and carrying out the empirical work

At this stage, the questionnaire design and sampling method is determined. In relation to the survey design, we chose a questionnaire structured in five sections. Section 1 contains 16 questions that aim to capture the degree of knowledge, participation and interest of the interviewees in the functions offered by each of the OAS organisations. Section 2 proposes 13 statements aimed at ascertaining the social valuation of these artistic bodies. Section 3 attempts to determine the economic valuation of the expressions of high culture offered by the OAS. We asked what would be the maximum amount of money that each person would be willing to contribute on a monthly basis to support the proper functioning of these companies. Section 4 seeks to ascertain the characteristics of the respondent's cultural environment, both current and based on his or her childhood. Finally, section five looks at their demographic and socio- economic situation.

We chose an incidental sampling method to collect the data. We carried out a hybrid fieldwork combining virtual and face-to-face surveys. The virtual survey was conducted using Google Form between August and December 2022. The face-to-face surveys were conducted between October and December 2022 in public spaces (squares, parks, shopping centres), to capture different profiles of people. In order to assess the inferential possibilities, we compared basic socio-demographic variables (age, gender, educational level) to population values.

Methodology for data analysis

The data analysis is carried out in four stages: (i) sample assessment; (ii) definition and construction of relevant variables; (iii) sample exploration; (iv) estimation of the econometric model. We describe the methodology used in each case below.

Assessment of the sample

We assessed the representativeness of the sample in terms of the socio-demographic characteristics mentioned. The sample distribution was compared with the official Household Survey results (INDEC, 2023) that arise from surveys using random sampling and whose domain is the urban area of Bahía Blanca. Specifically, the goodness of fit of the sample is evaluated in terms of sex, age groups and educational level. The hypothesis test of equality of proportions is performed where the test statistic is distributed as an X2 of one degree of freedom.

Definition and construction of relevant variables

Table 3 presents the relevant variables and their expected relationship with the dependent variable.

Table 3.
Definition of variables

Dimensions	Variables	Description
Dependent variable	DAP	Indicates the maximum willingness to pay per month to keep the OAS in operation. Answer an open-ended question.
	DAPC	Categorical version of WTP. It takes value 0 if the individual is not willing to contribute monetarily (WTP = 0) and 1 if he/she is willing (WTP > 0). For descriptive analysis only.
Independent socio-demographic control variables	SEX	Categorical variable indicating the self-reported gender of the respondent (0 female; 1 male; 2 other).
	AGE	Discrete variable indicating the age of the respondent in years.
	AGEC	Categorical version of AGE (18-40; 41-60; over 60). To analyse of representativeness of the sample.
	EDU	Highest level of education attained. Categorical variable with 3 levels (Primary; Secondary; Higher).
Independent variables associated with the respondent's perception of the OAS	ISPV	Self-constructed index that indicates the social and patrimonial value that the respondent gives to the OAS. A direct relationship is expected, since the higher the social and patrimonial valuation of the OAS, the higher the expected willingness to pay to support them is.
	KNOW	Binary variable that indicates whether or not the respondent knows the OAS. An ambiguous sign is expected. On the one hand, an inverse relationship could indicate that those who do not know the OAS may want to have the option of experiencing it in the future and are therefore willing to pay a larger sum of money to ensure its functioning (option value). However, a positive relationship might indicate that those who know the art entities in question are willing to contribute more for their maintenance.
Independent variables associated with the respondent's cultural capital	IEEC	Self-constructed index that indicates the degree of early exposure to the culture of the respondent. A direct relationship is expected, as those who had contact with cultural events during childhood are willing to contribute a larger sum to support the OAS.
	IIHC	Self-constructed index indicating the degree of interest in high culture. We expect a positive sign, indicating that those who have a greater interest or taste for the classical arts report a higher WTP.

The construction of the indices attempts to avoid redundancy of explanatory variables and possible problems of multicollinearity, which could arise when including variables that capture similar effects. We constructed three indices: of social and patrimonial value (ISPV), of early exposure to culture (IEEC) and of interest or taste for high culture (IIHC).

The ISPV is the average of eight categorical variables that indicate the degree of agreement with different aspects of the social and patrimonial recognition that the individual gives to the OAS. These variables are recorded on a 3-point Likert-type scale (0 if the respondent does not agree at all; 1, slightly agree; and 2, strongly agree). The ISPV is thus distributed between [0; 2]. These statements are presented below:

- V1: The Symphony Orchestra, the Ballet del Sur and/or the Stable Choir are part of the cultural heritage of the city of BB.
- V2: It is necessary to disseminate the activities and performances of classical music, singing and dancing.
- V3: Future generations have the right to enjoy the performances of the Symphony Orchestra, the Ballet del Sur and/or the Stable Choir.
- V4*: The Symphony Orchestra, the Ballet del Sur and/or the Stable Choir have not been able to renew themselves for young people.
- V5: The activities of the Symphony Orchestra, the Ballet del Sur and/or the Stable Choir are part of my cultural life.
- V6*: It is impossible to prevent the Symphony Orchestra, the Ballet del Sur and/or the Stable Choir from disappearing as an artistic activity.
- V7: The Symphony Orchestra, the Ballet del Sur and/or the Stable Choir are in danger of continuity.
- V8: It is important that we show our support for the Symphony Orchestra, the Ballet del Sur and/or the Stable Choir.

Variables marked with *(V4 and V6) have a negative impact on social and asset valuation, so the scale is inverted, taking a value of 0 when the individual strongly agrees, 1, slightly agrees and 2, does not agree at all. The EITC arises as the average of five categorical variables and is distributed between [0; 2]:

- CLASSES, is a binary variable that takes value 1 if individual i has ever taken art classes, and 0 otherwise.
- CMCO, CMCL and CDCL, indicate whether choral music, classical music and classical dance performances were absorbed in the respondent's childhood home, respectively. These are categorical variables that take a value of 0 if these goods were never expended, 1 if consumption was sporadic and 2 if consumption was frequent.

- ENVIRONMENT shows whether the respondent's childhood home was an environment conducive to the appreciation and development of artistic-cultural activities. It is a categorical variable that takes values of 0, if the environment was not at all conducive; 1, not very conducive; 2, quite conducive; and 3, completely conducive.

Finally, the IIHC results from the average of three categorical variables and is distributed between [0; 3]: IBALLET, IMUSIC and IOPERA. The three are ordinal variables indicating the degree of interest in ballet, classical music and opera, respectively. They vary in the range [0; 3], taking a value of 0 when the respondent does not like the artistic genre and 3, when he/she likes it very much.

We assessed the index reliability with the Cronbach's Alpha. This coefficient has been subject to different debates as to its validity for interpreting Likert-type scales (Gliem & Gliem, 2003). However, Oviedo and Campo-Arias (2005) point out that values between 0.70 and 0.90 denote acceptable measurement power. Likewise, to evaluate the contribution of each item to the index, we analysed the covariance between each component and the index and the effect of removing each variable. If the contribution of any item is low (COV<0.5), it is removed and the index is recalculated to improve its power.

Exploration of the sample

We use descriptive statistics to carry out the exploratory analysis. The median, mean, standard deviation, maximum and minimum values of continuous variables are studied. In the case of categorical variables, we studied the absolute and relative frequencies. In addition, we evaluated the presence of statistical dependence and the correlation between the WTP and the independent variables. To do so, Pearson's correlation coefficient is studied for the numerical variables (AGE, IEEC, IVSCP, IIHC). For the categorical variables, the ANOVA test was used to evaluate whether the mean WTP differs between the groups studied (SEX, EDU, KNOW). A 95% confidence level was used as a decision criterion.

Econometric estimation of WTP

Finally, the fourth step of the analysis consists of econometrically estimating the conditioning factors of WTP. For this purpose, the regression model proposed by Tobin (1958) was used, because the valuation question is open-ended and the dependent variable is censored at zero. The distribution of a censored variable is a mixture of a continuous and a discrete distribution. In this case, it is not appropriate to use the linear regression model estimated for ordinary least squares, as it provides biased and inconsistent estimates (Long, 1997).

WTP is assumed to be a directly unobservable (latent) variable such that (1)

$$WTP_i^* = X_i\beta_i + u_i;\ \ u_i \sim \text{N}\ (\mu;\ \sigma^2) \tag{1}$$

Where: X_i* is the matrix of explanatory variables, β_i is the vector of associated parameters, and u_i is the error term. The regression coefficients returned by a Tobit model are interpreted in the same way as those of least squares (OLS), but referring to the uncensored latent variable (DAP*).

However, what we actually observe is the variable WTP which is related to WTP* by the following rule (2).

$$WTP_i = \{DAP_i^*\ si\ DAP_i^* > 0\}\ ;\ WTP_i = \{0\ si\ WTP_i^* \leq 0\} \tag{2}$$

The probability associated with observations for which the WTP variable is zero is given by equation (3).

$$Pr\ (WTP = 0 \mid \mu) = Pr\ (WTP^* \leq 0 \mid \mu) = Pr\ (ui \leq \mu) = \emptyset\left(-\frac{X_i}{\sigma}\right) \tag{3}$$

Where the density is function of the normal distribution is φ and the standard deviation of the distribution of the latent variable is σ. For positive values of WTP we have (4).

$$Pr\ (WTP_i > 0) = f(WTP *_i > 0) = f(u_i) = \frac{1}{\sigma}\ \emptyset\left(\frac{WTP_i - X_i}{\sigma}\right) \tag{4}$$

Empirically, the willingness to pay arising from the open-ended question (WTP) was analysed according to the set of sociodemographic control variables, the set associated with the perception of OAS and cultural capital. The estimated empirical equation of the full regression model describing the behaviour of WTP is (5).

$$\begin{gathered} WTP_i = f\ (\beta_0;\ \beta_1 SEX_i;\ \beta_2 AGE_i;\ \ \beta_3 EDU_i;\ \beta_4 ISPV_i; \\ \beta_5 KNOW_i;\ \beta_6 IEEC_i;\ \beta_7 IIHC_i;\ \varepsilon_i) \end{gathered} \tag{5}$$

Where: the variables WTP, SEX, AGE, EDU, ISPV, KNOW, IEEC and IIHC are defined as in the previous section and ε_i is the random element.

The null hypothesis for the regression model is that the parameters accompanying the conditioning variables are equal to zero, i.e., not significant. Conversely, the alternative hypothesis is that they are non-zero or significant.

In a second stage, the restricted model is estimated considering only the variables that were significant in the estimation of the full model (4), in order to improve the estimation in terms of lower standard errors. From this restricted model, the mean value of the predicted WTP is calculated and compared with the mean value of the WTP variable and the value predicted by the unconditioned Tobit model to analyse its consistency. Then, we extrapolated it to the target population to ascertain the annual revenue that could be obtained by contributing to the financing of the OAS (6). Finally, we computed marginal effects to estimate the effect of the independent variables on the observed WTP. These weight the estimated parameters (β) by the probability of observing a positive WTP (P (WTP* > 0)).

$$\begin{gathered} Potencial\ annual\ revenue = \\ monthy\ mean\ estimated\ WTP * 12 * population\ over\ 18\ years\ old \end{gathered} \tag{6}$$

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Assessment of the sample

We obtained 398 valid responses. The comparison with the official Household Survey results (INDEC, 2023) shows that some strata are over-represented, such as: women, young people and people with higher education. In relation to the number of middle-aged adults and people with secondary education, the sample does not show significant biases (Table 4).

Table 4
Sample composition

Variable	Category	Sample		Population		Test
		Ni	%	Ni	%	*p*-value
Sex	Woman	233	59	128,884	53	0.0267
	Man	163	41	114,910	47	0.0157
Age	18-40	232	58	106,135	44	0.0000
	41-60	124	31	75,409	31	0.946*
	Over 60	42	11	32,250	25	0.0000
Highest educational level	Primary	19	5	51,200	21	0.0000
	Secondary	182	46	100,462	41	0.055*
	Superior	197	49	92,132	38	0.0000

* NRH0 for equal proportions with 95% confidence.
Source: Based on fieldwork and EHP (INDEC, 2023).

Definition and construction of relevant variables

The indices constructed to reflect social and heritage valuation concerning the OAS, early exposure to the respondent's culture and interest in high culture are valid for measuring the characteristics of interest. However, some items show a low correlation. Therefore, we excluded them to improve their overall power. This is the case of the variable CLASSES (COVCLASSES; IEEC=0.495), V4 (COVVV4; ISPV=0.4376), V5 (COVVV5; IVSP=0.433) and V7 (COVVV7; IVSP=0.4836). In a second round, the variable V6 (COVVV6; IVSP=0.4689) is also removed. Table 5 presents the final composition of these indices and the validity of their components.

Table 5.
Composition and validity of the indices of social and heritage valuation of the OAS, early exposure to culture and taste for high culture

Index	Item	Obs	Sign	COV item-test	Cronbach´s alpha
IEEC	CMCO	398	+	0.8315	0.7558
	CMCL	398	+	0.8467	0.7435
	CDCL	398	+	0.8053	0.7759
	ENVIRONMET	396	+	0.743	0.8196
	Global test				0.8211
ISPV	V1	398	+	0.7155	0.6987
	V2	398	+	0.7826	0.6373
	V3	398	+	0.7123	0.7014
	V8	398	+	0.7696	0.65
	Global test				0.7328
IIHC	IBALLET	398	+	0.7918	0.6621
	IMUSIC	398	+	0.8515	0.4862
	IOPERA	398	+	0.7666	0.7051
	Global test				0.7173

Exploratory analysis of the sample

The average value of the WTP to keep the OAS in good working order is USD 0.80 dollars per month. However. this value includes 69% of respondents who are not willing to contribute monetarily.

In terms of the socio-demographic characterisation of the sample. 59% are women; most are under 40 years of age and the proportion of respondents with secondary and tertiary or higher education stands out. As mentioned in the previous section a bias in favour of these categories is evident. Regarding the variables associated with the participant´s perception of the OAS the ISPV presents a bias to the right indicating a high social and patrimonial valuation of the OAS bodies among the local community. Concerning the variables associated with cultural capital, the IEEC is biased towards the lower values denoting a low early exposure of the interviewed public to culture. The opposite is true for IIHC (Table 6).

Table 6.
Participants' characteristics: Basic descriptive statistics

	Variable	N	%	Median	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Dependent variable	WTP	398		0	0.80	1.78	0	17.88
	WTPC	398						
	0 No	275	69					
	1 Yes	123	31					
Sociodemographic control independent variables	SEX*	396						
	AGE	397		35	38	16	18	78
	EDU*	398						
Independent variables associated with the perception of the OAS	ISPV	398		2	1.71	0.45	0	2
	KNOW	398						
	0 No	68	17					
	1 Yes	330	83					
Independent variables associated with cultural capital	IEEC	398		0.75	0.78	0.59	0	2.25
	IIHC	398		1.33	1.30	0.78	0	3

* Table 4 shows a detail of the categories.

Table 6 shows the statistical dependence and correlation analysis between WTP and the independent variables. Regarding the socio-demographic control variables. there is only a negative linear correlation with AGE. This indicates that the younger the person is the more likely he/she is willing to pay a higher value to support the OAS. On the other hand, there are no significant differences between the average willingness to pay of women and men nor between groups with different educational levels. Concerning the variables associated with the respondent's perception of the OAS we observed a positive linear correlation with ISPV corroborating that the higher the social and patrimonial valuation of the institution the higher the willingness to pay for it. However, the significance analysis at the established confidence level shows borderline values. Furthermore, we found that the average willingness to pay for the OAS is significantly higher among the group that does not know the organisation, which could confirm the intuition that the option value of those who do not know the OAS is higher and therefore their WTP is higher. Finally, we found no significant linear relationship with the variables associated with cultural capital.

Table 7.
Statistical dependency analysis

	Variable	Mean	Pearson's correlation	*p*-value
Dependent variable	WTP			
Sociodemographic control independent variables	SEX Mujer Varón	0.82 0.76		0.7288
	AGE		-0.14	0.006*
	EDU Primario Secundario Superior	0.75 0.75 0.85		0.8502
Independent variables associated with the perception of the OAS	ISPV		0.1	0.050*
	KNOW			
	0 No	1.35		
	1 Yes	0.69		0.004*
Independent variables associated with cultural capital	IEEC		0.04	0.4030
	IIHC		0.04	0.3933

* RH0 for equality of WTP between groups with 95% confidence. The statistic is significant.

Econometric analysis of the WTP

Table 8 summarises the estimation of the full and restricted econometric model.

Table 8.
Econometric estimation of WTP

	Full model			**Restricted model**		
WTP	**BETA (*p*-value)**	**St error**	**[95% CI] De**	**BETA (*p*-value)**	**St. Error**	**[95% CI]**
SEX	-0.52 (0.345)	0.55	[-1.59; 0.56]			
AGE	-0.07 (0.000)*	0.02	[-0.11; -0.03]	-0.06 (0.000)*	0.02	[-0.09; 0.03]
EDU. secondary	-1.39 (0.213)	1.11	[-3.58; 0.80]			
EDU. superior	-0.91 (0.403)	1.09	[-3.06; 1.23]			
ISPV	2.70 (0.000*)	0.75	[1.23; 4.17]	2.98 (0.000)*	0.74	[1.51; 4.44]
KNOW	-2.14 (0.002*)	0.70	[-3.52; -0.76]	-2.12 (0.002)*	0.68	[-3.45; -0.79]
IEEC	0.04 (0.936)	0.47	[-0.89; 0.97]			

(Continued)

	Full model			Restricted model		
WTP	**BETA (*p*-value)**	**St error**	**[95% CI] De**	**BETA (*p*-value)**	**St. Error**	**[95% CI]**
IIHC	0.30 (0.445)	0.40	[-0.48; 1.09]			
β_0	-1.63 (0.327)	1.66	[-4.90; 1.64]	-3.30 (0.014)*	1.33	[-5.93; -0.67]
ESTIMATED WTP	0.81	0.48		0.82	0.46	

* Variables significant at 95% confidence.

Regarding the significance of the socio-demographic control variables as anticipated by the correlation analysis only the inverse relationship with age is significant.

The restricted model which includes only the significant variables improves the estimate. On average, citizens over 18 are willing to pay USD 0.82 dollars per month with a 95% confidence interval of [0.77. 0.88]. This prediction is consistent with but more accurate than the calculation of the mean value of the WTP variable and the value predicted by the unconditional Tobit model (Table 9). This would imply a potential annual revenue of USD 2.103.733 dollars.

Table 9.
Point estimate of WTP and 95% confidence intervals

Estimation method	Mean per month (USD)	St. Dev. (USD)	95% confidence interval
Mean WTP	0.80	1.78	[0.62; 0.98]
Non conditioned Tobit	0.82	0	[0.16; 51.09]
Conditioned Tobit	0.82	0.46	[0.77; 0.87]

In particular, a citizen one year younger is willing to pay USD 0.02 dollars more; an increase in the social valuation of the OAS by one point increases the WTP by USD 0.90 dollars although knowing the institution reduces the willingness to pay by USD 0.63 dollars possibly because the option value is exhausted (Table 10).

Table 10.
Marginal effects

WTP	dDAP/dx (*p*-value)	St. Error	[95% CI]
AGE	-0.02 (0.000)*	0.00	[-0.03; -0.01]
ISPV	0.90 (0.000)*	0.21	[0.47; 1.33]
KNOW	-0.63 (0.001)*	0.20	[-1.03; -0.24]

Discussion

In the estimation of the full model. only the variables associated with the perception and valuation of the OAS are significant in explaining the WTP. Thus, we found an interesting result that partially corroborates the hypothesis of the paper. The economic value of the OAS depends on the social valuation that residents assign to these artistic bodies rather than on their own cultural capital. However, the variables associated with the cultural capital of the respondents may present multicollinearity with the ISPV which could affect their statistical significance. This would suggest an indirect relationship between cultural capital and WTP as cultural capital influences the social valuation of the OAS which in turn conditions their economic value.

An original finding of this study is the inverse relationship observed between being aware of the existence of the OAS and the WTP to keep them operating. This result may be associated with a greater motivation to preserve what is unknown which reinforces the relevance of option value in the case of ICH.

These results are partially in line with the reviewed literature. For example, as with Snowball (2005) and Vondolia et al. (2022) we find that the WTP for the analysed ICH is influenced by the appreciation of the asset as part of local identity or heritage. Likewise, the indirect relationship with cultural capital is also noteworthy. In this case, cultural capital—associated with early exposure to culture and a family environment favourable to cultural development—positively influences social value which in turn affects economic value.

One difference compared to the findings in the literature is that the aforementioned studies highlight that in developing contexts even low-income populations may value ICH goods due to their symbolic and community dimensions. Although income is not included in this study due to the limitations previously mentioned education is considered as a proxy for socioeconomic status. However, in this case, no significant relationship was found between education level and the WTP to contribute to the OAS budget.

The estimated WTP value may be assessed low (USD 0.80 dollars/month) compared to the studies reviewed. This is attributed to the fact that WTP is constrained by a sample in which 69% of respondents are not willing to pay to maintain the OAS. This contrasts with the results of Vondolia et al. (2022) and Hidalgo (2019) who find that more than 60% and 50% of respondents respectively, report a positive WTP.

Finally, it is worth pointing out some limitations associated with the fieldwork. On the one hand, it is recognised that the sample is incidental and not probabilistic which could limit the extrapolation of the results to the local population. In addition, it is possible that the prediction of the WTP value overestimates the true economic value that society assigns to the OAS given the bias towards young people and the inverse relationship between age and WTP. Another limitation of the model is that it does not include the income level of the respondents, a variable that is relevant in all the papers studied. This variable was not included in the questionnaire as income usually exhibits a high non-response and/or a highly imprecise rate compromising its representativeness and reliability. Finally, we highlight the possible multicollinearity that could exist between the social value that respondents assign to the OAS and their cultural capital which could account for a possible indirect relationship between cultural capital and economic value. Future work will seek to analyse the determinants of respondents' social value using different quantitative methods.

CONCLUSIONS

The main contribution of this work lies in providing an estimate of the economic value of an intangible cultural heritage manifestation—in this case. the OAS (Artistic Bodies of the State)—in a mid-sized city like Bahía Blanca. Despite some empirical limitations, our results highlight the variables that should be addressed in order to design more effective cultural policies. We summarise the most revealing findings. First, this study introduces an innovative dimension to the analysis of economic value by considering not only the cultural capital of respondents but also their social and heritage-related valuation. Thus, we found an interesting result which shows that the economic value of the OAS depends on the social value that society attributes to these artistic bodies and only indirectly on individuals' cultural capital. This finding underscores the importance of cultural mediation and visibility policies aimed at strengthening the social value residents assign to the OAS rather than those focused solely on increasing their cultural capital.

Second, unlike other studies where knowledge positively influences economic value, in this case, the option value of ICH is relevant expressed in the fact that those with no direct connection to the OAS tend to assign them a higher economic value. This result may be linked to a stronger motivation to preserve the unknown or a desire to ensure a cultural legacy for future generations.

Third, compared to the existing literature a notable finding is the low proportion of individuals willing to pay to keep the OAS operational. One possible explanation is that citizens perceive the OAS as a public entity that should be fully funded by the government budget. However, other alternative hypotheses cannot be ruled out; a low average WTP may emerge if communities lack the necessary cultural capital to truly value cultural goods. Future research should explore these competing explanations.

Overall, these findings recognise that the value of ICH extends beyond direct use or monetisation and contributes to the ongoing debate on the economic valuation of ICH. They also point to the importance of considering symbolic, social, and territorial dimensions in the design of cultural policies.

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ARTÍCULO

MEASURING THE DEGREE OF SATISFACTION OF CULTURAL EVENTS: THE CASE OF THE NIGHT OF THE MUSEUMS 2023 IN THE CITY OF BAHÍA BLANCA, ARGENTINA

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Tortul, M., Tarayre, C., & Elías, S. (2025). Measuring the degree of satisfaction of cultural events: the case of The Night of the Museums 2023 in the city of Bahía Blanca, Argentina. *Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1377-1397.

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The Night of the Museums is a worldwide strategy aimed at disseminating and broadening access to cultural goods, specifically to museums and other elements of cultural heritage. The aim of this paper is to apply established tools to measure attendee satisfaction at a specific cultural event—the Night of the Museums—focusing on its most recent edition (2023) in Bahía Blanca, Argentina. To this end, an index inspired by consumer satisfaction frameworks was estimated using original survey data. Results indicate that more than 60% of respondents were very satisfied with the event, while fewer than 10% expressed dissatisfaction. Additionally, women reported higher satisfaction levels than men. The findings suggest that policies aimed at enhancing the overall quality of the event and expanding outdoor performances could further increase public satisfaction.

Keywords: Intangible cultural heritage; cultural events; satisfaction index; Night of the Museums; Bahía Blanca.
JEL: Z10, C10, D10.

Tortul, M., Tarayre, C., & Elías, S. (2025). Medición del grado de satisfacción de eventos culturales: el caso de la Noche de los Museos de Bahía Blanca (Argentina). 2023. *Cuadernos de Economía, 44*(96), 1377-1397.

La Noche de los Museos es una estrategia mundial destinada a difundir y ampliar el acceso a los bienes culturales, en particular a los museos y otros elementos del patrimonio cultural. El objetivo de este artículo es aplicar herramientas consolidadas para medir la satisfacción de los asistentes a un evento cultural específico —la Noche de los Museos—, centrándose en su edición más reciente (2023) en Bahía Blanca, Argentina. Para ello, se estimó un índice inspirado en estudios de satisfacción del consumidor, a partir de información primaria. Los resultados indican que más del 60 % de los encuestados se mostraron muy satisfechos con el evento, mientras que menos del 10 % expresaron insatisfacción. Además, las mujeres reportaron niveles de satisfacción más altos que los hombres. Los hallazgos sugieren que las políticas orientadas a mejorar la calidad general del evento y ampliar los espectáculos al aire libre podrían incrementar aún más la satisfacción del público.

Palabras clave: patrimonio cultural intangible; eventos culturales; índice de satisfacción; Noche de los Museos; Bahía Blanca.
JEL: Z10, C10, D10.

INTRODUCTION

The Night of the Museums is a worldwide strategy aimed at disseminating and broadening access to cultural goods, specifically to museums and other elements of cultural heritage. It began in 1997 as an initiative of the city of Berlin called "The Long Night of Museums." The proposal was later imitated by 100 cities in Germany and another 50 in the rest of the world. In 2005, the French Ministry of Culture and Communication created "The European Night of Museums." This event allows visitors to visit museums free of charge in the evening until about 1 a.m. During this time, the museums offer visitors a different, more sensory and unusual visit to their collections. The International Council of Museums (ICOM) has been sponsoring the European Night of Museums since 2011, with the participation of around 3500 museums from more than 30 European countries (Elías & Leonardi, 2018). In 2004, Buenos Aires became the first city in America to replicate this proposal. Since then, numerous cities in different provinces of Argentina have joined the initiative, including the city of Bahía Blanca (BB).

BB is an intermediate port and industrial city, located in the southwest of the province of Buenos Aires, Argentina. It is an important communications hub and one of the most solid and dynamic economic, social, and cultural centres in the south of the country (Diez & Pasciaroni, 2018). It offers a broad and thriving range of cultural activities, comprising independent artists, cultural institutions, and diverse audiences. In this regard, Pinassi (2013) pointed out that the city has a multiplicity of both tangible and intangible cultural components that are historically significant for the local population. In addition, the town is a tourist-recreational centre that combines urban and sports tourism. The city also stands out for its artistic and cultural agenda that includes a municipal theatre, independent cultural spaces, and public and private museums. For all these reasons, BB had great potential to implement the Night of the Museums proposal.

The Night of the Museums in BB was first held in 2011 but was later discontinued and only resumed in 2021—after the pandemic—with a renewed and innovative approach. Information gathered on attendees' perceptions of the event can be useful for identifying areas for improvement and for designing strategies to broaden access. In this context, knowing the opinion of the attendees is of utmost importance for decision-making.

This paper aims to apply existing tools to measure attendee satisfaction at a specific cultural event, namely the 2023 Night of the Museums in BB. To achieve this, we created an index inspired by consumer satisfaction frameworks, using original survey data.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

After many years of assuming that consumer decisions were based on product quality, usage, and benefits, researchers began to apply the emotional approach in their studies on this topic. Over the last two decades, market research have been studying the emotions evoked by marketing stimuli (Laros & Steenkamp, 2005) and the concept of satisfaction became relevant.

In the field of psychology, consumer satisfaction can be studied from two theoretical approaches: cognitive and emotional. The cognitive approach is based on theories such as Oliver's (1980) expectation disconfirmation theory, where satisfaction results from the comparison between the attendee's prior expectations and the perception of the actual performance of the event. If expectations are exceeded, satisfaction is generated; if they are not met, dissatisfaction results. In this context, factors such as the quality of the exhibits, the organisation of the event, and the complementary services play a crucial role.

On the other hand, the emotional approach is supported by Plutchik's (1980) theory of emotion, which emphasises the affective responses of the attendee during their experience. Positive emotions, such as joy and surprise, generated by an interactive exhibition or live performance can significantly increase satisfaction. This approach underlines the importance of creating experiences that not only meet rational expectations, but also connect emotionally with attendees, enriching their experience in a holistic way.

In realm of economics, Pine and Gilmore's (1998,1999) model of the experience economy is crucial for analysing how the atmosphere of the event, the organisation, and the quality of the service and entertainment influence the satisfaction of the attendees. These authors define experience as a set of activities resulting from an interaction between the event and the individual who enjoys it on a physical, emotional, intellectual or even spiritual level.

Satisfaction indices emerged in the framework of business analysis as an attempt to measure customer satisfaction after consuming a given good or service. They collect information related primarily to the expectations and customer perceptions about the quality of products and services offered by organisations or sectors of the economy in general (Zea et al., 2022).

Although in general the literature on satisfaction measurement refers to "customer" satisfaction associated with the quality of goods or services offered by different business organisations and employee job satisfaction with their work environment, it is also used in other fields. For example, educational institutions measure student satisfaction (Sánchez Quintero, 2018) and the same applies to the field of cultural institutions (Brida et al., 2013; De la Rosa, 2019; Prat & Forga, 2017, among others). In this way, although a visitor is not a customer, research on satisfaction with cultural events clearly contributes to improving the quality of these events and also guides the formulation of cultural policies.

Numerous studies on arts and culture analyse the satisfaction of event attendees using consumer satisfaction approaches. Almeida et al. (2019), Kim et al. (2002), De Rojas and Camarero (2008), and Lee et al. (2011) are examples of the cognitive and emotional approaches. On the other hand, Plaza (2000), Gândara et al. (2012), Seonjeong et al. (2014), and Barrera-Fernández et al. (2017) are relevant in the field of experiential economics.

This work uses a combination of approaches to satisfaction. On the one hand, it includes elements of the cognitive approach, such as the general organisation of the event and the complementary services (Almeida et al., 2019), including the diversity of offerings, the access to specific free transportation provided by the local government for the event, the information provided on the web, and outdoor interventions.

On the other hand, we also consider variables linked to cultural economics and sociology, such as the social value assigned to these events (Leonardi y Tortul, 2024) and early exposure to culture (Leonardi et al., 2022; Morrison & West, 1986). In the field of sociology, Bourdieu (1984) had already posited that cultural needs are a product of upbringing and education. Morrison & West (1986) empirically validated this hypothesis, finding that "early exposure" is the key to future demand. Later, Lévy-Garboua & Montmarquette (1996, 2002) presented a theoretical model wherein the predilection for a specific good increases and eventually levels off because a taste for another good has been acquired through early exposure to certain goods and repeat consumption.

METHODOLOGY

We employ a quantitative approach in this study through a quantitative approach, involving the specification, testing, and empirical estimation of the Cultural Consumer Satisfaction Index (CCSI), using primary data.

Primary data are used to estimate the CCSI obtained from a perception survey conducted during the event. For the survey design, we chose a short questionnaire of only 11 questions to obtain the highest number of responses in the shortest possible time. The form is divided into four sections. Section 1 contains four questions that aimed to capture the socioeconomic profile of the respondent. Section 2, with three questions, intends to evaluate the respondents' perception about different aspects of the event. Section 3 proposes seven statements aimed at ascertaining the social valuation of the event and the cultural profile of the respondents. Finally, section 4 attempts to determine the economic valuation of the event. Information provided by this section is not used in this paper. The original questionnaire can be found in Annex I.

We chose an incidental sampling method to collect the data. Hybrid fieldwork combining virtual and face-to-face surveys was carried out at different strategic points of the Bahía Blanca Museum Night on October 7, 2023. The virtual survey was conducted using Google Forms, which stakeholders could access via a QR located in the most important establishments of the event. Both survey questionnaires were the same. We obtained 216 observations from the fieldwork: 15 online and 201 face-to-face responses.

To describe the sample, we carry out exploratory analysis using descriptive statistics on two dimensions of the sample, namely the respondents' socioeconomic profile and their cultural profile. Table 1 describes the variables studied in each dimension. Given that these are categorical variables, the characterisation of the sample was based on the calculation of absolute (n) and relative (%) frequencies of the relevant variables.

Table 1.
Variables used to describe the sample

Dimension	Variables	Description
Socioeconomic profile of the respondent	SEX	Self-reported gender of respondent (female; male; other).
	AGE	Age range of the respondent (youth, under 18; young adult, between 18 and 40; adult, between 41 and 60; older adult, over 60)
	EDU	Highest level of education attained (primary; secondary; tertiary/university; postgraduate).
	SOCIOEC	Respondent's self-perceived socioeconomic level (low, lower-middle, middle, upper-middle, high).
	BB	Indicates whether the respondent lives in BB (yes – no)
Cultural profile of the respondent	ASIST	Indicates whether respondent was attending the event for the first time (yes, no)
	CULTLIFE	Indicates whether respondent leads an active cultural life (not at all, a little, a lot)
	CULTVALUE	Indicates whether the respondent grew up in an environment where arts and culture were valued (not at all, a little, a lot).
	CULTACT	Indicates whether the respondent participates in cultural activities in their childhood (none, a little, a lot)

Regarding the measurement of perception of socioeconomic status, it is important to highlight that this question could introduce a potential bias, as respondents tend to place themselves in the middle of the scale. However, efforts will be made to compare this result with others that allow for some degree of cross-checking. For example, the result shows that the largest percentage of respondents are located in the middle level (66%), which seems to align with the fact that the majority of those surveyed (almost 60%) reported that they attended the activities by their own means, without using the free public transport service provided. This seems to confirm the result regarding socioeconomic status.

The CCSI is calculated as the average of different categorical variables related to the attendees' perception of two dimensions. The first dimension is related to the attributes of the event and includes the following four variables: (a) general perception of the event (PERCEP), (b) quality of the cultural action in relation to the offer of museums and institutions (OFCULT), (c) access to these institutions

(TRANSP), and (d) access to information about the proposed activities (INFO). The second dimension is related to the social relevance of the cultural program and includes three variables (ACERCA, BENEF, IMPOR). Table 2 describes the variables that make up these dimensions.

Table 2.
Variables that make up the cultural consumer satisfaction index

Dimensions	Variables	Description
Attributes of the event	PERCEP	General perception of the event (bad, fair, good, good, very good)
	CULTSUPPLY	Perception of the supply of museums and cultural institutions available to visit (bad, fair, good, good, very good)
	TRANSP	Perception of transportation to reach museums and cultural institutions (did not use, bad, fair, good, very good)
	INFO	Perception of the quality of the information provided on the event website (did not use it, bad, fair, good, very good)
	OUTDOOR	Perception of outdoor performances during the event (did not use it, bad, fair, good, very good)
Social value of the event	ABOUT	Do you think that the event brings museums and the arts closer to the people (not at all, a little, a lot)?
	BENEF	Do you think the event benefits the city (not at all, a little, a lot)?
	IMPOR	Do you consider it important that the event was held (not at all, little, a lot)?

The reliability of the CCSI was assessed by Cronbach's alpha. The validity of using this coefficient to interpret Likert-type scales has been the subject of debate (Gliem & Gliem, 2003). However, Oviedo and Campo-Arias (2005) point out that values between 0.70 and 0.90 denote acceptable measurement power. Likewise, to evaluate the contribution of each item to the index, we present the covariances between each component and the index and the effect of removing each variable. If the contribution of any item is low (COV<0.5), it is removed and the index recalculated to improve its power.

As detailed in Table 2, the categorical variables PERCEP, OFCULT, TRANSP, INFO and AIRELIBRE are recorded on a 4-point Likert scale (0 bad, 1 fair, 2 good, 3 very good), while ACERCA, BENEF and IMPORT are recorded on a 3-point Likert scale (0 not at all, 1 a little, 2 a lot). When these attributes were not used, they were removed from the analysis. Thus, the CCSI index is distributed in the range [0; 2.625]. To facilitate interpretation, it is normalised so that it varies between [0; 1].[1] Thus, the mean value of the index results in a percentage of

[1] There are different ways of normalizing data. Here, we propose using one that considers the minimum and maximum values. $ISCCnor_i = \frac{ISCC_i - Minimo\ ISCC}{Máximo\ ISCC - Mínimo\ ISCC}$

satisfaction, with 1 being 100% or completely satisfied and 0 being 0% or not at all satisfied. For a qualitative approach, the index is categorised according to the following satisfaction scale: (a) very dissatisfied, the CCSI varies between 0 and 0.25, (b) dissatisfied, between 0.26 and 0.5, (c) moderately satisfied, between 0.51 and 0.75, (d) and very satisfied, between 0.76 and 1.

For further analysis, we explore the relationship between participants' satisfaction with the event and their socioeconomic and cultural profiles, utilising three different approaches. First, we assess the normality of the normalized CCSI using the Shapiro-Wilk test. Since it met the normality assumption, we proceed to evaluate the statistical dependence between the normalized CCSI and the categorical variables defining participants' profiles (SEX, AGE, EDU, SOCIOEC, BB, ASIST, CULTLIFE, CULTVALUE, CULTACT) using ANOVA. When the homogeneity of variances assumption is violated, we apply the Welch correction. Because ANOVA requires at least five observations per group to reasonably satisfy its assumptions (normality and homogeneity of variances), some categories are combined or, when this is not feasible—such as in the case of non-binary gender categories—they were excluded from the analysis.

Second, acknowledging that the numeric variable exhibits moderate variability (coefficient of variation approximately 22 %), which suggests some discreteness, we apply the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test to compare medians across groups.

Finally, the numeric variable is dichotomized, taking the value of 1 if the normalized CCSI is equal to or above its mean, and 0 otherwise. We then evaluate associations using the chi-square test of independence.

Throughout all stages of analysis, a 95 % confidence level is adopted as the criterion for statistical significance.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 3 describes the sample obtained. Regarding the socioeconomic profile of the participants, they are young adults between 18 and 40 years of age, most of them women, with a tertiary/university education or who have completed secondary education, and who self-perceive as belonging to the middle socioeconomic category. However, it is also worth noting that almost 25 % consider themselves to be of lower-middle socioeconomic level and reside in BB. These socio-demographic data coincide with a study conducted by Elias and Leonardi (2008) during the celebration of the same event in the city of Buenos Aires in 2017 (Elías & Leonardi, 2018) and a more recent one conducted in the municipality of Oradea, Romania (Herman et al., 2023), in its 2022 edition. In both studies, most of the participants were young, female adults with a university education.

Moreover, the participants have an active cultural profile. Although most were attending this type of event for the first time, it is worth noting that 40 % of them had already done so in the past. In addition, 90 % declared that they led a very active cultural life, and nearly 80 % had grown up in a family environment favourable to cultural development and had been involved in artistic and cultural activities during their childhood.

Table 3.
Characterisation of the sample

Socioeconomic Profile of the Respondent			**Cultural Profile of the Respondent**		
Variable	n	%	Variable	n	%
SEX			**ASIST**		
Man Woman Other	73 142 1	34 66 0	No Yes	86 130	40 60
AGE			**CULTLIFE**		
Young Young adult Adult Older adult	9 130 57 20	4 60 27 9	Not at all A little A lot	21 92 101	10 43 47
EDU			**CULTVALUE**		
Primary Secondary Ter./ university Postgraduate	6 100 101 8	3 46 47 4	Not at all A little A lot	42 78 94	20 36 44
SOCIOEC			**CULTACT**		
Low Middle-Low Middle Middle-High High	8 51 143 13 1	4 24 66 6 0	Not at all A little A lot	51 60 103	24 28 48
BB					
No Yes	16 200	7 93			

Table 4 characterises the respondents' perception of the dimensions that make up the CCSI. Regarding the rating of the attributes of the event, 90 % of the interviewees have a very good or good general perception of the Museum Night and the cultural activities offered during the event. This result also coincides with Herman et al. (2023), who stated that the perception of the event among the participating population was good (75.6%), based on the degree of awareness, the motivation to participate, and the importance and usefulness of the event.

The results presented in Table 4 also indicate that about 70 % considered that the outdoor shows and the information provided on the website were also very good or good. However, these services were in less demand by respondents, with more than 20 % stating that they did not use them.

In the case of the public transportation provided by the event to the different museums and institutions, almost 60 % of those surveyed attended the activities by their own means, without using the service provided by the event. However, most of those who did use the public transportation were very satisfied.

On the other hand, almost all the interviewees attribute an important social value to the event. More than 90 % consider that the event brings cultural heritage closer to the people, that it benefits the city, and that its realisation is important for the city.

Table 4.
Characterisation of the variables that make up the cultural consumer satisfaction index

Attributes of the Event			Social Relevance of the Event		
Variable	n	%	**Variable**	n	%
PERCEP			**ABOUT**		
Bad	1	0	Not at all	0	0
Fair	10	5	A little	9	4
Good	74	34	A lot	205	96
Very good	130	61			
CULTSUPPLY			**BENEF**		
Did not use	7	3	Not at all	4	2
Bad	1	0	A little	9	4
Fair	14	7	A lot	201	94
Good	64	30			
Very good	129	60			
TRANSP			**IMPOR**		
Did not use	125	58	Not at all	1	0
Bad	4	2	A little	9	4
Fair	16	7	A lot	204	95
Good	28	13			
Very good	42	20			
INFO					
Did not use	48	22			
Bad	4	2			
Fair	16	7			
Good	66	31			
Very good	81	38			
OUTDOOR					
Did not use	56	26			
Bad	1	0			
Fair	8	4			
Good	53	25			
Very good	97	45			

Table 5 analyses the composition and validity of the CCSI. The CCSI comprises eight components: PERCEP, CULTSUPPLY, TRANSP, INFO, OUTDOOR, ABOUT, BENEF, and IMPORT. Cronbach's alpha values for individual components ranged from 0.6777 (PERCEP) to 0.7061 (IMPORT). All of which exceed the commonly accepted minimum threshold of 0.60 for exploratory research, suggesting acceptable internal consistency.

The global Cronbach's alpha for the index is 0.7165, indicating an overall satisfactory level of reliability. This suggests that the components are sufficiently correlated to be considered to measure aspects of the same latent construct, while not being so redundant as to compromise the diversity of measured dimensions.

The coefficients of variation (COV) for the components range between 0.5313 and 0.6225, reflecting moderate relative variability in responses across dimensions. The positive signs for all components confirm that higher scores on each dimension contribute positively to the overall satisfaction index. PERCEP and OUTDOOR shows the strongest associations with the overall index, followed by BENEF, INFO, and CULTSUPPLY. This suggests that management policies aimed at enhancing the general perception of the event and expanding outdoor cultural activities may have the greatest impact on improving attendee satisfaction. Efforts should focus on creating a positive overall experience through high-quality programming, accessible and engaging outdoor events, and fostering community participation. Additionally, improving the communication and dissemination of information (INFO), increasing the perceived benefits for participants (BENEF), and diversifying the cultural supply (CULTSUPPLY) are important complementary strategies. These actions combined can contribute to enriching the cultural offering and maximizing satisfaction among diverse audience segments. However, these results should be interpreted with caution, as covariance alone does not determine the causal or relative importance of each component in explaining the index.

From a measurement perspective, these results support the validity and internal reliability of the CCSI as an instrument for assessing satisfaction in the context of the cultural event studied.

Table 5.

Composition and validity of cultural consumer satisfaction indices

Component	Obs	Sign	COV	Cronbach's alpha
PERCEP	215	+	0,6225	0.6777
CULTSUPPLY	208	+	0,5879	0.6898
TRANSP	90	+	0,5551	0.6858
INFO	167	+	0,5966	0.6844
OUTDOOR	159	+	0,6106	0.6838
ABOUT	214	+	0,5651	0.6953

(*Continued*)

Component	Obs	Sign	COV	Cronbach's alpha
BENEF	214	+	0,599	0.6861
IMPORT	214	+	0,5313	0.7061
Global test				0.7165

The analysis of the index values reveals that, on average, respondents reported 78 % satisfaction with the Museum Night in BB. This result is in line with the fact that 40 % of the interviewed attendees have participated in this event more than once, which would be consistent with the hypothesis that frequency of participation positively influences level of satisfaction (Gómez et al., 2020). In addition, as the median is higher than the mean, the distribution is positively skewed, indicating the presence of a tail towards higher satisfaction values. This suggests that while most respondents cluster around lower to moderate satisfaction levels, a smaller number report notably higher satisfaction.

Table 6.
Standardised Cultural Consumer Satisfaction Index statistics

	n	Mean	Median	St. Dev	Min	Max
CCSI	215	0,78	0,8	0,17	0	1

In turn, the categorisation of this index shows that more than 60 % of respondents are very satisfied with the event and only less than 10% are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with it (Figure 1).

Figure 1.
Categorisation of the Cultural Consumer Satisfaction Index

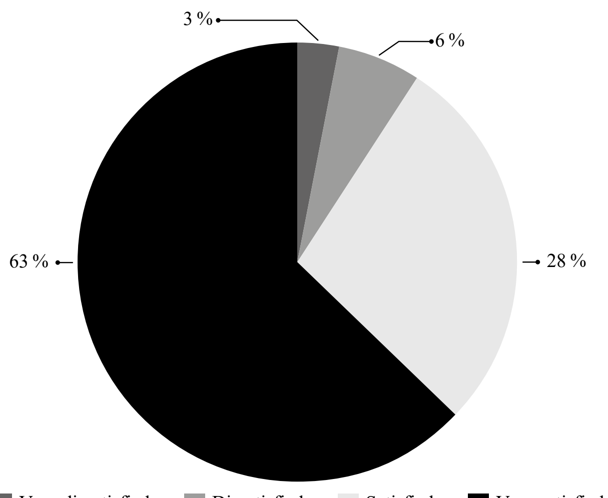

Table 7 summarizes the results of statistical tests comparing satisfaction levels across various respondent profiles. The ANOVA results indicate a statistically significant difference in satisfaction by sex (p = 0.0409), with women reporting slightly higher satisfaction than men. No other variables showed statistically significant differences at the 5 % level across any of the three tests performed (ANOVA, Kruskal-Wallis, and chi-square). The Levene test confirms homogeneity of variances for all variables, supporting the validity of the ANOVA results. Variables related to socioeconomic status and cultural life approach significance but do not reach the conventional threshold.

Table 7.
Statistical differences in satisfaction levels by respondents' profile

Variable	Normalized ISCC Mean	LEVENE p-value	ANOVA p-value	KRUSKAL-WALLIS test p-value	CHI² test p-value
SEX (1)					
Man	0.75	0.3003	0.0409*	0.1107	0.234
Woman	0.80				
AGE					
Young and Young adult	0.77	0.2519	0.2519		
Adult and Older adult	0.80			0.2468	0.660
EDU					
Primary and Secondary	0.77				
Ter./ university and	0.79	0.7574	0.3446		
Postgraduate				0.2234	0.483
SOCIOEC					
Low and Middle-Low	0.75	0.5446			
Middle	0.79		0.3397	0.3493	
Middle-High and High	0.79				0.067
BB					
No	0.73			0.4155	1.000
Yes	0.78	0.2193	0.2379		
ASIST					
No	0.79			0.2376	0.774
Yes	0.77	0.3590	0.5059		
CULTLIFE					
Not at all and A little	0.76	0.6552	0.1859	0.1014	0.068
A lot	0.79				
CULTVALUE					
Not at all and A little	0.78	0.7937	0.9636	0.7726	0.671
A lot	0.78				

(*Continued*)

Variable	Normalized ISCC Mean	LEVENE p-value	ANOVA p-value	KRUSKAL-WALLIS test p-value	CHI^2 test p-value
CULTACT					
Not at all and A little	0.78	0.6345	0.9583		
A lot	0.78			0.8428	0.486

(1) We exclude the category "other" as it appears only once.
* RH0 for equality of Normalized ISCC between groups with 95% confidence. The statistic is significant.

CONCLUSIONS

The 2023 edition of the Night of the Museums in Bahía Blanca proved to be a widely accessible cultural event, attracting participants from diverse social backgrounds—predominantly middle and lower-middle class—and mostly young adults. Attendees exhibit an active cultural profile, with many reporting early exposure to cultural and artistic environments within their families and communities.

This study set out to measure participants' satisfaction with the event and to explore its relationship with their socioeconomic and cultural profiles. The findings indicate a high overall level of satisfaction—an average of 78 %—and reveal that targeted management efforts could further enhance this experience. In particular, strengthening the overall perception of the event, expanding outdoor cultural activities, improving communication channels, amplifying the perceived benefits for participants, and diversifying the cultural offer emerge as priority strategies.

An additional noteworthy finding is that satisfaction appears largely independent of attendees' socioeconomic and cultural characteristics, with the only significant difference observed between men and women, the latter reporting slightly higher satisfaction.

The main contribution of this research lies in the development of a practical and interpretable tool—the Cultural Consumer Satisfaction Index (CCSI)—to assess satisfaction in the context of this specific event. The index integrates multiple dimensions, offering a comprehensive and adaptable framework for monitoring and improving cultural event management.

Nonetheless, we must acknowledge several limitations. First, the use of a non-probabilistic, incidental sample restricts the generalizability of the results beyond the survey group. Second, the socioeconomic classification was based on self-perception, which may introduce bias due to social desirability or the absence of objective benchmarks. Third, although Cronbach's alpha and covariance analysis provide useful indicators of reliability and component relevance, they cannot establish causal relationships. Consequently, while certain components (e.g., overall perception and outdoor activities) show strong associations with satisfaction, further research—such as confirmatory factor analysis—is needed to validate these relationships and inform evidence-based policy design.

By acknowledging these limitations, this study not only provides a baseline measurement for the Night of the Museums in BB but also outlines methodological improvements for future editions. The proposed index could be adapted to other cultural events, offering cultural managers and policymakers a valuable tool for enhancing audience engagement, maximize satisfaction and strengthening the social value of cultural initiatives.

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ANNEX I

Original questionnaire

Departamento de Economía, UNS e IIESS UNS-CONICET

¿Cómo valora la Noche de los Museos, Bahía Blanca 2023?

Encuesta anónima con fines académicos

ndique con una X o complete según corresponda.

1. Sexo: ☐ mujer ☐ varón ☐ otro

2. Edad: ___

3. ¿Reside en Bahía Blanca?:
☐ Sí. ¿En qué barrio? ________________________
☐ No

4. Máximo nivel de educación:
☐ Primaria
☐ Secundaria
☐ Terciario/ Universitario
☐ Posgrado

5. ¿De qué nivel socioeconómico se percibe?
☐ Bajo ☐ Medio-bajo ☐ Medio ☐ Medio-alto ☐ Alto

6. ¿Es la primera vez que asiste a la Noche de los Museos, Bahía Blanca? ☐ Sí ☐ No

7. ¿Cómo le resultó la Noche de los Museos: ☐ MB ☐ Buena ☐ Regular ☐ Mala

8. Evalúe los siguientes aspectos del evento:	MB	B	R	M	No lo usé
Oferta de Museos e Instituciones	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Acceso al transporte gratuito	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Información suministrada en la web	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Intervenciones al aire libre	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

9. Indique el grado de acuerdo con las siguientes afirmaciones:	Mucho	Poco	Nada
- El evento acerca los museos/ instituciones culturales a la gente	☐	☐	☐
- El evento beneficia a la ciudad	☐	☐	☐
- Es importante que se realice el evento	☐	☐	☐
- Ud. lleva una vida cultural activa	☐	☐	☐
- Durante su infancia, se valoraban las artes y la cultura	☐	☐	☐
- Durante su infancia, realizó actividades artístico/ culturales	☐	☐	☐
- Ud. colabora monetariamente o participa activamente de agrupaciones/ instituciones sin fines de lucro	☐	☐	☐

10. ¿Estaría dispuesto a pagar **$1500** por un pase libre a la Noche de los Museos?
☐ Sí. ¿Y $3000? ☐ Sí ☐ No
☐ No. ¿Y $750? ☐ Sí ☐ No

11. ¿Cuánto es lo máximo que estaría dispuesto a pagar por el pase libre? _________

Lugar donde se realizó la encuesta: ___________________________________

Departamento de Economía, UNS e IIESS UNS-CONICET

¿Cómo valora la Noche de los Museos, Bahía Blanca 2023?

Encuesta anónima con fines académicos

Indique con una X o complete según corresponda.

1. Sexo: ☐ mujer ☐ varón ☐ otro

2. Edad: ____

3. ¿Reside en Bahía Blanca?:
☐ Sí. ¿En qué barrio? ________________________
☐ No

4. Máximo nivel de educación:
☐ Primaria
☐ Secundaria
☐ Terciario/ Universitario
☐ Posgrado

5. ¿De qué nivel socioeconómico se percibe?
☐ Bajo ☐ Medio-bajo ☐ Medio ☐ Medio-alto ☐ Alto

6. ¿Es la primera vez que asiste a la Noche de los Museos, Bahía Blanca? ☐ Sí ☐ No

7. ¿Cómo le resultó la Noche de los Museos: ☐ MB ☐ Buena ☐ Regular ☐ Mala

8. Evalúe los siguientes aspectos del evento:	MB	B	R	M	No lo usé
Oferta de Museos e Instituciones	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Acceso al transporte gratuito	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Información suministrada en la web	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Intervenciones al aire libre	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

9. Indique el grado de acuerdo con las siguientes afirmaciones:	Mucho	Poco	Nada
- El evento acerca los museos/ instituciones culturales a la gente	☐	☐	☐
- El evento beneficia a la ciudad	☐	☐	☐
- Es importante que se realice el evento	☐	☐	☐
- Ud. lleva una vida cultural activa	☐	☐	☐
- Durante su infancia, se valoraban las artes y la cultura	☐	☐	☐
- Durante su infancia, realizó actividades artístico/ culturales	☐	☐	☐
- Ud. colabora monetariamente o participa activamente de agrupaciones/ instituciones sin fines de lucro	☐	☐	☐

10. ¿Estaría dispuesto a pagar **$3000** por un pase libre a la Noche de los Museos?
☐ Sí. ¿Y $5000? ☐ Sí ☐ No
☐ No. ¿Y $1500? ☐ Sí ☐ No

11. ¿Cuánto es lo máximo que estaría dispuesto a pagar por el pase libre? _________

Lugar donde se realizó la encuesta: ________________________________

Departamento de Economía, UNS e IIESS UNS-CONICET

¿Cómo valora la Noche de los Museos, Bahía Blanca 2023?

Encuesta anónima con fines académicos

ndique con una X o complete según corresponda.

1. Sexo: ☐ mujer ☐ varón ☐ otro

2. Edad: ___

3. ¿Reside en Bahía Blanca?:
☐ Sí. ¿En qué barrio? ________________________
☐ No

4. Máximo nivel de educación:
☐ Primaria
☐ Secundaria
☐ Terciario/ Universitario
☐ Posgrado

5. ¿De qué nivel socioeconómico se percibe?
☐ Bajo ☐ Medio-bajo ☐ Medio ☐ Medio-alto ☐ Alto

6. ¿Es la primera vez que asiste a la Noche de los Museos, Bahía Blanca? ☐ Sí ☐ No

7. ¿Cómo le resultó la Noche de los Museos: ☐ MB ☐ Buena ☐ Regular ☐ Mala

8. Evalúe los siguientes aspectos del evento:	MB	B	R	M	No lo usé
Oferta de Museos e Instituciones	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Acceso al transporte gratuito	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Información suministrada en la web	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Intervenciones al aire libre	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

9. Indique el grado de acuerdo con las siguientes afirmaciones:	Mucho	Poco	Nada
- El evento acerca los museos/ instituciones culturales a la gente	☐	☐	☐
- El evento beneficia a la ciudad	☐	☐	☐
- Es importante que se realice el evento	☐	☐	☐
- Ud. lleva una vida cultural activa	☐	☐	☐
- Durante su infancia, se valoraban las artes y la cultura	☐	☐	☐
- Durante su infancia, realizó actividades artístico/ culturales	☐	☐	☐
- Ud. colabora monetariamente o participa activamente de agrupaciones/ instituciones sin fines de lucro	☐	☐	☐

10. ¿Estaría dispuesto a pagar **$5000** por un pase libre a la Noche de los Museos?
☐ Sí. ¿Y $7000? ☐ Sí ☐ No
☐ No ¿Y $3000? ☐ Sí ☐ No

11. ¿Cuánto es lo máximo que estaría dispuesto a pagar por el pase libre? _________

Lugar donde se realizó la encuesta: ________________________________

Departamento de Economía, UNS e IIESS UNS-CONICET

¿Cómo valora la Noche de los Museos, Bahía Blanca 2023?

Encuesta anónima con fines académicos

Indique con una X o complete según corresponda.

1. Sexo: ☐ mujer ☐ varón ☐ otro

2. Edad: ___

3. ¿Reside en Bahía Blanca?:
☐ Sí. ¿En qué barrio? ___________________________
☐ No

4. Máximo nivel de educación:
☐ Primaria
☐ Secundaria
☐ Terciario/ Universitario
☐ Posgrado

5. ¿De qué nivel socioeconómico se percibe?
☐ Bajo ☐ Medio-bajo ☐ Medio ☐ Medio-alto ☐ Alto

6. ¿Es la primera vez que asiste a la Noche de los Museos, Bahía Blanca? ☐ Sí ☐ No

7. ¿Cómo le resultó la Noche de los Museos: ☐ MB ☐ Buena ☐ Regular ☐ Mala

8. Evalúe los siguientes aspectos del evento:	MB	B	R	M	No lo usé
Oferta de Museos e Instituciones	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Acceso al transporte gratuito	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Información suministrada en la web	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Intervenciones al aire libre	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

9. Indique el grado de acuerdo con las siguientes afirmaciones:	Mucho	Poco	Nada
- El evento acerca los museos/ instituciones culturales a la gente	☐	☐	☐
- El evento beneficia a la ciudad	☐	☐	☐
- Es importante que se realice el evento	☐	☐	☐
- Ud. lleva una vida cultural activa	☐	☐	☐
- Durante su infancia, se valoraban las artes y la cultura	☐	☐	☐
- Durante su infancia, realizó actividades artístico/ culturales	☐	☐	☐
- Ud. colabora monetariamente o participa activamente de agrupaciones/ instituciones sin fines de lucro	☐	☐	☐

10. ¿Estaría dispuesto a pagar **$7000** por un pase libre a la Noche de los Museos?
☐ Sí ¿Y $9000? ☐ Sí ☐ No
☐ No ¿Y $5000? ☐ Sí ☐ No

11. ¿Cuánto es lo máximo que estaría dispuesto a pagar por el pase libre? _________

Lugar donde se realizó la encuesta: _______________________________________

Acerca de Cuadernos de Economía

La revista *Cuadernos de Economía* es publicada semestralmente por la Escuela de Economía de la Facultad de Ciencias Económicas (Universidad Nacional de Colombia). Es una de las más antiguas del país en el área económica. Su primera edición se realizó durante el primer semestre de 1979.

Nuestra publicación está disponible en índices y bases de datos nacionales e internacionales, tales como SCOPUS, Redalyc, SciELO Brasil, EBSCO, ESCI (Clarivate Analytics) / Thomson Reuters Web of Science (antiguo ISI)- SciELO Citation Index, Dialnet, Latindex -Sistema regional de información en línea, CIBERA (Biblioteca Virtual Iberoamericana España / Portugal, Ulrich's Directory, ProQuest, DOAJ (Directory of Open Access Journals), CLASE -Citas Latinoamericanas en Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, IBSS -International Bibliography of the Social Sciences, e-revistas, HLAS -Handbook of Latin American Studies, RePEc -Research Papers in Economics, CAPES -Portal Brasilero de Información Científica, SSRN (Social Sciences Research Network), Econlit -Journal of Economic Literature (JEL), DoTEc -Colombia, Publindex, LatAm-Studies y Econpapers.

La revista tiene como objetivo divulgar, en el ámbito académico nacional e internacional, los avances intelectuales en teorías, metodologías y aplicaciones económicas, así como los resultados de investigaciones y trabajos especializados.

Su público está integrado por académicos (investigadores, docentes y estudiantes universitarios), miembros de instituciones gubernamentales y de entidades privadas, que se ocupen del estudio de la teoría económica, la política económica, el desarrollo socioeconómico y otros temas de interés para la disciplina.

El Editor y el Consejo Editorial de Cuadernos de Economía son las instancias que deciden sobre la publicación de las contribuciones. Es importante aclarar que el envío de material no exige su publicación y que el contenido de los artículos es responsabilidad de los autores y no compromete, de ninguna manera, a la revista o a la institución.

El autor interesado en someter a evaluación una contribución, debe hacerla llegar a la revista, conforme a las especificaciones contempladas en las *pautas para autores*. Esta información se encuentra disponible al final de cada número y en el sitio web: http://fce.unal.edu.co/cuadernos/pautas.html

Los evaluadores son seleccionados de acuerdo con sus conocimientos en los temas cubiertos por cada artículo. La evaluación toma en cuenta aspectos como la originalidad del contenido, el rigor conceptual, los aspectos metodológicos, la claridad y la coherencia, tanto en la argumentación como en la exposición, y la pertinencia de las conclusiones.

La versión en *pdf* de los artículos puede ser consultada y descargada en el sitio http://fce.unal.edu.co/cuadernos/numeros-anteriores.html. Para la adquisición en formato físico de números anteriores, el interesado puede comunicarse con la dirección de la revista: Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, Edificio 310, primer piso, Universidad Nacional de Colombia; al correo electrónico revcuaeco_bog@unal.edu.co o al teléfono 3165000 extensión 12308.

PAUTAS PARA AUTORES

La revista *Cuadernos de Economía* toma en consideración contribuciones académicas inéditas, artículos de investigación, revisiones bibliográficas, debates y reseñas analíticas, con redacciones en español, inglés, francés o portugués, que no hayan sido propuestos en otras revistas académicas. Los textos deben ser un aporte al avance del conocimiento en las áreas económica, política, social, administrativa y/o demográfica.

La recepción de artículos se realiza durante todo el año y no tiene ningún costo para los autores. El proceso de postulación se hace por medio del sistema de gestión editorial OJS en el siguiente enlace: http://bit.ly/ZsvX1j.

La revista podrá desestimar la publicación de un manuscrito si, por decisión interna, se determina que no cumple con ciertos estándares académicos o editoriales. Los manuscritos que pasen la revisión inicial serán enviados a evaluadores seleccionados de acuerdo con sus conocimientos en las temáticas abordadas en cada artículo. Con el fin de garantizar la imparcialidad de la evaluación emitida, nuestra publicación emplea el sistema de arbitraje doble ciego, es decir, que tanto los evaluadores como los autores permanecen anónimos.

La evaluación toma en cuenta aspectos como la originalidad del contenido, el rigor conceptual, los aspectos metodológicos, la claridad y la coherencia (tanto en la argumentación como en la exposición), y la pertinencia de las conclusiones. Los resultados del arbitraje pueden ser: aprobado sin modificaciones, publicación sujeta a incorporación de cambios y observaciones, reescritura del documento y rechazo del material. La tasa de rechazo de materiales sometidos a evaluación durante 2020 fue del 76 %.

Culminado el proceso de arbitraje, las evaluaciones se enviarán a los autores, quienes contarán con un período máximo de 30 días para realizar los respectivos ajustes si hay exigencia de ellos. Posteriormente los artículos que superen el proceso editorial entrarán en lista de espera para ser publicados en números posteriores de la revista.

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1. Someter un artículo a *Cuadernos de Economía* supone el compromiso, por parte de los autores, de no someterlo simultáneamente a otras publicaciones, ya sea en forma parcial o completa.

2. En caso de que una versión preliminar del manuscrito sometido al proceso editorial haya sido presentada como documento de trabajo (*working paper*), se debe incluir la referencia completa.

3. Los trabajos se enviarán en LaTeX o archivo de texto (Word para Windows o Ritch Text Format) y deben cumplir con los siguientes requerimientos: una extensión entre 4.000 y 10.000 palabras incluyendo notas y referencias bibliográficas (teniendo en cuenta que los artículos en economía tienen en promedio una extensión de 4.000 a 6.000 palabras); espacio sencillo; letra Garamond tamaño 13;

papel tamaño carta y márgenes de 3 cm. Para los documentos sometidos a la sección de reseñas la extensión máxima se reduce a 4.000 palabras.

4. El título del artículo debe ser explicativo y recoger la esencia del trabajo.

5. Los datos sobre el autor se indicarán en nota al pie de página con asterisco: nombre del autor, profesión u oficio, nivel de estudios, empleo actual, lugar de trabajo y, obligatoriamente, su correo electrónico (preferiblemente institucional).

6. Debe incluirse un resumen en español y otro en inglés con una extensión de 100 palabras cada uno. Deben ser claros y proporcionar la información suficiente para que los lectores puedan identificar el tema del artículo, metodología y principales resultados.

7. Es necesario especificar cuatro o cinco palabras clave en español y en inglés, y cuatro o cinco códigos de clasificación de la nomenclatura JEL, la cual puede ser consultada en la siguiente dirección web: https://www.aeaweb.org/jel/guide/jel.php

8. Se requiere que los cuadros, gráficas o mapas sean legibles, con las convenciones definidas, que se cite su fuente de información en la parte inferior y que se envíen los archivos en los programas empleados para su elaboración (hoja de cálculo para cuadros, tablas y gráficos, e imagen para figuras o mapas). Se debe indicar la página en la que deben ser insertados o si se incluyen como anexos. Si se utiliza material protegido por copyright, los autores se hacen responsables de obtener la autorización escrita de quienes poseen los derechos.

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10. Las ecuaciones deben estar numeradas de manera consecutiva y entre paréntesis: (1), (2)... Esta numeración debe estar alineada a la derecha de la página.

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12. Si el documento propuesto incluye citas textuales es necesario seguir las siguientes indicaciones según normativa APA: si posee cinco líneas o menos irá precedida de dos puntos y entre comillas; si poseen más de cinco líneas o más de 40 palabras se ubicará en un párrafo aparte, a 4 centímetros del borde izquierdo de la hoja, con letra Garamond tamaño 12 y alineado a la derecha.

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14. Para emplear una sigla o una abreviatura se indicará su equivalencia completa y a continuación, entre paréntesis, el término que será utilizado en el resto del documento.

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página de donde se tomó debe ir después de la fecha, separado por coma (López, 1998, p. 52), o si incluye varias páginas (López, 1998, pp. 52-53); en caso de tres o más autores se menciona el primero seguido de "*et al.*" (López *et al.*, 1998).

16. La redacción, las menciones en el texto, ya sean textuales o paráfrasis y las referencias bibliográficas deben seguir estrictamente el estilo APA. La bibliografía debe listar solamente las fuentes citadas en el trabajo en la sección de "Referencias".

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CONCERNING CUADERNOS DE ECONOMÍA

"Cuadernos de Economía" is published every six months by the Universidad Nacional de Colombia's School of Economics (Economics' Faculty). It is one of the oldest economic journals in Colombia; its first edition appeared during the first semester of 1979.

This is a refereed journal, indexed in SCOPUS, Redalyc, SciELO Brasil, EBSCO, ESCI (Clarivate Analytics) / Thomson Reuters Web of Science (antiguo ISI)- SciELO Citation Index, Dialnet, Latindex -Sistema regional de información en línea, CIBERA (Biblioteca Virtual Iberoamericana España / Portugal, Ulrich's Directory, ProQuest, DOAJ (Directory of Open Access Journals), CLASE -Citas Latinoamericanas en Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, IBSS -International Bibliography of the Social Sciences, e-revistas, HLAS -Handbook of Latin American Studies, RePEc -Research Papers in Economics, CAPES -Portal Brasilero de Información Científica, SSRN (Social Sciences Research Network), Econlit -Journal of Economic Literature (JEL), DoTEc -Colombia, Publindex, LatAm-Studies y Econpapers.

The journal's objective is to broadcast (within a national and international academic setting) intellectual advances regarding economic theory, methodology and applications, as well as the results of research and specialized work.

We aim at contributing to the academic debate among national and regional scholars allowing a wide spectrum of competing theoretical approaches. Its public consists of academics (researchers, teachers and university students), members of government institutions and private entities interested in studying economic theory, economic policy, socioeconomic development and other topics of interest for the discipline. Cuadernos de Economía can reject a manuscript if, after an initial internal revision, it is stated that the manuscript does not fulfill certain academic or editorial standards. Those manuscripts passing this first revision, will go through double blind refereeing.

Our publication uses double-blind refereeing (i.e. both the evaluators and the authors remain anonymous). The foregoing guarantees the impartiality of the concept being put forward. The referees are selected according to their knowledge of the topics being covered by each article. Evaluation takes into account such aspects as: the originality of the content, conceptual rigor, methodological aspects, clarity and coherence in both the argument and how it is expressed and the pertinence of the conclusions. The content of an article is the author's responsibility and does not commit the journal or the institution in any way.

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AUTHOR GUIDELINES

Cuadernos de Economía takes into consideration for possible publication unedited academic contributions, research articles, reports and case studies, essays, bibliographic reviews, criticism and analytical reports of books written in Spanish, English, French or Portuguese which have not been previously published (except as a working paper) and which are not under consideration for publication elsewhere. If such material has been presented as a working paper, then the complete reference must be included. The texts must make a contribution towards advancing knowledge in economic, political, social, administrative and demographic areas.

Candidates must apply through the OJS editorial management system and include the documents listed following the link http://bit.ly/ZsvX1j.

In case it is decided that an article is publishable, then the peer evaluations will be sent to the authors so that they can make the respective adjustments (if so requested) within a maximum period of 30 days.

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Articles will be received throughout the whole year.

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4. Four or five key words must be given in Spanish and English and four or five classification codes using JEL nomenclature which can be consulted at the following web site: https://www.aeaweb.org/jel/guide/jel.php
5. The article's title must be explanatory and illustrate the essence of the work.

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11. Footnotes will be exclusively explanatory or explicative; they must not include bibliographic references.
12. If an abbreviation or acronym is to be used then it must indicate its complete equivalent and the term (placed within brackets) which will be used from that point on in the rest of the document.
13. Bibliographic references must retain the author-date style, inserted within the text (López, 1998). When a reference is given textually then the number of the page from which it was taken must be given after the date, separated by a comma (López, 1998, p. 52), if it includes several pages (López, 1998, pp. 52-53) and in the case of several authors (López *et al.*, 1998).
14. The bibliography must only list the sources cited in the work; the section is thus entitled Bibliographic References. Examples of the norms for citing other work as used by the journal are the rules of APA Style: http://flash1r.apa.org/apastyle/basics/index.htm.
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17. Exceptionally, it may be proposed that texts be reproduced which have been broadcast in other media or which require translation, always assuming that this does not imply any additional publication costs.

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La revue a l'objectif de divulguer, dans l'enceinte académique nationale et internationale, les avances intellectuelles dans des théories, des méthodologies et des applications économiques, ainsi que les résultats de recherches et de travaux spécialisés.

Son public est composé par les académiciens (chercheurs, enseignants et étudiants universitaires), les membres d'institutions gouvernementales et d'entités privées qui s'occupent de l'étude de la théorie économique, de la politique économique, du développement socioéconomique et d'autres sujets d'intérêt pour la discipline.

Notre publication emploie le système de paires évaluateurs en appliquant les normes d'un *arbitrage aveugle*, c'est-à-dire, que tant les évaluateurs comme les auteurs restent anonymes. Le précédent, afin de garantir l'impartialité du concept émis.

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