



# Precarious labour and unpaid work: the processes that fragment cultural democracy

Alejandra Jaramillo-Vázquez

To cite this article: Alejandra Jaramillo-Vázquez (22 Oct 2025): Precarious labour and unpaid work: the processes that fragment cultural democracy, Cultural Trends, DOI: [10.1080/09548963.2025.2576082](https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2025.2576082)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2025.2576082>



© 2025 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



Published online: 22 Oct 2025.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 1100



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Citing articles: 1 View citing articles [↗](#)

# Precarious labour and unpaid work: the processes that fragment cultural democracy

Alejandra Jaramillo-Vázquez

Facultad de Estudios Superiores-Iztacala, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Tlalnepantla, Estado de México, México

## ABSTRACT

This paper examines unpaid creative work, taking into account the experiences of freelance creative workers, particularly those working in performance art, in Mexico City. The questions guiding this research are: what attitudes do actors and actresses have towards unpaid work when labour conditions are precarious and unequal? What attitudinal changes to unpaid work prevail in relation to the creative workers' socioeconomic level and career stage? Drawing on data from in-depth interviews with 21 freelance creative workers, the results of this study show that unpaid work is experienced differently according to socioeconomic level and career stage. The contribution to the body of scholarship on precarity is empirical, by examining the negotiations and tensions around unpaid creative work, as well as the contexts in which this practice takes place. Although this research is situated in Mexico City, the results are transferred to other contexts of Latin America.

## ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 1 December 2024  
Accepted 11 October 2025

## KEYWORDS

Creative work; unpaid work; precarity; inequalities; independent theatre; Mexico City

## Introduction

For many years, cultural policies in Latin America (and other geographical areas) have exalted the arts and culture for their capacity to generate deep and positive change in societies, including, for example, the mitigation of social disadvantages, antisocial behaviour and violence (Belfiore, 2002, 2004; IberCultura Viva<sup>1</sup>; Yúdice, 2002). Indeed, arts and culture play a significant role in shaping citizenship and promoting cultural identity among societies. Yet, those who work in the culture sector and define themselves as independent artists often work flexible jobs and lack social security. As a result, they deploy practices to cope with uncertainty, both in Latin America and the Global North (Gerber & Pinochet Cobos, 2013; Guadarrama, 2019; McRobbie, 2016; Rowan, 2010).

The rise of flexible capitalism in Latin America since the late 1980s has changed public institutions, labour relations, and labour routines to incorporate temporary, informal, and exploitative scheme works. These models have affected numerous areas, with culture being one of them. Furthermore, the expansion of communication technologies,

**CONTACT** Alejandra Jaramillo-Vázquez  [aleta.jara.vazquez@gmail.com](mailto:aleta.jara.vazquez@gmail.com)

© 2025 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group  
This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

diffusion and cultural consumption have led to a strong connection between culture and the economy (Bordat, 2013; García Canclini & Piedras Feria, 2006; Szpilbarg & Saferstein, 2014). As a result, economic interests are foregrounded at the expense of cultural rights and cultural diversity (Rowan, 2010).

The changes produced in Latin America were inspired by the strong incentive that Australia and the United Kingdom gave to “creativity” and the “creative industries” at the end of the 1990s. Thus, the internationalisation of creativity and creative industries has influenced the development of Latin American cultural policies, making space for entrepreneurialism and an ethos based on creativity, innovation, and risk acceptance (García Canclini, 2013, 2023; Lee, 2013; Rowan, 2010); however, the effects on the labour conditions of creative workers are generally negative (Guadarrama, 2019; Quiña, 2023; 2018; Rowan, 2010).

The phenomenon of labour conditions in creative work is marked by a deep precarity and inequality. In Latin America, Anthropology and Labour Studies have examined the effects of creative work on freelancers’ decisions and their life adjustments (Gerber & Pinochet Cobos, 2013), the structural conditions of creative work and the role of the State for legislating right labours (Guadarrama, 2019; Guadarrama et al., 2012), legislation concerning labour rights in the creative sector (Feregrino, 2021), the use of digital networks for creative workers’ cultural productions (García Canclini et al., 2012). Similarly, in the United Kingdom, scholarly contributions have examined, for example, precarious labour and inequalities, taking into account intersectionality. From an intersectional approach, inequalities manifest in terms of social origin, social capital and cultural capital (Brook et al., 2020; Campbell, 2020; O’Brien, 2020). These studies highlight how precarity and inequalities are linked to the work conditions of creative workers, two processes that have been evident for decades, but have somehow become normalised. Furthermore, the COVID pandemic exposed the precarity and the inequalities that were exacerbated due to the lockdown across the globe and the importance of social movements fighting for improvements in labour conditions, such as in Brazil (Machado, 2023), in Chile (Pinochet et al., 2021), and in Mexico (Guadarrama & Jaramillo, 2025). The conditions exposed by the lockdown encouraged creative workers to mobilise against flexible and exploitative labour in public spaces, and simultaneously they created spaces to reflect on their working conditions and to develop strategies to navigate uncertainty.

This article examines independent creative workers’ attitudes and experiences with unpaid work, with special emphasis on the case of Mexican independent actors and actresses. The questions that guide this work are: what attitudes do actors and actresses have towards unpaid work when labour conditions are precarious and unequal? What attitudinal changes to unpaid work prevail in relation to the creative workers’ socioeconomic level and career stage?

The contribution to the growing literature on labour conditions in the creative sector is that unpaid work is a confrontational action for freelancers, but one that they accept in the end. Some of the reasons creative workers accept unpaid work are that it allows them to put into practice their artistic vocations and it contributes to their professional experience. However, this often implies abuses, particularly in the early stages of their careers. In a context where the State provides limited social protection, and therefore precarity and inequalities affect the labour conditions in the creative independent work

sector, underpaid work seems to be a normalised practice rather than an exception. In that sense, these conditions contradict cultural democracy.

### *Cultural democracy: a fragmented paradigm*

The cultural democracy tradition, discussed and accepted by UNESCO at the beginning of the 1980s, defends creativity, demands respect for cultural diversity, and supports an anthropological understanding of culture (i.e. one that recognises human rights, ways of life, systems of values, and beliefs), which criticises ideas of “legitimate” or “high culture”. It constitutes an inclusive and participatory paradigm, where people and communities are recognised as actors able to make their own culture (Belfiore et al., 2023). In Latin American countries, this tradition has been nurtured mainly by social movements who promote critical thinking, the recognition of plurality, and that citizens take an active role in creating their history and identity (Nivón, 2006; Peters, 2020).

Cultural democracy represents a paradigm shift when compared to earlier approaches to the democratisation of culture. In this latter tradition, the State plays a paternal role by deploying a top-down approach to culture. In democratising culture, the State seeks to provide access to culture for socially excluded individuals and communities; however, its implementation sometimes ends up counteracting their principles (Jaramillo, 2016).

Inspired by this model, cultural policies have resulted in the implementation of programmes where precarious labour conditions abound, and thus this undermines their processes, which are aimed at promoting cultural democracy (Jaramillo, 2016).

Despite their role as important agents in the formation of citizenship and reinforcement of cultural diversity, independent workers are often deprived of social security and labour rights. This structural tension present in both Latin American and Anglo-Saxon countries means that their potential to implement key values of cultural democracy, wherein creative workers would be recognised as subjects with rights rather than mere beneficiaries of public funding, is fundamentally undermined. Precarity and inequalities underscore the intricate challenges involved in realising cultural democracy, a paradigm which, to date, appears to be rhetoric more than anything else. How can critical thinking among individuals be fully nurtured when cultural workers are currently engaged in the defence of their rights? How can inclusion and human rights be championed when those making culture face precarity and accept underpaid work in the hope that they might land better job opportunities in the future?

Here, I wish to provoke reflections on the disparities between the experiences of creative workers in the sphere of cultural production and the principles of cultural democracy. In this context, it is imperative to assert that unless institutions and cultural policies dignify the working conditions of creative workers through the implementation of agreements established by UNESCO,<sup>2</sup> cultural democracy will persist as a fragmented ideal. Furthermore, grassroots organisations and social mobilisation are essential for counteracting the dynamics that engender exploitation and inequalities within the creative sector. On the one hand, the creative workers’ visibility in the public arena fosters awareness and dissemination. On the other hand, illuminating their working conditions in public discourse brings to light the necessity of inclusive policies in accordance with their social position and life conditions. For example, in the case of female creative workers navigating maternity, as well as for working-class youth in the early stages of their careers.

The findings of this research illuminate the experiences of underpaid work among independent actors and actresses in Mexico City. The work scheme (flexible, intermittent, and exploitative) reveals the pervasive tensions faced by creative workers in both the Global South and the Global North.

This article is presented in three parts. The first section analyses the category of unpaid work. The second section presents the methodology, and the third analyses the main findings.

### *Working for free*

Employed in the Cultural Studies and the Sociology of Labour areas, the “free labour” category examines labour practices in the creative industries and the digital economy. This concept allows for the analysis of the formation of contact networks in large cities which, due to their infrastructure and economic wealth, bring together managers and artists from various professional fields. The generation of contact networks has been essential for these agents to expand their job opportunities. In general, restaurants, art galleries, suburbs and nightlife are key public spaces (Currid, 2007), as they foster social interaction and contact exchanges between job seekers and employers. However, these socio-labour dynamics also have a downside, such as oppressive and exploitative labour conditions (Greig de Peuter, 2014). Likewise, these dynamics imply that creative workers end up naturalising their working conditions by accepting “occupational versatility, diversification of the work portfolio and income from public support” (Menger, 1999, p. 765 in Percival & Hesmondhalgh, 2014), or that economic retributions are replaced by payment in gifts.

According to Mears (2015), in relational work “employers gain by inadequately compensating the efforts of others, understood here as self-investments and symbolically valuable” (Mears, 2015, p. 1103). In that sense, any type of exchange between employers and employees must not only be agreed upon, but also valued (Sallaz, 2013).

The category “relational work” feeds the “free labour” concept by examining the experiences of those who perform work activity that theoretically should be paid, but instead they obtain a symbolic gain. Those who accept working for free usually do so given their desire to strengthen their professional trajectories, generate contacts and gain social recognition. This is considered a growing practice in the creative industries and the digital economy (Brook et al., 2020a; Fast et al., 2016), and one which generally occurs in internships (Greig de Peuter et al., 2015; Kompatsiaris, 2015) or in the early stages of artists’ careers (Brook et al., 2020a; Percival & Hesmondhalgh, 2014).

As the literature above argues, working for free in the creative industries is accepted in exchange for the symbolic gains creative workers may receive in order to strengthen their professional careers and put into practice their vocations. It is important to analyse the dynamics of unpaid work, as they raise questions about neoliberal schemes of creative work and highlight exploitation in a context of ongoing precarity. The experiences of independent actors and actresses in Mexico City illustrate this process and beyond.

### *Methodology*

This research was conducted by adopting a qualitative methodology to understand unpaid work as part of the labour experiences of independent theatre actors and

actresses. A total of 21 in-depth online interviews were conducted with 11 actresses and 10 actors in Mexico City between 2020 and 2021. The criteria for selecting interviewees were the following: (a) that they worked in independent theatre, (b) the actors and actresses came from middle and upper socioeconomic levels, and (c) that they lived in Mexico City. At the time of the interviews, the participants' ages ranged from 25 to 38 years old. To maintain anonymity, fictitious names are used here, and the names of workplaces have been altered when necessary.

The interview themes included: interviewee data (age, level of education, place of residence), working conditions (contract, labour benefits, multiactivity jobs and income levels), social origin (parents' level of education and occupations) and their early career experiences, as well as whether they would be willing or if they had already collaborated in a project without remuneration and their reasons for this.

As examined in other work (Jaramillo, 2022) and inspired by other literature that took on intersectionality (Brook et al., 2020), this research took into account intersectionality as a methodological approach. This perspective provides a complex view regarding the reproduction of advantages and disadvantages for individuals, or in this case, independent creative workers' job opportunities. This analytical view shows how gender, ethnicity, social origin, cultural capital "intersect" and produce inequalities and exclusions for individuals (Crenshaw, 1991), which means that power relationships are manifested intersecting, say, gender and ethnicity or social origin (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2020). In this work, this perspective allowed me to identify interviewees' socioeconomic status by examining their parents' levels of education and occupations.

Independent actors and actresses were selected for this study because of the contradiction between the generous creative infrastructure and the labour conditions of creative workers. Mexico City has an abundance of theatres, museums, galleries and arts events, mainly in the west and south of the city (usually known as the Colonia Roma and Condesa corridor). This implies a continuum of social and labour dynamics among artists and cultural administrators (Guadarrama & Moreno, 2020; Piedras et al., 2013). However, despite the vast artistic activity, performance workers face precarity and social inequalities. Therefore, the freelance ecosystem in Mexico City presents an important case for understanding the tensions and contradictions of creative work in a context where the State apparently promotes democracy and inclusion as I shall show in the next sections.

### *Independent theatre in Mexico: the role of the State*

Performing arts in Mexico, and in particular independent theatre, are characterised by deep precarity and inequalities. The introduction of neoliberal policies in the 1980s meant a reduction of the public budget for social policy. Within this action, the State's public institutions led social well-being to individuals (Feregrino, 2021), affecting artists and cultural administrators over the next decades (García Canclini & Martínez, 2023). Following this, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) signed in the 1990s presented an important challenge to the cultural sector due to the lack of legislation to protect areas such as cinematography.

With the ascendance of the so-called left government represented by Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional (MORENA) and headed by President Andrés Manuel López Obrador (2018-2020), the political project of culture experienced heavy budget cuts

(Nivón, 2020). Likewise, during the lockdown, artists from diverse sectors made strong claims over the dismantling of public trusts. Although financing for cultural production comes from sources like the state, private initiative and individual efforts, the elimination of the Fondo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes (FONCA, National Fund for Culture and the Arts) was not a minor issue.

FONCA, which operated from 1989 to 2020, was an important trust for promoting artistic-cultural activities. Despite the inherent problems during its term related to conflicts of interest (Ejea, 2011), artists from various fields competed for public funding for their cultural productions. Some of the reasons for the elimination of FONCA are related to the reduction of public spending and the simplification of administrative procedures (Mota Pérez, 2022). Nevertheless, other sources say that the creation of public works demanded a significant budget, which created negative consequences for public creative expense<sup>3</sup> (Montaño, 2020; Nivón, 2020).

In 2020, the Sistema de Apoyo para Proyectos Culturales y Creativos (SAPC, System of Support for Creative and Cultural Projects) was established, which also provides public funding for creative workers. However, unlike FONCA, SAPC receives a small budget, limiting the number of beneficiaries. According to a study by the Centre for Analysis and Research, FUNDAR (2021), between 2019 and 2020, FONCA received 601 million pesos (\$US 30,062,681.10), and in 2022, SACPC received 110 million pesos (\$US 5,502,321). The impact of this funding cut on the number of beneficiaries is huge, the programme had 10,612 beneficiaries between 2013 and 2018; and only 1,937 in 2022. The story does not end here.

From 1980 to 2015, the Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes (CONACULTA, The National Council for the Culture and the Arts) was the largest cultural institution of the Mexican state, and it depended on the budget and administration of Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP, Secretariat of Public Education). CONACULTA was responsible for coordinating and overseeing the arts and culture on a national scale through managing various state cultural institutions and preserving cultural heritage. To do this, CONACULTA received funding from the SEP. Nevertheless, in 2015, the government of Enrique Peña Nieto (2012-2018) passed a decree that saw the creation of the Secretaría de Cultura (Secretariat of Culture), which allowed for the foundation of a national agenda for culture and permitted the Secretariat to negotiate for funding directly with legislative and executive powers (Mateos, 2015; Gaceta Alto Nivel, n.d.). Despite these changes, the institution still poses significant challenges for the promotion of culture and cultural participation in a broad sense, including, for example, the weak economic budget for managing the public cultural institutions of the country, the gap between cultural policy and contemporary “technological and sociocultural changes” (García Canclini & Martínez, 2023:195) and the stagnation of labour rights for creative workers.

UNESCO (2015) recognises that creative activities are developed in conditions of unemployment, low incomes and underpaid work. In the case of Mexico, although various legislative initiatives have been carried out to combat precarious labour (Rojo, 2011), these have not matured, which means independent creative workers have to mitigate their labour conditions through multi-activity jobs, delaying the decision to start a family, and living with their parents, colleagues and friends to reduce the cost of living (Jaramillo, 2023). These strategies resonate with those adopted by creative workers in Argentina (Del Mármol, 2020; Díaz & Henry, 2021), demonstrating the vulnerable character of creative work.

According to the interviewees, actors and actresses are often paid relatively little for their performances. Consequently, they take up secondary employments (e.g. teaching and working as a waitress/waiter) that may offer medical benefits and periodic incomes, allowing them to generate savings.

Directors and producers pay when the shows end, and in some cases, when the theatrical season concludes, which can last from three to six months. Their income depends on the ticket sales; therefore, there is no fixed or guaranteed quota. Rehearsals are not paid, and they can last up to six hours a day. For that reason, some participants said *“no vivimos del teatro”* (“we do not make a living from the theatre”, Marco, freelance actor).

In this context, the *“teatro independiente”* (independent theatre) concerns the cultural production depending on individual efforts, creative collaboration and a critical position, somehow, to mainstream performing shows. The funding depends on public, private and even collective contributions. Having presented this contextual framework on the labour conditions of creative workers, in the next section, the profiles of actors and actresses interviewed are presented.

### ***Profiles of actors and actresses***

As examined in another study (Jaramillo, 2022), and inspired by other literature (Brook et al., 2020; O'Brien, 2020), the criteria to identify the socioeconomic level of interviewees were: (a) the educational level and occupations of the interviewees' parents, (b) the interviewees' level of education, (c) their type of residence and (d) their income level. These aspects were considered to better understand their social position and whether social mobilisation occurs among individuals (see O'Brien, 2020) – in this case, actors and actresses. For example, the educational level and occupation of their parents provide a basis for examining whether and how actors and actresses have enhanced their life opportunities (in comparison to their parents) and their social origins. An examination of parental origin is one of various “markers of social hierarchy,” and one that elucidates social class (O'Brien, 2020, p. 244). This allows to observe those who may have access to better working conditions and mobility and those who do not.

### ***The educational level and occupations of the interviewees' parents***

The interview analysis revealed that the main educational level of creative workers' parents was a bachelor's degree, and most were employees in the public sector or proprietors of small companies. These are succeeded by mothers and fathers who hold a high school diploma and a technical career, and those who work in manual labour, like electricians or retail salespersons. Within this group there are people who own small businesses. The parents of those actors and actresses who mentioned they receive private medical care or do not pay the rent typically have undergraduate degrees and hold managerial positions or senior employee roles. Other interviewees reported that they contributed to their family finances while pursuing their bachelor's degree, and they also reported the absence of private medical insurance. The following Table 1 presents the educational level and occupations of the interviewees' parents.

**Table 1.** Educational levels and occupations of interviewees' parents. The data was obtained from the qualitative interviews.

| Interviewees' fictitious names | Educational level of interviewees' mothers | Educational level of interviewees' fathers | Mothers' occupations                                                       | Fathers' occupations                                                               |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Sara                           | Upper Secondary Education                  | Technical career                           | Housewife                                                                  | Electrician                                                                        |
| Mateo                          | Upper Secondary Education                  | Elementary school                          | Housewife                                                                  | Pensioner. He worked as a worker in a brewery                                      |
| Patricia                       | Technical career                           | Elementary school                          | Housewife                                                                  | Blacksmith                                                                         |
| Ernesto                        | Technical career                           | Elementary school                          | Housewife                                                                  | Owner of a small shop of auto parts                                                |
| Noé                            | Upper Secondary Education                  | Bachelor degree                            | Owner of a convenience store                                               | Pensioner. He worked as engineer in a public institution                           |
| María                          | Bachelor degree                            | Bachelor degree                            | Housewife                                                                  | Employee in a company of chemical products                                         |
| Julieta                        | Bachelor degree                            | Bachelor degree                            | General Practitioner, working in a public hospital                         | General Practitioner, working in a public hospital                                 |
| Mónica                         | Two BAs                                    | Technical career                           | Owner of a small restaurant                                                | Pensioner. He was an employee of a company selling auto parts                      |
| Miriam                         | Bachelor degree                            | Bachelor degree                            | Lawyer, working in a public institution                                    | Lawyer. He was unemployed at the time of the interview                             |
| Lilia                          | Bachelor degree                            | Bachelor degree                            | Pensioner. She was a violinist and taught music in two public institutions | Performing coach, working in a private media and communication company             |
| Lucía                          | Bachelor degree                            | Bachelor degree                            | Pensioner. She was a set designer and costume designer                     | He passed away. He was an actor, director and writer working in their own projects |
| Renata                         | Bachelor degree                            | Engineering                                | Housewife                                                                  | Pensioner                                                                          |
| Darío                          | Bachelor degree                            | Bachelor degree                            | Housewife                                                                  | Freelance, working in graphic design area.                                         |
| Marco                          | Bachelor degree                            | Bachelor degree                            | Housewife                                                                  | Veterinary doctor. He has his own clinic                                           |
| Daniel                         | Bachelor degree                            | Engineering                                | Pensioner. She was a teacher of elementary school                          | Pensioner. He worked in various public and private institutions.                   |
| Isabel                         | Bachelor degree                            | Bachelor degree                            | Owner of a real estate franchise                                           | He passed away. He was the owner of a real estate franchise.                       |
| Ramiro                         | Bachelor degree                            | Bachelor degree                            | Owner of a shoe shop                                                       | Owner of a shoe shop and partner of a company.                                     |
| Elías                          | Bachelor degree                            | Bachelor degree                            | Housewife                                                                  | Pediatrician. Owner of a clinic.                                                   |
| Samuel                         | Bachelor degree                            | Bachelor degree                            | Journalist                                                                 | Director of a newspaper.                                                           |
| Ricardo                        | Bachelor degree                            | Bachelor degree                            | Teacher. She teaches at university level.                                  | Employee working in a public economic sector.                                      |
| Elena                          | Bachelor of Sciences (she is a biologist)  | Engineering                                | Teacher. She teaches at secondary school                                   | Pensioner. At the time of the interview, owner of a small aquarium shop.           |

### *The education levels of actors and actresses*

All the interviewees had completed their undergraduate studies, two had diplomas, and one held a diploma from abroad. In this regard, they all surpassed the educational level of their parents – particularly those who had completed high school, elementary school, and technical teaching. Nevertheless, the current employment conditions of the interviewees

do not do justice to their educational qualifications. This observation aligns with the paradox that exists between the highest level of education of creative workers and precarious working environments (García Canclini & Piedras Fera, 2013; Gerber & Pinochet Cobos, 2013). The subsequent Table 2 delineates the ages, monthly income levels and educational background of those interviewed.

Taking these aspects into account, most participants belong to a medium socioeconomic level (14 people), followed by high (6) and low (1). While the results align with surveys that highlight the participation of medium and high socioeconomic levels in the creative labour market (Flores et al., 2020; Piedras et al., 2013), further qualitative and quantitative research is needed to understand the socioeconomic levels of participants in the creative labour market in Mexico.

### Residence

According to the data, the majority of interviewees (14) live in flats and share the cost of paying rent with their partners, friends and parents. Only 6 people reported living in their own house without paying rent, and these lived with their parents and partners. Finally, one person lived in a rented room. All participants lived in the west and south of Mexico City. From this data, it is important to mention the difficulties creative workers face in trying to secure independence from their families. That the majority of participants share the cost of rent living in flats with others, or live at their parents' houses, is a sign of the precarious conditions of flexible work. The income participants earn by performing in shows is not enough for them to save or invest. Consequently, they cannot afford their own properties – an important marker in achieving personal independence, which creates an obstacle to their transition from youth to adulthood. Having introduced the profiles of interviewees, the next section examines their experiences with and attitudes towards unpaid work, taking into account their career stage and socioeconomic level.

**Table 2.** Actors' and actresses' profiles. The data was obtained from the qualitative interviews.

| Fictitious names | Ages | Approximate monthly income levels (2019-2020) <sup>4</sup> | Highest level of study            |
|------------------|------|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| María            | 25   | \$5,000 (\$US 245.57)                                      | Undergraduate degree              |
| Julieta          | 26   | \$10,000 (\$US 491.15)                                     | Undergraduate degree              |
| Elena            | 29   | \$10,000 (\$US 491.15)                                     | Undergraduate degree              |
| Isabel           | 30   | \$36,000 (\$US 1,768.17)                                   | Undergraduate degree              |
| Mónica           | 30   | \$20,000 (\$US 982.31)                                     | Undergraduate degree              |
| Miriam           | 31   | \$10,000 (\$US 491.15)                                     | Diploma                           |
| Lilia            | 32   | \$10,000 (\$US 491.15)                                     | Undergraduate degree              |
| Sara             | 32   | \$10,000 (\$US 491.15)                                     | Undergraduate degree and diploma. |
| Lucía            | 33   | \$8,000 (\$US 387.78)                                      | Undergraduate degree              |
| Renata           | 33   | \$15,000 (\$US 727.09)                                     | Undergraduate degree              |
| Patricia         | 37   | \$15,000 (\$US 727.09)                                     | Undergraduate degree              |
| Darío            | 25   | \$14,000 (\$US 678.62)                                     | Undergraduate degree              |
| Ricardo          | 29   | \$30,000 (\$US 1,454.19)                                   | Undergraduate degree              |
| Ramiro           | 29   | \$40,000 (\$US 1,938.92)                                   | Master's degree                   |
| Noé              | 31   | \$12,000 (\$US 581.67)                                     | Diploma                           |
| Eliás            | 31   | \$11,000 (\$US 533.20)                                     | Undergraduate degree              |
| Daniel           | 32   | \$10,000 (\$US 491.15)                                     | Undergraduate degree              |
| Samuel           | 32   | \$20,000 (\$US 982.31)                                     | Undergraduate degree              |
| Marco            | 35   | \$20,000 (\$US 982.31)                                     | Two undergraduate degrees         |
| Ernesto          | 36   | \$10,000 (\$US 491.15)                                     | Diploma                           |
| Mateo            | 38   | \$8,000 (\$US 387.78)                                      | Undergraduate degree              |

### *Unpaid work in the early stages of a career: gaining experience*

Creative workers in the early stages of their careers and of medium socioeconomic status decide to undertake unpaid work to learn and gain work experience. According to those interviewed, they agreed to work for no payment with the expectation that in the near future they may be invited to collaborate with big name theatre companies. For example, those aged 25–29 years old said that in the interest of learning, they accept to work for free, or at best they receive a small income.

During my undergraduate's degree, I worked in some shows, and I am glad that this has ended. At that time, I was an inexperienced student, and I did not defend my work at all. As a student, one wants to perform, because you want to be in front of the public. When I worked in those shows, I was paid about 500 pesos the whole performance which lasted a month (US\$ 24). That was truly lamentable.

Dario accepted unpaid or minimally paid work to put into practice his skills in exchange for a symbolic gain. However, as it has been said before, unpaid work implies exploitation and labour abuses by employers, as well as the normalisation of unpaid work as a “necessary” activity for creative workers during their learning process. Those in an advanced stage of their careers have a different attitude towards unpaid work.

### *Unpaid work in the advanced stages of a professional career*

Attitudes towards unpaid work for those creative workers at an advanced stage of their career and from a high socioeconomic level show negotiations. Interviewees negotiate with producers and directors depending on whether the role they are offered is attractive to them. Although labour abuses may occur, according to interviewees at a later stage in their career and those from a high socioeconomic level, for them unpaid work is not a necessity, but a decision based on their interests and pleasure. For example:

I am free to undertake many projects, not for financial gain, as I have financial stability. At least I do not pay rent. My monthly expenses are not very high (...). Additionally, my mum owns a restaurant, so I do not have to worry about lacking food at home. I feel secure, so I do not worry excessively about certain matters. I take on many projects because I love them, although if I think seriously about my current project, I am earning \$4,000 per month (US\$196.46). If that were my only wage, I wouldn't make it. In other things, I have never applied for a FONCA grant. It is a lot of paperwork, and I am fortunate to have other sources of work. There are people who don't have that luck, so it is better for them to apply for those grants (Mónica, 30 years old).

Here we can see how a creative worker's social position – in terms of social class and ethnicity – matters in their decision making about whether to accept unpaid work or not. Although Mónica says she is “fortunate” for not having to apply for public funding, her white skin colour, her foreign background and her social contacts have had an effect on her gaining access to work opportunities not only in theatre, but also in TV.

Those in an advanced stage of their career and from a middle socioeconomic status refuse to work for free as they have personal commitments, participate in other jobs and most had already engaged in unpaid work when their careers started. For example:

There is this idea that ‘you have to earn it’, like you have to earn your place in theatre, that your work is not valuable. There is this idea: ‘the great actors went through this, now it is our

turn to work hard'. Some years ago, I had to work in a horrible place doing children's shows for birthdays, and they paid me a pittance. For the birthday shows I earned \$200 (US\$9.82), sometimes I worked for three hours and at other times for the whole day (Marco, 36 years old).

Other interviewees point to having "paid their dues", suggesting that unpaid work is naturalised in theatre. For example:

It is inevitable that we have to work for free. One has the desire to open doors, to meet and connect, to get in touch with people who are in the same field as you are, and who understand that you have to work and earn your right to be there. However, this is not cool. I believe there should always be some economic compensation, even if it is small, because you invest time in the job. There is also a saying that when things are free, they are not valued. I worked for free at the beginning of my career, because I believed it was the way to break into the field (Mateo, 38 years old).

In the case of Mateo, he rejects doing unpaid work, not only because he has already experienced that, but also because despite his efforts, at the time of the interview, Mateo had not managed to broaden his work opportunities in theatre. As a consequence, he was taking on multi-activity jobs. Furthermore, Mateo's experience illustrates inequalities in the structure of performance work. Mateo comes from a working-class family without any connections to, so to speak, the world of the arts, which is a disadvantage in terms of gaining social capital.

These excerpts demonstrate the differences in unpaid work or work with a small remuneration, according to the career stage and socioeconomic status of those working in creative industries. Nevertheless, most unpaid work involves labour abuses, particularly for the youngest performers.

When you are young and performers are starting their careers, what you want is to find a job quickly. We want to get a job because it is useless to complete an undergraduate degree without having a job. On the one hand, you accept the poor conditions in the theatre. On the other hand, there is the typical employer that undervalues your work, 'this is a little girl, she is just starting'. Work in the theatre is a means to **earn the right to perform on stage**. There is a pay scale in which you receive a salary based on your professional experience. The lowest levels are for the youngest, earning from \$800 to \$1,000 (US\$39-49) per show (Sara, 32 years old).

The phrase "ganarse el derecho de piso" (to earn the right to perform on stage) encapsulates the meritocratic actions that performers undertake in the interest of broader labour opportunities, regardless of labour abuses. Although free collaborations in theatre provide symbolic compensations and contribute to skill development and social network creation, this free labour leads to deep precarity, inequalities and labour abuses, revealing the tensions inherent in creative work.

The findings show that those at an early stage in their careers as independent performers accept unpaid work as part of the learning process and as part of the "formation of contacts", which goes in line with the findings of Percival and Hesmondhalgh (2014). Individuals with advanced careers and of medium or high socioeconomic status can negotiate or reject unpaid work, depending on their interests and whether they feel attracted to the work proposal. This goes in line with Brook et al. (2020) and Percival and Hesmondhalgh (2014), who identify the reasons and differences behind creative workers accepting or refusing to work for free. However, a key phrase that emerged from the interviews is

“ganarse el derecho de piso” (to earn the right to perform on stage), which suggests this is a meritocratic and naturalised (but questioned) process for creative workers – a necessary stepping stone for entry into the performance labour market. Interviewees were aware of the exploitative nature of unpaid work, but they end up accepting it nonetheless. This is not only for the immediate benefits, but also because they express their identities as actors and actresses.

## Conclusions

This paper has examined the experiences and attitudes of freelance performers regarding unpaid work or that with a small remuneration. The stage of the career and socio-economic status impact the decisions creative workers make to accept or reject unpaid work. This indicates that unpaid work is a situated action that takes place in the context of precarity and inequalities, demonstrating that the ecosystem of creative work is highly complex. The continuous advancement of flexible capitalism since the end of the twentieth century has seriously damaged the working conditions of creative workers, with consequences not only in terms of work but also their life decisions. Although other areas are also affected, including academia, creative work is a significant example of how corrosive flexible capitalism can be in the absence of labour rights and social protection mechanisms. In the same way, the indifference of the State and its institutions to regulate creative work has led to processes of labour abuse. Even though unpaid work may provide short-term benefits for independent workers, abuses and power relationships emerge deepening precarity and inequalities.

The “Cultural Policy and Cultural Democracy: A Global Dialogue” conference was an important space to open a dialogue between the contemporary debates on cultural policies, cultural democracy and creative work. In that respect, the spaces for scholars who discussed working conditions in creative work, shared findings on how independent workers face precariousness and inequalities, and the advancement of legislation in the post-COVID era. The nourished contributions invited academics (myself included) to observe that, from the experiences of Latin American and English independent creative workers, precarity and inequalities are two transversal problematics that, to some extent, raise questions about the Global North/South categories, commonly used in academic and political language. The Global North/South appear to be now fixed notions to differentiate the complex and uncertain processes of two geographical regions; however, phenomena like precarity and inequalities in creative work appear to escape these notions, and thus it is necessary to deepen understanding of how flexible capitalism and neoliberal policies affect labour conditions of social agents across the globe in domains such as the arts, culture and even education.

Another point concerns the articulation between precarious creative work and cultural policy. A challenge for public cultural policy in Latin American countries and other regions is to fully guarantee social security for independent workers. It is important that the cultural democracy tradition take measures for the recognition of the labour rights of creative workers in our current times. Decades before, UNESCO made a call to recognise the social importance of artists in societies and their social security. During the pandemic, freelance workers in Brazil, Chile and Mexico made a strong call in the public space to demand the improvement of their labour conditions by implementing labour rights.

The integration of their demands in the making of cultural policies is significant, given that creative workers are fundamental social actors for implementing cultural participation, inclusion and respect for diversity, some principles of cultural democracy.

## Notes

1. IberCultura Viva are Latin American cooperation programmes that seek to reinforce cultural policies of member states by promoting grassroots community culture and native people's culture (see: <https://iberculturaviva.org/?lang=es>).
2. In 1980, UNESCO published the *Recommendation Concerning the Status of the Artist* (UNESCO, 1980), an international recognition of artists' labour rights. It asserts that governments should guarantee labour protection measures, including access to medical care, financial support, and retirement pensions. Years later, the *World Congress on the Implementation of the Recommendation Concerning the Status of the Artist* was held, generating an international discussion on the role of artists in the world. A pivotal theme was labour conditions and the need to provide social security rights: 'Self-employed artists must be able to enjoy the same rights and freedoms as employed people - including the right to bargain collectively and to benefit from social security systems' (UNESCO, 1997, p. 6). In the aftermath of this event, various initiatives were launched to acknowledge the rights of creative workers, including the safeguarding of health and pensions benefits (Guadarrama, 2019; UNESCO, 2015).
3. In the case of the creative sector, López Obrador's presidential decree eliminated seven public trusts associated with conservation of museums and archaeological sites; although some survived (as is the case of cinema's trusts), they received less public funding. The arguments against the elimination of trusts emphasised that these must continue to operate in any governmental term, given that they are social mechanisms for the preservation of the arts, culture and heritage. Although previous political parties and presidents considered the arts and culture a minor interest, respect was given to public trusts and funding was assigned. This provided certainty for the sector (Talavera, 2020).
4. On average, the cost of an American dollar was \$20.36 pesos at the time of the interviews, and this amount was used to calculate the exchange rates used here.

## Acknowledgements

I want to thank the reviewers of this manuscript, Doctor Eduardo Nivón Bolán, Doctor Tomás Peters, Doctor Rocío Guadarrama Olivera and Doctor Luis Reygadas. Their reflections and comments undoubtedly improved this article.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## Funding

This manuscript is part of a postdoctoral research project (2020-2023) that was supported by the National Council of Humanities, Science and Technology (CONAHCYT) under grant number 45495.

## Reference

- Belfiore, E. (2002). Arts as a means of alleviating social exclusion: Does it really work? A critique of instrumental cultural policies and social impact studies in the UK. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8(1), 91–106. <https://doi.org/10.1080/102866302900324658>

- Belfiore, E. (2004). Auditing culture: The subsidised cultural sector in the New Public Management. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 10(2), 183–202. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10286630042000255808>
- Belfiore, E., Hadley, S., Heidelberg, B., & Rosenstein, C. (2023). Cultural democracy, cultural equity, and cultural policy: Perspectives from the UK and USA. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 53(3), 157–168. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10632921.2023.2223537>
- Bordat, E. (2013). Institutionalization and change in cultural policy: CONACULTA and cultural policy in Mexico (1988–2006). *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 19(2), 221–247. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2011.638980>
- Brook, O., O'Brien, D., & Taylor, M. (2020). *Culture is Bad for You*. Manchester University Press.
- Brook, O., O'Brien, D., & Taylor, M. (2020a). "There's no way that you get paid to do the arts": unpaid labour across the cultural and creative life course. *Sociological Research Online*, 25(4), 1–18.
- Campbell, M. (2020). 'Shit is hard, yo': Young people making a living in the creative industries. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 26(4), 524–543. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2018.1547380>
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>
- Currid, E. (2007). *The Warhol Economy: How Fashion, Art, and Music Dive New York City*. University Press.
- Del Mármol, M. (2020). Entre el deseo, la amistad y la precarización Trabajo artístico y militancia cultural en la producción teatral platense. *Cuadernos de Antropología Social*, 51, 169–188.
- de Peuter, G. (2014). Confronting precarity in the Warhol economy. *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 7(1), 31–47. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17530350.2013.856337>
- de Peuter, G., Cohen, N., & Brophy, E. (2015). Interrogating internships: Unpaid work, creative industries, and higher education. *Triplec-communication capitalism & critique*, 13(2), 329–335. Available at: <https://culturalworkersorganize.org/interrogating-internships-unpaid-work-creative-industries-and-higher-education/>
- Díaz, J., & Henry, L. (2021). Entre vocación y precarización: condiciones laborales de actores y actrices en el teatro independiente platense. In M. Busso, & P. E. Pérez (Eds.), *El trabajo degradado. Heterogeneidad ocupacional, precarización y nuevas inserciones laborales durante el gobierno de Cambiemos* (pp. 153–190). Universidad Nacional de La Plata. Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación.
- Ejea, T. (2011). *Poder y creación artística en México. Un análisis del Fondo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes (FONCA)*. Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Unidad Azcapotzalco.
- Fast, K., Örnebring, H., & Karlsson, M. (2016). Metaphors of free labour: A typology of unpaid work in the media sector. *Media, Culture and Society*, 38(7), 963–978. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443716635861>
- Feregrino, M. A. (2021). La batalla detrás del escenario: de la precariedad a la emergencia. *Iberoforum. Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 1(2), 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.48102/ibf.2021.v1.n2.142>
- Flores, J., Nivón, E., & De la Garza, E. (2020). *Estudio de opinión para conocer el impacto del COVID-19 en las personas que trabajan en el sector cultural de México*. [https://unam.blob.core.windows.net/docs/DignosticoCultural/Estudio\\_opinion\\_exploratorio%20A%20INDEX.pdf](https://unam.blob.core.windows.net/docs/DignosticoCultural/Estudio_opinion_exploratorio%20A%20INDEX.pdf)
- FUNDAR - Centro de Análisis e Investigación. (2021). Presupuesto Federal para Cultura. Paquete económico 2022. <https://fundar.org.mx/pef2022/presupuestofederalparacultura/#::~text=En%202022%2C%20la%20Secretar%C3%ADa%20de%20del%20presupuesto%20aprobado%20en%202021>
- Gaceta Alto Nivel. (n.d.). ¿Qué cambios traerá la nueva Secretaría de Cultura? <https://www.altonivel.com.mx/54858-que-cambios-traera-la-nueva-secretaria-de-cultura/>
- García Canclini, N. (2013). Precarious creativity: Youth in a postindustrial culture. *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, 22(4), 341–352. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569325.2013.847566>
- García Canclini, N., Cruces, F., & Urteaga Castro Pozo, M. (2012). *Jóvenes, culturas urbanas y redes digitales*. Fundación Telefónica, Ariel y Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
- García Canclini, N., & Martínez, M. (2023). México: Instituciones, monumentos y movimientos. In N. García Canclini, J. Brizuela, S. Machado, & M. Martínez (coord.), *Emergencias Culturales. Instituciones, creadores y comunidades en Brasil y en México* (pp. 185–228). Gedisa.

- García Canclini, N., & Piedras Fera, E. (2006). *Las industrias culturales y el desarrollo de México*. FLACSO, Siglo XXI Editores.
- García Canclini, N., & Piedras Fera, E. (Eds.). (2013). *Jóvenes creativos. Estrategias y redes culturales*. Siglo XXI.
- Gerber, V., & Pinochet Cobos, C. (2013). Economías creativas y economías domésticas en el trabajo artístico joven. In N. García Canclini, & E. Piedras Fera (Eds.), *Jóvenes creativos. Estrategias y redes culturales* (pp. 129–154). Siglo XXI.
- Guadarrama, R. (2019). *Vivir del Arte. La condición social de los músicos profesionales en México*. Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
- Guadarrama, R., Hualde, A., & López, S. (2012). Precariedad laboral y heterogeneidad ocupacional: una propuesta teórico-metodológica. *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, 74(2), 213–243.
- Guadarrama, R., & Jaramillo, A. (2025). *The Invisibles of the Arts: Stories of Performance Artists from Confinement*. [in press].
- Guadarrama, R., & Moreno, M. (2020). *Mundos Habitados. Espacios de arquitectura, diseño y música en la Ciudad de México*. Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
- Hill Collins, P., & Bilge, S. (2020). *Intersectionality*. Wiley.
- Jaramillo, A. (2016). *Reshaping Policy: Creativity and Everyday Practice in an Arts Organisation in Mexico City* [Doctoral thesis]. University of York.
- Jaramillo, A. (2022). Los contactos cuentan: experiencias y estrategias laborales de actores y actrices de la Ciudad de México. *Revista culturales*, 10, e712. <https://doi.org/10.22234/recu.20221001.e712>
- Jaramillo, A. (2023). COVID-19 e incertidumbre laboral: Las experiencias de artistas visuales y escénicos de la Ciudad de México. *Antrópica. Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades*, 9(17), 67–89. <https://doi.org/10.32776/arcsh.v9i17.365>
- Kompatsiaris, P. (2015). Art struggles: Confronting internships and unpaid labour in contemporary art. *Triple C*, 13(2), 554–566. <https://doi.org/10.31269/triplec.v13i2.613>
- Lee, D. (2013). Creative labour in the cultural industries. *Sociopedia.isa*, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056846011811177>
- Machado, S. (2023). Por la onda luminosa: La articulación en red a favor de la ley Aldir Blanc en las políticas culturales brasileñas y de la pandemia. In N. García Canclini, J. I. Brizuela, S. Machado, & M. Martínez (Eds.), *Emergencias culturales. Instituciones, creadores y comunidades en Brasil y México* (pp. 71–134). Gedisa.
- Mateos, M. (2015). Se consuma la transformación del Conaculta en la nueva Secretaría de Cultura federal. *La Jornada*. <https://www.jornada.com.mx/2015/12/18/cultura/a05n2cul>
- McRobbie, A. (2016). *Be Creative: Making a Living in the New Culture Industries*. Polity Press.
- Mears, A. (2015). Working for free in the VIP: Relational work and the production of consent. *American Sociological Review*, 80(6), 1099–1122. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122415609730>
- Menger, P. M. (1999). Artistic labor markets and careers. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25(1), 541–574. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.25.1.541>
- Montaño, E. (2020). *Creadores generan propuestas para detener la pauperización de la cultura en el país*. La Jornada. <https://www.jornada.com.mx/2020/07/03/cultura/a03n2cul>
- Mota Pérez, M. (2022). El FONCA: La historia del financiamiento del arte en México en la alternancia política (1989-2020). *Intervención*, 13(26), 19–43.
- Nivón, E. (2006). *La Política Cultural: Temas, problemas y oportunidades*. CONACULTA.
- Nivón, E. (2020). Crisis en las políticas públicas de cultura. La planeación cultural del gobierno de López Obrador. *Alteridades*, 30(60), 35–49. <https://doi.org/10.24275/uam/izt/dcsh/alt/2020v30n60/nivonb>
- O'Brien, D. (2020). Class and the problem of inequality in theatre. *Studies in Theatre and Performance*, 40(3), 242–250. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14682761.2020.1807212>
- Percival, N., & Hesmondhalgh, D. (2014). Unpaid work in the UK television and film industries: Resistance and changing attitudes. *European Journal of Communication*, 29(2), 188–203. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323113516726>
- Peters, T. (2020). *La incesante brecha: Políticas Culturales y desigualdad en Chile*. Chile.

- Piedras, E., Rojón, G., Arriaga, A., & Rivera, A. (2013). Estrategias creativas y redes culturales para el desarrollo. In N. García Canclini, & E. Piedras Fera (Eds.), *Jóvenes creativos. Estrategias y redes culturales* (pp. 23–128). Siglo XXI Editores.
- Pinochet, C., Peters, T., & Guzmán, V. (2021). La crisis COVID en el sector cultural chileno: estrategias de acción colectiva y políticas culturales desde abajo. *Revista de Estudios Sociales*, 78(78), 14–35. <https://doi.org/10.7440/res78.2021.02>
- Quiña, G. (2018). Culturepreneurship y condiciones del trabajo en las industrias creativas: Una aproximación a partir del caso de la música independiente. *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios del Trabajo*, 22(37), 197–220.
- Quiña, G. (2023). Scenes of precarity: Conditions, dynamics and challenges for the post-pandemic future of cultural labour in Argentina. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 27(4), 474–491. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13678779231195644>
- Rojó, M. (2011). Iniciativa con proyecto de Decreto por el que se expide la Ley que crea el Fideicomiso que administrará el Fondo de Apoyo para el Acceso de Artistas, Creadores y Gestores Culturales a la Seguridad Social. *Gaceta Parlamentaria del Senado de la República*. [http://sil.gobernacion.gob.mx/Archivos/Documentos/2010/11/asun\\_2714722\\_20101130\\_1291135766.pdf](http://sil.gobernacion.gob.mx/Archivos/Documentos/2010/11/asun_2714722_20101130_1291135766.pdf)
- Rowan, J. (2010). *Emprendizajes en cultura. Sus discursos, alteraciones y contradicciones en el Estado español*. Traficantes de Sueños.
- Sallaz, J. (2013). *Labor, Economy, and Society*. Polity Press.
- Szpilbarg, D., & Saferstein, E. (2014). De la industria cultural a las industrias creativas: un análisis de la transformación del término y sus usos contemporáneos. *Estudios de Filosofía Práctica e Historia de las Ideas*, 16(2), 99–112.
- Talavera, J. C. (2020). Extinguirán siete fideicomisos del sector cultura. *La Jornada*. <https://www.excelsior.com.mx/expresiones/extinguiran-siete-fideicomisos-del-sector-cultura/1374480>
- UNESCO. (1997). Conclusions of the World Congress on the Implementation of the Recommendation Concerning the Status of the Artist. Paris, 16-20 de junio. [https://www.fimmusicians.org/wpcontent/uploads/Unesco\\_EN\\_CongressImplementationRecommendation.pdf](https://www.fimmusicians.org/wpcontent/uploads/Unesco_EN_CongressImplementationRecommendation.pdf)
- UNESCO. (2015). Full Analytic Report (2015) on the Implementation of the UNESCO 1980 Recommendation Concerning the Status of the Artist. <https://www.fim-musicians.org/wp-content/uploads/2015-09-unesco-rec-analytic-report-en.pdf>
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (1980). *Legal Instruments. Recommendations. Recommendation concerning the Status of the Artist*. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000114029.page=144>
- Yúdice, G. (2002). *El recurso de la cultura. Usos de la cultura en la era global*. Gedisa.