

Goldsmiths, University of London

Expanding Arts and Cultural Management
Practices: The Development Journey of Galería
CIMA in Santiago, Chile

Dalal Leiva Egnem

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Declaration of authorship

I, Dalal Leiva Egnem, declare that this thesis and the work presented is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed:

Date: 30/09/2023

Abstract

This thesis explores the development process of Galería CIMA (Peak Gallery), a small-scale independent cultural organisation that became a key political actor during the Chilean social uprising (2019-2020). It examines how this cultural organisation, located in 'Plaza Dignidad' (Dignity Square), the symbolic centre of Santiago, Chile, developed before, during, and after the country's most significant social movement of recent decades. Through a comprehensive examination of organisational dynamics and practices from 2016 to 2022, this study provides new insights into the formation process of Galería CIMA, its role as a key political actor during the revolt, and its impact on the field of arts and cultural management, specifically in terms of organisational development and strategies for navigating political challenges. Through an in-depth qualitative study using visual methods, in-depth interviews, participant observation, and secondary data analysis, this study sheds light on the complex practices that contribute to the organisation's key role and resilience within the challenging context of Chilean neoliberalism and its subsequent crisis. In addition, this research uncovers strategies that can inspire and guide other cultural organisations facing similar challenges while highlighting how small-scale independent cultural organisations, such as Galería CIMA, can become influential political actors and catalysts for social change through creative practices. In contrast to prevailing research, which focuses mainly on functional aspects, this study adopts a process-based perspective, delving into the complex social and emotional dimensions of arts and cultural management dynamics. Overall, this thesis contributes to the field of arts and cultural management by providing new insights into the development process and political engagement of small independent arts and cultural organisations from Latin America, offering new perspectives for understanding the internal dynamics of independent cultural organisations.

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Chapter 1. Introduction



Figure 1. Galería CIMA's logo on a cutting plotter. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.

This thesis explores the creation process of Galería CIMA¹ (Peak Gallery), a small-scale independent cultural organisation that became a key political actor during the Chilean social uprising (2019-2020). It examines how this cultural organisation, located in 'Plaza Dignidad' (Dignity Square), the symbolic centre of Santiago, Chile, developed before, during and after the country's most significant social movement of recent² decades.

¹ <https://galeriacima.cl/>

² See, for example: <https://www.aljazeera.com/economy/2019/10/26/chile-protests-more-than-one-million-bring-santiago-to-a-halt/>

Through a qualitative investigation of the cultural organisation - its nature, organisational structure, ethos/logic, mission, dynamics, internal practices and memories of those involved - during its development, from 2016 to 2022, this study observes the set of practices and mechanisms present during this period. Through this analysis, the thesis makes valuable contributions to the literature on the dynamics, practices, and strategies employed by small cultural organisations, particularly amidst challenging political circumstances. The study offers contributions through empirical research, critical analysis, and an innovative methodological approach to the field of arts and cultural management, specifically by:

- a) Documenting the development journey of Galería CIMA and its transformation into a significant political actor during the Chilean social uprising
- b) Proposing new understandings of the field of arts and cultural management beyond those focused on economic sustainability of art and cultural production and the efficient running of organisations in competitive, market-oriented, and precarious contexts (Tomka, 2019) which, as will be shown, has been one of the biggest narratives underlying the development of arts and cultural management's body of knowledge.
- c) Introducing novel perspectives on the role of place in arts and cultural management practices.
- d) Articulating an innovative methodological framework for arts and cultural management research.

This thesis aims to place greater emphasis on developmental and creative approaches to arts and cultural management by investigating the interplay between Galería CIMA's creation process and the political context of recent years in Chile. By exploring the creative journey of this cultural organisation, this research examines how the dynamics of establishing a new cultural space can not only reflect the socio-political environment in which it occurs, but also serve as a creative and political practice that challenges power dynamics.

This chapter establishes the foundation for this thesis. Initially, it situates the study within arts and cultural management, drawing attention to previously underexplored areas. Following that, the chapter introduces Galería CIMA as the case studied in this research. Subsequently, it delves into

the focus of this research, elucidating the research objectives and questions. It then proceeds to briefly contextualise Chile's political landscape, with particular attention to the neoliberal legacy left by the Pinochet military dictatorship. Lastly, it offers a preview of the thesis structure.

1.1. Situating the current study in arts and cultural management

This doctoral research falls within the field of arts and cultural management, an interdisciplinary area that has more recently come to be located within the cultural and the creative industries³. It is a field that can be understood both as a practice and as a body of theoretical work. In general terms, arts and cultural management refers to the set of practices that deal with the administrative, managerial, and mediating aspects of cultural production between fine arts, applied arts, patrimonial culture, amateur arts, and civil society. For instance, Bendixen (2000) contends that modern arts management is based on bridging the gap between internal artistic expression and its reception by the external audience. Moreover, as DeVereaux, (2009, p. 66) states, "...cultural management' is used to designate a wide set of practices relating to the management of cultural organizations and cultural activities for achieving a variety of aims, including production, distribution, exhibition, education, and other related activities within a variety of sectors such as the non-profit, for-profit, and public".

Furthermore, as will be explored, a range of different (and even opposing) disciplines have taken part in the theoretical configuration of arts and cultural management. It draws upon knowledge from a diverse range of fields such as sociology, art, public policy, law, psychology, marketing, organisational studies, political science and economics (Jung, 2017). Nevertheless, there is a tendency in the development of the field to be business oriented. Some scholars have argued that as both an academic discipline and a practical field, arts and cultural management primarily

³ It is also included and referred to as Culture Industry, Cultural Industries, Creative Industries, and more recently, Creative Economy or Creative Economies. It should be noted that these terms are observed and used interchangeably by various academics in the field; Likewise, there is an ongoing debate in this regard. As Casey and O'Brien (2020, p. 244) point out, "the welcome innovations that are associated with the development of a new field of study are also matched by confusions and conjectures. The term itself, cultural and creative industries, is the subject of extensive debate, going hand in hand with closely related concepts such as 'creative economy', as well as reflecting definitional struggles aimed at conjoining or demarcating the creative and the cultural".

emphasises the concepts of survival and sustainability (Janamohanam, 2019). This emphasis revolves around aspects such as securing funding, effectively managing organisations, ensuring efficient operations, and managing arts organisations as businesses. Thus, arts and cultural management has been recognised by scholars as an interdisciplinary field in which different theory and practice domains have converged; however, knowledge from traditional management⁴ and business appeared to predominate.

Some scholars argue that the dominance of this business perspective has negatively impacted the focus of research. As Devereaux (2009, p. 68) declares, “the field gravitates toward a utilitarian, reductionist approach to inquiry, one that troubles itself very little with the deeper analysis that would situate practice within the larger context of its functions in relation to culture, for example, or society”. Thus, arts and cultural management research has mainly focused on economic sustainability of art and cultural production and the efficient running of organisations in competitive, market-oriented, and precarious contexts (Tomka, 2019). However, in recent years there has been much interest in expanding the field's knowledge base, for example, in terms of its role in wider society.

The significance of arts and cultural management as a critical practice for the development of cultural and artistic production is readily apparent. However, despite its importance, the key aspects and underlying complexities of this field remain blurry and warrant further exploration. As Devereaux (2019, p. 2) argues, “For their growth, arts and culture sectors depend on people in

⁴ In general terms, traditional management refers to a classical approach to management that emerged during the late 19th and early 20th centuries to address the challenges of organising and managing large industrial organisations. Scientific management, pioneered by Frederick Taylor (1911), focuses on maximising efficiency through scientific analysis, work standardisation, and incentive systems. Henri Fayol's (1949) administrative management theory emphasises the five key functions of management: planning, organising, commanding, coordinating, and controlling, along with 14 management principles for effective organisation. Max Weber's (1964) bureaucratic management theory advocates for a rational and efficient organisational structure with hierarchical authority, clear rules, and division of labour. The human relations school, influenced by Elton Mayo's Hawthorne Studies (between 1924 and 1932), underscores the significance of understanding and addressing employees' social and psychological needs to improve productivity and job satisfaction. A point to consider is that while these theories laid the foundation for modern management practices, contemporary approaches have evolved to consider the complexities of today's diverse and dynamic organisational environments. See, for instance, ‘Leadership and Project Management: Time for a Shift from Fayol to Flores’ (Howell et al., 2004).

positions of leadership and management who play a significant role in the creation, production, exhibition, dissemination, interpretation, and evaluation of arts and culture experiences for publics and policies. Less than a century old as a formal field of inquiry, however, arts and cultural management has been in flux since its inception. What is arts and cultural management? remains an open question.”. Accordingly, there remains room for further development and expansion of arts and cultural management as an academic discipline, both in terms of its knowledge base, and its overall scope.

In that sense, I intend to explore how arts and cultural management functions and impacts wider society through process-based research. This involves an analysis of developmental processes, sequences of events, changes, interactions, and operational dynamics during a specific period of time. Specifically, this study focuses on the developmental journey of a small cultural organisation that has had a significant impact on the political landscape in Chile in recent years. I am interested in observing how the main perspectives of the field have emerged, adapted, or resisted within this particular context.

1.1.1. Identifying the gap: underexplored domains in arts and cultural management research

There is a tendency for research in the field to focus on large, formalised, Westernised organisations, while small-scale arts organisations⁵ tend to be understudied (Summerton, 1996; Rentschler & Radbourne, 2009; Tomka, 2019). In other words, there exists a bias in the choice of case studies upon which arts and cultural management research has predominantly relied. Consequently, this has generated a body of theoretical and practical knowledge mainly based on formal systems of large and institutionalised organisations, which do not necessarily apply to the characteristics and practices exercised within small organisations which abound in the cultural sector (Chang, 2010). With this in mind, it is important to note that within academic literature, there exists a significant gap in our understanding of a particular category of organisations within the arts and cultural management field.

⁵ Even though it is not a fixed term, for the purpose of this thesis, small-scale art organisations are understood as independent entities that do not receive direct funding from government schemes. They often have limited facilities and budgets and employ a reduced number of full-time permanent staff.

Specifically, there is scarcity of research focusing on new, small-scale, non-European/North American cultural organisations. This lack of scholarly attention has resulted in a limited comprehension of the unique characteristics of such organisations, which are common in the cultural sector. In that sense, this thesis seeks to address this research gap by examining the case of Galería CIMA⁶, an artist-led independent organisation that emerged as a key political actor during a major socio-political crisis in recent decades in Chile. Through an in-depth analysis of this case, this research aims to contribute to a better understanding of the complexities and dynamics surrounding these distinct cultural entities and their experiences within challenging political environments.

Another point to consider, particularly for the case explored in this thesis, is that development of arts and cultural management in Latin America seems to differ from English-speaking and European countries. It is worth noting that the development of arts and cultural management in Latin America shows considerable differences, including historical, cultural, economic, and institutional variations. This is something to bear in mind when discussing this topic. As Henze (2021, p. 16) states:

“In Europe, cultural management as a discipline emerged during the last century when the state decided that cultural organisations should be made more effective and efficient in order not to further burden the taxpayer (Henze, 2013). It is, therefore, unsurprising that the discussions within the discipline centred predominantly on such topics as finance, marketing, organizational structures, audience development, for instance... Indeed, it is this [social] dimension that seemed to have played a more important role in the work of all those in arts and culture in Latin America for decades.”

As highlighted by Henze, while European countries have tended to focus on efficiency and financial considerations, Latin America has long prioritised the social dimension, including topics such as collective identity, citizenship, indigenous culture, and democratisation (Hernández-Acosta, 2020). In that sense, arts and cultural management has been widely considered a field of political action (Vich, 2014) that diverges from conventional management disciplines (Martinell,

⁶ The case of Galería CIMA will be presented in detail in the next section: 2.2. Galería CIMA: art, activism, and the impartial gaze in Chile's social uprising.

2014) and serves as a pivotal instrument in addressing socio-political challenges (Hernández-Acosta, 2013).

It is crucial to bear these distinctions in mind when discussing the specific case examined in this study. By recognising the unique historical and cultural context of Latin America, we can enhance our understanding of arts and cultural management in the region in a more nuanced and comprehensive manner. This will be covered in more detail in Chapter 3.

Insufficient exploration of the creation processes within arts and cultural management

The existing literature on arts and cultural management has predominantly emphasised outcome-oriented aspects while neglecting a comprehensive understanding of internal processes and alternative perspectives. There is insufficient research on the creative dimensions that extend beyond market-driven productivity within the field. Thus, there is a significant knowledge gap in this area. This study seeks to address this gap by investigating the creative process within arts and cultural management practices as a source of knowledge generation. By examining diverse creative journeys and adopting new methodological perspectives towards its research, a more profound comprehension of the field's political role can be attained, fostering inclusivity and challenging prevailing narratives. Additionally, expanding beyond North American/European contexts will further contribute to a nuanced understanding of arts and cultural management. This research aims to bridge this gap and expand the academic discourse through a process-focused approach with a specific focus on Latin American perspectives.

Creation processes constitute a component of arts and cultural management practices. Within this field, it becomes evident that a preparation stage exists, during which a series of thoughts and actions are developed, seeking to produce an original and valuable work (Wallas, 1926). However, this development stage has not been explored as a creative practice linked to complex ways of thinking and doing, but rather, utilitarian. In fact, the creative process, as such, is a concept that is rarely found in the literature of the field. On the contrary, texts abound that teach cultural managers to develop business plans to create cultural organisations or toolkits with a step-by-step process to create a creative entrepreneurship (NESTA, 2007; Byrnes, 2014; IETM, 2016; Arts Council England, 2017; Common Field, 2018). In other words, in the field of arts and cultural management,

it is more common to read about the stage of creating a new initiative in terms linked to business or as pre-made stages, rather than it being associated with artistic or creative knowledge domains where the process is recognised as much more open than in other disciplines, and where it is rare to see a list of steps to follow to make a work (Toulouse, 2018).

Therefore, a promising line of research would be to focus on the creative process in arts and cultural management in order to provide a unique perspective centred on the diversity of the creative journeys instead of simply a result and/or outcome, as is usual in the field, and to better understand the field's ability to be a political challenger in all its creative dimension. In that sense, this research will adopt visual methodological approaches that could be employed, not only in future projects, but also to gain a deeper understanding of the significance of the process in relation to the manifestation of political tensions within a society. Additionally, it aims to explore the potential roles that arts and cultural managers could play in this context.

In exploring the visual and memory traces of the creative process behind arts and cultural management practices, this study draws inspiration from French philosopher Gilles Deleuze's notion of creativity as an act of resistance. According to Deleuze, the act of creation engenders thinking in thought itself, emphasising the intellectual nature of the creative process (1994, p. 147). He considered the creative act as a means of challenging prevailing control mechanisms exercised through communication and advocated for creative practices to exist outside dominant narratives. By analysing the creative process in arts and cultural management, this research aims to identify potential spaces of resistance and how they can counter prevailing market-driven logics.

One of the reasons why it is necessary to expand knowledge in the field of arts and cultural management lies in the importance of understanding its political role. Authors such as Henze (2019) emphasise the necessity for arts managers to develop a clear political position, especially considering the political nature of art and culture. For instance, in South America the cultural field has often been closely intertwined with resistance against dictatorships and participation in social movements. This historical context underscores the undeniable link between politics and the cultural landscape within the region. Therefore, it becomes crucial to analyse cases beyond

European/North American countries, such as in South America, to gain a more comprehensive understanding of arts and cultural management's potential as a social and political agent.

Thus, studying cultural organisations such as Galería CIMA is important since they correspond to an underexplored type of cultural organisation in arts and cultural management research. In this sense, this thesis can be relevant for cultural policies since it can provide a better understanding of how culture is made and how it generates collective identity through community participation. Furthermore, with this thesis I seek to introduce a new perspective on a lesser studied country in English language literature, as is the case of Chile.

1.2. Galería CIMA: Cultural management, activism, and the impartial gaze in Chile's social uprising

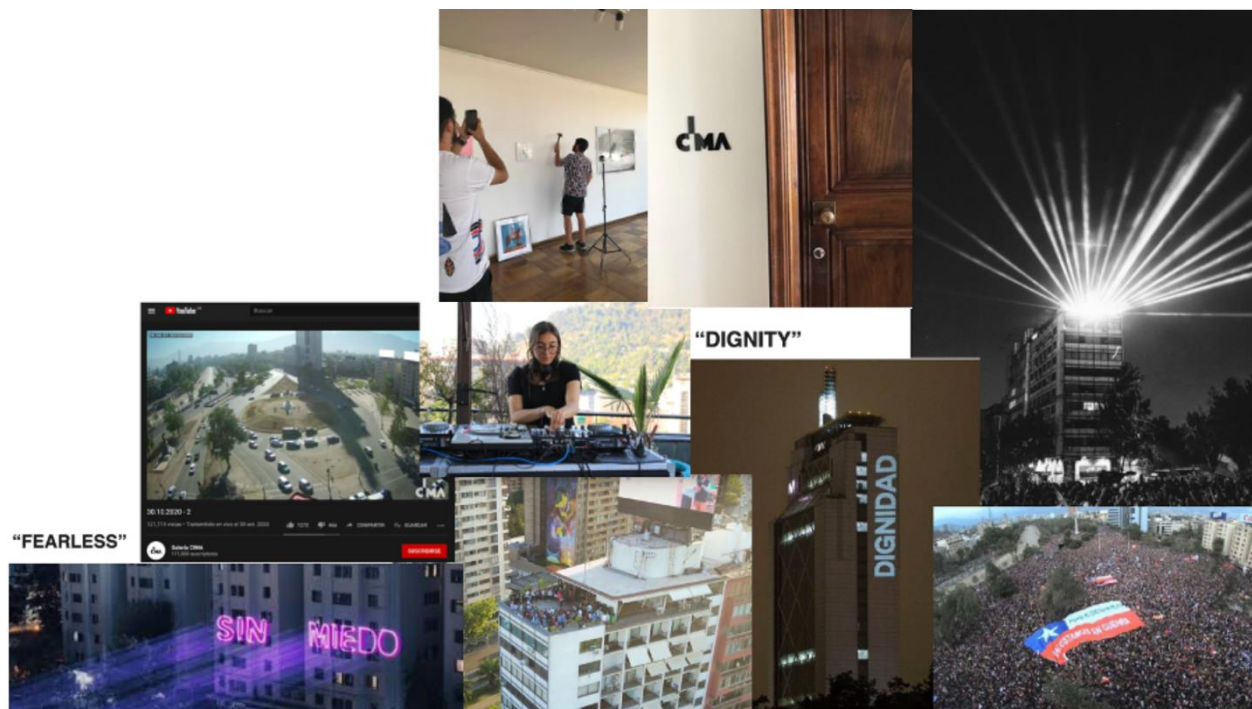


Figure 2. Galería CIMA. The collage of photographs shows images of activities carried out within the cultural organisation, and pictures taken from it. Sources: Galería CIMA, Luis Bahamondes and Dalal Leiva Egnem.

The case studied in this thesis is Galería CIMA, a Chilean cultural organisation. Galería CIMA is a space for visual arts and music, located in a penthouse on the eleventh floor of a 1950s building

above ‘Plaza Dignidad’⁷, the emblematic centre of the city of Santiago, Chile. As per the official description provided on its website, the cultural organisation is:

“a cultural space located in ‘Plaza Dignidad’. After the social uprising that implied the paralysis of all our activities, we installed a camera that has transmitted uninterruptedly what happens in the square, consolidating itself as a truthful and impartial coverage of the demonstrations, where various milestones have been recorded, such as the historic march of 25 October, New Year 2020, and 8M.”

Galería CIMA was founded by Trinidad, a visual artist, and Sebastián, a musician. As a cultural space, it began its activities in October 2016, organising free art and music events that opened to the public three times each month. The space was also offered as a location to rent for the advertising industry. The core team constitutes five people, including the two founders, a curator, an administrator, and a sound technician. However, various external collaborators participate in the organisation and production of activities. For instance, CIMA has collaborated to create large-scale light installations with visual projection collectives such as Delight Lab⁸ and Trimex Collective⁹, among others. Thus, the cultural organisation functions through the mobilisation of a diverse group of individuals, forming a constellation of people that actively engage in contributing to its functional dynamics.

Regarding financing, Galería CIMA is a private initiative that does not receive direct or permanent contributions from the government, and generates profits through the sale of food, artworks, agreements with organisations and brands, the rental of its space for events, as well as the sporadic awarding of national grants from various state entities.

⁷ ‘Plaza Dignidad’ (Dignity Square) was formerly called Plaza Italia (Italia Square). The square was renamed by protesters during the Chilean social uprising in October 2019. See for instance, ‘Public Space as a Border Space: Social Contention and Street Art in Santiago Post-18/O’ (Vicherat Mattar, 2020).

⁸ Delight Lab is an audiovisual design and experimentation studio that work with video, light, and space. It is directed by the siblings Andrea and Octavio Gana. See further information on their website: <https://delightlab.com/>

⁹ Trimex Collective is a multidisciplinary art group focused on creating immersive experiences through arts, technology, design, and architecture. See further information on their website: <https://trimex.cl/>



Figure 3. ‘Plaza Dignidad’ in December 2022. The red location marker corresponds to Merced 22, Santiago, Chile, which is the address of the building housing Galería CIMA. Source: Google Earth.

As will be explored, particularly in Chapter 5, not only the location at ‘Plaza Dignidad’ but also the architectural characteristics of CIMA are key element of the project. The penthouse in which the organisation is located has a 100 square metre terrace with a panoramic view of Forestal Park, San Cristobal Hill, Dignity Square, the Andes Mountain range, and several of the city’s urban and natural icons (Figure 3). As Google describes it, Galería CIMA is an “Elegant gallery offering contemporary art exhibits, live events & a terrace with scenic vistas” (Google search 2023). Thus, for various reasons the privileged location and view from the cultural organisation has been pivotal in its developmental journey.

The de facto eyes of the Chilean social uprising



Figure 4. Video investigation: 'Tear Gas in Plaza de la Dignidad' (Forensic Architecture, 2020). The picture shows a visual analysis by an automated system that helps identify the time and position of visible tear clouds made with footage from the Galería CIMA YouTube archive. Source: Forensic Architecture.

Since October 2019, in the context of the first large-scale demonstration of the Chilean social revolt, CIMA started to stream what was happening in the ground zero¹⁰ of the demonstrations, 'Plaza Dignidad'. First with a phone belonging to a team member, and then via a fixed security camera that was installed and that has continuously transmitted and recorded what was happening in 'Plaza Dignidad'. During the social uprising, this practice was essential for the movement. When mass media coverage was highly partial and criminalised the protests that were seeking the radical change of a political and social system in crisis, Galería CIMA became a reliable gaze that showed the magnitude of the movement and its legitimacy. As Viveros-Fauné (2020, p. Para 2) observed:

“As crowds streamed by, Galería CIMA beamed out images of Chile’s tumultuous protests in real time from its 11th floor perch, just as it has for more than a year, converting the four-year-old gallery into the de facto eyes and ears for Chile’s activist movement.”

¹⁰ 'Plaza Dignidad' had been pointed out as the Zona Cero (Ground Zero) of the demonstrations. See for instance, 154 días en la "zona cero" [154 days at "ground zero"] (Oliva Saavedra, 2021).

The camera has been streaming and recording in real-time since then and all of the material is archived and available on the organisation's YouTube channel¹¹.

From a conventional art gallery, Galería CIMA shifted into an extraordinary cultural organisation that became a critical political actor and a place of memory. A place in which arts and cultural management practices merged with activism and resistance. An organisation that took the decision to embody the context of a country in crisis, taking accountability for its position in the city.

In summary, over the period examined in the current study, Galería CIMA has undergone a notable transformation, shifting from a conventional art gallery into an exceptional cultural organisation with a profound impact on the community. Through its live streaming of the Chilean social uprising, it became the impartial gaze and voice of the activist movement, countering biased media coverage. The privileged location of the gallery and the panoramic view were also key elements to articulate a platform that fostered creativity and resistance. Galería CIMA embodies the fusion of arts, cultural management, activism, and resistance, taking accountability for its position in the city and becoming a symbol of change in a time of crisis. An overview of Chile's political context provides a deeper understanding of the societal forces that propelled Galería CIMA's transformation into a powerful cultural organisation.

1.3. Focus of my research

Commencing in 2018, my research journey coincided with Chile's election of Sebastián Piñera, one of the country's male millionaires, as President for the second time. At the time, Chile was experiencing a virtual tranquility and economic stability (Heiss, 2021). As a deeply engaged cultural manager within the sector at that time, my research project set out to delve into the prevailing contradictions between the ostensibly prosperous narrative, and the harsh reality faced by the arts and cultural community. Despite the proclamations of economic success in the last decade, the cultural sector struggled with precariousness and a profound lack of support for artistic

¹¹ See Galería CIMA's YouTube channel here: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC4GOcOKkEefz5NamN4WyMFg>

development, leaving artists, institutions, and cultural projects to grapple with insufficient funding and limited resources (Brodsky, et al., 2014).

My interest in the interplay of creativity and politics in arts and cultural management grew while working in the Ministry of Culture of Chile and developing a private cultural organisation with other cultural managers. This organisation was called NAVE¹², an art residency centre focused on creative processes in Santiago, Chile in which I was part of the development team. There I could experience these contradictions first-hand.

For this thesis, my original plan was to explore the creation journey of four different private cultural organisations in Chile, observing the relationships between their internal practices and how Chile, as a highly privatised and neoliberal economy (Han, 2011), impacted them. However, by the end of 2019, I decided to alter my research and focus on one - Galería CIMA. This was a personal decision based on the strong experience I had during that time. As a Chilean living abroad in the UK, I followed the events of the country's social uprising from a distance - mainly through electronic devices. Galería CIMA became the real-time connection, the closest way to be in Chile not only for me but for many Chileans living outside the country. I found myself constantly connected to their video streaming, following the revolt, trying to understand what was happening, and witnessing police violence in real time. The decision to focus on Galería CIMA felt right from the beginning, the political role played by the cultural organisation drastically changed during the Chilean social uprising. Until then, Galería CIMA was a conventional art gallery with a privileged view of the city, however, when the large-scale protests began, they became the de facto eyes of the protests; a reliable gaze.

As seen, this research focused on a specific case study: Galería CIMA and its development journey between 2016 and 2022. There are several reasons why I think the development of this cultural organisation is particularly interesting in the context of arts and cultural management research:

¹² NAVE is a residency centre for artistic creation, developed by a non-profit private foundation. It seeks to support the research and creation processes of dance, performance, music, and theatre from a trans-disciplinary perspective. The building is located in the Yungay neighborhood of Santiago, in a 20th-century heritage group of houses that was restored following a serious fire in 2006 and an earthquake in 2010, by architect Smiljan Radic. It was inaugurated in September 2015. See: www.nave.io

- a. Galería CIMA emerged in Chile, a country where a well-established neoliberal rationality prevailed. The country's historical association with neoliberalism (Klein, 2008) adds an important dimension to understanding the challenges and opportunities faced by cultural organisations in this region.
- b. Galería CIMA is located in 'Plaza Dignidad', a highly relevant urban area of Santiago, Chile (Gana Nuñez, 2021) and the ground zero of the social uprising (Marquez, 2022).
- c. Galería CIMA is a small artist-run independent cultural organisation that became a critical political actor during the Chilean social revolt.

This study aims to unravel Galería CIMA's trajectory to shed light on arts and cultural management practices. By closely analysing this case, I seek to contribute to a deeper understanding of the diverse mechanisms, dynamics, relationships, elements, and motivations that shape arts and cultural management in this specific context. Moreover, I aim to challenge conventional utilitarian perspectives by showcasing how these notions expand, bifurcate, and evolve in practice, providing a critical analysis of prevailing assumptions. Ultimately, this research aims to enrich the discourse on arts and cultural management by bringing in process-based perspectives from the Global South¹³.

This thesis affirms that every developmental process is heterogeneous and requires a micro-level perspective to understand the complexities of arts and cultural management. As Coupaye (2022, p. 41) argues, "Processes are fundamentally heterogeneous.". Examining the heterogeneous creative processes at a micro level could reveal the diversity of practices and elements that constitute the field of arts and cultural management. Additionally, a micro-level perspective, such as the one I took for this current study, can make visible contextual factors that influence creative

¹³ In this thesis Global South is understood as from Mignolo's perspective in which "The 'Global South' is not a geographic part of the planet, but the places on the planet that endured the experience of coloniality – that suffered, and still suffer, the consequences of the colonial wound (e.g., humiliation, racism, genderism - in brief, the indignity of being considered lesser humans), and from that experience the spiritual and decolonial options are contributing to build a non-imperialist and non-capitalist world. The struggle for global justice is the claim and contribution from the Global South." (Mignolo, 2011, p. 185).

practices, including cultural, social, economic, and political influences. This approach allows the capture of specific dynamics of the field and its practices, making visible its continuous modifications. By taking a small-scale perspective, this thesis provides a deeper understanding of the heterogeneous nature of creative processes in art and cultural management. Thus, I hope that this thesis helps to understand arts and cultural management as a complex creative and political practice that plays a role in wider society.

1.3.1. Research objectives

This thesis aims to contribute to the theoretical development of the field of arts and cultural management through the research of what, I argue, is an understudied aspect - the unique processes of development behind creating a new cultural organisation. In this sense, my investigation provides empirical knowledge that seeks to further explore the diversity of cultural managers' creative trajectories from a process-centred perspective and to bring an increased focus on creative practices in the arts and cultural management field. My purpose is that the findings of this thesis provide knowledge from an expanded perspective (Rogoff, 2014) for the field of arts and cultural management. Moreover, I intend to preserve the memory of a unique case of a cultural organisation that challenged power narratives and played a crucial role in Chilean society's fight for justice and dignity.

The specific objectives of this thesis are as follows:

- a) To document the development journey of a cultural organisation that played a crucial role as a key political actor during the Chilean social uprising, a significant political movement in recent Chilean history.
- b) To explore and analyse visual material related to the organisation's creation process to better understand its impact and significance.
- c) To build a knowledge base by critically analysing the creation process of a private small-scale cultural organisation in Chile, highlighting its internal dynamics, practices, and challenges.

- d) To identify and examine the relationships between the organisation's development and Chile's socio-political context, particularly during the Chilean social uprising.
- e) To contribute to scholarly knowledge in the arts and cultural management field, with a particular focus on developmental processes and considering perspectives and experiences from the Global South.

1.3.2. Questions

This study aims to address the following research questions:

- a) What was the creation process of Galería CIMA? What elements and practices were remembered as key for those involved?
- b) To what extent has the political context of neoliberalism and its subsequent crisis influenced the formation and development of Galería CIMA? How did the organisation navigate and respond to the political challenges between 2016 and 2022?

In order to answer the stated questions and achieve the research objectives, I opted for a qualitative methodology informed by a material-cultural approach. In particular, I used semi structured in-depth interviews, participant observation and visual methods, such as photo-elicitation interviews conducted with CIMA's founders, team members, and collaborators. In addition, besides the primary research conducted for this study, I conducted secondary research, particularly exploring media coverage and interviews covering the case studied here. This process is described in detail in Chapter 4.

1.4. An overview of Chile's political context

The case studied for this thesis is located in Chile, a country characterised by a firmly embedded neoliberal system where its installation is considered a laboratory (Klein, 2008).

Neoliberalism is a rather polysemic term, however in general terms, it refers to a market-centred political and economic ideology in which the role of the State is to create the right environment to encourage this approach. This ideology proposes that “human well-being can best be advanced by

liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey, 2007, p. 2). Moreover, as Noys (2010, p. 44) argues, “The delimitation of the power of the state and the power of the ‘social’ (as in social provision) is the aim of neoliberalism, along with the ‘freeing’ of an autonomous and local activity that is explicitly centrifugal”. Nonetheless, it has also been recognised as a complex concept with several approaches, and as a variegated and situated process that is constantly being remade (Peck, 2020).

Although the concept of neoliberalism dates back to the early 20th century, it is only in recent decades that it has become a relevant topic in the social sciences (Springer, et al., 2016). At the heart of this resurgence is Foucault's perspective, developed mainly in his readings, ‘The Birth of Biopolitics’ at the Collège de France between 1978 and 1979. For Foucault, the power structure that underlies neoliberalism “is not a matter of constructing a social fabric in which the individual would be in direct contact with nature, but of constructing a social fabric in which precisely the basic units would have the form of the enterprise” (2008, p. 148). This way of structuring society, based on several enterprises that interact with each other in seeking to increase their profits in a market framework, is what Foucault understands as the neoliberal model of governance. As he argues, “this multiplication of the enterprise form within the social body is what is at stake in neoliberal policy. It is a matter of making the market, competition and so the enterprise, into what could be called the formative power of society” (Foucault, 2008, p. 148).

Entrepreneurship is a key value of neoliberalism, and the figure of the entrepreneur has been widely thought of as the most relevant role in neoliberal subjectivity (Jones & Spicer, 2009). As Foucault declares, “homo economicus is an entrepreneur, an entrepreneur of himself. This is true to the extent that, in practice, the stake in all neoliberal analyses is the replacement every time of homo economicus as partner of exchange with a homo economicus as entrepreneur of himself, being for himself his own capital, being for himself his own producer, being for himself the source of his earnings” (Foucault, 2008, p. 226). Thus, in neoliberal governmentality, political and social freedoms are diminished to economic freedom.

In Western countries neoliberal policies are at the core of their latest developments and the implementation of this model started to occur during the 1970s and 1980s, primarily during the governments of Margaret Thatcher in the UK and Ronald Reagan in the USA (Campbell, et al., 2006). In the case of Chile, the imposition of neoliberalism is a historic milestone, not only for the country's socio-political configuration, but also at an international level, since it is one of the first countries where this system was installed in an integral way and it has been widely considered as the place where neoliberalism originated (Chiapello, 2017). As Brown (2019, p. 18) argues:

“Neoliberalism is most commonly associated with a bundle of policies privatizing public ownership and services, radically reducing the social state, leashing labor, deregulating capital, and producing a tax- and- tariff- friendly climate to direct foreign investors. These were precisely the policies imposed on Chile by Augusto Pinochet and his advisors, the ‘Chicago Boys’¹⁴ in 1973 and soon after carried elsewhere in the Global South, often imposed by the International Monetary Fund as ‘structural adjustment’ mandates tied to borrowing and debt restructuring. What started in the Southern Hemisphere soon flowed north, even if the executive powers of the revolutions were rather different”.

Although there are different ways to approach neoliberalism, one of its main characteristics, according to scholars, is that competition and inequality are at the core of its rationality. As Davies (2014, p. 310) exposes, “Competition and inequality are valued positively under neoliberalism, as a non-socialist principle for society in general, through which value and scientific knowledge can best be pursued”. Competition feeds the functioning of the market as the axis of neoliberalism, and consequently, inequality is accepted as part of this ideology. Where there is competition there will always be winners and losers. As Marxist theorist Franco “Bifo” Berardi (2015, p. 51) argues, “In the wake of the Neoliberal proclamation of the end of class struggle, the only social categories remaining are winner and loser. No more capitalists and workers; no more exploiters and exploited. Either you are strong and smart, or you deserve your misery. The establishment of capitalist absolutism is based on the mass adhesion...to the philosophy of natural selection”

This system has been greatly criticised and frequently analysed from a pejorative perspective; it has even been referred to as "the ideology at the root of all our problems" (Monbiot, 2016), among

¹⁴ See, for example: Fuentes, C. and Valdeavellano, R. (Directors). (2015). Chicago Boys [Documentary film]. La Ventana Producciones. Chile.

other things, because of the high levels of inequality that are both produced and normalised through time in different countries around the world. This study aligns with this critical standpoint.

It is clear that neoliberal narratives have permeated every aspect of the society in which its policies have been installed. As Brown (2015, p. 31) points out, “the point is that neoliberal rationality disseminates the model of the market to all domains and activities – even where money is not at issue – and configures human beings exhaustively as market actors, always, only, and everywhere as *homo economicus*”. Moreover, Harvey (2007) emphasises that neoliberalism has become the predominant narrative of the last decades and has broad effects on our modes of thought, and political, economic, and social practices; these are so profound that it has become part of the common sense of how we understand and experience the world in which we live. Accordingly, it becomes necessary to locate any analysis considering this framework to better understand the dimensions that are involved in the understanding of arts and cultural management practices, especially when the case to be studied is in a country that is deeply shaped by this ideology, as it is the case of Chile.

In Chile, Neoliberalism is strongly connected with the horror¹⁵ of the military dictatorship. The system was violently imposed by the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, who ruled from 11th September 1973 to 11th March 1990 (Taylor, 2006). It consisted primarily of a reform devised by the so-called "Chicago boys", a group of Chilean economists educated by one of the authors and proponents of free-market theory, Milton Friedman (Valdes, 1995). The reform, which began by focusing on economic issues and later stretched to social and cultural matters, introduced a subsidiary role for the Chilean State, involving reduced public spending, the privatisation of state enterprises, and the elimination of obstacles to free enterprise - characteristics that remain fundamental to Chile's public policies to this day. Specifically, throughout the Political Constitution of the Republic of Chile of 1980, which is still in place.

In the field of culture, the dictatorship brought about a so-called "cultural blackout" (Thorrington, 2014), which strove to eliminate all cultural manifestations associated with the socialism of the

¹⁵ See, Valech I. (2004). ‘Informe de la Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura’ [The National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture Report]. Santiago: Ministerio del Interior.

previous president, Salvador Allende, who had been elected democratically in 1971 and was removed and died during the Pinochet coup. As Donoso (2013, p. 114) declares:

“Along with establishing control over information, massive raids were conducted on important cultural production institutions such as the Museum of Fine Arts, which was surrounded by tanks and shot at under the pretext that MIR¹⁶ militants were hiding there; the record labels DICAP (Discotheque of Popular Singing, belonging to the Communist Party) and IRT (Radio and Television Industry, belonging to the State), with the aim of destroying the master tapes and records stored there; the offices of Chilefilms, a company associated with CORFO responsible for promoting and financing national film productions; and Quimantú Publishing, a state-owned industry created by the Popular Unity government, which had become a symbol of Salvador Allende's cultural policy...In addition to the above, military intervention was carried out in universities, disrupting their functioning by appointing military rectors and raiding, for example, the Faculty of Arts at the University of Chile, which was perceived by the regime as a "Marxist stronghold."

The dictatorship destroyed a significant amount of Chile's artistic and cultural memory (Leiva, 2013), and that historical background remains fresh nowadays. As will be explored in Chapter 3, the dictatorship was active in imposing accepted regime voices and silencing/eliminating those that were related to the 1971 democratic voted for socialism. For example, throughout this period, countless works of art, literature, and historical records were deliberately destroyed or hidden to erase any traces of opposition and alternative narratives.

In recent years, several cultural projects and spaces have arisen from civil initiatives that seek to challenge the legacy left by the dictatorship; however, they have been modelled within adverse neoliberal conditions. Even though there is a growing role for the state in promoting the development of culture and the arts, particularly in the form of Chile's recently created Ministry of Arts, Cultures and Heritage (2017) and the growing role of culture proposed by the left-wing ex-student leader president Gabriel Boric (2022-2026), economic support for culture is scarce¹⁷ and mainly based on annual highly competitive processes for grants. Furthermore, the country has seen the emergence of diverse new artistic projects and institutions, as well as a boom in cultural

¹⁶ MIR – Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario (Revolutionary Left Movement) was a Chilean Marxist-Leninist political and social organisation founded in 1965 by various university student organisations.

¹⁷ In 2022 the annual national budget for the Ministry of Cultures, Arts and Heritage represents 0,41% of the general budget of Chile. See <https://presupuestoabierto.gob.cl/>

entrepreneurship linked to the installation of the creative economy narrative in the region (Buitrago & Duque, 2013).

After more than three decades under the neoliberal system in Chile, a recent social movement emerged to challenge its naturalisation and claimed success (Garcés, 2019). As it will be explored, particularly in Chapter 6, this research project places great importance on the so-called ‘Estallido Social Chileno’ (Chilean social outburst) as it represents one of the most significant social crises in decades and has deeply impacted the cultural organisation studied here. In October 2019, a mass wave of demonstrations started in Santiago de Chile. This social movement was a result of a crisis in the country’s economic, social, and political model (Garretón, 2021). The deepening inequalities¹⁸ of recent decades have triggered mass protests in several cities in the country, that have been fraught with police violence and human rights violations (Amnesty International, 2020). The demonstrations seemed sudden to the rest of the world; however, Chile has a history of demonstrations against a highly market-centred system consequent of Pinochet’s dictatorship and maintained during the democratic following years. As Taub (2019, para.1) argues, “The suddenness of the protests, the anger that spilt onto the streets every day, might have been surprising anywhere. But in the country often lauded as Latin America’s great economic success story, it has shocked the world”. For the Chilean people, this crisis was not a surprise. Initiated as a student protest because of a 30 Chilean pesos (£ 0.030) increase in public transportation fares, the revolt grew systematically, including marches with more than a million people demanding a radical change to the prevailing neoliberal system. ‘It’s Not 30 Pesos, it’s 30 Years’, was one of the most recognisable slogans from the protests, referring to 30 years of the neoliberal system installed through the 1980 constitution put in place by the dictatorship. At present, the country is in a process of constitutional change and Gabriel Boric¹⁹, a progressive ex-student leader, is the new president of the Republic.

¹⁸ See, for instance, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1071868/chile-main-problems-opinion-leaders-journalists/>

¹⁹ See, for example, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/dec/20/who-is-gabriel-boric-the-radical-student-leader-who-will-be-chiles-next-president>

1.5. Thesis structure

Overall, this thesis focuses on the creation processes that exist behind arts and cultural management practices through exploration of the process of creating Galería CIMA in Santiago de Chile; it identifies the mechanisms used to develop the cultural organisation and its relationships with the Chilean political context of recent years.

The thesis starts with this introduction in which I present the key elements of the research. The **second chapter** of this thesis explores the theoretical framework of the research. To do this, I will begin by exploring the so-called cultural sector. Then, through a chronological approach, I will examine key concepts in the theoretical development of the sector, such as the concepts of culture industry, cultural industries, creative industries, as well as creative economy. Observing the development of the main narratives associated with the cultural sector will help me outline the context in which the field of arts and cultural management and its dominant perspectives have emerged. In this way, the chapter will show the field's development and critical debates around its conceptualisation. Likewise, it will highlight the gaps in the theoretical development of the field, showing how this study can contribute to it.

Chapter three presents and analyses literature developed mainly by Latin American authors on arts and cultural management based on secondary data. It will begin by exploring the rise of the field of arts and cultural management in the region, moving specifically towards Chile. For this, I will explore literature related to the appearance of the term *gestión cultural* (arts and cultural management/cultural agency) during the 1990s and its relationship with the development of democratic institutions, as well as the European influence in the academic articulation of the field, within the region. I then turn to the specific case of Chile, showing how cultural management practices during the Pinochet military dictatorship were used as a mechanism of political resistance. In addition, this chapter will observe the development of the field in recent years in Chile, observing literature related to the formation of the arts and cultural management in the context of the consolidation of neoliberalism beginning in the nineties with the return to democracy. Thus, this review will lead us to perspectives that recognise a hybrid configuration of the arts and cultural management in Chile, where apparent tensions emerge between a field that,

on the one hand, appears as a form of resistance and, on the other, is shaped by neoliberal policies within a society that embraced the system by force.

The **fourth chapter** explains the methodology of this research. This chapter will describe my positionality as researcher, linking the conceptual and theoretical foundations of the research with the methodological framework, the research process, as well as the analysis of the data. I will describe the main approaches that underpin the research, the intrinsic case study (Stake, 2005) illuminated by cultural material approach (Miller, 2008), as well as the use of visual methods (Rose, 2016), semi-structured in-depth interviews, participant observation, and analysis of secondary data. In addition, a detailed description of the research process will be made, which spanned a total of 41 months, from January 2019 to May 2022, and was carried out online and in person.

The **three following chapters** of this thesis describe and analyse three phases of the creation of Galería CIMA which were observed during the specified period. These chapters represent the principal analytical contribution of this study.

Chapter five explores the first identified phase of development showing the extent to which the cultural organisation's practices were permeated by neoliberal rationality settled in the country. It emphasises the importance of the organisation's place and location in the symbolic centre of Santiago, Chile, 'Plaza Dignidad', and presents key findings from interviews, archival research, and fieldwork notes. The study reveals the presence of an entrepreneurial self, unplanned practices, and contradictions in the organisation's voice (Couldry, 2010) and political engagement. Moreover, the chapter discusses how the neoliberal rationality in Chile affected decision-making and cultural management practices within CIMA. Lastly, it highlights the significance of the location in shaping cultural management approaches beyond market-oriented narratives.

In **Chapter six**, I delve into photo-elicitation interviews with the founders of the cultural organisation and visual material collected during my fieldwork. I focus on a second identified phase in CIMA's creation, which is strongly connected with a configuration of the organisation as a critical cultural organisation. This phase includes the beginning of the Chilean social uprising

(October 2019) until the implementation of Covid-19 restrictions from early 2020. During this period, the cultural organisation consolidated its role as a political actor facilitated due to, I argue, a flexible and agency approach to arts and cultural management practices. Here, I draw attention to three types of practices found during data collection that were crucial in creating an effective critical art organisation (Mouffe, 2011). Firstly, there was a critical positionality against hegemonic powers. Secondly, the organisation made available an impartial gaze using one of the space features - the panoramic view. Finally, it amplified the voices of the revolt through visual projections, making the art organisation's spaces available as a platform for collaborative practices of resistance.

In **Chapter seven**, I explore an ongoing phase in which the cultural organisation is expanding its practices. The period corresponds with the implementation of Covid-19 restrictions from early 2020 and extends up to CIMA's participation in the exhibition 'Graphic Turn' exhibition in May 2022 at the Reina Sofia Museum, Madrid. In this phase, the cultural organisation began a process of restructuring, by which, among other things, they began to explore artistic practices and subsequently circulate and present their work outside the building in the 'Plaza Dignidad'. For instance, this involved an exhibition of an archive of images of key moments generated during the social revolt, and testimonials of their own cultural management practices. Moreover, the chapter shows three milestones in their process: the publishing of the video-installation Centinela in the museum nGbK Berlin (1st May 2021), the exhibition of archival material of key moments recorded with their camera during the social revolt, and testimonials of their practices held in the Santiago cultural centre "Balmaceda 1215" (Oct-Nov 2021), and their participation in the exhibition "Graphic Turn" (May-Oct 2022) in the Reina Sofia Museum, Madrid.

Finally, **Chapter 8** serves as a comprehensive culmination of the research explored throughout this thesis. It delves into the iterative journey undertaken to establish CIMA Gallery, characterised by intuitive and spontaneous approaches, adaptability, the significance of place and location, and collaborative work practices based on trust. Thus, it offers answers to the research questions, showing how the objectives were addressed and emphasising the contributions of the findings to the field of arts and cultural management. Furthermore, this final chapter underscores the importance of embracing non-conventional narratives in the field of arts and cultural management,

highlighting the advantages of exploring diverse perspectives, interdisciplinary approaches, and mixed qualitative research methodologies.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented the main components of this thesis, showing the case study, questions, and objectives that have guided this research. This chapter presents the literature review and outlines the theories and concepts that underpin the current study.

The literature review plays a crucial role in my doctoral thesis as it explores the existing knowledge, forming the foundation for the current study on arts and cultural management. I will examine different theories while adopting a particular perspective. As Hart (1998, p. 13) argues, a literature review should be “written from a particular standpoint to fulfil certain aims or express certain views on the nature of the topic and how it is to be investigated, and the effective evaluation of these documents in relation to the research being proposed”. In this sense, this doctoral research aims to expand the main narratives of the field of arts and cultural management through a process-oriented analysis of how culture/collective identity and community participation occurs within small cultural organisations.

While existing literature has contributed significantly to the field of arts and cultural management, there are specific research gaps that this thesis seeks to address. As will be outlined, research on arts and cultural management tends to focus on Westernised, grand, formalised organisations (Summerton, 1996; Tomka, 2019) instead of small-scale, informal, independent, non-Western cultural organisations. Moreover, quantitative and business-oriented research approaches are predominately used to study cultural organisations and the creative industries in general (Casey & O’Brien, 2020). This thesis, therefore, aims to provide empirical and theoretical knowledge for the field, focusing on the creation process of a small-scale independent Global South cultural organisation from a qualitative perspective. To do so, I examine the set of practices behind the development of Galería CIMA in Santiago, Chile, showing the extent to which the practices and perspectives of those involved in the process are related to the political context in which the

cultural organisation emerged, and highlighting the principal dynamics and elements within its development.

This review delves into the realm of the so-called cultural sector, taking a chronological perspective to examine its theoretical development. To begin with, I will explore key concepts such as the culture industry, cultural industries, creative industries, and creative economy. By observing the evolution of the main narratives associated with the cultural sector, I aim to establish the contextual backdrop in which the field of arts and cultural management has emerged, along with the prevailing perspectives that shape it.

Moreover, I will delve into the widely discussed market-oriented approach that has influenced the cultural sector in recent decades. Throughout the chapter, I will shed light on the presence of a neoliberal burden on the conceptual evolution of the cultural sector, revealing how cultural practices have undergone a transformative process into economic activities. This will help to understand the changing dynamics and implications of the sector in light of contemporary economic ideologies.

To consider the theoretical development of the cultural sector is relevant since it is the framework in which the arts and cultural management knowledge base has mainly developed, particularly in European and North American countries which, as will be explored in Chapter 3, has also impacted the development of the field in Latin American countries. In other words, these theories have not only been relevant to Global North countries but have also become widespread in countries in the Global South, such as Chile, where our case study is located. Moving forward, I will delve into critical theories that revolve around the creative industries narrative and the emergence of cultural entrepreneurs. Within this exploration, I will pay particular attention to the effects of a pronounced neoliberal rationality, which has played a significant role in shaping the cultural sector's development in recent decades. As I analyse the presence of precarious conditions within the cultural sector, I will highlight key elements such as passion, autonomy, individual talent, self-resilience, and self-management that play pivotal roles in shaping the cultural landscape. By examining these critical perspectives, I aim to gain a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted dynamics at play within the cultural sector.

In the second and final section, I will conduct an in-depth review of the literature specifically developed in the arts and cultural management field, alongside exploring critical discussions concerning its conceptualisation. My primary aim in this thesis is to better understand the field of arts and cultural management, adopting a critical perspective throughout. Gaining a comprehensive understanding of the configuration of this field and tracing the development of its knowledge base and research will provide valuable insights into its inherent bias. Consequently, this investigation will set the stage for outlining the focus of this thesis and the potential to contribute to new perspectives on the practices of arts and culture management, especially within the context of small, non-European/North American cultural organisations. This approach seeks to shed light on the unique challenges and opportunities faced by these specific cultural entities. The second section will finish by exploring the concept of the creative process, showing the extent to which, it is present in the arts and cultural management knowledge base. In doing so, I will demonstrate how this thesis could contribute to the field by exploring a small organisation from a process-orientated perspective.

A point to consider is that the current chapter is predominantly comprised of English-language sources, and it is critical to recognise that a substantial body of literature exists concerning the empirical dimensions of arts and cultural management in Latin America, and more specifically, the unique features of the Chilean cultural landscape. Therefore, the subsequent chapter (Chapter 3) will delve into the formation of arts and cultural management in Latin America, with a specific focus on Chile, primarily utilising Spanish-language sources that were translated by me for the purposes of this investigation. This approach will allow for a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the subject matter and will offer unique insights specific to the Chilean cultural landscape that are relevant to understanding the case study analysed in this thesis.

2.1. From the culture industry to the creative industries

This section delves into the fundamental concepts and discourses underpinning the art and cultural sectors. I will carefully explore and analyse various terms, including those of the culture industry, cultural industries, creative industries, and the more recent concept of the creative economy. Chronologically, in this work I will examine the emergence of these four key concepts, showing

how a neoliberal burden that fosters the extraction of economic value from cultural practices has been installed through time as the main narrative for the sector and its development.

2.1.1. The culture industry

The culture industry is a concept that emerged in the mid-twentieth century through Marxist Frankfurt School German scholars Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer. In their work, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944), they present one of the most influential critiques of mass culture and its socio-political impact (Featherstone, 1983). In the chapter *The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception* (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2020) the authors argued that industrialised mass culture (eg, movies, radio, magazines, etc.) manipulates mass society in various ways through the production of goods available for easy consumption by the masses. The authors coined the term “the culture industry” (in the singular) for this phenomenon and critically investigated how society becomes politically passive, and furthermore, critique is eradicated.

Adorno and Horkheimer argued that under the logic of industrial capitalism, culture and art eliminated critical culture, being absorbed by the logic of the market. In other words, mass culture becomes a way to maintain an ideology in line with the market-centred industrialised production of the time. Consequently, under capitalism, art and culture is completely absorbed by the economy (O'Connor, 2010). Culture, therefore, is produced following the same standardised methods as any other mass-produced commodity. As Adorno and Horkheimer (2020, p. 51) stated, “What is new, however, is that the irreconcilable elements of culture, art, and amusement have been subjected equally to the concept of purpose and thus brought under a single false denominator: the totality of the culture industry. Its element is repetition.”. Thus, culture begins to be produced serially and becomes simply fun and leisure for the masses, resulting in a docility in political terms.

The scholars developed a key critical and theoretical concept for the understanding of the cultural sector, showing how capitalism, the dominant ideology, was reproduced through the culture industry. In that sense, the theorists argue that “the system of the culture industry comes from the more liberal industrial nations, and all its characteristic media, such as movies, radio, jazz, and magazines, flourish there. Its progress, to be sure, had its origin in the general laws of capital”

(Adorno & Horkheimer, 2020, p. 145). In summary, the term culture industry emerged as a critical concept that problematises the phenomenon of mass culture and its impact in socio-political terms. The Frankfurt scholars found that the culture industry homogenised culture and its production within the framework of the market's interests. This term has been widely influential for the study, not only of mass culture, but also culture in general and its impact on wider society, and from this has developed other research approaches to the arts and cultural sector. For example, the plural variation of the concept: the cultural industries.

2.1.2. The cultural industries

Another term to consider in the conceptual development of the cultural sector is that of the cultural industries (in plural). The culture industry perspective proposed by the Frankfurt scholars was later further developed by French sociologists, academics, and policy makers as the cultural industries. As the British scholar David Hesmondhalgh (2019, p. 29) argues, the concept of culture industry “became widely used in polemics against the perceived limitations of modern cultural life and was picked up by French sociologists (most notably Huet et al., 1978; Miège, 1979; Morin, 1962), as well as by activists and policymakers, and converted into the term ‘cultural industries’. Internationally, the plural term was disseminated in policy circles through the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations (UNESCO)”. Moreover, “The faith in the economic potential of culture constituted a response to the downturn in capitalism in the 1970s by beginning to look away from traditional manufacturing industries and towards new sectors, in order to restore profit and productivity levels. The cultural industries were one of the key sectors they turned to; telecommunications and computers were others” (Hesmondhalgh, 2007, p. 9). The concept of culture industry, therefore, and its transformation into the term cultural industries has played a crucial role in reshaping economic prospects by shifting focus to non-traditional sectors such as telecommunications and information technology.

The 1978 text “Capitalisme et industries culturelles” (Huet, et al., 1978), from a report commissioned by the French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), was the starting point for a shift from a philosophical perspective to an empirical perspective of cultural policies, initially in France. The plural form of the concept proposed to delve into the complexity

of a field in which various practices and forms of cultural production coexisted. Moreover, unlike Adorno and Horkheimer, the cultural industries perspective argues that a singular definition of the sector failed to address the complexities of a sector made up of diverse disciplines, sectors, and practices and, therefore, potentials. In this sense, Morin (1962) and Miège (1987), proposed a less negative perspective towards the development of this phenomenon, contributing to the understanding of culture as a factor for economic growth in the context of the downturn in capitalism in the 1970s²⁰. Their works challenged the prevailing pessimism and opened new avenues for research, inspiring later studies on the dynamic interplay between culture and the economy. Acknowledging culture as a driver of growth, their contributions have had lasting impacts on policy, development strategies, and understanding.

The cultural industries, therefore, emerged as a rejection of the unidirectional and pessimistic understanding of the commodification of culture from the Frankfurt School, particularly regarding post-industrial forms of cultural production (Hesmondhalgh, 2019). In this sense, cultural industries provide a more nuanced understanding of the insertion of industrialisation and technologies into cultural production, showing that increased commodification of culture might also allow new avenues and opportunities. Thus, the concept of the cultural industries acknowledges the internal struggles of the commodification of culture and proposes a more “complex, ambivalent and contested” way of understanding (Hesmondhalgh, 2012, p. 25).

2.1.3. The creative industries

The emergence of the concept of creative industries in the late 1990s marked a significant shift in the perception of the arts and creative sectors. Through an increased focus placed upon the role of the UK cultural industries in the economic programme of the Labour government of Tony Blair in the UK, a new variation spread globally. The term ‘cultural’ was replaced by ‘creative’, leading to the emergence of the creative industries. The concept’s origin is often located in the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) Mapping Documents of 1998 and 2001 (DCMS, 1998,

²⁰ The downturn in capitalism or the so-called 70s recession corresponds to a legitimacy crisis of the US capitalism in most parts of the Western World. See, for instance, Volscho, T. (2017). *The Revenge of the Capitalist Class: Crisis, the Legitimacy of Capitalism and the Restoration of Finance from the 1970s to Present*. *Critical Sociology*, 43(2), 249–266.

2001). The British politician, Chris Smith, who oversaw the DCMS and was a key figure in UK cultural policy, commissioned the Creative Industries Mapping Document in 1998. This document sought to measure the potential for economic growth of the creative sectors and to install an innovative development strategy. There were 13 creative sectors identified: advertising; architecture; art and antiques markets; crafts; design; fashion; film & video; interactive leisure software; music; performing arts; publishing; software and computer services; television and radio. These sectors made up the creative industries, considered to be “Those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent which have a potential for job and wealth creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (DCMS, 2001, p. 4). In 2001, a Green Paper on cultural policy was published. This document gave an important role to creativity in the context of a “successful economic life in an advanced knowledge-based economy” (DCMS, 2001, p. 5). Drawing on Leadbeater & Oakley’s (1999) idea that “everyone is creative”, the text suggests that the arts and the new patterns of independent work of artists and creatives can become an innovative model for economic growth and job creation (McRobbie, 2001), particularly through intellectual property.

The narrative of the creative industries was later consolidated with the book *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002) by American urban studies theorist, Richard Florida. Since its launch, this book has been circulated widely, gaining relevance in urban studies permeating both politicians and “cultural entrepreneurs” (Loacker, 2013) with the idea that creativity and knowledge have a transformative power in local/global economies. Florida views “human creativity as the key factor in our economy and society...for the first time, our economy is powered by creativity” (Florida 2002, p. 4). A key concept in understanding the creative industries for economic development in this book, is the creative class. The author argues that the creative class is “a cluster of people who have common interests and tend to think, feel and behave similarly” (Florida, 2002, p. 8). Florida declares that in the new social structure of the 20th century, new social classes are created: the creative class, the service class, the working class, and the agricultural class. In this sense, the creative class is characterised by adding “economic value through its creativity, creativity being the ability to create new significant forms” (Florida, 2002, p. 68). Florida’s perspective is an enthusiastic approach to the positive potential creativity has on generating (economic) value. His

understanding proposes that the work of artists and creatives inject and energise cities, constituting itself as the main economic asset of post-industrial cities.

Another concept which placed intellectual property in the core as the key element for the development of the creative industries, is the creative economy. One of the most commonly cited works in this field is *The Creative Economy - How people make money from ideas* by John Howkins (2001) in which a new sector based on copyright is determined. In this sector, the British author includes "all those industries that create copyright or related works as their primary product: advertising, computer software design, photography, film, video, performing arts, music (publishing, recording and performing), publishing, radio and TV, and video games. Art and architecture also qualify as copyright works, but in most cases their rights are marginal to their economic value" (P. xiii, Howkins, 2001).

The concept of the creative economy has gained significant attention in recent years, as it represents a sector of the economy that is focused on creating and distributing creative goods and services. According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the creative economy refers to "the interface between creativity, culture, economics, and technology in contemporary society" (UNCTAD, 2008). This sector encompasses a wide range of industries, including advertising, architecture, design, fashion, film, music, performing arts, publishing, software, and video games, among others.

Many scholars have highlighted the importance of the creative economy in generating economic growth and fostering cultural development. For instance, Howkins (2001) argues that the creative economy is a source of wealth creation that is based on intangible assets such as intellectual property, creativity, and talent. He contends that the creative economy is becoming increasingly important as traditional industries are disrupted by technological advances and globalisation.

The creative industries have been widely recognised as a promising sector for economic growth and development, including local adaptations in Latin American countries²¹ (UNCTAD, 2008). Many countries have integrated the creative industries into their public policy strategies (Flew & Cunningham, 2010).

However, this narrative and its policy implementation have been signalled as having a notable Anglo (UK)-centrism, as scholar Hye-Kyung Lee (2020, p. 544) points out, “The existing literature on creative industries policy shows notable Anglo (UK)-centrism, which asserts a certain spatial and temporal structure in our understanding of the policy, that can be summarised as ‘first in the West, and then elsewhere’”. Despite its commendations, the approach to creative industries and its policy implementations may not fully represent the diversity and complexities of regions beyond the Western world. This observation highlights the need for a more inclusive and culturally situated perspective in shaping research and policy related to creative industries.

2.1.4. The emergence of cultural entrepreneurs: Neoliberal influence on the creative industries

In the context of the creative industries, the figure of the entrepreneur is key. The entrepreneur narrative in the cultural sector was first put forward in 1999 with the document, “The Independents: Britain’s new cultural Entrepreneurs” by Charles Leadbeater and Kate Oakley. In this document, the authors state that cultural entrepreneurs appeared in the 1990s in the context of market-centred policy consolidation. As they state, “the Independents came into the workforce in the late 1980s and 1990s as public subsidies to the arts were under pressure and many large commercial organisations were in the midst of downsizing. Careers in large organisations became more risky and uncertain: self-employment and entrepreneurship became a more realistic option” (Leadbeater & Oakley, 1999, p. 15). Although the authors do not explicitly associate the emergence of the entrepreneur with Margaret Thatcher's neoliberalism during the 1980s, they state that the rise of

²¹ In Latin America, the creative economy narrative gained popularity in the 2000s through the concept of ‘economía naranja’ (orange economy), proposed by Buitrago & Duque (2013) and the Inter-American Development Bank. In the book "The Orange Economy: An Infinite Opportunity", Buitrago & Duque describe the creative economy as follows: “The creative economy, which we call the “Orange Economy” in this book...encompasses the immense wealth of talent, intellectual property, interconnectedness, and, of course, cultural heritage of the Latin American and Caribbean region” (2013, p. 8)

the cultural entrepreneur was due to the reduction in state support for the arts and culture. Accepting that context, they propose that “the main aim of policy should be to create a conducive environment of education, business finance and open markets, which will give this sea of small producers a better chance of surviving and growing” (Leadbeater & Oakley, 1999, p. 41).

Nevertheless, the relation between the rise of the entrepreneur in the cultural sector and neoliberalism is now evident. As Ellmeier (2003, p. 12) maintains, “The fact that so much work on cultural entrepreneurialism has been carried out in Britain is also based on Britain’s experience of neoliberal policies beginning with the Thatcher administration in 1979... From this perspective, various national conditions in the discussion of arts, culture and economy also reflects different stages in putting entrepreneurialism at the centre of economics and labor market systems in Europe.”. Moreover, as Loacker (2013, p. 124) argues, “neoliberal forms of power and government currently ‘make up’ artists as ‘entrepreneurial creatives’”. The author highlights that, starting in the 1990s, there has been a noticeable shift in the arts towards a more business-minded approach. This change has led to a greater emphasis on the economic value of art and creativity, becoming a central topic in global discussions on art and cultural policies. The author points out that this shift originated in Great Britain (Loacker, 2013).

As seen, economic perspectives have highly permeated the arts and culture sector. In recent decades, neoliberal rationality has been legitimised insofar as it has positioned itself as the common sense of the field. As Alexander (2018, p. 18) claims, regarding the depth of this legitimation and its consequences, “the fact that arts institutions (just like charities, universities or various public services) have adopted particular business practices suggests that this way of organizing is, at the minimum, a very sensible way to organize, or taken further, that it is the natural, inevitable way of doing so, the only possible way to think about the human endeavour. With the widespread use of neoliberal rationality, other forms of rationality are weakened or closed down.”

As observed, entrepreneurship is a key value of neoliberalism (Foucault, 2008) and in recent decades it has also become a key component of the arts and cultural sector. The phenomenon of neoliberalisation of the cultural sector also responds to the over-economisation of all social

domains, where cultural work begins to blend with that of doing business. In other words, in a neoliberal society, cultural workers, artists, and so on are transformed into economic assets, into “culturepreneurs” (Ford & Davies, 1998). As Ellmeier (2003, p. 3) argues, “The former ‘cultural worker’ has been transitioning into a ‘cultural entrepreneur’ or—as others put it—into a “sole service supplier in the professional cultural field...What is developing here is the guiding concept of the ‘entrepreneurial individual’, i.e. individuals who do not follow prescribed standards but who (have to) try out their own combinations and assert themselves on the market and in society”.

Neoliberal creativity

Entrepreneurship requires creativity (Drucker, 1985). The liberation of individual entrepreneurial freedoms has been widely associated with the compulsion to innovate that is present in neoliberal societies and, in this relationship, creativity is a key point. As Bröckling (2006, p. 513) argues, “The imperative of being creative is nowadays connected to the mobilization of the entrepreneurial self. Entrepreneurial action demands permanent innovation—and consequently ceaseless creative exertion. Everybody not only has to be simply creative, but more creative than the others.” Creativity is a tremendously present force in neoliberalism; however, a certain type of creativity, that which is the engine of the entrepreneur, gives the creative process its instrumental gasoline. As Bröckling (2016, p. 102) declares, “Creativity is an economical resource that the market both mobilizes and consumes creative destruction is the entrepreneur’s economical function; his profits result from ‘carrying out new combinations’. In order not to go under, he must offer other commodities than the competitors, or the same commodities in better quality or at a more appealing price, more speedily furnished, and so forth”. In neoliberal terms, creativity is also about competence, about losers and winners. If, in the past, profit was understood as the result of innovation (Schumpeter, 2003), nowadays it is the result of creativity (Pink, 2006). Florida (2002) affirms that creativity is the fundamental resource of today's economy.

In neoliberal societies creativity is absorbed by economic capital in such a way that it conceives all social and subjective experiences as potentially economically productive. Hence, creativity and other activities considered sensitive and cognitive, are exploited. This phenomenon is also explored through the theoretical lens of ‘Immaterial labor’ (Lazzarato, 1996; Virno, 2003;

McRobbie, 2010) in which the new conditions of labour are analysed in the context of post-Fordist organisation of production.

The literature has shown a tendency towards understanding creativity from an instrumental perspective. For instance, in his work "Against Creativity" Oli Mould (2018) challenges the prevailing notion of creativity as a positive and liberating force in contemporary society. Instead of celebrating creativity as agile, progressive, and empowering, Mould argues that it is, in fact, a hidden form of neoliberal appropriation. He contends that the current concept of creativity serves as a regime that prioritises individual success and profit over the collective flourishing of society. According to Mould, this focus on economic gains leads to the exclusion of anything, including jobs, places, or people, that is not immediately profitable.

Mould's critique extends to the impact of this narrow understanding of creativity on various aspects of society. He points out how it shapes the places where we work, the way we are managed, and even influences how we spend our leisure time. He asserts that the pervasive promotion of creativity as a driving force behind the knowledge economy and urban development is misleading and masks the underlying neoliberal agenda. As he argues, "Creativity is a distinctly neoliberal trait because it feeds the notion that the world and everything in it can be monetised. The language of creativity has been subsumed by capitalism." (2018, p. 12).

By presenting creativity as a tool of neoliberalism, Mould challenges us to rethink the prevailing narrative and question the true nature and consequences of emphasising creativity within a capitalist framework. As he argues "If creativity is about the power to create something from nothing, then believing in impossible things is its most critical component. We need to believe that impossible worlds can be reached if these impossibilities can ever be realised and become lived experiences. But capitalism's rendition of creativity stops this happening. It sells us a different vision of creativity as the only possibility. One that is individualised, profitable, and autonomous. Such a vision of creativity tempts us, sometimes forces us, to forgo believing in impossible things and instead focus on replicating more of the same: the same inequalities, precariousness, privatisation, and global injustice that capitalism has thrust upon the world for centuries" (Mould,

2018, p. 91). The author advocates for a radical redefinition of creativity, one that prioritises collective flourishing and transcends the narrow focus on profit-driven outcomes.

Also stressing the importance of the collective dimension, Chris Bilton's perspective on creativity holds significant relevance, especially within the creative industries. He argues that creativity is not solely an individualistic endeavour but rather a collaborative experience in which "creative thinking is less likely to result from an individual 'act of genius' than from a combination of different types of thinking" (Bilton, 2007, p. 6).

Emphasising the importance of collaboration, Bilton explores how creative processes are predominantly shaped through collective efforts. In that sense, he argues that "it is worth emphasising that while apparently rooted in individual skill, creative processes in the creative industries are essentially collective" (Bilton, 2007, p. 27). Moreover, the author critiques the prevailing individualistic model of creativity, particularly that of the creative industries narrative, stating that "the individualistic model of creativity based on individual skill and originality is supported by neoliberal assumptions about motivation and individual talent. The creative economy concept takes this tendency a step further, grafting the individualism of Western theories of creativity onto neoliberal market economics." (2007, p. 164). By acknowledging the collective nature of creativity, his perspective contributes significantly to our understanding of creativity's dynamics in the context of the creative industries beyond dominant market-centred narratives.

Creativity cannot be sought following a step-by-step manual

Consequently, the creative process has also tended to be understood and valued from this approach. As Jeanes (2006, p. 130) declares, "When we talk about creativity we do so essentially within the context of capitalism. The creative process, and its importance, is connected with the economy; we measure creative success in capitalist terms". Jeanes problematises the idea of creativity and innovation linked to prefabricated and immobile forms that seek profitability, as she (2006, p. 132) argues "such a narrative is folly, that creativity results from a process of thinking, a process of working, but one not framed (constrained) by known ways of working and thinking". She argues that capitalism and its emphasis on profitable creativity force the development of ideas, having, as a result, outcomes that are unlikely to be worth it. Jeanes (2006, p. 133) proposes that what "should

be resisted is the ‘common sense’ and ‘consensus in modes of thinking’– resisting creativity as currently construed. This does not mean a wholesale rejection of traditional approaches to creativity...However, it does mean we need to be open to new ways of thinking, to creative processes we do not recognize and that do not fit with our current assessments and measurements of creative processes and outputs, to have the courage to resist the ‘realization’ of current creative practices in favor of the actualization of the new (previously unknown) ways of thinking.”. In that sense, Jeanes proposes that it is necessary to further explore the implications and diversity of the creative process (2006). Thus, this research proposes exactly that: to engage in a deep exploration of arts and cultural management creation processes.

In the text *Against Creativity: a Philistine Rant*, Thomas Osborne (Osborne, 2003) develops a critical perspective on dominant understanding, stating that creativity has become mandatory enough in a wide variety of social spheres nowadays that it has even been configured as a moralising mandate. As he argues, “the creativity explosion will seem to be merely ideological: a response to the needs of capitalism or more generally to the structural needs of the economy” (2003, p. 508). From his perspective, the obligatoriness of creativity is due to the machination of a form of governance and a particular ideology that instrumentalises creativity and transforms it into economic capital. In that sense, Osborne (2003, p. 512) proposes that creativity cannot be sought following a step-by-step manual: “For, if the substance of creativity cannot be known in advance, then, as Stanley Cavell might put it, you have to invent the criteria of creativity itself in the very process of creation. Creativity is a matter of experiment, even head banging, but not, in this sense, of doctrine or a determinate ethos. Paradoxically, if we care to serve the ends of creativity, then we have to take something like a transversal stance towards creativity itself.” Therefore, creativity encouraged from parameters focused on generating economic value is recognised as non-creative, while creativity in itself implies creating unique and non-prefabricated modes of creation.

As can be seen, the problem of creativity transcends artistic and cultural spheres; however, in the case of the creative sector this tension occurs in a similar way. As Kalin (2016, p. 34) acknowledged:

“The creative industries force artists to be more business-like, while concurrently requiring the usefulness of creativity for innovation in the design of viable products and services leaving the notion of creativity focused on the politics of freedom behind as insubstantial...In order to achieve this, neoliberalism has undertaken the process of hollowing out and colonising creativity into acts that are “dependent on a mutable, reproducible and eventually dispensable content” (Adams & Owens, 2016, p. 7). This co-option of creativity disregards very specific, political, socially engaged, critical, and context-dependent forms of creativity that are less transferable or replicable across sites and disciplines, making them the antithesis of neoliberalism’s predacious demands for creativity”

It is clear that this idea of creativity linked to economic profitability is predominant, but not the only one. According to Kalin (2016), despite the influence exerted by the creative industries and neoliberalism, art retains a certain level of independence that can be harnessed as a form of resistance. Likewise, Baldacchino (2013) argues that only creativity that is critical and temporary in nature has the potential to challenge the emphasis on productivity and utility, thus upholding the autonomy of art. These insights emphasise the multifaceted nature of creativity's relationship with economic profitability, highlighting the existence of alternative perspectives that resist strict commercialisation. Thus, creativity manifested in a neoliberal context is also the framework in which arts and culture exist.

Neglecting social ramifications

The growing influence of neoliberal values in the cultural and creative sector therefore, has led to a shift in focus, prioritising entrepreneurship and commercial success while neglecting the social and political ramifications. As McRobbie (2001, para. 9) affirms: “While there might well be a good deal of energy and enthusiasm from the new entrepreneurial cultural managers, the social effects of these changes and the emerging inequities are swept aside. Instead, the creative sector is seen as vibrant and exciting. From Shoreditch and Hoxton, to Notting Hill, artists are now, it seems, able to reinvent themselves for the increasingly global market. They can be successful, sell their work; they no longer have any reason to be angry social critics.” McRobbie (2015) also states that in the commercial context in which arts and culture are mainly situated and validated, the social is barely questioned. She (2015, p. 198) argues that, “contemporary neoliberal values seek to extol the importance of entrepreneurial activities in the cultural and creative sector as a means of re-stratifying sectors of the educated middle classes so that this group are weaned off reliance on the public sector, which used to provide a ‘job for life’, while also seeing their seeming privileges

maintained through the idea of pleasurable or self-expressive work, even when this entails a shift to dependency on over-stretched family economies as part of the new rhetoric of human capital. This is affected through the injecting of positive and exciting meanings into a terrain of work that is precarious and insecure and often poorly paid". Thus, McRobbie criticised the neoliberal rationality that underpins the creative industries narrative, which she argues has created a culture of insecurity and precariousness for workers.

It seems that the tendency to understand the field from a highly productive and technical perspective in recent years is problematic. As Di Bernardo (2016, p. 9) argues, "Any approach which focuses on the technical rather than on the political aspect not only risks legitimating the neoliberal discourse of 'structural adjustments' and labour 'reforms' as necessary measures to enable necessary and 'competitive' technological advancements but also obscures the political and historical conditions that made possible a return to the pre-Fordist labour conditions". Thus, the neoliberal filter through which the artistic and cultural sector has passed can be seen to have undermined the clear political/social significance of the field.

The creative industries narrative has become an increasingly popular discourse in the cultural sector, emphasising the economic and cultural value of creativity, innovation, and entrepreneurship. However, this dominant narrative has also been criticised for masking the negative impact of neoliberal policies on work conditions within the sector. For instance, Banks (2007, p. 56) argues that a flexible worker in the creative industries "essentially means that one must do whatever is required to support commercial interest. It increasingly requires working longer or unsocial hours, taking on-board additional responsibilities, relocating according to company demands and certainly committing oneself to the commercial imperatives of the firm over and above non-work commitments". In line with Banks' perspective, Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2009) argue that the creative industries discourse has led to the commodification and exploitation of creative labour, contributing to precarious employment, low pay, and long working hours, highlighting that working life in this sector may not be as positive as believed, challenging existing policies. As they state (2009, p. 9), "Our evidence suggests that there is a strong tendency towards self-exploitation in the cultural industries". The creative industries narrative has led to the commodification of culture and the prioritisation of profit over workers' rights.

Other scholars, such as Rosalind Gill and Andy Pratt, have explored how contemporary ways of working have led to the prioritisation of individual talent and self-management over traditional job security. This shift in emphasis has resulted in the exploitation of workers, especially in the creative and cultural sectors. In support of this, the authors argue (2008, p. 20) that “labour organization in many areas of cultural work is striking, and is both cause and outcome of industries that are individualized, deregulated and reliant upon cheap or even free labour, with working hours and conditions (particularly among freelancers and intermittents)”. In essence, the creative industries' narrative perpetuates a culture of hyper-competition, pushing workers to compete for scarce resources rather than fostering collaboration and collective negotiation for better working conditions.

To sum up, this section has explored the evolution of key concepts that underpin the arts and cultural sectors, including the influential notion of the culture industry critiqued by Adorno and Horkheimer as a mechanism for manipulating mass society and eradicating critical culture. From the emergence of the culture industry to the shift towards the cultural industries and the creative industries, this review has highlighted the complexities and implications of adopting economic perspectives in the arts and cultural domain. Building on this foundation, the subsequent section will delve into the field of arts and cultural management, offering further insights into the specific challenges and implications within this realm in which the current study is situated.

2.2. Arts and cultural management

In the previous section, I discussed the main theoretical framework in which the field of art and cultural management has developed during recent decades. I will now explore the main discourses in the field of arts and cultural management. Through a review of the formation of the concept and main narratives around it, I will show the gaps in knowledge in the field, which this current study aims to fill.

2.2.1. Arts and cultural management: navigating theory and practice

Arts and cultural management is a fairly recent field that navigates between theory and practice. In general terms, it refers to the set of practices that deal with the administrative and managerial aspects of cultural production and to the mediating entity between fine arts, applied arts, patrimonial culture, amateur arts, and civil society. As DeVereaux (2009, p. 66) states, “The term ‘cultural management’ is used to designate a wide set of practices relating to the management of cultural organisations and cultural activities for achieving a variety of aims, including production, distribution, exhibition, education and other related activities within a variety of sectors such as the non-profit, for-profit and public.” Moreover, as Bendixen (2000, p. 12) argues, “modern arts management is based...on the mediation of internal artistic expression with the external public”. Furthermore, as will be explored, a range of different (and even opposite) domains have taken part in its theoretical configuration. The field has been influenced by knowledge from a variety of disciplines, including sociology, art, public policy, law, psychology, marketing, organisational studies, political science, economics, and certainly, business management (Jung, 2017).

Over the past few decades, there has been a growing recognition of the expanding significance of arts and cultural management as a field of knowledge (Evard & Colbert, 2000). For example, this can be seen through the establishment²² of academic journals, conferences and specialised degrees at universities around the globe, increased production of research and publications, as well as a growing demand for professionals with experience in managing artistic and cultural initiatives (Vakharia, et al., 2022).

Scholars have pointed out that the historical roots of arts and cultural management can be traced back to ancient times as a practice within organised societies. As Macdonnell and Bereson (2020, p. 3) declare, “the study of arts management is a relatively new concept, but the practice goes back as far as any organised society.” Additionally, Byrnes (2014, p. 32) indicates, “The first examples of performance management were the public assemblies associated with religious rites in early societies. These performances were ‘managed’ by the priest and were enmeshed in the fabric of a

²² See, for instance, AIMAC, the International Association of Arts and Cultural Management; Journal of Arts Management and Cultural Policy; Journal of Cultural Economics; Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society; ENCATC, the European network on cultural management and policy.

society.” Thus, although the role of connecting art production with the audience has a long history spanning more than two millennia, some authors argue that the emergence of arts and cultural management as a distinct academic discipline and profession commenced during the latter part of the 20th century, predominantly in North America and Europe (Dewey & Rich, 2003, p. 1).

While there has been some progress in recent years, the theoretical development of arts and cultural management remains limited. For example, Keeney and Jung (2022) affirm that, although during recent years the theoretical development of the field has increased, particularly concerning the incorporation of more organisational theories into the field, arts and cultural management remains a field in which very little theorising is available, particularly regarding art and cultural organisations. Thus, the question of what arts and cultural management implies continues to be an open question.

The literature highlights the lack of a well-defined theoretical framework in arts and cultural management, as well as the field's struggle to position itself between theory and practice. Through the conduct of this qualitative research and subsequent analysis of Galería CIMA's development journey, this study seeks to provide valuable contributions to the field. Its objective is to offer information on the dynamics and strategies employed by small cultural organisations, particularly in politically challenging contexts outside Global North countries.

2.2.2. Arts and cultural management: definitions, distinctions, and debates

During the literature review, the exploration of arts and cultural management revealed numerous interconnected concepts. For instance, the terms "arts and cultural management" and "arts and cultural administration" are often used interchangeably, particularly in literature from Global North countries, leading to an implicit agreement that they refer to the same area of knowledge and practice. As Dewey and Rich (2003, p. 2) declare, “In North America, the terms arts management, arts administration, and cultural management are currently used interchangeably. The European equivalent term typically translates to ‘cultural management’ in English.” Likewise, it has been suggested that there is an implicit agreement in which every combination of arts/culture and management/administration means the same thing. As DeVereaux (2019, p. 6) states, “we are

somewhat agreed, in the field, that arts management, arts administration, cultural administration, and cultural management all refer to the same thing”. It seems, therefore, that the definition of the field in which this study is situated has been identified as a fairly open area in terms of its conceptual definitions, which might lead to confusion.

The main concepts associated with the field of study have been used interchangeably, nevertheless, and some authors have also suggested that there are distinctions between them. On the one hand, arts and cultural administration seems to refer to a more technical realm, in other words, related to the form in which the field is expressed and also related to public administration. On the other hand, arts and cultural management has been viewed as a catalyst for change, intertwined with proposals that could challenge existing power narratives. In other words, arts and cultural management has been understood as a practice that is able to create and propose ways of reading society and taking part in its creation, not only managing society’s arts and cultural production. For instance, Bendixen (2000, p. 4) points out that “...the traditional understanding of management as a process of directing and optimising conditions in order to reach a given objective, at least in the field of arts management, is being transformed from one of social engineering to one of creating images, social scenes, milieus and experiences”. Moreover, as DeVereaux (2019, p. 7) states, “Administration suggests roots in public administration, a subfield of political science, whereas the implications of management are that we are much closer to business, or to the management sciences”. As can be seen, although these understandings do not ignore the fact that the concept includes functions of marketing and financing, among others, it is not in these areas that its peculiarities as a field lie, since those are mainly copied from other fields.

Another point to consider is that arts management is often associated with a specific artistic discipline, while cultural management appeals to a broader understanding of culture as a domain. As Bendixen (2000, p. 12) argues, “the term arts management as used in this paper refers to conventional art such as theatre, opera, music, dance, fine art and literature, but should be understood as also embracing innovative forms of art. Much wider in range is the term cultural management, which includes cultural tourism, events such as folk festivals, cultural heritage and neighbourhood centres. Cultural management can also be focused on the material culture of the industrial sector and may include commercial projects shaping markets for industrial

commodities.” Moreover, as Mandel (2017, p. 15) states, “whereas arts management mainly refers to the arts field and organisation of arts and its institutions, the notion of cultural management is suggesting a much wider responsibility for a variety of cultural contexts”.

Arts administration and arts and cultural management are significant topics in the literature, with the former often associated with public administration and administration in general, while the latter may have stronger ties to the private sector. In the context of the case study in this research, the chosen concept is arts and cultural management.

Despite its importance, the conceptualisation of this field can be rather confusing. Nevertheless, recent works have shed some light on the matter, contributing to its clarification. It seems there is a necessity to address the unique aspects of each concept to fully grasp their complexities and potentialities. This research aims to bridge the gap in the literature by delving deeper into arts and cultural management research in particular. This approach will provide a new analytical perspective on the peculiarities of the field and how it manifests in the establishment of new cultural organisations.

2.2.3. Unveiling the business influence on arts and cultural management practices

Despite the relatively new and ambiguous conceptualisation of arts and cultural management, a clear inclination towards understanding it from a business management perspective has emerged. As Bendixen (2000, p. 4) argues, “When we speak of arts management, we are speaking of management, not art” (Bendixen, 2000, p. 4). As seen in the previous section, this could be related to “the dominance of a business perspective in the narratives of the cultural sector as a whole” (Evard & Colbert, 2000, p. 4). According to Evard & Colbert (2000, p. 4), “some of the evolution of publications related to our field (arts management) in scientific management journals...argue that the evidence strongly suggests that arts management is becoming, if not a new discipline, then a major subfield of Management.” Moreover, as Bendixen (2000, p. 6) argues, “The many textbooks on arts management, which mainly follow from textbooks in business management, convey the impression that arts management embraces the classical functions of business

management such as strategic planning, organisation, financing and budgeting, marketing, internal administration and staff policy." In other words, the business-oriented approach is clear.

In recent years, this perspective has continued to be at the core of the field. Janamohan (2019, p. 241) declares, "arts management as a field of study and practice tends to focus on issues of survival and of sustainability centred on either funding or in organisational management, and the efficient running of arts organisations like businesses." Janamohan (2019) affirms that the idea of success in arts and cultural management is usually measured from a commercial perspective. Moreover, in the book *Arts and Cultural Management: Sense and Sensibilities in the State of the Field*, DeVereaux (2019) comments that it is possible to observe that several texts from that book claim that arts and cultural management practices have blindly borrowed business management knowledge, often without a proper adaptation to the world of culture and the arts.

Some authors state that the dominance of the business perspective within arts and cultural management has impacted the depth of its theoretical development. DeVereaux (2009, p. 68) declares, "the field gravitates towards a utilitarian, reductionist approach to enquiry, one that troubles itself very little with the deeper analysis that would situate practice within the larger context of its functions in relation to culture, for example, or society." The utilitarian approach has also been observed in the ways in which cultural managers are taught in recent decades. As Brkić (2010, p. 270) notes, "In academic programmes in the field of arts management in Europe, it is common to begin with an overview of the history of management using a list that many lecturers know by heart: Taylor, Fayol, Follet, Mayo, and Maslow. After that, some 'spices' are added, such as Adorno, Horkheimer, and Bourdieu."

It is clear that not all arts and cultural management components have been explored in the same way, and the creative and socio/political dimensions seem to be the least analysed. Overall, it seems necessary to add divergent approaches that go beyond the market-centred perspective of the field to analyse its configurations critically. In this sense, this study proposes a methodological approach focused on analysing its manifestation beyond the utilitarian approaches that scholars have identified.

2.2.4. Exploring the creative and socio-political potential of arts and cultural management

The potential for arts and cultural management practices to go beyond mere administration and to instead actively create culture by integrating knowledge from other fields, has been discussed in literature. However, while some authors have shed light on this potential, it remains a contested area without widespread acceptance. Consequently, further research is needed to gain a deeper understanding of the role arts and cultural management plays in fostering social change. As Bendixen (2000, p. 8) states, arts managers are “a social pathfinder and creator of effective, relevant public spheres”, with arts management in itself being a creative pursuit (Bendixen, 2000, p. 12). Furthermore, as Lang (cited in Mandel, 2017, p.18) declares, “Cultural managers are to be understood not only as managers of cultural organizations, but also as central actors of ‘cultural production,’ who have the capacity to balance economic, sociocultural, and artistic goals”. Moreover, as Mandel (2017, p. 20) argues regarding the role that arts and cultural managers have in the civil society sector, “Their missions can be manifold: managing and assuring the funds of the organisation, contributing to social and political change, achieving sustainable effects of cultural work...empowerment or promoting democratic processes in civil society”. There is a clear need to emphasise perspectives beyond the market-centred ones, both in terms of academic training and analysis. In this sense, Mandel (2017, p. 21) has developed a role categorisation in which, among others, she considers “the arts/cultural manager as an “agent of social change” (emphasising a pro-active approach of arts/cultural managers for social and political change, different from the attitude of “l’art pour l’art”/ art for arts sake)”. However, a number of questions regarding the role of cultural managers still need to be addressed.

DeVereaux (2019) points out that the functions predominantly associated with cultural management have been discussed; nevertheless, the ways in which cultural management practices impact as a sociological phenomenon in a larger society are, so far, poorly developed. As she affirms, “Although the functions of arts managers – that is the kinds of tasks they perform in organizations – have been explored in the literature, in particular through the lens of training – little has been written about their role in organizations or in larger society”. Even though she argues that the implications of this role have been not clear, from her perspective, “arts managers are more than the sum of the tasks they perform, and the responsibilities assigned to them”. Moreover, she

recognises some paths that could be explored to address their role in terms of its value for society. In this regard, she acknowledges the relevance of dialogue between function and role; however, as in the field of education, for instance, the role of teachers is not reduced to their functions, but instead there is some degree of “agreed-upon conventions” that see them as inspiring and motivating people. She states that, even though this role has not been defined so far, this has to do with systems of legitimisation - in other words, with “the world outside of their domain of practice, one in which their contributions are recognized and valued” (2019, p. 24). She describes an understanding that is beyond what an arts manager is, stating the idea of a possible future in which a more accurate question would be, “what can an arts manager be?”.

In that sense, some authors have argued that arts and cultural managers require training aligned with creative and socio-political potentialities. Brkić (2010) emphasises the need to train administrators in connection with artists while acknowledging their relationship with politicians and business professionals. Bendixen (2000) highlights the importance of social competence, cultural imagination, and arts knowledge in the academic profile of cultural managers. Arts and cultural managers can play a significant role as creators of institutional programs and can drive social changes through culture.

These authors have started to provide an insight into arts and cultural management as a potentially creative and critical practice that is capable of being an apparatus of social and cultural change; however, it is clear that this is a space that must be disputed, as it is not the predominant one. Further research could, for example, investigate how this creative and political prospect is embodied in the process of creating cultural public spheres.

2.2.5. Unpacking the interdisciplinary nature of arts and cultural management

Although predominantly rooted in management theories, arts and cultural management is widely acknowledged as an interdisciplinary field, incorporating diverse domains and disciplines in its establishment. For instance, according to Evard & Colbert (2000), arts management can be perceived as a subdiscipline of general management, as they contend that it exists at the juncture of a theoretical structure (management) and a specific sector (the arts). However, some authors

argue that arts and cultural management is a field in which different disciplines and areas of knowledge converge and where it is possible to observe tensions in relation to the dominance of certain understandings. As DeVereaux (2009, p. 66) maintains, “More than a mere hybrid (i.e., the combined study of culture and management), cultural management is broadly interdisciplinary by nature. It straddles, sometimes uncomfortably, the boundaries between the social sciences, the humanities, management, and the arts, neither accepting a place nor being fully accepted—in many universities—squarely within the camp of any one of these disciplines”. Furthermore, Bendixen (2000, p. 6) states that “management is located somewhere between two poles: at one extreme it disregards content while at the other extreme it is dominated by content. Management practices under the prevailing aim of maximizing profit tend to disregard the subject.”

Furthermore, although the work of Paquette and Redaelli (2015, p. 13) is highly market-centred, they suggest an interdisciplinary condition: “Arts management research, more than cultural policy research, is growing as interdisciplinary research and it is developing topics of inquiry that bring together several disciplines and create new common spaces shaped as topics of arts management. In particular, the interdisciplinary nature is not developing in only one direction but is building integration on different topics involving different disciplines - such as marketing, leadership, fundraising, programming, and entrepreneurship”. The field navigates a multidimensional sphere of knowledge which, much of the time, collides since the nature of the domains involved seems to be antagonistic.

In the realm of arts and cultural management theories, recent authors have noted a convergence of ideas stemming from various disciplines over time. As Keeney and Jung (2022. Para. 1) declare, “A relatively new academic discipline, arts management is truly interdisciplinary — informed by multiple existing fields including the arts, management, and sociology, to name a few”. In their theory-based study “Mapping Theories in Arts and Cultural Management Research”, Keeney and Jung (2022. Para. 40) observe that arts management “has clear foundations in sociology, management and organizations, and economics, which together provide a fundamental theoretical focus.” The authors argue that, despite the fact that arts and cultural management may have been born within management theories (Paquette 2019; Paquette and Redaelli 2015), today the presence of a variety of disciplines in its theoretical configuration is key. In that sense, this interdisciplinary

condition could be seen as an opportunity to further develop the fluid and transformable condition of the field.

Despite being a recent object of study, arts and culture management still lacks a well-defined theoretical framework concerning its specific body of knowledge. According to Bilton (2023, p. x), the question arises: "Turning to academic research, is there any coherent body of canonical texts, agreed 'best practice' or historical timeline which could chart the emergence of cultural management as a discipline? Cultural management appears to be more like a hybrid, drawing eclectically on a range of disciplines, including cultural studies, management studies, and social theory". Some scholars have argued that the knowledge foundation of this field remains ambiguous and possibly does not even exist as a distinct entity, but rather remains concealed within its multidisciplinary nature (Chong, 2002 in Brkic, 2010, p. 271).

Arts and cultural management's interdisciplinary nature, therefore, provides both opportunities and challenges as it draws from diverse fields, making it a dynamic and evolving discipline. As scholars continue to explore and integrate theories from various domains, the field's theoretical framework and specific knowledge base will likely become more defined, enriching its contributions to the management and appreciation of arts and culture.

2.2.6. Rethinking the lens: uncovering perspectives in arts and cultural management literature from below

Another point to consider is that there is an evident inclination towards researching large, formalised, Westernised organisations, often at the expense of understudying independent small-scale arts organisations. This tendency in case study selection has been identified by various scholars (Summerton, 1996; Rentschler & Radbourne, 2009; Tomka, 2019), creating a noticeable bias in the body of theoretical and practical knowledge produced.

The bias towards formal systems and larger organisations has resulted in a research landscape predominantly focused on large-scale entities, which may not fully encompass the characteristics and practices found within the small organisations that are so prevalent in the cultural sector.

Tomka's (2019) perspective on this matter, as presented in 'The Orthodoxy of Cultural Management Research and Possible Paths Beyond It' is particularly insightful. The author scrutinises current mainstream lines of cultural management research by examining recently published texts in relevant journals and delving into the research objects and methodological approaches chosen by the authors. Tomka (2019, p. 109) concludes that "westernized, grand, formalized organisations are chosen as a favourite object of research and then studied by using positivist, rationalist methodologies". The author argues that this approach neglects to address essential elements inherent in small-scale, informal, individual, non-Western, and precarious organisations, including tacit knowledge, emotions, complex discourses, and hidden power relations (Tomka, 2019).

Consequently, the dearth of perspectives concerning small-scale organisations in arts and cultural management research calls for a re-evaluation of research methodologies and practices to make these realities visible. This study finds Tomka's observations highly relevant in shedding light on the bias in case study selection, which needs to be addressed in the pursuit of a comprehensive understanding of the field.

Notably, other scholars have also highlighted the bias in field research (Chang, 2010, 2011; Summerton, 1996; Rentschler & Radbourne, 2009). Small arts organisations, despite being a significant component of the arts and cultural management landscape, have been understudied and marginalised. Woong Jo Chang (2010, 2011) conducted research encompassing bibliographic reviews and qualitative analysis, revealing a substantial presence of small organisations in the cultural sector. For instance, in the US, organisations with four or fewer workers constitute 60% of all entities (Chang, 2010). These small-scale organisations play a crucial role in reaching remote and underserved communities.

Chang's work also draws attention to the ambiguity surrounding the "small" categorisation, prompting a call for a nuanced understanding. He advocates for multiple indicators that recognise the uniqueness and sub-categories of small arts organisations (Chang, 2010). This nuanced understanding underscores their unique value and their dynamism "which could appear

disorganized and unstructured, as they remain truly flexible, allowing for creativity” (Chang, 2011, Para. 2)

In light of the lack of research focus on smaller cultural organisations, this thesis investigates the case of Galería CIMA, a small independent cultural organisation that emerged as a significant political actor during one of Chile's most critical socio-political crises. This study aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of a pertinent type of organisation within the arts and cultural management field: new, small-scale, non-European/North American cultural organisations that thrive under challenging political conditions. By exploring this case, we seek to bridge the gap and increase the visibility of vital, yet overlooked, entities in arts and cultural management research.

2.2.7. Exploring the creation process in arts and cultural management

In the field of arts and cultural management, the creative process has often been overlooked, with arts and cultural managers primarily seen as only responsible and engaged with management process rather than the creative process. As Lubart (2018, p. 3) defines it, the creative process is "a series of thoughts and actions that constitute the production of an original and valuable work." However, the literature in arts and cultural management predominantly revolves around pre-designed guides and toolkits for creating arts organisations, often aligning with business-oriented strategies (NESTA, 2007; Byrnes, 2014; IETM, 2016; Arts Council England, 2017; Common Field, 2018). This emphasis on business-oriented approaches and predesign processes for the creation of arts organisations has dominated the literature in arts and cultural management, often overlooking the true creative dimension of the field. As noted by Toulouse (2018), this limited representation of the creative dimension hinders its potential as a social and political agent.

Graham Wallas' four-stage model provides a fundamental description of the creative process. According to Wallas (1926, p. 10), the stages are preparation, incubation, illumination, and verification. He explains that during the preparation stage, the creative mind acquires "a body of remembered facts and words which gives him a wider range in the final moment of association, as well as a number of those habitual tracks of association which constitute 'thought systems'." Incubation, the second stage, involves unconscious processing, deepening acquired knowledge,

and forming new connections. As Wallas (1926, p. 86) elucidates, during this stage, "we do not voluntarily or consciously think of a particular problem" allowing for unconscious creative insights to emerge. The third stage, illumination, is the conscious moment when the solution or idea is presented, resulting from the interplay of random thought processes and creative responses. Wallas (1926, p. 10) further notes that in this stage, "there comes a genuine impulse to create," leading to innovative ideas. Finally, verification involves refining and developing ideas from the Illumination phase, akin to the voluntary and regulated aspect of the Preparation stage.

Guilford (1950, p. 451) criticizes Wallas' model as reductionist and introduces divergent, convergent, and evaluative thinking as key components of creativity. According to Guilford, divergent thinking involves generating multiple ideas and exploring various possibilities for solutions. Convergent thinking, on the other hand, is based on logical reasoning and the available information. Guilford (1950, p. 452) explains that "convergent thinking results in definite, closed, single-answer solutions," while divergent thinking leads to open-ended and innovative possibilities. Evaluative thinking involves assessing the strengths and weaknesses of ideas to select the most promising ones for further development.

It is crucial to expand the prevalence of these business-oriented guides and toolkits in the field. These resources are valuable for managing arts organisations effectively, but they should not overshadow the importance of creativity and the transformative potential of the arts as well as its diverse manifestations in practice. Exploring the creation process in arts and cultural management could challenge the prevailing paradigm and offer new perspectives for the field's development.

Despite the potential of the creative process in arts and cultural management, it has been overshadowed by managerial and functional aspects. This thesis aims to explore the creative process in arts and cultural management through an in-depth analysis of Galería CIMA, an independent cultural organisation that became a significant political actor during the Chilean social uprising (2019 - 2020). By utilising mixed qualitative methods, this research seeks to shed light on the creative journey of this new organisation, delving into the dynamic and complex process of development faced by new art spaces. As Lubart (2018, p. 12) emphasises, "Some researchers have interviewed creative people who described their work process, and other scholars examined traces

of creative activity, such as manuscripts of authors which show revisions of the text as it was composed." Through these methods, the study intends to uncover the complexities of arts and cultural management dynamics, the role of creativity in navigating political challenges, and the organisation's resilience within the context of Chilean neoliberalism and its subsequent crisis.

Therefore, a promising line of research would be to focus on the creative process in arts and cultural management in order to provide a unique perspective centred on the diversity of the creative journeys instead of just a result and/or outcome, as is usual in the field. It also allows a better understanding of the field's ability to be a political challenger in all its creative and intuitive dimensions. In this sense, this research will generate new approaches that could be used, not only in future projects, but also to better understand the importance of the processes within the manifestation of the political tensions of a society and the potential roles that arts and cultural managers could exercise within it.

One of the reasons why it is necessary to expand the knowledge on the field of arts and cultural management lies in the importance of deepening its political role. Henze (2019) addresses that it is crucial for arts managers to take a clear political position relative to the whole field: "Arts managers cannot afford political disinterest - especially since art and culture are in many cases extremely political (Henze, 2016, p. 17). It should have become quite clear in recent years that the conditions in other parts of the world, influenced and shaped to a large extent by Western politics, do not leave Europe untouched either. Arts managers therefore cannot avoid taking a stand when fundamental values and especially (cultural) rights are violated, or cultural heritage is destroyed". Thus, some recent authors have emphatically evidenced an urgency to make a shift in relation to the analysis of arts and cultural management, a turn that goes in the opposite direction to understanding it in terms of market logics and one that begins to focus more deeply on its creative dimension as a social and political agent. In that sense, one way to do this is by looking outside Western contexts, for example, in Latin America, which is where this research is located. There, the inclusion of knowledge from Western countries has been key; however, it has not been the only thing that has contributed to its formation, which, as reviewed, is mostly understood as a social and political practice. As DeVereaux (2019, p. xxv) declares, "We cannot assume, even if it often

happens, that Western habits of cultural management are the ones that work best or should be adopted everywhere”.

Overall, arts and cultural management's creative process has been reduced to pre-designed guides and toolkits to be creative and which seek to insert cultural projects in a sociopolitical context dominated by strongly market-centred logic. This is certainly crucial, as it is one way in which culture has had to adapt to survive. It is clear that this form of development is not the only one present in the field, however, it is necessary to dispute spaces that to date have been consumed by a particular understanding focused on market logic. Thus, understanding how the detected tensions are gestated and how the creative processes are manifested in the arts and cultural management field beyond the guidelines that cultural managers are invited to follow, can be configured as a space of resistance. Moreover, it could constitute an expanded way of generating knowledge about the field.

Conclusion

This literature review has expounded on the theories and concepts that underpin the present study. The study is situated in the field of arts and cultural management. It seeks to contribute to this field by investigating the creation process of Galería CIMA, a small independent cultural organisation located in Santiago, Chile that was established under challenging political circumstances. This thesis aims to provide new perspectives on how arts and cultural management manifests during the development of new small cultural organisations. To achieve this, the current study has presented the different areas of knowledge that form the theoretical basis of this investigation.

In particular, the chapter has explored concepts related to the cultural sector, such as the cultural industry, the cultural industries, creative industries, and creative economy and creative labour. Additionally, the review has delved into the main narratives present in the arts and cultural management field. Through a rigorous exploration on the manifestation of these key concepts and narratives, I hope that this research will provide a valuable resource for scholars and practitioners alike, helping to shape future thinking and practice in this important area.

The chapter began by exploring a key concept that emerged in the mid-20th century: Cultural Industry. Proposed as a critical analysis of mass culture by Frankfurt academics Adorno and Horkheimer, the concept refers to the negative impact of the industrialisation of culture on critical political dimensions and cultural autonomy. Subsequently, it reviewed another key term in the discursive formation of the cultural sector: the Cultural Industries. During this discussion, I demonstrated how this narrative, which emerged in the 1970s in France (Hesmondhalgh, 2007), expanded the Frankfurt perspective into its plural version. Specifically, this argument highlights the sector's diversity and economic potential within the context of the downturn in capitalism in the 1970s. Another relevant concept explored in this chapter was that of Creative Industries, which is considered to have emerged in 1997 under the auspices of the Labour government in the United Kingdom. This change in nomenclature not only represented a conceptual departure but also endowed the sector with a significant role in the government's development agenda. Consequently, the creative industries assumed a prominent position, bolstered by robust cultural policies that reflected the prevailing economic understanding of culture. This narrative gained widespread recognition, extending its influence not only within the UK but also on an international scale. Likewise, critical theories surrounding the creative industries narrative and the emergence of cultural entrepreneurs have been examined, revealing the presence of precarious conditions within the cultural sector and key elements that shape the cultural landscape.

The second and final section of this chapter reviewed the key discussions and understandings of art and cultural management. A comprehensive exploration of arts and cultural management as a practice situated within the complex phenomenon of cultural industries, was reviewed. The review highlighted the prevalence of a utilitarian notion in the understanding of arts and cultural management, emphasising a market-oriented approach that has shaped cultural sector narratives in recent decades. Additionally, it emphasised the interdisciplinary nature of arts and cultural management, straddling the boundaries between social sciences, humanities, management, and the arts.

A key contribution of this literature review is its recognition of the importance of rejecting simplification in the study of arts and cultural management. The review has shown how the field's

complexity, ambivalence, and contested nature demand a nuanced understanding beyond business-oriented approaches. This study addresses gaps in knowledge by examining a small cultural organisation in politically challenging contexts, expanding beyond the focus on larger entities. It aims to uncover the creative and socio-political potential of arts and cultural management practices as agents of change. This literature review sets the stage for an in-depth investigation into arts and cultural management, emphasising the need for a comprehensive understanding.

Although the literature predominantly focused on European/North American countries, the concepts explored here have crucial implications for the theoretical configuration of arts and cultural management in the Latin American region. In the subsequent chapter, the research will delve into specific aspects of Chile's arts and cultural management, providing insights into how the field emerged in from Latin American countries, with a particular focus on the unique case of Chile.

Chapter 3. The Chilean context of arts and cultural management



Figure 5. Map of South America showing Santiago, the capital of Chile. Source: Google Maps.

Introduction

The previous chapter has explored the theories and concepts that support the current study, exploring the theoretical foundations of the field in which this research is located: arts and cultural management. As seen, this thesis aims to provide empirical and theoretical knowledge for the field through the investigation of the processes behind the creation of Galería CIMA, a small independent cultural organisation located in Santiago de Chile. As stated, CIMA was created under adverse political conditions and became a critical political actor during one of the most notable social movements of recent decades. In considering this case study, the development of arts and cultural management in the country must be addressed, as it has particular characteristics that affected the way the cultural organisation emerged and developed.

Consequently, this chapter will review literature mainly by Latin American authors. It will begin by exploring the emergence of the arts and cultural management field in the region, moving

towards Chile specifically. For this purpose, I will explore literature related to the appearance of the term *gestión cultural* (arts and cultural management/cultural agency) during the 1990s. Moreover, its relationship with the development of democratic institutions as well as the European influence on the field's academic articulation within the region, will be explored. I then move to the specific case of Chile, and in doing so I will show how cultural management practices during Pinochet's military dictatorship were used as mechanisms of political resistance. Furthermore, this chapter will observe the development of the field in recent years in Chile, analysing literature related to the formation of arts and cultural management under adverse conditions in the form of the consolidation of the neoliberal system during the democratic era in the country. In that sense, it will discuss how the field started to be configured from a private perspective, and the appearance of the entrepreneurial self as a crucial characteristic. Thus, this review will begin to lead us towards perspectives that recognise a hybrid configuration of arts and cultural management in Chile, where apparent tensions emerge between a field that, on the one hand, arises as a spontaneous form of resistance and, on the other, has developed under strong neoliberal policies and within a society that was forced to accept that system.

My aim is to provide a comprehensive overview of how this field has developed over time. In doing so, I hope to offer insights into the unique challenges and opportunities faced by cultural organisations and practitioners in this context. Through an analysis of relevant literature and empirical research, I will shed light on the key factors that have shaped the evolution of this field and highlight some of the most significant trends that have emerged. Ultimately, my goal is to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics that underlie the management of art and culture, and to provide a basis for future research and policy development in this important area.

3.1. An overview of arts and cultural management in Latin America

Latin America is a complex concept that goes beyond a purely geographical understanding. Although it is impossible to think of Latin America as a fixed category with a unified identity, it is possible to find similarities in the events that have shaped the cultural aspects.

In general terms, Latin America is a cultural concept that refers to a large portion of the American continent corresponding to 18 countries that, during its history, were colonised by France, Portugal, and Spain. These countries are Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, French Guiana, and Venezuela. However, this concept transcends a purely geographical understanding.

Latin America is deeply influenced by a complex history of colonialism, imperialism, and cultural hybridity. The imprint of European domination and exploitation during the colonial era profoundly influenced the region's social, political, and economic structures, leaving a lasting impact on its trajectory²³.

In the latter part of the 20th century, Latin America witnessed a transition from dictatorship regimes to democracies²⁴ and the rise of neoliberal socio-political agendas. In the context of this transition, the notion of arts and cultural management emerged (Martinell, 2009). As De La Vega (2016, p. 97) points out, "in a historical moment of implementation and boom of the neoliberal and structural adjustment policies in Latin America, cultural management began to position itself in the imagination of autonomous artistic-cultural agents as a nascent field of professionalization for a trade that had apparently developed empirically and spontaneously." In that context, culture and the arts were among the most potent tools for action. Moreover, as Chavarría and Valenzuela (Chavarría & Valenzuela, 2016, p. 4) declare, "In Latin America, talk of cultural management began...specifically in the mid-1980s. Its emergence constituted a kind of legitimization of cultural and artistic communities to give continuity to sociocultural animation or cultural promotion in dependence on the different Latin American contexts; the foregoing without forgetting that we

²³ From a critical perspective, scholars such as Hugo Achugar, Walter Mignolo, and Enrique Dussel have analysed the deeper ramifications of this historical legacy. See for instance, *The Idea of Latin America* (Mignolo, 2005), "The invention of the Americas: eclipse of "the other" and the myth of modernity" (Dussel & Barber, 1995) and "Piedra, papel o tijera: sobre cultura y literatura en América Latina" (Achugar, 2020).

²⁴ Latin America is strongly marked by the violence of dictatorships. In the second half of the 20th century there were authoritarian military governments that came to power through coups in several countries in the region. This pattern was repeated in Argentina (1976 - 1983); Bolivia (1971 -1978), Brazil (1964 -1985), Colombia (1953 - 1957), Chile (1973 - 1990), Dominican Republic (1930 -1961), Ecuador (1972 -1976), Nicaragua (1936 - 1956), Paraguay (1954 - 1989), Peru (1968 - 1980) Uruguay (1973 - 1984) and Venezuela (1953 - 1958).

cannot find a unique practice of cultural management in the region, falling into essentialisms that would exclude rather than include”. In that sense, cultural management began a process of professionalisation through different mechanisms such as “scholarships, courses, workshops, promoted by UNESCO, OEI, AECID, supported, as already mentioned, by the argument that the cultural action practices of autonomous agents, existing up to that moment (animators, promoters, cultural workers), were spontaneous, empirical and improvised, and, ultimately, they needed to be professionalized” (De La Vega, 2016, p. 101)

While cultural management gained strength in recent decades, it remains a diverse and evolving field. Ruiz-Gutiérrez et al. (2016) and Muñoz del Campo (2021) argue that the configuration of cultural management in Latin America has been shaped by self-taught, intuitive practices based on trial and error. These practices have adapted to the region's unstable and contingent environments, fostering a diverse range of approaches and methodologies. As Martinell (2007, p. 27) argues, cultural management in Latin America is “the result of a social en-cargo that professionalizes a considerable number of people in response to the needs of a complex society. This gives it a very important multidisciplinary perspective that we should not forget”.

Moreover, cultural management in Latin America has developed as an interdisciplinary field, drawing theoretical bases from Latin American cultural studies. Recently, theories linked to business development have also influenced the field's evolution (Zamorano et al., 2014; Henze, 2019). This interdisciplinary nature allows for a comprehensive understanding of the complexities involved in managing cultural projects and initiatives in the region.

In summary, the emergence of cultural management in Latin America can be attributed to the region's critical political transformations and the acknowledgement of culture and the arts as powerful instruments for social action. Over time, cultural management underwent a process of professionalisation, marked by the establishment of cultural policies (García Canclini, 1987) and programmes, as well as the formalisation of methodologies. Despite this formalisation, the field maintains its diversity and adapts to the unique challenges of each Latin American context. Today, cultural management is recognised as a significant force in preserving and promoting the region's cultural heritage.

3.1.1. Cultural agency

The field of arts and cultural management in Latin America implies a complex understanding that goes beyond a mere administration of cultural production. On the contrary, there is a notion that the field is an agent of social transformations and political action (Vich, 2014). In that sense, the concept of cultural agency is a relevant term to consider when discussing the theoretical development of arts and cultural management in the Latin American and Chilean contexts in particular.

Within the field's literature, it is common to find the concept of cultural agency/agent as the equivalent translation of *gestión cultural/gestorx cultural*, which are the concepts used to name the field and practitioner respectively in the region instead of cultural management/manager, which is the direct translation. This difference is relevant since the aforementioned concept implies particular notions attributed to the Spanish language version of the concept. Thus, some authors have signalled the presence of the cultural agent as an alternative conceptualisation to US or European understandings of the arts and cultural manager which consider the Latin American context in which "ethnic diversity and social movements require a mediating figure between ways of life and community action." (Hernández-Acosta, 2013, p. 126).

One of the first mentions of the concept is found in the book "Cultural Agency in the Americas" edited by the academic Doris Sommer (2006). According to Sommer, the term cultural agency refers to the practice that involves social interventions within creative practices, which is understood as a key configuration in the case of Latin America. In this sense, cultural agency considers a range of creative activities that contribute to society through practices of pedagogy, research, activism, and the arts. In this way, the term considers connections between creativity and social change present in the region, and considers cultural agents as the role played within these practices. As Sommer (2006, p. 1) declares:

"cultural agency, a term this book proposes to name and recognizes as a range of social contributions through creative practices...In Bogotá, no one asks what "Cultural Agency" means. The concept resonates with a variety of public practices that link creativity with social contributions. But elsewhere, the term can beg definition. Maybe this shows a lack of activity, but we suspect that activity is almost everywhere. What we lack instead is

perspective on the family resemblances among a variety of repertoires and remixes. Recognizing these resemblances and giving them the name cultural agency will, perhaps, make these arts and their effects more visible to scholarship and to activists who stay alive to inspiration”.

This concept has been significant in describing arts and cultural management as social action interventions within Latin American creative practices. As Hernández-Acosta (2013, p. 134) argues, “For Latin America, this has been a vital tool for facing social problems such as violence in Colombia and Guatemala, corruption in Argentina and Peru, ethnic diversity in Chile and Mexico, and inequality in Brazil and the rest of the region, just to mention some examples” Another point to consider in the configuration of the cultural agent, instead of the arts and cultural manager, is that this has been pointed out due to the development of cultural studies in Latin America, as well as areas such as anthropology, communication, and artistic training (Martinell, 2009). “According to Alfons Martinell (2009), the formation of the cultural agent as a different profile from the arts manager comes from the development of cultural studies in Latin America and the influence it had from other areas of knowledge such as anthropology, communication, and artistic training. Similarly, he states that the great influence of the models and practices that originated in North America did not meet the local experience. Another difference attributed to the role of a cultural agent is a more theoretical level of thinking that began influencing Spain in the 1990s. The cultural agent and arts manager differ by having a more proactive and political professional mission, the result of an analysis of the contemporary cultural reality. Martinell (1999) discusses the importance of cultural agents visualizing themselves as an element of influence on government structures and as mediators for arts participation and community action.” (Hernández-Acosta, 2013, p. 133).

Even though several authors have pointed out the existence of the concept cultural agency to describe a more accurate understanding of the field and its practice in the Latin American context, its use in the literature remains vague. In other words, it is possible to observe that the terms cultural agency/agent and cultural management/manager are still used interchangeably when referring the Latin American case. As Henze observes in the first chapter of the book "Cultural management and policy in Latin America" (Henze, 2021, p. 4), “I found the terms “cultural agent” and “cultural manager” being used synonymously by many authors in this publication. Neither

researchers nor practitioners provided a compelling explanation of the difference between the two. This could relate to the vagueness and lack of autonomy of cultural management as a profession and field of action in Latin America as often described in this book.”

Beyond the consolidation of the use of the concept when referring to the Latin American case in English language texts, something that clearly emerged is that the field of arts and cultural management in Latin America, indistinct in its translation to English, implies a more social notion and politically engaged field.

3.1.2. The influence of theories from Spain in the configuration of arts and cultural management

A series of studies have indicated that academic knowledge from Spain has had an essential influence on the configuration of arts and cultural management as a field in Chile and Latin America. According to Bayardo (2018), the Spanish and Latin American cases share many similarities. For instance, they emerged from dictatorships and underwent cultural resistance to authoritarianism while reclaiming public space. They faced tensions concerning the modernisation of administrations and encountered theories advocating the replacement of state bureaucratic forms with private sector-inspired approaches such as governance, new public management, and strategic planning. However, Spain's context involved implementing a European Union integration project looking at examples from countries such as France and the United Kingdom (Martinell, 2009).

Moreover, as De La Vega (2016, p. 101) states, “The discourse of cultural management became effective through different mechanisms of “professionalization” (scholarships, courses, workshops, promoted by UNESCO, OEI, AECID), supported, as already mentioned, in the argument that action practices cultural of autonomous agents, existing until that moment (animators, promoters, cultural workers), were spontaneous, empirical and improvised, and, in short, they needed to professionalise”. Practitioners of cultural management, who, until that moment, had based their work on a spontaneous task and were distant from the theoretical knowledge, began a process of academic professionalisation associated with the knowledge generated within the European context.

Furthermore, as Bayardo (2018, p. 24) declares, "...this was also a context of exchange and interactions in which many Latin Americans sought to train in cultural management in postgraduate courses taught in Barcelona and Girona and a number of their professors were also Latin American academics. This was a cross between the peninsular approach focused on case analysis, project execution, the offer of cultural services of proximity and territorial, cultural policies, and the Latin American approach at a more theoretical and contextual level of reflection." It is possible to see commonality between the cultural management of Latin America and Spain, on the one hand concerning the sociopolitical context in which it emerged, and, on the other, that it is because of Latin American field professionals' education in Spain.

Rucker and Marrone (2019, p. 130) elaborate on this interaction, stating that "this professionalisation process took place looking particularly at the Spanish experience, which had already been training cultural managers and working on cultural policies for some years, endorsed even by the OEI. Likewise, many of the new specialists in our region had been trained in Spain, especially in the programmes offered by the University of Barcelona." Nonetheless, the authors highlight that, in the early years of this century in Latin America, there was a need to reassess both the approaches and the substance of their cultural policies. This was primarily due to the fact that the conventional state funding model present in Spain was not applicable in these regions, particularly before the economic crisis, and they also had unique historical and social contexts.

In addition to the perspectives previously discussed, Lluís Bonet, Director of the Cultural Management Graduate programme at the University of Barcelona and an influential scholar in arts and cultural management, sheds further light on the similarities between the Spanish understanding of arts and cultural management and the Latin American approach. According to Bonet (2006, p. 106), cultural managers are "a mediator between artistic creation or heritage, cultural consumption and citizen participation, with the objective of making viable a cultural project that is inserted into a social, territorial and/or market strategy." This perspective reinforces the notion that the understanding of cultural management in both Spain and Latin America shares a common emphasis on the importance of cultural mediation, engagement, and integration within broader social and economic contexts.

Additionally, as Matthey (1999, p. 78) argued, “This means, by the way, a policy of permanent neo-colonization, management and cultural administration that deepens dependence; deepens the knowledge and appreciation of the culture of the northern hemisphere and, simultaneously, fosters ignorance and undervaluation of the Chilean and Latin American”. Overall, some authors have identified an enormous influence of Spain in the development of Cultural Management as a disciplinary field, both in Chile and Latin America.

Thus, it is possible to see that the formation of cultural management in Latin America is strongly linked to the knowledge generated in Europe and specifically in Spain. Even when common points are reviewed with regard to the political processes experienced by Latin America and Spain, for example, in the context of the return to democracy, substantial differences are also detected, for instance in budgetary terms. Despite this, the academic training of Latin American cultural managers began to develop based on that knowledge, and this is referred to by some authors as a process of neo-colonisation.

3.2. The emergence of arts and cultural management in Chile

3.2.1. Cultural management practices in the dictatorship as a mechanism of resistance

As reviewed, Chile experienced a violent military dictatorship, led by Augusto Pinochet, for a duration of seventeen years, spanning from 1973 to 1990. In the context of the Chilean dictatorship, the cultural domain bore witness to some of its most profound horrors, among which the poignant epitome was the torture and murder of Victor Jara, a celebrated dramatist and musician whose influence permeated the era. Despite the overwhelming consternation provoked by these distressing events, the oppressive measures enforced by the regime inadvertently kindled an intensified spirit of defiance among artists, fostering their profound commitment to opposing the dictatorial rule. This critical juncture saw the emergence of a relevant countercultural artistic movement, distinguished by its unwavering political stance and activist-driven endeavours, executed clandestinely and in direct opposition to the prevailing authoritarian order.

The dictatorship brought about a so-called "cultural blackout" (Thorrington, 2014), which strove to eliminate all cultural manifestations associated with the socialism of the previous president, Salvador Allende, who had been elected democratically in 1971 and was removed and died during the Pinochet coup. This cultural blackout consisted of several actions taken by the people in power. For instance, an official campaign of burning books, films, and audio-visual material was launched, that saw the disappearance of material from libraries, companies, and private homes (Figure 6). As Leiva (2013, para.12) states regarding this systematic burning, "it was burning history and its own cultural memories". Moreover, in the case of university autonomy, television channels and media perspectives, the aesthetics of art manifestations, among other cultural aspects, were put under the direct control of the dictatorship rules. Every publication, either academic or literary, was subject to prior censorship by the Ministry of the Interior. As Brunner (1990, p. 118) declares, it was a process where "The press and radio broadcasting media were promptly reduced to the exclusive expression of officially accepted voices, proceeding to the expropriation of all those who appeared identified with democratic representatives or currents of opinion." An example of the dictatorship perspective toward culture can be seen in the denomination of this process used by *El Mercurio*, one of the most emblematic newspapers and voices of the dictatorship, as a process of «purifying of undesirable elements» (Mercurio, 1974). Thus, all the variety of voices developed until that period were violently silent to eliminate all traces of the previous socialist government.



Figure 6. Books and artworks being burned by the Armed Forces of Chile. Source: David Burnett (1973).

However, although the aim of this process was to erase the country's artistic and cultural manifestations to date, the acts marked the initial formation of a trait that endures to this day in the identity of many cultural creations and Chilean artists: resistance against the establishment, and the proposal for change through social action, channelled by culture and the arts. This can be seen, for instance, in Chile's 'Escena de Avanzada' [Advance Scene] a group of artists, and practices "characterised - within the anti-dictatorial field - by its neo-vanguardist experimentalism. These practices were generated -after 1977- within the realms of visual arts and literature, proposing a critical re-conceptualisation of the languages, techniques, and genres of art and literature inherited from the artistic and literary tradition." (Richard, 1994, p. 53). Likewise, in the case of 'Las Yeguas del Apocalipsis' (The Mares of the Apocalypse), a performance art group including the writer and artist, Pedro Lemebel, and the poet and visual artist, Francisco Casas. Their approach used performance to communicate their message, and through artistic acts in public spaces they presented the fight against homosexual discrimination and the human rights violations suffered daily and in silence by anonymous people fighting against the dictatorship. As Taylor (2016, p. 47) states, "Las Yeguas del Apocalipsis (Chile) danced the cueca, the national dance, on shards of glass, leaving bloody footprints over a map of Latin America to make visible the horror of torture and disappearance during the years of the Pinochet dictatorship". Also, the organisation of so-called Peñas, a small-scale artistic event involving a music stage hosting folk music – the musical style adopted by the Left in opposition to the regime – took place where participants and the artists themselves could share their experiences, accompanied by a glass of wine and an empanada (a traditional pastry eaten in Chile and across South America).

Another point to consider is that the period prior to the military dictatorship is also important when understanding the emergence of the concept of cultural management in Chile. As Chavarría & Valenzuela (2018, p. 110) argue, "in the case of Chile, it is possible to identify three key moments that are key to understanding the definition of cultural management: the period of Unidad Popular (UP²⁵), between 1970 and 1973; the period of the military, civic dictatorship between 1973 and 1989; and, the activity of the Agrupación Cultural Universitaria (ACU) between 1977 and 1982 - which also had the dictatorship in its background". Chavarría & Valenzuela (2018, p. 111) address

²⁵ UP (Popular Unity) was the left-wing electoral coalition behind the Salvador Allende presidential campaign in 1970, whose project sought to install a socialist government through a democratic route.

that although some authors have tracked the emergence of the cultural manager to the 1990s, the practice itself has historical roots primarily in the seventies, leading to its professionalisation. The era of the UP holds substantial significance for analysing Chilean culture, as it was during this period that the notion of society playing a central role in cultural matters gained prominence through political endeavours. Furthermore, as De La Vega (2016, p. 98) argues, “Ultimately, from the sixties, artists, cultural workers, and promoters configured their practices under the impulse that gave continuity to the search for a national spirit, and the conviction that the political development of the working class goes through culture”. Thus, even though the conceptualization of cultural management saw its appearance in the 1990s as a field, cultural management was fully active and relevant during the 1970 and 1980s, first as a popular articulating practice, and later in the context of the dictatorship as a tool of resistance.

3.2.2. Cultural management and the transition to democracy in Chile

In order to understand the formation of cultural management as a disciplinary field in Chile, there are two key moments to bear in mind: On the one hand, the military dictatorship (1973-1990) and the role that cultural workers played in resistance practices, and on the other, the legitimisation of cultural management as a field and cultural managers as key players in the process of cultural construction associated with the return to democracy.

In the case of Chile, a large number of existing studies in the literature have examined that cultural management as a field and, specifically, the figure of the cultural manager, have emerged during the 1990s. Officially, it was in 1996 that the first evidence of the concept of a cultural manager appeared as a participant at the Meeting of Public Policy, Legislation and Cultural Proposals held in Valparaíso, during which the first cultural proposals in this regard were formulated. Among the decisions made at this event was the creation of the National Council for Culture and the Arts (CNCA). As Chavarría and Valenzuela (2016, p.4) state, “In the case of Chile, it is interesting that the years immediately after the end of the dictatorship, starting in 1990, allowed the emergence of a new actor on the national cultural scene, namely the cultural manager, who would be responsible for systematising and to order in a sense close to the administration of what already exists, and to manage in the sense of creating new languages for that practice, the incipient cultural programs”.

Also, it is important to consider that the formation of the Cultural Management field is strongly associated with its recognition by the State of Chile. As Chavarría and Valenzuela (2016, p. 9) declare, in order to understand the configuration of the field it is important to “to examine the development of cultural management in Chile in the historical display of its cultural institutionality”. In the 1990s then, as De La Vega (2016, p. 97) points out, “In a historical moment of implementation and boom of structural and neoliberal adjustment policies in Latin America, cultural management began to position itself in the imaginary of autonomous artistic-cultural agents as a nascent field of professionalization for a trade that had apparently developed from an empirical and spontaneous form”. Overall, the literature shows that the field of cultural management in Chile was born after the dictatorship during the 1990s; nevertheless, it is relevant to consider that its practices have developed strongly within the historical process as well as the formation of the Chilean cultural institutionality.

3.2.2. Cultural management in Chile: a socio-political and creative practice

Previous studies have emphasised that the concept of *gestión cultural* in Chile carries a highly relevant socio-political and creative condition. As Yáñez Canal (2013, p. 146) argues, “The ethos of the cultural manager is accompanied by a critical vision regarding the social environment in which they participate in order to propose social changes”. Cultural management in Chile is perceived as a dynamic and creative practice, where considering to the specific context of each place is expected. Cultural management in Chile is seen as a flexible and creative practice that places importance on the specific context of each place. Moreover, as Matthey (1999, p. 80) states, “Cultural management and administration is called to restore a permanent ebb and flow between formal and informal education, through the multiple manifestations of culture. This requires an awake and creative position, facing the edges of the shift system...Cultural management and administration must be creative, capable of generating its own style, harmonious with the idiosyncrasy of each place. And that is why it also requires its own language, according to the height and importance of its mission, beyond the lexicon of the market or any other segment of the culture.” Consequently, because of the cultural management, socio-political, and creative particularities, the formation of its own language and ways of creation seems to be needed.

Moreover, Guerra Veas (2016, p. 109) argues that cultural management acquires meaning when it allows, not only for managing cultural goods and services efficiently, but also when doing so with a transformative perspective, in order to fully develop creative potential. Therefore, it is possible to see that cultural management in Chile is understood as an engine that generates social change and as a creative practice that is capable of articulating it. Furthermore, since cultural management is understood from a sociopolitical perspective, some authors have also suggested that the generation of its own language carries the capability of creating new narratives, which, as Chavarría and Valenzuela (2016, p. 9) acknowledge, could also be resignified “towards a performative logic. This will ultimately keep the door open to the dialectical relationship between the object-subject / subject-object of the study of cultural management.” These unexpected findings signal the need for additional studies to understand more about this performativity condition. As Chavarría and Valenzuela (2016, p. 4) question, "cultural management becomes a generator of culture and, in this sense, would it be possible to speak of cultural management as a performative action?" A new approach is therefore needed for cultural management research in order to address this stated capability. Overall, a relevant current understanding of the field of cultural management in Chile has to do with its creative condition, in which the creation of its own language has opened up the possibility of being understood as a performative practice beyond its managerial and business perspective, which is also something that is part of the field, but nevertheless, not at the core of it.

3.3. Cultural management in Chile – The institutionalization

3.3.1. Developing cultural management during the consolidation of the neoliberal system

Cultural management in Chile and Latin America started to develop in the context of the strong implementation and settlement of neoliberal policies. As De la Vega (2016, p. 97) states, “In a historical moment of implementation and boom of structural and neoliberal adjustment policies in Latin America, cultural management began to position itself in the imaginary of autonomous artistic-cultural agents as a nascent field of professionalisation for an occupation that had apparently developed from empirical and spontaneous form”. Additionally, as Chavarría and Valdés (2019, p. 213) argue, “In Chile - as in other countries of the region - neoliberalism had left

its mark to the point of instilling its logic in different aspects of society. This background is relevant for cultural management as the idea is promoted that the design of a modernisation model of the State administration is necessary for coherence with a neoliberal economic model, that restricts the role of the State, integrates the market, distrusts the managerial competencies of creators and growers, and trusts in the efficiency of professional managers as people who know how to manage”. Thus, in order to understand the development of cultural management as a disciplinary field in Chile, its development in the context of robust neoliberal system implementation is a crucial point to consider.

The development of cultural management as a field has happened in the context of strengthening neoliberalism²⁶. As Chavarría and Valdés (2019, p. 215) declare, “Cultural Management has been articulated, since the mid-1980s, under the new rationality of contemporary capitalism. This is defined in radical terms towards the neoliberal, where culture “was reinterpreted in economic terms, as a resource under management and investment development, like any other productive factor. This Cultural Management, linked to neoliberal rationality, is intended to reproduce individuals that dispute the resource of culture as part of a logic of competition, internalised and managed as a productive activity, and, which must also be consumed”. Cultural management as a practice emerges with the neoliberal idea of management, associated with the main goals of economic profit and short-term results, and the gradual withdrawal of State intervention (Chavarría & Valdés, 2019). Therefore, during the consolidation of neoliberalism in Chile, cultural management started a process of embodying the values present in that rationality, even though its beginning as a practice relies upon a totally different area of action in previous years.

3.3.2. The entrepreneurial self in Chilean cultural management

Prior research suggests that it is possible to see a strong emphasis on the development of the entrepreneurial self as a core piece of cultural management in Chile. As De La Vega (2016, p. 99)

²⁶ It should be noted that in Chile, Pinochet's military dictatorship came to an end with a plebiscite in 1989. Subsequently, the country transitioned to a democratic government in 1990. However, it is important to recognise that the rebuilding of democracy in Chile was guided by a constitution promulgated in 1980. This constitution, still in force today, solidified a neoliberal regime as its foundation. The continuity of this constitution over time has been instrumental in shaping the country's political and economic landscape (Gárate Chateau, 2014).

observes, “It is clear that there is an obvious intent that closely links neoliberal policies in the nineties, the internalization of the discourse of cultural management in agents of the artistic field, and the need to encourage entrepreneurship, which, of course, should be managed by trained managers in managerial skills. It would be necessary to ask, since then, which epistemological flows resist and destabilize the hegemonic order of cultural management and its internalized imperatives in this decade, and which have been negotiated and appropriate for the agency of current processes”. Furthermore, Zamorano et al. (Zamorano, et al., 2014) have explained that in the transition to democracy, cultural policies played a key role, since they began to be thought of from a modernising perspective of cultural management, as well as in terms of the symbolic representation of cultural Chilean society, but always preserving the socioeconomic position consolidated in previous years. As they state (Zamorano, et al., 2014, p. 11), "during the first governments of democracy, some progress is made in shaping a cultural policy. However, these measures were limited to facilitating private support for culture or organizing the transfer of funds from the State to the civil society so that this is the one that develops the cultural activity.”

In addition, as De La Vega (2016, p. 98) remarks, “In the changes in the global geopolitical organisation and the application of neoliberal and multicultural policies in Latin America, there is a kind of symbolic incorporation of social organisations of women, indigenous and Afro-descendant people and nationalities, sexual diversities, and also of artistic and cultural movements, which until then declared themselves anti-capitalist. That is, through a series of development and structural adjustment programs, these movements become the object of intervention, and it is declared as its new emancipatory horizon the entrepreneurship (Emmelhain, s / f).” Furthermore, as Morales (2018, p. 58) suggests, “While in the Anglo-Saxon and European sphere - almost monothematically and, of course, with effective will by regions and sectors - policies that put the emphasis on new creative and cultural industries are being implemented, in Latin America a discourse and a praxis are being extended that add the strength of community cultural management, resulting in a kind of professionalism, communitarianism, and entrepreneurship in a singular and budding cultural management model". Overall, the authors seem to highlight the presence of an "entrepreneurial self" in Chilean cultural management, influenced by neoliberal policies and modernisation efforts during the transition to democracy. This emphasis has led to the incorporation of various social movements and cultural organisations into the entrepreneurship

discourse. As a result, Chilean cultural management has evolved towards a hybrid model, blending the entrepreneurial spirit fostered by neoliberalism with a community-oriented core that emerged as a form of resistance during the dictatorship, ultimately shaping a complex cultural management landscape in the country.

3.3.3. Cultural management has developed mainly as a civil sector

Recent studies have indicated that cultural management has mostly developed as a civil sector. As Bayardo (2018, p. 18) points out, “After the 1980s, and with the consolidation of neoliberalism of the 1990s, the new regulation through the market and the partial withdrawal of the State through adjustment policies drove the development of a new perspective in the organization of the area: cultural management. This discipline would change the dynamics of the institutions, as well as the role and sense of work in them, giving rise to the figure of the cultural manager. This corresponds to a time when the governments of Latin American countries helped to install a new balance that privileged the private over the public, and a new scheme of distribution of costs and benefits, where the former was transferred to communities and individuals, and the latter focused on large companies, especially transnationals.” Moreover, as Zamorano et al. (2014, p. 23) report, when comparing the development of the field with Europe and the United States, “Unlike Europe and North America, where the structuring of cultural policy models is inserted within the framework of the development of the welfare state and with a horizon of geopolitical expansion, the establishment of the State as an actor that intervenes in the cultural field in Latin America begins in parallel to the process of globalisation, with the loss of weight of the State at the international level, the expansion of neoliberalism, and the emergence of new actors and transnational dynamics, which means a challenge for the generation of constitutive patterns of action in that political-territorial registry. In this sense, in the cases studied, it is observed that after the neoliberal hegemony, cultural policy is relegated, partly as a reaction - instrumental or effective - to the possible effects of processes such as cultural homogenization, the increase of social inequalities or the dissolution of collective identities.” Thus, some authors have recognised that another of the characteristics of cultural management in the region is the presence of an emphasis on its development as a mainly private field in a context where the State loses importance and practices must react to that configuration.

3.3.4. Exploring tensions in Chilean cultural management

Previous studies have emphasised a clear tension in the field of cultural management in Chile and Latin America in general. This literature review aims to explore this tension and its implications in the development and configuration of the field. Cultural management emerged as a practice during and against the dictatorships and their imposed sociopolitical systems, while simultaneously being built under the influence of strong neoliberal policies that have permeated its development. As Zamorano et al. (2014, p. 22) explained, "in the 1990s, despite the development of neoliberal policies, the institutionalisation of cultural policy in Latin America moves forward (Garretón, 2008). The countries analysed show the tension and, in certain cases, the inherent contradiction between both processes: the organisation of the State intervention in the area, such as administrative, infrastructural, and legal, and the low effective action of the State in terms of the promotion of cultural policies and heritage protection, to varying degrees."

This duality in the development of cultural management has led to the emergence of two distinct paradigms. On one hand, cultural management is seen as a tool proposed by post-dictatorial governments, which raises an agenda of cultural policies linked to professional development associated with management modes. This paradigm is "structured under new technocratic and administrative precepts: the management project, the generation of indicators, diagnostic systems, planning, evaluation, sustainability, etc." (De La Vega, 2016, p. 98), generating a deep tension anchored in the intrinsic development of the field.

Furthermore, Fauré (2019) acknowledges that cultural management is a relatively new expression in Nuestra América, still undergoing a process of historical gestation, which adds to the complexity of the field. As he (2019, p. 147) argues, "Those tensions could be synthesised in that this practice moves between two poles that present themselves with certain degrees of irreconcilability: on the one hand, cultural management understood as the professionalisation of the exercise of cultural mediation, focused on transforming cultural practices in their own field for capital investment and profit generation, within the framework of neoliberal progress on the continent; and on the other hand, Cultural Management understood as the specialisation of an agent in charge of exercising

the mediation work with the objective of culturally activating communities, and ceasing to conceive of them as passive consumers/customers of cultural products/markets”.

The emergence of new cultural spaces during the 1990s posed challenges for actors within the state and civil society as they attempted to navigate the growing influence of neoliberal and managerial principles. As Chavarría and Valdés (2019, p. 214) confirm, in terms of the emergence of new cultural spaces during this period, “The neoliberal and managerial logic enters into a strong tension not only with the actors that promoted a new cultural task from the State but also with the components of civil society that, from their experiences during the civic-military dictatorship, developed initiatives with a view to recomposing the social fabric torn by the context of oppression, such as Mapocho Cultural Centre, Taller Sol, Kamarundi House and ECO, among others.” Chavarría and Valdés argue that despite facing significant obstacles and ideological clashes with the State's approach to culture, the persistence of these cultural actors and the emergence of new organisations marked the beginning of community cultural management, which has become a vital force in preserving and promoting cultural initiatives primarily in urban-popular territories. Through their tenacity and dedication, these individuals and groups continued to play a crucial role in sustaining and nurturing diverse cultural expressions, forging an alternative path to the dominant business-oriented cultural management paradigm. As the spirit of action from the 70s and 80s found continuity in these contemporary efforts, community cultural management became a significant counterbalance to the prevailing neoliberal and managerial logic, facilitating the empowerment of civil society in shaping their cultural landscape and fostering a sense of collective identity and resilience.

Moreover, Zamorano et al. (2014, p. 10) state that the model of cultural management in Chile is characterised, as in the Anglo-Saxon world, by reflecting a liberal conception of cultural management that emphasises a distrust of the state's intervention in this area while recognising the need for social contribution in the conception and implementation of cultural policies.

To summarise, the configuration of cultural management in Chile embodies significant tension. It has been established in a context extremely marked by a neoliberal system, yet it also developed from a critical, communitarian, and socially resistant way of thinking and practice. This literature

review highlights the complexities and challenges faced by the field of cultural management in Chile, shedding light on the ongoing struggles and the potential for community-centred approaches to provide an alternative to the prevailing neoliberal paradigm.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has delved into the diverse theories and developmental processes within the arts and cultural management field, with a specific focus on Chile and Latin America. Although the literature reports a diversity of such theories, this section focused on two periods that frequently appeared throughout the research reviewed: on the one hand, the emergence of the concept, and on the other, the field's development to date. One point to consider in this review is that the concept of art and cultural management has "gestión cultural" as its homonym in Spanish. "Gestión artística y cultural," the direct translation of the concept, is rarely considered in the literature.

The emergence of cultural management in Chile and the wider Latin American region has been influenced by four major themes. Firstly, during the 1970s and 1980s, cultural management practices emerged as a means of resistance against the oppressive "cultural blackout" under the military dictatorship in Chile and a self-taught practice within the cultural sector. Secondly, in the 1990s, the term "cultural management" gained prominence and was closely linked to the development of democratic institutions in the country. Thirdly, the theories developed in Spain played a significant role in shaping the field of cultural management in Chile and Latin America. In general, the field's literature places an emphasis on the socio-political dimensions of cultural management practices both in Chile and Latin America in general.

The subsequent development of cultural management in Chile and Latin America has been marked by four recurring themes. Firstly, it has grown in the context of the robust implementation of the neoliberal system, which has influenced the field's trajectory. Secondly, the entrepreneurial self has become a pivotal characteristic of the Chilean cultural management landscape. Thirdly, cultural management has primarily evolved within the civil sector. And, fourthly, the field embodies a duality stemming from its establishment within a neoliberal context while also incorporating

critical, community-oriented, and socially resistant perspectives that emerged from its origins. As a result, Chilean cultural management exhibits inherent tensions and complexities.

This study sought to provide theoretical insights into the arts and cultural management field through a case study of Galería CIMA, an independent cultural organisation in Santiago de Chile. The development of this organisation was shaped by the unique characteristics of the cultural management landscape in the country. In that sense, by exploring literature predominantly from Latin American authors, I have traced the evolution and main discussions of this field showing its emergence to its current state, influenced by political conditions, European influence, and the consolidation of neoliberal policies.

The analysis of relevant literature provided insights into the key factors that have shaped the field and highlighted significant elements. The study of arts and cultural management in Chile and Latin America is essential for understanding the dynamic interplay of resistance and adaptation in a context where creativity and self-expression intersect with political and economic realities.

Considering the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 and the specific case of Chilean arts and cultural management explored in Chapter 3, the next chapter will show the methodology of the current study. These previous chapters have highlighted the significance of attaining a comprehensive and critical understanding of the field, with due consideration to the socio-political context in which cultural management practices evolve. Consequently, the forthcoming methodology chapter will adopt a qualitative approach, employing a combination of mixed methods such as in-depth interviews, visual methods, and analysis of secondary data. The primary aim is to investigate the creation process of Galería CIMA, particularly within challenging political circumstances. In contrast to prevailing research which, as observed, seems to focus on functional aspects of arts and cultural management, this study adopts a process-based perspective, delving into the complex social and emotional dimensions of arts and cultural management dynamics. By aligning the research design with the field's theoretical development and incorporating insights from the specific case study, this investigation strives to provide valuable knowledge that will contribute significantly to the arts and cultural management field.

Chapter 4. Methodology

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I reviewed literature exploring the characteristics and the current discussion on *gestión cultural* (cultural management/agency) in Latin America and Chile in particular. The chapter explored the rise of cultural management as a field of professionalisation during the 1990s and its relationship to the development of democratic institutions, as well as the European influence on the academic shaping of the field. In addition, as a prelude to the installation of cultural management as a professional field, it was shown how its practices were present during the military dictatorship and how they acted as a mechanism of political resistance and as self-taught social action within creative practices. This has been decisive for its configuration in the region both in practical and theoretical terms. Moreover, it was observed how the field has grown in recent years in Chile under adverse conditions during the consolidation of the neoliberal system, which has been carried out in parallel with the democratisation process. Thus, I have shown how, in recent years, a hybrid understanding of arts and cultural management has been configured. This involves a tension between a field that, on the one hand, emerged as a practice of political resistance during the dictatorship and, on the other, developed under strong neoliberal policies and within a society that embraced that system by force.

In this chapter, I will describe the research methodology followed for the current study, establishing a coherent research approach. Overall, this research drew upon a qualitative approach to ascertain the practices and dynamics behind the creation process of a small-scale independent cultural organisation and its journey to become a key political actor during the Chilean social uprising. The primary objective of this methodology perspective was to investigate the uniqueness of the creation processes involved in arts and cultural management practices. In that sense, the research followed an intrinsic case study (Stake, 2005) approach illuminated by a material cultural approach (Miller, 2008), in which the objects and visual material were considered in relation to their context and the interviewees' relationships with them. The research applied mixed qualitative methods, including visual methods (Rose, 2016), such as photo-elicitation and object-based interviews, semi-structured in-depth interviews, participant observation and analysis of secondary

data. The method used to analyse the qualitative generated data was mainly thematic (Braun & Clarke, 2022; Guest et al., 2011) informed by content analysis (Bryman, 1994).

The first section of this chapter revisits the research questions, aims, and objectives of the thesis, which examines creative approaches to arts and cultural management throughout the investigation of the creation process of Galería CIMA in Santiago, Chile, and its connection to the socio-political context. As it will be seen, the research aims to understand how the socio-political environment influences arts and cultural management practices. Objectives include documenting the organisation's journey during the Chilean social uprising, exploring emotional visual material, and contributing to the field of arts and cultural management.

Then, I establish the epistemological position of the current study by linking the conceptual and theoretical foundations with the methodological framework. I introduce two research approaches, namely the intrinsic case study (Stake, 2005) and the cultural material approach (Miller, 2008), whilst emphasising the use of visual methodologies (Rose, 2016), such as photo-elicitation and object-based interviews. Grounded in critical theory, my research combines humanist methods with experimental practices to explore arts and cultural management. Through an in-depth examination of Galería CIMA in Santiago, Chile, I focus on its creation, socio-political context, and the significance of visual material within cultural processes. Finally, I explore my position as a researcher and Chilean cultural manager, which adds a unique contribution and access to the study.

The third section delves into the research design and further explores the selected methods to collect and analyse data. Firstly, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with the founders, team members, and regular collaborators of Galería CIMA. These interviews provided an opportunity for rich and detailed insights into the organisation's processes, perspectives, and experiences. Additionally, photo-elicitation and object-based interviews were utilised as methods to further enhance data collection. By using visual and objects relevant to the cultural context, these interviews aimed to elicit deeper reflections and interpretations from the participants. This approach allowed for a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between the participants, the cultural organisation, and the objects involved. Furthermore, participant observation played a

significant role in the research process. Through six field trips conducted between December 2018 and May 2022 in Santiago, Chile, and Madrid, Spain²⁷, I actively observed and engaged with the cultural organisation and its members. This first-hand experience provided valuable insights into the day-to-day operations, dynamics, and interactions within Galería CIMA. The analysis of secondary data also formed an integral part of the research process. By examining existing literature, documents, media coverage, and other relevant sources, a broader contextual understanding of the cultural organisation was achieved. This allowed for a comprehensive exploration of the subject matter and supported the interpretation of the primary data collected.

Regarding data analysis, this chapter discusses how the collected data was analysed using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2022; Guest et al., 2011). Thematic analysis involves identifying patterns, themes, and key concepts within the data, facilitating the organisation and interpretation of the findings. Furthermore, the analysis will be illuminated by content analysis (Bryman, 1994), which involves a systematic examination of the content and meaning embedded within the collected data. These analytical approaches provided a robust framework for generating meaningful insights from the research findings.

By providing a clear and coherent account of the research process and the selected methods in the current study, I aim to establish a solid foundation for addressing the objectives and research questions of this study. This methodological approach enables an understanding of arts and cultural management, contributing to the existing knowledge base in the field. Thus, this research methodology proposes to explore the memory and visual traces of the creative process behind arts and cultural management practices. It views this as a valuable area for knowledge generation that needs to be challenged in the context of traditional narratives. As observed, the development processes have been mainly overlooked in previous arts and cultural management research.

²⁷ In addition to the fieldwork trips, I conducted in Chile as part of my research process, I also travelled to Madrid, Spain for a week in May 2022 with CIMA's co-founders and curator. This trip was in the context of CIMA's participation in the 'Giro Gráfico' exhibition at the Reina Sofía Museum. During this event, CIMA showcased a graphic piece created in collaboration with the art collective 'Delight Lab' during the initial phase of the organisation's development, as it will be explored in Chapter 5. It is worth noting that this image was among the selected images for the photo-elicitation process.

4.1. Research questions, aims, and objectives

This thesis aims to focus on creative approaches to arts and cultural management by investigating the relationships between the creation process of Galería CIMA and the political context of Chile in recent years. By exploring how cultural managers created a new cultural space, this research analyses how these processes not only reflect the sociopolitical context, but also serve as creative and political practices that challenge power dynamics. Instead of solely prioritising efficient organisational functioning in competitive, market-oriented, and precarious contexts, cultural managers' methods of establishing a cultural space can be dynamic manifestations of the sociopolitical environment (Tomka, 2019). Consequently, this study examines Galería CIMA's creative journey from a narrative and visual/material perspective, while also exploring its connection to the sociopolitical context that shaped its emergence. Specifically, the thesis investigates the development process of this small-scale artist-led private cultural organisation in Santiago, Chile, and explores how it is intertwined with the sociopolitical context in which it originated.

4.1.1. Research questions

- a. What was the creation process of Galería CIMA? What elements and practices were remembered as key for those involved?
- b. To what extent has the political context of neoliberalism and its subsequent crisis influenced the formation and development of Galería CIMA? How did the organisation navigate and respond to the political challenges between 2016 and 2022?

As seen, the research questions aim to examine the process of creating Galería CIMA and its relationship with the political context. In that sense, through this examination I aim to explore the broader implications that this creation process might have in the arts and cultural management landscape. In doing so, the objectives of the study are as follows:

4.1.2. Objectives

- a. To document the development journey of a cultural organisation that played a crucial role as a key political actor during the Chilean social uprising, a significant political movement in recent Chilean history.
- b. To explore and analyse visual material related to the organisation's creation process to better understand its impact and significance.
- c. To build a knowledge base by critically analysing the creation process of a private small-scale cultural organisation in Chile, highlighting its internal dynamics, practices, and challenges.
- d. To identify and examine the relationships between the organisation's development and Chile's socio-political context, particularly during the Chilean social uprising.
- e. To contribute to scholarly knowledge in the arts and cultural management field, with a particular focus on developmental processes and considering perspectives and experiences from the Global South.

The current study seeks to explore the creation journey of people that were involved in the development of Galería CIMA between 2016 and 2022 in Santiago, Chile, making use of visual materials generated and secondary data, as well as personal memories of the processes involved. A review of the literature concerning arts and cultural management demonstrated a need for additional studies to better understand the non-utilitarian aspects of the field. In that sense, the current study aims to provide empirical knowledge on arts and cultural management. In particular, it focuses on the creative processes behind arts and cultural management practices by exploring the process of creating Galería CIMA in Santiago de Chile. Consequently, it observes the key elements, memories, and internal practices used to develop the cultural organisation and its relationships with the Chilean political context of recent years.

4.2. Research approach

“there is an urgent need to supplement the familiar repertoire of humanist methods (which generate text and talk) with experimental practices that amplify other sensory, bodily and affective registers and extend the company and modality of what constitutes a research subject” (Whatmore, 2006, p. 607)

In line with this perspective, my research on arts and cultural management adopts an innovative approach. This study goes beyond traditional humanist methods that heavily rely on text and talk, and instead incorporates experimental practices that encompass additional sensory, bodily, and affective registers.

Drawing inspiration from Whatmore's call to expand the definition of a research subject, the approach employed in this thesis is a case study illuminated by a material-cultural perspective. By incorporating non-standard and visual research methods, this study aims to comprehensively explore the intricate relationships between artistic practices, cultural artefacts, and management strategies. Through a combination of methods, my research seeks to shed new light on the dynamic and complex dynamics that shape the field of arts and cultural management.

4.2.1. Case study

This thesis focuses on the creative processes that exist behind arts and cultural management practices using an in-depth case study of a small independent artist-led cultural organisation. It seeks to identify the practices used to create a cultural organisation and its relationships with the political context during recent years. In that sense, a case study approach was appropriate for this enquiry since it allowed a detailed understanding of the organisational structure, ethos/logic, decisionmaking processes, mission, and internal dynamics in the natural environment of the cultural organisation. This helped to explore the diverse elements and factors that were involved in the development of CIMA, considering them in relation to the environment from which the cultural organisation emerged (Merriam-Weber Online dictionary, 2009 in Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Case study research has been present since the beginning of recorded history (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) and has multiple specific understandings. In general terms, it refers to a research approach that seeks to gain an in-depth, multidimensional understanding of a complex topic in its real-life context. It is an established research approach that is used in a wide variety of disciplines, particularly in the social sciences. Concerning what the main feature of case studies is, Yin (1994, p. 94) declares “its intense focus on a single phenomenon within its real-life context...[Case studies are] research situations where the number of variables of interest far outstrips the number of datapoints”. Case study research, therefore, represents a valuable and widely applicable approach spanning various disciplines, affording a singular opportunity for in-depth exploration of complex phenomena.

The case explored in this thesis exemplifies the diverse ways in which the creation of a cultural organisation can take shape by analysing the case of Galería CIMA in Chile, highlighting the significance of understanding that a case study is not merely “a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied” (Stake, 2005). In other words, the significance lies in understanding what unique insights can be gleaned from a single case.

Moreover, it shows how arts and cultural management might be observed as a transdisciplinary concept where bifurcations and tensions co-exist. In that sense, the case studied in this research is similar to the intrinsic case study outlined by Robert E. Stake in the Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research (Lincoln & Denzin, 2005). As Stake (2005, p. 445) argues an “intrinsic case study...is not undertaken because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem, but instead because, in all its particularity and ordinariness this case itself is of interest”. I consider that the analysis of the process of creating this cultural organisation will contribute to the arts and cultural management knowledge base. In that sense, my interest in examining Galería CIMA and its development journey between 2016 and 2022 as an intrinsic case study is based on several factors:

a. Galería CIMA is a cultural space that emerged in the context of an established neoliberal rationality in Chile. As seen, the country has been widely signalled as the first laboratory of neoliberalism (Klein, 2008).

- b. Galería CIMA is located in the symbolic centre of the capital of Chile where most celebrations and social demonstrations have historically taken place. The area symbolises the division between the elite and those who are not part of it. The space has a panoramic view of the square and the city's natural and urban icons.
- c. Galería CIMA is a small artist-run, private cultural organisation that became a critical political actor during the most significant social revolts in Chile in recent decades
- d. The political, social and urban environment in which the cultural organisation developed, dramatically changed during the studied period (Heiss, 2020; Garretón, 2020).

4.2.2. Material cultural perspective

This research has been illuminated by a material-cultural perspective. In this approach, as Miller and Tilley (1996) declare, “The study of material culture may be most broadly defined as the investigation of the relationship between people and things irrespective of time and space. The perspective adopted may be global or local, concerned with the past or the present, or the mediation between the two ... [T]he potential range of contemporary disciplines involved in some way or other in studying material culture is effectively as wide as the human and cultural sciences themselves.” The current study aims to investigate the creative processes involved in cultural management, with the former being understood as a space for knowledge that is manifested both visually and materially. For this reason, the research adopted a material cultural approach (Miller, 2008), in which the objects were considered in relation to their context and the interviewees’ relationships with them. This approach is valuable since it helped me to focus on the processes behind the development of the cultural organisation rather than just the products that were visible for a wider audience. As Miller (2002, p. 399) argues, “If culture is understood not in the narrow sense of some particular element of the human environment, but in the more general sense of the process through which human groups construct themselves and are socialized, then material culture becomes an aspect of objectification, consisting in the material forms taken by this cultural process. Hence to study material culture is to consider the implications of the materiality of form for the cultural process.” Therefore, this project considered the artifacts associated with, and left by, the process as relevant material for the research, and as a pivotal starting point, recognising their analytical potential for the field of cultural management.

4.2.3. Researcher positionality

In this section, I will discuss the ways in which my views and perspectives were adopted for the current research, highlighting the concept of positionality and its relevance to understanding an individual's perspective and stance in the research process. Positionality refers to the perspective and stance an individual takes regarding a research task and its societal and political context, encompassing their worldview (Holmes, 2020). In that sense, as a Chilean cultural manager investigating the formation of Galería CIMA and its role in the Chilean social uprising, my positioning is crucial. My deep connection to the cultural and political landscape of Chile, along with my personal background and experiences, strongly influence my perspective and approach to this research. In addition, my research position was predetermined as an insider since I have previously been close to the founders of CIMA and also share attributes with them (Braun & Clarke, 2013) such as nationality and experience of developing new art organisations within the Chilean context during the 2010s, among others.

In this sense, I have greater access to data that was not available in research settings. This privileged position gives me a unique point of view to understand the motivations, intentions and aspirations that shaped Galería CIMA. It allows for a more nuanced analysis of the development of the organisation and its role in the Chilean social uprising.

As a woman growing up and living in Chile, I witnessed first-hand the socio-political context in which Galería CIMA emerged and the profound impact of the political context in its development. Immersed in Chilean culture, language, and local knowledge, I have a unique understanding of the complexities surrounding the events under investigation. For example, my participation in NAVE, an independent artist residency and exhibition space focused on interdisciplinary performing arts (2014-2017), offered insight into establishing a new independent cultural organisation within the Chilean context. Likewise, it gave perspectives on the relevance of the creation processes involved in arts and cultural management practices. Similarly, working within the Chilean Ministry of Culture (2011-2014) provided valuable experiences related to the country's cultural institution which, as we have observed, has been key in the development of the sector in the country. These perspectives allow me to capture the organisational structures and dynamics that shape cultural

organisations like Galería CIMA, while also considering the socio-political factors that influence their decision-making and strategies within a highly neoliberal country.

Regarding the epistemological position of this thesis, the research is illuminated by the principles of the "Epistemology of the South" proposed by Boaventura de Sousa Santos. As he argues:

“By epistemology of the South I mean the retrieval of new processes of production and valorisation of valid knowledges, whether scientific or non- scientific, and of new relations among different types of knowledge on the basis of the practices of the classes and social groups that have suffered, in a systematic way, the oppression and discrimination caused by capitalism and colonialism. The global South is thus not a geographical concept, even though the great majority of these populations live in countries of the Southern hemisphere. The South is here rather a metaphor of the human suffering caused by capitalism and colonialism at the global level, and a metaphor as well of the resistance to overcome or minimise such suffering.” (Santos, 2012, p. 51)

By adopting this perspective, the thesis recognises the significance of diverse knowledge and viewpoints that arise from marginalised communities and cultures, particularly in the context of the Global South, like Chile. The research acknowledges the limitations of dominant Eurocentric knowledge production in the arts and cultural management field and aims to challenge it through an in-depth study of a small-scale organisation in a country that has been largely underappreciated in English-language literature.

Embracing a perspective from the South enables the thesis to value local knowledge systems and perspectives that may have historically been overlooked or underrepresented in mainstream academic discourse. This approach is crucial to comprehending the formation of Galería CIMA and its role in the Chilean social uprising within the broader Chilean cultural and political landscape.

Furthermore, my research positionality is informed by the concept of 'situated knowledge' as articulated by philosopher Donna Haraway (1988). This perspective emphasises that our research viewpoints are intricately intertwined with our individual lived experiences and the broader socio-historical contexts in which we exist. In my particular case, this perspective holds immense significance. It is undeniable that my personal experiences as a feminist woman from Chile not

only inform the way I approach research but also profoundly influence how I interpret and understand the narratives and experiences of the individuals I study. 'Situated knowledge' urges us to question the pursuit of knowledge that exists in isolation from its context, advocating instead for the recognition of partial sight and limited voice as valuable and legitimate modes of inquiry. As Haraway argues, 'The only way to find a larger vision is to be somewhere in particular' (Haraway, 1988, p. 590). In the context of my research, I acknowledge the partiality of my perspective, understanding it to be deeply intertwined with my own life experiences. In this regard, I consciously strive to both speak and generate knowledge recognising the unique insights and critical perspectives that arise from this situated position.

My research aims to broaden knowledge in arts and cultural management beyond economic sustainability and market-driven frameworks. By documenting Galería CIMA's journey and its transformation into a major political actor, I challenge existing understandings and provide new perspectives for the understanding of arts and cultural management. Additionally, I highlight the symbolic importance of places such as 'Plaza Dignidad' within arts and cultural management, recognising the role that places have in arts and cultural development.

At this point, it is worth mentioning that I previously carried out a four-year investigation into the creative processes of the company "Teatro de Chile",²⁸ where their processes of creation and forms of production were identified. This first involved rescuing the creative processes, the paths travelled, and the evolution of ideas and artistic research rather than rescuing the final artistic products. The objective was to establish a study of their methodologies and investigative formulae when approaching an artistic piece; and, to recognise the decisions and methods that were used in the work, understanding that creating is not only joining elements but also discarding things and experimenting. This was done through the rescue and organisation of the historical archives that the company had generated throughout its 12 years of work. This project, which also involved the publication of a book²⁹ and the launch of a digital archive, is now housed at the most important applied theatre and society research centre in Chile, the Centro UC Teatro y Sociedad de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.

²⁸ archivo.teatrodechile.cl

²⁹ See, "Teatro de Chile: ejercicios de archivo" [Theatre of Chile: archival exercises] (Leiva, et al., 2016).

To sum up, my positionality as a Chilean cultural manager deeply connected to the country's socio-political landscape, combined with my insider perspective regarding Galería CIMA, has provided me with a unique point of view for understanding the organisation's motivations and role in the Chilean social uprising. By adopting a perspective from the South illuminated by the concept of 'situated knowledge', this research seeks to challenge dominant knowledge production in arts and cultural management and shed light on marginalised perspectives and local knowledge systems that have been overlooked. Through this study, I aim to broaden the understanding of arts and cultural management beyond economic sustainability and market-driven frameworks.

4.3. Research design and methods

In this section I will present the research design and methods used in this enquiry showing how they are coherent with my epistemological orientation and methodological approach. To better understand the unique process of creating a small-scale new cultural organisation that also went on to become a key political actor during the Chilean social revolt, from the inside, I decided to use multiple qualitative research methods, including semi-structured in-depth interviews, photo-elicitation and object-based interviews, participant observation, and analysis of secondary data.

Why have I chosen this methodological and research design?

I have chosen this research design because there is a clear need, as observed in the literature reviewed, to explore and combine methodologies to understand the field of arts and cultural management in an expanded and in-depth way, not only from an outcome-centred perspective. Therefore, I chose these methods to explore, not only the practical stages of the process of development, but also the memory of the people involved in the creation of the cultural organisation, and to investigating the paths and traces left by the process of creating CIMA.

Considering the scarcity of research methods dedicated to exploring arts and cultural management, it is essential to investigate the field as a distinct subject of study. This research project adopts a creative practice perspective to address this gap, aiming to uncover the often-disregarded creation processes behind cultural organisations and their various paths of development. As DeVereaux

(2019, p. 91) states, “The literature on research methodologies and related topics is vast for most fields. In contrast, a concerted search discovered just one directed specifically toward a cultural management area, *Research Methods for Arts and Event Management*” (Veal & Burton 2014). She argues that a predominant line of research in the field aims to validate its positive impacts on society, rather than "investigating CMR itself as an object of study", arguing that this development “raises the red flag of potential bias” (DeVereaux, 2019, p. 95). As research methods on arts and cultural management appear to be limited, it is necessary to deepen the analysis of the field as an object of study in itself to explore it in an expanded way. In that sense, as previously observed, the creation processes behind the development of cultural organisations tends to go unnoticed in the literature, which shows the lack of understanding of arts and cultural management as a creative practice that can take multiple creative trajectories; this is the lens through which this research project has observed the field.

Furthermore, the aim is to contribute to the field of cultural and creative industries in general, where there is a tendency to use quantitative research perspectives and not innovative methodologies (Casey & O’Brien, 2020). In that sense, by adopting a comprehensive research design that goes beyond traditional quantitative approaches, this research design seeks to provide valuable insights into the realm of arts and cultural management, contributing to the advancement of cultural and creative industries as a whole.

The search for heterogeneous methods is one of the paths through which we can deepen our understanding of it as a field and, consequently, expand the generation of knowledge of it. Furthermore, this research, as discussed in the Literature Review chapter, understands cultural managers as creators of culture, rather than just as administrators of it, and the exploration of the creative process as a space of knowledge generation.

The section initiates by introducing the participants involved in the research. Subsequently, a comprehensive review of the selected methods will be provided. This will be followed by a detailed description of the data collection procedure that I employed. Finally, I will cover how the collected data was analysed.

4.3.1. Participants

The participants in this research are the founders (2) of the organisation, the team members (3) and regular collaborators (6). I also held informal conversations with sporadic collaborators and people who attended Galería CIMA events. As will be shown in the next section, an important element of this enquiry was conducting participant observation in the context of three periods in which I made six fieldwork trips to Santiago, Chile (5) and Madrid, Spain (1) between 2018 and 2022.

Name	Type of interviewee	Relationship	Type of interview	Format
Trinidad	Founder	Core team	In-depth and Informal conversations	Online/ In-person
Sebastián	Founder	Core team	In-depth and Informal conversations	Online/ In-person
Daniel	Curator	Core team	In-depth and Informal conversations	Online/ In-person
Felipe	Administrator	Core team	In-depth and Informal conversations	Online/ In-person
Flavio	Sound technician/ DJ	Core team	In-depth and Informal conversations	Online/ In-person
Luis	Photographer	Regular collaborator	In-depth and Informal conversations	Online/ In-person
Andrés	Artist	Regular collaborator	In-depth	Online
Harold	Artist	Regular collaborator	In-depth	Online
Alejandra	Artist	Regular collaborator	In-depth	Online

4.3.2. Methods

For this research, I utilised four main methods to collect data and gather qualitative information. These methods encompassed visual methods, which allowed me to capture and analyse visual information; semi-structured in-depth interviews, which allowed me to delve into the perspectives and experiences of the participants; participant observation, where I actively engaged with participants in their environment and activities; and, secondary data analysis, which involved examining pre-existing data relevant to the case studied here. By employing this diverse range of approaches, I aimed to ensure a robust and multifaceted examination of the creation process of Galería CIMA. As seen, the primary objective of the study is to investigate the creation processes involved in arts and cultural management practices. In this research the creation process is understood as a valuable space for knowledge generation that could be manifested verbally, visually, and materially. Investigating the processes behind the implementation of a cultural organisation is relevant because reflection on the creative process will make it possible to understand practice as a knowledge-creation in itself, while providing visual data alongside verbal and written material. Thus, this work seeks to generate a historical record of the sector based on its own creative practices, instead of simply looking at its final results or finished projects, such as programs and activities that are open to the public. For this reason, my research will adopt a “material cultural approach” (Miller, 2008), in which the processual material will be considered in relation to their context and the interviewees’ relationships with them.

Visual methods

In general terms, visual methods consist of various tools that use images and visual material for data generation and collection (Rose, 2016). Multiple materials, such as photographs, images, drawings, and video, can be used. These materials can be generated in multiple ways. For example, through participatory activities, by the researcher, or using pre-existing visual materials. Visual methods fit well with the material cultural approach in this research, since they allowed me to investigate the processes involved in the development of the organisation, understanding these as a valuable knowledge space for arts and cultural management that manifests itself both visually and materially. The available visual material and artefacts related to the creative process of Galería CIMA were gathered in work sessions that I guided. The participants were informed in advance about how much time and work was expected from them and based on these conversations, time

arrangements were made with each of the participants. In the collection stage, special emphasis was placed on the collection of visual materials produced by team members, along with artifacts that are of symbolic relevance to them. This included gifts, specific places inside the cultural space, objects of sentimental value, references that were presented and/or followed, photographs taken during the process, diaries, identity design prototypes, written programming ideas, curatorship maps, and brainstorming sketches.

Another point to consider is that one of the actions in the material collection process was to make photographs. The photo-documentation method was therefore used. According to Rose (2012, p. 301), “Photo-documentation is a method that assumes photographs are accurate records of what was in front of the camera when its shutter snapped - 'a precise record of material reality' - and takes photographs in a systematic way in order to provide data which the researcher then analyses”. During my fieldwork I constantly made photographs of the places, physical objects and visual material that were mentioned as valuable for participants. Thus, the photographs are considered as meaningful objects rather than just records of certain materiality, inviting the participants to co-produce the material and, consequently, the knowledge resulting from this research.

This method is significant, since the photographs not only served as a complementary material but will also generate new documentary archive material by means of their faithfulness to reality for future research. Each photograph is accompanied by objective information such as the date, time, and location, and the person to whom it belongs, as well as a commentary paragraph on how each photo relates to the research objectives and questions (Suchar in Rose, 2012).

Photo-elicitation and object-based interviews

As part of the visual methods, I carried out photo-elicitation (Collier, 1957. Harper, 2002. Rose, 2012) and object-based interviews (Hoskins, 1998. Miller, 2008. Willig, 2017) with the participants. In particular, the process considered the collection and documentation of visual material and artefacts related to the internal processes of the cultural organisation and the subsequent interviews based on photos and objects selected by participants due to their sentimental relevance. This process was conducted mainly in person by me in the field trips I undertook between December 2018 and May 2022 in Santiago de Chile (5) and Madrid, Spain (1). I

conducted four photo-elicitation interviews (240 minutes of interview material in total) with the founders of CIMA, held in person inside the cultural space in Santiago, Chile.

Photo-elicitation is a qualitative visual research method. The method consists of the use of photographs or visual images to encourage verbal conversation in the context of research interviews (Clark-Ibáñez, 2003). As Harper (2002, p. 13) argues, “Photo elicitation is based on the simple idea of inserting a photograph into a research interview”. Moreover, as Banks states, it involves the use of “photographs to invoke comments, memory and discussion” (2001, p. 87).

One of the first researchers to explore the use of photographs in interviews as part of the investigative process was Collier (1957) in the field of anthropology. Regarding the relevance of this tool, Collier (1957, p. 859) states that a photograph “commands interest, deflects digression, and helps the interview to proceed on its meaningful way... A photograph is an abstraction. No matter how familiar the object or situation portrayed may be, a photograph is a restatement of reality; it presents life around us in new, objective, and arresting dimensions, and can stimulate the informant to discuss the world about him as if observing it for the first time.” Today, it is a method that is widely used in social research and the use of visual material is not restricted only to the use of photographs, but can include a range of image formats, such as videos and paintings, among others (Bigante, 2010)

Likewise, object-based interviews are also a tool belonging to visual research methodologies where, as in photo-elicitation, there is a preparation stage where objects of relevance to the participants are collected and selected so that they can stimulate reflection and memory from the participants. As Willig (2017, p. 212) declares, an object-based interview “offers research participants an active role in setting the agenda. It allows the participant to shape the focus and structure of the interview because of their choice of objects.” Likewise, this type of interview allows participants to talk about and relate to objects that have been part of their processes and daily life. The selection of the objects can be made by the participants or the researcher. Basing the interview on artifacts allows for reflective exploration of the participants’ narratives and memories (Hoskins, 1998).

To conduct the photo-elicitation and object-based interviews effectively, a preliminary session was organised with each of the founders. The primary purpose of this session was to carefully select the materials to be used in the interviews. The selection process involved criteria focused on both relevance and emotional connection concerning the establishment and development of the cultural organisation. The session took place in Santiago, Chile, during my third fieldwork trip in January 2022. As a result of this session, participants selected two images and two artefacts to do the interviews: The Poster; The Centinela Camera; ‘Re-evolución’; ‘Que su rostro cubra el horizonte’. An important point to consider is that the visual material used in these interviews is mainly concentrated in the second phase of development (Chapter 6). I grouped the selected material into two categories: Images and Artefacts, as shown in the following table:

Selected visual material	Rationale
<p>Image 1: Que su rostro cubra el horizonte (May his face cover the horizon) by Delight Lab (Figure 21).</p>	<p>This image is a photograph of a visual projection by the audiovisual and experimental art and design studio, Delight Lab, on one of the buildings around ‘Plaza Dignidad’. The projection shows the face of Camilo Catrillanca, a 24-year-old member of the Mapuche community in Temucuicui in the south of Chile, killed by the police force after being shot in the back of the neck³⁰. The projection includes a short poem by the Chilean poet Raúl Zurita.</p>
<p>Image 2: Re-evolución by Susana Hidalgo (Figure 26).</p>	<p>Digital photograph that shows the Manuel Baquedano General monument on ‘Plaza Dignidad’. Dozens of people are shown to have climbed the monument, and at the top of the monument there is a person waving a Mapuche flag against a yellow and orange sky. The picture was taken with a phone during the “Largest march in Chile” on 25th October 2019. The image went viral, and it is referred to as one of the most iconic pictures of the Chilean social uprising.</p>
<p>Artefact 1: The Centinela Camera (Figure 31)</p>	<p>Outdoor security camera with optical zoom, motion detection, and night vision. Model: Foscam FI9928P. The Centinela Camera</p>

³⁰<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/29/chile-camilo-catrillanca-death-four-police-officers-arrested>

	streams what is happening in Plaza de la Dignidad 24/7. The archive of footage from the camera, as well as the live broadcasting, is available on the Galería CIMA YouTube Channel ³¹ .
Artefact 2: The Poster by CIMA (Figure 36).	This artefact corresponds to a white A4 paper sheet printed with black ink, with a written message in Spanish reading: “TV channels hanging from our signal without authorisation #ItIsNotWar #NewConstitution #Dignity #SocialJustice #ChadwickResign”.

Then, during the photo-elicitation and object-based interviews, the interviewees were asked to explain and talk about each of the selected materials. Some of the questions I asked explored areas such as the subjective memory of the visual material, their perceptions about how they have done their work, and how this relates to the visual material selected. Specifically, the questions included: What is this material? Why did you choose it? Is there a specific connection between the history of CIMA and this image/object? Why? What memories does this image/object of the process have for you?

Thus, the artifacts and their importance can not only trigger conversations that explore the memory of cultural managers, but also serve as a guide to investigating the paths and traces left by the process of creating a new cultural space. One of the characteristics of these techniques, and where my interest in applying them to the field of arts and cultural management lies, is that they make it possible to conduct interviews based on something close and familiar to the interviewees, co-creating a different type of information that induces feelings, memories, and information (Harper, 2002) beyond the verbal. This generates a collaborative investigative process and creates bridges between the parties involved.

Regarding the relevance of the link between the photo-documentation and photo-elicitation stages, Rose (2012, p. 311) points out that it “is vital in clarifying what photos taken by interviewees mean to them; by themselves the photos are meaningless”. The aim of this approach was, therefore, to

³¹ The YouTube channel of Galería CIMA has 130,000 subscribers, 35,815,727 views and more than ten thousand hours of recordings of Plaza de la Dignidad. Link: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC4GOcOKkEefz5NamN4WyMFg/videos> (Accessed July 2022).

attempt to reconstruct the creative process based on the biographies of those involved, their memories, and their relationships with each other.

In-depth interviews

The second approach for this research was in-depth interviews that followed a semi-structured approach. I took this approach since it allowed me to follow-up on particularly interesting avenues that emerged during the interviews, enabling the participants to provide a more comprehensive picture (Smith, 1995).

In-depth interviews provided access to the meanings that people (Gray, 2022) attributed to the development journey of the cultural organisation. Since one of my research questions explores the elements and practices remembered as key for the people involved, semi-structured in-depth interviewing is an appropriate fit for the project as it allowed me to explore in an depth way, feelings, perceptions, experiences, and memories regarding the creation of Galería CIMA.

The semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted online by me with each participant. The selected platform was Microsoft Teams. Specifically, I conducted one exploratory interview and three in-depth interviews with the two founders (400 minutes in total), three in-depth interviews with the core team members (180 minutes in total) and four in-depth interviews with regular collaborators of Galería CIMA (520 minutes in total). These interviews were held between May 2021 and December 2022. It should be noted that the decision behind conducting them online was made due to the closure of both the UK and Chilean borders during the Covid-19 pandemic³².

For the purposes of this project, on the one hand, I asked questions focused on forming a description of the activities that relate to the development of the cultural project. This constitutes a means of understanding the practical stages involved. In this way, the creative process can be reconstructed based on the personal memory of the interviewees. On the other hand, I asked

³² Between March 2020 and December 2021, the Chilean borders were closed. Strong measures characterised the Chilean management of the pandemic, some of which were in place until the end of 2022. See, for instance: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/mar/28/chile-coronavirus-lockdowns-vaccination-success>

participants to express their feelings and thoughts in order to articulate the significance they ascribed to different events, decisions, and milestones. This approach enabled me to gain a deeper understanding of the complexities and subjective interpretations surrounding the creation of Galería CIMA. The in-depth interviews facilitated the collection of detailed narratives and personal accounts, showing the underlying motivations, challenges faced, and successes achieved throughout the formation of Galería CIMA.

Participant observation

Regarding the third method, I conducted participant observation during my fieldwork trips to Chile (4) and Spain (1). Moreover, I participated in online events in which the cultural organisation's members participated both online and in-person. Participant observation, as stated by DeWalt and DeWalt (2011, p. 1), is a qualitative method "in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interventions and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture". Participant observation is a central method for cultural anthropology; however, it is widely used in social science.

I conducted participant observation between January 2019 and May 2022, that gave me insight into how the cultural organisation creation process was shaped over time. The first four fieldwork trips occurred in Santiago, Chile, while the final one took place in Madrid, Spain. Throughout this time, I actively observed and engaged with the cultural organisation and its members. This first-hand experience provided valuable insight into the organisation's operations, day-to-day dynamics, and interactions inside and outside of its space.

The first and second trips correspond to the early stages of my study in January and July 2019, which occurred before the social uprising. The third trip took place between December 2019 and January 2020, coinciding with the social uprising. The final two trips were from January to February when Covid-19 restrictions were still in place in Chile, and in May 2022, in the context of CIMA's participation in the exhibition 'A Graphic Turn' at the Reina Sofía Museum in Spain. Over these five trips, I was able to observe daily activities, team meetings, leisure activities, installation of the exhibitions, and events held inside and outside of the space. In addition to the face-to-face observations, as mentioned, I attended ten online events organised both by CIMA and

by third parties, including the broadcast of key political demonstrations during the Chilean social uprising, online interviews with team members, and talks, among others.

The use of this method gave me access, not only to the work practices behind the development process of Galería CIMA, but also to the intimate dynamics that were part of the organisational activities. Field notes, informal conversations, and access to private documents and personal information contributed to gaining a tacit and integrated understanding of the process and its complexity as well as articulating the conversations with participants.

Participant observation had several advantages for my research process. As DeWalt and DeWalt (2011, p. 10) argue, “First, it enhances the quality of the data obtained during the fieldwork. Second, it enhances the quality of the interpretation of the data, whether those data are collected through participant observation or by other methods. Participant observation is thus both data collection and an analytical tool. Third, it encourages the formulation of new research questions and hypothesis grounded in on-the-scene observation”. To sum up, participant observation allowed me to immerse myself in the daily activities, dynamics, and events of the cultural organisation. Through first-hand experience and engagement, I gained valuable insights into the organisation's operations and interactions, both within and outside of its space. The combination of field trips and online events provided a comprehensive understanding of the CIMA's development process, capturing its creation journey over time and under different circumstances. The use of this method not only enriched the quality of the data collected, but also deepened my interpretation and analysis. Overall, participant observation played an important role in unravelling the complexities of Galería CIMA's development.

Analysis of secondary data

The final method I used was a review of secondary data regarding the case study. Therefore, I investigated journals mentioning “Galería CIMA”, in addition to media interviews, articles and public material generated by the organisation in order to add and reuse existing data (Heaton, 2004) on the case study to investigate the research questions of this thesis.

Most of the material I found was media coverage. In that sense, I analysed media interviews as they offered a valuable source of first-hand accounts and perspectives from key individuals associated with Galería CIMA. These interviews were essential in capturing the nuanced viewpoints of stakeholders, including artists, curators, critics, and the organisation's leadership. Furthermore, I explored articles and public materials generated by Galería CIMA itself to gather data directly from the organisation. This involved analysing press releases, social media accounts, exhibition catalogues, and other relevant material that was available to the public. By examining such materials, I aimed to gain insights into the organisation's goals, strategies, and operational practices.

Thus, the integration of existing data, in conjunction with the primary data collected for this thesis, facilitated a more comprehensive investigation of the research questions, therefore strengthening the overall validity and reliability of the study.

Data analysis

The data analysis for this PhD thesis employed qualitative research strategies, with a primary focus on thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2022; Guest et al., 2011) illuminated by content analysis (Bryman, 1994).

The thematic analysis involved a complete review and identification of common patterns and themes among the interview transcripts, in order to draw initial conclusions (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011) and establish relationships between the creative processes involved in CIMA's internal practices, as well as in the relationship with the socio-political context. As Rapley argues, this is done in order to generate a more specific understanding of the phenomenon from which the collected information is recorded with a view "to exploring and explaining what is 'underlying' or 'broader' or to 'distil' essence, meaning, norms, orders, patterns, rules, structures, etcetera (the level of concepts and themes)" (Rapley, 2007, p. 276). Thus, thematic analysis served as a comprehensive approach to identifying prevalent patterns and themes within the collected data, facilitating a more profound comprehension of the practices, dynamics, and elements involved in the creative process. A point to consider is that the in-depth interviews were conducted in Spanish,

transcribed, and subsequently translated by me into English to ensure accessibility and understanding.

I employed NVivo software, a qualitative data analysis tool, to efficiently organise, manage, and code interview transcripts for thematic analysis. Through the utilisation of the software, I systematically identified and categorised recurring themes, concepts, and patterns in the textual data. The software's coding and cross-referencing capabilities facilitated a comprehensive examination of the creation process within CIMA and their interaction with the socio-political context. Subsequently, various key codes emerged during the data analysis process, playing a pivotal role in organising and discerning patterns within the textual data. Noteworthy codes that surfaced included:

Collaborative creativity: This code encompassed instances where participants highlighted the collaborative nature of creative processes within CIMA, emphasising how teamwork and shared ideas contributed to creative outcomes.

Artistic expression: This code represented references to the use of artistic expression and creativity as a means of communicating ideas and addressing social and political issues within the organisation.

Images and artifacts: This code captured the essential visual representations and cultural artefacts used in CIMA's creative practices.

Adaptability to context: This code captured instances where interviewees discussed the adaptability of their development processes to the socio-political context, demonstrating their ability to respond to changing circumstances.

Challenges and constraints: This code identified challenges and constraints that participants experienced during their creative journey, shedding light on the external factors that influenced them.

Risk-taking: This code highlighted participants' willingness to take risks and push the boundaries of traditional arts and cultural management practices.

Socio-political commentary: This code identified instances where their practices and creative projects served as a means of addressing social and political issues.

Evolution and transformation: This code represented discussions on how the internal practices and perspectives were transformed over time, reflecting the dynamic nature of arts and cultural management endeavours within CIMA.

By using these codes, cross-referencing and exploring the relationships between themes and concepts led to a more nuanced and in-depth analysis of the creation process and the contextual dynamics within Galería CIMA. An important point to consider is that I also incorporated manual coding techniques using pen and paper to provide additional emphasis alongside the use of the software-based method.

In terms of the analysis of the visual material, however, as Rose (2012) suggests concerning the visual material collected/generated, there is not a single analytical method applicable to the use of the photographs themselves, nor one established framework within which to analyse them. This material was also subject to a thematic analysis that sought to review, compile, and look for patterns that helped to draw the findings and conclusions relating to the objectives proposed by this project.

A point to consider is that the visual material of this thesis is not included as mere decoration. On the contrary, images helped to illustrate and elaborate the findings (Alexander, 2008) concerning the creation journey of Galería CIMA. In this sense, the images became a key element of my study, serving both in the research process and in articulating and enhancing the results. They were not treated as secondary elements but were recognised as vital components that validated my research and enriched the in-depth understanding of Galería CIMA's development. Integrating these visual materials in the past tense allowed me to demonstrate how they contributed significantly to the clarity and impact of my thesis, enabling a more comprehensive exploration of the subject matter.

4.4. Ethical issues

This section was dedicated to outlining the ethical considerations that were taken into account throughout the research project. As Goodwin et al. (2003, p. 567) argue, “Ethics is an ever-present concern for all researchers; it pervades every aspect of the research process from conception and

design through to research practice and continues to require consideration during dissemination of the results.” Accordingly, the purpose, perspective, and practical stages of the research project, including my intention to disseminate the results of this investigation, were explained before and during the research to the participants in order that their consent to participate be fully informed and voluntary through the entire research process.

The current study followed the ethical principles outlined in the British Sociological Association (BSA) Statement of Ethical Practice (The British Sociological Association, 2017) regarding informed consent, confidentiality, participant rights, ongoing engagement, and appreciation for the participants' involvement, thereby ensuring a high standard of ethical conduct throughout the research process. The ethical approval for the project was obtained on 24th April 2021 from Goldsmiths, University of London, which ensured that the study adhered to the ethical guidelines set forth by the BSA.

Prior to their involvement, participants were provided with comprehensive information detailing the preservation of their images and creative process data as open research material. They were explicitly informed about the purpose and potential uses of their contributions. Furthermore, participants were assured of their right to withdraw from the study at any given point without facing any consequences. The process of obtaining participants' consent involved a multi-faceted approach. Firstly, I personally explained the details of the study to each participant in Spanish, both verbally and through subsequent communication via phone and email. Subsequently, participants were provided with a participant information sheet and a consent form which they completed to confirm their participation.

Confidentiality of the interview results was maintained throughout the research process. To protect the rights and privacy of participants, explicit permission was sought for the use of their real names and associated projects, preservation of visual material and video-recorded interviews, as both were considered personal data. Moreover, I kept participants informed about each of the stages of the research. A continuous informal dialogue was maintained, allowing participants to provide feedback, ask questions, and contribute to the research process.

Overall, this section demonstrated the attention given to ethical considerations throughout my research project, adhering to established principles and guidelines, ensuring informed consent, confidentiality, participant rights, and their ongoing engagement as a key element of the current study.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this methodological chapter has provided a comprehensive framework for the investigation conducted in this study, aligned with my epistemological orientation and the specific demands of investigating the creation processes and development trajectories of a small-scale cultural organisation. By integrating multiple qualitative research methods, including in-depth interviews, photo-elicitation, object-based interviews, participant observation, and analysis of secondary data, this methodological design has contributed to a comprehensive understanding of the elements and multifaceted dimensions of the creation process of Galería CIMA in Santiago, Chile. These methodological choices were driven by the need to explore the field from an expanded perspective, capturing not only the practical stages of development, but also the personal experiences and memories of the individuals involved. Additionally, this research design has contributed to addressing the scarcity of research methods dedicated to arts and cultural management, shedding light on the creative practice inherent in cultural organisations and providing valuable insights into the broader domain of cultural and creative industries. By adopting the explored research design, it has opened new avenues for understanding and advancing knowledge in this field, challenging traditional research approaches, and embracing a diverse range of methodologies.

The first section of this chapter started by carefully reviewing the research questions and rationale behind the objectives that have guided the current study. In the second section, I defined my positionality as researcher, linking the conceptual and theoretical foundations of the research with my methodological framework, the research process, and subsequent analysis. Subsequently, I presented the main approaches that support this study: the intrinsic case study (Stake, 2005) illuminated by a cultural material approach (Miller, 2008). The third section considered the research design and methods.

Thus, I have shown how the use of visual methodologies (Rose, 2016) - in which visual material and objects were considered in relation to their context and the participants' relationships with them - supports the methodological orientation for this case study research in arts and cultural management. Moreover, the chapter delved into the selected methods to collect and analyse data: semi-structured in-depth interviews; photo-elicitation and object-based interviews; participant observation; and, analysis of secondary data. The section discussed how the data would be analysed by thematic analysis illuminated by content analysis (Bryman, 1994). Finally, the section explored the ethical issues involved.

Grounded in this methodological framework, the subsequent three chapters (Chapter 5, 6, and 7) of this thesis will explore three distinct phases in the establishment of Galería CIMA I identified during my research. These chapters represent the primary contribution of this doctoral study, as they shed light on the cultural organisation's creation journey and provide a comprehensive analysis of each phase. As it will be observed, the adoption of this methodological design allows for a creative approach to the field of arts and cultural management, complementing the prevailing quantitative and textual methods. As discussed earlier, the orientation towards research focused on utilitarian aspects within arts and cultural management has been signalled as a significant concern in this field. Consequently, the research design and the findings of this project possess the potential to contribute to expand the knowledge base of arts and cultural management.

Chapter 5. Intuitive cultural management practices in a neoliberal democracy: the first phase of Galería CIMA's creation process



Figure 7. Galería CIMA from its terrace. Source: Luis Bahamondes.

Introduction

During the research process I identified three phases in the development journey of Galería CIMA in Santiago, Chile. In this chapter, I focus on the first phase which includes the moment the founders visited the place for the first time in October 2016, up to the beginning of the Chilean social revolt in October 2019 which, as it will be seen in Chapter 6 (second phase) and Chapter 7 (third phase), constitutes a pivotal experience in the development of the cultural organisation. Here, I explore the key factors that shaped the first phase of the creation of Galería CIMA and the extent to which the cultural organisation operation was permeated by a well-studied neoliberal rationality settled in the country. In doing so, I will analyse the cultural management practices present in the origins of the cultural organisation and how the people involved in the project related to them.

The chapter starts with an overview of the Chilean political context, showing the presence of the neoliberal rationality in the social dynamics and context in which the cultural organisation emerged. This is an essential point to consider. As demonstrated in the Literature Review (Chapter 2), the concept of neoliberalism is recognised as having multiple meanings. However, Chile stands out as an emblematic case where this system was implemented through specific policies during the dictatorship, as noted by Brown (2019). The implementation of these policies was orchestrated by the 'Chicago Boys', a group of Chilean neoliberal economists primarily educated at the Department of Economics of the University of Chicago, where they were directly influenced by Milton Friedman, key theorist and proponent of free-market theory.

Then, I will present the main findings of the current study regarding the first phase of development. I will do this in two sections. Firstly, showing the relevance of the place, one of the key elements in the configuration of CIMA that, as will also be reviewed in the following chapters, is decisive for understanding the paths of development of the cultural organisation. Secondly, I will present the findings concerning the management dynamics that emerged during the interviews with the founders, team members and closest collaborators, the CIMA archival material, and my observations during fieldwork trips to Chile. Considering the elements that emerged as crucial during the interviews, as well as my field notes and research from secondary sources, I will explore the presence of the entrepreneurial self (Bröckling, 2016), unplanned and spontaneous approaches towards their internal practices and, finally, tensions and internal contradictions regarding their voice (Couldry, 2010) and political engagement.

I will then go on to discuss and interpret the relevance of the findings, showing that CIMA's development process was strongly permeated by the neoliberal rationality present in the country, which manifested in the decision-making processes as well as in the difficulties faced by the people involved. As will be explored, this period was characterised by a social context where neoliberalism was disguised by democratic rhetoric, however, maintaining the socio-political system proposed by the dictatorship that had concrete impacts on the development of Chilean society.

Likewise, the relevance of the place will be discussed, particularly how it can shape and expand the approaches of an organisation within the practice of arts and cultural management, even when they are framed in narratives focused on the market.

5.1. Political context overview: neoliberal rationality

During the 2010s, neoliberal rationality was at the core of most Chilean sociocultural dynamics. As in several Latin American countries, this political-economic philosophy was present, not only in economic domains, but also within "the meanings assigned to the past and the future, in the characteristics of intellectual projects, in the practices of daily life, in the perception and use of space, in the modes of identification and political action" (Grimson, 2007, p. 11). Moreover, as Reynares (2017, p. 290). argues, "Neoliberal intervention does not only refer to the economy but also expands to all areas of life (...) focused on the crossing of society in an 'enterprise form', which expands or contracts through a discursive dynamic". The pervasive influence of neoliberal rationality in Chile during this period extended far beyond economic realms, shaping various aspects of society.

As earlier reviewed, the model was violently imposed during Pinochet's military dictatorship in Chile. Chile is considered to be the first country where the model was applied as something of a laboratory experiment (Klein, 2008). Furthermore, during the democratic years (1990-present), the model has become ingrained. As the Chilean historian, Gabriel Salazar, reflects regarding the role of democratic governments³³ in the consolidation of neoliberalism:

“they did nothing more than complete and perfect the original neoliberal model by offering a modernist, democratic and futuristic appearance. All this under the apothegm that Chile was the ‘jaguar’ of Latin America, an analogy with the ‘tigers’ of Southeast Asia... In this way, they privatized education, health, natural and drinking water, social security, transportation, communications, highways, fishing, forests and salmon farms and allowed gigantic illegal understandings between large companies and billionaire embezzlement and tax evasion” (Salazar 2019, para. 10).

³³ Patricio Aylwin (1990-1994), Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle (1994-2000), Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006), Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010 and 2014-2018) and Sebastián Piñera (2010-2014 and 2018-2022).

The neoliberal model has not only endured but has also evolved and expanded throughout the democratic years, ultimately reshaping various sectors of the country's economy and society. In that sense, the Chilean sociologist, Tomás Moulián, proposes the notion of “transformism” to understand Chile today³⁴. This transformism refers to the long process that connects the dictatorship with today’s socio-political system. As he argues (2002, p. 145):

“‘transformism’ [is] the long process of preparation, during the dictatorship, for an exit from the dictatorship, designed to allow the continuity of its basic structures under other political clothing, democratic clothing. The objective is ‘gatoparismo’, to change in order to remain. I refer to ‘transformism’ - the operations that are carried out in Chile today to ensure the reproduction of the ‘infrastructure’ created during the dictatorship, stripped of the annoying forms, the brutal and the naked ‘superstructures’ of them. The ‘transformism’ consists of an amazing perpetuation operation that was carried out through the change of State.”

Moulián argues that the military dictatorship, even when covered in a democratic discourse that seeks to erase the violent past, orchestrated a deepening of its central idea to install the regulation of society through the market. As seen, the ideology was not only maintained but also strengthened, positioned as the country's common sense and, consequently, configuring a wide range of social practices and the reconstitution of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977), including the arts and cultural production. In the context of the subsidiary role of the Chilean State, since the military regime, there has been an effort to promote values such as competition, individualism, and ownership through market mechanisms (Han, 2011). Through time, these narratives and values gained strength in Chilean culture, consequently, stablishing neoliberalism as a cultural hegemony³⁵.

³⁴ Even though Tomás Moulián’s book “Chile today: Anatomy of a myth” was published in 1997, his critical analysis of the Chilean society is still widely used to understand Chile’s socio-political configuration during democratic years.

³⁵ In this thesis cultural hegemony is understood from the concept developed by the Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci. It refers to the control of a social group through ideological or cultural means. It is usually carried out by elite or dominant groups through social institutions, such as schools, churches, courts, and the media, among others, which allow those in power to influence norms, the values, ideas, expectations, worldviews and behaviour of others in society. Gramsci describes the process as, “intellectual and moral leadership” (Gramsci, 1971, p. 75).

Another point to consider is that this decade was also characterised by a Chilean society gradually more active in terms of demanding social and political rights. As Chilean society experienced a gradual rise in political activism, citizens actively sought greater social and political rights throughout the decade. This transformative process, often referred to as the “citizenisation of politics”³⁶ (PNUD, 2000; Salazar, 2016) signified a notable shift towards increased political participation and engagement, especially following the country's return to democracy. For example, through relevant social movements such as the student movement of 2011³⁷. However, it is essential to recognise that Chile's social fabric had been significantly influenced by more than two decades of a market-centric development model, which had a profound impact on the way the nation was framed and its underlying principles (Linz & Stepan, 1996; Drake & Jaksic, 1991).

In this context, as seen in Chapters 3 and 4, arts and cultural management has developed a close relationship with business practices during recent years. Even though, in the case of Chile, the roots of the field can be located in resistance processes articulated by the know-how of cultural managers, during the democratic years, the impact of the neoliberal context has been observed in the installation of business logic. As Zamorano et al. (2014, p. 11) argue, “Both the rejection of the repressive activity carried out by the State during the dictatorship and a markedly neoliberal conception that characterizes the Chilean socio-economic regime since the dictatorial period are included...Since the democratic transition, the cultural policy will be conceived as a project to modernize the management of culture and the symbolic representation of the national society while maintaining the socioeconomic orientation”. In other words, Chile's cultural policy aims to modernise cultural management and symbolic representation while aligning with the prevailing neoliberal socio-economic framework, despite rejecting the repressive activities of the previous dictatorship.

³⁶ The concept ‘ciudadanización de la política’ (citizenisation of politics) was firstly developed by the United Nations Development Programme in the Human Development report (PNUD, 2000). For the case of Chile, this concept refers to the phenomenon of reclamation of the political action of the citizens, in an interconnected form with the institutional political action. As Salazar (2016, p.16) points out, “Citizens want to participate in the political process actively, not consultatively, as is normally done. And that is why they criticize, demands participation, do not want more parties or politicians”.

³⁷ See, for instance: ‘The media commons and social movements: grassroots mediations against neoliberal politics’ (Saavedra Utman, 2019).

Thus, the establishment of neoliberalism in Chile has brought significant impacts on the arts and cultural sector. A notable consequence is the appearance of cultural managers who dispute the economic resources of culture. This stems from a prevailing logic of competition within the cultural domain. Furthermore, there is an evolving perspective that sees culture as a productive activity that must be consumed (Chavarría & Valdés, 2019). One point to consider in this respect is that, in the case of Chile, this phenomenon has occurred mostly without the budgetary support that promotes this approach, for example, in the British case where the approach is in line with specific development policies on increasing the economic value of creative and cultural activities, as observed in Chapter 2. For instance, the annual national budget for the Ministry of Cultures, Arts and Heritage represents 0.41% of the general budget of Chile and the private support for culture remains low. Consequently, arts and culture in Chile is a sector with limited access to funding that navigates under adverse and precarious conditions (Brodsky, et al., 2014).

As observed, Galería CIMA emerged within the context of Chile's enduring neoliberalism. This pervasive ideology, rooted in the era of Pinochet's dictatorship, has had a profound impact, extending beyond its economic origins and affecting various aspects of Chilean society, including culture and politics. This influence has been particularly pronounced in recent years.

To provide a more comprehensive understanding of the relevance of this context in the development journey of the cultural organisation studied here, the following sections will delve into the primary findings from my research. Subsequently, it will explore their implications within this broader political context.

5.2. The relevance of place

“We said: we don't know what, but this must be the place. This is the place where whatever we'll do must happen.” (Trinidad, co-founder of CIMA)



Figure 8. Galería CIMA entrance. Source: Galería CIMA.



Figure 9. Galería CIMA's second room. Source: Galería CIMA.

Galería CIMA's location is crucial to consider in order to understand its creation journey. Early in my fieldwork, I was able to discover the centrality that the place, particularly its terrace, and the location (Plaza Dignidad) had in the creation of the cultural organisation. This was pointed out on several occasions as the element that started and gave shape to the initiative. As seen in Chapter 1, the cultural organisation is located in the symbolic centre of Santiago, the capital of Chile. Moreover, because of the place's architectural characteristics CIMA has access to a unique cityscape, a significant vista of Santiago from a distance (Featherstone, 2020). These two elements have been decisive in shaping the organisation's dynamics and practices.

This section aims to underscore the high significance of the place exploring two elements that emerged in the analysis of the data. Firstly, it will examine the importance of the urban area where CIMA is located. Secondly, it will explore a distinctive architectural feature of the place: the terrace. By doing so, the section will observe the relationship between these elements and the development of the organisation, particularly during its origins.

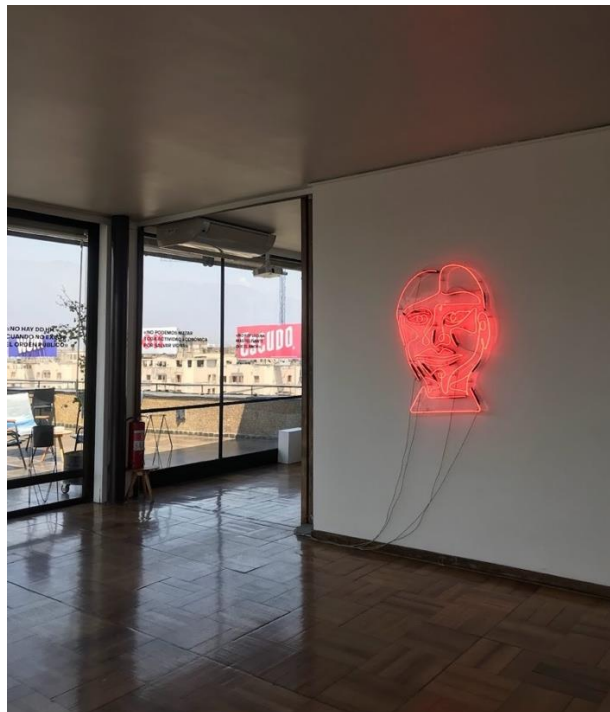


Figure 10. Galería CIMA's main room. On the left side of the picture, a partial view of the adjacent terrace is visible along with the prominent Turri building located in front of 'Plaza Dignidad'. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.

5.2.1. The urban location



Figure 11. ‘Plaza Dignidad’ in October 2018. The red location marker corresponds to Merced 22, Santiago, Chile, which is the address of the building housing Galería CIMA. As seen, the conditions of the urban area are different from that shown in Chapter 1 (Figure 3), as it was taken before the beginning of the Chilean social uprising. Source: Google Earth.

A frequent theme that appeared in the interviews and material reviewed was the symbolic relevance of the urban area in which the cultural organisation is located. As seen, CIMA is located in a penthouse on the top of an eleven-floor building directly in front of ‘Plaza Dignidad’, the symbolic centre of the capital of Chile (Figure 11). The perception of a symbolically relevant location was manifested on several occasions. For instance, the first visit to the space made by the founders in 2016 was remembered as strong and emotional, primarily due to the surrounding urban area. The founders agreed that their connection with the then penthouse was immediate and profound; they mentioned a "spiritual" connection with it. In reference to this, Sebastián, co-founder of CIMA, recalled:

“We feel something super intense because, of course, the view is so impressive; all these icons are there. There is the [San Cristóbal] hill, the [Forestal] park, the [Dignidad] square,

and the [Andean] mountain range. It is historically the people's meeting point as well. The division of the lower and upper neighbourhoods. This is powerful because, at some point, [this area] demarcated from Plaza Italia³⁸ upwards and from Plaza Italia downwards.” (In-depth interview 1).

Sebastián expressed how the location was immediately configured as a powerful starting point for the project. Trinidad and Sebastián, the founders, remembered the first encounter with the space as an intense and emotional moment that brought the symbolic relevance that this urban location has, not only for Santiago, but for Chile in general.

Likewise, it is possible to observe a social consciousness that emerged in the encounters with the location. ‘Plaza Dignidad’ is an area that symbolises the high levels of urban segregation³⁹ that exist in Santiago. As the excerpt illuminated, there is a known saying in the city: “De Plaza Italia pa’ arriba y de Plaza Italia pa’ abajo” (From Plaza Italia upwards and from Plaza Italia downwards). In Chile, this widely circulated saying means that individuals inhabiting areas situated to the east of the central square are commonly attributed to the affluent elite, while their counterparts living on the western side are not (Orozco Salinas, 2018). Such expression reflects a longstanding socio-spatial demarcation rooted in geographical divisions, serving as a lens through which social disparities are perceived and understood.

‘Plaza Dignidad’ is a public space that carries considerable social and symbolic significance (Gana Núñez, 2021). It has been one of Santiago’s most prominent geographic landmarks and the country's civic centre of social demonstrations for decades. As Droguett (2013, p. 101) argued, “[Plaza Dignidad, is] a sector in which important public transport arteries and parks converge and which has a fundamental symbolic importance.” It is where most political demonstrations happen, rallies are called, and football fans gather to celebrate triumphs, among other social manifestations. For many decades it has been a place for celebrations and the expression of social demands. For instance, when the dictatorship was defeated, and the NO (more dictatorship) option won in the 1988 plebiscite, huge numbers of people gathered in ‘Plaza Italia’ (Italia Square) (Figure 12;

³⁸ As stated, ‘Plaza Dignidad’ (Dignity Square) was previously called ‘Plaza Italia’ (Italia Square).

³⁹ See, for example: Garretón, M. (2017). ‘City profile: Actually existing neoliberalism in Greater Santiago’. *Cities*, 65, 32-50.

Figure 13) as it was then known, to celebrate the end of 15 years of the authoritarian military regime.



Figure 12. Celebration in 'Plaza Dignidad' following the triumph of 'NO' on 5th October 1988. Source: Luis Eduardo Navarro Vega⁴⁰



Figure 13. Celebration in 'Plaza Dignidad' following the triumph of 'NO' on 5th October 1988. The image was presumably taken from a lower floor of the same building where CIMA is located. Source: Luis Eduardo Navarro Vega⁴¹

⁴⁰ <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-86129.html>

⁴¹ <https://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-86127.html>

The urban area where ‘Plaza Dignidad’ is located, therefore, is an urban node of great importance for Chilean society. Moreover, this is the point that marks a division between social classes, a social stratification point between the working-class and less favoured neighbourhoods, and the wealthier classes of the capital⁴².

The research findings highlight how this urban area not only presented an opportunity, but also served as a motivating factor for the establishment of the cultural organisation. It became evident that the participants held the place in high regard, considering it a fundamental catalyst for the development of the cultural project.

Furthermore, during the interviews with team members and collaborators, the location also emerged as a key factor influencing their decision to join the organisation. Take for instance Daniel’s, Curator of CIMA, memories regarding his early interactions with the place before becoming curator of the organisation:

“When I first saw the place, it caught my attention immediately. I found everything incredible, the space, the terrace, the view...Personally, those types of spaces with large terraces, with roof terraces, which have an important relationship with the city, have always caught my attention.” (In-depth interview).

Similarly for Flavio, Sound Technician and DJ in CIMA, the first encounter with the space signified an important experience that he vividly remembered:

“When I got to the place I was like WOW! This is how it feels to be up there. It is like you are stepping on a lot of history. After being there for the first time, I began to look for the archives of the Plaza Dignidad” (In-depth interview).

As seen, the cultural organisation is located in a symbolic point of the capital of Chile, a place with relevant urban, social, and political value for the country. The results showed that this urban area and its relevance appeared as a critical element in the organisation's configuration. The participants consider this place a unique opportunity to develop the organisation and its symbolic value that

⁴² See, for instance: <https://imagineantiago.com/que-ver/monumentos/plaza-italia/>

this signifies. Similarly, one architectural feature of the building emerged prominently in the analysis: the terrace.

5.2.2. The terrace

Escaleras:
ancho: 94 cms / alto: 210 cms

Ascensores:

Puertas:
ancho: 84 cms / alto: 209 cms

Espacio interior:
ancho: 160 cms / profundidad: 93 cms /
alto: 220 cms

Puerta Entrada Principal:
ancho: 94 cms / alto: 210 cms

Puerta Hall -> Living :
ancho: 155cms / alto: 260 cms

Puerta Ventanal Living -> Terraza:
ancho: 186 cms / alto: 250 cms

Baranda Terraza:
alto: 95 cms

Area Terraza:
100 mts 2

medidas aproximadas.

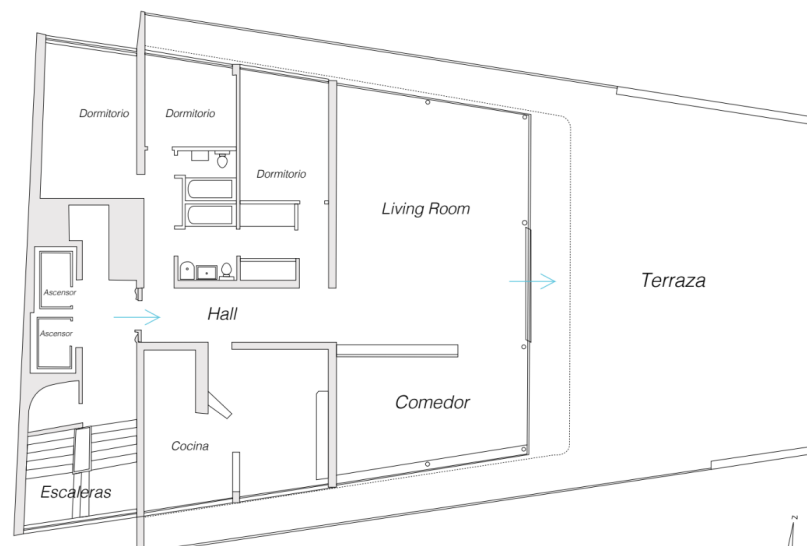


Figure 14. Blueprint of the penthouse illustrating its original layout. From right to left: the terrace (Terraza), living room, dining room (Comedor), dormitories (Dormitorio), hall, kitchen (Cocina), stairs (Escaleras), and lift (Ascensor). This blueprint represents the original design of the penthouse. Currently, all the dormitories have been repurposed into office spaces, while the hall, living room, and dining room are now serving as an exhibition area. Source: Galería CIMA.

Another frequent element that appeared in the interviews and reviewed material was the relevance of the terrace. As seen, CIMA occupied a previously private penthouse from the 1950s that contains seven areas (Figure 14). The construction has a terrace of 100 square metres overlooking ‘Plaza Dignidad’, Forestal Park, San Cristobal Hill, the Andean Mountain range, and other natural and urban icons in the city. The terrace (Figure 7) is perceived as a crucial feature by both participants and the media.

Participants frequently mentioned that articulation of the cultural project started after they had the opportunity⁴³ to rent the penthouse. For instance, during the first in-depth interviews with the founders, I asked them how the idea of creating a cultural organisation was born; they were emphatic in saying how relevant the location was in starting to articulate a project for them. Founders first saw the place and then started to develop ideas about what to do with it. Thus, the founders considered that before finding the place, there was no development plan nor a clear idea of what project to carry out. As Sebastián declared during one of the interviews, “From the place, the project started to appear” (In-depth interview 1). Thus, for the founders the starting point of the creation process was the place.

The participants described the first visits as key moments. The details of the place are remembered as a discovery of something unique. In reference to this, Trinidad, co-founder of CIMA, recalled:

“To be honest, when we arrived it was mind-blowing. From the moment we saw that gigantic wood door, we started to discover all the details that the place has: the building and the architecture of the apartment. And when we arrived on the terrace, we looked at each other with our jaws dropped, like what is this?” (In-depth interview 1).

These examples show that the site's infrastructure functioned as a catalyst to stimulate inspiration, imagination, and enthusiasm to create the project. After seeing the view from the terrace (Figure 15) for the first time the founders felt motivated to start a cultural project that was open to the public. As stated, before they transformed the penthouse into an art gallery, the place was for private use, most recently occupied as an architecture studio. In the following fragment, it is possible to see how the place was key in how the organisation began to take shape. The founders felt motivated to open this view to the community and, in doing so, transform it into an open space for the arts:

“The view is so impressive. You can see all the icons of Santiago. There is the San Cristóbal Hill, the Forestal and Bustamante Parks, the Plaza Dignidad, the Andean Mountain range,

⁴³ The way in which they acceded to the penthouse was based on the social capital of the founders. Participants explained that the opportunity to rent the place appeared during a family gathering. This opportunity emerged before they were actively looking for a place to start a cultural project.

etc. We felt that this place should be open to the community; this has to be shared.”
(Trinidad. In-depth interview 1)

In the initial phase of the project's development, participants envisioned converting the space into a cultural venue. This ambition stemmed from the desire to share the penthouse's view. A point to consider is that before CIMA, the place predominantly served as an architectural office until then. Consequently, the view and the place itself was closed to the public.



Figure 15. View from Galería CIMA's terrace in 2017. It shows 'Plaza Dignidad', the 'Mapocho', the 'Telefónica' building in the centre, and the Andean Mountain range at the back. Source: Galería CIMA.

Through examination of Galería CIMA origins, it becomes evident that the view from its physical space has significantly influenced its public perception. This prominence was not only emphasised by those involved in the project, but also recurrently highlighted by the media (Figure 16). For instance, various newspapers and online magazines consistently portrayed the cultural organisation as a place with a privileged view, contributing to its perceived uniqueness. Take, for example, the following extracts from a number of media platforms where Galería CIMA's view appeared as the central feature:



Figure 16. 'El Mercurio' newspaper page featuring the first press article about Galería CIMA⁴⁴. It reads: "Art from the heights of Plaza Italia. A space for various activities, including art, with a spectacular view of the top floor of a 1955 building that invites you to view Santiago as if it were the first time". Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.

"Galería CIMA is an art gallery based in Santiago de Chile with a privileged location and view over the Plaza Dignidad"⁴⁵

"Located in a penthouse on Merced Street with a privileged view of the capital's roundabout"⁴⁶

⁴⁴ <http://www.economiaynegocios.cl/noticias/noticias.asp?id=361972>

⁴⁵ <https://www.domestika.org/en/projects/1454907-galeria-cima>

⁴⁶ <https://cooperativa.cl/noticias/pais/manifestaciones/galeria-cima-demando-a-canal-13-por-1-268-millones-de-pesos/2021-10-29/160212.html>

“The space has the grace of operating in a penthouse in Plaza Italia and hosting everything from contemporary art shows to parties... appreciating the art and the privileged view that this gallery has”⁴⁷

Prestige and symbolic capital⁴⁸ (Bourdieu, 1984) are highly relevant in understanding the significance of Galería CIMA's privileged view in the cultural landscape. The repeated portrayal of the gallery as having a "privileged location" and being situated in a penthouse with a "privileged view of the capital's roundabout" conferred a sense of prestige upon the institution. By associating the gallery with this unique view, the media attributed high symbolic capital to Galería CIMA, endowing it with high value and distinction.

These media platforms' persistent emphasis on the gallery's privileged view contributed to its symbolic capital by positioning it as an exclusive and desirable destination for art enthusiasts and cultural consumers. The notion of prestige attached to the space heightened the perceived value of the cultural organisation in the eyes of the public. As a result, Galería CIMA garnered increased attention and interest, drawing audiences who sought, not only artistic experiences, but also the social capital associated with visiting a prestigious location. As Alejandra, an artist who began collaborating with CIMA during the third phase, described her experience during this period: “I used to go to CIMA for parties and openings on the terrace; it was like a place for social life” (In-depth interview).

For the core team, the accrued media attention signified economic and networking opportunities conducive to furthering the development of the art gallery. This positive perception served as motivation to persevere with the project.

Overall, the architectural features of Galería CIMA, notably the view from the penthouse terrace, played a pivotal role in shaping the cultural organisation's identity. The founders were deeply inspired by the uniqueness of the location and recognised the potential for creating a space that

⁴⁷ <https://finde.latercera.com/panorama/elastica-cima/2018-05-12/>

⁴⁸ Symbolic capital refers to a “degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity or honour and is founded on a dialectic of knowledge (connaissance) and recognition (reconnaissance)” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 7). In other words, symbolic capital is the prestige and recognition gained within specific social frameworks. As Bourdieu (1984, p. 291) argues, “the acquisition of a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honourability”.

could be shared with an audience. This realisation motivated them to transform the penthouse into an art gallery, with the view becoming a central attraction that captured the attention of both project members and the media. The continuous emphasis on the organisation's unique location by the media further enhanced its reputation and cultural significance and lead to opportunities for economic development.

5.3. Management dynamics



Figure 17. Music concert on the terrace of CIMA in 2017. Source: Galería CIMA.

In this section, I explore the management dynamics of Galería CIMA during its initial phase of creation. Here, I focus on how the motivations and backgrounds of its founders influenced the organisation's practices and dynamics. Furthermore, it illustrates that the decision-making processes were predominantly centred on the founders, propelled by their professional interests in the convergence of visual arts and music.

As the project progressed, the challenge of ensuring economic stability, led to an unplanned approach to cultural management, prioritising commercial activities over their original artistic aspirations. This shift introduced internal contradictions, as economic concerns overshadowed

cultural programming, causing frustration among participants. Additionally, the organisation's location in 'Plaza Dignidad' raised questions about its political positionality. A pivotal moment came when the founders projected an image of the face of Camilo Catrillanca, a victim of police brutality, leading to a realisation of the political potential of their creative practices. This, along with a significant exhibition prior to the Chilean social uprising, set the stage for Galería CIMA's influential role during the uprising which will be explored in the following chapter. The findings highlight the complexities cultural initiatives face in balancing commercial viability and cultural matters, underscoring the importance of spontaneous decision-making processes.

5.3.1. Individual aspirations

The findings demonstrated that, during the first phase of Galería CIMA, the personal motivations and biographies of the founders were highly present in how the project began to take shape. In this phase, the decision-making processes occurred mainly at the level of the founders. For instance, the disciplines selected to work with were based on the founders' personal interests. In that sense, findings suggest that, as with most creative industries enterprises (Bilton, 2007), the project began to be articulated mainly based on the two founders' idea and a multi-tasking approach towards the management of the organisation:

“Trinidad: We both started doing everything.

Sebastián: we wanted to develop and solve many things, but this motivation also had a negative side because you can't leave your project, because you take care of accounting, sales, administration, production and bathroom cleaning, everything.

Trinidad: and of course, there came a point in which to do the technical set up, cleaning, the guests list and, even buying the flowers was just too much. Before the openings we were really burned out” (In-depth interview 1).

The main idea behind the creation of CIMA was to develop a space for visual arts and music. Specifically, the founders wanted to create an art gallery and music venue where open art exhibitions and music gigs were the main part of the space's programme. As previously stated, the selection of the disciplines to foster was directly connected with the founders' creative practices. Trinidad studied visual arts and cultural management. Sebastián is a musician who gained

popularity as a DJ and music producer in the Chilean hip-hop and electronic music scene. The participants revealed that one of their primary motivations was to build a cultural organisation in which visual arts and music converge. They described this motivation as a spontaneous impulse based on the aspiration of working on a project together. As noted in the following extract, Trinidad commented on the importance of their personal motivations in the conceptual development of the project:

“We said: ok, let's make an art gallery that ties into music. We began to think about this idea, something that both of us can reflect on. There were our two areas, and we wanted to relate them in some way, but it was not like a very elevated process of analysis or thinking about what was needed or what we really wanted to do. It was more like we must have art and music.” (In-depth interview 2).

Trinidad's narrative excerpt illuminates how relevant their interests were. The organisation began with a focus on art and music, the professions of the two founders. This point is relevant since, as seen in the next chapter, this contrasts with the types of activities and programming of the space in the next phase, where the organisation explores political activism and the development of an audio-visual platform as a response to the political context. Thus, the organisation's first phase of development was marked by a clear relevance of the founders' biographies compared to the following two phases of the project.

5.3.2. Unplanned cultural management practices

Regarding the way in which the cultural organisation was modelled, for the founders of CIMA, the creation of the cultural project was unplanned, happening spontaneously from the beginning. As reviewed in Chapter 2, there is a tendency in arts and cultural management to follow pre-made models for the creation of art organisations. For example, following toolkits that guide processes of modelling⁴⁹ new art organisations is a widely accepted methodology in the field. Nevertheless, in the case of the CIMA's creation journey, the founders considered that a methodology associated with arts and cultural management practices was not applied:

⁴⁹ Business modelling techniques are particularly encouraged for developing art and cultural organisations. See, for instance: Rex, Bethany & Kaszynska, Patrycja & Kimbell, Lucy. (2019). *Business Models for Arts and Cultural Organisations: Research Findings from Creative Lenses*.

“We started from the opposite of what is expected by arts and cultural management. We did not analyse the situation or threats. We didn't formulate a vision or mission, our aims, etc. [The challenge] was how to economically secure the space to not lose it”. (Trinidad. In-depth interview 2).

Evident in this statement is the perception of a decision-making process shaped by the urgency of financial security over the development of a cultural proposal. There are two interesting elements that this statement illuminates. On the one hand, it shows an awareness of business modelling techniques widely used in arts and cultural management such as the SWOT analysis⁵⁰ which the founders did not follow. On the other hand, it shows that the organisation's initial modelling practices were firmly anchored in the fear of losing the place, which from their perspective, conditioned the urgency of financial security over working toward the development of a cultural project. Therefore, this result suggests that the decision-making process was initially shaped by the urgency to generate economic revenue rather than to develop a cultural proposal.

As observed earlier, particularly in Chapter 3, the field of arts and cultural management in Chile has emerged in the context of strengthening neoliberalism as the predominant rationality of the country. There is a tendency to embrace some values of this system in the field, such as the value of the entrepreneurial self and a tendency to value culture just as another productive element (Chavarría & Valdés, 2019). Nonetheless, support for the arts and culture to encourage this notion is scarce, consequently, it is a sector with limited access to funding that operates under adverse conditions. In CIMA's case, the project did not receive public funding or grants during this phase. In this context, founders considered it natural to focus on making the privileged place they found economically profitable. This approach was seen as crucial for both sustaining the project and facilitating its ongoing development.

⁵⁰ SWOT analysis (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats) is a widely used technique in project planning. Originally it arose in the business field (Learned, 1965), but it has been widely used for the development of projects and organisations in the artistic and cultural sector. See, for instance, Byrnes, W.J. (2015) *Management and the arts*. Fifth edition. New York: Focal Press, Taylor & Francis Group.

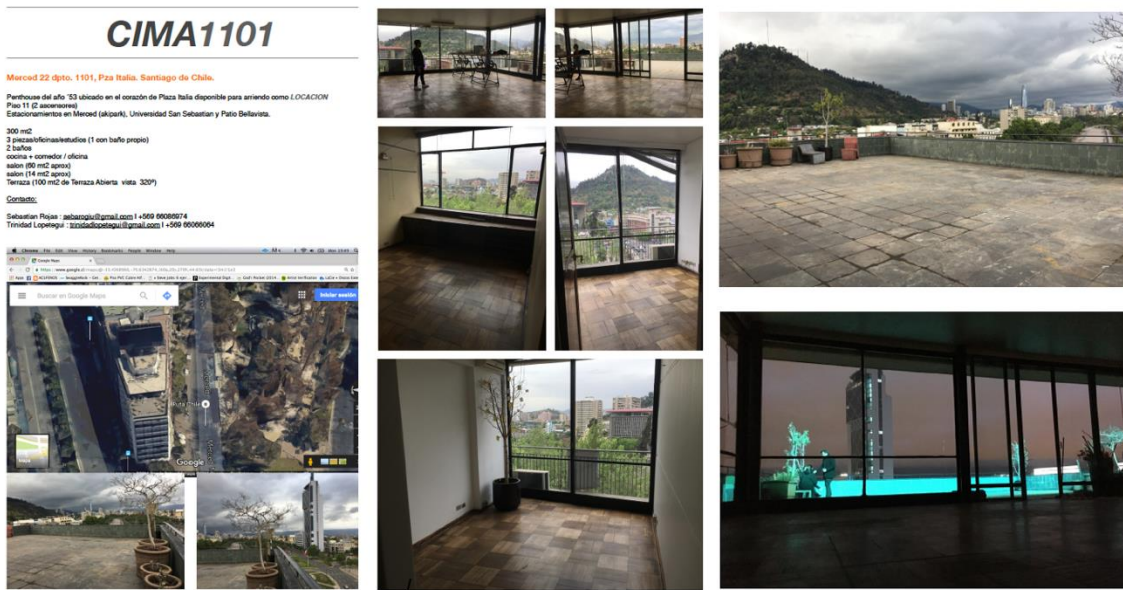


Figure 18. Collage showing part of the first dossier of CIMA, then named CIMA 1101. Sent in October 2016. Source: Galería CIMA.

In this sense, one of the first strategies applied by the founders was to offer the place as a rental location for advertising and brand events. Thus, the first actions they took were to make the place suitable for photographs and put together a dossier (Figure 18) in order to rent the space for events. As can be seen in Figure 19, the project was advertised as a location and not as an art gallery.

The founders' social networks played a crucial role in articulating the space as a profitable rental venue. The participants state that they used a database containing numerous contacts from the marketing industry, mainly those which Sebastián had accumulated throughout his career as a DJ. In other words, they used their social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and prestige to articulate the commercial strategies.



Figure 19. First email sent by the founders. The e-mail presents Galería CIMA as a location for advertisements and events. Email translation: Hello. We are Sebastián Rojas and Trinidad Lopetegui. We want to inform you about the opening of a new location available for rent. It is a 1953 penthouse in the centre of Plaza Italia. (300mt2. 100mt2 of terrace with 320° view). We attach a PDF with specifications and photos. It would be wonderful if you could help us spread this information. If you have any questions, do not hesitate to contact us. Best, Sebastian and Trinidad. CIMA1101 Location #GalleryCIMA. Source: Galería CIMA.

Another point to consider is that the founders did not feel competent in the skills and tools needed to focus on the commercial aspects of the organisation. For instance, business modelling tools, market research strategies, financial and legal knowledge, among others. In other words, the participants considered that the business methods, strategies, and decision-making processes they employed were predominantly guided by intuition, as opposed to being grounded in a solid foundation of knowledge in arts and cultural management or cultural entrepreneurship. I asked about their modelling approach towards the development of the organisation during the first period. In that sense, Sebastián recalled it:

“Just super instinctively, for example, we never saw a business professional to make projections or anything; it was very intuitive.... On the one hand, it was good, but on the other, we clearly had a limitation in terms of our knowledge about it. Ultimately, rather than starting with the cultural project and its management, we were focused on commercial matters, on setting up a business, really...To then be able to ask ourselves what we really wanted to do here. Which cultural project we wanted to develop.” (In-depth interview 1).

Regarding the way in which the art exhibitions and cultural activities were organised, participants remembered that this was also done in an intuitive way:

“Our first exhibition was in March 2017. It was something ‘a pulso’ [free style], very intuitive” (Lopetegui, 2021).

“Everything was done informally; I feel that the gallery and our process, despite the learning that we already had (our work), was always from our intuition, guts, and feelings... I had no idea how to set up an art exhibition and how things could be done. Basically, we googled like ‘how to organise an art exhibition’” (Trinidad. In-depth interview).

In general, participants described their approach towards the development of the organisation as unplanned during the first phase of the CIMA’s creation. As can be seen, no particular model related to the managing of the cultural organisation was used or considered. On the contrary, the modes of management were based mainly on the founders’ intuition and experience of the art world. Likewise, faced with the threat of losing the opportunity to maintain this unique place they had found, their work turned, to a large extent, to the search for economic solvency, moving away from their original artistic and cultural motivations. In addition, as we will see in the next section, the findings show that this focus on the commercial aspect generated internal tensions in the organisation, since this perspective was observed as negative for the development of artistic activity and cultural proposals.

5.3.3. Contradictions and tensions

The findings showed that, during this development phase, the participants experienced contradictions within the commercial approach that the project took. Specifically, the results illustrate that these tensions were triggered for two reasons. The first has to do with the commercial perspective taking precedence over the development of the cultural project, for instance, through a high number of brand events in comparison with cultural programming. The second is related to the political positionality of the cultural organisation, which during its first years was not openly defined. In a context where hardly any private or governmental support was available for starting a new art organisation, conflicting forms of cultural production were observed. Participants explained that, although no particular plan was followed, nor even considered, a market-centred

perspective for the organisation's structure, purpose, and goals quickly moved them away from their original cultural purposes.

Regarding the first reason, a recurring theme in the interviews was the feeling among the participants that the artistic and cultural aspects of the project were put in second place, which was perceived as problematic. Sebastian articulated the tension between wanting to develop a cultural program and the need to commercially sustain the organisation and its activities beyond their personal investments:

“We had a problem: the cultural aspect was missing. Business issues were overshadowing the cultural part because, essentially, we were financing performances and cultural events. So, the anguish of not having financial security to cover the basics every month was very frustrating.” (In-depth interview 1).

In general, participants regarded money as fundamental for the development of the cultural organisation. Nevertheless, they expressed that during the first phase, they were excessively focused on it, and this began to cause ethical problems. During my fieldwork, I observed the participants remembered that this period generated moments of internal questioning regarding the path the organisation was taking. The increased focus on the business side of the project ran against their initial goals and ideas for the project. The original intention for the project, although not fully planned, was clear in terms of their intention to develop an organisation focused on artistic and cultural development, and not a business-oriented project. In that sense, Trinidad remembered their primary aspiration for CIMA:

“We started with the conviction that it was a project designed to accommodate artists, not for business” (Trinidad. In-depth interview 1).

One of the themes that emerges from these previous two excerpts is a level of disagreement and the conflicting relationship with the commercial aspect of the project. It is possible to observe a degree of resignation and anguish towards how the organisation was being run at the time. This may suggest that there was resistance regarding the commercial dimensions which, for the

participants, implied tensions and a detrimental relationship with the original motivations behind the project.

The second tension emerging from the results concerns the organisation's political engagement. Even though, as we have observed, in the first phase the cultural organisation was not focused on developing a proposal based on activism⁵¹ or a curatorial programme related to it, participants' political perspectives and, specially, CIMA's location in one of the symbolic and neuralgic points of Santiago as 'Plaza Dignidad', appeared as the motivation for questioning CIMA's voice⁵² in public spheres.

The tensions resulting from the commercial approach became evident during one specific social demonstration on the streets below the cultural space that took place while CIMA was hosting an art exhibition opening party at the terrace on 15th November 2018. On that day, mass rallies and significant clashes between protesters and the police occurred in 'Plaza Dignidad' (as well as in several cities across the country)⁵³. This included violent police eviction incidents. Public fury was unleashed due to the brutal assassination of Camilo Catrillanca, a 24-year-old Mapuche community member, the day before. This event was critical, not only for the people of Chile, but it also received international attention since it happened in a supposedly democratic and prosperous country. See, for example, the narration of this event by journalist John Bartlett for The Guardian newspaper:

“Catrillanca was shot in the back of the head on 14 November as he drove his tractor away from a Jungle Commando unit which was pursuing car thieves in Temucuicui, a small community 600km south of the capital, Santiago.

⁵¹ As it will be reviewed in the next chapter, the political role of CIMA was a key element in their development since the beginning of the Chilean social uprising in 2019.

⁵² In this study, 'voice' is understood considering Nick Couldry's notion (2010), in which he describes it as a socially engaged practice and 'not the practice of individuals in isolation' (Couldry, 2010, p. 8). He claims that the voice is a chance for people to make themselves heard and question the negative impacts of neoliberal policies. For Couldry, in neoliberal societies the voice is "persistently offered, but in important respects denied or rendered illusory" (2010, p. 1).

⁵³ These social demonstrations are considered a key precedent for the social uprising that took place one year later in October 2019 (Medalla, 2022).

A 15-year-old boy who was also on the tractor was detained and beaten after the incident. The youth also said that the officer who fired the fatal shot replaced the memory card in his helmet camera – contradicting officers’ initial testimonies that there was no video of the shooting.

The officer later admitted destroying the memory card – although the national police director, Hermes Soto, said he had done so because it contained compromising images of the officer and his wife.” (Bartlett, 2018).

On the day following this tragic event, Galería CIMA had an opening scheduled for “Desfiguración”, an art exhibition by artist Gómez Balbontín (Figure 20) on 15th November 2018. As they regularly did, this event included a private party sponsored by drinks and fashion brands on the terrace.



Figure 20. Flyer: 'Desfiguración' exhibition, by Gómez Balbontín in Galería CIMA. The image shows the brands that sponsored the exhibition. Source: Galería CIMA.

Among other plans for the opening party of the exhibition, a large-scale visual projection on one of the buildings at ‘Plaza Dignidad’ displaying artworks by the artist Gómez Balbontín, was

planned. The main goal behind this action was to display and promote the work of the visual artists that would be exhibited in the gallery. The idea of the projection was developed in collaboration with the audiovisual art duo, Delight Lab. Octavio Gana, co-director of Delight Lab and regular collaborator of CIMA, describes how the original plan was to use a new high-definition video projector to project material related to the exhibition happening inside the gallery:

“We were going to project [artwork images from] Fernando Gómez Balbontín,..[because] we were talking with Trinidad from Galería CIMA about using a video projector with a [powerful] lens to create hashtags and show works related to exhibitions and cultural projects carried out inside the space. That [projection planned for the opening party *Desfiguración* by Gómez Balbontín] was intended to be a first trial run of these projections...” (Gana, 2018).

Hence, the plan for that night was to try, for the first time, a promotional action for the art exhibitions held in the gallery. However, this plan did not materialise. While the opening event was taking place, the surrounding streets became packed with people protesting the brutal murder of Camilo Catrillanca by police forces in the south of Chile the day before. The protests became intense. Participants recall that police violence escalated. While the police evicted the demonstration using force, tear gas, and water cannons, protesters resisted and set up barricades.

The suddenness and intensity of this context generated mixed feelings amongst the participants. Likewise, it unleashed the need to be part of the political demonstration. The following exemplifies how the riots were uncomfortably juxtaposed with the exhibition taking place:

“We had a brand event on the terrace, Tea Tae⁵⁴ was playing music, so it was like two realities: downstairs it was burning and there was a war, fire everywhere; it was the most powerful demonstration we had experienced up to that point, from 2016 until 2018. Then it was very powerful as everything had a relationship and a link between what we were showing and what was happening downstairs; also, we had a strange feeling of being in celebration mode, with this happening downstairs, with the pain and the burdens that this fact entails.” (Trinidad. In-depth interview 2).

Similarly, Daniel, the curator of CIMA, remembered that moment as a paradoxical situation:

⁵⁴ Roberto Lindl, also known as Tea Tae, is a renowned Chilean musician and a prominent member of the highly influential Latin American rock band, 'Los Tres'.

“That day was the opening of the Balbontín exhibition. We were very much in the inauguration format, drinking cocktails and Tea Tae was playing music. At the same time, the demonstration was already happening. Many people could not come because the demonstration was very powerful. There was traffic everywhere, so you couldn't, really... We were upstairs, going in and out with tear gas all the time. And suddenly it began to get very, very, very, very, very violent...That day they began to project images of Balbontín's works on the (Universidad de) Chile building, as we had thought. And it had nothing to do with everything that was going on outside because it was screwed downstairs.” (In-depth interview).

In the context of internal contradictions between the celebratory atmosphere inside the gallery space and the fury of the streets outside, the plan changed. Instead of stopping the event or continuing with the original planning for the day, CIMA's team and the Delight Lab artists decided to project Camilo Catrillanca's photograph⁵⁵ alongside text⁵⁶ by Chilean poet Raúl Zurita, from CIMA onto one of the nearby buildings of 'Plaza Dignidad' (Figure 21), instead of the artwork images of the artist who was opening the “Desfiguración” exhibition. This action went viral and received the attention of the media (Figure 22). A point to consider is that the opening event continued to take place throughout the projection.

⁵⁵ The photograph appears to be an identification picture, most likely obtained from the Civil Registry and Identification Service of Chile. It was initially widely disseminated through the media.

⁵⁶ The text in the projection reads: “May his face cover the horizon”. Raúl Zurita, National Literature Prize, wrote on his Facebook account a text in tribute to the Mapuche community member and directly confronting the Chilean State responsibility and the president, Sebastián Piñera: “The horror continues, the murder of Camilo Catrillanca perpetuates all the crimes, he repeats them with greater ferocity in the Mapuche people. Murderers! Murderers! Murderers!...President, how many do you still have to kill? (El Mostrador Cultura, 2018).



Figure 21. Light projection: ‘Que su rostro cubra el horizonte’ [May his face cover the horizon]. By Delight Lab in collaboration with Galería CIMA. Source: Octavio Gana.



Figure 22. Media coverage of 'Que su rostro cubra el horizonte'. From left to right. 22.a. Extracted from the Chilean newspaper El Mostrador. The headline reads: “A giant image of Camilo Catrillanca is projected in the middle of the police eviction [of protesters] at Plaza Italia”⁵⁷ 22.b. Extracted from Bio-Bio Radio. The headline reads: “Light artist moved by projecting the face of a dead community member onto Plaza Italia building”⁵⁸. 22.c. Extracted from Quid.cl. The headline reads: “Protest in Plaza Italia ends with light projection of the face of Camilo Catrillanca.”⁵⁹

⁵⁷ <https://www.elmostrador.cl/noticias/pais/2018/11/15/mano-dura-policial-carabineros-dispersa-protesta-en-plaza-italia-por-muerte-de-comunero-mapuche/>

⁵⁸ <https://www.biobiochile.cl/noticias/nacional/region-metropolitana/2018/11/15/artista-de-luz-emociono-proyectando-rostro-de-comunero-muerto-sobre-edificio-de-plaza-italia.shtml>

⁵⁹ <https://quid.cl/2018/11/16/camilo-catrillanca-proyeccion-luminica-plaza-italia/>

The next two extracts show how the decision-making process, and the projection was spontaneously articulated. They also illustrate participants' sensitivity and compassion beyond their own individual and commercial needs:

“And we just found out about the death of Camilo Catrillanca, and that a demonstration [in Plaza Dignidad] had also been called for his murder. I found it super compelling to project the photograph on the square, and also to demonstrate” (Gana, 2018).

“It was going to be like a game, an experimentation at the inauguration... but the day before Camilo Catrillanca was murdered, so that morning, Octavio called me and told me that they had been talking a lot with Andrea about what had happened and that it seemed necessary to use this tool to protest and show what had happened, the violence of the act. They asked us to create a projection accompanied by the phrase "May his face cover the horizon," which Raul Zurita had written the same day... The context was very bizarre, it was very surreal.” (Trinidad, photo-elicitation interview).

The projection of Camilo Catrillanca's photograph was remembered as a relevant moment for the organisation. The founders selected the photo of the projection as one of the images for the photo-elicitation interviews. I used such images to stimulate conversation regarding the process of creating CIMA. The moment portrayed in the photo taken by Luis Bahamondes was perceived as a powerful memory. They experienced that moment as an estranged moment of realisation. In the following narration, Trinidad describes how this social moment and their participation in it triggered, not only contradictions within their work, but also the socio-political potential that their creative practices could have:

“It was a mix of things, there were uncomfortable parts, for instance at the start of the evening people were arriving as music was playing, and drinks were being given out...while downstairs, I mean, downstairs there was fire, there was destruction, there was violence, so I feel that many things were starting to come together, and many things were being activated. On the other hand, also projecting Camilo's face had a strong meaning, because we were all seeing the face of a person who had been murdered from behind the day before, along with the verse which moved and excited us all... so we were trying to understand everything that was happening simultaneously. That day, for example, we couldn't do the opening remarks because we were all moving around [the gallery] handing out lemons, bicarbonate of soda. My grandfather, for example, was coming here, my whole family had to return because they couldn't get in, but my grandfather was coming out of the subway and was blinded by tear gas, then someone grabbed him and took him inside a nearby building to help him. He warned me not to go down to the streets.

Thus...the projection clearly provoked and energized the protesters, and the demonstration did not stop [while his photograph was being projected]. After a long time we decided to turn the projection off...and everything kind of calmed down, because [the photograph] was there for a couple of hours. I felt a power, that's why I told them to turn [the projection] off in a minute because the atmosphere was already very hot. Many people were detained, confrontations, it wasn't just water. At that time everything was more violent, it was not like now that there are more human rights observers, the protocols have changed ...but at that time it was very, very violent...Yes, we realized the power that (CIMA) had in the sense of charging energy to the protesters who were there, who, obviously, seeing Camilo's face generated a very big impact that made them want to go on and on and on. Maybe he triggered the anger, the pain, many things. And on the other hand, we also realized the impact we had at the media level as the images were published so widely. We realised how such a simple action can be so politically uncomfortable” (Trinidad and Sebastián, photo-elicitation interview).

As seen, the photograph chosen for the photo-elicitation interviews had immense significance for the founders of CIMA. It evoked a powerful memory and triggered a mixture of emotions and experiences. Participants were confronted with the stark contrast of violence outside, with the exhibition opening party inside.

Moreover, they perceived the impact of this photograph as a powerful tool that energised the protest. This observation prompts us to consider the recurring role of photographs, particularly identification portraits of victims of state violence, as a crucial visual resource within Latin American⁶⁰ social movements. These photographs not only function as evidence of disappearances, but also function as a mechanism to preserve the memory of the countless lives lost due to ongoing violence in the region (Cristi & Híjar, 2022). The portraits of these victims hold significant symbolic importance in Latin America, serving as a means to combat forgetfulness and pursue justice.

In this case, the projection of Camilo Catrillanca's photograph marked a powerful moment for the organisation, prompting reflection on their position as cultural space regarding the recent event. In that sense, it echoes sociologist, Vikki Bell's analysis of the photograph of Fernando Brodsky, a

⁶⁰ See, for instance, demonstration by the ‘Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo’ in Buenos Aires, Argentina, the ‘Association of Families of the Detained Disappeared’ in Chile, or the art intervention by Francisco Toledo, ‘Papalotes de los desaparecidos’ [Kites of the missing] in Oaxaca, México.

22-year-old victim of the Argentine dictatorship who remains disappeared. Bell's perspective encourages us to reflect on the politics of the present rather than a politics of memory as she argues that the photograph "prompts reflection on the biopolitical present, with its inequitable distribution of life and security among populations. This is a politics of the present more than a politics of memory" (Bell, 2010, p. 69).

The selected photograph, therefore, held great significance for CIMA's founders, evoking powerful emotions and triggering reflections regarding their role in wider society. It also illustrates the relevance of such images in Latin American social movements, serving as evidence and a protest resource to make visible lives lost due to state violence.

The findings highlight another significant moment repeatedly mentioned by participants involving the exhibition of the artwork 'Manifiesto de Luz' [Manifiesto of Light] by Bolivian artist Aldair Indra (Figure 23 and Figure 24). This exhibition took place on 23rd of September 2019, just one month before the Chilean social uprising began. For the participants, these installations served as a prelude to the transformative work undertaken by Galería CIMA during the Chilean social revolt. This event was seen as a foreshadowing of the subsequent development phase of the cultural organisation, particularly in terms of their political role within the context of the Chilean social uprising:

"In some way, this performance was a tremendous premonition of what was going to happen later in the [Dignity] Square with the lasers and this happened the month before, you know? It was the last art activity we had before the social uprising, and then when the revolt began, we started to see these green lasers everywhere. We remembered this and that it was a ritual in the end. This artist is very spiritual, she works a lot with energies and under the motto of the spiritual is political, which seems to me a wonderful motto". (Trinidad. In-depth interview 2)



Figure 23. Performance: 'Manifiesto de Luz' by Aldair Indra at Galería CIMA. Source: Aldair Indra⁶¹

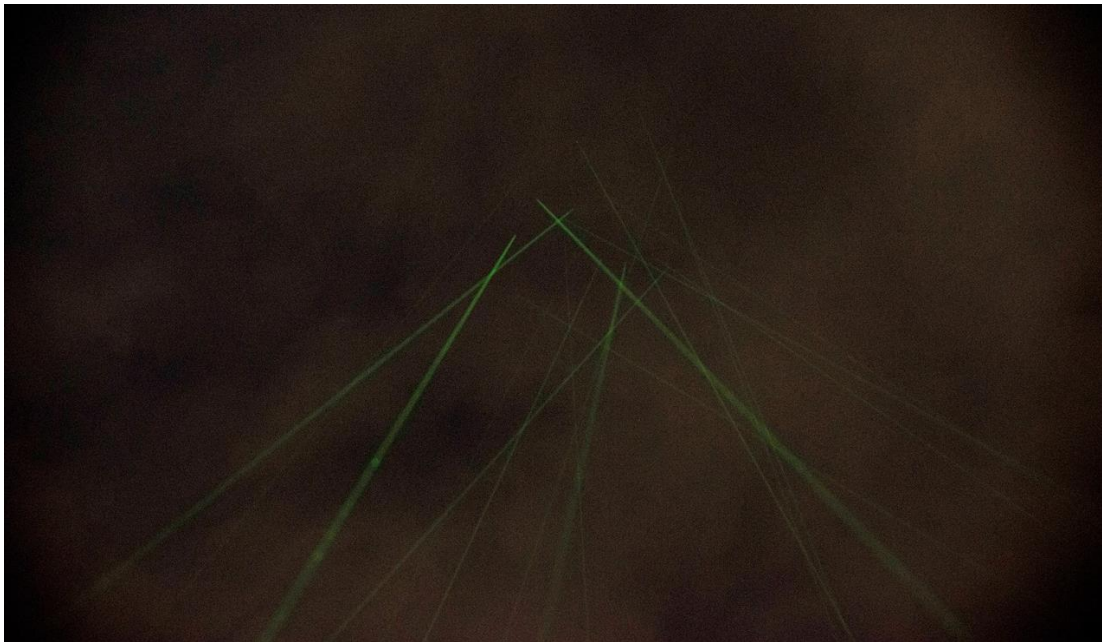


Figure 24. Performance: 'Manifiesto de Luz' by Aldair Indra at Galería CIMA. Source: Aldair Indra⁶²

The importance of this moment attends to the political commitment of the organisation during the first phase, which seemed to be limited to specific moments. Although in the initial phase, the

⁶¹ <https://aldairindra.wixsite.com/arte>

⁶² <https://aldairindra.wixsite.com/arte>

cultural organisation did not prioritise the development of activism-based proposals or related curatorial programmes, the political perspectives of the participants and CIMA's location in 'Plaza Dignidad', a symbolic and vital area in Santiago, raised tensions about CIMA's voice in public spheres. In that sense, the exhibition of Aldair Indra's work and the projection of Camilo's photograph acted as a catalyst to reflect on CIMA's political stance and its role in the broader social context that later would be a key approach within the organisation's work dynamics.

5.4. Discussion. Negotiating neoliberal tensions, symbolic density, and political voice

In general, the findings highlight a significant relationship between the socio-political context and the development of Galería CIMA during its initial phase. As seen, the political context in Chile during this period was characterised by a neoliberal rationality (Salazar, 2019) deeply ingrained in Chilean sociocultural dynamics, which had a substantial impact on the cultural landscape.

One finding that stands out from the results reported earlier is that the organisation began to operate with certain practices and strategies consistent with a market-focused approach. Another interesting finding is that the place was key to begin the creation of the cultural organisation and significantly informed the ways in which the project took shape during the first phase of development. A point to consider is that, as I will explore in the subsequent chapters, the place where the organisation is located is an element that remains essential within the three identified phases of CIMA's creation process.

In the following sections, I will explore the significance of these findings. Drawing upon the literature discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, I will analyse the importance of space and place, exploring its potential relevance for arts and cultural management practices. Subsequently, I will delve into the connection between the initial phase of Galería CIMA's creation and the political context of a country in which neoliberal rationality was at the core of sociocultural dynamics. Finally, I will examine the internal practices and dynamics of Galería CIMA's creation process, with particular emphasis on the implications regarding the organisation's political role and its relationship with market-oriented approaches in the art and cultural sectors.

5.4.1. Exploring the significance of space and place

An interesting picture that emerges from the analysis is that the infrastructure, the building, and its location appeared as a unique configuration and a dense knot (Ingold, 2009). During the initial phase of Galería CIMA's creation, the location emerged as a pivotal element⁶³ in the organisation's journey due to its symbolic value for the city of Santiago. The participants concurred that the location was crucial in developing the cultural organisation.

The space occupied by Galería CIMA not only housed the concept of a cultural project but also served as inspiration for the individuals involved, acting as a catalyst for their creativity in developing and delivering the project. These findings underscore the profound significance of both space and place within this context. According to Lefebvre, French philosopher and sociologist, space should not be perceived as an inert, apolitical entity. On the contrary, he (1976, p. 30), argues that space “has always been political and strategic. There is an ideology of space. Because space, which seems homogeneous, which appears as a whole in its objectivity, in its pure form, such as we determine it, is a social product.”. In other words, space, despite its apparent homogeneity and objective nature, is an unequivocal social construct.

Lefebvre's perspective helps to highlight the importance of the space that contains the cultural organisation. Beyond a mere infrastructure, the findings suggest that the space was understood as a social process that happens in a particular infrastructure. In other words, the space used by Galería CIMA emerged as symbolically relevant. For example, the first encounters within the penthouse immediately evoked in participants the social division that this part of the city contains and its urban relevance as a “historical meeting point”, as described by Sebastián.

The urban environment's symbolic density constituted a prominent theme in the discourse of participants, scholars, and the media. This observation implies that the urban landscape, architectural design of the space, and cultural landmarks of the urban location held substantial significance, contributing to the shaping of the experiences and perceptions of those who interacted

⁶³ As will be explored in Chapter 6, the space further evolved as a key element for Galería CIMA's development during the Chilean social uprising.

with it. This highlights the notion that urban environments and places are not merely physical spaces, but they are also imbued with symbolic and cultural meanings that influence the way people understand and engage with them. As shown, Galería CIMA is located in 'Plaza Dignidad', an urban public space with high social and symbolic significance (Gana Nuñez, 2021).

In this context, the concept of "place" as articulated by Tim Ingold takes on particular relevance. For the British anthropologist, places refer to "knots, and the thread from which they are tied are lines of wayfaring. A house, for example, is a place where the lines of its residents are tightly knotted together. But these lines are not more contained within the house than are threads contained within a knot. Rather they trail beyond it, only to become caught up with other lines in other places, as are threads in other knots" (Ingold, 2009, p. 33). Places, therefore, are not static entities confined to specific coordinates on a map, but dynamic nodes within the web of human existence. They represent convergence points where the narratives of people's lives intersect and intertwine. The concept of place, as envisioned by Ingold, resonates deeply with the idea that the location of Galería CIMA in 'Plaza Dignidad' is not simply a geographical point but a focal point of human experiences and social interactions, where the diverse threads of urban life come together to form a rich tapestry of symbolic density and interconnectedness.

In this sense, it could be suggested that the place where Galería CIMA is located is a dense knot (Ingold, 2009). For Ingold, the human experience does not occur within places but through, around, to, and from them. Existence is developed not in one place, but along paths. Each inhabitant traces paths. The convergences traced by these paths, the places where the inhabitants meet, and the intertwined paths are knots. Therefore, the more these lines intertwine, the denser specific knots become. As Ingold (2011, p. 148) argues, "Proceeding along a path, every inhabitant lays a trail. Where inhabitants meet, trails are entwined as the life of each becomes bound up with the other. Every entwining is a knot, and the more that lifelines are entwined, the greater the density of the knot". The location of Galería CIMA, therefore, can be seen as a dense knot, where paths of inhabitants converge and intertwine, creating a sense of symbolic density and interconnectedness.

In addition, the present study observes, not only a symbolic density, but also a willingness to work with it at Galería CIMA. In analysing the results, it became evident that participants exhibited a

deliberate effort to engage with the rich symbolic density present at the location. This willingness is of great significance as it underscores how arts and cultural management practices within the organisation allowed individuals to be positively influenced by the place and its symbolic value. In essence, by acknowledging the social significance of the location, Galería CIMA demonstrated that, within arts and cultural management practices, the symbolic dimensions of places can ignite imagination, foster enthusiasm, and promote community-oriented goals. In this regard, one could argue that art and cultural management practices stand to benefit from a more nuanced approach that encompasses both the pragmatic and symbolic facets of a place, as this can lead to increased engagement and community participation.

Regarding the space's architectural features, the terrace from the penthouse emerged as a strong element in the development of the cultural organisation, both during the interviews as well as the secondary data I explored. For the founders, for instance, it functioned as a catalyst to stimulate enthusiasm to create the project. As seen, particularly the uniqueness of the terrace's panoramic view of Santiago (Figure 15), was consistently mentioned. In this sense, Ingold's idea of landscape became particularly pertinent. Ingold challenges the traditional understanding of landscapes as something widely associated with pictorial, static and unchanging, arguing the relevance of its dynamism (Ingold, 1993). Despite the common perception of landscapes as being permanent and unmoving, Ingold asserts that the natural environment is always in a state of flux, with ecosystems constantly changing and adapting to a range of influences. As he argues, "landscape is a process that is continually carrying on" (Ingold, 2020).

In this sense, the findings highlight that Galería CIMA occupies a unique perspective within a dynamic landscape in constant transformation. It is a place where natural and urban icons coexist with static elements, alongside various activities, the circulation of people, the occupation and reoccupation of living organisms, and numerous interactions (Ingold, 2020). This multifaceted setting creates a distinctive context in which the cultural organisation operates, setting it apart from other similar establishments and emphasising its potential as a site of cultural significance.

Ingold's perspective on landscapes underscores the idea that Galería CIMA's terrace, with its ever-changing view and dynamic interactions, is not merely a passive backdrop but an integral part of

the organisation's identity and cultural significance. It encapsulates a landscape that is continually shaped and reshaped. It is worth noting that this dimension of the view from Galería CIMA also becomes prominent in the next phase of its creation and within the context of the Chilean social uprising.

The relevance of place in CIMA's case starts to raise essential questions, such as how relevant is a place for developing a new cultural organisation? How do cultural managers relate to place? What is the role of place in shaping cultural production? Moreover, is a place just a neutral technical aspect to consider in cultural management practices? The fieldwork revealed that the place was recognised as a meaningful element that triggered the creation of the project. While I have observed issues of gallery management, such as maintenance or technical suitability for the art exhibitions within the space, participants predominantly connected with aspects of social meaning, historical connection, and project ideation. Hence, beyond its practical aspects, a place has unique meaning that connects the cultural organisation to other social issues while offering new possibilities for the project. In this sense, another perspective on place relevant to consider is British geographer Doreen Massey's understanding. As she states, "Places are spaces of social relations" (2001, p. 460). For the scholar, places are not just physical spaces, but also encompass the social relations and interactions that take place within them. She argues that instead of conceptualising places as confined physical spaces, they can be perceived as significant instances within interconnected social networks (Massey, 2001):

"If places can be conceptualised in terms of the social interactions which they tie together, then it is also the case that these interactions themselves are not motionless things, frozen in time. They are processes. One of the great one-liners in Marxist exchanges has for long been 'ah, but capital is not a thing, it's a process. Perhaps this should be said also about places; that places are processes, too.'" In this sense, CIMA could be understood as a cultural process through social interactions and relationships within a specific place.

The incorporation of symbolic perspectives on space and place can be highly beneficial for art and cultural management. A more comprehensive grasp of space can have the potential to foster the creation of a wider range of innovative cultural projects, even when confronted with challenging

neoliberal circumstances. For example, when delving into the symbolic richness and importance of a particular location, cultural managers can introduce new layers of meaning and significance to their initiatives.

5.4.2. Unveiling the tensions: neoliberal influence on Galería CIMA's first phase

The establishment of Galería CIMA took place in the context of reinforcing a neoliberal system in Chile. This study found that during its initial phase, the cultural organisation operated with a spontaneous and unplanned market-oriented approach in its development. In other words, it was possible to observe an internalised neoliberal rationality in the decision-making processes within the organisation. One of the main results of this chapter indicates that, for instance, the presence of the entrepreneurial self, working based on prestige and social capital, and the commodification of assets over their use for the development of the cultural proposal, among others, characterised this phase. However, it's noteworthy that the predominant mode of management within the organisation was experienced as problematic and forced.

In that sense, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus becomes particularly relevant. For the French sociologist (1977, p. 89) habitus refers to "a subjective but not individual system of internalised structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group or class". Moreover he argues that, "the habitus, embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history... is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product... and so ensures the permanence in change that makes the individual agent a world within the world" (Bourdieu & Nice, 1992, p. 56). In other words, habitus can be delineated as a compilation of enduring values, behaviours, and dispositions that are structured and structuring. As Barker (2004, p. 81) states, "The habitus is the context in which we understand the world and acquire beliefs, values and knowledge through practice. Further, it is through practice that the habitus manifests itself at the moment when a specific problem is approached and 'solved' through a particular set of dispositions".

Applying this analytical perspective on how practice manifests its past, Galería CIMA's spontaneous approach reflects the interplay of habitus within the neoliberal landscape of the

country. For instance, the founders' intuitive decisions and emphasis on economic viability directly align with a habitus shaped by the demands of a neoliberal culture, which “configures human beings exhaustively as market actors, always, only, and everywhere as homo economicus” (Brown, 2015, p. 31). Furthermore, the initial phase of Galería CIMA unveils the intricate complexities inherent in this relationship. The founders' conscious acknowledgment of their intuitive approach and deliberate inclination towards developing the art organisation commercially rather than artistically underscores the profound impact of neoliberalism on their decision-making processes. Clearly, their intuitive responses are marked by the collective habitus they share in which market approaches are essential.

Prevalent neoliberal rationality within arts and cultural management

These results further reinforce the notion discussed in the literature review that a dominant neoliberal mindset is prevalent in arts and cultural management, potentially undermining other forms of rational thinking. As mentioned, over the past few decades, business-oriented practices within the arts and cultural sector have become widely accepted, to the point where they are considered standard. As Alexander (2018, p. 18) argues, regarding the depth of this legitimisation and its consequences, “the fact that arts institutions (just like charities, universities or various public services) have adopted particular business practices suggests that this way of organising is, at the minimum, a very sensible way to organise, or taken further, that it is the natural, inevitable way of doing so, the only possible way to think about the human endeavour. With the widespread use of neoliberal rationality, other forms of rationality are weakened or closed down.”

According to Alexander, the idea of managing cultural organisations as businesses has resulted in a trend towards market-focused dynamics that are to the detriment of other objectives and motivations of art organisations. In essence, cultural entities have become naturally ensnared within a market-centric framework, potentially compromising their cultural and artistic objectives. Considering Alexander’s perspective, it could be suggested that on the one hand, Galería CIMA applied business practices as the inevitable way of operating in order to sustain the concept of the cultural space. On the other hand, it experienced a weakening of other forms of rationality during the initial phase of development. In other words, Galería CIMA's economic freedoms took precedence over their artistic, political, and social freedoms, aligning with the principles of

neoliberal governmentality (Foucault, 2008), in which market-centred rationalities often eclipse broader societal concerns. To further illustrate this point, it is noteworthy that all participants in this study agreed that the original objectives for CIMA were centred on creating a space for artists and the community. However, this core mission appeared contradictory when juxtaposed with the spontaneous and unplanned emergence of a business-oriented organisational approach within the organisation.

Spontaneity

The presence of unplanned and spontaneous market-driven approaches towards the development of Galería CIMA not only highlights the deeply ingrained nature of neoliberal rationality, but also reinforces the enduring presence of spontaneity in the arts and cultural sectors, particularly when creating a new project. In this context, the instinctive approach aligns with a thoroughly investigated perspective on decision-making in the sphere of cultural entrepreneurship. As Bilton (2023, p. 44) argues, “the cultural entrepreneur’s approach to decision-making picks up on Mintzberg’s challenge to strategic planning. Rather than trying to plan and pre-empt uncertainty by predicting and controlling the future, entrepreneurs accept uncertainty as inevitable and adapt to whatever they find there. Bilton further explains that “cultural entrepreneurs act first and plan later” (Ibid), aligning with Mintzberg's model of emergent strategy which suggests that strategic patterns emerge from a stream of operational decisions rather than solely from senior managers' planning (Mintzberg & Waters, 1985). This entrepreneurial mindset is described as 'ready-fire-aim,' reflecting the eagerness to take action and adjust plans in response to evolving conditions. The interplay between neoliberal rationality, spontaneity, and cultural entrepreneurship, therefore, underscores the nature of Galería CIMA's development, reflecting on the 'ready-fire-aim' approach towards the creation of the cultural organisation.

Another important aspect to consider in the discussion of the spontaneous and intuitive approach during the initial phase of Galería CIMA is its alignment with the historical origins of the field in Chile and Latin America at large. This alignment is noteworthy because it contrasts with the prevailing trend towards greater formalisation and regulation in cultural management. As observed in Chapter 3, in the context of the implementation of post-dictatorship neoliberal policies from the 1990s, arts and cultural management has emerged as a device for professionalising cultural agents

who exercised work mostly self-taught and intuitively. In this sense, Yáñez Canal (2014, p. 189) argues that "The 'spontaneous' form that had characterized cultural management gives way, in recent times, to a specific type of work that begins to be formalized, to become a professional field." Although the 'professionalization' of arts and cultural management has taken place in the region in recent decades (Mariscal Orozco, 2019), acting as a professional tool for the generation, planning and administration of entrepreneurship in a neoliberal context of development, the case of Galería CIMA shows that the empirical and spontaneous initial characteristics of the practice, widely connected with social and political practices (Chavarría & Valenzuela, 2018) have not been completely eradicated. De La Vega's (2016) work on Ecuador concurs with this, in stating "that the imperative to manage culture became dominant in Ecuador, especially in the course of the nineties, this does not mean that its foundations associated with entrepreneurship, planning, effectiveness, efficiency or sustainability have produced an absolute erasure of the contextualized practices of cultural action" (De La Vega, 2016. P. 97). De La Vega's research on Ecuador substantiates the notion that the dominance of cultural management, should not be misconstrued as a complete eradication of more contextualised cultural practices. While the imperatives such as entrepreneurship and efficiency gained prominence, they did not entail an absolute obliteration of other social and political aspects of the field. In that sense, a similar picture emerged in the case of Galería CIMA's management practices as they used intuitive strategies and unplanned practices based on the managers' intuition to develop a cultural project.

As will be reviewed in the next chapter, this unplanned and intuitive approach towards the internal practices at Galería CIMA was also observed in the subsequent development phase. However, the motivations differed to the main approaches taken during this phase. In the second phase, spontaneous and intuitive methods arose in the context of enduring extraordinary social circumstances and constitute a crucial element for articulating activist, political discourses, and practices of resistance.

Irreconcilabilities

Another point to consider is that the prevailing market driven approach was seen as problematic and compelled by the participants. As observed, members of Galería CIMA found themselves compelled to adopt business practices in order to keep the space, despite the resulting dilution of

their original cultural focus. The founders initially intended CIMA to be a dedicated space for “artists, not for business” (Trinidad), reflecting their primary motivations. However, they perceived limited alternatives to do so and made the decision to prioritise the project's commercial viability, for instance by primarily operating it as a location and rental space for brands.

Importantly, the founders of Galería CIMA did not perceive these practices as natural, but rather as an inevitable choice. They expressed a sense of obligation to prioritise the pursuit of economic revenue to sustain the establishment, even though the project was initially conceived as a non-business-focused space for artists.

This sense of obligation towards the commercial imperatives of managerial success of Galería CIMA reflects the inherent complexity of arts and cultural management as a domain that combines both financial considerations and cultural value. In this sense, as Schad argues, “cultural management differs from other fields of management as it embraces both decision-making aimed at success in managerial terms (revenue, efficiency, and accountability) as well as being targeted towards a positive outcome for the sake of culture as a *res publica*, a public good.” (2019, p. 59). The complex relationship between entrepreneurial success and cultural considerations in arts and cultural management is exemplified by participants' endeavours to reconcile business-oriented strategies with their original artistic vision. This is highlighted through the case study of Galería CIMA, shedding light on the dynamics and challenges faced by cultural organisations when integrating artistic goals with practical resource management considerations.

An important point to consider is that in arts and cultural management, strategic calculations often clash with cultural factors. As Schad (2019, p. 61) argues, “When it comes to cultural management, strategic, purposive, cost-benefit calculation often conflicts with normative, cultural, cognitive, and ethical factors, restrictions of “bounded rationalities” (Simon 1959; Stark 2000, 4) and experience-based, emotional, and intuitive decision-making factors (Böhle 2009; Tröndle 2006).” Hence, conflict and tension emerge as integral dynamics within arts and cultural management, potentially constituting significant characteristics of this domain.

In the case of Chile and the wider Latin American region, several authors have examined the complex landscape of arts and cultural management. As observed, participants felt uncomfortable devoting so much time to profitability, as they perceived it as an impediment to developing the cultural proposal. In this sense, the findings align with the widely expressed vision that arts and culture management in Chile, as in the Latin American region, has developed between two poles that present certain degrees of irreconcilability (Fauré, 2019).

The feelings of frustration and conflict observed in the data seems to echo the notion of tension outlined by several authors regarding the configuration of arts and cultural management in Chile. Arts and cultural management emerged as an area of specialisation, not only within the framework of the transition to democracy at the end of the 20th century (Zamorano et al., 2014), but also in the context of the establishment of neoliberalism. Scholars attribute its empirical origins primarily to political resistance movements and community-based cultural expressions. It played a crucial role in rebuilding the social fabric during and after dictatorships (Chavarría & Valdés, 2019). As we have seen, the installation of a neoliberal development agenda in the country is highly linked to one of the legacies left by the dictatorship: the implementation of Pinochet's constitution. The ideological project of neoliberalism was installed and maintained as a laboratory in the country. As I have reviewed, this phenomenon is closely related to the regulatory framework strongly focused on the market established by the constitution, which, even though it has been modified on some occasions, is still in place in the country. Conversely, as a practice the beginnings of arts and cultural management is precisely located in processes of resistance against the dictatorship and its legacy.

Arts and cultural management in Chile contain a historical duality which resonates with the characteristic of the first phase of Galería CIMA's creation journey. On the one hand, it has roots in practices of resistance which implies social and political views of its praxis. On the other, it has been strongly marked by its development in the context of the implementation of neoliberal policies, where state support is almost nil, and market-centred practices are encouraged. From the 90s onwards, cultural management in Chile has been articulated under the rationality of contemporary capitalism. This is defined in radical terms towards the neoliberal, where culture "was reinterpreted in economic terms, as a resource under management and investment

development, like any other productive factor. This model/type of cultural management, linked to neoliberal rationality, is intended to reproduce individuals that dispute the resource of culture as part of a logic of competition, internalised and managed as a productive activity, and which must also be consumed” (Chavarría & Valdés, 2019, p. 215).

Despite the fact that CIMA did not develop a specific business modelling process before opening the space, the fieldwork revealed a presence of neoliberal rationality in its cultural management practices. Likewise, it was possible to observe that, in retrospect, this approach produced a feeling of discomfort in participants, particularly exacerbated in one protest - the demonstrations against the assassination of the Mapuche community member, Camilo Catrillanca, by police forces, which occurred while they were opening an art exhibition which had significant brand sponsorship and placement. This finding seems to illustrate the fact that Chile's configuration of cultural management contains a discursive duality in its genesis. This finding is vital, confirming a pathway that remains intertwined with the activist origins of arts and cultural management in Chile. This connection's persistence highlights the ongoing influence of activism in arts and cultural management in Chile.

In recent years, there has been a noticeable shift towards neoliberalisation in arts and cultural management practices in Chile, as noted by Chavarría (2016). Nevertheless, despite this trend, the field's origins in activism and political resistance continue to hold significance. It is certainly interesting to observe how strongly neoliberal rationality has been installed, putting in place a perceived rationality of how to run an organisation (McGuigan, 2014). Nevertheless, an interesting counterargument arises from the CIMA case study, where remaining pockets of resistance can be observed. In this sense, Kalin's perspective resonates, as she argues that “the creative industries and neoliberalism don't grip all of art's autonomy; there always remains some relative autonomy that can be used as a form of resistance” (2016, p. 41). Ultimately, this interplay between neoliberal influences and autonomy underscores the complexity of the contemporary arts and cultural management landscape.

In summary, Galería CIMA's first phase illustrates the complex interplay of neoliberal influences, entrepreneurial spontaneity, and the enduring tension between economic viability and artistic

vision. This alignment of actions with a market-driven habitus underscores the complex relationship between commercial imperatives and cultural goals. The study highlights the broader discourse on arts and cultural management in Chile and Latin America, emphasising the ongoing negotiation between neoliberal pressures and artistic autonomy.

5.4.3. Galería CIMA's voice in public spheres

The analysis suggests that, despite the occurrence of two specific political interventions during this period, Galería CIMA primarily had a passive political role in the Chilean public sphere (Habermas, 1974). As observed, this phase was characterised by the establishment of a traditional art, music, and rental venue, where political perspectives or activist work did not occupy a central position in their agenda. In that sense, this finding holds particular significance as it sets the stage for our exploration in the following chapters. Subsequently, we will delve into how CIMA's organisational dynamics underwent a profound shift towards political activism in the ensuing years.

Galería CIMA's limited involvement in socio-political contexts may be attributed to its initial emphasis on a business-focused approach within the well-established neoliberal framework of the country. Notably, CIMA's foremost objective was sustaining itself economically, an approach that, while viewed as problematic by those involved, distanced the organisation from its initial artistic and cultural aspirations, relegating it to a predominantly passive political role within the public sphere. Evidently, while there was a desire to explore community-oriented and artistic practices, market-driven considerations took precedence, diminishing the organisation's political and social potential.

Our analysis of Galería CIMA's political involvement takes on added significance within the broader framework of neoliberalism. This point resonates with the ways in which British scholar, Nick Couldry (2010), amongst others, has stressed that neoliberalism, with its emphasis on market-oriented logic and the reduction of social domains to markets, obstructs the value of voice and, therefore, the ability of people to express themselves and influence decisions. As he argues:

“A particular discourse, neoliberalism, has come to dominate the contemporary world (formally, practically, culturally and imaginatively). That discourse operates with a view of economic life that does not value voice and imposes that view of economic life on to politics, via a reductive view of politics as the implementing of market functioning. In the process of imposing itself on politics and society, neoliberal discourse evacuates entirely the place of the social in politics and politics’ regulation of economics. These moves have been implemented in various ways in different countries, whether or not they are formal democracies and to greater or lesser degrees using the disguise of democracy. The result is the crisis of voice under neoliberalism.” (Couldry, 2010, p. 2)

The limited presence of CIMA’s voice, especially when contrasted with subsequent phases in its development, align with Couldry's viewpoint on the crisis of voice under neoliberalism. In Couldry's perspective, having a voice represents an avenue for individuals to express themselves and to contest the adverse consequences of neoliberal policies. However, within neoliberal societies, the concept of having a voice is frequently touted but significantly constrained, or it is made to appear unattainable. In this context, CIMA's initial focus on economic sustainability, essential for survival within a highly market-oriented environment, reflects the market-centric logic intrinsic to neoliberalism, and mirrors the prevailing rationality of the country at that time (Moulián, 2002). It can be posited that this market-driven approach undermined the political potential of Galería CIMA, distancing the organisation from its initial cultural and artistic aspirations and resulting in a predominantly passive political role in the public realm. Although glimpses of political engagement were evident in a few events, they were often overshadowed by the project's economic imperatives.

Furthermore, the findings of this study shed light on the multifaceted implications of neoliberalism for the arts and cultural sector, as observed by scholars such as McRobbie (2001; 2015) and Di Bernardo (2016). As mentioned in the literature review (Chapter 2), the dominance of market-centred logic in the sector obstructs the exchange of narratives and diminishes the value of diverse voices. In other words, the dominance of neoliberal principles in cultural and creative spheres has caused a shift in emphasis, centering on entrepreneurship and financial achievement while disregarding the broader social and political implications.

In that context, within a highly neoliberal country such as Chile, where the survival of a cultural organisation hinges mainly on a notably entrepreneurial approach, the initial phase of Galería

CIMA continues to underscore this problematic relationship. This is particularly evident in the development of cultural proposals like CIMA, which, as we shall examine in the upcoming chapter, possess the capacity not only to transcend commercial logic, but also to foster a culturally engaged organisation that has the potential to actively contribute to processes of social change.

The examination of Galería CIMA's political role during its initial phase of development, therefore, offers valuable insights into the complex interplay between art, culture, economy, and politics within the context of neoliberalism. This phase of Galería CIMA's journey serves as an illustration of the challenges faced by small cultural organisations striving for survival in a highly market-oriented environment, particularly in the Global South countries in which support for the arts is scarce (Brodsky, 2014). While market-driven imperatives took precedence, the organisation's political and social potential was compromised, despite occasional moments of political engagement.

As we delve further into Galería CIMA's development in the subsequent chapters, it becomes evident that this passive political role was only a transitional phase. The organisation would later undergo a significant transformation, embracing a more proactive stance in contributing to social change. Therefore, while the initial phase highlighted the challenges posed by neoliberalism, it also foreshadowed the potential for cultural institutions to reassert their political and social relevance, transcending the constraints of market logic. In doing so, they can play a vital role in resisting voice-denying rationalities and promoting a more inclusive and politically engaged cultural landscape.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we delved into the inaugural phase of Galería CIMA's creation process, as identified in our current study. This phase spanned from the founders' initial encounter with the location in October 2016 to the eruption of the Chilean social uprising in October 2019. During this period, Chile bore the distinct imprint of neoliberal rationality in its sociopolitical landscape. Specifically, our exploration shed light on the pervasive influence of neoliberalism, which not only shaped economic dimensions but also left an indelible mark on the social fabric of Chile during its

democratic years. As noted, this context had repercussions on the early developmental phase of Galería CIMA.

Considering this context, the subsequent sections unveiled and discussed the findings related to the first period of the cultural organisation. First and foremost, we emphasised the pivotal role that space and place played in shaping the identity and trajectory of Galería CIMA. These concepts extended beyond their mere practical utility and infused artistic and cultural endeavours with a deeper, more symbolic significance. Likewise, this finding underscored the importance of incorporating symbolic perspectives on space and place within the field of arts and cultural management, transcending purely utilitarian considerations.

Secondly, we underscored the organisation's operation within a neoliberal sociopolitical milieu during its initial phase. This context found echoes in the commercial focus developed, particularly during this phase, which, as observed, was considered by participants as something problematic and in a detrimental relationship with CIMA's original cultural mission. This resonated with the existing body of literature on arts and cultural management, highlighting the challenges posed by the dominance of utilitarian perspectives, which can potentially compromise the pursuit of artistic and cultural objectives.

Lastly, our analysis illuminated that during its inception, Galería CIMA assumed a predominantly passive political stance in public spheres. This stance was observed as influenced by the prevailing rationality and the organisation's primary focus on economic viability. In this sense, our findings align with scholarly perspectives on the impact of neoliberalism on the arts and cultural sector. Consequently, the chapter delved into the relevance of reasserting political agency and challenging the commercial imperatives of neoliberalism in the context of cultural production.

In summary, this chapter provided an in-depth exploration of the initial phase in Galería CIMA's developmental journey, set against the backdrop of Chile's broader political and socio-cultural context. The subsequent chapter will delve into the second identified phase, showcasing the significant transformation of the cultural organisation into a prominent political actor during a pivotal social movement in the country – the Chilean social uprising.

Chapter 6. Creating a critical cultural organisation: the second phase of Galería CIMA's creation process

“[CIMA is a] space of resistance and artistic rupture that challenges us from the centre of the revolt” (Zerán, 2021).



Figure 25. Light projection: ‘Renace’ [Reborn] - Photography showing one of the projections made in collaboration between Galería CIMA and Delight Lab in the context of a mass protest in ‘Plaza Dignidad’, Santiago de Chile, 1st January 2020. Source: Luis Bahamondes.

Introduction

The previous chapter provided an in-depth analysis of the first phase of CIMA's creation journey, examining the cultural organisation's inception and its deep entrenchment within a prevalent neoliberal rationality in the country. Drawing on interviews, visual material, and secondary data, the chapter argued that the organisation's initial development was marked by internal dynamics that strayed from the founders' original artistic goals. Instead, the organisation opted for a more

commercial approach to survive under adverse neoliberal conditions for arts and culture in Chile. In addition, the chapter emphasised the pivotal role played by the organisation's place in its formation and development. By adopting an open and reflective approach towards the symbolic value of the place, the organisation articulated a unique cultural proposal within the cultural sector landscape in Chile.

In this chapter, I will analyse the second identified phase in CIMA's creation journey which includes the beginning of the Chilean social uprising in October 2019 until the implementation of Covid-19 restrictions from early 2020. The restrictions due to Covid-19 are designated as the end point of this stage since it represented a period of sudden change in the organisation's internal work dynamics due to the indefinite closure of the space and the cessation of mass demonstrations in the context of the social uprising.

Here, I want to draw attention to three types of practice identified during data collection that were crucial in the creation of an effective critical art organisation. Firstly, the organisation made available an objective view of the Chilean social uprising using one of the space features, the terrace, and its panoramic view of Santiago. Secondly, there was a critical positionality against hegemonic powers. Finally, the cultural organisation amplified the voices of the revolt through visual projections, making CIMA's spaces available as a platform for collaborative practices of resistance. These practices played a vital role in establishing a critical cultural organisation that fosters a space for political resistance and amplifies dissenting voices (Rancière, 2015).

As will be explored, this phase is strongly connected with a configuration of the cultural organisation as a key political actor in the context of the Chilean social uprising. Galería CIMA used its resources to support protesters' demands for social change through several practices. For instance, through 24/7 live stream of the protests from a fixed security camera reached more than 200,000 subscribers, archiving the recordings on their YouTube channel (approximately 20,000 hours of recordings), and conducting large-scale light installations on emblematic buildings of the city during mass rallies. As a result, Galería CIMA was transformed into the de facto eyes of the protests (Viveros-Fauné, 2020). Thus, the cultural organisation consolidated its role as a crucial

political actor (Mouffe, 2011) facilitated due to, I argue, a flexible and agency⁶⁴ approach to arts and cultural management practices.

6.1. Political context overview: The Chilean social uprising

In October 2019, a mass wave of demonstrations began in Santiago de Chile. The so-called Estallido Social (social outburst) was a result of a crisis in the country's economic, social, and political model (Garretón, 2021). The deepening inequalities⁶⁵ of recent decades triggered mass protests in several cities in the country, which were fraught with police violence and human rights violations. The demonstrations seemed sudden to the rest of the world. However, Chile has a history of social movements against the highly market-centred system left by Pinochet's dictatorship and maintained during the subsequent democratic years through the 1980 constitution. As Taub (2019) argues, "The suddenness of the protests, the anger that spilled onto the streets every day, might have been surprising anywhere. But in the country often lauded as Latin America's great economic success story, it has shocked the world". For the Chilean people, this crisis was not a surprise.

Initiated as a student protest due to an increase in public transportation fares, the revolt grew systematically, including marches of more than a million people demanding a radical change to the prevailing neoliberal system (Figure 26). The social uprising was marked by diverse forms of protests, including "cacerolazos" (pot-banging protests), marches, roadblocks, public pronouncements, performances, art interventions, and calls to 'national protest. Amidst peaceful actions, instances of social violence also emerged. As Garcés (2019, p. 483) argues, "A rage burst from our poorest neighbourhoods, a rage accumulated by masses who have lived the daily social precariousness and structural inequality that neoliberal policies configured, materialised, and naturalised in Chilean society – from the Pinochet dictatorship until today". "No son 30 pesos, son

⁶⁴ In this thesis agency is understood as "the socially determined capability to act and to make a difference. Agency has commonly been associated with notions of freedom, free will, action, creativity, originality and the potential of change brought about through the actions of sovereign individuals." (Barker, 2004, p. 4).

⁶⁵ See, for instance: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1071868/chile-main-problems-opinion-leaders-journalists/>

30 años” (It’s not 30 pesos, it’s 30 years) stood out as one of the most iconic slogans during the protests, alluding to the three decades of the neoliberal system established through the 1980 constitution (Figure 27), implemented under the dictatorship's rule⁶⁶, that systematically fostered an unequal and marginalised society⁶⁷.



Figure 26. Photograph: 'Re-evolución' [Re-evolution]. Digital photograph that shows the Manuel Baquedano General monument⁶⁸ on 'Plaza Dignidad'. Dozens of people are shown to have climbed the monument, and at the top is a person waving a Mapuche flag against a yellow and orange sky. The picture was taken with a phone during the “Largest march in Chile” on 25th October 2019. The terrace of the

⁶⁶ At present, the country is undergoing a process of constitutional change and Gabriel Boric Boric, a progressive ex-student leader, is the new president of the Republic. See, for example, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/dec/20/who-is-gabriel-boric-the-radical-student-leader-who-will-be-chiles-next-president>

⁶⁷ See, for instance, Han, C. (2011) *Life in debt: times of care and violence in neoliberal Chile*. Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press.

⁶⁸ On March 12, 2021, the Manuel Baquedano General Monument was removed by Chilean army officials to be restored due to the damage it suffered during the social uprising. As of the submission date of this study, the monument has still not been restored. See, for instance, <https://cooperativa.cl/noticias/pais/manifestaciones/consejo-de-monumentos-decidió-la-remoción-de-estatua-de-baquedano-para/2021-03-10/185243.html>

building on the right side of the picture corresponds to Galería CIMA. The image went viral, and it is referred to as one of the most iconic pictures of the Chilean social uprising. Source: Susana Hidalgo⁶⁹.



Figure 27. A protester burns the 1980 Chilean constitution. Source: Felipe Vargas Figueroa⁷⁰

The government, led by the right-wing millionaire president, Sebastián Piñera, handled the social conflict in the worst possible way. First, they criminalised the protests by referring to the protesters as enemies and criminals⁷¹, then they implemented strong repressive measures against the protests, including the declaration of a state of emergency; and subsequently, they gave control of public order to the military by implementing martial law in the country. The social movement was marred by police violence against protesters and severe repression (Figure 28). The report made by Amnesty International “Eyes on Chile: Police violence and command responsibility during the period of social unrest” (Amnesty International, 2020) analyses in detail the National Police strategy on the use of force between 18 October and 30 November 2019. The results show that in the first month and a half of protests, at least 347 people sustained eye injuries - mostly from the impact of pellets, there were 246 registered victims of sexual violence - six of which involved

⁶⁹ <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-50239591>

⁷⁰ <https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo/?name=Felipe+Vargas+Figueroa&pseudoid=B0CB57F0-7A45-4075-A6FA-5D8023FCFF5D&sortBy=relevant>

⁷¹ See, for instance: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-50119649>

sexual penetration with an object and two involved rapes, and there were 134 investigations for torture and 4,158 for unlawful coercion (equivalent to ill-treatment). For several months, Chile lived under a state of exception⁷² that reminded many of the years of the military dictatorship. As Villalobos-Ruminott (2020, p. 9) argues, “in a society that still mourns those who disappeared during Pinochet’s dictatorship (1973-1989), the army’s presence on the streets precipitates the re-emergence of a traumatic memory related to repression, torture and the abuse of power that characterised the long years of military rule.”.



Figure 28. Four police officers beat one protester with batons and kicks. Source: ATON.⁷³

Police brutality was starkly contrasted by a mass social movement, unprecedented since Chile returned to democracy, that expressed, in the streets, the collective desire for a fairer system. The

⁷² While the term "state of exception" is indeed a legal concept found in Chile's constitution, here, I am also referring to a conceptual framework developed by the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben (1998; 2005). He argues that state of exception represents a power mechanism between law and violence, allowing governments to exert control beyond constitutional boundaries, sometimes with impunity. Agamben argues that governments consistently employ extreme control measures akin to those seen in totalitarian regimes in response to emergencies or crises. Furthermore, Agamben asserts that the state of exception, originally intended as a temporary measure, has evolved over the course of the twentieth century into a standard paradigm of governance. In this context, it has become a normalized approach rather than a provisional response to exceptional circumstances.

⁷³ <https://cooperativa.cl/noticias/pais/dd-hh/a-un-ano-del-estallido-social-indh-revelo-que-han-presentado-2-520/2020-10-16/094448.html>

social uprising was marked by diverse forms of protests, including "cacerolazos" (pot-banging protests), marches, roadblocks, public pronouncements, performances, art interventions, and calls to national protest. In that sense, a key role during the revolt was played by art. Urban and virtual spaces were filled with artistic interventions demanding social equality from different perspectives (Figure 29). From large-scale feminist performances⁷⁴, to colonialist monuments that have been toppled or painted by protesters calling for decolonisation (Urrejola, 2019), art was used as a means to observe, in a deeper way, the history that led to the social, political, and economic crisis (Pinochet Cobos, 2021). As Silva Flores (2022, p. 180) argues, "...the actions on the street and performance, as art anchored in the body, have been linked to citizen political protests in a rebellious and provocative manner, generating forms of active denunciation that, hand in hand with artists and from the citizenry itself, bubble with creativity, action, and commitment."

⁷⁴ See, for instance, the performance "A rapist in your path" by the feminist art collective from Valparaíso Las Tesis [The Thesis]: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s5AAscy7qbI>. This performance became a global phenomenon in the context of the feminist movement. The performance was carried out by millions of women across the globe as a form of protest against violence towards women. Countries such as Mexico, the United States, India, Cyprus, Peru, and others performed this powerful act of protest initiated in the context of the Chilean social uprising.



Figure 29. Performance by the ‘Colectiva Baila Capucha Baila’⁷⁵ collective during a protest in ‘Plaza Dignidad’ on 17th January 2020. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.

Regarding arts and culture spaces, particularly those situated in proximity to the epicentre of the protests at ‘Plaza Dignidad’, this period posed significant challenges. During the social uprising, these organisations were affected in various ways, including experiencing a drastic reduction in their operations and because of infrastructure damage due to the mass demonstrations and violent clashes between protesters and the police. For example, two important cultural centres, ‘Cine Arte

⁷⁵ ‘Colectiva’ is the Spanish female form of the word collective.

Alameda' and the 'Violeta Parra' Museum, were set on fire⁷⁶ under unresolved circumstances (Retamal, 2022).

Additionally, their actions and responses to the social uprising exhibited diverse approaches. In the study “Cultural spaces and museums under the October 2019 Chilean social boom: experiences, lessons, and projections”, Peters (2020) analyses the museums and cultural spaces⁷⁷ surrounding the epicentre of the protests, observing how the cultural managers in charge of the spaces have performed in terms of “its organizational operability and decision-making during the first months” (from 18 October 2019 until February 2020), in the cases of both public and private cultural centres. After interviewing cultural managers and workers from 13 cultural spaces, concerning issues such as immediate actions at the beginning of the social uprising; networks of support; institutional-public protection of the space; internal labour relations and organisational changes; links between protesters; the public and the space neighbouring during the uprising; the use and communication strategy of the cultural space and imaginary and future perspectives of cultural spaces after the uprising, Peters found that cultural spaces with some degree of direct public dependence, manifested a more distant relationship with the social revolt. However, private spaces had a more robust connection in collaborative and creative terms with those who were part of the movement. As Peters (2020, p. 63) states, “it could be noted that the cultural spaces and museums of public dependency experienced a gap in their capacities to process their environment / territory. Although the workers and professional teams expressed support and support for the social uprising, the higher authorities favored a position of neutrality and operational closure. On the contrary, independent cultural spaces and private museums achieved a territorial and creative work of greater depth and connection with their historical (public) communities and with the contingent

⁷⁶ See, for example: <https://www.tellerreport.com/news/2020-02-29---chile--fire-in-the-violeta-parra-museum-and-the-solidarity-monument---authority--%22arson%22-.HJgYVMuNL.html>

⁷⁷ In the article “Cultural spaces and museums under the October 2019 Chilean social boom: experiences, lessons, and projections”, Peters (2020) identifies and analysed the reaction of 19 locally based museums and cultural centres: La Moneda Palace Cultural Centre, Bech Gallery, El Puente Theatre, Gabriela Mistral Cultural Centre, Museum of Contemporary Art Parque Forestal, National Museum of Fine Arts, Museum of Chemistry and Pharmacy, Cultural Centre of Spain, Violeta Parra Museum, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna Museum, Alameda Art Cinema, Museum of Visual Arts, El Biografo Cinema, Providencia Library – Bustamante Park and Balmaceda Park venues–, Normandie Art Cinema, Colonial Art Museum, Theatre of the University of Chile, Gabriela Mistral Gallery and The National Library.

inhabitants-protesters of the territory." Thus, the author highlights the importance that cultural spaces acquire in the context of a large-scale social upheaval, playing a key role not only as providers of cultural and artistic offerings, but also in establishing themselves as reflective actors who facilitate the manifestation of social demands.

The protests had a profound impact on the cultural scene. In the case of Galería CIMA, those involved found themselves in the centre of the storm. As the protests continued to escalate, Galería CIMA and other cultural organisations were forced to react to the rapidly changing situation. For instance, their programmes suddenly ceased for safety reasons. The cultural centres around 'Plaza Dignidad' closed because of the barricades, the extremely high concentrations of tear gas in the sector, metro system closure, and violent clashes between protesters and police, among other reasons.

As observed, during the period covered by this chapter, Chile underwent a significant socio-political crisis that had far-reaching effects on art, culture, and on society as a whole. This challenging time brought about substantial changes in the cultural organisation here studied.

Amidst these circumstances, Galería CIMA assumed an important political role, essentially becoming the eyes of the movement and gaining global recognition for its innovative practices. Its emergence as a key player in the Chilean social uprising holds special significance in understanding how the organisation continued to develop. The internal dynamics and decision-making methods of CIMA changed dramatically and played a critical role in shaping its response to the social crisis, making its contribution to the movement noteworthy.

In the following three sections, I will present the main findings that have emerged from the current phase of development. Emphasis will be placed on examining key practices and dynamics within the organisation that have surfaced during this period. In doing so, I will explore the evolution of Galería CIMA's interaction with the public sphere and how its approaches have adapted in and amidst the social and political landscape of the country.

6.2. Making available an objective perspective of the Chilean social uprising

“Observing, communicating, and persisting are acts of resistance.” (Galería CIMA website).

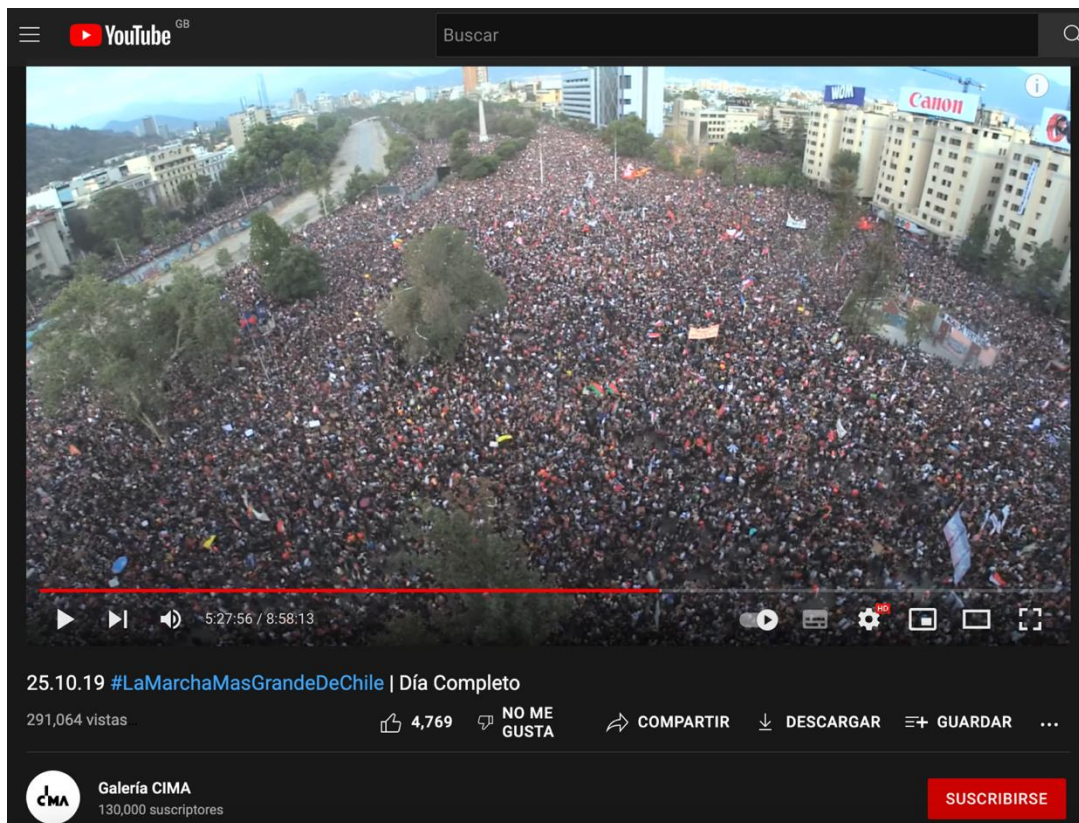


Figure 30. Footage from ‘La marcha más grande de Chile’ [The largest march of Chile] on 25th October 2019, recorded by Galería CIMA. Source: Galería CIMA’s YouTube channel⁷⁸.

The Chilean social uprising had a profound impact on the developmental trajectory of Galería CIMA. Through my research process, it was evident that this period of social revolt not only resulted in significant changes in the internal dynamics of the gallery, but also facilitated an organic alignment with the demands of the broader social movement. I could observe that the dynamics of the cultural organisation underwent a significant transformation and CIMA became a key political actor in the context of the mass protests that took place directly below the venue during the social uprising. In that sense, one of the key practices developed during the period explored in this

⁷⁸ The eight-hour YouTube video is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DMaSEx506p0> (Accessed May 2022).

chapter was to transmit in real time what was happening in ‘Plaza Dignidad’. During the initial days of the social uprising, something significant unfolded: the cultural organisation, driven by the urgency of the moment, spontaneously began broadcasting real-time updates about the evolving events in ‘Plaza Dignidad’ - first with a phone, and then with a fixed security camera installed in the terrace. As the social uprising gained momentum and evolved, this seemingly simple action assumed a more crucial role. Essentially, it solidified the organisation's position as more than a passive onlooker – it effectively became the unofficial yet widely acknowledged as "de facto eyes and ears of the Chilean activist movement” (Viveros-Fauné, 2020).

The action of livestreaming the symbolic centre of Santiago played an important role in the process of subverting the dominant perspective on the social movement of the mass media coverage, which until then had shown the demonstrations from a sensationalist perspective that mainly criminalised the social movement (Nalvarte, 2020). In doing so, contributing to shifting control over communication and information away from the macro-power of media corporations (Castells, 2009).

A point to consider is that right from the outset, all content generated from the streaming video was preserved by Galería CIMA and uploaded to the organisation's YouTube channel⁷⁹. This process has led to the establishment of an audio-visual archive featuring real-time recordings of ‘Plaza Dignidad’. As will be observed in the upcoming chapter, this audio-visual archive played a fundamental role within the organisation following the social uprising period.

⁷⁹ The Audiovisual archive is available here: <https://www.youtube.com/@galeriacima/videos>

6.2.1. Cultural space's view: inspiring action

The perspective of the demonstrations from the cultural space's location evoked profound emotions that significantly influenced the decisions of the team members. As observed, CIMA has an unobstructed and panoramic view of 'Plaza Dignidad', the ground zero of the demonstrations (Figure 30). In light of this, the cultural organisation's members promptly decided to stay in the cultural space, change the regular activities, and actively participate in the movement, sharing their unique perspective with CIMA's online audience:

"That level of intensity and violence. Something happened to us in that moment; I think something energetic also pushed us: we had to be there, we had to see it, and we had to experience that from the place and not through the media. We knew it was a risk also because everything was getting worse, you know? I started broadcasting on Instagram, first time with my phone, and I didn't stop for months. No, I didn't stop, I didn't stop." (Trinidad. Interview 2).

This extract indicates the intense emotions experienced by participants. Trinidad describes feeling compelled to be physically present. Despite the risk she felt she was taking, she continued to document the events. Subsequently, after initially broadcasting through YouTube and Instagram Live, using Trinidad's phone, the cultural organisation's core team decided to install a fixed security camera (Figure 31) on its terrace that continuously streamed what was happening at the epicentre of the protests at 'Plaza Dignidad' through Galería CIMA social media accounts⁸⁰. As mentioned, the camera was one of the artefacts selected by participants for the photo-elicitation interviews (see Chapter 4). During that interview, the founders described how relevant it was to start broadcasting from the terrace:

"Trinidad: After installing the camera, we assumed a total commitment to the cause, which led us to want to give our best and seek the best possibilities to be able to show and share. In the end, it's about sharing this view, which is a very privileged view; we feel that because it's incredible. Being here now is incredible! Really! What we see, what it feels like to be here, so being able to share it and have it seen in the best way possible, because it has also taken on a public utility character..."

⁸⁰ The CIMA camera continues recording and broadcasting daily from their terrace in 'Plaza Dignidad'. All the material generated is transmitted and is available on their YouTube page, which to date has more than 15,000 hours of uninterrupted recording.

Sebastián: and a historical record. I mean, I believe it's the most important thing I've done in my life. Yes, I mean, everything else, nothing, nothing from the past in our lives matters. I think this place, what happened with the cameras, the broadcasts, with Instagram, all of this is the most important thing we've done in life. I mean, because it has meaning, I say, for me as a musician, of course, it's super important to have played in festivals and to have traveled, but that doesn't matter now...

Trinidad: if we had stayed here assuming only a passive spectator role, I believe it wouldn't have made sense... So, I feel that was our path as cultural managers, to be able to be a part of it and share our perspective."

This suggests that the participants felt a strong sense of commitment to the cause and to share their unique perspective. They believed in the importance of making their remarkable view accessible to a wider audience. This sense of responsibility went beyond personal achievements and held deep significance for them, underscoring the importance of their work in recording and broadcasting their experiences.



Figure 31. Fixed security camera installed in Galería CIMA's terrace. Source: Dalal leiva Egnem.

Despite the dangerous and adverse conditions, Galería CIMA articulated this practice as the centre of their work:

"We spent days on our terrace, broadcasting via YouTube and Instagram live, and we got used to the tear gas, the fear, the uncertainty, the anger, the frustration, and the pain at seeing so much violence and injustice" (Trinidad's interview in Viveros-Fauné, 2020).

Trinidad's testimony, as one of the co-founders, demonstrates the profound impact of the intense and violent nature of the events. It reveals how these overwhelming emotions mobilised them to take decisive action and actively participate in response to the situation.

The practice of observing and livestreaming had an impact on the CIMA team members' perspectives of the social movement and its development as a social phenomenon. Take, for instance, the perspective of the organisation's curator Daniel, who expressed that the experience of transmitting and at the same time observing from the CIMA's terrace, allowed him to reflect on the behaviour of people in the context of a social crisis:

"I kind of felt that we had to stop, especially if we were in that position. I felt that I had to watch. I think that what I dedicated the most to in all that time was to observe, observe, observe, observe. How did people behave, what do they do? To reflect on what happens to society when seen from above. How do the police operate, the repression?" (Daniel. In-depth interview)

Another point to consider is that the terrace was established as a platform for independent photographers, documentarians, and other audio-visual professionals. In this sense, their access to the view was shared with other visual professionals outside the mainstream media stations. Consider, for instance, this excerpt in which Sebastián reflects on the motivations behind this decision:

"It was also a bit strange to be on the terrace, observing something so violent without being able to do much. Being here with this incredibly privileged view, we felt that this privilege couldn't just be used to stay to watch...we started to consider letting independent documentalist and photographers in to create an important record from our view" (Sebastián. In-depth interview 2).

Therefore, the practices of livestreaming and continuously observing the social demonstrations that took place in Plaza Dignidad had a significant impact on the cultural organisation. The findings show that this experience was transformative for the members of the CIMA. The constant exposure to the facts and the emotions experienced by the people involved generated strong feelings, triggering deep processes of reflection. This immersive and first-hand engagement with the social revolt allowed them to gain unique insights into the behaviour of individuals, the operations of the police, and the dynamics of repression. It expanded their understanding of the societal implications of the protests and prompted them to critically examine the underlying demands. Overall, the CIMA livestream emerged as an integral element of Galería CIMA practices during this period, fostering a deeper commitment to social justice and inspiring them to actively engage in the transformation of their society. This involvement will be further explored in the discussion section of this chapter.

6.2.2. Intuitive decision-making in the face of social crisis

One of the themes that strongly emerged in the data collected is related to intuition as an avenue of action in the face of social crisis. The participants frequently remembered that their decision-making process during the period of social uprising was based on their intuition. To provide an illustration regarding the decision to commence live streaming and documenting the events in Plaza Dignidad - an action they had not undertaken before - Trinidad explains:

“It was not a decision, it was rather an act of intuition, and from the force of seeing what was happening. It was instinctive, it was an act of empathy. All the demands were a much-needed awakening for us” (Lopetegui, 2022).

Through Trinidad's narrative excerpt, we gain valuable insight into the profound significance of intuitively responding to unfolding events during times of social crisis. Their intuitive response not only facilitated a powerful and immediate action, but also played a pivotal role in shaping the trajectory of CIMA. The decision to broadcast the events in Plaza Dignidad allowed the organisation to emerge as a critical political actor, challenging the prevailing hegemonic structures, as will be reviewed in the following section, and inviting a broader questioning of the status quo.

This decision, based on intuition, allowed the organisation to expand its regular programmes and activities, as a result, broadening the scope of its actions. While the cultural organisation's activities were initially focused on fostering visual arts and music, the interviewees felt it was crucial to explore other practices. For instance, they began sharing their perspective through their various online channels, aiming to provide an unbiased view of events taking place outside. Additionally, they found the terrace's vantage point for observing the demonstrations both impressive and overwhelming. This encounter ignited their motivation to harness it to support the burgeoning social movement.

6.2.3. Subverting hegemonic perspectives

In an era dominated by mainstream narratives and established power structures, the act of subverting hegemonic perspectives takes on paramount importance in unveiling hidden dimensions of social movements. Galería CIMA emerges as a crucial actor in this paradigm by offering a constant panoramic vision of Plaza Dignidad and its surroundings. This constant vigilance breaks away from the temporal limitations of traditional reporting, allowing for an ongoing, evolving understanding of the social revolt. By democratising access to an unfiltered and real-time perspective of Plaza Dignidad, marginalised voices by mass media coverage gained a platform.

This democratisation of the coverage empowered diverse sections of society to contribute their interpretations and analyses, enriching the discourse with unique insights that would otherwise remain obscure. To illustrate this point, take for instance the following excerpt by scholar, Tai Lin (2019, p. 312), in which he analysed the relations between violence and public space in the context of the Chilean social uprising:

“From the 24th, the CIMA gallery began streaming a live view of the square 24 hours a day. The broadcasts show less the ‘front line’ and much more the demonstration that maintains the fight to be peaceful and festive. At times the demonstration works. At times it is suppressed. Around 5:00 p.m. they let it grow. At dusk they evacuate the square. While in the country the number of people who have been blinded in their eyes by shots of rubber bullets and pellets by the police is increasing, in the square you can clearly see the red trail of shots, which easily reach more than 100 meters, and they are fired to drive away the

peaceful protesters. Closer or farther away. From the front or from behind. Sometimes out of the [CIMA] camera's view but sounding clearly”.

This unprecedented initiative, therefore, played a crucial role in subverting the hegemonic perspective of the protests presented by mass media channels⁸¹, which often adopted a sensationalist approach that criminalised the social movement instead of focusing on its demands for social change. As the academic and former deputy director of CIPER, (a Chilean centre for investigative journalism), Francisca Skoknic argues (in Nalvarte, 2020, para. 4), "When the social movement began, the focus of television coverage was generally on the coverage of the violent incidents that occurred around the demonstrations, which were very large and happened every day. That generated a lot of annoyance among the viewers...People ended up disliking the journalists at the marches and in many cases, assaulting them."

The rejection of mass media coverage of the social uprising, particularly of television stations, was a prevailing sentiment among protesters and people aligned with the social demands for change - for example, as reflected in the messages displayed on street walls (Figure 32). Moreover, as Saavedra (2019, para. 4) argues, “There’s a perception that the media aren’t telling the truth, that they’re connected to vested interests and private interests”. There was a generalised perception that the mass media provided a biased perspective, and participants agreed with this perception. Take for instance, Sebastián’s perspective of the role of Galería CIMA’s streaming and mass media coverage:

"We began to receive a lot of comments, all positive. Many people used the broadcast to find out exactly what was happening at the moment, to decide whether or not to come with children, for example. Until now the media had shown Plaza Italia, but in a very biased way, often with events out of context; on the other hand, we showed without cuts, a continuous transmission; not only the riots, but also the peaceful actions, the batucadas, the carnivals and the people valued that a lot” (Rojas, 2019).

⁸¹ Chile has a particularly monopolised media ecosystem. As Saavedra argues (2017, p. 73) “Newspapers and TV channels are in the hands of a few companies, and ‘even radio, traditionally considered diverse and plural, today shows symptoms of concentration in big chains’ (Monckeberg, 2009: 3). To illustrate the point, 95% of the print titles (magazines and newspapers) belong to the multimedia corporations' El Mercurio S.A. and COPESA (Reporters Without Borders, 2013). Both share a right-wing, pro-neoliberal profile (Jiménez and Muñoz, 2008; Monckeberg, 2009). The case of radio and television portrays a similar situation”.



Figure 32. Posters and graffiti against TV stations in the streets of Chile during the social crisis (2019-2020). Reading "Turn off the TV and go out to march!!!", "Turn off the TV and go to the street!", "The TV lies!", "Turn off the TV and turn on your mind". Source: Patricio Contreras⁸².

Thus, by providing a continuous and objective perspective on the events unfolding at the heart of the social uprising, Galería CIMA emerged as a significant participant in the anti-neoliberal resistance movement. As Christian Viveros-Fauné (2020, para. 2) stated "Galería CIMA beamed out images of Chile's tumultuous protests in real time from its 11th floor perch, just as it has for more than a year, converting the four-year-old gallery into the de facto eyes and ears for Chile's activist movement".

In addition, some scholars maintain that the relevance of this practice lies not only in its significance as an act of alternative communication, but also that it highlighted the importance of the present in social movements. As Castillo (2020, p. 77) argues, "Galería CIMA's streaming gesture, an attempt to cover all the facts, should not only refer us to an act of documentation but also to an emphasis on the temporality of the present". The present-time transmission made by CIMA's fixed security camera entailed an innovative practice of political resistance through

⁸² <https://latamjournalismreview.org/articles/social-protest-chile-fact-checking-alternative-media/>

technology. The constant streaming allowed the cultural organisation to generate an open digital space to follow and observe the variety of events that take place in the neuralgic point in real time.

Not only the size and effervescence of the protests, but also the moments of apparent calm in the urban space were relevant features of the streaming. In that sense, Skoller's perspective on the relevance of the long duration, real-time video streaming is interesting to consider. According to the film and media scholar, the act of filming in real-time, even before explicit events occur, shapes and reshapes the unfolding dynamics of the event itself. As Skoller (2018, p. 6) argues, "The act of filming becomes an integral part of the event as it is emerging—and shapes and reshapes it in real time. Often, people begin filming as a form of self-protection in contexts where the authority's lack of accountability is obvious, before anything explicitly damaging has even happened. In these cases, recording begins before the unfolding interactions even become 'events.' The recordings thus reveal how something unfolds in time; the event is not just what happened in front of the camera, it is also the act of recording itself and all that it places in motion."

By adopting a long duration and real-time approach, CIMA's live streaming of Plaza Dignidad challenged traditional modes of media coverage. Rather than capturing specific moments or snapshots, the continuous transmission presented a fluid and dynamic understanding of the social uprising. The uninterrupted stream allowed the audience to immerse themselves in the unfolding events, forging a connection with the immediate reality of the protests. In that sense, as a Chilean researcher residing overseas, the live streaming proved indispensable for remote event monitoring and its direct influence on my fieldwork in Chile. For instance, the field notes below underscore how it played a pivotal role in conducting interviews:

"Today is my final visit to Galería CIMA as part of my ongoing fieldwork. Over the past few days, I have been actively involved in the space and talking to a diverse group of people who frequent the organisation. Today is an important day for my research. I have a crucial interview planned with the founders of the space. This interview aims to explore the emotional layers in the creation process of CIMA. We will talk around specific visual materials, like cameras and images they chose earlier. The goal of today's meeting is to gather insights from this material.

It is Friday, 22nd January, and we had agreed to meet at the gallery at 5 pm. However, it is now 6 pm, and something unexpected has happened. I received a voice message from the

organisation telling me about trouble at Plaza Dignidad. The message says that disturbances have caused the square to close, stopping people and vehicles from moving. It seems there is a group of protesters, and the police have responded quickly by using water cannons to scatter them.

I am watching this through the live video from Galería CIMA's YouTube channel. The video shows water cannons spraying a liquid [Figure 33], probably a mix of water and tear gas. The reaction seems disproportionately intense considering the relatively small number of protesters that I can see in the video. I am not sure if I can still go to the gallery as planned. It is 7.30 pm now, and because of the ongoing disruptions, I am not certain I can make it to Galería CIMA. It seems unsafe. I will continue watching the livestream to see if everything comes back to normal and I can go.”

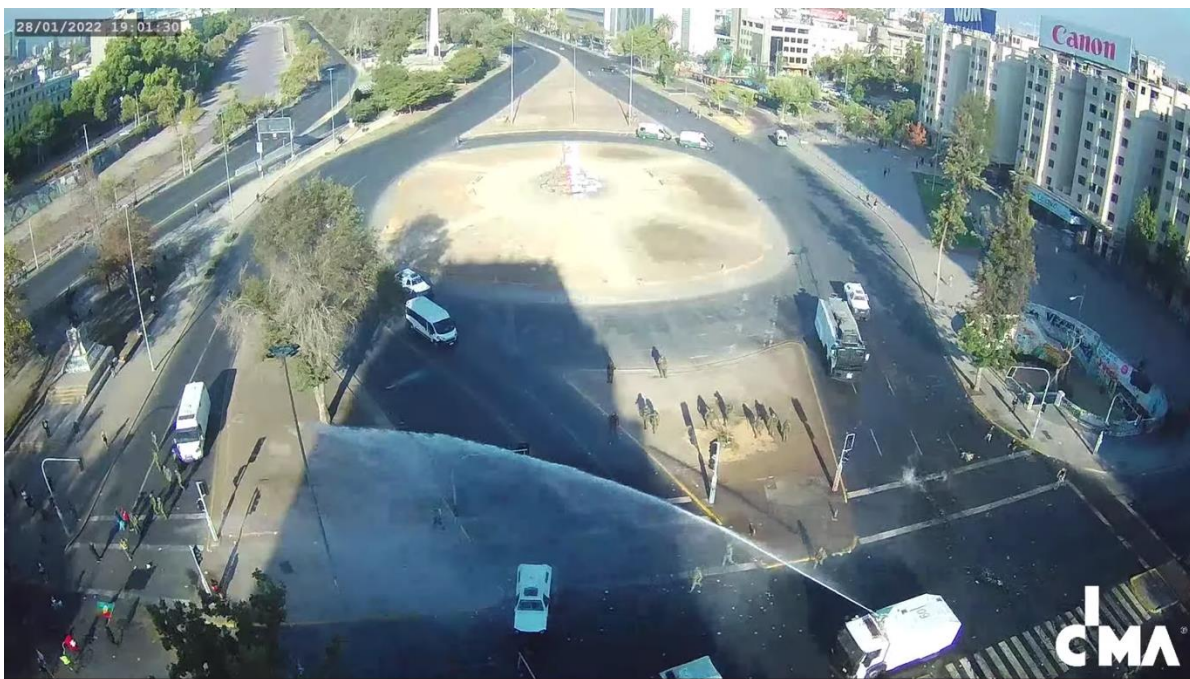


Figure 33. Nine police vehicles dispersing protesters (on the left side of the image) from ‘Plaza Dignidad’. Screenshot taken from Galería CIMA's live streaming. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.

CIMA's long-duration live streaming challenged traditional media coverage, providing an immersive and real-time understanding of the unfolding Plaza Dignidad protests. By adopting a spontaneous and unbiased approach, Galería CIMA was able to make a notable impact on how the social uprising was perceived by a larger audience as well as enriched scholarly perspectives, capturing the depth of events as they happened.

This reflective and spontaneous practice demonstrated the transformative potential of alternative perspectives and their ability to reshape public discourse. Moreover, it emerged as a pivotal

practice in the development of the cultural organisation. In the next section, I will explore another key practice that characterised Galería CIMA's second phase of development, which provides an additional understanding of the organisation's internal practices in its development journey.

In summary, the examples presented in this section underscore the significance of the Chilean social uprising in shaping Galería CIMA's development during its second stage. The availability of the organisation's unique perspective on Plaza Dignidad to a wide audience played a crucial role. Despite facing difficult conditions and encountering extreme violence, the team members were driven by their desire to share the social movement from their point of view, establishing Galería CIMA as a trustworthy source of information when mass media coverage had lost credibility.

6.3. Showing a critical positionality

The findings showed that another key practice that emerged during the second phase of CIMA's development was the expression of clear support for the social movement's demands. In this period, the cultural organisation openly expressed a strong dissenting position and actively challenged the dominant system publicly. In this sense, the interviews revealed a key moment in which the organisation challenged mass media stations and showed their political stance.

On 25th October 2019, a substantial number of protesters gathered in Plaza Dignidad. Initially starting as a rally with a few hundred participants, it gradually evolved into the largest march in Chile's history⁸³. Throughout this important event, Galería CIMA provided uninterrupted broadcasting, capturing the unfolding process step by step (Figure 34) for more than eight hours.

⁸³ The so-called largest march in Chile occurred on 25 October 2019. It was a mass social demonstration, with 'Plaza Dignidad' serving as the focal point of the gathering, within the context of the Chilean social uprising. This event represents an unprecedented protest in the history of Chile, attracting an estimated crowd of over 1.2 million people. The overall demonstration encompassed more than 3 million people throughout Chile, united in their demand for transformative reforms to the nation's neoliberal socio-political system (BBC, 2019).

In the midst of the march, whilst Galería CIMA was broadcasting the unprecedented protest live, 'Canal 13', a highly important and influential television station in the country, decided to utilise this live broadcast. The use of images by the channel went ahead, despite the fact CIMA previously denied permission to do so⁸⁴. In an interesting turn of events, 'Canal 13' went ahead with its broadcast using CIMA's live streaming as part of their coverage of the march (Figure 35) disregarding the organisation's refusal to consent.



Figure 34. Galería CIMA's streaming of 'La marcha más grande de Chile'. Collage of images showing four different moments of the demonstration. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.

⁸⁴ It is important to note that this action had legal consequences. Galería CIMA sued the TV station for unauthorised transmission of images, alleging 12 violations of Intellectual Property Law No. 17,336 (El Mostrador, 2021).



Figure 35. ‘Canal 13’ coverage during ‘La marcha más grande de Chile’. It reads "Manifestation in Santiago". The image from the left corresponds to the livestreaming of Galería CIMA. Source: Canal 13 Facebook⁸⁵.

It is important to highlight that, during this period, mass media companies did not have permission to access the gallery space. Instead, the terrace bustled with independent media professionals and documentalists. Within this context, the utilisation of CIMA's live video transmission by ‘Canal 13’ took on a significant connotation for participants: it was perceived as an instance of violence and an abuse of power by the broadcasting TV station. Consequently, the cultural organisation orchestrated an impromptu response that ultimately manifested as a pivotal moment in its development.

6.3.1. The Poster

In this context, the members of the cultural organisation reacted by creating a poster (The Poster) with a clear political message. The creation and subsequent exhibition of this poster was a key moment that articulated the organisation’s political stance, particularly in the context of the Chilean social uprising. A point to consider is, as seen in the Methodology (Chapter 3), The Poster was one of the objects selected for the photo-elicitation interviews.

⁸⁵ https://www.facebook.com/elcanal13/posts/10158018205854887/?locale=es_LA

The Poster consisted of a white A4 sheet of paper printed with black ink (Figure 36). The sheet contained some of the common slogans at the time of the march, such as #ItIsNotWar #NewConstitution #Dignity #SocialJustice and #ChadwickResign⁸⁶. Moreover, a direct message to the TV station: “TV channels hanging from our signal without authorisation.” The Poster was simultaneously broadcast on CIMA's social media accounts and, consequently, on ‘Canal 13’ (Figure 37). For participants, the rationale behind the decision to create ‘The Poster’ was to draw attention to their political opinions, in order to distance the cultural organisation from the mass media perspectives and, at the same time, show explicit support for the ongoing social movement.

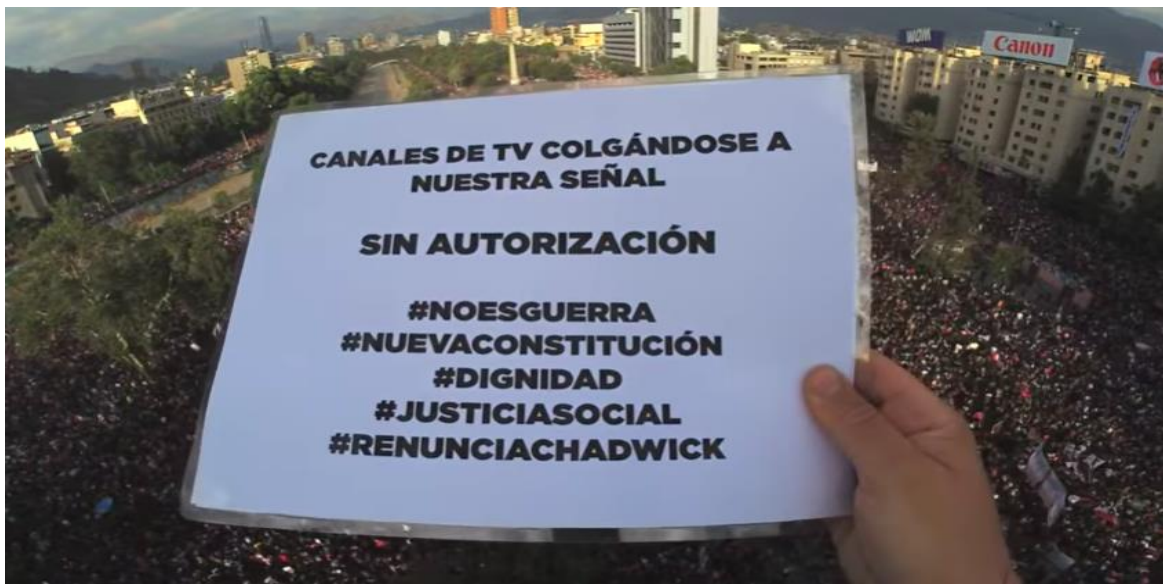


Figure 36. The Poster. Picture showing its appearance on CIMA's live streaming. It reads: “TV channels hanging from our signal without authorisation #ItIsNotWar #NewConstitution #Dignity #SocialJustice #ChadwickResign”. Source: Galería CIMA.

⁸⁶ Andrés Chadwick is a prominent member of the right-wing political party Independent Democratic Union (UDI). At the time, he held the position of Minister of the Interior and Public Security in Chile.

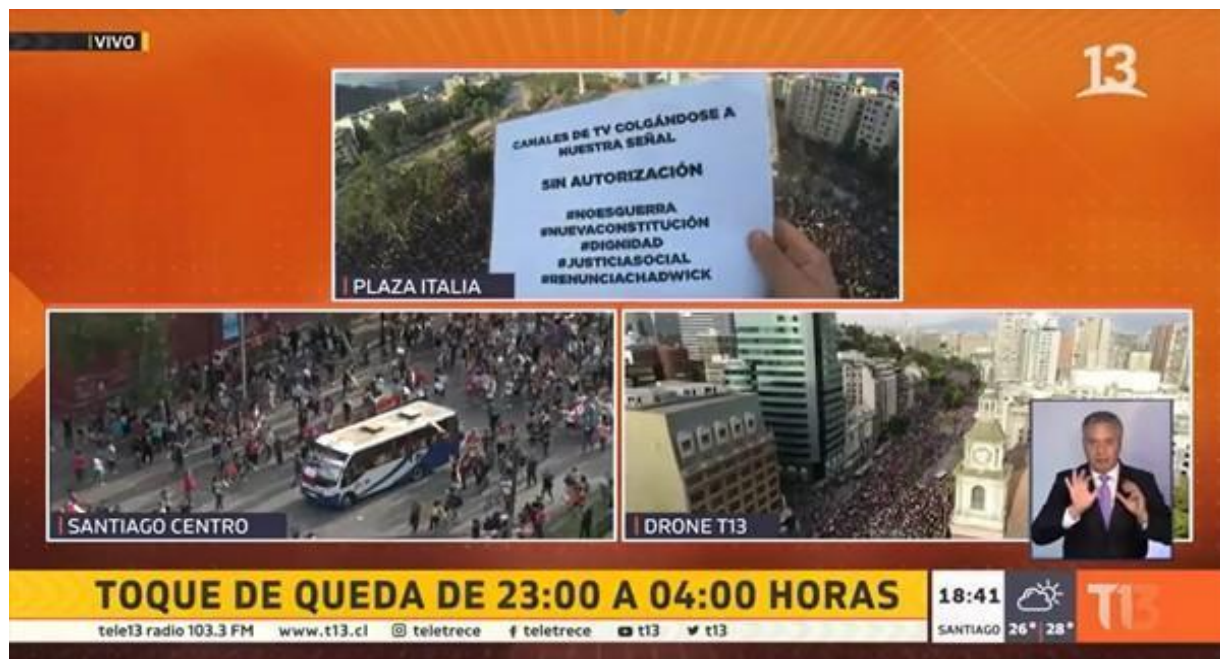


Figure 37. The Poster on ‘Canal 13’. Snapshot from ‘Canal 13’ TV station during 25th October 2019. Character generator reads “Curfew from 11:00 pm to 4:00 am”. Source: Radio Corazón⁸⁷.

The creative process of The Poster

The process of creating The Poster was collaborative and not planned in advance. Moreover, as observed, it was an action taken under urgent and adverse circumstances. In that sense, the approach was similar to the decision to start broadcasting that was discussed in the previous section. Specifically, it emerged shortly after the organisation received notice that free to air TV channels were using CIMA’s visual content without authorisation. The team completed the task while the television channel was livestreaming their images. The need to react quickly to the extraordinary context they were experiencing was frequently mentioned by the interviewees. In the following excerpt, Sebastián describes the process of creating The Poster:

“We had an emergency team meeting, and we all went to the office. We were all very upset about what was happening. So, we started brainstorming what to put on The Poster... We all threw ideas around and tried to cover as much as possible. The hashtags that we put on it seemed to us, at that moment, the most important things to share.” (Sebastián. Photo-elicitation interview)

⁸⁷ <https://www.corazon.cl/2019/10/particular-mensaje-se-colo-en-medio-de-la-cobertura-de-la-marcha-mas-grande-de-chile/>

Sebastian's photo-elicitation interview reveals the collaborative endeavour involved in crafting a compelling political message, whereby the team engaged in a collective ideation process and determined the pivotal elements to incorporate into The Poster. Consequently, the interview underscores the team's aptitude for collaborative work in demanding circumstances, culminating in the effective articulation of their critical perspective.

Similarly, Daniel also talks about the unplanned nature of this action and the messages they wrote on it:

“They were the first slogans [of the protests], #Itisnotawar, #Dignity, #Newconstitution. It was a super stressful moment, we had to think very quickly. We did not give it much thought and put the poster in front of the camera” (Aguayo, 2022).

Once the content was decided, The Poster was immediately printed, and the team and collaborators stepped in front of the camera to make the statement (Figure 38).

The findings indicate that rapid response played a pivotal role in effectively conveying political discourses during highly unusual social circumstances. In this context, the individuals engaged in this process viewed the moment as a significant chance to demonstrate the organisation's political stance. Concurrently, they believed it imperative to swiftly discontinue their ongoing endeavours. This is echoed in the words of Daniel during an interview with Duna radio station:

“We felt that it was something stronger than what we had seen recently. We realized that everything that was happening was bigger than usual and, because of that, we had to put everything we were doing on pause.” (Aguayo, 2022)

This sparked the need for action and triggered a collaborative and unplanned effort to respond against the channel. These findings highlight the group's capacity to reflect, prioritise, and communicate their ideas effectively, while also exemplifying their ability to engage in spontaneous and collective decision-making.



Figure 38. Backstage of The Poster's appearance. The photograph captures three members of CIMA doing the livestreaming while wearing anti-gas masks. Source: Galería CIMA.

At this point it is worth mentioning that the use of visual items and artefacts during the interviews allowed me to add new perspectives to the study of the impact the political context had in the process of creating the cultural organisation. Images were useful to bring up personal memories and experiences, as Collier suggested (1957). Through the incorporation of visual elements, I was able to facilitate a deeper connection between the participants and their personal histories. The use of images allowed a more expressive articulation of their thoughts and emotions. This approach ultimately contributed to an enriched qualitative data set, providing a more nuanced analysis of the processes involved in the creation of the cultural organisation particularly considering the exceptional context of social crisis they experienced. This experience has emphasised the importance of employing a wide range of methods and tools to ensure a fuller and more accurate understanding of arts and cultural management practices in research.

Let me provide an example to illustrate my point. In a photo-elicitation interview, Trinidad and Sebastián recalled the day they made The Poster. During the interview, they held The Poster and described their memories of that day. Adding more detail, they shared their thoughts and emotions, painting a vivid picture of the experience. Their recollections offered a unique perspective on the creation of The Poster:

“Sebastián: I remember that we began to receive messages saying that television stations were using our images....

Trinidad: A hacker friend wrote to us because we were asking him about virtual security [Figure 39]. At that time, we were terrified because the police had come several times, so we were finding various ways to protect ourselves.

Sebastián: And of course, in that moment we decided to do something about it. First, we wrote something similar on my phone. We went to [the camera] and put it in front but didn't work.”(Photo-elicitation interview).

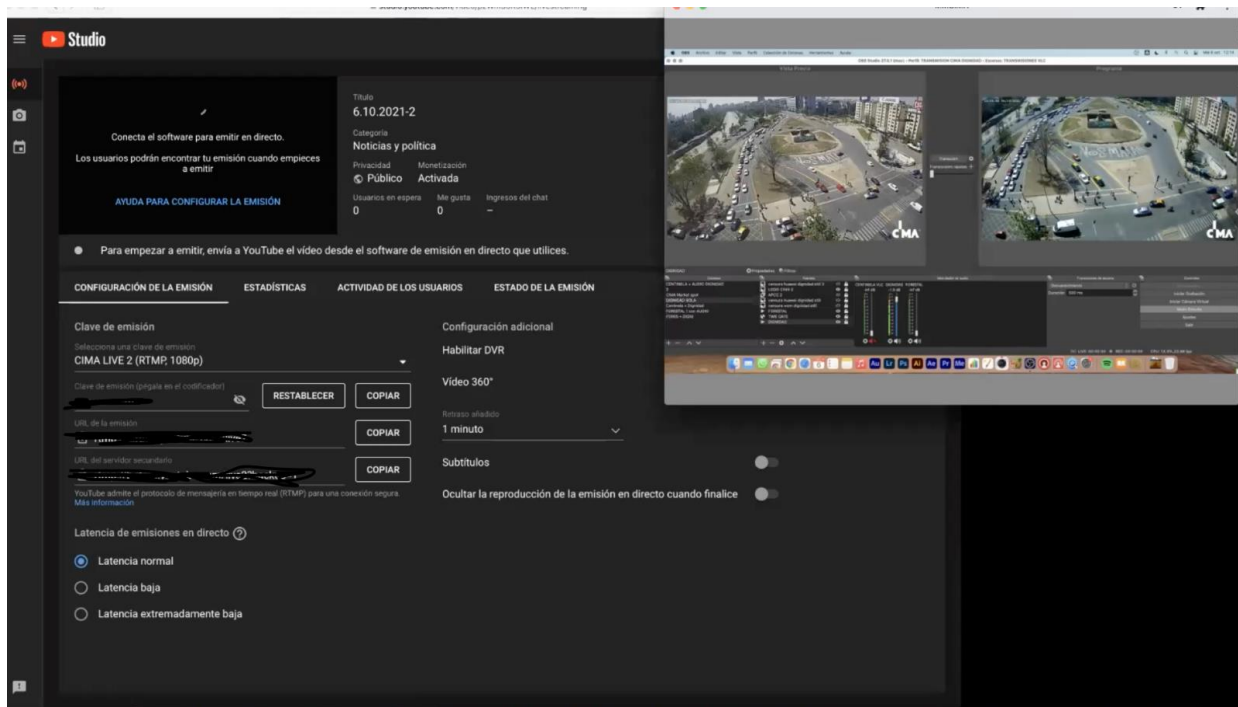


Figure 39. Galería CIMA's streaming is reset. Screenshot capturing the process of resetting the camera to resume streaming from Plaza Dignidad. Every 24 hours the software is refreshed by a member of the team for security reasons. The picture was taken during one of the interviews I held with the co-founders of CIMA on 6th October 2021. Some of the data were erased at the request of the participants. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.

As seen, talking with The Poster invoked the founders to disclose the fear they were experiencing at the time and how that might relate to the need for action with the aim of subverting the power mass media was exercising. Besides helping to ascertain the steps taken in creating the organisation, visual material helped participants to connect deeply with their emotions concerning it. Thus, including relevant images served as a device to expand the questions and answers, revealing not only the specific stages in which the process of creating this specific device was

developed, but also the related emotional dimensions (Clark-Ibañez, 2004) of the lives of the people who carried them out.

To sum up, the creation and display of The Poster on a public television channel, marked a significant turning point for the cultural organisation's transition into a political actor, as will be further explored in the following sections. This unforeseen action, prompted by urgent circumstances, highlighted the organisation's dynamics to collaborate and generate ideas swiftly during the unfolding Chilean social uprising. The Poster, with its concise yet impactful messages was strategically designed, aiming to differentiate the organisation from mainstream media perspectives while expressing its support for the ongoing social movement. The next section will look at the impact of this action on CIMA's public perception, taking into account media and participant perspectives.

6.3.3. Shifting public perception

According to the participants, The Poster had a significant impact on how the cultural organisation's political stance was perceived after its appearance. It's important to note that the organisation began to stream and record events at Plaza Dignidad on 19th October 2019. However, the participants noted that it wasn't until The Poster was shown on the stream on the 25th October 2019 that their political viewpoint in support of the social movement became clear to a wider audience. This action, according to the participants, completely altered the way in which CIMA was publicly perceived. Take for example Sebastián's memory of the moment:

“I think the change was more outward than inward because we were always clear about our position regarding not supporting the hegemonic press. I mean, we never said it, and this moment showed it out. It produced a break in people's vision of us. At first, people did not even know who we were, these people who were on the terrace of this building.” (Photo-elicitation interview)

The interviewee was reflecting on a change that occurred within the public image of the cultural organisation. From his perspective, the change was external instead of internal, suggesting that it was more visible or apparent to others than to the group within CIMA. The interviewee clarifies that CIMA had always been clear about its political position of not supporting the "hegemonic

press," but this stance became tangible through the release of *The Poster*. Continuing from the previous excerpt, in the subsequent passage from the interview, Sebastián describes what this change in perception was like:

“Many people thought that...in fact they bothered us through social media saying things like ‘protestapalooza’⁸⁸, like we were here drinking Aperol spritz and looking at the protests for entertainment. The truth is that the atmosphere up here was not fun at all. It was not festive, it was a work environment, consisting of independent press, and of documentary filmmakers. Expensive film cameras arrived, production equipment, it was something else...with this we also opened up the possibility of increasing our communication with people. So, [the appearance of *The Poster*] it marks a milestone in that sense.”

As suggested by the quote above, the participants shared their perspectives on how the organisation’s location and its view of the city affected the audience's perception. They all agreed that being at a height generated a sense of privilege for certain members of the audience. In this sense, participants considered that prior to the appearance of *The Poster* on television, some protestors did not see Galería as being a clear ally of the social movement.

The emergence of CIMA's political positionality and its role within the context of the social uprising was indeed noticed by the media. Take, for instance, the following extract from an article written by Denisse Espinoza from *La Tercera* newspaper (2019, para. 6), in which she refers to a drastic change in CIMA’s role:

“Located in a penthouse on Calle Merced with a privileged view of Cerro San Cristóbal and Plaza Italia, the space opened at the end of 2016 with the idea of holding exhibitions with live music. In these two weeks, it has taken on the role of transmitting the demonstrations that have concentrated in this sector from all its social networks...The commitment and perseverance of the CIMA gallery team has been such that various media outlets such as ADN, El Mostrador and 24 horas have also used their images to inform, some without authorization. The CIMA gallery team wrote ‘TV channels hanging on to our signal without authorization’, on a piece of paper which was placed in front of the [live streaming] camera along with various hashtags such as #noesguerra, #nuevaconstitución, #justiciasocial #renunciachadwick. This was broadcast live by Channel 13, one of the stations that was hanging on the [CIMA’s] signal. A record of the transmission that Galería CIMA made of the historic demonstration on October 25, which exceeded one million people in Plaza Italia, can be seen on its YouTube channel.”

⁸⁸ This concept refers to the popular Lollapalooza music festival, which is also held in Santiago de Chile annually since 2011.

Thus, the mass media declaration of Galería CIMA's political position through the publication of The Poster, in addition to the live stream, marked a significant turning point in their journey to gain the social movement's support and trust. The participants believed that The Poster's impact on the audience's perception had helped Galería CIMA establish itself as a clear ally of the social movement, making it easier to engage with protestors and other supporters in a more cohesive way.

Furthermore, the findings revealed that participants acknowledged a noticeable shift in the ways in which Galería CIMA was perceived amongst both the media and the general audience upon presentation of the statement. Additionally, they emphasised the internal cohesion and the deepening of political perspectives within the organisation. This sentiment was echoed by Luis, a photographer and regular collaborator of CIMA, who elaborated:

"During the revolt, everyone's personal leanings and political colours sort of intensified. But with CIMA, we've all stayed on the same colour, even up to now, I would say. For me, this is like the big reason I am still collaborating [with CIMA]...While the whole revolt journey saw many folks jumping ship, we at CIMA... well, we've just kept trucking in the same lane." (In-depth interview).

In essence, these findings underscore, not only the external evolution in Galería CIMA's perception, but also the enduring internal cohesion that has empowered its members to navigate significant socio-political changes whilst remaining committed to their shared vision.

To conclude, one of the factors that helped Galería CIMA emerge as a political actor during the Chilean social uprising was significantly influenced by its explicit support for the social movement and its clear opposition to the behaviours of mainstream media. The organisation achieved this by openly expressing its dissenting stance and directly challenging the notable television channel Canal 13. Through these actions, Galería CIMA positioned itself as a vital cultural entity that actively engages in and promotes dissident practices. A pivotal moment in this trajectory was the creation and subsequent unveiling of The Poster, which played a decisive role in allowing the organisation to articulate its critical public stance. In the following section, I will explore a third significant practice that has been identified in the formation of CIMA as a cultural organisation.

This practice has also played a role in shaping CIMA's function as a space for political resistance and a platform for dissenting voices.

6.4. Amplifying the voices of the revolt

According to the memories of participants and secondary data reviewed, during this period, the cultural organisation established⁸⁹ a third relevant practice, namely the projection of visual and verbal messages onto the emblematic buildings of Plaza Dignidad from its terrace. Significantly, the Turri and Telefónica buildings and the General Manuel Baquedano monument were notably targeted (Figure 40). In the context of the Chilean social uprising and the extensive demonstrations that unfolded in Plaza Dignidad, Galería CIMA actively engaged in collaboration with art projection collectives such as Trimex Collective, Pésimo Servicio, and Delight Lab to create these light installations. This practice served as a creative and innovative way to amplify messages of social resistance, state violence, and systemic inequalities, expanding perspectives and discussions during the social uprising. This section will delve into the nature of this practice, the processes and motivations that underpinned them, and the impacts they had on broader social landscapes.

6.4.1. Light projections from CIMA's terrace

The light projections were created with visual and written messages expressing the perspectives of the protests. The light installations were closely related to the main demands for social transformation. The projected images featuring words such as "Dignity," "Diversity," and "Democracy," were closely connected to the demands and contingent issues discussed during the social uprising. Furthermore, some highlighted human rights abuses. For instance, Trimex Crew projected an image of three crossed-out eyes onto the Turri building at Plaza Dignidad (Figure 40.a). This image referenced the more than three hundred people (Amnesty International, 2020) who sustained eye injuries due to rubber bullets fired by the police.

⁸⁹ As noted in Chapter 5, this practice first emerged during the initial phase of Galería CIMA's creation journey. Specifically, on 15th November 2018 in the context of the mass social reaction against the assassination of the Mapuche community member, Camilo Catrillanca. However, it is during this period that the projection of messages onto buildings emerged as a key practice for the organisation.



Figure 40. Light projections from Galería CIMA. Collage of images showing different light projections displayed in collaboration with the artist collectives such as Trimex Collective, and Delight Lab. From left to right: 40.a. “xxx”; 40.b. “Sin miedo” [Fearless]; 40.c. “What do you understand by democracy?”; 40.d. “Diversity”. Galería CIMA archive. Source: Luis Bahamondes.

Another noteworthy example is the projection of “We are not at war!” (Figure 41) which directly referenced the statements made by right-wing Chilean President, Sebastián Piñera, on 20th October 2019, who, during a national press conference in the initial three days of the curfew following the beginning of the social revolt, referred to the uprising, with a clear intent to criminalise it, as a situation where “We are at War against a powerful, implacable enemy, who does not respect anyone or anything, who is willing to use violence and crime without any limit”⁹⁰. The projection of the phrase “We are not at War!” went viral on social media and became a recurring slogan in street protests across various cities in the country (BBC, 2019).

⁹⁰ See the complete discourse of the Chilean president here: <https://prensa.presidencia.cl/comunicado.aspx?id=103689>



Figure 41. Light projection: 'No estamos en Guerra!' [We are not at War!]. By Delight Lab. Source: Gonzalo Donoso⁹¹.

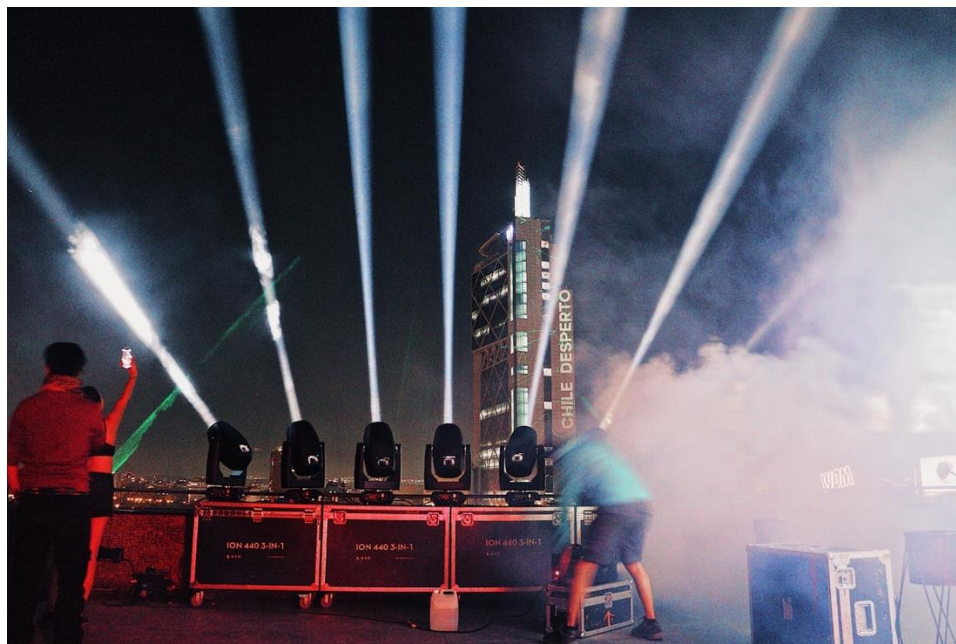


Figure 42. Backstage at the light projection 'Chile despertó' [Chile woke-up], one of the most iconic slogans of the revolt, on the 'Telefónica' building. Source: Galería CIMA.

⁹¹ <https://www.latercera.com/culto/2019/10/23/plaza-italia-toque-de-queda/>

Process and motivations

The process of creating the light installations involved various individuals, including the CIMA team members and external collaborators, particularly artists. Their active participation in the demonstrations was crucial to the creative process. In the following interview excerpt, Andrés, an artist from Trimex Collective, explained how they crafted these projections:

"We were on all fronts and the streets as well. We wrote the message that we projected based on what we heard on the streets, after protesting all day. I used to go out [to the protests] with a notebook or my mobile phone to take notes. It [the process] was something like this: Okay, what am I listening most often? 'We woke up'; 'This is not war'; 'Without fear!'; 'Resistance'. All those [projected] words were closely related to the protests themselves." (Andrés. In-depth Interview)

This extract exemplifies how the creative process involved establishing a method that necessitated active participation in street demonstrations, observing, and attentively listening to the surrounding environment. The participants documented their observations by taking notes and capturing images and sound, which they later utilised as source material for crafting the messages they projected onto the surrounding buildings. Hence, it becomes apparent that an indispensable facet of this artistic action lay in their firsthand involvement in the demonstrations, harnessing their embodied experiences to inform and shape their creative practices. In essence, the objective of these light projections was to amplify the voices of dissent and social demands.

The primary aim of the light projections was to render social justice demands more visible. This objective is best exemplified by Octavio Gana's perspective (Gana & Gana, 2020). As a member of Delight Lab, he explained their motivations as follows:

"We make things that many people don't like to see visible. Sometimes, they are uncomfortable messages, but if we don't see them and we put them under the rug, we will continue to be the worst version of this country... We seek show things that are in the dark and highlight them, because it is the only way to heal."

In summary, the light projections from CIMA's terrace served as a powerful medium for conveying the demands of the protests during this time of social revolt. These projections, featuring words and images closely aligned with the calls for social change, constitute key collaborative practices

within the cultural organisation. Cultural managers, artists, and collaborators, actively engaged in the protests and attuned to their surroundings, transformed their first-hand experiences into projected messages that altered the urban landscape. Their mission was clear: to amplify dissenting voices and social concerns, shedding light on pressing issues. In this way, they played a pivotal role in advancing the discourse for societal change.

6.4.2. The impact of active political engagement

The light installations garnered widespread popularity⁹² and generated significant attention during the social revolt, leading to extensive engagement on social media platforms (Bronfman, 2021). These installations have played a crucial role in the further development of such actions as a form of protest within the Latin American region⁹³. As Jones (2021, p. 428) argues, “this technique has been used throughout Latin America since the early 2000s, but primarily in a commercial or artistic capacity. In recent years, however, projection mapping, also known as projection bombing or guerilla projection, has become as ubiquitous at social demonstrations”. Thus, light installations have not only extensive interactions on social media, but they have also emerged as a powerful practice in recent years.

⁹² A point to consider is that, as in other recent social movements, the internet played a pivotal role as a key factor in the Chilean social uprising. It enabled the movement to extend its territorial potential by facilitating the global and real-time communication of its message. According to Castells (2012), internet communication is a crucial factor in contemporary social movements. This is because it not only fosters daily communication between individuals, but it also empowers them with newfound autonomy, granting them the ability to effect social change. As he argues, “The Internet is a communication medium that allows for the first time, the communication of many to many, in chosen time, on a global scale” (Castells, 2001, p. 2). Consequently, when a movement utilises the internet to organise within a specific territory, it achieves what Castells (2009) terms “counter-power”. This phenomenon propagates the presence of local phenomena into global discussions, bolstering the movement’s impact on a broader scale.

⁹³ Projection mapping has become a relevant form of expression for artists and activists in the Latin American region, particularly from the Covid-19 pandemic. According to Jones (2021), these actions allowed artists and activists to deliver political messages and criticise oppressive systems, and social media played a large role in spreading the footage when lockdowns limited in-person visibility. Projection mapping became a powerful tool for artists and activists to transform institutions and engage with the public.

These actions greatly contributed to the development of the social movement. As Jordán and Sanhueza (2023, p. 43) argue, light installations "helped media artists directly impact the mobilization process by helping to push the transformative agenda of the mobilized people further and by maintaining public attention on important issues such as state violence and structural inequalities." These installations constituted a powerful tool in the transformative agenda of the social movement, making a significant impact on public attention.

Through time⁹⁴ these actions had a dual effect, evoking support from those involved in the social movement, while also inviting intimidation and interventions from the police. The media's impact and the rapid dissemination of dissident messages have meant that the actions were often censored. Generally, this generated feelings of vulnerability and political violence among the participants.



Figure 43. Light projection: 'Destruir en nuestro corazón la lógica del Sistema' [Destroy the logic of the system in our heart]. Light installation towards the General Baquedano monument in Plaza Dignidad. Source: Galería CIMA.

⁹⁴ The light installations continued, although less frequently, during the first months of the pandemic, a period that will be explored in more detail in the next chapter.

In that sense, one particular incident participants frequently remembered as an example of this sense of vulnerability, occurred on 24th September 2020⁹⁵ when the art collectives Pésimo Servicio Collective, and Delight Lab, in collaboration with Galería CIMA, projected Mapuche images and symbols accompanied by the phrase "Destroy the logic of the system in our hearts" (Figure 43) across the centre of Plaza Dignidad around the General Manuel Baquedano monument. This projection was broadcast in real time on the social networks of the cultural organisation. At approximately 9pm that evening, a police vehicle arrived at the projection site and directed a spotlight towards the origin of the projected imagery. Consequently, the projection was abruptly terminated: an evident act of censorship by the police forces. Subsequently, Carabineros de Chile officials arrived at Galería CIMA (Figure 44; Figure 45) without any legal authorisation, seeking to obtain a roster of team members and the relinquishment of their camera equipment.

In the following excerpt taken from an alternative media platform, Interferencia, Trinidad describes the feeling of vulnerability they experienced at the time of the social uprising, particularly due to the interventions of the police forces:

“They intimidated us once again; they had already done it in 2019. This was serious for us; we really feel very vulnerable and threatened. The Carabineros shouldn’t visit the building at 1:00 in the morning without a court order to request the security cameras and the list of the people who were working that day. It seems to us that this abuse of power by the Carabineros must be condemned” (Trinidad in Riffo Burdiles, 2020).

⁹⁵ Although this incident occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic period, extensively covered in Chapter 7 (Third Phase), I have chosen to include it in this phase's examination. This decision is based on the fact that it was consistently mentioned by the participants and highly prominent during secondary data analysis as a relevant event illustrating the constant intimidation experienced by both internal organisation members and their collaborators during the period of social uprising.

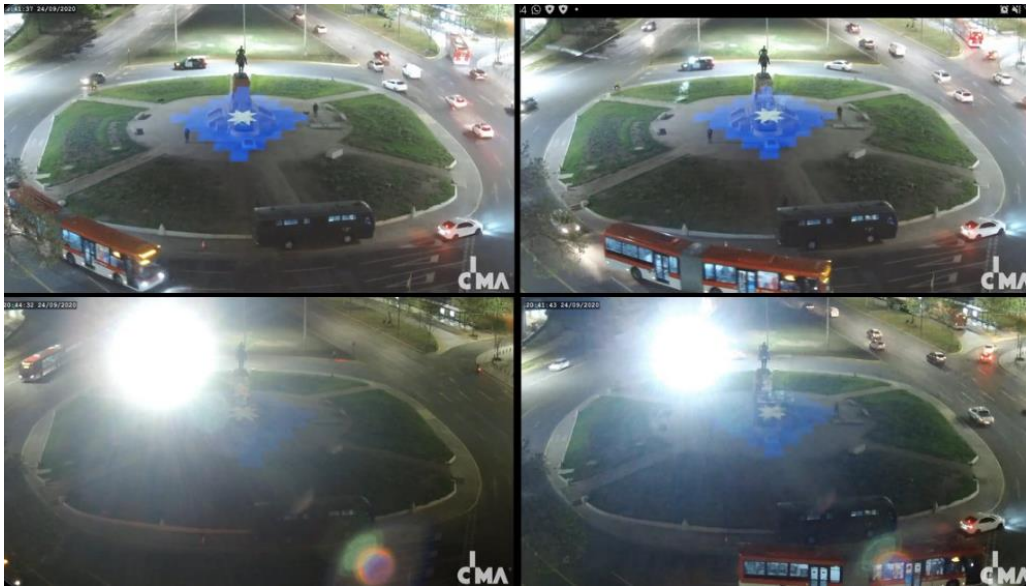


Figure 44. Police vehicle cancelling 'Destruir en nuestro corazón la lógica del Sistema'. Footage showing the sequence of the police vehicle arriving and cancelling the projection with a focused light. Source: Galería CIMA.

Amedrentamientos

Video muestra cómo Carabineros presiona por conseguir lista de trabajadores de Galería CIMA tras censurar proyección de Delight Lab

por Joaquín Riffo Burdiles - 16/10/2020 - 04:45

Compartir 2.6 mil

Twitter

Compartir



Carabineros solicitando en conserjería una lista con datos de todos los trabajadores de la galería la noche del 24 de septiembre.

Figure 45. Media article. In English: "Intimidation. Video shows how Carabineros (Chilean Police) presses for a list of Galería CIMA workers after censoring a projection of Delight Lab. Carabineros requesting a list with data on all the gallery workers on the night of 24 September, from the concierge." Source: Interferencia newspaper⁹⁶

⁹⁶ <https://interferencia.cl/articulos/video-muestra-como-carabineros-presiona-por-conseguir-lista-de-trabajadores-de-galeria>

The light mapping and subsequent police intrusion into the CIMA Gallery was a clear act of censorship and abuse of power. This event had a significant impact on both the participants and the community, evoking feelings of vulnerability and a sense of constant threat during this period. Trinidad's account, in which she describes feeling intimidated, highlights the seriousness of the situation. Moreover, this incident underscores the importance of the practices carried out within CIMA and how they contributed to the establishment of the cultural organisation as a political actor in the Chilean landscape.

In view of the political risk they were facing, the team members decided to set up the camera with an additional one-minute delay in the transitions. This decision was made to create a time gap, as stated in Sebastian's interview, in order to "prevent these images from being utilised as a tactical camera by the police".

In summary, the light projections orchestrated by Galería CIMA in collaboration with art collectives played a crucial role in magnifying the voices of the social uprising in Chile. These installations conveyed messages of social resistance, broadened perspectives, and ignited discussions throughout the protests. Through the projection of visual and written messages onto iconic buildings in Plaza Dignidad, Galería CIMA significantly bolstered the amplification of the social movement's demands. The installations had a widespread impact as their actions garnered significant attention and evolved into a potent form of protest within the Latin American region in recent years. Nevertheless, their popularity also led to instances of intimidation and censorship by the police, underscoring the vulnerability and exposure to political violence experienced by the participants. These findings emphasise the importance of these artistic practices in solidifying Galería CIMA's role as a significant political actor in Chile.

6.5. Discussion. From management to movement: Galería CIMA's political transition

Overall, participants highlighted a substantial relationship between the context of the social uprising and the ways in which Galería CIMA's cultural project was created. As seen, the Estallido Social drastically changed how the cultural organisation was initially thought of and managed and, therefore, how the art organisation developed.

Social crisis often leads to unique and innovative approaches in various fields, and Galería CIMA has been no exception. Their intuitive methods helped to establish an art organisation that played a crucial role in advancing a relevant social movement against inequalities resulting from specific economic rationalities, in this case, entrenched neoliberalism. For instance, the light projections executed by Galería CIMA, in collaboration with art collectives, emerged as a response to the social upheaval, effectively channeling the voices of the protesters and contributing to the amplification of their demands. These installations, characterised by their creative and impactful transmission of messages of social resistance, played a crucial role in expanding perspectives and sparking discussions within the context of the protests.

My fieldwork and analysis suggest that spontaneous, intuitive, and flexible approaches to cultural management practices can have a crucial impact on becoming a critical political actor against the power structures in a country where neoliberalism was installed as a laboratory (Klein, 2007). In this section I will discuss the implications of these findings. Given the literature explored in Chapters 2 and 3, I will delve into how the second phase of creating Galería CIMA relates to the political climate of the country during this time of social uprising. It is my intention to investigate and analyse the characteristics of the creation process of Galería CIMA and to explore the potential implications of this process on the field of arts and cultural management.

6.5.1. Activist enquiry in Galería CIMA

The analysis of the internal dynamics and practices of Galería CIMA during the second phase reveals an interesting panorama. Unlike the preceding phase of the creation process wherein the pursuit of economic stability for the creative project defined the evolution of the space, the current phase exhibits a contrasting trajectory. As observed in the previous chapter (first phase), the management dynamics of the cultural organisation were characterised by unplanned and intuitive approaches towards the development of an economically profitable organisation. During this phase (second phase), it was possible to observe the prevalence of their intuitive approach, for instance, when Trinidad felt an internal need to share her view of what was happening on the day of The Largest March in Chile's history on 25th October 2019. However, this intuitive approach moved

them towards an activist enquiry, in contrast to the mainly market-focus perspective observed in the previous phase.

On the face of it, this could suggest that a spontaneous approach may be key to responding quickly and effectively to the challenges presented in the political context. In the case of CIMA, not having a plan for its administration and development helped to adapt and face challenges in times of crisis and, in doing so, articulate tools for social change and political resistance.

Urban public spaces have played a pivotal role in social movements (Tilly & Wood, 2009; Della Porta & Diani, 2015). In that sense, some urban public spaces become the symbolic nodes of social movements and its “network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of shared collective identity” (Diani, 1992, p. 8).

In this context, Galería CIMA finds itself situated within a symbolically significant urban public area of the Chilean social uprising. Nevertheless, this geographical proximity alone did not necessarily translate into a direct correlation with the level of involvement in the social movement, as evidenced by the experiences of other cultural organisations in the vicinity of Plaza Dignidad, the ground zero of the social movement.

In examining the social uprising in Chile during its early months, I found that several cultural spaces situated near Plaza Dignidad as Galería CIMA is, supported, to some degree, the social uprising. For instance, independent cultural organisations and private museums actively supported the social movement and sought to establish stronger connections with their audiences and the demonstrators (Peters, 2020). Notably, some even extended assistance by providing shelter and medical aid to protesters facing the harsh police responses such as tear gas canisters and pellets. Furthermore, they effectively used social media platforms to express their solidarity and they encouraged their audiences to reflect on the social issues at hand.

In contrast, cultural spaces that were dependent on public authorities exhibited a different response pattern. As Peters (2020, p. 63) argues, those organisations "experienced a gap in their abilities to

process their environment/territory. Although the workers and professional teams expressed support for the social outbreak, the higher authorities favoured a position of neutrality and operational closure". Their reliance on local authorities and adherence to rigid action plans hindered their ability to understand and adapt to the evolving situation.

The observations of these diverse reactions offer valuable insights into the dynamics of cultural spaces' engagement with the social uprising. Overall, independent spaces, including Galería CIMA, displayed a profound sense of community involvement, aligning themselves with the social movement. Conversely, culturally significant spaces dependent on public authorities faced challenges in navigating their roles amidst the transforming social landscape. Thus, similar to most of the independent cultural spaces around Plaza Dignidad, Galería CIMA took a position of support towards the movement.

However, Galería CIMA not only assumed a supportive stance towards the social uprising, but also underwent a shift in internal dynamics towards cultural activism in which their cultural management approaches engaged in support for a purpose, in this case a change of socio-political system in the country, undertaking actions that surpassed typical or habitual practices (Anderson, 2007), for instance, by making available an objective and continuous view of the events happening in Plaza Dignidad, or by consolidating its terrace as a space for political light interventions. As observed, throughout the Chilean social uprising, Galería CIMA emerged as a pivotal political actor, effectively becoming the de facto eyes of the demonstrations (Viveros-Fauné, 2020).

6.5.2. Going to the roots

As seen, the current study discovered that the second phase of Galería CIMA's creation process was characterised by activist arts and cultural management practices. These findings are consistent with the well-studied activist background of arts and cultural management in Chile, manifested in the literature, as discussed in Chapter 3. As seen, the notion of arts and cultural management as a field of professionalisation emerged in the country in the context of critical political transformation during the 90s. Arts and cultural management gained greater attention, particularly in the cultural policy arena, in the context of democratisation processes and the implementation of neoliberalism

(Martinell, 2009) occurring after dictatorial regimes, not only in Chile, but in a number of countries of the region.

Nonetheless, the historical roots of arts and cultural management as a practical endeavor are deeply intertwined with grassroots and spontaneous initiatives. These initiatives have contributed to political resistance and the reconstruction of the societal fabric since the 1960s (Chavarría and Valdés, 2019), assuming an even greater significance during the years of dictatorship as a component of processes of artistic and cultural resistance happening particularly during the dictatorship (Richard, 2014).

As reviewed in previous chapters, in the Global South, arts and culture managers have been widely understood as social actors, actively involved in processes of cultural access, democratisation, and equity. For instance, the concept of cultural agency (Sommer, 2006) reviewed in Chapter 3 refers to the notion of arts and cultural managers not only as dealing with the management and dissemination of culture and artistic production, but most importantly with a general understanding of their social role, and a duty to mediate and facilitate culture, and to seek social justice. As J.J. Hernández-Acosta (2020, p. 277) argues, “[The cultural agent] is a political actor that seeks social transformation through culture, a key need in the Latin American social and political context”. While this concept continues to evolve, it offers valuable insights that help contextualise Galería CIMA's response. As illuminated by the examination of events during the Chilean social uprising that commenced in October 2019, CIMA assumed a pivotal political role by employing art as a form of protest. Within this context, the findings presented in this chapter accentuate the resonance between the cultural organisation's internal dynamics and the nascent configuration of the field in Chile. This highlights the significant influence that arts and cultural management have wielded in shaping and reflecting Chile's political and social narrative.

6.5.3. Becoming a critical art organisation

The arts have been an integral part of social movements, influencing their dynamics and communicating ideas to a broader audience. In the case of arts and cultural spaces and institutions

they can also “become [social] movement spaces, whether intended or not” (Eyerman, 2015, p. 552).

The results of this study demonstrate that Galería CIMA experienced a substantial transformation, becoming a significant space of the Chilean social uprising. As discussed in previous sections, amidst this relevant social movement, the organisation spontaneously manifested a sequence of deliberate acts of resistance through visual forms of expression. These actions included: firstly, installing a fixed security camera, thus providing a long-duration perspective on the epicentre of the social revolt; secondly, publicly declaring a dissident standpoint in relation to mass media; and, finally, strategically utilising their architectural assets - namely, their physical location and visual vantage point - to amplify the voices of the ongoing revolt, primarily through large-scale visual projections.

These findings suggest the emergence of Galería CIMA as a critical art organisation. Galería CIMA's practices, in the context of the social uprising, not only navigated the challenges of a social crisis, but also transformed the organisation as a space where dissent is actively sought and nurtured. In this regard, Jacques Rancière's theoretical perspective on "critical art" sheds light on Galería CIMA's configuration during this phase. According to Rancière, critical art aims to change how people perceive the world and inspire them to take action for transformation. This idea involves three steps: first, creating a sense of "strangeness" through the art; second, making people aware of the reasons behind this "strangeness"; and, third, motivating individuals to take action based on this awareness. He expressed this concept in ‘Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics’, arguing that "Critical art is an art that aims to produce a new perception of the world, and therefore to create a commitment to its transformation." (Rancière, 2015, p. 150). In essence, critical art aims to produce a new perception of the world and foster commitment to its transformation.

Moreover, Mouffe's (2011) point of view in relation to the relevance of opening controversial spaces for dissent offers an interesting perspective for the understanding of arts and cultural management practices. As Mouffe (2011, para. 9) argues, “critical art is art that foments dissensus, that makes visible what the dominant consensus tends to obscure and obliterate. It is constituted by a manifold of artistic practices aiming at giving a voice to all those who are silenced within the

framework of the existing hegemony”. In this sense, the organisation articulated a visualisation of the power practices exercised by mass media channels. Moreover, they showed the people's main demands to a wider audience, including the call for the resignation of the right-wing Minister of the Interior and Public Security, Andrés Chadwick. Accordingly, Galería CIMA may be perceived as a critical cultural organisation, embodying Rancière's idea of reshaping perceptions and raising awareness and Mouffe’s perspective on critical artistic practices, in which critical art practices are those that foster dissensus. By nurturing a space for dissent and magnifying the voices of the revolt, the organisation actively challenged the prevailing norms, thus granting marginalised voices the opportunity to be heard. This highlights the profound impact of arts and cultural management in promoting political resistance and contributing to wider social change.

A relationship of resistance, not only with the government, but also with the big media companies, moved the organisation and its dynamics to a different approach in the context of violence and profound social changes. For instance, the decision to collectively create The Poster as a form of resistance and intellectual process aligns closely with the insights of French philosopher, Gilles Deleuze. Deleuze posits that 'to think is to create – there is no other creation – but to create is first of all to engender 'thinking' in thought' (1994, p. 147). In this context, The Poster can be seen as an embodiment of Deleuze's concept, challenging the control mechanisms prevalent in contemporary society, particularly within media.

Deleuze's philosophical views highlight the transformative potential of creative acts as a means of resistance against prevailing control mechanisms in society, including communication. He contends that creative practices have the power to transcend dominant narratives and challenge the influence of capitalist logic. Deleuze, for instance, draws parallels between the act of creating and the cinematic realm, illustrating how both serve as potent realms of resistance. In line with Deleuze's perspective, The Poster stands out as an embodiment of creativity that opposes the notion of being solely driven by capitalist logic. By utilising creativity as a tool for expression, the cultural organisation actively resists the dominance of grand narratives in communication. This approach aligns with Deleuze's call to transcend traditional paradigms and embrace alternative forms of creative expression.

As seen, the practices of political resistance carried out in Galería CIMA were focused on amplifying the voices of the revolt. Besides The Poster, the cultural organisation used light projections and livestreaming from the protests, creating a space for political resistance and giving a platform to dissenting voices. These practices were crucial in making the voices of the revolt more noticeable and engaging in the context of the crisis. As a result, Galería CIMA visibly amplified the voices that the mass media had silenced, while also using its resources to create a platform for resistance.

Crucially, Galería CIMA's emerges, not just as passive mediator, but as active creators and authors of cultural manifestations. Through crafting impactful proposals, CIMA showcased the potential to challenge existing power dynamics within society. From this perspective, the point of view of W. Benjamin seems to be highly pertinent. In *Author as Producer* he points out the question of an author's position in relation to their own work, and in doing so he expounds on two different ways of being an author: the bourgeois writer "of entertainment literature" (Benjamin, 1999) and the progressive writer who recognises the class struggle and "places himself on the side of the proletariat" (Benjamin, 1999). As Benjamin (1999, p. 768) declares, in order to understand the progressive author, "the present social situation compels him to decide in whose service he is to place his activity. The bourgeois writer of entertainment literature does not acknowledge this choice. You must prove to him that, without admitting it, he is working in the service of certain class interests." From this perspective, the determination of the quality of a work lies in whether it has "tendency or commitment" (Benjamin, 1999) that is, if it has the capacity to raise awareness or make a change instead of just writing with the aim of entertaining, which does not represent any social advantage. Galería CIMA's dissident and culturally impactful approach to arts and cultural management resonates with W. Benjamin's concept of the progressive author, challenging power dynamics and aiming to effect meaningful social change through arts and cultural management.

In sum, the findings suggest that Galería CIMA's engagement in political resistance and its utilisation of innovative artistic practices align with theoretical perspectives from Jacques Rancière and Chantal Mouffe. By actively shaping perceptions, raising awareness, and fostering spaces for dissent, the gallery assumed the role of a critical cultural organisation with a commitment to societal transformation. Moreover, Walter Benjamin's conceptualisation of the progressive writer

as an agent of social change further supports the significance of CIMA's actions in challenging prevailing power structures and promoting meaningful political resistance. In light of this analysis, Galería CIMA demonstrates the potential of arts and cultural management practices to contribute significantly to social and political change.

6.5.4. Exploring alternative approaches to arts and cultural management

One interesting finding is that through an unplanned, spontaneous model, participants seemed to overlook the financial aspects of the cultural organisation during this phase, challenging traditional understandings of the arts and cultural management, which mainly focuses on operational dimensions. In that sense, it was possible to observe that an unplanned model allowed them to react spontaneously.

As seen in previous chapters, it is acknowledged (Evard & Colbert, 2000. Bendixen, 2000. Janamohan, 2019. DeVereaux, 2019) that arts and cultural management tends to be functional, and often as a subfield of business management looking at how to build a successful organisation, particularly in financial terms. For instance, the scholar Sunitha Janamohan (2019) argues that arts and cultural management, both as a field of study and practice, typically emphasises the long-term viability and endurance of arts organisations. This is achieved by prioritising effective organisational management and securing funding, essentially treating arts organisations as businesses. As observed in Chapter 2, this has been widely considered as an effective way to approach the field.

CIMA's case seems to illuminate another efficacious way of exercising cultural management practices, one that has played a crucial role in the context of the social movement against inequality. By focusing on the cultural and social impact of their work, rather than just on their operational success, CIMA has demonstrated that cultural management can be a powerful tool for social change if approaches focused on other factors, such as artistic vision, community engagement, activism, and social impact, are equally important, and may even take precedence over traditional business considerations in some cases. This alternative approach challenges

traditional assumptions about the role of arts and cultural management and suggests that a broader perspective on the field is necessary to fully understand its potential.

Albeit there is abundant room for further progress in determining the potential and impact arts and cultural management practices might have in the context of social crises and adverse political contexts, through the exercise of three types of practices, Galería CIMA has shown how arts and cultural management practices can support the fight against social injustice. In this sense, as Henze (2019) suggests, manifesting a clear political position has become crucial: "Arts managers cannot afford political disinterest - especially since art and culture are in many cases extremely political (Henze, 2016, p. 17). It should have become quite clear in recent years that the conditions in other parts of the world, influenced and shaped to a large extent by Western politics, do not leave Europe untouched either. Arts managers, therefore, cannot avoid taking a stand when fundamental values and especially (cultural) rights are violated, or cultural heritage is destroyed".

Drawing on Bilton's perspective, which was reviewed in the literature, the case of CIMA exemplifies the relevance of the collective dimension of creativity, particularly within the arts and cultural management practices. It seems that the adoption of a flexible and collaborative approach to cultural management practices enables CIMA to facilitate common political discourses through adaptability and political awareness. Bilton's insight, emphasising that creative processes within the creative industries are fundamentally rooted in collective efforts (Bilton, 2007), further highlights the significance of collaboration in this context.

By embracing creativity from a collective perspective, CIMA has fostered an environment that encourages collaboration and convergence of diverse ideas, thereby promoting inclusive and engaging political dialogues. Being keenly aware of the value of collaboration, CIMA effectively harnesses the potential of creativity as a platform for meaningful discussions. Recognising the importance of diverse perspectives, CIMA provides a space where various voices converge, fostering political awareness and discourse of resistance.

In summary, the case of CIMA further illustrates Bilton's perspective on the collective dimension of creativity in the creative industries. This departure from traditional market-centred narratives

positions CIMA as a critical platform for the exchange of ideas and enriches the interconnected and inclusive cultural landscape, allowing various voices and perspectives to shape common understandings of politics and society within the creative industries.

Through politically aware intermediation, the cultural organisation has successfully engaged in promoting common political discourses. By integrating multiple voices and experiences, CIMA has become a catalyst for dialogue and debate around socio-political issues. The organisation's approach acknowledges that cultural management is not solely about administrative decisions, but also about shaping cultural narratives and identities through practice.

Overall, the analysis of Galería CIMA's management approach during a crisis highlights the value of flexibility, adaptability, and a willingness to embrace new approaches to effectively manage challenges.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored and analysed the second identified phase of Galería CIMA's creation journey, spanning the onset of the Chilean social uprising in October 2019, to the first months of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020. As observed, this phase constitutes a pivotal period in Galería CIMA's development, during which the organisation turned into a critical cultural institution and a key political actor in the context of the Chilean social uprising. In contrast to the initial phase of the creation process, where the pursuit of commercial imperatives took precedence over the development of the creative project, the second phase exhibited a shift towards cultural activism amidst a socio-political crisis.

In this context, I have identified three crucial practices that played a pivotal role in shaping the organisation. Firstly, Galería CIMA's livestreaming of Plaza Dignidad emerged as a powerful tool for offering an impartial viewpoint and a more comprehensive understanding of the protests. By strategically placing a fixed camera on its terrace, the organisation effectively became an unbiased source of observation for Chile's activist movement. This innovative practice disrupted prevailing media narratives, which was highly sensationalist, and often portrayed the protests as criminal

activities. Consequently, Galería CIMA's livestreaming initiative not only defied the traditional media narratives, but also cemented the organisation's reputation as a reliable and trustworthy source of information.

Another noteworthy practice that emerged was Galería CIMA's communication to a mass audience of its dissident and critical position towards hegemonic powers. The creation and broadcast of 'The Poster' on a national television channel became a pivotal moment in establishing Galería CIMA as a political actor and a cultural organisation committed to exercising and fostering critical practices. Thus, the organisation actively challenged the dominant influence of the media and publicly articulated a strong dissident stance.

Finally, the organisation actively engaged in amplifying the voices of the revolt through creative practices. Specifically, they projected large-scale visual and verbal messages onto iconic buildings in Plaza Dignidad. These impactful light installations were created in collaboration with art collectives such as Trimex Collective, and Delight Lab. They served as powerful tools for conveying messages of social resistance, exposing abuses, raising awareness about structural inequalities, shedding light on state violence, and fostering critical discussions. By employing innovative and collaborative methods, Galería CIMA effectively amplified the voices of the revolt.

These practices were instrumental in supporting the protesters' demands for social change. As a result, Galería CIMA became an active contributor to the Chilean social uprising, reaching a wide audience and consolidating its pivotal role as a political actor, changing its role in wider society dramatically. This transformation instigated substantial changes in their internal practices and organisational management. In essence, the second phase of Galería CIMA's journey vividly exemplified the organisation's adaptability and agency-driven approach to arts and cultural management. Unlike many other art spaces in the vicinity that maintained a limited engagement in the uprising, Galería CIMA exhibited a spontaneous, intuitive, and highly adaptable response to the social context.

In the following chapter, I will explore the third and final phase that is being examined in this current study. Within this exploration, I will take a close look at the post-uprising period, a phase

significantly influenced by the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic. Through this analysis, a more profound understanding of how this small-scale cultural organisation continued to develop while adapting to the evolving socio-political landscape, will be gained.

Chapter 7. Reshaping cultural management practices: the third phase of Galería CIMA's creation process

“We reopen our doors to the public to meet again around art and the memory of an urban space that changed with the awakening of Chile.” (CIMA's website).



Figure 46. Exhibition: ‘Centinela’. Exhibition by Galería CIMA held in ‘Balmaceda Arte Joven’ cultural centre in Santiago, Chile, from 23rd October until 30th November 2021. The image shows several photographs of Galería CIMA's audiovisual archive. Source: @godoyphotoshoot⁹⁷

Introduction

This study set out to bring a greater focus on the creation processes within arts and cultural management throughout the investigation of Galería CIMA's developmental journey. It aimed to achieve this through an analysis of the dynamics and practices exercised within the cultural organisation to navigate the political context while shaping its development.

⁹⁷ <https://walkingstgo.cl/fotos-inauguracion-exposicion-centinela-de-galeria-cima-en-balmaceda-arte-joven-23-10-2021/>

In the previous two chapters, I explored the first (Chapter 5) and second phase (Chapter 6) of three phases in the development of Galería CIMA. In Chapter 5, I delved into the practices and elements that were key to shaping the emergence of the cultural organisation, showing how the place and adverse neoliberal conditions were key in shaping the first phase of development. In Chapter 6, I explored how the Chilean social uprising dramatically impacted the organisation's structure, practices, and its political role in the context of a major social movement through the use of spontaneous, intuitive, and flexible approaches to cultural management practices and its consolidation as a key political actor.

In this chapter, I will explore the third and final phase identified during this research process. This phase begins with the implementation of Covid-19 restrictions from early 2020 and extends up to CIMA's participation in the exhibition 'Graphic Turn. Like the Ivy on a Wall'⁹⁸ at the Reina Sofia Museum in Madrid, in May 2022. This exhibition marked a significant milestone for the team as it provided them with an opportunity to present CIMA's work as an artistic collective outside Chile for the first time. As mentioned, this was the last event I attended as part of my fieldwork.

Here, I delve into the crucial elements that shaped the third phase of the creation of Galería CIMA in Santiago, Chile, and the extent to which the cultural organisation's practices and dynamics were affected by the arrival of the Covid-19 pandemic and the freezing of the "intense, energetic, accelerated and almost frantic" (Richards, 2020) social uprising experienced in the previous phase. In doing so, I will explore the key elements, internal dynamics, and practices present in the final phase of CIMA and how those involved in the project experienced this period.

The chapter begins by reviewing the socio-political context of Chile during the observed period, showing how the arrival of the Covid-19 pandemic and the implementation of strict measures led

⁹⁸ 'Graphic Turn. Like the Ivy on a Wall' was a collective large exhibition held from 18th May until 10th October 2022 at the Reina Sofia Museum in Madrid, Spain. The exhibition was the result of an extensive research process by the 'Southern Conceptualisms Network' and the museum. It explored Latin American graphic art projects from the 1960s to today that have "confronted urgent, politically oppressive contexts in Latin America, articulating strategies of transformation and resistance that radically changed approaches and actions and the way in which they established intersubjective links, built communities, and even circulated graphic supports" (Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 2022). See: <https://www.museoreinasofia.es/en/exhibitions/graphic-turn>

to a radical decline in street protests in Santiago, and to a period characterised by the continuation of the demands for social change, activism, and political crisis in a context of resignation and isolation.

Then, I will present the main findings corresponding to the third phase of CIMA's creative journey observed in this study. This will take place in three stages. Firstly, I will highlight how the participants engaged in a reflective evaluation of the practices and experiences of the organisation; particularly, regarding the active political role it took during the Chilean social uprising. I will focus, therefore, on showing how participants experienced and reflected on the abrupt change in context, exploring their motivations, challenges, decision-making processes, and adaptations. In doing so, I will provide a comprehensive understanding of how the organisation navigated and adapted to the rapidly changing social landscape. Secondly, I will draw attention to two practices that emerged within the organisation during this period: the archival practices with the uninterrupted audio-visual archive of Plaza Dignidad generated during the previous phase; and the emergence of a nomadic approach to the use of space, as the cultural organisation not only utilises the space located at Merced 22, Santiago for its work, but also actively explores the utilisation of various other locations, both within Chile and internationally, for its projects. Thirdly, the chapter will explore the relevance and consolidation of dynamics of care and compassion (Alacovska, 2020) as the basis of the organisational structure.

In the concluding section of this chapter, I will discuss the significance of the findings. Here, I will highlight the transformative role of the archive. Additionally, I will delve into the relevance of archival practices. Next, the section will discuss how collective dynamics, grounded in trust and care rather than an entrepreneurial focus on individual efforts, were pivotal in sustaining and furthering the development of this small cultural organisation, underscoring its relevance in the realm of arts and cultural management. Lastly, I will examine the importance of transdisciplinary understandings within the field of art and cultural management, demonstrating how the exploration of innovative paradigms is essential for comprehending and advancing the multifaceted dynamics at play in the field.

7.1. Political context overview: Silencing protests, the impact of Covid-19 on Chile's social uprising and cultural spaces



Figure 47. Street mural. Photograph showing one of the murals made during the social uprising around the ground zero of the protests, and a pedestrian wearing a facemask. On the top right of the mural, it is possible to see two of the light projections made from CIMA's terrace: 'Dignidad' [Dignity] and 'Justicia' [Justice]. Source: Cristobal Escobar / Uno Agency⁹⁹.

In 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic reached Chile amid the most significant social and political crisis of recent decades (Garcés, 2019). Consequently, the mass street demonstrations were drastically reduced due to strict measures¹⁰⁰ nationally imposed by the government. The country went from the noise of regular protests with thousands of people on the streets, to the silence of multiple lockdowns. In other words, from the mayhem of the social uprising to the control imposed by a global pandemic (Richard, 2020).

⁹⁹<https://www.latercera.com/opinion/noticia/los-muros-en-la-ciudad/QZBCWBAUGZFFARBBQKC4XGME2GA/>

¹⁰⁰See, for example: <https://www.pauta.cl/nacional/cronologia-primer-ano-pandemia-chile>

In the context of the great social movement that was taking place in the streets of the country, the Covid-19 pandemic put an abrupt end to the protests demanding dignity and the cessation of abuses of the political-economic system (Heiss, 2020). As Richard (2020, para. 9) stated regarding the impact of the arrival of the pandemic in the context of the social uprising, “We dramatically went from the expectation aroused by a future to be built together, to the resignation of being each prisoner of a stopped time. We went from that hyperactive, desiring, wilful time, the time of political insubordination, to this other time of quarantine that is a resigned, stationary time.” In Chile, the pandemic not only impacted public health, but also radically shifted an optimistic, active, and politically rebellious time to a period of resigned and stagnant isolation. Various measures were implemented, including the imposition of a year and a half-long nocturnal curfew, bolstered by the deployment of military forces within urban areas to ensure compliance.

Thus, the intertwining of the Covid-19 pandemic and the social and political crisis in Chile caused a profound transformation in Santiago. The once lively and tumultuous streets where protests and demands for change resounded, fell eerily silent due to strict government measures.

The Covid-19 pandemic emphasised and made more visible the instability and vulnerability in which different artistic expressions operate. In the Latin American context, this was compounded by inadequate government support and recurrent social crises (Dinardi et al., 2023). For instance, in the Chilean cultural field, the impact was deemed devastating. As argued by Pinochet et al. (2021, p.15), "While the COVID-19 pandemic brought severe economic problems for most productive sectors of the country, there is no balance as catastrophic as that of the arts and culture. However, even though unemployment rates in artistic and entertainment activities reached above 50%, none of the palliative measures implemented by the Government of Chile—whose costs were, moreover, directly assumed by the workers— could be used by the cultural sector, as its high level of informal labor has historically prevented those working in this field from being recognized as workers". In the case of Chilean cultural spaces, the precarious conditions worsened, and most were temporarily closed (79%), forced to reschedule their activities (57.4%), or had applied a digital adaptation (27.4%) (Ministerio de las Culturas, 2021). Regarding those located around Plaza Dignidad, the few remaining activities in place during the social uprising were indefinitely

paused. As in the rest of the world, in Chile, the Covid-19 pandemic drastically impacted the development of art and cultural spaces.



Figure 48. A protester in ‘Plaza Dignidad’ in April 2020 holds a sign that reads: "Capitalism kills a child from hunger every 30 seconds in the world". Source: Getty images¹⁰¹.

The context of the pandemic and the extreme containment measures that followed emerged as an opportunity to regain the power lost by the political elite. While social discontent persisted, it significantly dwindled in the streets due to the pandemic (Figure 48). This reduction was not due to the government's ability to engage in dialogue or the use of police force to suppress it, but rather because of a deadly virus. As Sepúlveda-Queipul et al. (2021, p. 15) argue, “Paradoxically, for the rulers of Chile, COVID-19 turned into a real cold shower against the state of social unrest in which the country found itself. Thus, the second quarter of 2020 was marked by a setback in the social movement achieved, not by the use of public force and the military, but by the imposition of the virus and the atmosphere of fear surrounding the possibility of contracting the disease”.

In the following months, the eagerly awaited normality slowly began to resurface both in the Chilean context and globally. Nevertheless, the preceding state of 'normality' was shaped by a

¹⁰¹ <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-52474988>

highly unequal economic system and its subsequent collapse under the country's most significant social movement since the return to democracy. In that sense, it was a form of normality that "was the crisis" (Klein, 2020).

In addition to the impact of the global pandemic and the subsequent decline in demonstrations at Plaza Dignidad, it is imperative to note that this period in Chile was characterised by significant political developments closely intertwined with the ongoing social uprising (Somma & Sánchez, 2021). One noteworthy event was the plebiscite held on 25th October 2020, following a hard-won agreement between the government and the opposition. This plebiscite, originally delayed twice due to the pandemic, witnessed an overwhelming majority of over 80% of the population casting their votes in favour of drafting a new constitution, intended to replace the one established during the Pinochet dictatorship. Furthermore, amidst this transformative period, Gabriel Boric, a former student leader and a progressive member of the Chamber of Deputies, achieved a historic victory by being elected as the President of the Republic on 19th December 2021. These interconnected events provide a broader context for comprehending the multifaceted dynamics that defined this period in Chile's history, during which CIMA continued to develop.

In order to gain a more thorough understanding of how this context has influenced the developmental path of Galería CIMA, the forthcoming sections will delve into the primary findings that constitute the third phase of its creative process. This exploration will illuminate the critical dynamics, elements, and practices that have shaped the cultural organisation's evolution.

7.2. Adapting through reflection: navigating change post social uprising

The findings revealed that Galería CIMA underwent an internal evaluation process during the third stage of development. The context of sudden *isolation* caused by the Covid-19 pandemic in the context of the Chilean social uprising had various impacts on the organisation. As discussed in the previous chapter, the cultural organisation not only participated actively in the Chilean social movement, but also emerged as a key political actor. In a short period of time CIMA's work shifted towards activist practices mainly articulated by a sense of urgency, particularly in the context of massive social demonstrations that took place nearby in Plaza Dignidad. However, during this

third phase, there was a noticeable reduction in both the frequency and scale of these demonstrations. The study found that this period of relative calm prompted a reflective process within the organisation, subsequently leading to further changes in Galería CIMA's operational dynamics.

In this section, I will examine the process of internal reflection expressed by participants during the third phase of the cultural organisation's development, focusing on how they navigated change following the social uprising. My primary objective here will be to explore their motivations and challenges, elucidating on the decision-making processes and adaptations made in the aftermath of the intense period of social revolt.

7.2.1. From revolt to uncertainty

A frequent theme that emerged from the interviews and material reviewed was a sense of loss of purpose among the participants. As observed in Chapter 6, Galería CIMA developed an active political role during the Chilean social revolt in which they collaborated intensely with various actors from the cultural sector towards the common objective of changing the socio-political system inherited from the dictatorship. The social uprising provided participants with a stimulating platform for political expression and a deep sense of meaning about their work. However, as the pandemic unfolded, this sense of purpose began to wane. Trinidad's account illustrates this transformation. She describes the dramatic shift from the bustling streets, brimming with demonstrations and movements, to an overwhelming void of silence:

“It was an extremely radical change, especially in intensity, from being on the streets, in demonstrations and movements, to being in this void and absolute silence.” (Trinidad. In-depth interview 3).

The mass demonstrations in the streets surrounding the cultural space became crucial during the previous phase, since, as we observed, they encouraged the emergence of activist practices within the organisation. Trinidad's narration clarifies how the subsequent state of silence led to profound changes. Trinidad's words allude to a sense of isolation and a potential struggle to reconcile the new emptiness with the previous fervour.

A point to consider is that the drastic change of circumstances triggered by the pandemic had a substantial impact not only for the people of CIMA, but also meant a loss of optimism for the entire social movement. The Chilean society went from collective expectation of a shared future, to individual resignation in the face of halted time. As Richard (2020, p. 424) argues:

“Perhaps the most sensitive aspect of what happened in Chile has been this collapse of time/times that suddenly led us from the mobilization of collective desires (October 2019) to forced immobilization and individual confinement (March 2020). The pandemic took away from us the exceptional time of social revolt (the exceptional as well as the out-of-series) to condemn us to the ordinary time of quarantine and its monotonous repetition of the same.”

In Chile, the arrival of the pandemic not only brought health and economic challenges, but also took away the optimism of a collective process of social change. The abrupt disruption of the social movement and the subsequent imposition of a static and constrained reality has had far-reaching consequences, casting a shadow of doubt and uncertainty over the prospects of positive societal transformation.

I conducted interviews with the founders and closest collaborators of the organisation in the initial months of the pandemic. Through these interviews, it became apparent that they were grappling with a profound sense of uncertainty regarding the organisation's future. The participants collectively acknowledged the transformative nature of their experiences during the social uprising. However, they expressed a lack of clarity regarding the potential ramifications of their work in the aftermath of the revolt. The following excerpt from an interview I conducted with one of the founders during this period encapsulates this sentiment:

“I am not sure if we have yet managed to understand what happened. I believe that there is still time to be able to integrate this whole process in ourselves, but I do believe that it was a rather forced distance that allowed us to connect with our own themes, problems, processes, you know? As a team, as individuals, as a collective too. In different conversations at that time concern arose about what to do with the situation.” (Sebastián. In-depth interview 3).

Thus, despite the disappointment of the freezing of the protests against the unequal socio-economic system, CIMA were prompted to engage in a process of evaluation regarding their practices and future plans.

7.2.2. Exploring reflection, evaluation, and collective decision-making

The sudden change in context not only evoked a feeling of loss of purpose, but also triggered a need to collectively address and decide on actions to take as an organisation, leading to introspection, evaluation of their work, and recognition of the possibilities in the new and unexpected context.

Throughout my interviews, I witnessed that the unexpected decline in the social uprising demonstrations acted as a catalyst for participants, causing them to pause and reflect on their involvement during the revolt. Specifically, the participants expressed a need to evaluate their efforts during the social uprising, examining CIMA's role within it and the consequences it had on their work and life. In contrast to the previous phase, where decision-making was marked by a spontaneous response to the exceptional circumstances, the participants emphasised that the substantial decrease in street protests presented an opportunity to take a step back and evaluate their project with greater reflection and analysis. In the following fragment, Trinidad delves into how the cessation of the street demonstration created space for reflection on the intense experiences lived in the previous months:

“Somehow the pandemic forced us to get out of the gallery space a bit, because the quarantines had already started...nothing was happening in the square, people no longer got together there, I feel like it was a moment that allowed us to just begin to understand and distance ourselves from what we had lived through all those months” (Trinidad. In-depth interview 3)

This quote reveals a sense of relief in terms of their ability to understand and emotionally separate themselves from the intense experience that social uprising meant for participants.

In general, the findings suggest that individuals working within CIMA felt overwhelmed by their experiences during the Chilean revolt. Nevertheless, when the demonstrations ceased, they were

able to reflect more clearly on their participation in the revolt. This post-revolt period offered them a valuable opportunity to gain insights and develop a deeper understanding of the role of Galería CIMA beyond the context of the revolt:

“Because with the pandemic we had to lock ourselves in, I feel that this decanted all the energy... At one point we were with Trini talking about what else we could do? Because now there weren't even demonstrations, so what does Galería CIMA do now? We were just showing the empty plaza all the time” (Daniel. In-depth interview).

In summary, the findings provide insights into the reflective and evaluative processes undertaken by those involved in CIMA during a period of unexpected change. As street protests declined, participants paused to assess their involvement in the social uprising, examining CIMA's role within the broader context and the impact it had on their work and personal lives. This reflection allowed for emotional distancing and a deeper understanding of the intense experiences they had encountered. The participants expressed a sense of relief and newfound clarity in their perceptions, as they gained insights and contemplated the future direction of Galería CIMA in the absence of street demonstrations. Overall, these findings help us to understand the complexities of making decisions and adapting as a group when faced with unforeseen circumstances. They emphasise the importance of reflection and evaluation in shaping the responses of cultural organisations.

7.2.3. From reaction to creation: rethinking cultural actions in CIMA's organisational development

During a period characterised by relative calm, the members of the organisation embarked on a process of reflection. This introspective effort implied a critical examination of their individual and collective actions, as well as a contemplation of alternative paths and potentialities. In particular, the findings suggested that this introspective approach played a critical role in uncovering new opportunities and aspirations related to organisational future development. Consequently, new development perspectives arose, which meant new adaptation processes within the cultural organisation.

An important opportunity that emerged during this period of reflection was related to effectively managing CIMA's growing audience, particularly the influx of new subscribers to their social media platforms (Figure 49).



Figure 49. YouTube Creator Award plaque. This award was given to CIMA by YouTube after they reached 100,000 subscribers on their channel. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.

As outlined in Chapter 6, the organisation experienced an unexpected surge in its online audience during the social revolt, primarily due to the widespread dissemination of their streaming and their collaborative artistic actions during the protests. However, it became evident that the organisation lacked essential knowledge about this large number of recent users, including their behaviour, demographics, and connection to art. This knowledge gap presented both a problem that needed to be addressed, and an opportunity for further exploration:

“We have a YouTube channel with a lot of subscribers, but we don't know how they behave, we don't know who they are, we don't know their link to art. We only know that they are interested in what happens in ‘Plaza Dignidad’, perhaps in something purely social and political.” (Sebastián. In-depth interview 3).

“At that moment, the concern arose: what do we do now? We have a space that cannot be used and a YouTube channel with many subscribers, but what do we do with it? So that's

when we came up with this series: ‘Otoño en Silencio’¹⁰² [Autumn in Silence]. It was an audio-visual series in collaboration with different artists and we decided to create content for the YouTube channel, too, to understand what was happening with our audience.” (Daniel. In-depth interview).

Participants pondered over the challenge of resuming their creative work with artists after the intense period of the revolt. Throughout the upheaval, they engaged in activist practices, but they felt reactionary to the rapidly unfolding political events. Now, with a considerable amount of time to evaluate their practices, and with events and activities halted, the team faced the question of how to approach their cultural actions more intentionally and deliberately. In one of Trinidad's interviews, she articulated this sentiment as follows:

“There, we also began to ask ourselves how to resume our creative work together with the artists because somehow, during the revolt, although we engaged in artistic actions and hosted light projections, everything was very reactionary to what was happening politically, very much on the fly. And here we were now, with a lot of time to think, because there was nothing to do, nothing was happening, we no longer had events, nothing was happening with the camera.” (Trinidad. In-depth interview 3)

Thus, the participants utilised the period of calm to reconsider their work and incorporate their previous experiences. The challenges posed by the pandemic prompted a re-evaluation of their cultural action. Moreover, they reflected on the need to transition from intuitive and spontaneous responses during the revolt, to a more deliberate and intentional approach to create cultural and artistic actions.

This period of reflection and reevaluation, therefore, proved transformative for CIMA's organisational development, as it unveiled new opportunities and spurred a shift towards more strategic cultural actions. By leveraging its online audience and embracing a deliberate approach to creativity, CIMA navigated the challenges of the pandemic while continuing to make an impact through its creative endeavours. As a result, the organisation developed new ways of working which are going to be explored in the following sections of this chapter.

¹⁰² The series ‘Otoño en Silencio’ is available at:
<https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLoBI2QbPmK5OsSNfVbdJG9XXXBMXF7Ee0>

7.3. Exploring expanded practices in Galería CIMA

The analysis revealed that during this phase, Galería CIMA significantly expanded the range of practices exercised by the organisation. As we delve deeper into the findings, it becomes evident that the gallery's evolution was marked by a diversification of its activities. This diversification not only encompassed the continued maintenance of the Plaza Dignidad audio-visual archive but also extended to the adoption of a nomadic approach to spatial utilisation.

The first part of this section will delve into the findings that highlight the significance of engaging with this archive in two distinct dimensions. Firstly, it highlights the archive's historical significance in capturing critical moments and evolving dynamics of demonstrations over time, leaving a lasting impact on CIMA and other organisations. Secondly, it reveals the archive's role as a catalyst for artistic exploration within CIMA, influencing their creative trajectory and search for new channels of expression, both locally and internationally.

The second part of this section will examine how they explored other venues, both in Chile and internationally, in their quest for new ways to amplify their work and experience and engage with audiences. This part will particularly focus on three pivotal projects and locations that have emerged as key from the data: the virtual exhibition at the Museum of Democracy (Berlin), the Balmaceda Arte Joven cultural centre (Santiago), and the Reina Sofía Museum (Madrid).

7.3.1. Archival practices

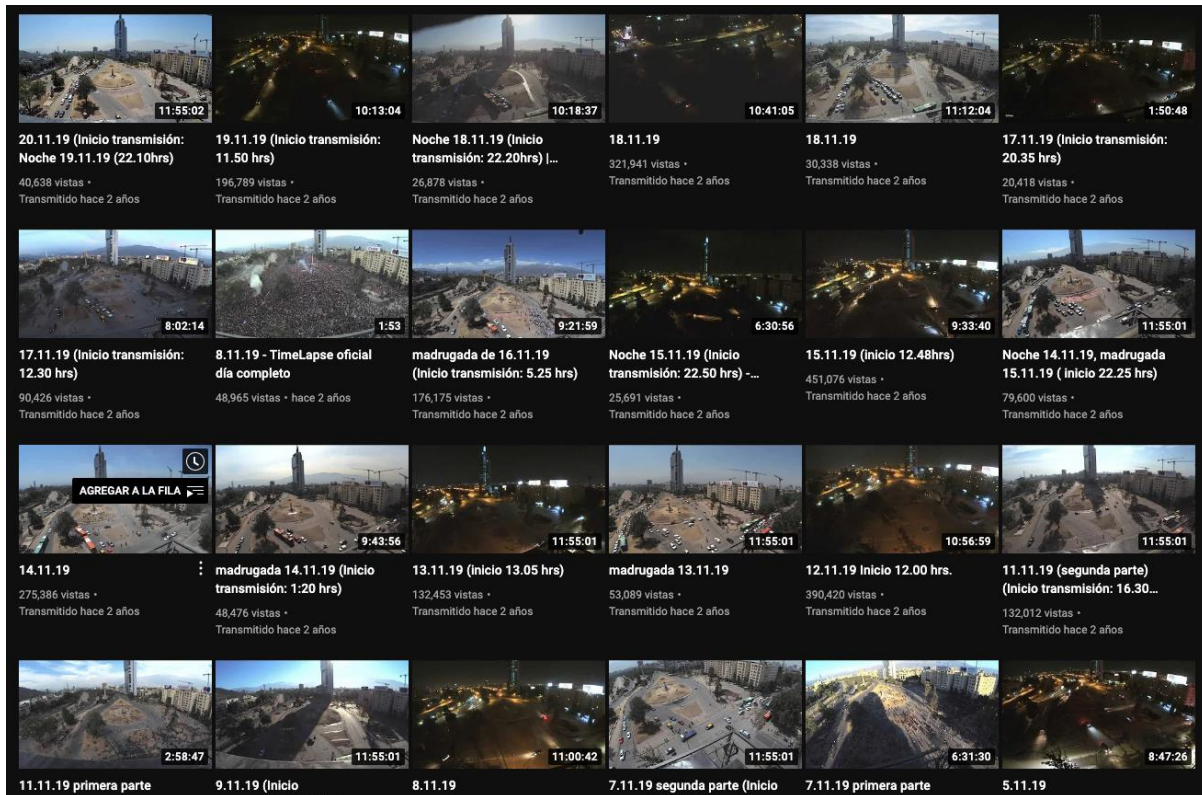


Figure 50. Screenshot of a portion of CIMA's YouTube audio-visual archive. The image shows videos from the second month of the social revolt. Source: Galería CIMA's YouTube channel¹⁰³.

As previously explored, the real-time transmission from CIMA's fixed security camera played a vital role in the previous phase (Chapter 6). During this phase, the cultural organisation continued transmitting from its terrace; nevertheless, the findings revealed that the recordings, in what is now referred to as the Plaza Dignidad audiovisual archive of CIMA, assume significant importance in its continued evolution as a cultural organisation (Figure 50).

The audio-visual archive comprises an extensive collection exceeding 20,000 hours of videos, primarily consisting of uninterrupted livestreams from Plaza Dignidad from October 2019. It could be argued that CIMA's audio-visual archive is not fragmentary¹⁰⁴. These videos have been

¹⁰³ <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC4GOcOKkEefz5NamN4WyMFg/videos>.

¹⁰⁴ The fragmentary condition of archives has been widely studied, particularly in the case of those containing records, images, and footage of social movements and politically motivated state crimes. See for example, Bowles, B. (2023) 'Fragmentary, Censored, Indispensable', *French historical studies*, 46(2), 177–212.

meticulously captured by the fixed outdoor security camera known as Centinela. The camera operates 24/7. Thus, one noteworthy feature of this digital archive is the extensive duration of its contents. In this regard, addressing the challenge of what to exclude from this digital archive (Featherstone, 2000), the primary objective was to retain everything, especially the long-duration recordings documenting the unfolding of the social uprising.

This archive, predominantly stored on CIMA's YouTube platform and a digital backup, encompasses a comprehensive and daily updated compilation of all the streamed content prepared by the members of the organisation. In that sense, this archive can be considered a living-archive, which is "present, on-going, continuing, unfinished, open-ended" (Hall, 2001, p.89).

Regarding the type of documentation classification, each individual video within this repository of more than 2,000 videos is accompanied by pertinent information such as the date of occurrence, and in select cases, relevant keywords pinpointing specific events. For example, notable occurrences like the 'The largest march in Chile' on 25th October 2019¹⁰⁵, along with the International Women's Day rally on 8th March 2020¹⁰⁶, find their place within these records. Thus, the continuously expanding audiovisual archive, a prominent outcome of CIMA's efforts since the inception of the Chilean social uprising, plays a pivotal role in the organisation's evolution during its third phase of development.

In this section, I will delve into the presence of archival practices within the context of the third phase of CIMA's creation. As previously discussed, this stage is characterised by an internal process of reflection and evaluation in the organisation. During this third phase, both the programme and work practices undergo modifications. Within this context, the work with video recordings from CIMA's terrace of the Plaza Dignidad during the Chilean social revolt emerges as a pivotal practice.

¹⁰⁵ View, for example, the eight-hour-long uninterrupted recording of the so-called largest march in Chilean history here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DMaSEx506p0>

¹⁰⁶ View, for instance, the time-lapse produced by CIMA, which captures the progression of the large-scale demonstration commemorating International Women's Day on the 8th of March 2020. This video offers a fast-motion depiction of the developments and activities in 'Plaza Dignidad' between 6 AM and 4 PM: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3KGYtkMYVVY>

The findings suggest that engaging with this archive holds significance in two distinct ways. First and foremost, the findings demonstrate the archive's historical significance as a repository capturing critical moments and the evolving dynamics of demonstrations over time. This historical value has left an indelible mark on CIMA and extends its relevance to other organisations as well. Secondly, the research identifies the archive's role as a catalyst for artistic exploration within CIMA. In essence, these findings underscore the vital contribution of the Plaza Dignidad audiovisual archive to CIMA's trajectory.

Preserving memory: the historical meaning of the audio-visual archive

The findings indicate that the historical significance of the audio-visual archive emerges as a central theme. Participants place great importance on the ongoing development of the video recording archive, recognising its vital role in preserving a reliable history of one of Chile's significant social movements of recent decades. Their commitment to maintaining and disseminating the audio-visual archive, which documents the protests in 'Plaza Dignidad', is notably strong. Trinidad, in an interview with the Chilean FM radio station Duna, emphasised the value of this archive:

“For us, it is crucial to continue with this archive...because the territory continues to transform, the square. It is important to re-think this territory and re-signify it after all these changes” (Lopetegui, 2022)

Similarly, Daniel, the curator of CIMA, emphasised the importance of enhancing the country's historical memory during this period of engagement with the audiovisual archive. He views Galería CIMA's primary contribution as the creative management and administration of this archive, which plays a vital role in preserving and comprehending the nation's history. By providing access to an uninterrupted record of a symbolic site of social protest, the archive facilitates discussions about the recent past and makes resources available for further research and analysis. When asked about the political role that Galería CIMA could have in the aftermath of the social uprising, he reflects:

“Now, I feel that [CIMA] it is becoming like a place that has a historical burden, when you go to the gallery now you look through the terrace and see how the battlefield turned out, you know? So, I feel that it has to do a little more with the idea of memorial... I feel that

[CIMA] definitely has political importance, but now it is linked to the historical and the memorial.” (Daniel. In-depth interview)

In contrast to the previous phase, where real-time transmission held central relevance, working with recorded materials emerged as a pivotal practice during this phase. Here, the core team of the organisation found it pertinent to engage with the recorded materials, with the aim of collaboratively constructing a shared memory of the events. This shift indicates a notable sense of responsibility among them, a responsibility they now carry as a cultural organisation. Particularly in a country in which discussions around memory and archives have been critical in the reconstruction of the social fabric and processes of reparation after the horrors of the military dictatorship¹⁰⁷.

For participants, the immense impact of the audiovisual archive is evident, and it has motivated them to preserve the archive as a means of preserving Chile's memory. The following transcript extract from one of the interviews with Daniel demonstrates how the audio-visual archive serves as a tool for CIMA to sustain the political engagement they established during the Chilean social uprising:

“...[CIMA] has the archive, which is an important thing. Also, what we are doing with Centinela¹⁰⁸. Currently, there are fifteen thousand hours on YouTube of a key moment in the history of Chile that belongs to all of us, and that could be studied infinitely.” (Daniel. In-depth interview).

Likewise, for other contributors to the organisation, the audiovisual archive constitutes "one of the most significant records of Chile's history. And one of the most reliable, because the perspective it has does not allow the facts to be changed" (Harold. In-depth interview).

¹⁰⁷ See, for instance, ‘Documenting Dictatorship: Writing and Resistance in Chile's Vicaría de la Solidaridad’ (Bell, 2021) and ‘Reckoning with Pinochet the memory question in democratic Chile, 1989-2006’ (Stern, 2010).

¹⁰⁸ Centinela is the name of both the fixed camera installed on the terrace of Galería CIMA and a video installation and exhibition displayed at Museum of Democracy (Berlin) and “Balmaceda Arte Joven” cultural centre (Santiago).

Another aspect to consider is that the significance of Galería CIMA's video archive extends beyond the interviews conducted for this research, gaining recognition and finding various applications. One significant realm where the archive has proved invaluable is in human rights activism. Its extensive collection of visual data has played a crucial role in exposing human rights violations and advocating for justice. An example of this can be seen in the research conducted by Forensic Architecture, a prominent agency located in Goldsmiths, University of London. Their project titled "Tear Gas in Plaza de la Dignidad" (Forensic Architecture , 2020) showcases the power of Galería CIMA's visual data as a tool of activism (Figure 51; Figure 52). This research was commissioned by No+ Lacrimógenas, a Chilean medical-activist group, to investigate the use of tear gas by authorities during protests in Plaza de la Dignidad, Chile.



Figure 51. Video investigation: 'Tear Gas in Plaza de la Dignidad' by Forensic Architecture. The image depicts an automated system designed to ascertain the time and location of observable tear gas clouds, using Galería CIMA's videos as principal audio-visual resource. Source: Forensic Architecture (2020).



Figure 52. Video investigation: ‘Tear Gas in Plaza de la Dignidad’ by Forensic Architecture. The image depicts an automated system designed to ascertain the time and location of observable tear gas clouds, using Galería CIMA's videos as principal audio-visual resource. Source: Forensic Architecture (2020).

To carry out their study, Forensic Architecture analysed the vast collection of images from Galería CIMA, accurately reconstructing events during the protests¹⁰⁹. They used automated systems to identify the time and location of tear clouds in the footage, providing precise and data-driven analyses of tear gas deployment. This objective evidence from Galería CIMA supported the protesters' experiences and challenged official narratives about the events in Plaza de la Dignidad.

The collaboration between Forensic Architecture and No+ Lacrimógenas highlights the far-reaching impact of Galería CIMA's video archive in promoting positive change. By teaming up with activist groups, the archive has helped expose human rights abuses, supported evidence-based advocacy, and sought justice and accountability.

Furthermore, the use of Galería CIMA's data for activism has inspired other human rights organisations and researchers to explore its potential in addressing social justice issues worldwide. Making visual data accessible through such archives has empowered activists and enabled the public to engage with previously overlooked issues. As a result, Galería CIMA's video archive has

¹⁰⁹ See the full video ‘Tear Gas in Plaza de la Dignidad’ here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wx2-GOIk6vw>

surpassed its initial role as a repository of visual memories. It has become a crucial resource in the fight for human rights and social justice, supporting investigations, research, and advocacy efforts. This convergence of advanced analytical techniques with comprehensive visual data represents a significant step forward in using technology for social good.

In summary, this study's findings highlight the profound value of the audio-visual archive for participants and the wider public. The ongoing operation of the Centinela camera, capturing thousands of hours of live streams, showcases the team's commitment to preserving Plaza Dignidad's evolving narrative. The shift from real-time to recorded material demonstrates a transition towards collaborative memory construction, with Galería CIMA now assuming a role as archivists of historical memory. Ultimately, this research underscores the archive's central role in fostering historical understanding and collaborative memory-building.

Artistic archival practices

As previously mentioned, I observed a noticeable expansion in the range of activities undertaken within Galería CIMA. Upon analysing the collected data, it became clear that Galería CIMA's YouTube archive served not only as a repository of valuable historical material, but also as a catalyst for artistic exploration. According to participants, the audio-visual archive has become the foundation for artistic explorations conducted by both Galería CIMA team members and their closest collaborators. The organisation's members deepened their creative quest, focusing on creating artworks that, as will be discussed later, were exhibited in other art venues. Thus, the audiovisual archive not only represents historical value for the art organisation, but also spurred the expansion of creative practices articulated within the space. In that sense, one artistic creation mentioned frequently by participants was the video-installation and photographic exhibition, Centinela.

This exploration emphasises the significance of artistic archival practices at Galería CIMA, showcasing the dynamic interplay that creative expression can have within the realm of arts and cultural management practices.

Centinela¹¹⁰ - A transformative creative process



Figure 53. Video instalation: ‘Centinela’. Source: Galería CIMA¹¹¹.

Centinela constitutes the organisation’s first artistic exploration of the audiovisual archive and the first time that CIMA showed its work outside the space of the gallery¹¹². Centinela comprises a 4:40 minute video installation (Figure 53) showing of 23 events that happened in ‘Plaza Dignidad’ between 2019 – 2020. Among other relevant days for Chilean memory, the video captures the unfolding events within the square from 8th of November of 2019, when a sign with the word “Plaza de la Dignidad” was raised for the first time. The same day, Gustavo Gatica lost his vision when he was hit by police repression tools; on 27th November 2019, when Mauricio Fredes was electrocuted to death when he fell into an electrified pit while police repression was exercised in the middle of a demonstration in the Dignidad-Alameda axis. The same day the cultural centre ‘Cine Arte Alameda’ burned down; on 11th December 2019, the constitutional accusation against

¹¹⁰ As mentioned, the title of the video installation, Centinela, refers to the name of the fixed security camera installed on the terrace.

¹¹¹ <https://vimeo.com/543532504>

¹¹² The work has also been shown in several art spaces, including Balmaceda Arte Joven in Santiago, and The Museum of Democracy NgBk in Berlin, among others.

the Minister of the Interior, Andrés Chadwick, was approved; on 18th May 2020, Delight Lab collective projected the word “Hunger” on the Telefónica tower in Santiago, alluding to the ‘ollas comunes’ [soup kitchens] that formed spontaneously in vulnerable areas of the city; and on 25th June 2020, when Santiago was in strict lockdown.

The specific recordings included in the video (Figure 54) were selected by the team’s core members based on their socio-political relevance and their own experience and edited by an artist collaborator, Harold. The creative process was held during the pandemic and constituted an iterative process between the core team and the collaborator. In that sense, Harold remembers:

“The process of making Centinela was a constant iteration between CIMA and me. First of all, they sent me a list of days they thought were important for the video. Then, I began to review all this material and determine which parts of this lengthy recording I would use. After that, we went back and forward making until we finished it” (Harold. In-depth interview).



Figure 54. Collage of images from the Centinela video installation. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.

In the context of the creation of Centinela, the interviewees reflect on Galería CIMA's progression from an organisation, to a collaborative artistic collective. As Sebastián puts it:

"It has been very beautiful because in a way, it organically aligned with the invitation we mentioned to you before from the exhibition at the Museum of Democracy in Berlin, when they invite us to participate and propose this, asking us to showcase something. That was the first time we had done something like this " (Sebastián. In-depth interview 3)

This “organic” evolution finds its roots in Galería CIMA's YouTube archive, initially established to preserve historical materials associated with the social movement. Over time, this repository has metamorphosed into a rich source of artistic exploration and expression. Their work, ‘Centinela’, serves as compelling evidence of this transition, skillfully blending impartial documentation with subjective perspectives. Through this transformation, the horizons of their creative endeavours have expanded considerably. Certainly, far beyond the traditional limits of arts and cultural management.

For members of Galería CIMA, the audio-visual archive not only constitutes a collection of relevant historical records for the cultural organisation to manage, safeguard, and disseminate, but also catalysed the diversification and expanded boundaries of practices within the art space. As Trinidad stated during an interview with Radio Duna:

“We created this historical archive that emerged from the urgency, and we began to transform it into a body of artwork. We began to generate our own work from this material. We created an art collective that we call CIMA Vórtice Creativo, where several artists participate” (Lopetegui, 2022).

The findings presented in this section shed light on the profound impact of artistic archival practices on the evolution of Galería CIMA. The ‘Centinela’ installation serves as a vivid exemplar of this shift, intertwining factual documentation with creative interpretation to craft a nuanced narrative of the socio-political movement and the dynamics of a highly symbolic urban space as ‘Plaza Dignidad’. This evolution broadens the organisation's creative horizons and emphasises the relationship between safeguarding history and embarking on artistic exploration in the context of arts and cultural management practices. The reflections of those interviewed reveal a transition from individual impetus to collective innovation, spurred by external invitations whilst being driven by their inherent dedication. Galería CIMA's trajectory during this phase underscores how archival materials can give rise to novel modes of expression and ultimately redefine the organisation's role within the artistic realm. The fusion of archival practices with artistic pursuits has propelled Galería CIMA from a static repository to a dynamic catalyst for creative growth, exemplifying the transformative potential intrinsic to archival exploration in the case of cultural organisations.

7.3.2. Exploring alternative places



Figure 55. Live streaming of Galería CIMA projected at ‘Balmaceda Arte Joven’ cultural centre. Source: @godoyphotoshoot¹¹³

Another new practice that emerged in the third phase of CIMA’s creation process was the use of multiple places. During this phase of development, Galería CIMA embarked on a transformative journey, one that expanded the use of space far beyond their iconic eleventh-floor location at Merced 22 in ‘Plaza Dignidad’, Chile. This section delves into their exploration of alternative venues, both within Chile and on the international stage, as they sought novel channels for creative expression and engagement.

The decision to explore alternative spaces was rooted in a profound desire to share not only their archival material, but also their associated artistic and activist endeavours with a broader audience. This drive to amplify their reach and impact as well as their motivation to experiment artistically led Galería CIMA to explore dynamic, nomadic spatial approaches, taking them to new territories of creative manifestation. In the words of Daniel, curator and active participant of this process at

¹¹³ <https://walkingstgo.cl/fotos-inauguracion-exposicion-centinela-de-galeria-cima-en-balmaceda-arte-joven-23-10-2021/>

the art organisation, "Currently, the gallery is present in multiple formats and places." (Aguayo, 2022).

This place expansion from their original, uniquely positioned venue at the heart of 'Plaza Dignidad' was a conscious and strategic choice. As consistently shown during the current study, their location had afforded them an unparalleled vantage point for documenting and engaging with the city, particularly during relevant protests in the context of the social uprising, as explored in the previous chapter. However, the onset of the pandemic and the temporary suspension of street demonstrations prompted them to re-evaluate their role as an artistic collective. It was then that they seized the opportunity to extend their sphere of influence by venturing into new, unconventional spaces, both within Chile and abroad. In Sebastián's words, "It was somehow the pandemic that forced us a little bit to leave the gallery space." (In-depth interview 3).

Three pivotal projects

During this phase, three key projects emerged as cornerstones of Galería CIMA's exploration of alternative spaces:

a. The Museum of Democracy virtual exhibition

Their debut in diverse cultural environments began with the virtual exhibition 'Centinela' hosted by the Museum of Democracy¹¹⁴. This collaboration with the Museum nGbK in Berlin provided them with a global platform, allowing them to showcase their unique perspective and artistic practices to a broader audience. The virtual format also encouraged experimentation with innovative modes of presentation and interaction, further enriching their creative exploration.

The invitation from the Museum nGbK in Berlin provided Galería CIMA with the opportunity to explore their artistic potential as well as showcase their work on an international platform, exposing their unique perspective and artistic practices to a wider audience. The virtual format of the exhibition also allowed them to experiment with new modes of presentation and interaction, further enhancing their creative exploration.

¹¹⁴ <https://ngbk.de/en/show/566/des-museums-online>

b. Balmaceda Arte Joven

Next, they participated in the “Tres Ojos” cycle at Balmaceda Arte Joven cultural centre¹¹⁵, in Santiago, Chile, between October and November 2021. The participation of CIMA consisted of the video-installation ‘Centinela’, testimonials of their practices since the Chilean social uprising, the visual projection of their live-streaming, and an array of 400 files containing one specific piece of footage from their audiovisual archive with a QR code that linked to the video in the archive (Figure 56; Figure 57). This exhibition was the first time the organisation used another physical infrastructure to show their work. This expansion into another cultural space of importance in the country strengthened their presence as a significant artistic force and reinforced their commitment to promoting a democratic and impartial representation of societal events through their visual art installations.

As Balmaceda wrote, “[We invited] CIMA Gallery to occupy the exhibition space of our last exhibition of the Tres Ojos cycle (2019 – 2021) in October and November of this year. This invitation is directly related to the curatorial idea, in the sense that the CIMA Gallery camera has been a counter-vigilant eye of the transforming events of the last two years in our country.”



Figure 56. Exhibition: ‘Centinela’. The image shows 400 pieces of footage from Galería CIMA’s audiovisual archive displayed at the ‘Balmaceda Arte Joven’ cultural centre. Source: @godoyphotos

¹¹⁵ <https://www.balmacedartejuven.cl/noticias/centinela-la-primera-exposicion-de-galeria-cima-en-chile-llega-a-baj/>



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Figure 57. Exhibition: 'Centinela'. Footage number 392. Source: Galería CIMA.

c. The Reina Sofía Museum Exhibition in Madrid

The third significant moment was their participation in the 'Graphic Turn' exhibition at the Reina Sofía Museum in Madrid from May to October 2022 (Figure 58; Figure 59). This exhibition allowed them to display two photographs from the mapping projection titled "Que su rostro cubra el horizonte," in collaboration with Delight Lab. Additionally, they conducted a workshop titled 'Graphic outbreak'¹¹⁶ in collaboration with Delight Lab, providing a space for collective reflection and the creation of slogans that could be projected in public spaces, aiding in the advocacy of social issues such as health exclusion in the Spanish State.

As part of my fieldwork, I was able to go to Madrid for the opening of the Graphic Turn exhibition at the Reina Sofía Museum in May 2022. This exhibition was a milestone for Galería CIMA. During my encounters with the group, I noticed the excitement and sense of political responsibility of being part of a large exhibition in an established Spanish institution. Their inclusion in the

¹¹⁶ <https://www.museoreinasofia.es/en/activities/graphic-bursts-7>

‘Graphic Turn’ exhibition at the renowned Reina Sofia Museum not only provided Galería CIMA with a prestigious platform to showcase their work, but also positioned them on the global stage of contemporary art. The exhibition's focus on exploring new forms of graphic representation and its socio-political implications aligned perfectly with Galería CIMA's core objectives, making them an ideal contributor to the discourse surrounding art, politics, and societal issues.



Figure 58. Flyer: ‘Giro Gráfico’ [Graphic turn] exhibition, showing one of the photographs exhibited.
Source: Reina Sofia Museum website.



Figure 59. Exhibition: 'Giro Gráfico'. The image shows the projection 'Que su rostro cubra el horizonte' displayed in the Reina Sofía Museum in Madrid, Spain. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.

To sum up, the collaborations with Museum nGbK, Balmaceda Arte Joven, and Reina Sofía Museum served to extend Galería CIMA's presence and engagement beyond their original 'Plaza Dignidad' location. This expansion into different cultural spaces within their home country and on the global stage strengthened their position as a significant artistic force and reaffirmed their commitment to promoting social change as well as their interest in artistic exploration. In summary, the journey of Galería CIMA reflects a remarkable expansion in their use of space, allowing them to explore other places. This shift towards embracing alternative cultural spaces has not only propelled Galería CIMA into new realms of creative expression and outreach but has also allowed them to extend their artistic influence within Chile and internationally, forging connections with diverse audiences and transcending spatial boundaries.

7.4. Consolidating practices of care and trust

Throughout the course of my fieldwork, a noteworthy observation emerged regarding the prevailing organisational practices—namely, their strong foundation in principles of care and compassion. This characteristic was observed across all three phases, but it became particularly pronounced in the third phase, where its prominence was solidified. Notably, during the process of establishing the arts organisation, a key insight surfaced: the experiences encountered by participants during the social uprising played a pivotal role in shaping the interactions and dynamics that defined their collaborative efforts. A prevailing theme among participants was their perception of their work as rooted primarily in emotional bonds and shared political viewpoints. This insight underscores the significant influence of personal relations and collective ideals within the framework of their cultural management practices.

When discussing internal work dynamics, participants often displayed deep emotional connections. Despite Galería CIMA serving as their workspace, they described a profound bond rooted in their shared experiences within the art gallery, particularly during the social upheaval. For instance, Daniel, the curator, articulated this sentiment when reflecting on the organisation's exhibition approach:

“The gallery's spirit is truly unique. Only those of us present can truly grasp it, as it transcends mere work...[and includes] the confidence to touch topics that unite us, through spirituality, and by luck also. I feel that all of us who have been in this group, on that terrace, have cried, we have laughed, we have danced, we have been through all of that. We have screwed it up, and we have hugged each other. It is much more intense than just doing a job together, you know?” (Daniel. In-depth interview)

This excerpt exemplifies how the extreme social context of the political crisis imprinted enduring marks on participants, influencing their approach to organisational work. Moreover, this connection extends beyond professional logic, suggesting an amplified significance of emotional ties during this third phase.

Bourriaud's argument that contemporary art has evolved to emphasise the human interactions and social contexts generated by artistic practices seems to resonate with Galería CIMA. Bourriaud

suggests that art has moved beyond a focus solely on the art object to encompass the relationships it fosters (2002). The emphasis on emotional connections and relationships as the foundation of collaborative work aligns with the theoretical framework of relational aesthetics. As Bourriaud (2002) argues, contemporary art has shifted its focus from the object to the interhuman relationships and social interactions it generates: "a set of artistic practices which take as their theoretical and practical point of departure the whole of human relations and their social context, rather than an independent and private space" (Bourriaud, 2002, p. 113). In the context of Galería CIMA, the participants prioritise the emotional and human aspects of their collaborations, fostering a sense of intimacy and friendship that goes beyond mere professional relationships.

This feeling of emotional commitment and emphasis on human relationships to the work within CIMA seems to run across different roles. For Sebastián, the co-founder, for example, the work they do is based on common grounds:

"We believe that [CIMA] is something that absolutely exceeds us as individuals or where individuality ceases to matter, but rather it is something common; it is like a greater force that makes us operate, do and move forward." (Sebastián. In-depth interview 2).

Similarly, Flavio, sound technician and DJ, says:

"As a work team, it is the best team I have ever been in. Because of the treatment, the closeness, that your bosses are your best friends. We genuinely show concern for each other" (Flavio. In-depth interview).

CIMA's collaborative approaches to organisational work ethos seem to echo the notion of a social turn in the art field, as argued by British art historian and critic Clare Bishop, in which a "surge of artistic interest in collectivity, collaboration, and direct engagement with specific social constituencies" (2012, p.1) is observed. In that sense, "These practices are less interested in a relational *aesthetic* than in the creative rewards of collaborative activity—whether in the form of working with preexisting communities or establishing one's own interdisciplinary network." (2006, p.179). The relevance of establishing a collaborative process is also evident in how the organisation shapes the work with artists and external collaborators. For instance, consider

Alejandra, an artist who collaborated with CIMA through her independent publishing house ¹¹⁷ for the first time during this phase. She describes her experience working on the exhibition 'Caos' (Chaos)¹¹⁸ as follows:

"It was a collaborative and very committed work. For example, we made the choice of the material that we exhibited together between my publishing house and CIMA. The whole process, the exhibition installation...For me it exceeds a relationship work, really, I feel now we are friends." (In-depth interview)

Participants consistently emphasise their work's emotional underpinning, encompassing relationships within Galería CIMA's team and their collaborating artists. When queried about organisational work dynamics, participants unanimously underscore the primacy of relationships. Photographer Luis, a longstanding collaborator since the early days of the social movement, described how his engagement with the cultural organisation primarily revolves around emotions and horizontal collaboration:

"I really like to collaborate, and then everything starts from there, from the emotional, from the human. And the truth is that this is how things turn out. I live nearby, so if they need help, I'll offer it and go. Basically, I became a part of the history of Galería CIMA." (Luis. In-depth interview).

"It's like everything is emotional and from our empathy. I mean, now I would say that there is more friendship than anything else. We are friends now. Yesterday I went to eat a pizza with Sebastián." (Luis. In-depth interview).

"I would say that it continues from there, from the simple, from the guts. Of course, they manage; they try to manage things so that things come out and things come out, and collaborations are always needed. So, the first person they think of is still the one they went through this whole process with." (Luis. In-depth interview).

"The first thing is that there is a human connection; of course, that's the first thing. It's the basics of our relationship. From even the esoteric, from the human, from the emotional, from the aesthetic, from the ethical... See what happened [in the social uprising]. That is the beautiful part of this crisis: knowing that we all have transformed." (Luis. In-depth interview).

"The relationship with CIMA is totally horizontal" (Luis. In-depth interview).

¹¹⁷ <https://www.instagram.com/elrayoverdeeditorial/>

¹¹⁸ <https://galeriacima.cl/exhibiciones/caos/>

Similarly, in an in-depth interview, Felipe expressed his satisfaction with the collective efforts at CIMA, emphasising a shared sense of unity. Regardless of his administrative role, Felipe's strong commitment and advocacy for the cultural organisation's success emerged, as he remembered:

“I feel that we all rowed in the same direction, I liked that we all did everything. Regardless of my work as an administrator, I felt very committed and championed for CIMA to look and work well.” (Felipe. In-depth interview)

In summary, participants consistently underscored the significance of care and trust as foundational elements within the organisational structure. Both the team members and close collaborators perceived their collaborative efforts as hinging on emotional connections and shared experiences of uncertainty during the social upheaval. As the organisation progressed through its creation phase, this emotional fabric grew more intricate, leading to a shift from a strictly technical approach to a more emotionally driven work process.

7.5. Discussion. Reimagining arts and cultural management: Galería CIMA's further transformation

In summary, the findings demonstrate that during its third developmental phase, Galería CIMA further expanded their practices. Significantly, this phase was intricately connected with the broader socio-political context. As observed, this period aligned with a pivotal occurrence - the arrival of the Covid-19 pandemic in Chile. This event not only triggered substantial public health consequences, as in the rest of the world, but also brought about a shift in the landscape of political insubordination (Richard, 2020) of the Chilean social uprising - a social movement that held a defining significance during the organisation's prior developmental phase. In other words, the advent of the pandemic drastically reshaped the environment in which the organisation operated. As a result, the third phase witnessed numerous dynamic transitions, encompassing the organisation's further internal transformation and external contextual adjustments that continue to shape the creation process of Galería CIMA.

In particular, the findings reveal that three key elements and dynamics characterised the third phase of CIMA's creation. This includes, firstly, a process in which the core team reflectively assessed the organisation's activities during the Chilean social uprising. Secondly, there was the emergence of two new practices—archival practices, and an expansion of space utilisation. Finally, there was the consolidation of care and compassion dynamics as the foundation of the organisational structure. These findings contribute to a broader understanding of CIMA's adaptive strategies, political engagement, spatial exploration, and underlying values during this phase.

In the following sections, I will delve into the implications of these findings, with a specific emphasis on how they may impact arts and cultural management main narratives and understandings.

7.5.1. The transformative role of the audio-visual archive in Galería CIMA

The findings of this study underscored the pivotal role played by Galería CIMA's audio-visual archive of 'Plaza Dignidad' in expanding the cultural organisation's practices. During the third phase of CIMA's creation journey, this archive emerged as a versatile resource that fundamentally reshaped the organisation's cultural endeavors, pushing the boundaries of its work.

The engagement with the archive and the significance recalled by participants exemplify the multifaceted and creative approach to the management and development of the cultural organisation in the aftermath of the Chilean social uprising. In that sense, this resonates with perspectives on arts and cultural management that view practitioners not merely as administrators, but as creators of meaningful public spheres, and potentially, as contributors to social and political change, as argued by Bendixen (2000), Mandel (2017), and Devereaux (2019), among others (see Chapter 2). Here, the archive serves a dual purpose, functioning not only as a unique historical documentation of the Chilean social uprising, but also as a creative resource for artistic explorations. Consequently, during this third phase, the audiovisual material became a significant element within the organisation, catalysing exploration, and experimentation, evolving into a meaningful archive- “something more ordered and considered: an object of reflection and debate” (Hall, 2001, p. 89).

According to Michel Foucault, archives are enunciation systems through which culture articulates its past. They are dynamic sites where power and knowledge intersect, shaping what is preserved and how historical narratives are constructed. In other words, archives are not neutral; they are instruments of cultural and political influence. As Foucault (1972, p. 129) argues, "The archive is first the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events...they are grouped together in distinct figures, composed together in accordance with multiple relations, maintained or blurred in accordance with specific regularities." In this sense, the audio-visual archive of Galería CIMA serves as a repository of evidence and memory that challenges dominant perspectives, such as those presented by mainstream media. Likewise, it facilitates discussions, historical investigations, and analyses rooted in a unique corpus of unedited, unselected long-duration materials, that reveals how the social movement unfolded over time (Skoller, 2018).

A catalyst for historical understanding and creative exploration

The uninterrupted and fixed shot perspective of the audiovisual material in the archive makes it a valuable open resource for exploring the performative character¹¹⁹ of 'Plaza Dignidad'. In that sense, this archive documents the constant transformation of the urban space, encompassing various states, movements of people, and the evolution of a highly symbolic urban area, especially throughout the development of the social movement. In this sense, it serves as a valuable and unique resource not only for external researchers, artists, and historians but also for individuals within the art organisation pursuing their own creative explorations.

As observed, the archive stimulated artistic exploration among the organisation's members. CIMA's artistic explorations with the archive echoes the notion of an "archival turn" as proposed

¹¹⁹ See, for instance, the book 'Ciudades Performativas' [Performative Cities] (2021), a compilation of essays edited by Pietsie Feenstra and Lorena Verzero, the performative dimension of cities, grounded in the theoretical framework of performativity drawn from the theory of speech acts by John L. Austin and John R. Searle (1969), explores the dynamic interplay between urban actions and the shaping of historical memory. Through cases such as the rounds that the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo have repeated every Thursday since 1977 around the Pyramid of Mayo in Buenos Aires, or the Berlin Wall case showing how the past intervenes in the ways of looking at the present, the authors examine, whether through institutionalised practices or artistic expressions, how actions within urban spaces have the power to influence both the present and past of a city.

by art historian Hal Foster (2004), among others. Since the end of the 20th century, the world of art and historiography has undergone an archival turn. This shift is related to the interest developed by artists, philosophers, historians, and art historians in the role of "cultural memory", in the conception of art as an archive, and in the configuration in which historiographic raw materials are legitimised so that they are able to endure over time. In the essay, 'An Archive Impulse' (2004), the art historian, Hal Foster, through the work of the artists Thomas Hirschhorn, Tacita Dean, and Sam Durant, manifests a marked archival impulse in contemporary art in which they use a variety of material that has historically been overlooked. Foster (2004, p. 1) argues, "the archival artists seek to make historical information, often lost or displaced, physically present. To this end they elaborate on the found image, object, and text, and favor the installation format as they do so. (Frequently they use its nonhierarchical spatiality to advantage-which is rather rare in contemporary art)". Foster observed that building new connections with the archive material is not only due to a desire to collate traces of the past to see what could last into the present, but also as a proposal for new orders of association based on the elaboration of fragmentation.

In the case of CIMA, this notion resonates in the creation of artistic projects such as "Centinela," illustrating how the organisation navigates the terrain of archival practices. Through the selective use of these materials as an ever-evolving resource, the organisation pioneers uncharted avenues of artistic engagement within their designated sphere of work. This creative exploration finds tangible expression in the curation of a thoughtfully assembled compilation, crafted from the extensive collection of uninterrupted audio-visual materials. This video installation serves as a lens through which 23 pivotal instances of social demonstrations and key moments in 'Plaza Dignidad' between 2019 and 2020, are highlighted. Through this approach, the cultural organisation rekindles historical moments in novel formats and spaces, effectively reflecting on the past through a creative lens. In doing so, CIMA articulates a relevant space to further investigate, both creatively and historically, the cultural memory¹²⁰ of the country.

¹²⁰ Cultural memory refers to the complex ways in which societies remember their past through various media and formats beyond the oral. As the German Egyptologist, Jan Assmann (2006) states, cultural memory investigates the "textuality of the past" and "the individual storage of texts, images and rites that are meant for reuse related to various societies and epochs". During the 1980s cultural memories studies experienced a boom in the social sciences (Erll, et al., 2010). Two of the key authors who contributed to understanding the formation of cultural memory studies are the French sociologist, Maurice Halbwachs,

The archive becomes a tangible manifestation of cultural memory, preserving and making accessible the experiences and expressions of the social movement that unfolded in 'Plaza Dignidad'. It serves as a means to engage with the past, fostering a deeper understanding of the events that have shaped the community's collective memory. The audio-visual archive of Galería CIMA, therefore, emerges as a powerful tool for historical understanding and collective reflection. It offers a resource for researchers, activists, and the wider public to access and engage with the events that unfolded at 'Plaza Dignidad'. By preserving, exploring and presenting these recordings, Galería CIMA not only captures the historical significance of the social revolt, but also facilitates the ongoing construction of cultural memory, ensuring that the experiences and voices of the social movement are not forgotten or erased (Halbwachs, 1950; Assmann, 2006). In this way, the archive contributes to the broader discourse on memory, history and its future interpretations and analysis, fostering perspectives of key social events outside hegemonic narratives.

In conclusion, the audio-visual archive of 'Plaza Dignidad' held by Galería CIMA has proven to be a transformative force within the cultural organisation's journey. It has expanded the boundaries of its work, serving not only as a repository of historical evidence but also as a catalyst for artistic exploration and creative engagement. In line with the evolving paradigm of the "archival turn" in contemporary art, the archive has enabled CIMA to forge new connections with the past, reimagining historical moments through innovative formats. Moreover, it has become a tangible embodiment of cultural memory, offering a vital resource for historical understanding and collective reflection. By preserving and presenting these recordings, Galería CIMA ensures that the voices and experiences of the social movement at 'Plaza Dignidad' endure, enriching the discourse on memory, history, and alternative narratives. The audio-visual archive emerges as a powerful tool for shaping the future interpretations and analyses of key social events, challenging

and the German literary critic and philosopher, Walter Benjamin, who in the first half of the 20th century proposed crucial approaches to understanding the social dimension of memory and the process of remembering, and published *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925) and *La mémoire collective* (1950), and a variety of essays during the 1930s and posthumously, respectively. Furthermore, the German art historian and cultural theorist, Aby Warburg, has contributed to this field with *Atlas Mnemosyne* (2012) and his perspective of symbolic images as constellations, memory, imagination, and the invitation to observe "the other life of antiquity", developed until 1924 through a device to rethink the images and to evoke analogies on the part of the spectators.

dominant perspectives, and contributing to a more inclusive and nuanced understanding of the cultural landscape. In doing so, CIMA implements, sustains, and explores an archive that challenge the influences of cultural power and authority (Hall, 2001), creating meaningful public spheres and contributing to social and political change.

7.5.2. Beyond the entrepreneurial self

One of the pictures that emerges from the findings is that collective dynamics based on trust and care, rather than an entrepreneurial approach focused on individual efforts, were fundamental to sustaining and continue developing this small cultural organisation. As discussed in Chapter 5, decision-making processes based on the founders' personal motivations and biographies were highly present in how the project began to take shape during the first identified phase of CIMA's development. Nevertheless, shared experiences and emotional connection seems to consolidate as a key organisational aspect in the aftermath of the Chilean social uprising. In other words, CIMA consolidates a way of working that focus on "forming horizontal networks of support that defy individualism" (Harvie, 2013, p. 23).

As examined, entrepreneurship holds a significant position within the framework of neoliberalism, with the entrepreneur often regarded as the central figure in neoliberal subjectivity (Jones & Spicer, 2009). This mindset has also gained prominence in the arts and cultural sector in recent years, resulting in a convergence of cultural work with business endeavours. Within this narrative, the cultural entrepreneur assumes a pivotal role (Loacker, 2013). Additionally, individualistic approaches to creativity have been closely associated with neoliberal subjectivity (Mould, 2018). As highlighted, particularly in Chapter 3, arts and cultural management has not remained untouched by this neoliberal perspective (Alexander, 2018; Bendixen, 2000; DeVereaux, 2019; Janamohan, 2019).

While creative work has long been understood as individualised labour (Banks & Milestone, 2011; Lee, 2018), wherein self-driven work identities and self-regulating subjectivities are emphasised (Beech et al., 2015; Naudin, 2017), some scholars argue that "unobligated relationships and practices of care and compassion grounded in the everyday pragmatism of being-with-others underpin creative work" (Alacovska, 2020). Moreover, scholars assert that cultural workers

possess the capacity to "counteract profit-driven individualized market rationality by valuing non-instrumental ethical connections to the autonomy of creative work – its collectively shared norms of excellence, communities of practice, and contributions to human well-being" (Alacovska, 2020, p.730). In this particular context, it becomes evident that the third phase of development for Galería CIMA signifies a noteworthy transformation in the internal dynamics of the organisation. This transformation is characterised by a pronounced consolidation of collaborative practices deeply rooted in notions of care and trust. Within this milieu, participants exhibit a discernible inclination towards affording paramount importance to emotional connections, the sharing of experiences, and the cultivation of a common sense of purpose. This proclivity takes precedence over the traditionally emphasised technical and managerial considerations.

This pivotal shift within Galería CIMA's operational ethos serves to underscore the organisation's steadfast commitment to fostering an environment characterised by nurturance and compassion. It is noteworthy that this strategic orientation aligns seamlessly with the ongoing evolution in the conceptualisation of creative work within contemporary academic discourse.

In that sense, it is essential to consider the nuances of the Chilean cultural management landscape, particularly the influence of neoliberal policies and modernisation efforts on the development of what some theorists refer to as the "entrepreneurial self." As De La Vega (2016, p. 99) observes, "It is clear that there is an obvious intent that closely links neoliberal policies in the nineties, the internalization of the discourse of cultural management in agents of the artistic field, and the need to encourage entrepreneurship, which, of course, should be managed by trained managers in managerial skills."

This emphasis on the entrepreneurial self is not unique to Chile but is rather a reflection of global geopolitical changes and the application of neoliberal and multicultural policies in Latin America. As De La Vega (2016, p. 98) remarks, "In the changes in the global geopolitical organization and the application of neoliberal and multicultural policies in Latin America, there is a kind of symbolic incorporation of social organizations of women, indigenous and Afro-descendant people and nationalities, sexual diversities, and also of artistic and cultural movements, which until then declared themselves anti-capitalist."

Moreover, Morales (2018) suggests that while in the Anglo-Saxon and European sphere there is an emphasis on new creative and cultural industries, in Latin America, a discourse and praxis are extending the strength of community cultural management. This results in a unique blend of professionalism, communitarianism, and entrepreneurship in a budding cultural management model.

This presence of the "entrepreneurial self" in Chilean cultural management, influenced by neoliberal policies and modernisation efforts, has implications for organisations like Galería CIMA. The emphasis on trust, care, and emotional connections within the organisation can be seen as a response to this broader cultural landscape, as it challenges dominant narratives favoured by business-oriented and technical strategies prevalent in the field. It can also be seen as an illustration of a hybrid (Muñoz del Campo, 2021) condition of the field in which the entrepreneurial spirit fostered by neoliberalism is blended with a community-oriented core that emerged as a form of resistance, ultimately shaping a complex cultural management landscape.

A relevant theory to consider is that of the emotional solidarity put forth by French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1912/1995). Emotional solidarity refers to the affective bonds that individuals shared based on similar beliefs, values and shared experiences. In that sense, the findings suggest that the work within Galería CIMA, particularly during the third phase, established work dynamics based on emotional solidarity. For example, participants largely agreed on the importance of care and emotional connection when discussing internal work dynamics. As observed, this was particularly emphasised during this third stage of creation corresponding to the period after the most critical moments of the social uprising experienced in the previous phase. In this sense, it was possible to observe that during this period this organisational premise based on solidarity emotionality became more relevant, formalising itself as an internal management system.

In that sense, the findings underscore the vital role of collective dynamics rooted in trust and care, as opposed to a strictly entrepreneurial approach that emphasises individual efforts. This finding aligns with Bilton's perspective on creative processes, emphasising their essentially collective nature despite appearing rooted in individual skill. As Bilton argues, "it is worth emphasising that

while apparently rooted in individual skill, creative processes in the creative industries are essentially collective" (Bilton, 2007, p. 27).

Within the context of Galería CIMA, this emphasis on collaboration manifests as a commitment to emotional connections, shared decision-making, and a common political outlook. These emotional bonds prove transformative in the realm of arts and cultural management practices. Daniel's words encapsulate the significance of this emotionally connected way of working, highlighting how it transcends mere work and fosters a sense of unity, spirituality, and shared experiences among participants: "Only those of us present can truly grasp it, as it transcends mere work...[and includes] the confidence to touch topics that unite us, through spirituality, and by luck also. I feel that all of us who have been in this group, on that terrace, have cried, we have laughed, we have danced, we have been through all of that. We have screwed it up, and we have hugged each other. It is much more intense than just doing a job together".

Notably, this commitment to emotional bonds transcends specific roles within the organisation and is viewed as an embodiment of shared values, challenging individualistic approaches to arts and cultural management practices. This insight is particularly relevant considering the arts and cultural management field has historically been characterised by the presence of more hierarchical ways of management. As Van Den Ende (2022, para. 2) argues, the field of arts and cultural management has traditionally been characterised by "top-down, utilitarian, and reductionist approaches have dominated the arts and cultural management field for too long."

In conclusion, within the landscape of Chilean arts and cultural management shaped by neoliberal policies, the centrality of trust and care within small art organisations, such as Galería CIMA, seems to assume great significance. In contrast to narratives of entrepreneurial self, Galería CIMA's orientation towards emotional interconnections and shared values emerged as key in their further development as a cultural organisation beyond its active participation in the context of social revolt.

7.5.3. Transcending boundaries

The findings of this study shed light on Galería CIMA's transformative journey during its third phase, where the cultural organisation expanded its approach to arts and cultural management practices. Notably, participants within the organisation not only engaged in activities closely related to the practice of art and cultural management, such as production, distribution, exhibition, and education (DeVereaux, 2009), but they also integrated archival practices, art creation, and activism into their internal operations. This evolution appeared to challenge conventional boundaries of arts and cultural management practices.

The establishment and consolidation of creative practices within the organisation hints at the emergence of a transdisciplinary dimension within arts and cultural management practices. In this section, we will delve into the concept of transdisciplinarity and its potential role in arts and cultural management, drawing in the case of Galería CIMA creation journey.

As observed, while existing literature often emphasises the interdisciplinary nature of arts and cultural management (Bendixen, 2000; Devereaux, 2009; Evard & Colbert, 2000; Paquette & Redaelli, 2015; Brkić & Byrnes, 2020). However, my intention here is to broaden this perspective further by highlighting its transdisciplinary potential. I aim to demonstrate how arts and cultural management can transcend disciplinary boundaries, leading to an expanded notion where conventional lines are blurred (Rogoff, 2014). This broader framework may reshape traditional discourses surrounding arts and cultural management and offers new opportunities to address complex challenges in evolving cultural landscapes.

Transdisciplinary exploration: Galería CIMA's unique path

Arts and cultural management is often characterised as an interdisciplinary field (Devereaux, 2009; Evard & Colbert, 2000). However, it is crucial to note that recent understandings of this interdisciplinary nature of the field, particularly in Global North contexts where the emphasis often leans towards technical and economic parameters, have frequently overlooked the possibilities for creative and artistic exploration as part of the potential. As Paquette and Redaelli (2015, p. 13) point out, "Arts management research is growing as interdisciplinary research, but it is mainly focused on technical and economic aspects, neglecting the creative and artistic dimensions".

During my fieldwork, it became evident that in Galería CIMA transcended the expected boundaries of managing a cultural organisation, emphasising particularly its creative and artistic dimensions. In this phase, key practices included archival methods, artistic methodologies, nomadic space utilisation, and the establishment of organisational structures rooted in trust and affection. Galería CIMA defied conventional expectations regarding the development and functioning of art organisations. This implies that embracing a more comprehensive approach, one that highlights the transdisciplinary potential of arts and cultural management practices that go beyond a sole emphasis on business or administrative aspects, could empower art organisations to challenge established power dynamics.

Russell et al. (2008, p. 461) describe transdisciplinarity as “a practice that transgresses and transcends disciplinary boundaries ... and seems to have the most potential to respond to new demands and imperatives. This potential springs from the characteristic features of transdisciplinarity, which include problem focus (research originates from and is contextualized in ‘real-world’ problems), evolving methodology (the research involves iterative, reflective processes that are responsive to the particular questions, settings, and research groupings) and collaboration (including collaboration between transdisciplinary researchers, disciplinary researchers, and external actors with interests in the research)”. In other words, a transdisciplinary approach transcends and merge boundaries while, for instance, interdisciplinary perspectives maintain the disciplinary domains borders clearer. In that sense, Piaget (1972, p. 138) argues that transdisciplinarity represents a "higher stage succeeding interdisciplinary relationships." In this approach, interactions between specialised domains are placed within a total system without firm boundaries between disciplines "which would not only cover interactions or reciprocities between specialized research projects but would place these relationships within a total system without any firm boundaries between disciplines". Transdisciplinarity, therefore, entails situating interactions between specialised domains within a comprehensive system, thereby extending rigid disciplinary demarcations. This approach not only includes interactions and reciprocities between disciplines but also seeks to encompass these relationships within a cohesive whole.

Arts and cultural management approaches within Galería CIMA stand as a notable example of transdisciplinarity in action. The research suggests that the organisation extends beyond conventional expectations in terms of the management and administration of this cultural organisation. Instead, it positions itself as a dynamic, transdisciplinary cultural organisation where boundaries between artistic, management and activist practices are blurred, and in doing so the limits of the possible (Derrida, 2004) are blurred too. This resonates with Irit Rogoff's (2014, p. 12) perspective on the expanded and transdisciplinary condition of art and cultural production, where "all definitions of practices, their supports, and their institutional frameworks have shifted and blurred." Rogoff also emphasises that practitioners in this field engage in multiple practices and share multiple knowledge bases, which has implications for entrepreneurial aspects and broader contemporary knowledge and practices.

In the case of Galería CIMA, it could be argued that an expanded approach in its internal practices might have contributed to escalating its capability to challenge power narratives, moving the art organisation beyond mere utilitarian or administrative endeavours. In that sense, the findings of this research lead to thinking about alternative ways to understand and further configure the field of arts and cultural management, considering its transdisciplinary condition as an opportunity to expand its contribution to wider society. This highlights the importance of expanding the knowledge base within the field. As observed, the findings suggest that embracing broader approaches, beyond mere commercial or administrative aspects, can provide opportunities for effectively challenging existing power structures through arts and cultural management practices.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter explored the third and final phase of the Galería CIMA development process as identified in the current study. This phase spanned from the onset of Covid-19 restrictions in early 2020 to the organisation's participation in the "Giro Gráfico" exhibition at the Reina Sofia Museum in Madrid in May 2022. Within this period, the socio-political context underwent a profound transformation due to the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic, with significant implications for the ongoing social uprising. This radical shift in context had a profound impact on the social dynamics within the cultural space. The urban environment underwent an

abrupt transformation, reshaping the practices and interactions of the cultural organisation with it. Thus, the cultural organisation navigated another wave of change.

During this phase, the process was characterised by a process of reflection and expansion on the creative practices exercised by the group of people involved in the cultural organisation. Moreover, CIMA recalibrated its strategies and approaches to adapt to these altered circumstances. Essentially, the Covid-19 pandemic acted as a catalyst for further change, compelling the organisation to re-evaluate its role and function within the evolving socio-political framework. Thus, in contrast to the previous phase characterised by a sense of urgency in internal dynamics and decision-making processes, the third phase was marked by sustained reflection regarding Galería CIMA's role and future projects. Team members and close collaborators engaged in a reflective evaluation process, examining their practices, experiences, and the political implications of their work within the social movement. This introspection deepened their understanding of their contributions and the challenges they faced in the evolving social landscape.

One significant element during this phase was the organisation's work with the digital archive of uninterrupted video recordings of 'Plaza Dignidad'. Archival practices assumed increasing importance in three ways. Firstly, it underscored the historical significance of the archive by capturing pivotal moments and the evolution of demonstrations over time. Secondly, it provided valuable insights for other organisations and held significant analytical potential, contributing to a deeper understanding of the socio-political context and, particularly, to the unfolding of the Chilean social uprising. Lastly, the video archive served as a foundation for artistic exploration within Galería CIMA's core team, allowing creative proposals from organisation members to flourish. By leveraging this video archive explorative, Galería CIMA enriched its transformative journey, infusing historical, analytical, and artistic dimensions into its work.

Additionally, during this phase, the cultural organisation redefined its spatial boundaries. While previously centred in the 1950s penthouse at Merced 22 in Santiago, Chile, the organisation's activities took on a nomadic approach as they ventured into diverse venues, both in Chile and internationally. This expansion represented a departure from their traditional base. Furthermore, the importance of a consolidated culture of care and compassion emerged as a key aspect of Galería

CIMA's organisational structure. This not only enhanced internal cohesion but also influenced their external relationships and interactions with the broader community.

By exploring the third phase of Galería CIMA's creation journey, this study has contributed to a deeper understanding of the organisation's development process and the transformative effects of external factors such as the Covid-19 pandemic. It highlighted the resilience and adaptability of cultural organisations in navigating challenging circumstances and emphasises the potential for innovative approaches to arts and cultural management.

In the next chapter, I will wrap up this thesis by discussing the contributions and implications of the previous three chapters and the entire research study. In doing so, I will present a summary of the main topics discussed throughout the thesis. It will answer the research questions, showing how the aims and objectives were addressed and the significance of my findings for the field of arts and cultural management. Furthermore, it will explain the research limitations and provide recommendations for further research studies.

Chapter 8. Thesis conclusion

This thesis has explored the creation process of Galería CIMA, a small independent cultural organisation that transformed into a key political actor during the Chilean social uprising (2019 - 2020). It examined the period from 2016 to 2022, revealing how this cultural organisation was developed before, during, and after the country's most significant social movement in recent decades.

This doctoral research fell within the field of arts and cultural management, a recent field that navigates between practice and theoretical knowledge. As seen, there is an important body of research on the functional aspects of the field, which includes a vast knowledge base focused on utilitarian elements, such as business modelling, fundraising, and organisational management skills often borrowed from business realms. Research in this area also emphasises quantitative, outcome-centred approaches (Casey & O'Brien, 2020). Nevertheless, little has been written on the specific developmental journeys and internal practices involved in creating a new cultural organisation, particularly those operating on a small scale in Global South countries. Some scholars have argued that this situation has impacted the theoretical development of the field. For example, some have argued that there is little in-depth analysis of practice within wider society, resulting in reductionist approaches (DeVereaux, 2009). Likewise, others argue that arts and cultural management research has mainly produced knowledge based on large-scale, Westernised, formal cultural organisations and various perspectives are missing, particularly those concerning independent small-scale cultural organisations (Tomka, 2019). This thesis, by focusing on a process-oriented study on the ongoing development of a small-scale independent organisation in Santiago, Chile, contributed to addressing these knowledge gaps.

This final chapter will conclude the thesis by bringing together the principal elements in the study, including its findings, contributions, limitations, and possible avenues for future research. In doing so, I seek to open new avenues for the development of arts and cultural management as a field that expands, bifurcates, and evolves in practice, fostering research and knowledge creation from under-explored and less traditional frameworks.

8.1. Research focus, objectives, and questions

This thesis aimed to explore the creation journey of a private small-scale cultural organisation in Santiago from a qualitative visual/material perspective, whilst examining its connection with its socio-political context. The study sought to contribute to arts and cultural management research by:

- a) To document the development journey of a cultural organisation that played a crucial role as a key political actor during the Chilean social uprising, a significant political movement in recent Chilean history.
- b) To explore and analyse visual material related to the organisation's creation process to better understand its impact and significance.
- c) To build a knowledge base by critically analysing the creation process of a private small-scale cultural organisation in Chile, highlighting its internal dynamics, practices, and challenges.
- d) To identify and examine the relationships between the organisation's development and Chile's socio-political context, particularly during the Chilean social uprising.
- e) To contribute to scholarly knowledge in the arts and cultural management field, with a particular focus on developmental processes and considering perspectives and experiences from the Global South.

In the previous chapters, I have presented and analysed the set of practices and critical elements involved in the creation of Galería CIMA within a challenging socio-political context. In doing so, I addressed the following research questions:

- a) What was the creation process of Galería CIMA? What elements and practices were remembered as key for those involved?
- b) To what extent has the political context of neoliberalism and its subsequent crisis influenced the formation and development of Galería CIMA? How did the organisation navigate and respond to the political challenges between 2016 and 2022?

To conduct this research, I employed two main methodological approaches: the intrinsic case study (Stake, 2005) and the cultural material approach (Miller, 2008), illuminated by visual methodologies (Rose, 2016), which align with the methodological orientation of this arts and cultural management study. Consequently, I utilised a range of research methods, including participant observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and visual methods such as photo-elicitation and object-based interviews with the founders, team members, and regular collaborators of the cultural organisation under study. Additionally, analysis of secondary data, such as newspapers and media coverage, documents, and other materials related to the organisation's history and activities, were used.

By addressing these research questions and employing a comprehensive methodology, this study has shed light on the development journey of Galería CIMA and its significance within the socio-political context of Chile, contributing to the understanding of arts and cultural management practices and their intersection with broader societal dynamics.

8.2. Key findings

In the last three chapters of this thesis, I have presented and analysed the findings corresponding to the process of creating Galería CIMA in Santiago, the capital of Chile. These chapters examined the practices and mechanisms used to develop the cultural organisation and its relationships with the country's political context of recent years. In doing so, this study has explored the origins, development, and social significance of the cultural organisation.

The findings of this research were presented through three core chapters. Each focused on a specific phase of the creation process of the cultural organisation I identified during the data collection. Chapter 5 explored the initial phase of Galería CIMA's development, spanning from the founders' first encounter with the location in the building at 'Plaza Dignidad' in October 2016, to the beginning of the Chilean social uprising in October 2019. Considering the context of Chile's socio-economic system shaped by the pervasive influence of neoliberal rationality, this phase was examined in two sections. First, it examined the profound role of place, not merely as a practical setting, but as a wellspring of inspiration that propelled the organisation's trajectory. Second, the

chapter explored the dynamics of management during this phase, including the emergence of unplanned approaches and internal tensions regarding CIMA's identity and political engagement. This chapter offered an in-depth understanding of Galería CIMA's formative phase within Chile's neoliberal socio-political context, setting the stage for the subsequent exploration of its key participation during the Chilean social uprising.

In Chapter 6, I delved into Galería CIMA's second phase of development, which extended from the onset of the Chilean social uprising in October 2019, to the early months of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020. During this pivotal period, Galería CIMA underwent a profound transformation, shifting from a conventional art gallery to a cultural activist and a significant political player within the context of the Chilean social movement. Within this transformative journey, three key practices emerged: the livestreaming of 'Plaza Dignidad', which provided an impartial and comprehensive perspective on the protests; the broadcast of 'The Poster' on a national television channel, solidifying the organisation's identity as a political and cultural dissident; and, the creation of impactful light installations in 'Plaza Dignidad', amplifying messages of social resistance and fostering critical discourse. These practices played a crucial role in reinforcing the protesters' calls for social change, firmly establishing Galería CIMA's position as a political actor, and prompting substantial internal organisational changes. In contrast to neighbouring art spaces, Galería CIMA's spontaneous, intuitive, and adaptable response to the social context underscored its proactive contribution to the Chilean social uprising.

In Chapter 7, I explored the third and final phase of Galería CIMA's development process, as identified in this study. This phase spanned the early 2020 onset of Covid-19 restrictions, to the organisation's participation in the 'Giro Gráfico' exhibition at the Reina Sofía Museum in Madrid in May 2022. Against the backdrop of further socio-political transformation due to the pandemic and its implications on the ongoing social uprising, this phase marked another shift in the organisation's role, requiring adaptation, reflection, and restructuring as strategies and approaches were recalibrated in response to the altered circumstances. A significant aspect was the utilisation of the archive of uninterrupted video recordings of 'Plaza Dignidad', enriching the organisation's journey with historical, analytical, and artistic dimensions. Moreover, Galería CIMA expanded its spatial boundaries, adopting what I called a nomadic approach to the use of space, accessing new

audiences and cultural contexts. Unlike the previous phase characterised by urgency, this phase emphasised introspection regarding the organisation's political role and its commitment to care and compassion within the organisational practices, enhancing internal cohesion and external interactions.

There are considerations regarding the research phases explored throughout this thesis. For instance, the starting and ending points of each phase were determined based on critical social moments, linked to shifts in the internal functioning of the cultural organisation which emerged during the analysis of data. These phases involved dynamic interactions between practices influenced by both internal and external factors. Notably, certain practices and critical elements transcended individual stages.

8.2.1. Answering the research questions

This section wraps up the answers to the research questions that guided this study. It highlights the intuitive and spontaneous approaches taken, the importance of the physical location, the organisation's adaptability in response to the political context of neoliberalism and the subsequent crisis, and the emphasis on collaboration and care. The findings of this research not only shed light on the formation and development of Galería CIMA, but also contribute to the broader understanding of creation processes, the impact of political contexts on cultural organisations, and the evolving landscape of arts and cultural management. In doing so, it proposes new insights into the field of arts and cultural management.

What was the process of creating Galería CIMA? What elements and practices were remembered as key for those involved?

The creation process of Galería CIMA unfolded as a multifaceted and iterative journey, encompassing various elements and practices that were instrumental to the individuals involved. Several key factors emerged as having shaped the development of the organisation. The first of these was the role of intuitive and spontaneous decision-making in the creation of Galería CIMA. The people involved relied on their instincts and made pivotal choices based on intuition, particularly during challenging or uncertain situations. This intuitive approach was evident from

the initial phase (Chapter 5) when the founders felt an immediate connection with the place and decided to rent it, even without a clear vision of its future purpose. As observed, this intuitive decision-making continued to guide their actions throughout the process.

Secondly, the significance of the place and location played a prominent role in shaping the cultural organisation. Galería CIMA occupies a symbolically important and iconic urban area within the country, 'Plaza Dignidad', a neuralgic point for social demonstrations and a place that represents Santiago's high level of urban segregation. Additionally, as seen in Chapter 7, the cultural organisation has expanded its presence by utilising new places within Chile and abroad, further solidifying its impact. Notably, during the studied period, Galería CIMA actively showcased its creative and activist work in the context of the Chilean social uprising, demonstrating the importance of space and location in its development.

Furthermore, adaptability and flexibility emerged as crucial elements throughout the creation process. Galería CIMA learned how to respond to unplanned disruptions, such as the Chilean social uprising and the arrival of the Covid-19 pandemic in the middle of this social crisis, and responded intuitively, for instance, by capturing the protests and streaming them from the gallery space, and by building an open audio-visual archive with these videos. This ability to adapt allowed the organisation to establish itself as a significant political actor during the social crisis, amplifying its influence and impact.

Finally, collaboration and care emerged as fundamental practices within Galería CIMA. The organisation fostered strong emotional relationships and promoted democratic solidarity among its members as a key part of their internal dynamics. This approach extended not only to permanent members, but also to external collaborators, with collaboration and work based on dynamics of trust and care becoming an integral part of maintaining and expanding the work of Galería CIMA during the period explored in the current study.

The creation process of Galería CIMA, therefore, was characterised by intuitive decision-making, the significance of place, adaptability to changing circumstances, and a strong emphasis on collaboration and care. These elements and practices shaped Galería CIMA into a politically

engaged cultural organisation that responded to the needs of its social context and actively participated in broader society while maintaining their commitment to arts and culture.

The findings of this study offer valuable insights into the creative processes involved in establishing cultural organisations such as Galería CIMA. By highlighting the significance of intuitive decision-making, the role of space in cultural project-making, adaptability, and collaborative practices based on care and compassion, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of the complex nature of creative endeavours, particularly within the development process of a new art organisation.

To what extent has the political context of neoliberalism and its subsequent crisis influenced the formation and development of Galería CIMA? How did the organisation navigate and respond to the political challenges between 2016 and 2022?

The findings of this research show that the political context was pivotal to the ways in which the cultural organisation emerged and developed, both in terms of its internal practices and in the participation of the cultural organisation in public spheres. The socio-political context highly permeated the internal dynamics of the cultural organisation during the period studied in this thesis. As seen, the country experienced an important process of change between 2016 and 2022. During this period, it went from having an apparently successful and stable neoliberal economic, political and social model, to experiencing a major social revolt against the system which had a number of impacts.

Firstly, neoliberalism affected the rationality of the project itself (moving from having a mainly artistic aim, to market-centred goals). Subsequently, the social movement transformed Galería CIMA into an active political actor during one of the biggest socio-political crises of the last decade in the region. The context of well-established neoliberal rationality in the country marked the organisation's beginnings. From the participants' perspectives, this context limited the original goals and desires of building an organisation focused on cultural and artistic purposes and led to a refocus towards a business-like way of modelling the project in order to survive. Then, in a short period, the organisation's internal dynamics and participation in public spheres shifted towards cultural activism in the context of the Chilean social uprising. As a result, the organisation moved

from being a conventional art gallery/music venue, to a platform in which practices of resistance were held and fostered.

Another point to consider is that, in its development, the cultural organisation gained a vital role in the social movement, consolidating itself as the de facto eyes of the protests. In the final period studied, the organisation experienced the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic and the freezing of the social uprising; this phenomenon also significantly impacted its internal dynamics. Apart from the economic implications of the pandemic, during this period, the organisation went through a restructuring process and moved toward a hybrid form in which transdisciplinary practices were exercised. This could be observed in the configuration of CIMA as a creative group that explored archival practices, which started to be exhibited in spaces beyond the penthouse located in Merced 22, Santiago.

This dynamic process of creating the cultural organisation was greatly affected by the socio-political context, as demonstrated by the findings. The organisation had to navigate through challenging circumstances and adverse political conditions. On one hand, the organisation emerged in a society with an established neoliberal rationality. On the other, the organisation also had to contend with one of the biggest social movements in Chile in democratic years - the social uprising. The eruption of this crisis added another layer of complexity to Galería CIMA's formation. It resulted in discontinuities and ruptures in the practices and mechanisms used within the organisation.

8.3. Contributions to knowledge

This thesis makes a significant contribution to the field of arts and cultural management by providing a comprehensive qualitative investigation into the development of a small cultural organisation, Galería CIMA, from 2016 to 2022, before, during, and after the Chilean social uprising. As seen, the research examines various aspects of the organisation, including its nature, structure, dynamics, internal practices, and the memories of individuals involved. The analysis offers valuable insights into the practices and mechanisms employed during a critical socio-political period, enhancing our understanding of how small cultural organisations can be created,

particularly under adverse political conditions by **a.** Documenting the creation journey of a cultural organisation that became a key political actor in the Chilean social uprising; **b.** Expanding the prevailing understandings of the field of arts and cultural management; **c.** Offering new perspectives on place to arts and cultural management practices; and, **d.** Articulating innovative methodological frameworks for arts and cultural management research.

a. Documenting the creation journey of a cultural organisation that became a key political actor in the Chilean social uprising

This thesis makes a significant contribution by carefully documenting and analysing the creation journey of a cultural organisation that emerged as a key political actor during a relevant social uprising. By delving into the internal dynamics, nature, practices, visual traces and their relationship with socio-political events, this study revealed the profound impact of Galería CIMA on the socio-political landscape of Chile. To do so, the research employed a multifaceted approach, incorporating visual methods, in-depth interviews, archival analysis, and participant observation to comprehensively narrate the creation journey of this small-scale cultural organisation. Through an examination of its creation, growth, and subsequent involvement in the social movement, this thesis sheds light on the organisation's influential role, contributing to a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics between arts and politics in contemporary Chilean society as well as new perspectives and data for the understanding of the Chilean social uprising.

The study, therefore, shed new light on the political, social, and cultural factors that contributed to the rise of the uprising, examining them through the lens of arts and cultural management. In that sense, this study stood out for uniquely combining a process-based perspective informed by a visual material approach to document the creation of a cultural organisation.

An important point to consider is that by documenting the paths of creation of this cultural organisation, this research not only contributed to the knowledge base of arts and cultural management, but more broadly. This research also documents a key moment in Chilean history, highlighting the transformative power of the arts and cultural management practices to drive social change. Thus, this study makes available unique material related to the Chilean social uprising, offering emotional perspectives and lived experiences of this political process from the perspective

of an organisation that became an active participant in its development. Thus, the findings of this study offer valuable information for future research, not only for the field of arts and cultural management, but also for new views and understandings of historical and relevant social events such as the Chilean social uprising.

b. Expanding prevailing understandings of arts and cultural management

Expanding prevailing understandings of arts and cultural management stands as another pivotal contribution of this research enquiry. It accomplishes this goal by shedding light on the internal conflicts stemming from the inherent complexity and ambivalence embedded within the field by bringing knowledge from the South (Santos, 2012).

The Chapter 2 discussion of cultural industries presented a nuanced perspective on the commodification of culture and its multifaceted implications (Hesmondhalgh, 2019) and formed the basis for extending the analysis to the field of arts and cultural management. As a result, this research advanced the understanding of the complexities involved in managing arts and cultural production, emphasising the need to recognise the field as a complex and contested terrain rather than simplifying it to prevailing functional and business oriented main perspectives.

Additionally, this research emphasised the interdisciplinary nature of art and cultural management by drawing on previous works by Bendixen, Devereaux, Evard & Colbert, Paquette & Redaelli, and Brkic & Byrnes. Going beyond an interdisciplinary perspective, it proposed that art and cultural management should be regarded as a transdisciplinary field characterised by the convergence of disciplines within complex environments in which experimentation is key. By highlighting this hybrid condition, the thesis opened up new avenues for understanding the field, challenging dominant narratives solely focused on economic sustainability and efficient operations in competitive, market-oriented, and precarious contexts.

In that sense, this thesis explored arts and cultural management as a field characterised by bifurcations, offering a contrasting view to predominant understandings. It described a dynamic and porous process involving various adjustments and mechanisms to produce outcomes, showing how arts and cultural management notions expand, bifurcate, and evolve in practice. The findings

suggested the importance of expanding the knowledge base of arts and cultural management by considering multiple creation journeys. The case of Galería CIMA exemplified a developmental journey that was unplanned yet consciously thought out beyond traditional boundaries, moving from an art entrepreneurship project to a crucial platform for activism in the context of the significant socio-political crisis in Chile and again into an artistic collective. This example highlighted the potential for expanding and combining disciplinary boundaries and embracing the blurred nature of the field, encouraging exploration of alternative approaches beyond predominant understandings.

Moreover, the thesis underscored the significance of the social and creative dimensions of cultural management in Latin American contexts. As observed throughout the three phases, CIMA did not rely on a pre-established modelling process before its establishment but, instead, on the founders' know-how and collaborative problem-solving practices, particularly within the context of social crises. This perspective contrasted with the prevalent European approach that mainly focuses on promoting arts and cultural management as an economic agent, for example, through government policies, fostering creative entrepreneurship through the use of toolkits. The thesis argued that this alternative approach, which pays particular attention to creative experimentation, collaborative practices, and contextual adaptation, was crucial in building a cultural organisation that played a significant role in wider society.

c. Offering new perspectives on place on the arts and cultural management practices

This thesis also made a significant contribution by exploring the relevance of place in the development of new arts and cultural organisations. By examining the importance of place and its relationship with cultural managers practices and decision-making processes, this study reveals that place extends beyond a mere technical consideration. The findings from the fieldwork indicate that participants highly associated place with social meaning, historical connections, and project ideation, rather than focusing solely on practical aspects such as infrastructure organisation. This suggests that place might serve as a source of inspiration and a link to broader social issues, presenting unique opportunities to further develop cultural projects.

Drawing from the insights of British geographer, Doreen Massey, and anthropologist, Tim Ingold, the thesis argues that places should be understood as spaces of social relations. Rather than viewing them as static physical entities, cultural managers should intensify perspectives of place as interconnected with social networks and symbolic meaning. This expanded perspective of space and place in art and cultural management could allow for the cultivation of more diverse and innovative cultural projects. By exploring the symbolic density and significance of specific places and locations, cultural managers can infuse their projects with additional layers of meaning while engaging with local communities. This approach can promote the creation of culturally impactful and meaningful initiatives that engage with broader social issues that could resonate with the needs and perspectives of the local community.

d. Articulating innovative methodological frameworks for arts and cultural management research

Through this research study I have also contributed new methodological perspectives to the field of arts and cultural management. Using mixed qualitative methods illuminated by visual methodologies, the study has brought new layers of meanings and understandings of the unique ways in which arts and cultural management might manifest in practice. These methods included object-based (Willig, 2017) and photo-elicitation interviews (Clark-Ibáñez, 2003), alongside text and talk based in-depth interviews (Gray, 2022) and participant observation (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011). Thus, the study has contributed non-standard methods that amplify the sensory, bodily and affective registers (Whatmore, 2006) to the generation of knowledge of the field.

The visual material provided new ways to present layers of emotional meaning within the dynamics that could take place in arts and cultural management practices. In other words, by the inclusion of visual and physical material I have illustrated how visual methods can generate different types of information for the field, including feelings, memories, and information (Harper, 2002) beyond the verbal. As observed in the previous chapters, the visual material figured prominently throughout this thesis.

Overall, the mixed qualitative methodology in the current study contributes to the generation of knowledge in arts and cultural management, acknowledging that it is a field that also manifests

visually and materially. By clearly presenting the procedures, research approach, and research methodology employed, this study has not only provided a valuable methodological framework but has also offered new avenues of exploration in the field. Thus, this framework can potentially be applied in future research endeavours, particularly when exploring small-scale art organisations and their unique dynamics.

To conclude, this thesis offered a significant contribution to the body of knowledge in arts and cultural management by providing a comprehensive exploration of the complex dynamics within the field. It encouraged a hybrid and transdisciplinary approach to navigate the complexities and support the growth and development of arts and cultural organisations. The insights gained from this research will contribute to advancing the field and shaping future practices in arts and cultural management. The case of Galería CIMA served as a compelling example of the significance of embracing alternative approaches and challenging disciplinary boundaries, particularly in the socio-political context of a grassroots movement.

8.4. Limitations of the study

This study presents important contributions to the arts and cultural management field by investigating the developmental journey of Galería CIMA in the midst of profound social and political uprising in Chile. However, it is important to acknowledge the inherent limitations that have shaped the research.

Firstly, the specific context of the study necessitates caution when generalising findings beyond the examined setting. The complex interaction between Galería CIMA's creation and the unique socio-political landscape of Chile underscores the complexity of transferring conclusions to dissimilar contexts. Thus, the context of the study within the Chilean cultural and political landscape might impede the seamless transferability of findings to diverse cultural and geographical contexts. While the study resonates with the transformative potential of arts and cultural management, particularly for the Latin American context, its implications might need to be reassessed in alternative settings.

Similarly, it is essential to acknowledge certain limitations inherent in the intrinsic case study approach used in this research, as delineated by Stake (2005). Through a comprehensive examination of Galería CIMA, we have attained a profound comprehension of its intricate developmental dynamics and distinctive features, all of which exist within the unique socio-political context of Chile. However, applying these findings and conclusions to different cases must be taken forward with caution. In that sense, while delving deeply into a single case allows us to uncover its complexities and gain in-depth understandings, it is important to recognise that this approach may restrict the extent to which we can apply our conclusions more broadly.

Additionally, the use of visual methods, interviews, and participant observation to capture the multifaceted nature of Galería CIMA's journey, while comprehensive, might still miss certain underlying dimensions that could emerge in different methodological frameworks. In that sense, my emphasis on in-depth insights provided by limited samples underscores the value of qualitative inquiry but might pose limitations in achieving comprehensive generalisability for other arts and cultural organisations.

Considering these limitations, the study's findings serve as a steppingstone for further research endeavours in this field. The insights offered into the characteristics and role of small-scale cultural organisations during times of societal transformation remain relevant. Moreover, these limitations accentuate the necessity to further explore the complexities surrounding socio-political change and the strategic role arts and cultural management can play in steering social change and the fight for social justice. As a researcher, I envision this study as a catalyst for future scholarship, stimulating discussions and inquiries that go beyond these limitations, broadening our understanding of the uniqueness of cultural organisations and their relationship with socio-political landscapes.

8.5. Further research

The findings of this study suggest several promising directions for future research within the field of arts and cultural management, drawing from the unique insights provided by the Galería CIMA case study. As observed, my study seeks to expand our understanding of arts and cultural management practices, particularly by considering the experiences and processes of understudied types of organisations, as explored in Chapter 2 and Chapter 4. In this regard, through the present

study, I aspire to stimulate additional research into less-explored avenues of cultural production, especially within underrepresented contexts in the Global South. To that end, I propose six avenues for further research:

1. **Reevaluating narratives:** Future studies should question the prevailing business-centred and technical perspective in arts and cultural management in order to explore alternative viewpoints that engage with political, creative, and critical dimensions within the field. This exploration can delve into how these diverse perspectives influence decision-making processes and the overarching ethos of cultural organisations. By taking broader perspectives, a more nuanced understanding of the multi-dimensional nature of arts and cultural management can be built, transcending business-oriented narratives.
2. **Diverse creation journeys:** Inspired by the complex and iterative developmental trajectory of Galería CIMA, this research avenue suggests expanding the scope of future enquiries to encompass a broader spectrum of creative and developmental journeys within arts and cultural organisations. By investigating a diverse range of cultural entities, varying in size, geographic location, and historical context, researchers can unveil how cultural organisations come into existence, take shape, and evolve, especially within contexts of social crises and broader societal transformations. This can provide a more comprehensive understanding of the internal dynamics, challenges, adaptive strategies, and unique practices employed by diverse cultural entities as they navigate dynamic socio-political landscapes. Furthermore, it can shed light on the vital role that arts and cultural organisations play in influencing and responding to societal changes, offering valuable insights into the management of such organisations in an ever-evolving global cultural landscape. In that sense, a process-oriented perspective, exploring the interplay of social and emotional dimensions within the dynamics of arts and cultural management, could contribute to a nuanced understanding of their internal operations and external impact.
3. **Prioritisation of small-scale organisations:** Given the insights from Galería CIMA's experience, it is imperative to investigate how small-scale cultural organisations navigate the intricate balance between political engagement, economic goals and cultural missions.

Research in this domain should delve into the strategies utilised by these organisations and their dynamics from a micro perspective, investigating the intricacies faced by independent and non-institutionalised organisations. This exploration can reveal new approaches to funding, community engagement, and collaboration, thereby providing valuable knowledge for small cultural organisations facing similar challenges. Moreover, it could further inform cultural policymaking considering the diverse dynamics and ways of working of small-scale organisations, expanding the focus beyond economic sustainability or efficient structural organisation.

4. **Political engagement:** Galería CIMA's role as a political actor underscores the importance of understanding how arts and cultural organisations can actively shape power dynamics and contribute to social change. Future research in this area can explore the specific actions and strategies employed by cultural institutions to influence political discourse, advocate for cultural policies, and promote social transformation. Case studies of arts and cultural organisations that have influenced political and social change, as per Galería CIMA, can provide valuable insights to further contribute to the social role of arts and cultural management practices.
5. **Gender diversity:** Exploring the interplay between gender and small-scale arts organisations offers an interesting avenue for future research in the field of arts and cultural management. For instance, investigating how these organisations include or marginalise gender diversities, particularly in relation to internal dynamics, community participation, cultural representation, and public discourse, can significantly advance gender equity in the field. Simultaneously, it promises a deeper comprehension of these unique organisations. While not the primary focus of the current study, it is evident that this area has immense potential to focus on in detail. Understanding how gender dynamics intersect with arts and cultural management can promote more inclusive perspectives and amplify the voices of historically marginalised communities in the realm of knowledge production.
6. **Arts and cultural management cases from Latin American:** Researchers can draw inspiration from initiatives by cultural organisations in Latin American countries as

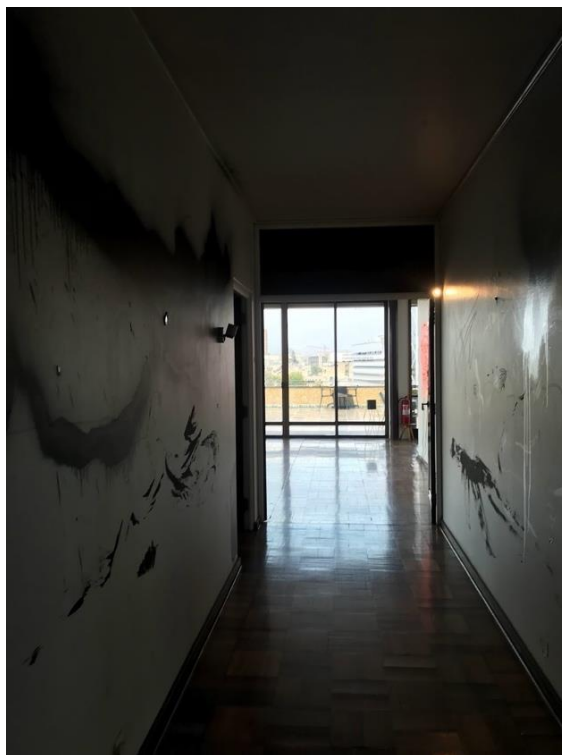
exemplified by Galería CIMA, and their efforts to embrace diverse voices while challenging hegemonic perspectives. As seen, Latin American arts and cultural management approaches are characterised by a pronounced emphasis on the social dimension, encompassing themes like collective identity, citizenship, political resistance, and culture democratisation. Therefore, further research into cases from this region can contribute nuanced insights to the field of art and cultural management, particularly within the English-speaking academic knowledge base.

These six research directions, emerging from the analysis of Galería CIMA's creation journey, provide opportunities to deepen our understanding of arts and cultural management practices. In that sense, I consider Galería CIMA's case a compelling illustration of the potential of cultural organisations to contribute to social change, highlighting the value of embracing creative practices of resistance through collaboration and solidarity, particularly under adverse political conditions. Hopefully, these research recommendations will broaden our understanding of how arts and cultural management expands, bifurcates, and evolves in practice.

Appendix



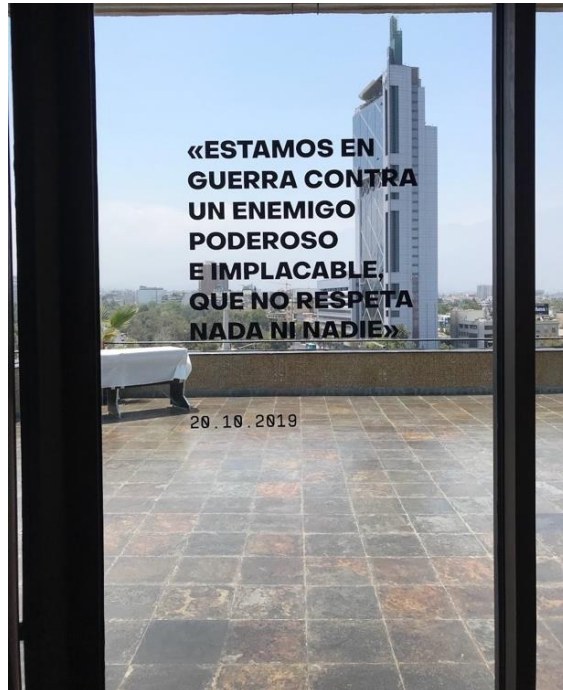
Appendix, Figure 1. Doorbell of Galería CIMA. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.



Appendix, Figure 2. Hall of Galería CIMA. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.



Appendix, Figure 3. View from the main room to the entrance door of Galería CIMA. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.



Appendix, Figure 4. A window and terrace of Galería CIMA. It reads: “We are at war against a powerful and relentless enemy that respects neither anything nor anyone” (Piñera, 2019). Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.



Appendix, Figure 5. Bed inside one of Galería CIMA's rooms. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.



Appendix, Figure 6. A corner inside Galería CIMA with a candle, a quartz and a heptagram.



Appendix, Figure 7. Social uprising demonstration in Plaza Dignidad, Santiago. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem



Appendix, Figure 8. Social uprising demonstration in Plaza Dignidad, Santiago. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.



Appendix, Figure 9. Social uprising demonstration in Plaza Dignidad, Santiago. ‘Chinchinero’ street performers playing. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.



Appendix, Figure 10. Wall on Alameda Street, Santiago, Chile. It reads: “We lost the fear”. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.



Appendix, Figure 11. Wall on Alameda Street, Santiago, Chile. It reads: "Abuse". Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.



Appendix, Figure 12. Trinidad and Sebastián during photo elicitation interview in CIMA. They are holding one version of The Poster. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.



Appendix, Figure 13. Trinidad and Sebastián during a photo elicitation interview in CIMA. They are holding the first Centinela camera. They are seated in the main room of Galería CIMA. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.



Appendix, Figure 14. Trinidad and Sebastián during a photo elicitation interview in CIMA. They are holding the picture 'Re-evolución'. They are seated in the main room of Galería CIMA. Source: Dalal Leiva Egnem.

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