Discovering Chile: Addressing International Reputation Through the Arts

THESIS

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Jarred Small, B.M.

Graduate Program in Arts Policy and Administration

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Master's Examination Committee:

Dr. Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Advisor

Dr. Wayne P. Lawson
Abstract

The nation of Chile means different things to different people. As Chile progresses as one of Latin America’s most stable emerging democracies, its reputation abroad is becoming all the more important in fostering further growth. How do the arts and culture contribute to this reputation formation, and what can Chile do with this continually in-flux perception? Through analysis of current research on the ingredients and applications of a national reputation utilizing arts and culture, this research poses a framework with which the nation of Chile is examined. Empirical observation is combined with data obtained from in-person interviews to gain multiple perspectives on an increasingly popular issue within the country. Findings indicate that Chile’s international reputation not only comes from sending its artists abroad on official and unofficial visits and exchanges, but also includes a number of domestic undertakings that form the cultural base Chile may draw from in molding its name. However, these tasks are not without its own set of unique challenges pertinent to the country’s distinctive geopolitical position and history. By operating within the established framework aimed at capturing the breadth of activity occurring within and outside of Chile, conclusions are surmised that may inform effective practices for governments, organizations, and artists in contributing to a nation’s reputation through its most constant and identifiable asset -- its culture.
To mom and dad
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Vita

2009 ....................................................... Fraser High School, Fraser, Michigan;
Valedictorian

2012 ....................................................... Leonard Meretta Scholar, Western Michigan
University

2012-2013 .............................................. Harry L. and Anna Gernant Family College
of Fine Arts Distinguished Student, Western
Michigan University

2013 ....................................................... B.M. summa cum laude, Music Education:
Instrumental-Secondary; Theatre minor,
Western Michigan University

2013-present .......................................... Barnett Fellow, The Ohio State University

2014 ....................................................... Panel Presentation, International Conference
on Social Theory, Politics, and the Arts,
Ottawa, Canada

Fields of Study

Major Field: Arts Policy and Administration
Table of Contents

Abstract..........................................................................................................................ii
Dedication........................................................................................................................i iii
Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................iv
Vita ..................................................................................................................................v
Table of Contents .........................................................................................................vi
List of Tables ................................................................................................................ix
List of Figures ...............................................................................................................x
Chapter 1: Overview.....................................................................................................1
  1.1 Introduction............................................................................................................1
  1.2 Statement of Purpose ..........................................................................................4
  1.3 Research Questions ...............................................................................................5
  1.4 Significance of Research.......................................................................................5
  1.5 Scope and Limitations..........................................................................................7
  1.6 Conclusion ..........................................................................................................10
Chapter 2: Review of Literature..................................................................................12
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Reputation</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 International Reputation Applications</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1 Nation Branding</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2 Cultural Diplomacy</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.3 Soft Power</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Reputation-making Artistic Ingredients</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.1 Festivals</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2 NGOs and Arts Organizations</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.3 Corporations</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.4 Government</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.5 Other: Tourism, Communications, Exports</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 Chile</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5 Preliminary Conclusions</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3: Methodology</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Methods Madness</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Selection of Topic</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Case Study and Interpretation</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Contribution of Research</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 Data Collection</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6 Limitations and Advantages</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4: Findings</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 An Introduction to Chilean Reputation and Cultural Content</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Tables

Table 2.1 Three Types of Power...........................................................................................................30

Table 2.2 Leading States and Their Power Resources, 1500-2000 .............................................31
List of Figures

Figure 1.1 The Chilean coat of arms ................................................................. 2

Figure 2.1 National Reputation Model ............................................................... 13

Figure 2.2 Nation Brand v. Competitive Identity .............................................. 23

Figure 2.3 The hexagon of Competitive Identity .............................................. 39

Figure 2.4 Comprehensive Metrics of Nation Brands Index (NBI) ......................... 42

Figure 2.5 Association dimensions of the 2014-2015 Country Brand Index ............... 44

Figure 2.6 National Reputation Model in Arts and Culture ................................ 57

Figure 4.1 Front face of 5,000 CLP depicting Nobel Prize in Literature winner Gabriela Mistral .......................................................................................................................... 77

Figure 4.2 Bombing of London in World War II and the Bombing of Poems, Jubilee Gardens, London, 2012 .......................................................................................................................... 91

Figure 5.1 Structures, Tools, and Communications of the National Reputation Model in Arts and Culture .......................................................................................................................... 99
Chapter 1: Overview

“What sort of a country is this,” said the one to the other, “that is unknown to all the world, and in which Nature has everywhere so different an appearance to what she has in ours? Possibly this is that part of the globe where everything is Right, for there must certainly be some such place.”
- Voltaire, Candide

1.1. Introduction

Think of Chile. What comes to mind? Do you think of a nation only recently ravaged by an oppressive regime? Perhaps you reflect on the ongoing conflicts between Chile and its Bolivian and Peruvian neighbors or the 2010 earthquake. Maybe your thoughts drift historically towards Salvador Allende’s socialism or the musings of Pablo Neruda. Or perhaps you imagine yourself on one of the most remote inhabited places in the world, Easter Island. In the minds of many westerners, Chile is synonymous with dictatorship, a fine bottle of wine, and crippling natural disasters. While these descriptors aren’t necessarily false, they minimize Chile’s complex contemporary identity and brand. I am guilty of conjuring up a few of these images before setting my sites on the narrow South American nation.

Last May, I travelled to Chile as part of a study abroad excursion with Dr. Wayne Lawson of The Ohio State University. It was the cure to my travel thirst that had not been quenched since after performing and teaching throughout the LatinAmerican country of Honduras in 2012. During the remainder of my undergraduate years and into graduate school, I desperately wanted to continue my travels to new and foreign places, and one
would be hard pressed to imagine a more mystic and curious locale as the country designated as one of the most southern nations in the world. It was in Chile where opportunities to speak with arts and culture leaders throughout its public and private sectors occurred. In addition to becoming acquainted with Chilean culture, I established personal connections with the region with which to build and learn from, as well as discovered a great deal of Chile’s natural beauty by traveling up the coast to the Atacama Desert, the driest desert in the world (Vesilind, 2003).

Yet these influences are not the only reasons attracting me to this research. What makes Chile different from the many other countries vying for attention on the world stage? Chile’s very recent past has much to do with its current international image. The infamous dictator Augusto Pinochet, whose regime ending in 1990 left over 3,000 dead or missing ("Country profile: Chile", 2009), has no doubt contributed. Another possible contributor is the official motto of Chile, “Por la razón o la fuerza” (“By right or by might”), which many Chilean law makers argue is an outdated and inaccurate representation of the Chilean people, culture, and spirit (Praamsma, 2005). One can find this maxim on the coat of arms of Chile, pictured in Figure 1.1, which is also on the back of the 100 Chilean Peso coin, a commonly used denomination of currency throughout the nation.

![The Chilean coat of arms](Chile: Flags, nd)

Figure 1.1 The Chilean coat of arms (Chile: Flags, nd)
Chilean culture, history, and people are by-products of the country’s geopolitical position and therefore extraordinarily interwoven and yet separated from the rest of South America and even its own neighbors. Many Chileans will tell you that their identity is composed of such a sum of identities that it is hard to define or pinpoint any (Rendic, 2010). Indeed, Chile has become such a melting pot of ethnicities, cultures, and customs that its people have become as diverse as its landscape.

What do Chileans make of this? How does Chile project one desirable, positive reputation to a world that only ever pays attention when a deadly fire or earthquake creates chaos? The Chilean government now finds itself competing in ways that it is hardly prepared to deal with and inhabiting a world of global competition and mobile consumers where few of its traditional approaches can work. The arts and cultures of Chile play a unique and special role in the daily lives of Chileans, and can therefore lend a special view of how the government and the Chilean people are utilizing its cultural assets in developing and implementing policies and practices to project the Chilean repute. Chile is poised now more than ever to enter the world stage and proclaim its rich heritage and culture while demonstrating a secure nation with sound economic policy and attractive destinations. As many other developing countries seek to create or improve its reputations abroad given their own aims, circumstances, resources, and competences, Chile provides a compelling case study of how one nation is grappling with the issue of managing its international status.
1.2 Statement of Purpose

It is the goal of this research, through empirical observation and analyses of in-person interviews with leaders in Chile’s arts and cultural sector, to explore the current structures in place in Chile for the use of establishing and disseminating a Chilean reputation through the use of the arts. By doing so, I will also call into question the importance of nation branding, cultural diplomacy, and soft power as a means to furthering the aims of nations’ international affairs. Through this exploration, it is my objective to recognize effective practices in establishing methods in which to further a country’s reputation and standing on a global scale. In order to do so, careful analysis will be done on the Chilean structures set in place whose missions are to utilize the Chilean arts and culture in some way or form on an international scale. These include looking at government, corporate-sponsorship, independent artists, and other actors seemingly involved in activities that could be regarded as influential in the projection of a Chilean reputation utilizing the arts. This research does not attempt to consider which method or methods is the best way to accomplish the establishment and dissemination of a reputation. Rather, it provides a general overview of what is currently being done in Chile, with particular consideration given to the thoughts and experiences of the interviewees. Though the uniqueness of Chile was a primary consideration for its selection in this study, results may still be generalizable to other governments, peoples, or arts organizations wishing to contribute to a more positive vision of its nation and people using arts and culture.
1.3 Research Questions

This research attempts to address a broad and somewhat vague problem recurrent in a number of small to midsize developing nations with emerging democracies: how can one be perceived in a positive light through the use of culture? I choose to break this seemingly unassuming inquiry into two sub-questions:

- How does cultural content contribute and/or not contribute to the national reputation of Chile?
- What are the cultural outcomes and uses (both official and unofficial) of this reputation?

Although simplifying a nation’s complex and constantly changing economic, political, and cultural activities into one generalized thesis study is never an easy task, this research chooses only to focus on how the arts and culture of Chile further an aspiration embedded in national and international interest.

1.4 Significance of Research

There is a host of research that addresses the use of cultural diplomacy, soft power, and nation branding in attempting to answer these questions, and rightly so – now more than ever, governments and their peoples are beginning to witness the power and reap the benefits of projecting a positive and cogent image to a global audience, thereby solidifying an effective and constructive reputation. Upon analysis of this literature, we see that these tools greatly contribute to contributing to its standing. Yet there is little on how the arts, in all of their many forms, contribute to this, and even less so on how one nation’s arts and culture, Chile, provides an opportunity for the engagement of reputation production and control. There have been few analyses done by researchers undertaking
the topic of Chile and its nation branding capabilities and practices, loosely associated with an overall reputation. One piece focuses on Chile’s general nation branding activities following its Bicentennial (Prieto Larrain, 2011). Another chooses to focus even more broadly on three different Latin American countries (including Chile) and draws comparisons and contrasts between them (Niesing, 2013). However, none in this body of literature chooses to focus solely on the arts, although arts and culture are small components of these rather broad arguments. Additionally, this research incorporates qualitative interviews and in-person empirical observations of potential reputation building activities as part of data collection. It is generally agreed that arts and culture do play a role in projecting a reputation, and yet, most researchers skim over this very important component in the complex identity and reputation equation.

Currently, no one study presents an overview of activities related to the international reputation of Chile, both formal and informal, especially one written in the English language. This research is unique given the breadth of participants involved, ranging from board and staff members of the Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes (the National Council of Culture and the Arts, hereby referred to as “the National Arts Council” or simply “the Council”), to United States embassy officials, prior staff members of Chile’s nation branding body that concerns culture Fundación Imagen de Chile (the Image Foundation of Chile), a theatre festival director, staff of an independent theatre company, among many others.

This research offers the opportunity for an international audience, as well as the Chilean population, to become familiar with the effort of increasing Chile’s traction and influence worldwide. It also proposes to allow foreigners an insider’s prospective on
Chilean culture and the depth and breadth of highly regarded arts activities currently occurring throughout Chile. It affords the chance to explore current and past strategies that have taken place, some of which include the arts, past failures and successes, and how one country is facing a reputation situation head-on. This will no doubt bring further attention to a nation bursting onto the world stage as Latin America’s most prosperous emerging democracy. The results of this study are aimed at a number of populations including those in the public sector interested in harnessing the power of arts and culture to bring about changes in perception, artists, arts administrators, academics, and all others who believe or are curious as to how the arts can contribute to such an important task whose previous responsibility thought rested solely with a state’s official leaders.

1.5 Scope and Limitations

This study offers sights into an emerging field only recently becoming recognized by academics and government officials. By gathering ideas and opinions collected through interviews and observation, new conclusions can be reached for use in the creation and evaluation of current and future policy and programming. However, it must be stated upfront that this research faces limitations that need to be considered when seeking to apply the findings to other nations, governments, arts organizations, artists, etc.

The first, and likely the most glaring of these issues, concerns the uniqueness of the country of interest. While this is also a good reason for case study, it should go without saying that the nations of our globe are not the same -- we live in a world where even different components of one country (i.e. states or provinces) can be thought of as
taking on the qualities and attributes of their own countries. Neighboring countries draw very distinct boundaries and differences in forever attempting to distinguish themselves from one another, and nowhere is this truer than in Chile. Chile is one of the most isolated and diverse countries in South America (Spitzer & Tate, 2004). It is bounded by the Pacific to the west, the Andes to the east, the vast Atacama desert to its north, and immense swaths of isolated lakes, islands, and glaciers in the south. Its landscape is full of beauty and wonder, but it also isolates the nation in many different ways. Much like other countries, Chile’s culture, people, politics, and environment are distinct and entirely unique. This makes comparisons between two countries, even seemingly very similar ones, extremely difficult. Although nations do not exist in a vacuum, they take on distinct personalities of their own, and the reader is cautioned that this is very much so the case in this study.

A second consideration surrounds the inclusion of ten interviewees from different occupations, socio-economic backgrounds, personalities, experiences, and even in some instances, countries. Involving humans in any kind of research risks the potential for inherent bias, and this is similarly true in this study. When dealing with topics with such strong ties to the political environment, it does not come as a surprise that many have their own exclusive opinions on a range of matters, and these opinions are simply that…opinions. A large portion of this research is based on the thoughts, knowledge, and experience of others and should be treated as such. It should also be noted that all of these participants currently live in or around Santiago, and have done so for many years, and so cannot be said to represent the views and experiences of an entire nation -- Chile is a large, yet centralized, country full of diverse peoples and cultures, and my selection in no
way attempts to include general population feelings. My selection of these ten interviewees can be considered a convenience sample and is the least rigorous technique for sample strategies (Marshall, 1996). Simply stated, I had easy access to most of my interviewees and alleged that what they had to offer would be valuable. I believe my participants constitute a well informed and engaged citizenry with whom I may explore the subject with, crossing and combining theory and practice.

Another form of bias that must be recognized is the fact that I, as researcher, am from the United States. I was born in the U.S. and have lived in the U.S. my entire life. Although I attempt to travel as much as I can, it is difficult to avoid viewing a culture such as Chile’s through a U.S. citizen’s perspective. I, like the interviewees, come from a unique background that has molded and shaped my opinions and the way I perceive the world. This is even more important given that this research attempts to discuss the arts and culture of another country, which sometimes can become an incredibly subjective task. Conducting research on a culture that you yourself are not part of can prove difficult. However, I believe that my Americanized lens provides an opportunity to investigate a subject rarely considered on a country few know much about. While bias is unavoidable in experiencing and discussing arts and culture through the eyes of an American researcher, the inclusion of interviews helps to counterbalance this predisposition in the pursuit of further information from primary sources well-acquainted with the subject.

A final limitation to this study regards the concept of national reputation. Due to the specificity of the research pertaining only to a few agencies, organizations, artists and arts organizations in one country, this work cannot be said to hold a great deal of external
validity, as there are quite literally thousands of similar and dissimilar activities occurring around the world which are as diverse as the people who host and conduct them. Yet the aim of this research allows for comparisons and suggestions to be made to other governments and peoples that are seeking to accomplish a more positive external reputation through the use of culture. A reputation is made up of several components, and one of the major downsides in attempting to measure and analyze the details a nation’s reputation is that it is difficult to prove causality in the contribution of any one measure, in this case, culture. Yet taking the case of Chile and its major contributing forces to its cultural reputation provides insights that could very well prove beneficial in any number of other cases.

1.6 Conclusion

It is with these limitations of the study I conclude the first section of my research. This chapter made clear the reasons for choosing this topic and particular case, how I will go about tackling the subject, including brief mention of what tools have been utilized in order to answer two distinct parts of a similar question, analyzed the importance of this kind of research and the lack of credible studies addressing the topic, and explained the possible limitations on findings brought to light. The next chapter will investigate the topics of reputation, its contributors, and nation branding, identity, soft power, and cultural diplomacy in the context of the arts and culture. A description of the analytical framework this research utilizes and methodologies used, and reasoning for such choices, will be discussed. This will then be used in part to analyze results achieved through interviews administered in the field and observations made during my experiences in
Chile. I will round out this paper with a final conclusion detailing the next steps in moving forward with this topic.
Chapter 2: Review of Literature

This chapter will discuss the idea of a national reputation and the ingredients and outcomes related to it. The groundwork will be laid in this review of literature for the findings presented in Chapter 4. Before diving into analysis of the literature on a host of relevant topics, we must first address the important, and at times difficult, task of distilling what a nation’s reputation is in terms of the arts and culture or how the arts and culture present the nation’s identity. When one imagines the word “reputation,” a variety of things come to mind. The word is thrown around a lot in everyday experiences, and the academy is no different. We all know that people can have a reputation, so can goods and services. Corporations have been working on their reputation for a while now. But countries? This is a new phenomenon in the literature, and reputation building and maintenance related to arts and culture even more so. As such, this research is truly starting at ground zero in terms of developing a model of national reputation as it relates to the arts and culture of a country. This model of reputation has become an important guiding factor in this research and will act as a framework for reviewing the literature and for analyzing my findings and conclusions.

What ingredients of a nation’s arts and culture contribute to a national reputation? The answer is rather difficult to ascertain and is the basis of this thesis. However, I have developed a national reputation model to build off of in hopes of organizing thoughts,
experiences, ideas, and concepts into one clean visual based on the available literature. The figure is below, and a brief explanation of it follows:

Figure 2.1 National Reputation Model

At first glance, once can see that there are a variety of factors that contribute to a reputation (those actors at the top -- corporations, government, arts organizations, etc.). These are the ingredients that feed into a reputation, and for our purposes can be regarded as the “top tier” in a collective sense. Our “bottom tier” (nation branding, cultural diplomacy, soft power) are the official and unofficial applications of a national
reputation. The bulk of the literature addresses this bottom tier. These are not new applications of reputation, but rather new labels (since the mid-20th century at least) that have been given to certain activities. While some have engaged in the discussion of government’s contributions to a national reputation, on the whole, scholars who study these outcomes rarely choose to include our input ingredients and take them for granted, perhaps because it is hard to measure and operationalize. The third element of our model is the feedback loop, notated here as continuous arrows revolving between the two tiers and crossing reputation. This is a crucial part of the model, as it demonstrates the constant give and take with which our two tiers interact.

The review of literature will attempt to encapsulate these ingredients and outcomes into a concise summary on which to base my findings. Why the inclusion of all of these elements? The phenomenon I am interested in is not limited to nation branding, and it is not limited to cultural diplomacy. It is perhaps a form of soft power, but I am trying to make it more concrete. Each term taken by themselves carries too much baggage, so “reputation” is an attempt at coming up with a different term so that I may relate all these topics. It essentially comes down to clarity – the selection of one of the terms causes problems rather than lucidity. Therefore, this review of literature aims for breadth rather than depth. It is my aim to define these terms in relation to the research at hand and explain how they are different, similar, and fit within this model of national reputation. Let us also not forget that all of these notions in this thesis are residing within a single context – that of the nation of Chile. Therefore, this literature review will be divided into four main sections:

- The concept of reputation
- International reputation applications (bottom tier of the model)
2.1. **Reputation**

The Oxford Dictionary Online defines *reputation* as, “The beliefs or opinions that are generally held about someone or something” (Reputation, Oxford Dictionary Online, n.d.). A relatively general and straightforward definition that can apply to a variety of contexts. And yet the problem arises when we begin to assign the word to diverse frameworks. Reputation research is a study regarded as having roots in – and cutting across – several academic disciplines (Hutton, Goodman, Alexander, & Ganest, 2001). This has made analysis of the concept a challenging task (Nguyen & Leblanc, 2001a). It is difficult to conceptualize (Nguyen & LeBlanc, 2001b) and is regarded as an intangible asset (Budworth, 1989). Unsurprisingly, we see this word emerge mostly throughout the corporate world, where it has resided for a great deal of time (Fillis, 2003; Passow, Fehlmann, & Grahlow, 2005). There even exists the reputation-based advisory firm Reputation Institute, which seeks to enable many of the world’s leading companies to make more confident business decisions that build and protect reputation capital and drive competitive advantage (About Reputation Institute, n.d.). One common definition of corporate reputation is “the stakeholders’ overall evaluation of multiple factors such as organizational philosophy, behaviors, and communication over a long period of time” (Lee, Toth, & Shin, 2008, p. 274). This definition can be considered narrow, and as such,
Fombrun’s (1996) explanation has been more widely used (Wartick, 2002): a perceptual representation of a company’s past actions and future prospects – describing the firm’s overall appeal to key constituents compared to other leading rivals (cited in Dolphin, 2004). If one were to replace “company” and “firm” with “nation”, then we begin to get closer to a working definition that can be applied to reputation as it relates to the arts and culture of a nation.

Building off the premise that all countries possess some reputation capital (O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughessy, 2000) and that “reputation management is by no means restricted to companies and other organizational entities” (Passow, Fehlmann, & Grahlow, 2005, p. 309), we now look at how we may operationalize the concept of reputation for nations, which presents to us a far slimmer volume of literature. Here, there exists no agreed upon common definition for nation reputation, unlike Fombrun’s (1996) contribution to the business world. In fact, few scholars have proposed to define what nation reputation even is. Mercer, J. (1996, p. 6) refers to it as collective judgments of a foreign country’s image and character that are then used to predict or explain its future behavior. It is, simply put, “others’ summary construct of one nation’s culture, policy, and conduct” (Wang, 2006, p. 91). Passow, Fehlmann, and Grahlow, (2005, p. 311) based their operational definition of reputation on Fombrun (1996), concluding that, for their study on the measurement and management of the reputation of Liechtenstein, reputation is “the aggregate of stakeholders’ images of Liechtenstein over time.” As we see, defining the term relevant to the general research zeitgeist becomes problematic, and one must simply choose a definition relevant and related to the line of inquiry. For the
purpose of this study, while drawing on several sources, “nation reputation” is defined as others’ beliefs and opinions of one nation’s culture, policy, and conduct over time.

What many have done, however, is describe what a nation’s reputation may affect, such as a nation’s ability to build coalitions and alliances to achieve international political objectives (Nye, 1990, 2004), to attract foreign investment (Kotler & Gertner, 2002) or in-bound tourism (Chon, 1990). The reputation of a country has a direct and measurable impact on just about every aspect of its engagement with other countries, and plays a critical role in its economic, social, political, and cultural progress (Anholt, 2006a, p. 9). Indeed, a reputation has the ability to play into the workings of all facets of a nation, from the public and private to the creative and non-profit sectors. These goals are more often than not inter-related and intertwined, and this is one of the challenges in pursuing research dedicated to nation reputation in a certain context – in our case, arts and culture.

People have attempted to measure reputation, no easy task for a concept so difficult to grapple. Anholt (2006a) introduced a Nation Brands Index (NBI); Passow et al. (2005) identified six dimensions of country reputation (emotional, physical, financial, leadership, cultural, and social appeals), and there also exists FutureBrand’s Country Brand Index.

Why concern ourselves with nation reputation? Since the advance of globalization, national image and reputation have become ever more critical assets in the modern world (Anholt, 2008b). “In an increasingly globalized world, not only companies need favorable reputations, nations do as well. This is because they are competing for inward investment, trade and tourism” (Passow, Fehlmann, & Grahlow, 2005, p. 325). A
desired image and reputation can often be “of greater use than a significant increment of military or economic power” (Jervis, 1970, p. 6). Countries that are lucky enough to have a positive reputation find that everything they or their citizens wish to do or want on a global stage is easier: their reputation acts like a calling card that opens doors, creates trust and respect, and raises the expectation of quality, competence, and integrity (Anholt, 2008b). On the flipside, imagine a place with a reputation for being poor, uncultured, backward, dangerous, or corrupt. These nations will find that everything they want to achieve outside their borders is harder, and it is up to them to prove that the national stereotypes are wrong.

This is why reputation, in all its forms and contexts, has increasingly become an important factor in national priorities. As relayed earlier, and for this research, reputation can be an asset that is applied to three outputs as it relates to the arts and culture – nation branding, cultural diplomacy, and soft power. Each of these three applications will be discussed in the next section of this literature review.

2.2. International Reputation Applications

Moving forward, we now come to what a nation’s reputation flows into and fuels, perhaps also thought of as what a reputation informs practically. It is important to note that the following three applications (nation branding, cultural diplomacy, soft power) are not frameworks for this research. Rather, they are similar components to a larger model that attempts to expand the idea of reputation into a broader cultural and artistic sense. Examples given act as a sounding board with which this thesis’ original research will be based off of in the coming chapters. We begin with nation branding.
2.2.1 Nation Branding

In its 2005 “Year of Ideas” issue, *The New York Times Magazine* listed nation branding among the year’s most notable ideas (Kaneva, 2011). The article featured British brand consultant Simon Anholt and summed up his position this way: “Just as companies have learned to ‘live the brand,’ countries should consider their reputations carefully—because…in the interconnected world, that’s what statecraft is all about” (Risen, 2005).

Current available nation branding theory is based on little research and on the opinions of only a few authors (Niesing, 2013). By and large, Anholt is to credit for the modern idea of nation branding; he is undoubtedly the most prolific author on the subject (Anholt, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2011) and has played a key role in establishing branding through consulting practice, scientific research, and speaking engagements. Another British brand consultant, Wally Olins, whose work for governments, speaking engagements, and publications (Olins, 1999, 2002, 2005a, 2005b) are also referenced a great deal on the subject, has done much to bring the field of nation branding to its current state. There are still others who have written extensively on the subject (Dinnie, 2008; Fan, 2009).

Despite nation branding’s growing popularity, there is much disagreement about its meaning and scope (Kaneva, 2011). In her article discussing the growing body of research on nation branding, Kaneva (2011, p. 118) defines the term nation branding as “a compendium of discourses and practices aimed at reconstituting nationhood through marketing and branding paradigms.” Another way in which nation branding has been
defined is as “an apolitical marketing strategy that targets external markets to establish *and communicate a specific image of national identity*” (Varga, 2013, p. 825, emphasis added). I find this definition, especially given its latter part placed in italics, to be more appropriate for this research, as it takes into account the content of a message as well as the practice of branding itself in projecting an image. It is interesting to note that Anholt, widely regarded as the founder of nation brands, isn’t really even at all sure what “branding” is (Anholt, 2011). In all of the literature surveyed for this research, he never actually presents a solid, singular definition of the term “nation branding.” In fact, over the years, he modifies his understanding of nation brand and even develops a similar (yet starkly different) new term, “competitive identity.” Therefore, it becomes easy to understand how the literature on nation branding over the years has begun to appear convoluted.

But if we think in terms of practical applications, nation branding can include “cosmetic” operations such as the creation of national logos and slogans and efforts to institutionalize branding within state structures by creating government bodies that may oversee long-term nation branding efforts. Nation branding has its roots in history – when states began to be transformed to nation-states primarily in the nineteenth century, many strategies similar to branding strategies were utilized. The creation of a national flag, a national anthem or a constitution all helped setting the country apart from the others and created a kind of national identity both for people viewing the state from the outside as well as by its citizens (van Ham, 2002). “The most ambitious architects of nation branding envision it as a *component of national policy*, never as a ‘campaign’ that is separate from planning, governance or economic development” (Anholt, 2008a, p. 23,
emphasis in original, In Kaneva, 2011). Varga (2013) also treats nation branding as a kind of implicit cultural policy characterized by a conservative, transformative and transferring political agenda.

Nation branding is selected for inclusion in our model because there are cultural components to it that cannot go unstated. Anholt believes that culture plays an essential role in the process of enriching a country’s image toward a fuller and more durable understanding of the country and its values (Anholt, 2003). In fact, he claims that cultural relations are the most successful method of nation branding:

> What most countries should be attempting is...to find ways of helping people in other countries to get to know them, to increase and celebrate rather than reduce their own complexity. This is one reason why I have claimed that cultural relations is the only demonstrably effective form of nation branding I have ever encountered. The experience of countries that have successfully practised cultural relations over many years shows that consistent, imaginative cultural exchange does eventually create an environment where respect and tolerance flourish, and this undoubtedly also favours increased trade in skills, knowledge, products, capital, and people. People who understand each other tend to get on better, and people who get on better tend to trade with each other more frequently, more freely and with greater mutual profit.

(Anholt, 2011, pp. 11-12)

Based on the observation that people who enjoy culture like to engage in culture, it is Anholt’s claim that rather than being expected to admire another nation’s culture, it is much more rewarding, much more exciting, and much more effective for nations to do culture together. This is a key component to nation branding and to reputation building as well. Anholt (2005) further proclaims that the cultural aspect of national image is irreplaceable and uncopiable because it is uniquely linked to the country itself; it is reassuring, enriching, and dignifying. Other authors have included culture in their...
rendition of displaying a nation. Radcliffe & Westwood (1996), in their study of place, identity, and politics in Latin America, give special attention to the role of museums in society. They postulate that national populations and social relations are represented and “explained” in national museums in ways which enhance processes of “imagining” co-citizens. Museums present the facts of co-existence of national lifestyles, at the same time as they picture (or silence) groups and thereby play a crucial role in representing national society to itself and to outsiders (a form of branding).

Kaneva (2011) states that future critiques of nation branding should extend beyond the ideological claims of nation branding to examine the political economy of its practices. “Here, research would look at the particular agents, at both the national and transnational levels…that are involved in perpetuating nation branding projects and the specific benefits they stand to gain” (Kaneva, 2011, p. 132). Combined with other reputation inputs related to arts and culture, this is an intent of this thesis.

Over time, Anholt has developed his idea of nation branding into a more specific term called competitive identity (Anholt, 2006a). Competitive identity is the term used to describe “the synthesis of brand management with public diplomacy and with trade, investment, tourism, and export promotion” (Anholt, 2006a, p. 3). Interestingly, this definition does not seem to have an explicit cultural aspect, yet it does appear below. As we can see, the overall differences between the two are next to none in terms of their composition.
The National Brand Hexagon

The Hexagon of Competitive Identity

(Source: Anholt, 2003, p. 118)  (Source: Anholt, 2006a, p. 26)

**Figure 2.2 Nation Brand v. Competitive Identity**

This is where Anholt leaves us with nation branding -- the ingredients to a successful formula. Nation branding (or competitive identity) relies at least in part on diplomacy and can be seen as the necessary continuation of diplomacy (van Ham, 2001, 2002). It is this connection with public diplomacy that leads us to our next analysis of a particular kind of public diplomacy.

### 2.2.2 Cultural Diplomacy

“Above all else is culture” (Liang, 1989). It was Zhuge Liang, a Chinese military advisor during the period of the Three Kingdoms, who told a general that even in war, culture plays a vital role. Culture has been considered a crucial part in states throughout
history. When relations were maintained between states, there would always have been an exchange of ideas, language, art and religion taking place (Arndt, 2005).

There is no doubt that these activities have been transpiring for a very long time. However, labeling these efforts as cultural diplomacy between nation-states became most apparent during the Cold War. Deliberate dissemination of American pop culture into the Soviet Union played a part in helping to defeat communism (Anholt, 2010). Though the first efforts in U.S. cultural diplomacy date from World War I, it was not until 1938 that the government agreed to support exchange programs for students and artists (Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, 2005; Polisi, 2005).

Cultural diplomacy takes its definition from a myriad of places but all contain the same general concept – that of the exchange of ideas and information through a nation’s culture. Cummings, Jr. (2003) defines cultural diplomacy as “the exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding (p. 1). This seems to be the agreed upon definition, as others have also utilized Cumming’s take on cultural diplomacy in a variety of contexts (Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, 2005; Polisi, 2005; Schneider, 2003). The Advisory Committee pushes a step further and even proclaims that cultural diplomacy is the “linchpin of public diplomacy; for it is in cultural activities that a nation’s idea of itself is best represented” (p. 1).

There is debate on whether cultural diplomacy presents itself as an official state activity. Sigsgaard (2011) defines cultural diplomacy, in short, as “the official effort to facilitate exchange and spread of culture around the world…” (p. 22, emphasis added).
However, I’d like to utilize an expanded definition of cultural diplomacy for this purpose in refuting the claim that all cultural diplomacy is official, state-sponsored diplomacy:

_Cultural diplomacy may be defined as the use of various elements of culture to influence foreign publics, opinion makers, and even foreign leaders. These elements comprehend the entire range of characteristics within a culture: including the arts, education, ideas, history, science, medicine, technology, religion, customs, manners, commerce, philanthropy, sports, language, professional vocations, hobbies, etc. and the various media by which these elements may be communicated._

(Lenczowski, 2007, p. 196)

This definition includes many non-state actors in the cultural diplomacy equation. Therefore, I contend that cultural diplomacy, and diplomacy in general, can and does move beyond government business and into the personal interactions of everyday people. After all, one of the most important components of diplomacy is that it is a two-way street (Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, 2005; Cull, 2008; Finn, 2003; Fosler-Lussier, 2010; Melissen, 2005; Schneider, 2003, 2006; Sigsgaard, 2011).

Schneider (2003) also asserts that cultural diplomacy should provide another alternative to the official presence of one country in another, thereby allowing diplomacy to take place on an informal basis. By the very nature of this, one might argue that cultural diplomacy acts best when it _isn’t_ a state-sponsored activity.

How do we know cultural diplomacy works? And why choose to include this application of culture into my thesis? It is generally agreed upon that cultural diplomacy is a rather problematic notion to observe. Anholt (2010) believes that some successes have been achieved through the use of cultural diplomacy, although the effectiveness of such methods is notoriously hard to measure as cultural influence is always a slow-
burning and indirect influence. Schneider (2006) believes cultural diplomacy cannot be effectively measured; it makes a qualitative, not quantitative, difference in relations between nations and peoples.

However, “cultural diplomacy has the potential to create a unique atmosphere of openness, often through a shared experience of a cultural event (Schneider, 2003, p. 11). Likewise, it can open channels of communication among members of select groups (Fosler-Lussier, 2010). It’s able to foster common values (Schneider, 2006), international connections (Fosler-Lussier, 2010), and the growth of civil society (Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, 2005). Furthermore, cultural diplomacy allows for the creation of a neutral platform for people-to-people contact and is uniquely able to reach out to young people, to non-elites, to broad audiences with a much reduced language barrier (Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, 2005). When global experiences return home, new insights, ideas, and beliefs are shared with the local community that allow for better understanding of the host nation and a more global perspective (Fosler-Lussier, 2010). To sum up, cultural diplomacy is one of the most potent tools a nation can have in its armory (Finn, 2003).

The current status of cultural diplomacy varies from nation to nation. Many government reports and scholars agree that after the Cold War, cultural diplomacy ceased to be a priority, at least with the U.S. (Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, 2005; Sigsgaard, 2011 ). It is generally regarded that France is the most noteworthy of cultural diplomacy practitioners, with annual spending on cultural diplomacy of more than one billion US dollars and French citizens widely believing that positions dealing with French cultural diplomacy are considered very prestigious. (Schneider, 2005). It should follow
that, given the biggest threats to world peace today are primarily ideological in nature, where culture is the problem, culture is also likely to be the solution (Anholt, 2010). Yet I choose to refute this idea: making comparisons between eras of the Cold War and current events around the world today is a dangerous one. It is especially important to note that the inclusion of the Cold War in this literature review is for benchmarking purposes only. Circumstances have changed since the mid-late 20th century and the Cold War way of doing things isn’t appropriate anymore. With specific regards to this research, modern-day Chile is not at all present in the Cold War paradigm.

Cultural diplomacy served as a good strategy during the 40 year Cold War period for a few reasons: 1) A bi-polar world dominated international affairs for a long period of time (capitalism v. communism) and, added to this, there existed unaligned states at the time who didn’t want to take sides; and 2) there was enough overlap in the culture of the West and the Soviet Union that using cultural concepts was easily understood both ways.

For example, jazz permeated the Iron Curtain and developed a large following throughout Russia, even when it was suppressed by Stalin (May, 2000). Soviet citizens were highly interested in the American way of life, from automobiles to fashion, and consumer goods (cosmetics, televisions, computers, etc.) (Hixson, 1997). One reason why we can’t use a similar strategy now in say, the Middle East, is because there is not enough overlap in cultural practices between the Middle East and West. Is there a large and dispersed underground American pop following in Iran today? It is unlikely.

As is evident, there is much to talk about when referring to cultural diplomacy, and this recap of literature has really only begun to scratch the surface on what’s out
there. For now, we will turn to a similar application in the making of an international reputation with a dedicated literature of its own.

2.2.3 Soft Power

“Cultural diplomacy is a prime example of ‘soft power’” writes Schneider (2003). “Competitive identity (or nation branding) is the quintessential modern exemplar of soft power” (parenthesis added) says Anholt (2006a, p. 127) (see also Prieto Larrain, 2011).

Soft power has become a popular term when discussing the role of culture in international affairs. We now move our attention to a term that at times also includes the application of cultural diplomacy and nation branding, but in a sense takes on a much bigger meaning in the context of international relations. There exists a terminological distinction between cultural diplomacy, nation branding/competitive identity, and soft power, though they run on parallel tracks.

Cultural diplomacy may be seen as an earlier way of thinking about soft power, even though, as discussed earlier, these applications have been present since early times. For the purpose of this research, I choose to make the distinction that cultural diplomacy is a form of soft power, but soft power operates in a broader international scope within and mingling with the frameworks of public diplomacy and political science. Soft power is “making people want to do what you want them to do; competitive identity(/nation branding) is about making people want to pay attention to a country’s achievements, and believe in its qualities” (Anholt, 2006a, p. 127). These divisions will hopefully become more clear after a review of literature on soft power.

Having “power” is having the ability to influence another to act in ways in which that entity would not have acted otherwise (Wilson III, 2008). Soft power is best
explained when contrasted against its counterpart – hard power (Sigsgaard, 2011). Hard power policies can include military intervention, coercive diplomacy, and economic sanctions (Art & Waltz, 1996; Campbell & O’Hanlon, 2006; Cooper, 2004; Wagner, 2005). The definition of soft power has been closely linked with Joseph Nye, Jr. (1990, 2004) who first coined this term (Trunkos, 2013). Soft power, Nye says, is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments; it arises from the attractiveness of a country’s culture, political ideals, and policies (Nye, 2004, p. x). It builds attraction and encompasses nearly everything other than economic and military power (Cooper, 2004). Mead (2004, p. 51) simply states that soft power is the power of attraction to ideals and cultures. Nye treats soft power as “an exercise in winning the battle of ideas” (Riordan, 2005, p. 188). As power literature developed, so did Nye’s initial definition of soft power (Trunkos, 2013). Later, Nye extended his definition into “the ability to affect others through the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes” (Nye, 2011, pp. 20-21, cited in Trunkos, 2013, p.2). While further developing his idea of soft power, Nye (2002, 2004, 2011) has been focusing on the outcomes of it (Trunkos, 2013). In my research, I will attempt to look into the other side of the equation, namely, what cultural ingredients goes into soft power.

In international affairs, there exists a third form of power – economic, also known as sticky (see Mead, 2004; Hocking, 2005). We can see the differences between the three forms of power in the following table:
Here it is seen how soft power really is markedly different from the other two. Where military and economic power both utilize very direct means to gain power, soft power uses more subtle and difficult to evaluate means (Sigsgaard, 2011).

At this point it may be helpful to see some examples of soft power. Fortunate for us, Nye (2002) has created a chart detailing resources that have enabled nation-states over the centuries to thrive. It depicts the changing power resources utilized, ranging from the heavy reliance on gold bullions of the sixteenth century to the transnational communications we are familiar with today. It is also interesting to note the gradual entrance of different forms of soft power as a major resource of power (Sigsgaard, 2011).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Major Resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sixteenth century</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Gold bullion, colonial trade, mercenary armies, dynastic ties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventeenth century</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Trade, capital markets, navy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighteenth century</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Population, rural industry, public administration, army, culture (soft power)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nineteenth century</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>Industry, political cohesion, finance and credit, navy, liberal norms (soft power), island location (easy to defend)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twentieth century</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Economic scale, scientific and technical leadership, location, military forces and alliances, universalistic culture and liberal international regimes (soft power)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty-first century</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Technological leadership, military and economic scale, soft power, hub of transnational communications</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2 Leading States and Their Power Resources, 1500-2000
(Source: Nye, 2002, p. 13)
Do these different powers interact with each other? That is, can military might affect the outcomes of performing American jazz abroad? From this chart, it is difficult to assume so. However, Bollier (2003) believes that “soft power supports the exercise of military and hard economic powers, and arrogant or unjust use of hard power can erode soft power” (Bollier, 2003, p. 17 in Hocking, 2005). Therefore, much like how soft power has linkages to cultural diplomacy and nation branding, it too forms complex relationships with hard and sticky powers.

However, there are inherent differences between the types of power a state can exhibit. Because soft power targets an audience, whether it be the government of another country, or a foreign public (Saleh, 2012), Nye (2008) writes that “…soft power depends more on the subject’s role…than does hard power. Attraction depends on what is happening inside the mind of the subject” (xiii). It appears, then, that the success of soft power is partially dependent on the actions or interpretations of the subject of that power, an issue which has given rise to much critique by other scholars (Saleh, 2012).

As much celebrated as Nye’s soft power contribution is to the international world, it is also somewhat contested. Gray (2012) believes that soft power is unsuitable for policy directions and control as it relies too much on the foreign countries’ perception; it depends on the choices of foreigners. By and large, “soft power should not be thought of as an instrument of policy” (Gray, 2012, p. viii). Another writer who believes it improper to trust a foreign population with receiving the intended use of the soft power is Henrikson (2005). He stresses that the reliance on a population’s moral, political, and intellectual agreement is a conceptual mistake. “Most publics cannot be entirely won over – either coerced or co-opted – by intimations of power, however subliminal or politely
veiled” (Henrikson, 2005, p. 73). Others state that there is nothing new about soft power and that its reach is limited, believing that hard power is by and away more prevalent and important: “Soft power is merely the velvet glove concealing an iron hand” (Ferguson, 2004, p. 24). One Canadian author claims that conventional hard and soft power concepts are inappropriate for Canada; confusion results as analysts “attempt to graft an American-originated concept onto the Canadian political landscape” (Smith-Windsor, 2000, p. 51).

These critics of soft power tend to be small in number and are overshadowed by a much larger crowd who emphasize its use. (Weinbrenner, 2007). On the whole, governments around the world recognize the positive benefits of soft power usage, and the literature is ripe with examples, recommendations, and analyses. But what is soft power composed of? Stated another way, what does it (and nation branding and cultural diplomacy) look like when being created? This next section of the literature review will focus on the artistic ingredients that go into creating a reputation.

2.3 Reputation-making Artistic Ingredients

So far, we have seen how the reputation of a nation flows into nation branding, diplomacy, and soft power – these become an application of reputation and demonstrate how a reputation may be utilized through arts and culture. What we have not spoken about yet, and what the literature on reputation neglects is where this reputation comes from. There are structures that facilitate the creation of tools, and these tools can include such elements as festivals, exchanges, government-sponsored initiatives, etc. Different actors exist that facilitate these cultural activities, whether government, corporate, or NGOs. These structures and their consequent artistic activities are sometimes apparent in
the literature, but not at all significantly, with regards to the formation or dissemination of a national reputation. If we refer to our National Reputation Model from earlier in this chapter, we see that these top tier ingredients (government, corporations/business) are present in ranking systems that attempt to place countries on a continuum of good vs. bad world standing, which also tend to include the culture of a nation as well. Naturally, due to the restriction stemming from the sparse appearance in the literature, the components that go into making a reputation allow for a briefer analysis. Nonetheless, they are just as important in the National Reputation Model, as will become more apparent in the forthcoming chapters.

2.3.1 Festivals

Festivals come in many shapes and sizes, and they can serve a number of purposes, such as demonstrating globalization and local diversity, and serving as community, tourist attraction, and image-maker (Quinn, 2005). For the purpose of this study, the festivals I will be referring to will be of the arts and cultural variety. Until recent decades, arts and cultural festivals were of little interest to policy-makers, and even then, these festivals were often viewed as a first step towards the development of more sustainable, year-round cultural activities. This is no longer the case (Quinn, 2010). Now, numerous authors have pointed to the prevalence of arts festivals in contemporary society. For example, more than half of the arts festivals existing in the UK date to the 1980s (Rolfe, 1992); French festivals grew from about a dozen in the 1950s to more than one thousand in the mid-1990s (Brennetot, 2004); and there are over 600 music festivals in rural Australia alone (Gibson, C. & Connell, 2005).
Before festivals took on their current trend of being desirable merely for their economic generation, there existed certain characteristics that have been common for the majority of them (Quinn, 2005):

1. Festivals as bottom-up initiatives with the pre-occupation to meet an artistic need felt by a particular and place-based artistic community.
2. Festivals that developed organically crystallizing around a small group of highly committed artists and/or arts enthusiasts.
3. Festivals physically expressing and tangibly reinforcing alternative ideals in the use of unconventional spaces for artistic performances.

Nowadays, a well-established and substantial international literature attests to the significant impacts generated by festivals across economic, political and socio-cultural domains (Arcodia & Whitford, 2006) which make use of a variety of stakeholders in creating these events. Arts festivals, as well as other types of occasions, have become part of a wider range of “cultural strategies” (Gotham, 2005) to be used in a variety of contexts. Governments and researchers agree that festivals allow for the promotion of access to culture and the right to cultural self-determination (Cloake, 1995; Scottish Arts Council, n.d.).

On a larger scale, international festivals epitomize the enhanced interconnectedness of cultures that characterizes our age of global circulation (McMahon, 2014). International festivals provide the opportunity for participants and attendees alike to explore such things as national identity, transnationalism, and global connections. There exists a transformative potential to the actions and objectives of the performers and to the audience’s reflexive response to them, all of which may resonate beyond the time of the festival, known as “festival aftermath” (McMahon, 2014, p. 7). This includes the cultural tensions that arise in the wake of festivals, such as new questions about collective identities or the frustrations that accompany intercultural collaborations. Audiences at
international festivals, which include local spectators from the host city, nationals from all over the country, and international visitors with varying degrees of involvement and investment in the festival, can “weave complex cultural dialogues into the fabric of the festival” (McMahon, 2014, p. 24). Festival participants who attend multiple events – productions, talkbacks, workshops, debates – become fully saturated with the festival’s scheme, which allows them to form knowledgeable opinions about the ideological underpinnings of the programming as a whole (Schoenmakers, 2007). However, festivals cannot guarantee that the cultural products will generate meaningful dialogues; the best any festival planner can do is to create optimal conditions under which this might happen (Hauptfleisch, 2007).

There are significant obstacles posed to meaningful exchange at international festivals, and these are important to highlight given that my research was originally largely focused on an international theatre festival in Santiago, Chile. A few difficulties include (McMahon, 2014, p. 3):

- Caught in the demands of the global arts market (the festival being promoted as “cultural tourism”) (Wehle, 2003)
- Theatre festivals court high-profile productions based on canonical Western works; elitism (and proves to be very expensive)
- Structure of the festival: theatre productions become detached from their places of origin and circulate to new audiences who are unfamiliar with what the actors are portraying (Fricker, 2003)

These obstacles are important to keep in mind when it comes time to analyze Chile’s largest arts festival in regards to cultural exchange, diplomacy, and the creation of a reputation.

The link between festivals, cultural identity and national identity has been recognized for some time (Quinn, 2010). There have also been a few authors who
detailed the significant place arts and cultural festivals hold in the generation of a reputation or image. Anholt (2005), in his concept of nation branding, asserts that national and international cultural events like concerts, exhibitions, competitions and festivals can enrich the perception of a country while paying their own way, meaning that they eventually start earning a monetary return on investment. Researchers have also frequently argued that festivals offer possibilities for crystallizing, galvanizing and articulating local identities, and today continue to be supported for their identity-enhancing roles (Sachs Olsen, 2012). These benefits and purposes of festivals are included to highlight their importance in producing an international arts festival. Moving away from festivals, we turn our attention to organizations that may have the responsibility of creating these festivals.

2.3.2 NGOs and Arts Organizations

NGOs proliferate the literature, primarily in the international political and development realm (see Lews & Opoku-Mensah, 2006; Mercer, 2002; Vakil, 1997; Edwards, 1999). Rather than spending a great deal of time grappling with NGOs and their place within the literature, it is my aim to define what I mean by the term, and then move on to matters connected to my own research. Defining NGOs is not an exercise for the intellectually squeamish (Simmons, 1998). Currently on the United Nations’ website, non-governmental organizations are defined as such:

* A non-governmental...is a not-for-profit group, principally independent from government, which is organized on a local, national or international level to address issues in support of the public good. Task-oriented and made up of people with a common interest, NGOs perform a variety of services and humanitarian functions, bring public concerns to
governments, monitor policy and programme implementation, and encourage participation of civil society stakeholders at the community level.

(Non-governmental organizations, United Nations Rule of Law, n.d.)

Vague? Not unsurprising. The only real stipulations this tells us is that an NGO must be a not-for-profit group tasked with addressing issues related to the common good. So that essentially entails just a few exceptions: private business, groups that can be considered existing for the uncommon good (terrorist or revolutionary groups), and political parties. It’s been suggested that we look at NGOs in a different light: rather than trying to place every NGO under the same umbrella, it would benefit researchers and officials alike to classify NGOs separately by their purpose (Vakil, 1997) or perhaps funding sources (Simmons, 1998). Undoubtedly, arts and cultural organizations fall into the definition of NGOs who have purposes of their own, and we will move forward with this assumption in mind.

The striking thing about the current research on nation branding, diplomacy, and soft power is that these applications of reputation do not take NGOs into account. For example, if we look at Anholt’s (2006a) rendering of the six factors that contribute to a competitive identity, we are hard-pressed to locate where exactly NGOs would fit.
NGOs do not concern themselves with investments; tourism is rarely on their mind, and their primary concern is not branding; while they’re involved in the policy process to a certain extent, their involvement doesn’t necessarily contribute to the competitive identity of a nation as a whole. Therefore, one comes to the conclusion that NGOs, and arts organizations in particular, fit somewhere between the “People” and “Culture” categories. These are two assets that cultural NGOs and non-profits rely on heaviest to complete their work.

What it comes down to with NGOs are the actions of individuals and of civil society, stated from my American perspective. Not state actors and not businesses, but actual people going out on their own accords, or under the auspices of some organization, to fulfill some kind of mission. From the UN’s definition of NGOs, we get the sense that these are “people” organizations doing things that matter to other people while recognizing the growing importance of civil society in international relations. (Sigsgaard,
threatening to split the world in two yet again, there could not be a more urgent and important task than that of establishing or re-establishing some form of dialogue. As in 1947, it could be the work of individuals” (Weyreter, 2003, p. 43).

This is no more true than in arts and cultural organizations and the people (including artists) who work for and with them. Adding culture and heritage to the mix is simply one way to ensure that all conversation between countries don’t descend into mere advertising, and that there is still cultural exchange on a global scale, intelligent dialogue, sharing of insights, and learning (Anholt, 2003). To take one of our earlier applications of reputation: nation branding cannot be effective without the participation of citizens who are at the same time representatives, stake-holders and customers (Varga, 2013). While NGOs and individuals are outside of their own countries, they are engaging in a particular kind of reputation building. Culture spreads from individual to individual, often by subterranean means, diffusing ideas that we hold dear across borders, creating new ways of thinking and seeing (Sigsgaard, 2011).

“Citizen diplomacy,” a phrase that has occurred in the literature since the early 2000s, engages the idea that diplomacy is too important to be the exclusive domain of official diplomats (Mueller, 2002). There have even been US efforts aimed at links with domestic civil society organizations (NGOs) operating overseas (Melissen, 2005). Here, we see the governments of the world beginning to recognize the power of people-to-people contact. Those who engage other cultures and peoples in their own individual projects are at times more effective than any government interaction could ever be. Along similar lines, there exists the concept of internationalism, which, applied to this line of
inquiry, often refers to nongovernmental groups that transcend national boundaries to work toward common goals or transform relations among nations (Iriye, 1997). Although many times not the direct goal of international NGO activity, one can only imagine the transformation of relations actually occurring.

Then-President of the Julliard School Joseph W. Polisi, in a speech at his school’s commencement ceremony, proclaimed to the artists sitting in front of him, “First, you must never forget that you are communicators” (Polisi, 2005, p. 81). This is the general consensus in the literature review on NGOs and arts organizations – to cherish the human bond between others while at the same time doing something salient for the public good. As we see from the literature, there are a number of ways of looking at and labeling the role of NGOs, arts organizations, and artists within the global community, and what that means for a reputation. Although there isn’t necessarily an explicitly stated spot for NGOs in nation branding/competitive identity, cultural diplomacy, and soft power, (see, for example, The hexagon of Competitive Identity in section 2.2.1) we must assume that they are present and working tirelessly to accomplish the tasks that these applications of reputation promote.

2.3.3 Corporations

Contrary to the position of NGOs, non-profits, arts organizations, etc. in the reputation scheme, corporations occupy an obvious place in the formation and distribution of a reputation. After all, what do most people think about when they think “Brand U.S.?” A few of the first things to come to mind for many foreigners would probably include Nike, Levis, and McDonalds. If we refer to Anholt’s most recent
presentation of what constitutes a country’s brand (see Figure 2.2.3), we notice that the purpose for including businesses is for their investment and export functions. This is where corporations find their place in the “hexagon of Competitive Identity,” and upon further inspection of what Anholt refers to when he touches on the corporate side of nation branding, we see a few word associations and constructs on which he chooses to base his nation rankings on.

![Diagram](image.png)

**Figure 2.4** Comprehensive Metrics of the Nation Brands Index (NBI) (modified for emphasis) (Source: “Build Competitive Place Identity: Strengthen soft power in a global reputation race with Anholt-GfK Nation Brands Index.” GfK Public Affairs & Corporate Communications. p. 4. 4 December 2013.)
We see under the “Immigration and Investment” category that sub-matrices include a person’s desire to live in a country, if the country has a high quality of life, if it’s a good place to get an education, if the nation has good businesses to invest in, and the status of equality in the society. While these are all very important components that should go into any worldwide ranking system, we don’t really get any ideas related to business practices and strategies. Looking at the “Exports” section doesn’t help us much further. So how can corporations contribute to a nation’s reputation besides through the obvious channel of investment? We can turn our attention to another nation ranking index, this time to the Country Brand Index (CBI) put together by FutureBrand. This private firm has developed a high profile measure that assesses a country brand, much the same as Anholt has accomplished, and has been discussed a great deal in the literature as well (see Bivolaru, Andrei, & Purcaroiu, 2009; Fetscherin, 2010; Zeinalpour, Shahbazi, & Ezzatirad, 2013). Below are the dimensions FutreBrand utilizes in surveying their participants.
We see that FutureBrand has distilled business activity down further to include advanced technology and good infrastructure, which presents further evidence of how the private sector can engage in nation reputation. But there is more businesses and corporations do that could reflect on a country’s reputation utilizing intermediaries. The literature is clear that many corporations are now turning to NGOs to partner with, which in turn leads to the possibility of addressing national reputation.

How and why are corporations becoming attached to NGOs? In recent years, corporate sponsorship has become an increasingly visible element in the business
communications mix (Rajshekhar, Taylor, Gross, & Lampman, 1994). While corporations do enjoy a say in a nation’s reputation, they also directly support NGOs and other entities in order to increase revenue. Sponsorship is the “underwriting of a special event to support corporate objectives by enhancing corporate image, increasing awareness of brands, or directly stimulating sales of products and services” (Rajshekhar, Taylor, Gross, & Lampman, 1994, p. 48). Sponsorship is different from patronage, which can be considered an altruistic activity in which the corporation holds little expectation of gaining an actual benefit (Gross, Traylor, & Shuman, 1987). By associating its name with an event, a company can share in the image of the event itself in much the same way that a product shares the image of a celebrity who endorses it. Stevens (1984) refers to this linkage as “brandstanding” and contends that associating a proven product or service with an event or issue of interest to consumers “creates for the brand an aura of excitement, interest, reliability, and renewed vitality” (p. 31).

Sponsorship usually involves the staging of an event around which advertising might or might not take place (Rajshekhar, Taylor, Gross, & Lampman, 1994), which could include such events as arts and cultural festivals. Many businesses view sponsoring cultural events as the ideal means for promoting their own status as cultured, philanthropic, intelligent and cosmopolitan corporate citizens (Anholt, 2003). Festivals, as we have already seen (see 2.3.1), hold a unique place in accounting for one possible ingredient to a national reputation.

We can now see how corporations may address their position in reflecting and engaging a national reputation; in addition, we’ve discovered the role of NGOs and
festivals as a component to reputation. The final big piece of the puzzle is one that we must not leave out: the role of government.

### 2.3.4 Government

When survey respondents asked what they admire most in a country, 34% of all participants (the highest percentage out of any other option) noted a nation’s most favorable characteristic as a government that is democratic, open, and treats its citizens fairly (GfK Public Affairs & Corporate Communications, 2013). This shows the importance of government’s place in a country’s reputation. Indeed, governments are oftentimes actively involved in the management of the reputation, which can include arm’s length nation branding bodies, diplomatic agencies, etc. Governments also, by way of their policies, establish benchmarks with which nation ranking systems have rated countries for a while now. Again, we can refer to the FutureBrand Country Brand Index and the Anholt GfK Nation Brands Index to determine what governments do to directly and indirectly manage reputation.

Anholt’s Nation Brand Index survey looks at the contributions of government to reputation from a variety of angles (see Figure 2.4). In his nation brand metrics, he asks participants’ opinions on such things as a competent and honest government, citizen’s rights, global security, environmental record, and reducing world poverty. All of these in some way, shape, or form do contribute to a nation’s reputation, and Anholt has categorized them all under his “Governance” metric. Similarly, FutureBrand includes a lot of these same metrics in their “associations dimensions” (see Figure 2.5). This survey asked participants to rank countries based on such government-focused areas as political freedom, environmental standards, tolerance, health and education, standard of living,
safety and security, and good infrastructure. The interesting thing, when comparing the two different indexes, is that FutureBrand groups these policy-driven objectives into three different categories: Value System, Quality of Life, and Business Potential. This isn’t necessarily a crucial discussion point, but it does point to the general disagreement on what matters most in ranking countries based on governance.

We have discussed the ranking systems and what they choose to include in their indexes, but we have not discussed government assets that may go into reputation. There generally is not attention to this in the literature, and we can only infer here until we discuss this thesis’ findings in Chapter 4. Generally, governments can utilize other assets, such as NGOs and artists, to accomplish this task. We have seen this work the same way with corporations – that oftentimes they are not directly involved in applications of reputation, but rather serve as a facilitator of other components to accomplish their own missions. In this way, there’s a kind of gentle hidden hand of government attempting to shape its reputation through various channels.

One aspect that this literature review has not discussed yet is the place of cultural exchange in reputation formation, and now is as good a time as ever to bring it into the equation while discussing the government’s part. Culture exchange has the ability to occur on both official and unofficial stages – governments oftentimes engage in it, but other entities may just as well be actively involved on completely separate terms (Sigsgaard, 2011). Cultural exchange became rather prominent during the Cold War, and especially during what has been called the “thawing” of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Dance became an important ingredient in the mutual exchange of arts and ideas between the two powerhouse cultural nations of the 1950s and
60s – Americans sent the New York Ballet to Moscow while the Soviets showed off their well-regarded Bolshoi Ballet during a tour of the U.S. The literature has argued the importance of cultural exchange as being a vital shared responsibility in order to create a sustainable prosperity (Anholt, 2003). This ensures that a nation’s culture is properly recognized as an important aspect of self-expression and image. The experience of countries which have successfully practiced cultural relations over many years shows that consistent, mutual cultural exchange does eventually create an environment where respect and tolerance flourish, and this undoubtedly also favors increased trade in skills, knowledge, products, capital and people (Anholt, 2010). We see that the government action of cultural exchange has the ability to spill over into other parts of reputation assets that the private consulting agencies we have discussed earlier deem so important.

From this brief review of the role of government in reputation, we see that what exists in the literature is primarily of a historical perspective – there is some literature, primarily ranking systems, that promote the connectedness of a nation’s government and its reputation, but this is by no means significant. Therefore, we come to the conclusion that government has primarily held the role of facilitator to exchanges, NGO activity, etc. in the name of addressing its reputation. Our final ingredient to reputation is somewhat broad, but must be included for purposes of completeness.

2.3.5 Other: Tourism, Communications, Exports

Tourism, communications, and exports are highly touted in the literature and possess their own categories in the ranking systems of Anholt (in the “tourism” and “exporting brands”/”brands” metrics) and FutureBrand (present in the “tourism” and
“made in” dimensions). Therefore, a discussion on country reputation cannot be put forth without at least recognizing these important factors and their contributions.

Anholt (2006a) claims that tourism is in most cases the most important and most powerful of a nation’s brand image, for the simple reason that it has permission to brand the country directly. As previously mentioned, Anholt’s Nation Brands Index uses tourism as one of the key outcomes of nation brand: Tourism is often the most visibly promoted aspect of the nation brand, since most tourist boards spend a lot of money on ‘selling’ the country around the world (Yang, Shing, Lee, & Wrigley, 2008). Gnoth (2002) acknowledges the power of tourism as a determinant of country image perceptions and attempts theoretically to develop a model of leveraging a country brand through a tourism destination brand (Dinnie, 2004). The growing importance of the tourism industry and its potential to expose large numbers of visitors to a country’s achievements strongly suggest benefits that derive from an analysis of the links between “country” as tourism destination, the export economy, and brands (Gnoth, 2002). Yang et al. (2008), in their study of the South Korean reputation, demonstrated the value of a favorable country reputation in terms of nation branding, and especially in tourism and export. However, Anholt (2006a) cautions that the image of a nation presented by the tourist industry may be seen as irrelevant, unhelpful, or even damaging to the country’s other international initiatives, especially promotion of trade or inward investment. For example, a country which enjoys a favorable tourist destination based on a wild, empty countryside and quaint old-world charm is hardly a useful image for a multinational corporation deciding where to build its next office or plant.
In a similar way to tourism, a country's sporting achievements can project an extremely powerful image upon which nations may partly construct a nation-brand (Dinnie, 2004). The New Zealand rugby team, for instance, represents a symbol of national pride that is recognized throughout much of the rest of the world (Motion, Leitch, & Brodie, 2003). The Brazilian football team enjoys similar iconic status throughout the world. The important role of sport as a key facet of place branding can be expected to increase in prominence, driven largely by the blanket coverage of sport that is now delivered through satellite and digital media (Dinnie, 2004), an aspect we will touch on next.

Communications and media play a key role in a nation’s reputation. Any disciplines where art and business meet have the potential to be effective carriers of messages – for example, the ‘creative industries’, like graphic, product and packaging design, advertising, music videos, web design, television and radio production, magazine and book publishing – and even though their purpose isn’t high culture but the application of creative skills towards a commercial end, they are just as effective in deepening and dignifying the brand print of the country (Anholt, 2003). For example, Britain is known to produce witty and occasionally beautiful TV commercials, which is able to speak volumes about the quality and creativity of the national environment, and helps in its own way to encourage inward employment, investment and probably even tourism. “The way a brand is sold can be as important as the brand itself in communicating something of the country which produced it” (Anholt, 2003, p. 139). However, Anholt (2003, 2006a) cautions that publics are generally dismissive of direct
communications from national governments and their agencies, and – not surprisingly, since they are never selling a specific product to a specific audience – are unsure how to react to them. Therefore, he sees tourism boards as being effective methods in projecting a nation’s reputation and image.

Trade/exports, like tourism and culture, also has its place in one of the six components of Anholt’s hexagon of competitive identity (see Figure 2.4); he refers to it later on in his writings on the topic simply as “brands.” Likewise, we see FutureBrand encapsulating the trade and export functions of reputation in its “Made in” association dimension. Export brands have the ability to act has powerful ambassadors of each country’s image abroad and can speak just as loudly as tourism campaigns (Anholt, 2006a). One caveat to this is that the country of origin must be made explicit (if nobody knows where a product comes from, then it can’t affect their feelings about that country). Exports and their brands have a particular power to accelerate and lead changes in public perceptions of countries: whether we like it or not, they are increasingly important vectors of national image and reputation, even of culture (Anholt, 2006a). Anholt (2003) recognizes several obstacles to the creation of a brand/reputation in trade and exports which mainly have to do with maintaining control over brand image at a distance. The control of all the marketing messages, a very essential part of showing a coherent and consistent personality to the consumer, is extremely hard to achieve from afar. “The price at which the product is sold, the way in which it’s presented to the consumer at the point of sale, the way it’s marketed and advertised – all of these are hard enough to achieve at home, let alone in a distant country” (Anholt, 2003, p. 82).
We see that tourism, communications, and trade all play a vital role in the discussion of nation reputation. This is by no means meant to fill in the rest of the gaps of national reputation; to accomplish this, there could be whole volumes of books addressing the matter. However, these three topics have become major contributors in the literature of national image and branding, and it’s my hope this section of the review demonstrates that all things related to nation reputation are interconnected and highly influential on one another.

2.4 Chile

The final piece to our reputation puzzle is also the most crucial and gives us a context in which this research grounds itself: that of the nation of Chile. A person can learn a great deal about a country and its most prevalent research relatively quickly with a simple Google Scholar search. It’s quite interesting to see what literature is the most cited in research related to the nation. It comes to no surprise that Chile, an isolated nation with a unique geopolitical position, is well-researched in terms of its environment and geography (Hildreth & Moorbath, 1988; Heusser, 1982; Redford & Eisenberg, 1992; Gustafson & Hunt, 1975), the economic effects of the Pinochet dictatorship (Corbo, 1985; Tybout, de Melo, & Corbo, 1991; Bergoeing, Kehoe, Kehoe, & Soto, 2002) and its classification as an emerging economy (Khanna & Palepu, 2000; Aulakh, Rotate, & Teegen, 2000). While these subjects have been the focus of many researchers, this thesis will explore a completely different component of the nation of Chile. However, these oft-cited pieces of literature demonstrate elements of Chile that will be woven into my research context.
There have been only a few pieces of literature (Prieto Larrain, 2011; Niesing, 2013) that have explicitly focused on the nation branding, identity, and reputation activities of Chile. Given these comparatively more recent dates of completion, we can see that Chile is just now becoming a topic of interest in the academy. These authors take a holistic approach to nation branding in the Chilean context, often incorporating applications such as soft power, public diplomacy, and neoliberalism. They also tend to incorporate isolated events, such as the Chilean bicentennial (2010) or the Chilean miners incident in the Atacama desert (also in 2010), a decision which we will discover later makes sense when speaking of nation branding. Also of note is Radcliffe & Westwood (1996), who identity Chile as the country that has progressed furthest along the nation branding path due to growing economic strength and a measure of consolidation.

Scant literature is available of official government documents on the nation branding activities of Chile, primarily coming from ProChile, an institution of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Chile in charge of promoting exports of products and services as well as disseminating foreign investment opportunities and tourism promotion (ProChile, n.d.). Another interesting piece of literature is the Chilean Country Brand Communications Guide (Fundacion Imagen de Chile, Country Brand Communications Guide, n.d.), which discusses in-depth expectations and guidelines for branding Chilean communications. Besides the government agencies and a few authors, no further literature exists whose primary purpose is to inform on Chilean nation branding and reputation.

Many authors, however, have written on the status of Chile’s image and its classification as an emerging economy, as we have previously seen. When we look at the
current reputation literature in this framework, the problem is clear. Anholt (2010) discusses why Chile does not receive more coverage compared to similar countries in Latin America, such as Mexico. He claims that, even though just as many good things go on in Chile, Mexico receives more international media coverage because Mexico has “a very clearly defined instrument for a journalist to play on. Chile, without a strong image, is a trickier and less noisy instrument to play; and many foreign journalists will pass over the challenge” (p. 42). With regards to Chile and its emerging market, we discover that there are a host of further problems. Anholt explains the dangers when discoursing on emerging markets and their effects on the brand of a nation. In his argument concerning emerging countries, he says:

Companies in emerging and third-world countries, on the whole, still make most of the foreign income which is so crucial to their economies through supplying companies in rich countries with the raw materials or basic manufactured goods and labor they need. But these supplies, since they are unbranded, are generally identical to those of their many competitors, are extremely price-sensitive, and generate very slender profits.

(Anholt, 2003, p.8)

The emerging markets (in our case, Chile) usually show a much more limited range of exports, almost exclusively unbranded, and often a significant dependence on one product or group of products. With Chile, copper and copper ore account for 40% of overseas sale. “The problem is that all of these exports are unbranded products, and also commodities, so their sale is primarily influenced by price” (Anholt, 2003, p. 27).

From this, we can surmise that Chile does not hold a very positive place in the nation branding literature, at least with regards to classifying it as an emerging economy. However, Chile has been included in the Anholt-GfK Roper Nation Brands Index since
2008 (Fundacion Imagen de Chile, 2013), a statistic that is important to keep in mind, given the fact that not every country in the world is included for ranking. FutureBrand has also included Chile for ranking among eight other Latin American countries (FutureBrand, n.d.). These rankings will be discussed more in-depth in the findings section, but are vital to note here.

A final small but important portion of literature pertaining to Chile, and especially significant to this research, include historical accounts of the arts under Pinochet (Agosin, 1990; Epstein & Watson, 1990; Pottlitz, 2001). These mostly exist as first-hand explanations and narratives of the lives of artists and their art while living under a brutal regime who actively suppressed artists and their work. I will discuss further the present-day status of the arts and culture in Chile in the next chapter, which correlates with my findings.

The range of literature on Chile is obviously expansive, much the same for any other country. However, we see that pertaining to reputation at least, there is insignificant research being done, a fact this research will attempt to address.

2.5 Preliminary Conclusions

Reputation can come from a variety of ingredients which can in turn inform a number of its applications, and this review of the literature is only a small attempt at conveying this. What I have presented here is not necessarily a comprehensive overview of all things related to a national reputation; the National Reputation Model presented earlier in this chapter is not all-inclusive. Rather, this model is illustrative of some of the factors that play into and out of a national reputation. We can gather that most of the
literature related to reputation comes from international relations; it does not come from a cultural perspective. Those few pieces of literature that do embrace the arts and culture do so as an almost afterthought, with greater attention being paid to the bigger picture, be it in diplomacy, soft power, government, etc. Taking our earlier model as a baseline, what does the cultural perspective add to understanding those input ingredients, and what does it look like in the output applications? This will be the major purpose moving forward; the research is not just interested in analyzing nation branding or diplomacy activities from an international affairs perspective. Given my history and background as a performing artist and administrator with a strong inclination towards international affairs, I will attempt to hone in on the arts and cultural component of our model, a perspective most scholars do not take or simply do not know much about. I will do so by incorporating another, more specified, model that relates to the inclusion of arts and culture.
The next chapter of this research will discuss the methods and reasoning utilized in data collection and analysis. This will provide a context within which our findings will be placed.
Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Methods Madness

My research background has been varied, but preferences will always exist. Qualitative methods have always been my penchant of approach when choosing to carry out research. This stems from most of my prior research experience being rooted in the qualitative sciences. For example, during my time at the Smithsonian Institution’s Office of Policy and Analysis, I completed a number of interviews with staff from across the institution in pursuit of informing internal reports. I found this experience to be gratifying, worthwhile, and extremely accurate – getting the chance to sit down with interviewees for a half hour allows one to really get a full story and catch all of the nuances and details of experience. With that being said, I also worked with a lot of surveys when attempting to gauge visitor opinions and not necessarily employees; it was during these visitor surveys that quantity took precedence over quality – the institution wanted a wide array of opinions from as many of its visitors as possible. Conversely, when carrying out internal reviews of procedures and workmanship, one-on-one interviews were much more suited for the kind of detailed information we were seeking.

In graduate school, my experience has also been varied. I have enrolled in both a (primarily) qualitative methods course within my home department as well as a statistics class through the public affairs school that incorporated case studies of quantitative research. Although it is hard to compare my experiences in both given drastically
different teaching methods and expectations between the two, I quickly realized that qualitative research was more correlated to my own preferences and plans. Given my personal background in research, as well as what my research was intended to discover, I found that qualitative interviewing worked best for the kind of study I had envisioned and the network I had established in Chile. In addition, surveys or other types of quantitative research would not be suitable for the kind of in-depth and empirical research I was aiming to do.

3.2 Selection of Topic

One may wonder why such a topic as reputation was paired with a country few know much about. To understand this, I can only relate to my personal experience and somewhat biased pleasures. I have always had an interest in international affairs, primarily stemming from an undergraduate trip abroad to Honduras. I traveled to the Central American nation as part of a performance and teaching experience as a member of a wind quintet my junior year of undergrad. Never had I been abroad before then (I choose to exclude Canada solely due to my proximity to our neighbor to the north and the similarities in culture, economy, government, etc.). It was in Honduras where I interacted with musicians, teachers, diplomats, and everyday people going about lives of their own. I had the opportunity to teach and perform for Hondurans of all walks of life, and it was a rush. Since this time, my interests in international affairs has blossomed into not only an area of research, but also a dedicated interest and hobby.

The decision to focus on Chile was not only a personal preference, but also a matter of great convenience. As a graduate student at Ohio State, I was afforded the
occasion to travel to Chile as part of a study abroad trip to explore models of comparative cultural policy and arts administration with a small cohort of other grad students and one faculty member, Dr. Wayne Lawson. While learning all I could and meeting some key figures in the Chilean cultural scene, I again experienced a sensation only attainable through hopping on long flights overseas. This experience abroad was slightly different compared to Honduras, in that I was awarded a great deal of autonomy in choosing what to do when not in meetings. This gave me the wonderful chance to experience a culture about which few others think. I became infatuated with Santiago, a European-influenced cosmopolitan home to 6.5 million inhabitants (nearly the population of Los Angeles and Chicago combined!) with a fascinating history. Surely my interest is partly found in the people which I had the pleasure of meeting and from whom I enjoyed learning. In addition to an approximately two week stay in Santiago, I and a few other graduate students traveled up the coast of Chile to the Atacama desert, stopping at cities along the way while staying in youth hostels. I believe I could write an entire memoir on this adventure alone, but for this thesis, I feel it sufficient to say that I had a number of incredible experiences that I took with me back home which included exploring the Chilean way of life and taking in as much culture as possible. Couple this with the network that I had established in Chile, as well as those at Ohio State, and I had a solid beginning of my research interests.

The final piece of my research that begs an explanation is my choice to focus on a Chilean reputation, specifically how it is accomplished through culture. I did not begin my research with this notion. Rather, I recall spending hours in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. over the summer before my second year of graduate classes reading
books and attempting to discover a thesis topic that combined my love of foreign
countries, the arts, and my policy and administration coursework. I poured over a number
of international affairs books, cultural diplomacy analyses, and government documents
pertaining to U.S. educational and cultural exchanges. Most of it I found interesting, but
none of which really encapsulated all of my interests. Then one evening I ran across the
term “nation branding.” I began to read more on the topic, including much of which I
have cited in the prior literature review. The more I read, the more I could see how such
a little-known topic could have an intense impact on a nation as Chile. The need and
analysis for nation branding, as I saw it, was ever more important in the narrow South
American country which only as of 1990 had emerged from a brutal dictatorship. The
history of Chile is an interesting one, but not at all unique. Therefore, I always wondered
why some countries were so much better known than others, and this idea of nation
branding offered one answer.

It was with this idea of nation branding that I arrived in Chile a second time
and began my interviews. However, I soon realized that there was much more at play in
Chile announcing itself to the world than nation branding. Indeed, after my interviews
and giving consideration to the present literature, I realized that, although there is plenty
written on the topics of nation branding, cultural diplomacy, soft power, cultural festivals,
etc., there is not a whole lot known about what informs these applications of culture.
Stated another way, we rarely take into consideration the actual content of these ideas
that so many have glossed over in the academy. During my interviews, I realized that this
is what I had been in search for the entire time – what artistic ingredients make up Chile’s
efforts in becoming better known? Or do the arts even play a role at all? While nation
branding is a part of the equation, and the notion that I began with, it has since gone on to include a number of other aspects that form what I choose to call a “reputation.”

3.3 Case Study and Interpretation

For the purpose of my research and interests as described prior, a case study of the reputation management of Chile through the arts will be developed. Qualitative case study methodology provides tools for researchers to study complex phenomena within their contexts (Baxter & Jack, 2008). It allows the researcher to explore individuals or organizations, simple through complex interventions, relationships, communities, or programs (Yin, 2003) and supports the deconstruction and the subsequent reconstruction of various phenomena. In addition, a qualitative case study is an approach to research that facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources.

According to Yin (2003), a case study design should be considered when:

- a) The focus of the study is to answer “how” and “why” questions;
- b) You cannot manipulate the behavior of those involved in the study;
- c) You want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under study; or
- d) The boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and context.

For my research, I have chosen to look at how a national reputation is informed and what kinds of applications these informants allow. Also, as stated previously, Chile was chosen as my focus due to its unique contextual conditions that make for such an interesting case. Consequently, a case study has proven to be an acceptable method with which to base my research.

A hallmark of case study research is the use of multiple data sources, a strategy which also enhances data credibility (Patton, 1990; Yin, 2003). Potential data sources

62
may include, but are not limited to: documentation, archrival records, interviews, physical artifacts, direct observations, and participant-observation (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Data from these multiple sources are then converged in the analysis process rather than handled individually. Each data source is one piece of the “puzzle,” with each piece “contributing to the researcher’s understanding of the whole phenomenon. This convergence adds strength to the findings as the various strands of data are braided together to promote a greater understanding of the case” (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 554).

As we will begin to see, much of my data in this research falls into these exact categories, which include interviews, direct observations, and documentation. Along with this case study approach, it is also important to note the amount of interpretation that is involved in research such as this.

Baker and Bettner (1997) argue that it is important that a researcher's perspective be made plain so that the reader can understand the context in which a study is being approached. So to be clear, the empirical research components reported in this thesis may be considered predominantly interpretive. I believe that original research conducted mainly by unstructured interviews lends itself towards an interpretive position, for interpretive researchers see the limitations of quantitative measures (Dolphin, 2004). The interpretivist paradigm enables researchers to study people and organizations in their “lifeworld” (Nelms, 1996) and this investigation is firmly rooted in a study of cultural, administrative, and political practices in their own environment in an attempt to understand the nature of their meaning and place in everyday Chilean society. Researchers (this researcher included) are the measuring instruments, and their understanding derives from personal experience rather than manipulation of variables.
This is at the heart of qualitative research, and one of the major reasons why I find this type of work so suitable.

3.4 Contribution of Research

The previous review of literature concluded that, currently, there exists virtually no information, study, or analysis on cultural content that can be regarded as utilizing or contributing to a national reputation. Those interested in nation branding, cultural diplomacy, soft power, and the many ingredients that can inform these practices are poised to benefit from an understanding of what is being done in a developing nation such as Chile. This research will benefit scholars by adding to their knowledge and understanding of how the arts affect power, diplomacy, and nation branding through the consideration of a number of perspectives. This information also has the possibility of application to a host of other countries that are or may be in a similar position as Chile’s, and this research can help uncover effective components to establishing or continuing to feed a positive national reputation. As previously discussed, there is a great deal of work being done on such topics as nation branding, diplomacy, etc. from a theoretical standpoint. It is my hope that this research can bring to light an oft-missing practical element to the reputation equation, one that stresses realistic fundamentals and standards through talking with Chileans that are currently in a related line of work or have been so in the past, as well as observing cultural substance that no doubt plays a pivotal role.

A number of groups of people stand to benefit from this kind of research. Governments and their policy makers can be considered major stakeholders in the reputation formula given their responsibility of presenting to the rest of the world the best possible version of themselves. These are also the people who are in charge of
formulating policy that is affected by and can have an effect on national reputation, encapsulating such fields as foreign, economic, and cultural policy. All of these components have the possibility of shaping reputation in a variety of ways.

Artists and arts organizations also may find this line of research motivating. Although some governments around the world have begun to recognize the role arts and culture play in international affairs, many still do not understand the power of the arts to shape perception. Even more important are the artists and the organizations they work for and represent that may not recognize or simply do not have the ability to engage in such an immense and complicated structure as a national reputation. Artists and arts organizations travel the globe spreading their home country’s culture and message, but may be unaware of the aspects of creating or representing a national reputation through their work.

A final group of people that have a large stake in this research related to reputation and culture are everyday average citizens of a particular nation. These are the people who work within corporations, NGOs, media, etc. that may or may not necessarily be involved in international affairs but who nonetheless are a part of the puzzle in reputation formation and dissemination. It may be that a certain company is involving itself in international trade for the first time, or whose marketing team is looking to expand its boundaries of reach. Perhaps a consulting firm is considering the addition of clients overseas to improve its bottom line. Or maybe a family is traveling to a neighboring country and bringing with them all of their customs and ways of life. Whatever the reason, all of these stakeholders are a representation of a nation, its beliefs and values, personalities, and all of the other varying quirks that go into forming a
perception of a particular people. These stakeholders do not need to be directly involved with culture, but still must be aware of the role culture plays in how a nation is regarded, thereby allowing the stakeholders to utilize diverse methods in dealing with people of different backgrounds.

3.5 Data Collection

One of the very first things I began thinking of when formulating my research plan was how to collect the necessary information in order to write a well-informed and thorough analysis on a topic that can be considered massive in scope. Early on, I found it most suitable to conduct one-on-one interviews to gain a variety of perspectives on the subject. After putting together a framework that included witnessing cultural content in person, I then deemed it necessary to travel to the nation of Chile for a second time (but this time solo) to conduct empirical research on the role of culture both domestically and abroad. January 11-22, 2015 was selected because this was when Chile’s largest arts festival, Santiago a Mil, was to occur.

The selection of interviewees came primarily from the contacts of Dr. Wayne Lawson, Professor in the Department of Arts Administration, Education and Policy at The Ohio State University and Director Emeritus of the Ohio Arts Council. He put me in touch with some important figures in the cultural scene of Chile, and this network eventually expanded to include others who I believed all had important things to say about the role of the arts and culture in an international society. Professions varied greatly, from working for the Chilean or U.S. government to serving as the manager of international tours for a theatre company, but all were involved at one time or another in
presenting or administering artistic content, or worked for a Chilean institution charged with managing its national reputation. Interviews were scheduled with 10 participants throughout my stay in Santiago and took place in individuals’ private offices, homes, or in a public space such as a restaurant or café. See Appendix A for examples of questions that served as a framework to inform the interviews. These conversations lasted anywhere between 39 to 92 minutes in duration, for a total of nearly nine hours of interview data, and were unstructured in order to allow the participant the greatest freedom in discussing whatever he or she supposed relevant. Questions were intentionally kept broad and limited to maximize data collection. Interviews were recorded and transcriptions were created to track and analyze patterns and data points.

Besides interviews, I also utilized a variety of other data to inform my research questions. These included web pages, articles, books, and government documents on a number of topics related to reputation and my framework for analysis. In addition, I attended 11 performances in diverse venues as part of the Santiago a Mil theatre festival, which included performances from five different countries – Chile (attended 5 performances), Spain (2), Argentina (2), Uruguay (1), and South Africa (1). Following each performance, I wrote an entry in a performance diary detailing any and all thoughts on the performance, the setting, the attendees, how it related to reputation, and so forth. In addition to these performances, I also had the pleasure of attending Platea 15, a week-long conference-like setting in Santiago where presenters and artists from around the world gathered in the midst of Santiago a Mil to discuss a host of topics related to arts administration and cultural policy. Furthermore, this event showcased new works by a
number of international theatre companies who sought feedback and critique from Platea 15 attendees.

Bearing in mind its intended audience, this data was then analyzed both independently of other interviews and taken as a whole to inform conclusions presented in Chapter 4. Collectively, these sources of data serve as a sort of validity for the case study in which information has been collected and digested from many different angles.

3.6 Limitations and Advantages

As discussed in Chapter 1, a number of limitations to this study exist, the most prolific being the uniqueness of the case of Chile. Chile is not only an isolated country by geographic standards, but also, as we will soon see, by cultural standards as well. This creates difficulties when studying a nation’s reputation, which is so much contingent upon its location in the world; it dictates a nation’s neighbors, business (agriculture especially), politics, and the general personality and characteristics of the population. Furthermore, this may affect the generalizability of this study to other countries, both similar and different.

Another limitation, as is always the case when including qualitative interviews in research, is the ever-present human component. Interviewing ten different participants means ten different outlooks on the world, and this sometimes makes for difficult comparisons across interviewees. Many times, participants were asked to give their opinions on what could be construed as controversial matters, whether it regarded a political point or otherwise.

A final limitation involves the fact that I am a citizen of the United States and have been for my entire life. While I have claimed that my international experience has
led me to this field of research, it must be noted that it is by no means true to say that I justly understand the Chilean culture deeply. I do not suggest that I have completely immersed myself in a culture akin to the work of ethnographers. This has the potential to lead to a sort of Americanized bias while visiting and analyzing Chile. However, Diaz & Pottlitzer (1970) believe, in a sort of satirical yet very serious fashion, that the person least equipped to talk about any Latin American cultural activity is a Latin American – each country is “an isolated island arrogantly disparaging every other country” (p. 84). Therefore, I choose to use my position outside the Latin American culture to my advantage in this research by offering a fresh, outsider’s perspective on the current cultural and reputation activities of Chile. I have also relied heavily on Dr. Wayne Lawson as an interpretive resource for all things related to the people and culture of Chile; Dr. Lawson has engaged with Chilean culture for many years and has worked extensively throughout the country. I believe I have struck a solid balance between including the experiences, knowledge, and opinions of Chileans, Dr. Lawson, and my own observations and knowledge on the research topic to perform credible research.

A final point of discussion surrounds interpretive research. In academia, there is a constant debate on whether interpretive research allows for trustworthy results, for there can be a number of alternative interpretations from which to represent the phenomenon under study. As this research attempts to explore a complex phenomenon pertaining to reputation, this could be no more true. Szmigin and Foxall (2000) question whether this undermines the trustworthiness of the research or makes it a better exemplar of the real world. For the purpose of this study, I choose to believe the latter. We will see that, indeed, cultural reputation consists of a variety of components interacting with one
another. This research does not assert that correlation implies causation; rather, it is my hope to convey the complexity of reputation while analyzing how culture creates it and what nation’s do with it once reputation is created, all while operating in an ever-changing world full of limitless possibilities.
Chapter 4: Findings

4.1 An Introduction to Chilean Reputation and Cultural Content

We have now arrived at the much-anticipated findings of my travel and research abroad within the country of Chile. As discussed earlier, these findings come from a number of sources – interviews, web pages, documents, DVDs, books, and my own observations and experiences while in Chile. Together, they paint a picture of a nation’s cultural reputation never before analyzed in academia but serves an important purpose in the field of international affairs, cultural administration, and public policy.

I find it important to first begin with the thoughts of Chileans in terms of their own reputation abroad in a general sense. That is, not necessarily involving culture. Largely speaking, the reputation of Chile around the world is positive in a number of areas. Many Chileans are quick to point out that they are most well-regarded for their fabulous wines and tourism pertaining to landscape. International travelers flock to a number of destinations including the Atacama Desert in the north, Torres del Paine National Park to the south, Easter Island in the Pacific, and the Chilean ski slopes in the Andes. Star gazing and fishing are other popular activities for tourists. In terms of its economy, copper and agriculture (Chile is the world’s largest exporter of plums and table grapes) form a crucial element to Chile’s success. Chile is also recognized for its stable government, fair policies, transparency, and safety, especially when compared to other
Latin American countries, a notable fact given its emergence from dictatorship just some 25 years ago. Soccer, earthquakes, the Pinochet dictatorship, and the 2012 miner incident in the Atacama Desert are also all components of Chile’s reputation abroad.

However, my research participants almost unequivocally agree that Chile’s arts and culture really do not add much to the national reputation. One interviewee noted, “Culture has never been an important thing.” Another stated, “We’re not exporting much of the arts, but we’re trying to make Chile a major player (in Latin America).” Pablo Neruda, famed Nobel Prize winning poet, is the extent to which Chileans believe their arts reach and affect international audiences’ perceptions of the country. Yet all agree that the arts are key to Chile’s future status. One interviewee said, “The best part of our country is the artists and the art. And the only way we can be alive in 100 years is through the arts.” Given this, how is Chile currently utilizing its arts and culture to create a long-lasting and positive image with which to prosper?

After hearing the thoughts of a number of people, it has become clear to me that, when discussing how Chile creates its reputation abroad utilizing the arts and culture, an equal if not more important component is occurring domestically -- what is and isn’t transpiring inside Chile’s borders has a large effect on what occurs outside of them. Therefore, I will first discuss how Chile is addressing its international reputation with culture internally, then internationally. Finally, I will review the challenges of creating a Chilean reputation through culture that so many have touched on.

4.2 Reputation and Domestic Affairs

“We’ve gotta export from within” – Interviewee
Throughout my discussions with Chileans and in my own research, many believe that the people of a country must first be comfortable with and have a strong consensus of its arts and culture before utilizing them for image creation and reputational purposes. This is no more true than in Chile, a nation who only 25 years ago had no sense of cultural policy and whose government actively attempted to thwart artistic expression. As one interviewee puts it: “I still believe the first thing to be done is try to work out how the Chileans look at themselves and how do they see. Because there’s not one thing they believe in. There’s lots of ideas…what is Chile? But they really don’t have a national feeling -- what it is to be Chile.” Presently, systems are in place throughout Chile to attempt to address this important component of eventually projecting a national reputation using culture.

Most notably, Chile has begun creating cultural infrastructure that was all but nonexistent in the early 1990s. One interviewee stated that the building of the infrastructure “was the most important thing we’ve done in the last 25 years.” This has mostly come in the form of creating cultural centers throughout the country by the Chilean government. Three very important examples of these in Santiago are the Centro Cultural Gabriela Mistral (GAM), Estación Mapocho, and the Centro Cultural Palacio de La Moneda (“La Moneda”). In the case of Estación Mapocho, given the barren artistic landscape at the time, the idea was to make a space in order to symbolize the arrival of democracy. In 1991, a private nonprofit group, with the financial backing of the newly elected democratic government, began to oversee the redevelopment and management of the building which previously served as a train station. Estación Mapocho today is 100%
self-financed with no public support. The government of Chile has also focused on building cultural centers throughout the country in different cities and regions, one example being the Centro Cultural Agustín Ross located in Pichilemu, which was purchased by the local government and converted from a discotheque into its present purpose. These cultural centers perform a variety of functions, from hosting art exhibitions, performances, and festivals to holding meetings and community gatherings. Since the transition to democracy, the cultural centers have served as an important nexus in bringing the arts and culture of Chile to the citizenry.

The Chilean National Council of Culture and the Arts (officially the Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, or CNCA for short) also plays a primary role in establishing and disseminating Chilean arts and cultural. Located within the Ministry of Education, it is charged with many tasks, some of which include: supporting cultural participation, creation, and diffusion, both in terms of people and the organizations they form; facilitating access to cultural events and artistic expressions, cultural heritage, and the use of technologies concerning the production, reproduction, and dissemination of cultural objects; promoting the construction, expansion, and empowerment of infrastructure and equipment for the development of cultural, artistic, and economic activities of the country; and to design cultural policies that are to be implemented at an international level, exploring, establishing and developing international links and relationships in the cultural sphere, which should be coordinated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. CNCA partially funds 13 cultural or art centers, one of them being GAM (which receives approximately 70% of its budget from CNCA), and another La Moneda.
In addition, the Consejo funds large projects such as Fundación Teatro a Mil (FITAM), which receives about 30% of its budget from the government and puts on cultural programming and festivals during the year throughout Chile.

CNCA is divided into 12 areas by artistic discipline that include design, architecture, circus, dance, theatre, photography, handcrafts, new media, visual arts, audiovisual, books and reading, and music. My findings focus primarily on the theatre department due to access to interview participants. One method in which the Consejo promotes its different artistic genres is through the creation of what’s called “D-Day” – a day dedicated to that artistic discipline which Chileans may explore more in depth. For example, the “day of theatre” occurs on May 11th in which the government produces some publications and incorporates famous actors, directors, theatre schools, and festivals. As stated by a participant, “The idea is to put value into the discipline.” The “day of theatre” is unique in that it is the only artistic discipline to have its day officially created through legislation, done following the death of famed Chilean director Andrés Pérez.

The theatre department of CNCA also hosts a kind of playwriting contest for contemporary writers called Muestra de Dramaturgia Nacional (roughly translated as the “National Playwriting Exposition”). Its purpose, according to one interviewee, is to “project and develop new ways of writing, experimentation, risk taking, and art quality.” Because schools for playwriting are rare in Chile, this opportunity offers the chance to promote theatre while giving exposure to Chilean playwrights. Another important activity within the theatre department is Chile’s involvement with Iberescena, a Latin American group dedicated to the implementation, exchange, and integration of Latin American
performing arts. Through financial assistance, Iberescena aims to promote its member states and their respective performing arts, primarily in theatre, dance and the circus arts.

A number of legislative measures have been aimed at promoting the arts and culture in Chile. In fact, a bill is poised to be signed into law by President Bachelet at the time of this writing that addresses the dissemination of Chilean music on Chilean radio stations. Known as the “20% law”, it is an amendment to the National Music Promotion Law passed in 2004 requiring that at least 20% of the music played on Chilean radio stations consist of Chilean composers or performers. The law not only promotes new talent, but also protects Chilean cultural identity and allows radio listeners to become better acquainted with Chilean music. Although some believe this new piece of legislation is an affront to one’s freedom of expression, the law addresses the need for more domestic culture in the lives of Chileans: a study conducted by a market research company along with the Chilean Society of Author Rights (SCD) in July of 2013 showed that 90.5% of people surveyed would like it if radio stations broadcasted more Chilean music (Rutllant, 2014). The Act also establishes October 4, the birthday of the famous Chilean musician Violeta Parra, as the "Day of Music and Chilean Musicians."

Another example of the government’s push to include more culture in the lives of its citizens dates back to 1981. Gabriela Mistral, Chilean poet and so far the only Latin American woman ever to win the Nobel Prize in Literature, has her portrait on the front of the 5,000 Chilean peso bank note. It stands as a symbol to all within Chile’s borders that the arts do have an important place in the nation’s history. Chileans and travelers alike are often reminded of this whenever they pull the bill out of their wallets or purses.
A final domestic cultural element that contributes to Chileans’ understanding of its arts and culture is Chilean arts festivals. In particular, this research set out to observe and analyze the place of the Santiago a Mil theatre festival in Chilean society, the largest arts festival in Chile. Launched in 1994 and under the auspices of FITAM (*Fundación Teatro a Mil*), the festival originally consisted of just three independent theatre companies performing for two months at the Estación Mapocho cultural center in the midst of the bleak state of culture after the 17-year dictatorship. In the words of the founder of the festival, Carmen Romero, Santiago a Mil’s original purpose was to allow the artists an opportunity to proclaim that, “We’re here, we exist, and we need this space for culture.” Every year thereafter, the festival grew to extraordinary new heights, with 2015’s attendance totaling over 500,000 and a number of cities and regions throughout Chile hosting performances.

Some attribute this success to the support of the *Concertación* (Chile’s coalition of center-left political parties) and the private corporate-sponsoring mining company

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**Figure 4.1** Front face of 5,000 CLP depicting Nobel Prize in Literature winner Gabriela Mistral
Minera Escondida which allowed Carmen Romero to “grow, imagine, and get there.” The contributions of the private sector cannot be overstated, as this is how Chile, at least for the moment, primarily funds its culture (although this may change as we begin to see new legislation being passed to allow personal incentives for individuals to donate to the arts). Many of these companies have been contributing to Santiago a Mil and the foundation that puts it on, FITAM, for many years. Not only does this allow for a great deal of exposure, but these companies also tie their name and brand to the festival, and thereby, the arts. Interestingly, Santiago a Mil recognizes the contributions of its “major sponsors,” Minera Escondida (operated by BHP Billiton) and BHP Billiton Pampa Norte – Cerro Colorado, both massive mining companies and subsidiaries of BHP Billiton Ltd., an Anglo-Australian multinational mining, metals and petroleum company headquartered in Melbourne, Australia and the world’s largest mining company (measured by 2013 revenues). Santiago a Mil also has many “middle-sponsors” who finance specific projects run by FITAM – these have recently included Metro de Santiago, Banco Edwards | Citi, MasterCard, Entel (Chile’s largest telecommunications company), and Movistar (a major Spanish phone operator). These corporations primarily finance large international events hosted in Chile -- according to one interviewee, rarely do they concern themselves with smaller arts and cultural organizations. These large corporations are few in number – one participant stated that only about ten major companies are known for contributing to the arts. There is not the general corporate acceptance of philanthropically supporting culture.

The aims and goals of the festival have shifted dramatically since its inception. Originally created to promote the presence of strong and important theatre groups in
Chile, it has now moved to communicate, according to Carmen, “excellence in the arts as fundamental (to the Chilean) life.” Carmen states that they organize the festival throughout the year “to offer to our people, first of all, and to our country, the opportunity to be part of the world through the contemporary arts.” She goes on to state that, “The people are the most important issue. We have it for the community. We try to present the best performances from all over in Chile, and the best performers in Chile to the people.” Interview participants made it clear that the festival does not exist to portray, brand, or project any kind of Chilean mindset in any way; rather, it is intended to bring the arts closer to all Chilean citizens. One interviewee stated:

(Santiago a Mil) doesn’t portray Chile. It’s like the Basel Art Fair. Does it portray Basel? Or the Venice Biennale? OK, people go to Venice. But what does the Biennale portray? Does it portray Venice? No. It’s an opportunity of portraying the work of artists around the world.

The festival has coordinated and cooperated with several other entities and peoples in order to make it a worthy international event. Santiago a Mil has received financial backing from the government (approximately 10% of its budget is public dollars). For next year’s festival, FITAM (the parent organization of Santiago a Mil) is planning on heavily collaborating with the Minister of Economy, Development and Tourism in order to further push the festival to international audiences through targeted promotions. Carmen also mentioned the importance of inviting international journalists to witness and write about the festival – Argentina and Brazil have been strategically represented so far, but FITAM is working on including more European journalists in the future. In addition to the festival’s performances and talks, Platea 15, also known as Presenter’s Week, runs for one week concurrent with the festival and offers the
opportunity for artists, arts administrators, and presenters of the arts to discuss, network, collaborate, and learn from each other through a conference-like atmosphere full of lectures, panels, and performances of new works from a number of countries. This year, approximately 200 foreigners attended Platea 15.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, I participated extensively in Santiago a Mil’s offerings, including both its performances and Platea 15. I saw 11 performances total in six days at varying venues in Santiago, from a club in Barrio Lastarria (a historic cultural neighborhood in the city center) to a gorgeous and modern proscenium stage in Las Condes, a wealthy neighborhood home to many of Chile’s economic elite. The performances I attended came from a wide range of countries, five of which included Chile. The Chilean performances emphasized theatre, dance, and music, all of which were performed excellently and dealt with different subject matters close to modern Chilean citizens, such as the issues of civil rights, native populations, the need to remember the past, and the desire to find a better life. Likewise, there were a multitude of international performances, and I was unfortunately only able to see as many as my tight schedule allowed (six total). These performances contained every possible performing art form imaginable, from circus, to theatre, music, dance, spoken opera, puppetry, street theatre, performance installations, and more. These performers and companies did not apply to participate in the festival, but rather were invited by Carmen and her team after at least one of them witnessed the performance either elsewhere in Chile or abroad. Therefore, only the best pieces were brought to Santiago a Mil to perform in front of a majority-Chilean audience. This allowed for the optimum artistic quality that Santiago a Mil has become known for around the world, and with which the Chilean people received
the opportunity to become better acquainted. Both their own culture and the cultures of others were on display, providing the chance to explore peoples and places they may have never before had the chance to explore before.

*Platea 15* was a more formal affair, with presenters, artists, and arts administrators from all around the world gathering to discuss some of the most relevant issues in cultural policy and administration of our time, such as structures of different international arts festivals (presented by Argentinians), arts during crisis (Chilean), and comparisons of management styles between diverse theatres (non-profit, for-profit, and independent) by Americans. Attendees of Presenter’s Week became immersed in the festival’s performances and environment; little time was wasted between networking, workshopping new theatre pieces, and attending a wide variety of Santiago a Mil performances around the city. Many *Platea 15* participants came to Chile for the first time, yet all left with a different sense of Chile and its culture through a well-organized and successful international exchange of arts and ideas.

The festival holds a special place both in the Chilean cultural as well as the international arts scenes. One interview participant summed it up as such:

*I think it’s a cultural industry in its perfect way, because it has served the city, it has served the country, it has served to develop audiences that were there but nobody knew were there, and to bring in audiences from outside and prove to be an opportunity of cultural interchange and exchange, both in terms of audiences and artists, in a very global context.*

Another interviewee felt the festival played a crucial role in international understanding:

*People from all over the world (are invited) to come to Chile and see these performances and then connect with those people and take them to their country. They invite the programmers to take a look at what’s happening,*
what we gathered here, talk to other creative people, to other programmers, to artists, to start the ball rolling and take these things all over where you want to take them. You don’t have to go to Korea to see this, you can come to Santiago to see it.

Santiago a Mil means many different things to many different people. But its role in Chilean culture cannot be denied -- its contributions to the Chilean people and thereby the reputation of the nation have become a remarkable addition to Chile’s modern culture. The festival serves as a first point for many Chileans to become acquainted with their nation’s artistic side, but it has the potential to take on a much bigger role. Carmen summed it up best by saying, “First Chile. When we win in Chile we follow with the rest of the world.”

4.3 Reputation and International Affairs

Aside from domestic activity, much is still happening outside of Chile that is intentionally or unintentionally contributing to the reputation of the country. The most obvious involves the work of Chilean embassies throughout the world. Specifically, efforts involving the dissemination, promotion, and enhancement of Chile’s artistic presence around the globe falls under the purview of the cultural affairs division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs known as DIRAC (La Dirección de Asuntos Culturales de la Cancillería, or The Directorate of Cultural Affairs of the Foreign Ministry). DIRAC is responsible for spreading the culture of Chile across all creative disciplines, folklore, and heritage, as well as the indigenous peoples, to reflect a deep sense of identity to the image of the country. This naturally includes the work of Chile’s cultural attachés, who work in embassies the Chilean government have deemed crucial for international relations – cultural attachés are present in Chile’s neighboring countries such as Peru and Argentina,
as well as global superpowers such as France, the United Kingdom, and the United States (interestingly, Chile’s cultural attaché to the U.S. is based in New York, not Washington).

As a subscriber to the listserv of Chile’s cultural arm of its U.S. embassy, I receive weekly updates that detail all Chilean cultural activities in the U.S. The activities are varied and frequent, and include a host of Chilean artistic mediums such as visual arts, photography, film, literature, as well as lectures and talks on Chilean cultural topics. Many of these activities partner with well-known U.S. institutions such as the Museum of Modern Art in New York and various prestigious universities (Princeton, NYU, Georgetown) to display and discuss Chilean culture. It is also important to note that in 2013, under then-president Sebastian Piñera, Chile established its Ministry of Culture that will essentially absorb the work of DIRAC and other government entities charged with preserving and furthering Chilean culture and heritage. All of these elements work to represent the official effort of the Chilean government abroad in influencing its reputation through the arts and inform its approach to soft power in foreign policy.

Another important component to Chile’s international cultural reputation comes from private individuals and parties. These have come in the form of families and persons working within Chile to bring in foreigners for a multitude of purposes. For example, the Schiess family, through their Chilean family foundation, financed and built Teatro del Lago in 2010 (Theatre of the Lake) in the southern Chilean town of Frutillar. This theatre, which presents a variety of cultural activities (not just theatrical performances) manages to host great artists and orchestras from all over the world (Yo-Yo Ma recently performed). Teatro del Lago also presents the largest Chilean classical music festival,
Semanas Musicales de Frutillar (Frutillar Musical Weeks), between late January and early February. In the words of one research participant, it’s a “state of the art theatre, has great acoustics…the best. People fly straight to Frutillar and perform there.”

Another private entity involved with inviting foreigners to Chile is known as El Puerto de Ideas (Port of Ideas). This event, starting in 2011, addresses human creativity from the humanistic, scientific, and artistic fields through lectures, debates, discussions, interviews, screenings, and concerts. It “invites thinkers from all over the world dedicated to the exchange and flow of ideas” (Interviewee). In 2014, the event took place in the port city of Valparaiso and previously was held in the northern town of Antofagasta. Recent topics have included how art and the nervous system interact (lecturer from Colombia), peace activism and the Middle East conflict (Israel), the transmission of knowledge in the digitalized world (U.S.), the disconnect between humans and the environmental crisis (France), and a variety of other topics with participants from all across the globe. Puerto de Ideas is, in one interviewee’s mind, “all about bringing people here to raise a level of interest and culture in Chile, not exporting.” This is accomplished through the exchange of ideas between Chileans and international scholars and researchers.

One method in which many interviewees mentioned when discussing the dissemination of Chilean culture and thereby informing its reputation was Chile’s attendance at international arts festivals (outside of Chile). One participant described it as such:

*Chile is learning...through its own experience, to better use these tools over the years and the time, and therefore, knows of the importance of*
Many festivals were mentioned, but a few that stick out in the conversation as being crucial to Chile’s quest of becoming better known. The Venice Biennale, widely regarded as the world’s most eminent art festival, has now guaranteed a booth for Chile to rent every year, whereas 10 years ago, Chile was “begging to be a part.” In the most recent art exhibition of 2013, famed Chilean visual artist Alfredo Jaar presented his idea, through the use of a scaled model of the actual Biennale grounds, that all artists have the ability to change culture. This exhibition gained wide acclaim and caught the idea of many international artists and enthusiasts. Chile has also become a tour de force in the architectural arm of the Biennale, where in 2014 it won the Silver Lion for a National Participation with its contribution called “Monolith Controversies”, centered around a prefabricated concrete wall (from the USSR, in what was at the time a Soviet-Chilean alliance) that is closely tied to both the country’s political history and its 20th century housing stock, highlighting the role of elements of architecture in different ideological and political contexts.

Another important international festival at which Chile’s presence is well-documented is the Guadalajara International Book Fair. Branded as the most important annual event of its kind in the Spanish-speaking world, and the second largest book fair in the world after Frankfurt’s, this festival is a “way of getting literature and writers outside of Chile.” In 2012, Chile served as the Guest of Honor and received the opportunity to show an opening presentation video on Chile. This afforded a great chance to see how Chile is utilizing its culture to brand and imagine itself. Along with glimpses
of all of Chile’s natural splendor, the video had snippets of Chilean lines of literature in between. Although roughly translated due to all of these texts originally being written in Spanish, we can still see the junction at which Chile finds itself between its literature and natural wonder:

- **Pablo Neruda:** “Bring out of Ocean / a day of the South, grapple a day from your waves…” (from “I Want to go South Again”)

- **Pablo Rokha:** “The world does not understand. I myself am the mountains, the sea, agriculture.” (“The epic form of deception”)

- **Nicanor Parra:** “Snow responded again. We were surrounded by snow. But it was the heat of summer.” (“The woman”)

These famous Chilean poets and writers, and many others, served to demonstrate Chilean culture in the context of literature and nature. Viewers of the short film at the international festival were treated to a visual Chilean journey thoughtfully and strategically put together.

A final vital part of Chile’s international festival presence concerns film. Chile has been present at all of the largest film festivals around the world – Cannes, Toronto, Sundance, Venice, Berlin, etc. One interview participant said, “I think what we do best is (spreading) film. Chilean films, that area of culture, are easier (to transmit) because you can go to festivals…it’s easier. So I think Chile is doing better, even though it hasn’t had really great films lately, but it’s done a little bit more in the film industry.” We see this in the fact that at a number of these festivals, Chilean films were depicted showing a range of topics related to the nation. The movie NO, directed by Pablo Larraín, which garnered an Academy Award nomination for Best Foreign Language Film, was “one of the best selections at Cannes. Funny and rousing, both intellectually and emotionally” (Dargis,
The movie revisits the moment when Pinochet was forced out of his dictatorship through a plebiscite with a concerted effort by the “No” campaign, a center-left coalition that created advertisements aimed at swaying voters. The New York Times also ran a recent article (Donadio, 2015) on Larraín’s new film The Club which debuted at the Berlin Film Festival earlier in 2015. The film, opening with strong reviews, is about Chilean Roman Catholic priests and the system that has helped cover up their misdeeds for decades. Finally, the Chilean drama film To Kill a Man, written and directed by Chilean Alejandro Fernández Almendras, premiered in the World Cinema Dramatic Competition at the Sundance Film Festival in January 2014 and subsequently won the “Grand Jury Prize” at the festival. The film follows the true story of a working class man who, tired of being the victim of criminals, decides to take justice in his own hands to protect his family.

It should be noted that, in the past, a concerted effort endured to choose what Chilean content would go to different festivals. A committee was formed that consisted of representatives from DIRAC, CNCA, ProChile (Chile’s industry promotion arm), and Fundación Imagen de Chile (Chile’s nation branding arm concerned with culture and tourism). These organizations and their leaders, in the mind of one interviewee, “had a vision of how important it is for the world to connect to our film industry, book industry, visual artists, etc.” However, this committee, with the changes in administration, is no longer together.

Artists and arts organizations themselves are not to be forgotten when discussing Chile’s international reputation. Although based in Chile, the work these institutions and
people do around the world, both official and unofficial, forms a large part of peoples’ perceptions of Chile. In terms of individual artists, few would not subscribe to the argument that Pablo Neruda and Isabelle Allende have contributed the most to Chile’s reputation in the arts. In fact, Chile is known by many to be a “nation of poets.” Neruda’s love poems, some referring explicitly to his home country, and Allende’s allegories for her life while living in Chile are known throughout the world. One interviewee described Neruda as such: “Everybody at some point in their lives are in love, and they fall into one of Neruda’s wonderful love poems, and from there get to know him more as a poet because he’s definitely much more than only a love poet.”

To understand the current status of artists and arts organizations in Chile, one must refer back to the Pinochet years, beginning with the bombing of La Moneda Palace in September of 1973 and ending with Pinochet officially relinquishing power in 1990 after the national plebiscite of 1988. Threats to arts organizations and artists were widespread – theatres were burned to the ground and artists were brutally tortured and killed (Víctor Jara being one of the most famous cases). The arts, and particularly theatre, were forced to practice strong self-censorship, as any piece of work that could even remotely be construed as about Chile or its political environment would be immediately shut down. Publishers were also forced to only publish international events and stories…nothing related to Chile. These results of the dictatorship, in addition to explaining the relatively weak cultural image of Chile internationally, have made the topic of Pinochet’s 17 years in power very attractive for artists, and “Any Chilean film or Chilean artwork that speaks about the events of 1973, everybody wants to go, because they know about it.”
During my research, I received the opportunity to interview the manager of international activities for one of Chile’s most well-known theatre organizations. Teatrocinema is a unique entity that fuses live theatre with film to create productions exclusive to the stage. In the words of a participant who works in the CNCA, “Teatrocinema is very important…they are a product we don’t see anywhere else in the world.” The theatre group is touted as being the Chilean company that tours internationally the most out of all other theatre groups. Their current touring lineup consists of: *Gimenlos* (“Twins”), an adaptation by the Hungarian writer Ágota Kristof; *Love Story*, an adaptation by the French writer Régis Jauffret, and *The Movie-Teller*, an adaptation of the novella by the Chilean writer Hernán Rivera Letelier. *The Movie-Teller* tells the story of Maria Margarita, a 12-year-old girl living with her family in an Atacama desert mining town, where the cinema offers a distraction for its working-class residents. This selection, along with the others, create a package with which international audiences can learn about Chilean culture and social issues. Teatrocinema is primarily focused on traveling internationally because, in the words of its international manager, “it’s expensive for theatres and cultural centers to pay for Teatrocinema. Internationally, there are bigger structures with bigger budgets. We’re also better paid abroad than in Chile. In Chile, it’s very recent that they built new cultural centers.” She also states that performing abroad presents a wonderful opportunity “for a company to show their work to other audiences and to build a dialogue.” She further proclaims that, when performing the work of Chileans, sometimes, “…we feel like Chilean ambassadors.” Moving forward, Teatrocinema hopes to “really develop a relationship with Asia, Australia, and New Zealand because it’s a completely diverging geographical reality for Chilean
creation.” The theatre group hopes to accomplish this by continually presenting high quality artwork given all the financial pressures it faces in order to, at least in part, use its international touring as a means to support its domestic work.

The last artist group I’d like to focus on in my findings is known as Casagrande. Casagrande is a small Chilean art collective that has developed a series of publishing projects and art actions related to poetry and interventions into public spaces. It works on the slogan no se vende ni se compra (“can’t be sold, can’t be bought”), meaning each poetic action and every project is free. The group has 20 years of history, but it is still a group of friends doing different types of work in public art and political activism, much related to the dictatorship. An important art project that has been ongoing since 2001 is known as the “Bombing (or Rain) of Poems.” This event is a performance in which cities that have experienced aerial bombings in the past are sprinkled with present-day poems. The performance consists of dropping one hundred thousand poems printed on bookmarks from an aircraft over cities bombed during military confrontations in the past. From Casagrande’s website, “The bookmarks are released at twilight and printed in two languages, written by both Chilean writers and poets native to the location of the Bombing of Poems.” In addition to many of my interviewees mentioning projects such as this, one of my them at CNCA also works directly on this international poetic endeavor.
The group first “bombed” La Moneda, the presidential palace in Santiago de Chile. To date, Casagrande has also rained hundreds of thousands of poems on cities including Guernica, Dubrovnik, Warsaw, London (before the 2012 Olympic Games), and Berlin.

A conversation about Chile’s international reputation would not be complete without mention of the Fundación Imagen de Chile (Image Foundation of Chile). This entity operates with its own director appointed by the president, and on its board sits, among others, the Minister of Culture and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. However, the Fundación is considered to be an autonomous institution of the government. It was established in 2009 to ensure the generic promotion of Chile and give value and prestige to its nation brand. Related to culture, the Fundación generates cultural-specific actions such as advertising campaigns, digital work, art, and other methods to “leverage strategic junctures for the visibility and reputation of Chile.” In addition to its activities aimed at promoting Chile’s reputation, the organization also does a great deal of research on the
world’s perception of Chile. General findings in the past five years or so demonstrate that non-South American countries either don’t know much about Chile, or know very little (typically including Chilean wine or the dictatorship). The Fundación works across a variety of disciplines and between groups (public and private) that have a stake in the image of Chile or who operate internationally. Interestingly, research participants rarely mentioned the work of the Fundación when asked to speak of Chile’s branding and image practices. The Fundación is not generally charged with sending or receiving culture – its primary responsibility is to oversee that what is going out to the world falls in line with Chile’s branding plan.

4.4 Challenges to Creating a Chilean Reputation

Research participants mentioned a number of challenges and roadblocks that should be stated in these findings. As briefly mentioned before, the recent history of Chile has had a deep impact on the current status of its arts and culture. Nearly all interviewees mentioned that the Pinochet dictatorship lasting from 1973-1990 essentially “killed” Chile’s cultural roots. The suppression, exile, and elimination of artists and other left-leaning groups was the result of, as one participant states, “this kind of hyper-traditional, rural obsession. It’s like this military view of culture.” Many drew comparisons of Chile’s cultural environment between pre- and post-dictatorship, saying that, during the 60s, “culture and politics was much more mixed. Now, it’s much more commercialized....a lack of density.” One interviewee specifically called out American culture, such as its television shows and movies, that have had such a strong impact on Chileans that they have “become part of our country. The Mapuches (Chile’s native
population), for instance: (Chileans) know more about the cowboys than they know about the Mapuches.” The situation at the end of the 17-year dictatorship and the beginning of democracy was “dramatic.” Pinochet defunded DIBAM (the Directorate of Libraries, Archives and Museums) and severely cut financial support for the universities, which at the time were the primary means of cultural participation and dissemination in Chile. The effects of this obliteration of culture can still be seen today, with infrastructure only slowly beginning to be developed.

Although the removal of Pinochet was a large step forward in Chile’s cultural environment, there still exists in politics and policies a quiet snub to arts and culture. For example, one interviewee stated that the visa system in Chile needs severe modification – artists have a difficult time coming to Chile because “laws were made to promote Chilean business, not culture.” Chile only recently (2014) passed legislation to incentivize philanthropic giving to cultural institutions in exchange for tax deductions. However, the results of this newly established law is yet to be known. One participant claimed that the problem does not only regard individual giving, but the concept of giving to the arts in general, stating, “There’s not a tradition in Chile of (giving money to culture). So a small company wouldn’t even think of contributing to the arts.”

Some Chileans believe that there still isn’t enough of an infrastructure present to support reputation management through culture – cultural promotion, political prizes, and schools dedicated to the arts were all stated as being absent in Chilean society. One interviewee thought that Chileans lack the general belief of investing in Chile’s culture and children involved in it; he compared this to soccer, which receives a strong following and a great deal of support from the private community.
Another recurrent problem broached during my interviews surrounded the need to attract and keep artists in the country. One example mentioned was the fact that, currently, three or four Chilean sopranos are on the roster of the Metropolitan Opera in New York; however, they’re retiring soon and Chile doesn’t have replacements to fill this important void. Chilean Roberto Diaz (President of the Curtis Institute in Philadelphia and former principal viola of the Philadelphia Orchestra) can be considered to be one of the most successful Chileans in the international music scene, but he, like others, leave Chile to pursue dreams elsewhere. Melissa Aldonna is another example -- she’s a well-regarded contemporary jazz saxophonist who performs throughout the New York jazz scene. “Everybody that succeeds thinks to go live outside of Chile. I wish people were coming here to see somebody instead of us going to New York to show what we have,” said one research contributor. This lack of quality local artistic talent is manifested within Chile’s cultural centers, where they are being built fast throughout the country but where there’s nothing to fill them with:

*The cities themselves don’t have the ability (to maintain these cultural centers) – they can’t hire the people that will keep these centers moving throughout the year. They generally don’t have the momentum to keep these things going and the money to bring really important companies to perform and work there. So even though the buildings are there, they’re tough to fill.*

Another widespread issue regarding international Chilean culture is the tendency to be lumped with other Latin American countries. One participant mentioned that, while attending doctoral school in the U.K., a visiting researcher to his university mistook Uruguay for Chile, an embarrassing but all too common blunder. One might compare this
to the United States’ habit of thinking of Africa as one continent and not a diverse number of separate countries, each with its own peoples and cultures.

Along similar lines of one-track mindedness, the Chilean government is choosing to put, as one interviewee sees it, all its eggs in one basket. One major national organization prevails for each cultural purpose. For example, FITAM (recall it being the parent corporation that oversees Santiago a Mil and a host of other artistic activities throughout the year) receives a generous sum of money CNCA to carry out its mission (30% of its budget), while other smaller arts organizations fight for slivers of funding through competitive processes: “They (FITAM) do excellent work. But they become a priority of the government to manage the international presence of Chilean art. And they have special funding and they don’t have to apply for anything. The government gives them money to do that. And they do a good job, but the problem is that they are almost the only one.” Indeed, it is hard to locate other cultural institutions that have as wide and deep a reach as FITAM, even with relation to other artistic genres such as opera or classical music. “We have to renovate (our cultural offerings)” explains another participant. Many believe that Chile is home to a small number of great artists and artistic institutions, as seen in the popularity of Pablo Neruda and FITAM. Regarding Chile’s reputation stemming from literature: “Please, let’s stop the Neruda. Because it’s really obsolete. We can’t keep using Neruda and Mistral. That’s something for sure.” Chileans are becoming restless with their reputation, and believe now is the time for change.

A final topic to consider regarding Chile’s challenges to its international reputation, and one that has been mentioned only passively until now, is its geographic location. One interviewee says “Chile is so long that there’s really nothing close that you
can go to a couple hundred miles except for the central area (Santiago).” “It’s expensive just to travel within Chile.” Indeed, most participants lamented the fact that Chile is difficult to reach as well as move around within: “Santiago is the center of everything; it’s a major task to get the Philharmonic orchestra to go to Puerto Montt (in the far south).” One participant told a story about how a major American orchestra (perhaps Philadelphia or Boston) was going to come to Chile, but it took so much money that they never could make it – “they just didn’t have the finances.” These issues are compounded by the fact that resources are scarce for many arts organizations that indeed may like to travel, but whose budgets simply do not allow for such a luxury.

Although many interviewees focused on the challenges of sustaining a culture able to contribute to Chile’s reputation abroad, many also argued that there is great work being accomplished on all fronts. “We’re on our way,” one participant exclaimed. “Now we have economic stability, and now is the moment to decide what will be our exportation.”
Chapter 5: Conclusions and Discussion

This research ultimately set out to gather data directly from sources familiar with my inquiry as well as from my own observations. This was accomplished using an unstructured interview approach with Chileans from varying backgrounds, each with distinct experiences that I believed could contribute to the topic at hand. In addition, I found it important to travel back to Chile for a second time in order to pursue activities related to my research and complete interviews in person. Every potential participant that was contacted wholeheartedly agreed to be interviewed, and the bulk of my findings come from these conversations. Interviews were supplemented with document, website, and audiovisual analyses to round out the data. I must emphasize that my findings are derived from the observations and experiences of humans, and the presence of a qualitative human aspect in any kind of research is notorious from which to draw absolute conclusions. The challenges of surmounting one clear idea of what informs and includes a national reputation is evident given the wide breadth this research entails. Although this research was originally conceived as a case study of Chile’s nation branding tactics, it has grown to incorporate so much more upon arrival in country. Indeed, scholars and practitioners may likely never agree on one framework with which to determine a nation’s reputation through culture. However, this research set out to define strict but wide parameters to incorporate all of its findings and relevant information. Operating under these considerations has allowed me to establish
conclusions that may inform effective practices for nations, artists, and organizations of all sizes and types.

5.1 Primary Takeaways Using the Analytical Framework

We now return to our original research question, that being how cultural content contributes to the national reputation of Chile. To do this, we can re-imagine our original framework for the ingredients necessary in creating a national reputation through culture (see Figure 2.6). However, in order to answer the research question, we must further distill what kinds of tools these structural ingredients utilize, and then determine what is being communicated through these tools. From the findings, I have determined that both domestic and international activity play equal roles in reputation creation and dissemination. By looking at what kinds of cultural content exist in both of these contexts, where it comes from, and the intended message, we are provided not only answers, but also a more generalizable framework ready for use as a skeleton in any number of other comparative analyses. Figure 5.1 attempts to sum up the conclusions of this study.
Figure 5.1 Structures, Tools, and Communications of the National Reputation Model in Arts and Culture
Upon consideration of the findings and Figure 5.1, we see that Chile is indeed utilizing its art and culture to inform its reputation abroad, however unintentional this may be. But how?

Taking our analytical framework into account, we begin with the place of government. The Chilean government is primarily involved in administering culture as a reputational tool via working with other nations in an official capacity or through funding Chile’s arts organizations. Direct cultural relations with other nations, such as the work of DIRAC, comes in the form of cultural exchanges or embassy and cultural attaché activity, which seek to target important citizenries and governments who are key to the economic, political, and cultural success of Chile. Another tool the government utilizes is the National Council of Culture and the Arts (CNCA), which oversees FONDART, a government organization charged with dispersing money to cultural institutions. The government of Chile should also be commended for its creation of a Ministry of Culture, the next step in offering public recognition and support to culture and heritage both on a domestic and international scale. The Ministry is set to come into existence within the next few months, with May 21, 2015 supposedly the deadline.

Cultural festivals, both domestic and international, provide the opportunity to disseminate Chilean culture to a wide variety of peoples. Domestically, Chile’s largest arts festival, Santiago a Mil, offers Chileans access to culture in even the farthest reaches of the narrow nation, allowing Chileans to become familiar with their own culture and the culture of others while enjoying first-rate performances, exhibitions, and lectures famous around the world. This dissemination of culture to all Chileans demonstrates the arts as being fundamental to the Chilean life. The attendance of arts organizations and artists at
international arts festivals can be considered the crux to which Chile is currently attaching its reputation. As we have discovered, the Sundance Film Festival and the Venice Biennale have served as wonderful opportunities for Chile to instrumentalize its arts and culture to allow for the formation of an image of the country few know much about. International festival participation has allowed for the recognition of excellence in Chilean culture and ideas.

It is also important to consider the effects of arts organizations and artists on the reputation of Chile. Those large organizations heavily supported by public funds, such as FITAM, communicate the value the Chilean government is putting on investing in specific artistic genres and institutions, sometimes to the detriment of their smaller counterparts. Be that as it may, independent artists and arts organizations making their way around Chile and the globe also contribute to reputation enhancement. Such smaller companies as Teatrocinema and Casagrande work exclusive of the Chilean government (although they receive financial support from time to time to carry out their missions) and manage to take their work to peoples and nations that may wish to host a unique theatrical performance or spread a universal message of unity given the tough times our collective world has faced. Although not heavily supported by public dollars, these arts organizations, with their ability to perform virtually anything they want anywhere they choose, represent the opportunities Chilean artists are now given and a dedicated re-commitment to the artistic profession and expression.

These smaller arts organizations must work harder and faster to secure funding from a number of different sources to make their missions possible. However, revenue streams for larger arts organizations, such as FITAM, have the potential to be much more
diversified. In Chile, this typically involves tapping into the capacity of the private sector to help fill in the budget gaps -- mineral companies and telecommunications firms have been large supporters in this endeavor for many years now. While corporate sponsorship is not a new concept in many countries, the extent to which Chile’s creative sector relies on it is cause for mention. We see smaller arts organizations struggle to keep their heads above water due to corporations only supporting the work of a small number of major players in the arts. This demonstrates the dependency of the arts and culture on private sector contributions.

Chile’s strategy, although not necessarily officially recognized and carried out, also includes the cultural work of some NGOs who believe arts and culture should have a prominent place in Chilean society. Family foundations, such as the one belonging to the well-to-do Schiess family, have sustained the arts of Chile when the government was unable to, offering Chileans access to culture while supporting the distribution of it. Foundation Puerto de Ideas invites humanists and scholars from around the world to partake in the exchange of ideas and culture within the Chilean environment. Although making the trip to Chile for primarily other reasons, foreigners at such places as Teatro del Lago and Puerto de Ideas potentially depart Chile with a reimagined vision of the nation and its people. They return to their countries of origin and by way of mouth spread the (hopefully) good news of their experience in the narrow South American country. The attraction of artists and others to Chile may serve to represent the idea that cultural diplomacy is a two-way street: a give and take exists during exchanges where both parties become immersed in the other’s belief system and lifestyle.
There are tools Chile is using that don’t necessarily fit within the final framework but are just as important in forming a national reputation through culture. The creation of cultural infrastructure, primarily by way of building cultural centers through public-private partnerships, affirms the government and peoples’ re-commitment to democracy after the Pinochet years, when culture experienced severe defunding and censorship. It therefore is quite amazing the extent to which, after just 25 years since the return to democracy, Chile has begun to place culture in the spotlight via a number of legislative efforts, such as the “20% Law” or the incentivizing of individual donations to arts and cultural organizations. The Fundación Imagen de Chile, considered Chile’s primary nation branding body, is responsible for sharing these kinds of messages and many others while creating and projecting one clean, vibrant brand across all sectors.

For now, what we have not included in this framework, and which has the potential to become a main ingredient in it, is the addition of individuals contributing to arts, culture, and heritage organizations. With Chile’s new legislation incentivizing private contributions to arts organizations, we may very well soon see another category emerge into this framework which could play a crucial role in de-emphasizing the reliance on corporate and public money. This could therefore disperse resources to smaller arts organizations (like Teatrocinema) and not just Chile’s main cultural players. The effects of this new legislation, passed last year, are eagerly anticipated.

This emergent model of reputation formation through culture demonstrates the ingredients of varied cultural components to Chile’s reputation. This reputation may then contribute to the application of such outcomes as Chile’s nation brand, soft power, and
diplomatic intentions. Our model shows the importance of culture throughout Chilean society, from the public and private sector to individual artists and arts organizations. These diverse cultural strategies validate a Chilean society that is committed to, supports, and respects its arts and culture, a trait commonly found in many well-branded and soft power-smart nations. These ingredients to reputation broadcast a variety of messages to those outside of Chile, some intentional and others as byproduct. Most importantly, our final model contains individual factors that together explain the Chilean way of life, an element crucial in drawing other countries and people into the Chilean perspective. It is within this framework that Chile is familiarizing itself to international audiences in order to leverage this understanding for future benefits, be they political, social, economic, or otherwise.

5.2 Considerations and Recommendations

Through all of this research, there are a number of themes which have emerged that are worthy of consideration for any person or group interested in how culture may interact with a national reputation. Some of this may involve actions and ideas that directly relate to arts and culture, but others may be uncontrollable in a nation’s dynamics. Still, an awareness of these effects could prove significant in any number of situations.

One of the larger considerations I give to culture is that it cannot go at it alone. The arts and culture of a nation require the buy-in and assistance by both the government and private sector if there is ever hope for them to contribute to a nation’s reputation on a global scale. This is especially true in Chile, where so much of the cultural sector
depends on the contributions of private corporations. Just last year, Chile passed a law that would incentivize individuals giving to cultural organizations similar to the structure we have in the United States that has managed to keep our nonprofit sector afloat year after year. Take for example the international theatre festival Santiago a Mil: it has relied heavily on the support of the mining companies, and other corporate sponsors, from almost the very beginning of its existence in order to facilitate its growth into what has now become an impressive cultural display. The government has also contributed large sums of money for these kinds of endeavors. What we do not see, however, is support like this to other, smaller arts organizations, such as Teatrocinema.

The topic of Chile’s support for its larger cultural institutions while shunning the smaller ones was broached several times in different contexts during interviews. This is one part of a larger systemic problem that has plagued Chile for most of its history – that of centralization, both in terms of its economy and culture. Santiago has been and still is the capital of all things Chilean; when one ventures into the other regions of the country, one immediately sees a stark contrast in way of life. Along these same lines, only one or two prominent and well-funded artistic groups exist in most artistic genres, primarily located in the capital. For example, FITAM is the major organization charged with presenting performances related to theater, especially internationally, though they do a host of other things. This is seen manifested in its production of the Santiago the Mil theatre festival, which then entails “many companies and many artists being forced to find other ways of showing themselves in the country and outside.” One participant flatly stated that “Santiago a Mil takes a lot of funding away from Teatrocinema.” However, it should also be noted that there are other ways for arts organizations to locate the support
they need. *Fondo Nacional para el Desarrollo Cultural y las Artes* (“National Fund for the Development of Culture and the Arts”, or FONDART) is administered by CNCA and provides public funding for projects dedicated to the promotion of art and culture. Competitive as the process may be to earn government funding, one interviewee stated that there are more and more ways to acquire the necessary resources arts organizations so desperately need. Chile has also tackled decentralizing its culture by, as mentioned before, the building of cultural centers throughout the country. The continuation to pursue cultural infrastructure and utilizing the current structures already in place throughout the country (in film and theatre, for example) will allow Chile to further bring art to all its people. This remains an ongoing project and many Chileans have expressed hope for the future of a reputation built on Chile’s artistic repute. However, the need for Chile’s government to decentralize its culture further by diversifying its cultural portfolio through different funding streams may steer Chile down a more sustainable and viable path towards the future. Likewise, the continuation of hosting large international events, such as conventions and conferences, will continue to introduce the rest of the world to Chile. The International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies (IFACCA) was one recent example of this when the cultural policy organization hosted its 6th World Summit on Arts and Culture in Santiago January 13-16, 2014, inviting leaders from all corners of the globe to engage in cross-cultural dialogue with Chile as its host and backdrop.

We have seen throughout this research that the importance of large, isolated events has the ability to project a positive reputation, even in times of horrific situations unrelated to culture. The 2010 Copiapó mining accident in which 33 Chilean miners were
trapped under a significant cave-in for 69 days branded the nation of Chile in ways few thought were possible given the circumstances. The government’s handling of the situation, from start to finish, came square into view of nearly 1 billion viewers around the world who watched the rescue live. Following the incident, Chile created an image of itself as a nation of organization, cooperation, and technological prowess, where the sanctity of every human life was respected and one in which no expense or effort would be spared. Although much smaller in coverage and scope, Casagrande’s “Bombing of Poems” artistic performance in cities around the world can be linked to this similar mindset – small in scale, yet highly effective and coordinated efforts which can produce an outcome that attracts the attention of an array of people. “Do something that’s different, and you’ll get the world to write about it for free” said one interviewee. It’s this creative and sometimes happenstance energy that can propel any nation onto the international stage in a relatively short amount of time. More ideas such as these, with the support of both the private and public sector, may yield compelling results.

Another consideration that should be given is the need to revisit reputation goals and priorities. The concept of cultural branding and cultural programming should be reexamined every so many years so that organizations and government agencies can analyze the present circumstances and make sure that visions and missions are in line with what is occurring at a local, national, and global level, just like how organizations complete strategic plans every five years or so. Chile is a very different nation compared to even the past decade, and even more so since the early 90s. What was good for Chile back then is not necessarily good for it now, yet some of its policies and attitudes have remained unchanged, especially in regard to arts and culture. As discussed previously,
Chile already has a number of government and non-government organizations that exist to brand the nation and project the best version of itself. Such institutions as ProChile and Fundación Imagen de Chile work around the clock to make sure Chile is well-represented in every way possible. This in the past has led to collaborations with other organizations such as DIRAC and the CNCA, who cooperated as one unit to realize a shared ambition – to use culture as a branding tool for Chile’s reputation abroad.

But the change of political administrations, and thereby policy direction and general approaches towards culture, can create significant barriers that must be overcome. The Fundación, under the direction of its founding member Juan Gabriel Valdés, was considered by some to be its glory days where arts and culture played a primarily role in the organization’s work. This was when the Fundación collaborated with many other outside organizations. However, Valdés moved up the government chain as is customary (he now serves as Chile’s ambassador to the United States) and new leadership came in, whose priorities did not lie with culture and did not support the mission of the joint cultural committee (sports and natural beauty were a few areas of focus the Fundación directors further pursued). This phenomenon may come in part, at least ideologically, from the executive level. Although Chile has largely been considered a liberal society following the return to democracy, its last president, Sebastián Piñera, is among others who have included conservative processes and elements in the political system. This ebb and flow of political priorities has the potential, as with any other nation, to severely undermine the ability for culture to contribute to a nation’s reputation priorities.
In summary, we have discovered that discussing a nation’s reputation enhancement using the arts is a lengthy yet rewarding task. A reputation can consist of any number of a variety of ingredients and applications, and this research has only chosen to look at a very specific and niche component of the role of culture. There are certainly challenges to be overcome, but there are several more routes to take in realizing a positive reputation via arts and culture. Chile is only one example of how a nation is grappling with the need to develop and refine a more positive presence, accomplishing this intentionally and unintentionally within and outside its borders. We have discussed that these findings are particular to the case of Chile in its current condition. Yet it is my hope that with this research, stakeholders from a variety of walks of life and professions can begin to think more deeply and broadly about the ways in which arts and culture may contribute to purposes few imagined before, but ways in which are occurring around us every day. Although political and economic environments shift frequently and at times drastically, a nation’s arts and culture remains unchanged. Culture serves as the present life force of a nation’s people, both in times of profound strife and halcyon accordance. It may very well be the single most identifying characteristic of a nation, and we must realize the power if can play in shaping the globalized world in which we live.

5.3 Further Research Possibilities

This research chose to only look at one country and its arts and cultural systems. It is by no means an exhaustive overview of the activities of Chile in terms of reputation formation through culture, and certainly doesn’t propose that similar findings and conclusions exist elsewhere. What it does do, however, is integrate a framework onto
which any nation could be placed within and analyzed. Therefore, the potential for further research exists in many other countries. It would be fascinating to examine another similar developing democracy as Chile -- New Zealand (equally known for its geographic isolation) was proposed during meetings with focus groups, led by Simon Anholt, which aimed at identifying other countries with which Chile may make comparisons (the idea was later scratched, given New Zealand’s status as a commonwealth and English as its first language). It would undeniably be a difficult task to find a suitable comparison, but the differences could make the research all the more captivating. Nations of other wealth and worldly status may also prove to be an interesting case, such as the United States, or lesser “known” nations with somewhat similar political histories like Uruguay or Bulgaria.

Further research may also shed new light on Chile’s reputation by closely analyzing just its domestic, or just its international, activities. As previously mentioned, my research was intended to only give an overview of the activities that, to me and my interviewees, played a prominent role in a reputation formation and dissemination abroad. But there could just as equally be compelling analysis done on what the nation of Chile is attempting to do within its borders to bring its people closer to culture. For that matter, a case study on how Chilean cultural centers or legislation are attempting to permit further access to culture after the dictatorship years could have the potential for some important and fascinating findings. Chile’s new law incentivizing individual giving to arts, culture, and heritage organizations could be the basis to explore the effects of this legislation on the analytical framework used in this thesis. Chile’s emphasis on “flagship”
arts organizations, like FITAM, could indicate that researchers should look at this particular structure and how it helps interpret the Chilean international reputation.

Whatever the research is, I hope to have conveyed the necessity of culture in a nation’s agenda. Arts and culture can take on many different forms, but their uses are infinite. Opportunities to address issues similar to these on an international scale will only further the belief of the importance of the human artistic endeavor and those that make it possible.
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Appendix A: Interview Questions

Questions serving as a framework for discussion (some left intentionally broad):

- Tell me about the current and previous role(s) you’ve held in the Chilean cultural sector

- How do you think the world perceives Chile?

- In recent worldwide indexes of national image, Chile has slowly been improving its rank (33rd among 100 countries). Why do you think this is?

- In your own opinion, what do you believe is the Chilean “brand”?
- Do the arts and culture help contribute to this brand? How so?

- How does Chile project its culture? What is being done currently?

- Tell me about the Santiago a Mil Theatre Festival…
  Sub-questions if more specifics are needed:
  - Your experience with it
  - Why the festival was created
  - What the festival aims to do
  - The kinds of audiences you believe it attracts
  - How the government is involved (or not involved) with its production
  - What do audiences come away with?
  - How is the festival tailored to an international audience?
  - What kind of criteria is used in the selection of performances?
  - What are the attendance records? International attendance? Has it been increasing?
  - How is the festival typically received? What do the locals think about it?
  - Why the Asian focus?
  - How has the festival changed over time?
  - Who are you trying to reach?
  - To what extent is the festival produced for artistic development (showcase, agents, etc.)?

- Tell me about the work of the Fundaión Imagen de Chile
- To what extent does Fundaión Imagen de Chile utilize Chile’s arts and cultural assets in completing its mission?