

Cultural production and diversity.

1. Introduction.

It is said that provocation is an inherent primary function to the artistic and cultural production; however the social theory and the reflections about the world of the art and culture provide a discourse with a surprising degree of consensus (and by so much little provocative by assumed) that is supported on a basic idea of Illustrated inheritance. Art and culture [the production and the cultural consumption] have positive effects on individuals and society¹ that go above and beyond the benefits (monetary and in utility or pleasure terms) obtained by those who produce and consume goods and cultural services. All the utterances underline the importance of the diversity in the cultural production without detailing which contribution can accomplish diversity to the construction of the intrinsic "goodness" of art and culture. From this perspective, diversity becomes in a not marginal element to explain those "magic" attributes. The present paper intends to go deeply into the nature of the diversity and on its presumed positive effects. In the first part we will try to approximate the meanings of diversity in the cultural production, attempting to specify and to discover which can be its positive effects, and in the second part of the work we will try to determine what factors play in the direction of or against a greater diversity in the configuration of the cultural sectors, applying some of the reflections on the recent evolution of those sectors in the Spanish case.

2. An approximation of the concept of cultural diversity

About diversity of cultural production exists a relative consensus in the meaning of the fact that it is better "more diversity" than "less diversity". Beyond this first idea, that flows of the intuition and of the "good press" of the cultural production, it does not exist however, and in spite of that constitutes one of the most used arguments to justify the public intervention, a deep reflection on the background of this idea and on the factors that determine a greater or fewer diversity in the production of artistic and cultural goods and services.

From our point of view the diversity of cultural production on a society can be understood in various forms. Concerning demand there is greater diversity when the individuals that compose a society have access to a greater different quantity of cultural goods and services. This first approximation is relatively quantitative in the sense that it does not refer to the degree of differentiation between the products that we have got to. Under this perspective, we could consider that a community with potential access to 10 cinema screens has a more various supply than another that only has access to five. However, if we add the important nuance of differentiation, then the trial would be inverse if, for instance, in the first case exclusively American action movies are shown, while in the second case an Asian film cycle, another of gore cinema and other of European independent production are projected. Obviously the smaller the substitutability and the greater the heterogeneity of the products and services, the greater will be diversity². Thus, from a demand perspective the key variables would be; quantity and differentiation, and their combinations.

¹ Declarations of this type are the most frequent: "The arts enhance individual life -by encouraging individual creativity, spirit and potential; and providing release, relaxation and entertainment (...) The arts help to define what it is to be American by building a sense of the nation's identity, by reinforcing the reality of American pluralism, by advancing democratic values and peace abroad (...) The arts help to form an educated and aware citizenry (...) The arts contribute to quality of life and economic growth". THE ARTS AND THE PUBLIC PURPOSE". (The American Assembly, 1997: page 6) . Columbia University. 1997

² Naturally the issue is not so simple, since the substitutability depends in large part on the experiences of the individual and on his "cinematographic capital". One can consider Rambo III and RamboIV completely differentiated, while for others they can be completely homogeneous products

From the supply perspective, diversity can be understood as the degree in which the different sensibilities of different social groups (related with parameters of different cultures, different sexes or sexual slopes, different socioeconomic, ethnical, language groups,...) have the possibility to express themselves in artistic and cultural realms. In this meaning a society will be more various in cultural terms as more varied groups may have the chance to express their emotions through the artistic production.

Finally we could add one more nut return considering that a social group is more various (in cultural terms) when the formal possibilities of cultural expression are higher. And this characteristic can be understood in a transverse way; That is attending so much of the supply and demand side. A society is more various when it expresses its sensibility not only through the painting but through theatre, video, dance and music or any other artistic expression. In the same way could be defined as more varied that society that has access to different forms of artistic expression.

Starting from this first analysis multiple dimensions appears that have to do with diversity.

Supply	
Quantity of social groups with possibilities to express themselves artistically.	-/+
Quantity in ways of expression	-/+

Demand	
Access to quantity of products	-/+
Access to differentiated products	-/+
Access to assorted forms of expression	-/+

The options for the use of these theoretical categories, though they provide certain light in conceptual terms, result too limited empirically and could only be understood in either temporary or spatially comparative terms. What those concepts allow us to do is to investigate on the extended intuition of the fact that greater diversity is better than less diversity. The artistic and cultural goods and services are one of the most complex products of the human forage and consequently only permit certain analysis if we bounded artificially its complexity and multidimensionality. As the result of this segmentation of its sense we can go deeper to the issue of the social "goodness" of cultural diversity.

2.1. THE "GOODNESS" OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY.

1) Art and culture as creative stock

The first aspect that can suggest us the goodness of cultural diversity derives from the consideration about cultural production as creative usable capital terms. We can consider the creativity as the ability to merge material or informational elements to compose new functional units (Binning, G., 1995). Naturally, the "new functionality" is a social construction and, therefore, the true creative fact is more than the pure combination, but necessarily demands the attendance of previous elements and objects. It is evident that if we understand the cultural goods and services in these terms, a bigger "stock" of artistic and cultural goods and services, independently of its present use, represent a greater potential capability of use of that cultural capital accrued. In this meaning the dimension of the differentiation has greater depth than that of the quantity because it points out that there are greater future combinations. The conception of the art and the culture as creative stock consists precisely of considering the production already realised as a "warehouse" where we can extract elements for future combinations and artistic creations. Therefore a larger "warehouse" is better than a smaller one³.

³ At least as long as the search costs in this warehouse do not cancel the advantages of its dimension

2. Art and culture as patrimony.

We understand patrimony here in a juridical approach. In the meaning that it is considered as a joint of goods and services that a society receives from the foregoing generations and that constitutes a collective capital with a present value and a moral obligation of transmitting it to the future generations. Both aspects are intimately related; the present value (as irreplaceable resource, unique and not renewable, which incorporates determined symbolic contents) is what assesses us the moral obligation of preserving it towards the future. As stock variable one must consider that "more quantity" it is better than "less quantity" as long as we do not arrive to the limit in which the opportunity costs of its preservation will be socially inadmissible (Mossetto, 1993). However, there is no evident reason that it will be better that this greater quantity has to be more various. Is it better to count on three Gothic churches than on a Romanic, a Gothic and a Renaissance one?

3) Art and culture as a set of symbolic messages.

The cultural and artistic production is part of the set of shared symbolic messages that embodies a society. A greater diversity of symbolic productions can be positive due to the interactions that could be established between different messages, but there is no doubt that societies more symbolically heterogeneous are more conflicting, at least potentially, than more homogeneous societies. Here diversity can only be understood as positive if we consider a compatible diversity. In spite of the more conventional speeches in this issue, a recurrent contradiction appears; cultural practices can serve to reinforce collective identity (and necessarily particular and differentiated) of a given group, or, to dilute it in a wider and plural framework, but one objective shuts out the other. At least that someone explains with greater coherence the causal relations, the particular dichotomy - difference /universal -, continues being a trade off that will not be solved magically with any concrete model of cultural consumption. An additional element must be added, that of the costs, in the sense that these are superior in a heterogeneous society because the management costs of such society increase⁴. However, from an analysis that departs from the individual, apparently a society with more symbolic messages means, probably, that it is a society where more individual elements could feel that they are symbolically represented.

4) Art and culture as consumption and quality of life elements

Finally, one must consider goods and cultural services as elements that serve to provide pleasure (utility, satisfaction) to individuals that produce and consume them, increasing or improving, their quality of life. The production/creation and also the consumption provides some emotions that are difficult to compare with other types of consumption activities. From the point of view of the consumption, however, greater diversity, in principle, it does not guarantee a quantitative improvement of the quality of life of a society. We could think about a society in which all members enjoy enormously only a work of Beethoven and one of Mozart, and another one in which only half of their members enjoy all the production of the classical music produced until the present time. However, if we go deeper into the psychological mechanisms that generate that satisfaction, we could share the idea that to enjoy the artistic expressions is moving around the area of combining familiarity and novelty. Only we understand those that are familiar to us (we have learnt the semiotic and aesthetic codes for its interpretation) and are impressed where we recognize certain novelty. This is at least the most general interpretation of the forces that have western Art History to move. So a greater diversity supposes a greater probability to encounter

⁴ Cultural diversity can be a significant variable in designing and implementing economic and business policies. Given evident behavioural differences according to cultural, ethnic, racial, and gender affiliation, economic policy would be more effective if differentially targeted to deal with problems of the specific groups and localities. Such targeting may be especially effective in dealing with saving and investment, and in combating unemployment, poverty, the underclass, and economic discrimination (Tuma,-Elias-H.; Haworth,-Barry, 1991: 48)

new elements but also a greater difficulty to learn the different aesthetic codes, to understand and to interpret them. The net effect, at a theoretical level, results indeterminate

	Is diversity "good" ?	Arguments
Art and culture as creative stock Art and culture as patrimony.	Yes Only in quantitative terms	Increase the possibilities of future creation Constitute a variable stock
Art and culture as set of symbolic messages.	Yes, with nuances	Complicate social management costs but reduces the individual marginalization
Art and culture as consumption and quality of life elements	Indeterminate	Increase the possibilities of finding new sensations but complicates the acquisition of knowledge to assimilate them

In fact, it is difficult for us to find a definitive argument that lead us to say that "a society with more symbolic messages it is preferable to another with less". Not even a bet for the "complexity" results conclusive; considering that the effects of the diversity vary with the characteristics of new goods and cultural services, and understanding this, furthermore, from a dynamic and social perspective, the relevant criterion will be if the new activities imply an increase in complexity or not. In the first case, it is understood that more diversity stimulates the cerebral and mental activity (Coriat, 1990) necessary for the production and enjoyment of cultural goods and in the second case it does not. When diversity is supported in more complex goods and services, then the (individual and collective) present creative capacity is being developed, to the time that are grounded the basis for greater future potential (cumulative effect). But it is also possible that the new cultural activities are less complex (decrease of the necessary mental effort), and then the previous effects are not guaranteed and, even more, it is feasible that regressive results could come into view.

From previous analysis it does not remain so cleanly clear that diversity in the culture production will be unequivocally positive in social terms, if we do not include some type of valuation that precisely confer an extrinsic value to diversity

3. The trend to the diversity and its causes. A controversial issue.

In the area of the industrial goods the crisis of the seventies, the break of the serial and mass production, and the trend towards more flexible of production forms, is a fact that has scooped the attention of the scholars of the economy. Generally, the analysis of the factors that have impelled to those changes is located in the area of the markets and technology, but if we reach a greater degree of concretion the discrepancies increase.

Such as is argued by Piore and Sabel (1984) a first type of argument tries to explain the trend towards the diversification; Changes in demand. When the income levels are low, the consumers satisfy their needs getting the most inexpensive goods, produced serially. But when the income increases, displacement is produced toward greater income-elasticity goods and services. Tastes become more refined and more sophisticated and specialized goods and services are demanded. The changes in the supply towards a greater quality, differentiation and variety would be the consequence of those changes in demand.

However, the previous interpretation is too mechanistic, from the point of view that seems to suggest that the increase in the income levels move individuals automatically to the consumption of some type of goods and services to others. In this way, important problems are obviated as the influence of the cultural and social ideas on consumption standards or the education paper that can perform the producers through consumers (fashion or advertising, for example). In fact, here we must realize that the consumption standards are the result of the relationship between the culture and relative costs (Piore and Sabel, 1984). From this perspective also great relevancy is granted to the area of the supply side in the explanation of the trend towards greater diversity. The saturation of the markets and the increase in the competition carries the producers to the introduction of new products and services and to the differentiation,

to widening and conquering those markets, and, in more general terms, to convert the difference into a value itself. On the other hand, the diffusion of technologies of the information and communications support the increase in the flexibility in the goods production and facilitate a great differentiation and diversity.

In the realm we are dealing with, and from the perspective of demand, we could verify that not only an increase in the cultural goods and services consumption would be produced (by its greater income-elasticity), but also exchanges in its composition, raising the relative weight of those of greater complexity and singularity and being widened the supply towards new products and services or to those that introduce not essential revisions in the existing one (diversity of range). But also the addictive nature of cultural consumption (Becker and Murphy, 1988) reinforce this trend towards diversity

In the same way, the application of new technologies implicates huge potential diversity increase. The use of computers in the process of creation (designs, drawings, texts) not only simplifies tasks but, upon saving the results in the memory, it can be reached easily to prior projects and introduce variances or corrections without necessity of repeating all the processes. The time and costs saved are evident and also the inducement to diversification. Evenly, the technologies have contributed to reduce the size of the production series and to the improvement in management techniques, allowing, furthermore, the coordination of decentralised units, and have promoted new market channels for cultural goods and services (from the diffusion of art works through Internet until selling theatre tickets through electronic cashes). All this, without doubt, supposes a huge potential to raise the diversity of the cultural supply.

Nevertheless, from all this is not derived that the trend towards the diversity will be an unavoidable process and with predetermined results. Though it is true that the commented factors point into the direction of greater diversity, it is also true that it varies according to the sectors and territories and of the strategies adopted by the relevant agents. It is necessary, consequently, to descend to that analysis level, a task that we approach in the next paragraphs.

4 Some reflections on the elements that determine the diversity of the cultural production.

The possibilities of increasing the production of differentiated goods and cultural services (cultural innovation) in a given historical and spatial context do not depend only on the potential generation of new ideas (new information), but intervene also economic factors, which, in last resort, connect those ideas with individual demands or with needs and, consequently, making them viable.

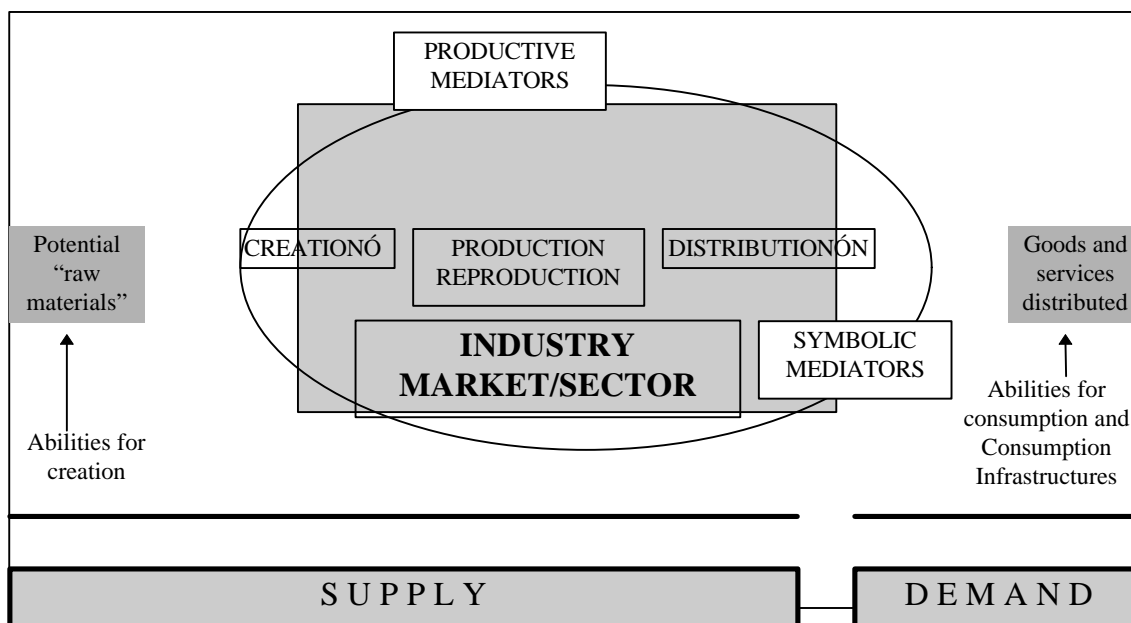
From that perspective, and though we will shade these problems in function of the specificity of each cultural activity, any innovation process can be considered to be split into three stages: the discovery (invention), the innovation and the diffusion. The discovery takes place with the creation of new information. However, so converted into innovation it must arrive to the market and, therefore, answers to a need or to a solvent demand (Vegara, 1989). Consequently, the innovation concept has already a fully economic scope in the measure in which it implies the possibility of produce renders or of satisfy social needs. Once the creation has been introduced with success into the market, then a diffusion process begins that involves a greater number of demanders. This process is important, because it determines a greater or smaller economic and social impact from the goods and services.

However, the previous process cannot be considered a one-way process. On the contrary, it must be considered as a complex process in which the different stages are interrelated and stimulates constantly each other. In this sense, we have to realise, in the first place, that far from some approaches that consider that discoveries tend to be the result of isolated and spontaneous actions, what is true is that, increasingly, the creative process comes guided by the support of institutions, organisations and companies, that provide financial resources and orientates objectives and priorities (guided by the pressure of market and competition or by social needs).

And, in the second place, diffusion is part of the innovation process and is decisive in its success or failure (Barceló, 1993). To that end, the innovation's appropriateness to the markets acquires special relevancy, consequently the modifications and adjustments carried out on the original innovations (Rosenberg, 1976) are important

We can, now, apply the previous ideas (that they come of the more general framework of technical change) to the specific area of cultural production. In these activities the possibilities of the diversity depend initially on the existence of individuals collectives or institutions, with capacities and abilities for the creation of goods and cultural services (supply diversity) and individuals with abilities for their consumption, as well as the existence of infrastructures (equipment and capital goods) that make its production and consumption possible. All this in a favourable institutional and social environment.

EXISTENCE OF EXCHANGE SPACES



Once it verified the existence of those two elements is verified it is necessary that there are exchange spaces that allow the traffic of the artistic and cultural goods and services from producers to consumers. These exchange space can be institutionalised in conventional markets or structured in more informal frameworks⁵ In the first case, industries, markets or sectors will be configured that are more or less stable or more or less developed. The set of the individuals, companies or institutions that certify these structures are the productive mediators of the exchange and are entrusted to detect the created good or the process of creation, to develop its productive form and to care about its distribution. Until here they no substantial differences appear with other goods and different services to the artistic or cultural. The analysis of its greater or smaller diversity would be accomplished with the same methodological and terminological tools than any other good. The principal difference, from now on, lies in the fact that artistic goods are substantially innovative in the sense that the creation incorporates in its own definition the novelty element. However, the innovation is not an attribute that could be detected in an automatic way, but is constructed and recognised in a social process. The symbolic mediators, in this sense are the relevant agents in the recognition of the value (artistic in a first moment and economic in the following instant) on what is created⁶. Each element (and their

⁵ For instance a person who makes piano compositions for friends

⁶ Cultural knowledge is highly specific and residing in a number of persons among the interested public like artists, gallerists, collectors of arts, critics art historians, and some *connoisseurs des arts* []by chance an artwork may catch

characteristic) that participate in this exchange space and for each sector will determine the possibilities of great or smaller diversity.

4.1 The abilities for creation.

If we consider that the process of collective and individual creation is the provider of "raw materials " that intervenes in the production process, we are able to make some considerations about the greater or smaller conditions for the accumulation of stocks of raw materials, that then can be susceptible to be used in the production of goods and cultural services and are marketable. We are going to use three parameters to analyse, comparatively and in static terms, the facilities for the accumulation process of creative stock; these three parameters are ; a) the required human capital, b) the required physical capital and c) the sense of creation out of marketable ends.

For human capital requirements we refer to the necessary abilities (and their distribution) to begin a creative process, under the hypothesis that the expressive needs are distributed in a normal way between all the detailed expressive forms. If we consider that the western educational systems provide generalized abilities on writing and reading (literacy), but with less generalization in other abilities as musical or artistic ones (painting, sculpture), we can establish a classification with respect to the distribution of susceptible human capital to be used in the process of creation. In this sense we can say that, as a rule, the western societies are better endowed to produce "texts", compared with musical and plastic arts. Also we could conclude as hypothesis in terms of technical narrative, that the conventional text (narrative) would have more potential practitioners than other technical narrative as drama plays or cinema scripts.

If we attend to the needs of physical capital, the musical composition or the texts, in the limit, are only paper and some writing instrument necessary, though it is true that the writing processes increase its capital goods proportions (computers). Only the representative arts, where it results conceptually difficult to distinguish between the creation and production process, require at least some small quantities of capital goods (paintbrushes, paintings, materials for sculpture.).

The third parameter leads us to the fact if creation process makes sense without thinking about the existence of strictly market space of exchange. The result of this reflection would bring us to the idea that, at an initial level, it could have more reservoir material in the area of the literature and popular music and less in the area of cinema and classical music: the plastic arts and the theatre would remain in an intermediate position⁷.

There is no doubt that in western societies growing trends appear towards the extension and democratization of the cultural and artistic creation abilities. The amplification of the educational periods and the extension of the cultural supply as well as the improvement of the accessibility that the new technological environments allows, points out to a reality where capacities for creation are growing. But this is a preliminary positioning that does not predetermine more than marginally the possibilities of great or smaller diversity. The following

the attention of an insider of the art scene who gets curious and begins to ask questions. Part of her expert knowledge requires that she should be sceptical of her own intuitive appreciation, and reassure herself by consulting with other experts. In her eyes, the artwork in question appears to excel over others, which implies a tentative positive assessment. In asking questions, she signals some appreciation. The approached experts, in turn, may know the artist and comment, or may not informed and get curious themselves. In any case, while talking to each other, the involved persons form their own minds and reassure -or question- their respective judgements. They pool their expertise , as it were to shape their own personal judgement more clearly . [] Sometimes however, all goes well and the experts have definitely turned into believers. It is now that credibility emerges. The credibility which is crucial to the public appreciation of arts is thus jointly brought into being by a variety of persons who interact in multiple ways (Bonus y Ronte, 1997: 111-112)

⁷ In Spain the 70% of the population do not practice any cultural activity. Form the remained 30%, a 11% draw, a 5% paint, a 6% plays a musical instrument and a 9% write

step will consist in analysing how that recognition of what is creative can be incorporated in structured markets.

4.2 The role of the symbolic mediators

Here the symbolic mediators have importance, and the differences between cultural sectors could be explained by the shape of those symbolic mediators and the spatial reference area. We have noted already the importance of symbolic mediators have in the valuation process of cultural and artistic work. Valuation understood in the double sense of the term, as critical analysis of its qualities and as determinant of its social and economic value (recognizing its greater or smaller relevancy and delivering a kind of implicit credential that certifies it)⁸. Each sector has a symbolic mediators structure which remain characterised by the number of agents that depends on the reference space and the entry barriers (how much cultural knowledge⁹ is necessary and how much is necessary to invest in reputation), the relationships among themselves (elitist, hierarchical, democratic, sanctioned by institutions...), the relation with the productive mediators, and the effect over the product (the critic affect the price or in consumer's behaviour)

In the case of the popular music we have multiple agents as attestors of the value of the musical compositions (all the radio channels of the world and numerous publications), some not segmented reference spaces (the linguistic barriers are moderated, there aren't high mobility costs), both aspects that could indicate a very competitive environment and therefore very various. The "value" that is granted to each of the songs can be measured through emission times and in their ranking systems (top-ten). However, the ferrous pressure that exercises the highly oligopolized productive sector trough the distributions system and over the mediators, notably limits this possibility, drawing a quite homogeneous panorama.

A small note on the homogeneity of the number-one songs in Europe and the United States seems to prove, that in spite of being tried by a multiple mediators agents model, the choices of the better products are very similar, induced by the promotional techniques of the large companies that act at a world level. In 1997, between Europe and the United States the number-one song coincides in 44% of the weeks¹⁰.

In the area of the representative arts, it the phenomenon of the no- segmentation is repeated, though, on the contrary, the structure of symbolic mediators is very little democratic and is highly concentrated in some few critics, some few museums and some few galleries owners. The consequence is the existence of a first limited world level circuit with exorbitant prices for a product unit (which suggests that demands at this level are very homogeneous,

8 *"Jamais sans doute l'irréductibilité du travail de production symbolique à l'acte de fabrication matérielle opéré par l'artiste n'est apparue de manière aussi évidente qu'aujourd'hui. Le travail artistique dans sa nouvelle définition rend les artistes plus que jamais tributaires de tout l'accompagnement de commentaires et de commentateurs qui contribuent directement à la production de l'oeuvre par leur réflexion sur un art incorporant souvent lui-même un réflexion sur l'art, et sur un travail artistique comportant toujours un travail de l'artiste sur lui-même. L'apparition de cette nouvelle définition de l'art et du métier d'artiste ne peut se comprendre indépendamment des transformations du champ de production artistique: la constitution d'un ensemble sans précédent d'institutions d'enregistrement, de conservation et d'analyse des oeuvres [...] à la célébration de l'oeuvre d'art [...] tout concourt à favoriser l'instauration d'un rapport sans précédent entre les interprètes et l'oeuvre d'art: le discours sur l'oeuvre n'est pas un simple adjuvant, destiné à favoriser l'appréhension et l'appréciation, mais un moment de la production de l'oeuvre, de son sens et sa valeur". (Bourdieu, 1992: 242)*

⁹ The language used in the task of the critic could be a good indicator of the entry barriers in the field of the certifiers. The more cryptic the language is, the higher the entry barriers will be

¹⁰ (Source : Anuario 1998 EL PAÍS de Revistas Music & Media, Billboard)

aspect on the other hand that has historical roots¹¹) and the proliferation of local or peripheral markets positioned long ago in price terms. It is considered an environment with very high information asymmetry and that demands a high faith in the expert's capacities.

In the realm of the cinema productions and book industry, there are many agents and institutions (publications, critics, festivals, literary prizes) that grant and certify the quality of the products. However, since the incorporation of that value can not be accomplished through price but through the maximisation of the audiences, the costly and aggressive advertising marketing strategies of the companies can compensate (or reinforce) the judgements sanctioned by the "independent" mediators. The advertising is converted thus into another symbolic mediator.

Bearing in mind that price does not act as indicative of quality, the consumers, to reduce the risk of a mistaken choice, other than using the signals provided by mediators (that have also acquisition costs), use some indirect indicators more evident and inexpensive, to take their decisions: The cost production of the movie ("the most expensive movie in history"), the number of previous spectators or readers, the actors, directors or authors and the exchange of information with close people. The use of these indirect indicators has an cumulative effect on demand, so that the audiences tend to concentrate increasingly¹² in some few products (it is costly to have information on many authors, actors or directors and, furthermore, if I have previous information on "not known" authors I cannot speak about the consumed products¹³).

In the case of the performing arts (theatre, live classical music, dance) the symbolic mediators act on more segmented spaces due the need of making the production and the consumption space to coincide. These mediators (critics, publications, training institutions, etc.) compose some very few democratic structures by each territory, but with competition and/or complementary interrelationships between territorial spaces, being configured some symbolic leadership hierarchies (if the performance of a work in Madrid receives the consent from the symbolic mediators, rarely it will be questioned in Málaga). The permeability to the product innovations depends often on the stability or instability into the symbolic mediators groups (the power of the emerging compared to the *status quo* preference of the established).

In conclusion, the pattern of symbolic mediators can be very relevant to explain the great or smaller diversity of the cultural production.

4.3 The competition in the cultural sectors

The following link would consist of considering the forces that move to the competition in a cultural production sector under the presumed fact that more competitive environments facilitate greater diversity. According to the analysis of Porter (1982), the forces that determine the competition in an industrial sector are: the threats of new entries, the negotiating power of the suppliers, the negotiating power of the clients, the substitute products threat and the rivalry between the existing competitors. Referring to the entry barriers, we can say that perhaps the most relevant, concerning sectors comparison, could be the capital requirement. This entry barrier is especially very important in cinema industry. In 1994 the average budget of a Hollywood's movie was 29 million of dollars, while in the large European countries this figure was about four or five million of dollars. Other entry barriers are the vertical integration of the distribution channels promoted by big companies, hindering the access to new producers

The products of the large companies tend, therefore, to the standardisation and serialisation of success recipes already tested and to the investment in signals of quality (star system, advertising). The existence of a second market, with very low taxes of return (or even

¹¹ The high prices that reached the painting during the S. XVII are not explained by the scarcity of the supply (during that century circulated a lot of paintings) but by the aesthetic homogeneity of the demand. European collectors are shaped by the leadership of the large European monarchies that imposed a aesthetic canon that reaches to any collection in the continent (Brown, 1995).

¹² In Spain 15% of the movies exhibited, (usually from USA), get 70% of the spectators

¹³ To consider the economic implications of these strategic behaviours see Adler 1985

negative) - of " independent and subsidised cinema - allows to incorporate the products innovation whose success has been already sanctioned by the audiences.

Spain, since the decade of 80's, when cinema suffered a serious spectator's fall due to the liberalization of the television market (Fernández and Baños, 1997), has experimented a notable improvement on the number of spectators (from 78 million in 1990 to 104 million in 1996), though the reduction of the number of exhibited movies. persists If we add that in spite of the high number of shown movies, only 15% of them collect more than 70%, we could derive that there is a trend toward homogenisation .

Cinema exhibition Spanish market

	1990	1991	%	1992	%	1993	%	1994	%	1995	%	1996	%
			Var.		Var.		Var.		Var.		Var.		Var.
Screens	1.773	1.806	2%	1.807	0%	1.791	-1%	1.888	5%	2.090	11%	2.354	13%
Movies	2.037	2.370	16%	2.008	-15%	2.081	4%	1.675	-20%	1.583	-5%	1.560	-1%
%spanish	22%	26%		19%		16%		18%		17%		17%	

Source: Ministerio de Cultura (in Anuario El País 1998).

In the book and record industries the economic entry barriers are smaller and in fact one strategy, given the fall of the production costs (due to technological innovations incorporated in the processes), it is the overproduction of titles to diversify the risks (Cubeles and Codinach, 1997). The innovation and product differentiation seems to have a "business stealing" effect in the recording industry, and only in very isolated cases a multiplying effect on the global demand evolution (Burke, 1996). The most notable difference between these two sectors is that while in the recording industry we are speaking about transnational markets, in the book industry we have some territorial areas bounded to national or linguistic areas.

Reduction of the economic entry barriers in these two sectors has contradictory effects. For the recording industry there is no doubt that the digital technology reduces the distribution costs, eroding the scale economies that appear in that area, and that it have configured historically the recording sector as a very oligopolized one. This reduction of the entry costs "should promote greater levels of product diversity and variety in the offering of the music recording industry" (Alexander, 1994)

However, it is also stated in the book industry that the entry facility causes that many agents, for whom the profitability is a secondary variable (Moati, 1992), are incorporated, reducing the average profitability of the sector and, therefore, establishing a new entry barrier. Thus, the sector becomes polarised in two groups; that one of few large companies that obtain the lion's market share and that is specialised in the most profitable products and a second group composed by a multitude of small companies with a high rotation that have great difficulties to reach the distribution channels, specialised in more difficult products, that do not achieve to rationalise their management methods and which have very fragile financial structures. Anyway, it is true that the book sector, more decentralised, has greater possibilities to guarantee greater diversity.

The indicators collected in the next tables at least point out in this direction

	No Companies	Market share
% of sales of the book industry in the world by large companies. Year 1995	13	27,44%
Record industry distributions business in the world . Year 1991	6	91,0%

Source : Cubeles y Codinach (1997).

Subjects	LIVE		TITLES IN CATALOGUE			
	1992		1993	1994	1995	1996
Literature	21,52%		22,46%	22,65%	20,08%	19,75%
General publications	19,82%		17,75%	18,17%	14,94%	16,93%
Scientific-Technical	20,58%		19,32%	15,69%	15,09%	16,14%
Not university text	11,05%		13,05%	12,27%	14,80%	15,04%
Infantile-Juvenile	14,04%		14,87%	14,87%	15,37%	14,80%
University text	6,96%		5,90%	8,67%	9,37%	8,68%
Comics	1,93%		1,69%	1,36%	1,21%	1,13%
Others	0,64%		1,88%	3,60%	5,87%	4,03%
TOTAL (number of titles)	171.000		159.400	169.500	172.380	178.870

Source: 'Comercio interior del libro en España' Federación de Gremios de Editores de España.

In the first place, we see that by subjects, those that were more represented lose its relative importance (Literature, Technical Scientific and General Publication) and those that they were less represented increase its relative proportions. In this sense it can be said that the range of products is more various. Simultaneously the number of copies has been reduced between 1980 and 1994 (from 260.002 titles to 180.181) and been increased notably has the number of titles (from 28.195 to 44.261). At a global level we can say that the diversity has increased.

In the performing arts one must speak of a clear territorial segmentation by linguistic reasons, mobility costs and, even, by the capacity of pressing the local programmers. In the Spanish case, the offer is found principally in large cities and the quantity and the diversity depends on the public action behaviour, either in the financing and construction of physical infrastructures that make these performances possible as, increasingly, in the area of the programming. The more important variable in the determination of the entry barriers is precisely the public strategy

The fall of the number of spectators is also remarkable, which can be ciphered in half a million during these ten years, and the fall in the number of performances, though there seems to be a certain improvement in the last two years. The intervention of the administration during the eighties has been spectacular and we can detect a certain crowding-out effect. The public theatres have passed from 17% to 40% in spectators terms, from 11% to the 22% in performances and from 8% to 39% in the box office revenues.

Spectators, performances and box-office revenues (1983-1994)

	Spectators (miles)				Performances				Box-office (million Ptas)			
	82/83	%	93/94	%	83/84	%	93/94	%	83/84	%	93/94	%
<i>Priv.</i>	1788	83,	1004	60	6525	89	4239	68	1100	92	1900	61
<i>Publ.</i>	360	17	657	40	826	11	2040	22	100	8	1200	39
<i>TOT.</i>	2148	100	1661	1	7351	1	6279	1	1200	1	3100	1

Source: Anuario El Mundo 1996

The tendency to the reduction of the diversity is also evident in the fact that only some few works concentrate the major interest of the public. Thus, in the 96/97 season 2, 3% of the performances in Madrid gathered 32% of the box-office revenues, meanwhile in Barcelona, 2, 2% gets more than 52%.

Season 96/97	Madrid	Barcelona
N. of pieces performed	433	454
N of performances	7.829	7239
Box-office revenues(Mill Ptas)10 best perform.	1.185	1.814
Total box office (Mill ptas)	3.675	3.444
10 pieces /total receive	32%	53%

Source: Ministerio de Cultura (en Anuario El País 1998).

The possibility of incorporating "innovations" is located between the fourth part and half of the represented works, considering that the new products must compete with a growing stock of works already represented.

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Works first performed	481	773	706	751	848	797	662
Works performed	1697	1710	1833	1975	3550	1891	1850
first performed/ tot. Performed	28,34%	45,20%	38,52%	38,03%	23,89%	42,15%	35,78%

Source: Ministerio de Cultura (1996)

In the live classical music, the appearance, in the first decades of the century, of the record industry radically transformed the competition model. It is true that the phonographic support is not a perfect substitute of the live performance, but the consequences are considerable. Some of these consequences, which have to do with the capacity of diversity of the representations, are according to Dupuis (Dupuis 1990); the internationalisation of the phonographic production, breaking the territorial segmentation model of live music, and the pursuing of the maximum excellence in all the performances (to attend a not sublime ninth symphony, I already have the alternative in many, and every time with greater quality, digital reproductions).

The effects of this reality are:

- The operation under a "star system" where a limited number of artists, that have developed their career in the record industry, concentrate a growing part of the world productions and performances.
- The uniformisation of the programs, with a predilection for the big and common repertoires.
- The precarisation of those artists that do not reach that first reduced circle, generating a double market.
- The difficulty of incorporating contemporary creations (a great figure does not have any interest in taking risks to defend new works).
- Growing costs (administrative and artistic) derived from that search of the excellence.

In the Spanish case, considering that we are speaking about an emerging sector, we can say that the live classical music in has had a notable expansion in last years mainly to the investment in physical infrastructures and to the consolidation of supply institutions financed with public funds (for example big symphonic orchestras). However we can think that this first push has been partially exhausted and that the possibilities of growing diversification remain committed in the environment that we have described in the previous paragraph.

5. Final remarks.

If the promotion of the diversity appears as a recurrent argument for the justification of the public intervention in culture, a greater depth in the idea of diversity is required. The

discussion about the trend towards the diversity, the forms that adopts, its causes and consequences cannot be supported in general ideas of intended universal validity. Also we estimate improperly the mechanical transposition of models from some sectors or territories that in little or in nothing are similar to each other.

We have been able to corroborate that in each sector and activity exist elements that play in favour and against the diversity and innovations incorporation. The cultural sectors are heterogeneous realities, and trends push in different ways. Nevertheless, we verify certain prevailing paths that appear in each of them, depending on its 'exchange spaces' peculiar characteristics. Thus, we have seen as in some sectors (cinema, record industry) that the extent of the markets and the entrepreneurial strategies grant great importance to the scale economies and a long series production is observed and, consequently, the homogenisation of consumption, more characteristic of a model of mass production. On the contrary, in other sectors, as the publishing production, with more segmented markets, the strategy of the producers is supported in short series (helped by the introduction of more flexible technologies) and the differentiation occupies a pre-eminent place.

On the other hand, if, as a rule, the trends of demand and of the technology point to a diversity increase, it is also true that the consumption of goods and cultural services is time intensive and requires some special abilities for its concretion. An excessive rapidity in the incorporation of the innovations can mean a continued change in the semiotic and aesthetic codes for its comprehension, and, so, greater degrees of human capital obsolescence and longer learning periods. All this process, time consuming, imposes a natural limit on the potential trends towards greater diversity, so that the incorporation of the aesthetics innovations sometimes can only be accomplished in generational changes. Another perverse possibility is that greater global diversity incites to the specialised consumption in only one formal field (given the growing costs of the dispersion in the learning of the aesthetic codes) limiting the "goodness" of diversity that in part resides in the fertilizations between various artistic expressions.

We can see, that the trend towards the diversity cannot be considered as a determinist process. On the contrary, it is considered a social process where it is possible to influence, in the supply level and of demand and in its characteristics. In this sense, the sectors and territories with an auspicious environment for the creativity and innovation, with solid cultural organizations and institutions, public promotion policies and active dinamization are found in better position to widen their own cultural supply (in quantity and diversity), and to assimilate the foreign production and also, why not, to reject those initiatives that they do not consider beneficially. They enjoy, in fact, a greater degree of freedom.

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