CULTURE, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
AND THE THIRD WORLD

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INTRODUCTION

In 1949, Harry Truman started the search for economic growth and technological progress for the Third World by including all of humanity in the paradigm of development - which he considered to be a condition shared by everyone. The perfect model was offered by Western society. Since then, despite the efforts of the “developing countries” to reach these objectives, the gap between their standard of living and that of the “developed” countries remains very wide: 43% of the world’s population still belongs to the “very poor” States, while one third of humanity suffers from food deficiencies.

Rigorous structural adjustment programmes should have meant the disappearance in the early 1980s of the demands of the New International Economic Order. However, the new ideologies (basic needs strategy, development with a human face, sustainable development, human development, etc.) of the international and the non-governmental organizations, themselves in search of legitimacy, were unable to offer a viable solution which could significantly and permanently improve the standard of living of most of the population.

Belief in development, once “hostage” to the Cold War, is now faced with the challenges of globalization. With the demise of previous models, existing global theories are again being questioned; development has become an ambiguous concept, with contradictory interpretations. For some, it is synonymous with the vast movement which has expanded the system of commerce; for others, it covers all the measures which should make for a fairer world, despite its capitalist rationale. Or again - it is pure Utopia, as the infinite growth it presupposes would be impossible.

Whatever the situation, it is clear that today no country in transition, whatever its history, its antecedents and its traditions, can ignore the concept of development. Based on the notion of human progress, the objective is to improve the standard of living of the whole population, on the Western model. However, the question asked in every country is how to find the best means of achieving this, as national strategies and various external programmes and projects have often been unsuccessful.

In fact, for a great many countries which gained independence in the 1960s “made in the West” development has faced the general, multidimensional problem of obstacles inherited from the colonial period. These include economic and technological dependence, break-up of sociocultural and socio-economic systems, loss of traditions, etc. Although these problems are various and complex, for over three decades economic specialists have been the ones called in to solve them, and to find the miracle solution guaranteeing economic growth and technological progress.

The main lines of development laid down by the United Nations have gone through various stages: “industrialization”, “human beings” and “the environment”, for example. However, the means of reaching them remain the same: investment for profit, considered a guarantee of economic growth and a mandatory precondition for progress in every area of human activity. The backers, bilateral or multilateral agencies, have come to play a basic role in the process of development, as their methods are necessarily based on optimized calculations of profitability and of economic and financial rationality.

External aid has been the primary method of financing these investments. Its declared aim has been to contribute to the development of "poor" countries, and over time, in various ways, it has always effected major transformations in the political, economic, social and cultural life of these States. The procedure used has often been contested, but remains valid: the imposition or transferral of "models" which correspond to the Western concept of development: democracy, a market economy, economic growth, etc. Aid is conditional upon the adoption of these "models". But it often happens that various unexpected factors cause these processes to fail. Two examples might be significant in this respect:

- At the La Baule Summit, President Mitterrand made aid to sub-Saharan Africa conditional on the establishment of democracy in the States concerned. The technical bases on which this climate could develop were then established: multi-party politics, the right to vote, freedom of the press, etc. The concrete results of these changes are still very far from those hoped for in 1990. The failure of the democratic process in many sub-Saharan African countries has often led to serious internal tensions, and should prompt discussion of the effectiveness of the Western political model in these States. The behaviour of the political actors there are ruled by laws different from those of the developed countries.

- According to official statistics, 33% of the World Bank's projects are failures; the funds invested in the name of development, billions of dollars, have not attained the goals for which they were allocated.

In the face of such realities, certain questions must be asked: What causes these failures? Can links be established between political and economic failures?

In fact, the difficulties and problems often encountered at the conclusion of many development programmes could be explained by the fact that while they were being worked out and put into practice, one obvious aspect was ignored: the lasting impact on the populations of the developing countries of the practices and conceptions of the industrialized world. The former have their own economic, political, social, cultural and religious models, which have arisen from their own particular way of living and perceiving the world, while the practices and ideas of the latter are foreign and often incomprehensible, but attractive by virtue of their promise of eventual well-being and material ease. The influences and consequences of this ongoing interaction on the success of development objectives are significant, and should be the starting point of any action to improve the standard of living of the countries of the Third World, whether economic, legal, social, cultural, environmental, etc.

In the body of the text, we will develop our discussion around the multiple aspects of these contradictory or non-contradictory contacts. But before moving further into the debate, perhaps we might recall here the existence of a plain fact.

*Culture*, or cultures, are based to a considerable degree on spirituality, immateriality. Culture is the set of signs by which we "recognize" a society, although admittedly with difficulty, owing to its diversity. Cultures are the successive "strata" which have forged, fortified and drawn the outlines of a society, if not of a State, and here we are not talking about the usual stereotypes. Culture is both "all-pervading", and specifically, social, religious, artistic, economic, etc.

*Development*, at least in some of its aspects, is in fact much more material and quantitative, while favouring "leaps" in quality. The reader should not believe that we are contrasting what is "useless" (all social, human and behavioural links created by the historic
development of the society) with what is "useful" (operational economic development, based on technical, financial and human capacities, which in theory move society ahead towards a better state).

We simply wish to say that the one (culture) and the other (development) are either complementary or they are not. This is a crucial issue, and should be addressed, despite its difficulty. It should be borne in mind that the decisive interdependence between culture and development has often been affirmed and defended by the populations of the developing States. It has also generally been recognized as valid by those making outside decisions, in this case the "donor" States, and been taken into account in the creation of development "projects", "programmes" and "strategies". But the distance between positions and analyses is striking, for various reasons. Here are a few:

- There is a contradictory position between the various participants in development, the developing States and the organizations or "donor" countries. This is based on the way they see the means of resolving the problems. The developing States feel that adapting new methods to local specificities is the role of the States receiving the aid. However, within the latter, the elite in power, great consumers of luxury goods and therefore believers in "modernity", find it easy to uphold and accept any changes in the direction of Western models of development. Seen from this point of view, culture acquires a political dimension, relating back to the power relationships which structure particular social or regional differences in each country, as well as international relations.

- Another important obstacle is the complexity of these problems, and the fact that, unlike economic theories, there are no ready-made "recipes" which would allow the distinctive features of a society or of a social group, their cultural characteristics, to be taken into consideration when a development process is devised and implemented. As a result, culture, a notion particularly rich in meaning, with dozens of definitions, has invariably been left off the list of development concerns. It has always been considered different, "intangible", in comparison with the economy, which represents "tangible reality", as we suggested earlier.

However, given that both the industrialized countries and the States of the Third World are going through a crisis at present, the need for a review of the overall concept of development is being discussed more and more frequently. The complexity of the interacting factors, until recently considered only from an economic point of view, need progressively to be taken into consideration.

Following this reassessment of present strategies, the importance of the cultural dimension is beginning to be recognized, at least at the international level, and in particular by certain bilateral and multilateral agencies which are committed in practical terms to development projects, policies and strategies. Thus, in the last few years, new expressions have been created by the international organizations, and most of all by UNESCO, such as "self-directed development", "endogenous development" and "integrated development". At least these expressions make reference to the goal of the process. They emphasize the importance of the autonomous initiatives of populations, based on their own values, traditions and ways of life, and on their own dynamic qualities.

In this context, we thought it both stimulating and important, in the first phase of our research, to consider the role of culture in development. We shall also consider the importance of taking cultural factors into account in development strategies, as well as the impact of development on particular local factors. In the second part of our study, we have
tried to describe how international and regional organizations have begun taking culture into account within the framework of development programmes and projects, and what the future of this new approach may be.

Our approach does not aim initially at entering into the problems of cultural development, which is in fact one of the key elements in the development of a society. Rather, we intend to ask some questions about the advisability and necessity of mainstreaming the cultural dimension in development, which is still a controversial idea.

Our task is all the more difficult in that we are linking two themes that are usually considered by economists to be separate and distinct, with no link or reciprocal influence whatsoever: “culture” and “development”. Starting with the UNESCO publications dealing with this subject, we shall attempt to reflect on the truth of the assertion that culture represents not merely one dimension among many, but the fundamental factor of development, which is a benchmark for measuring all the other factors. Without it, development cannot be truly successful or sustainable.

For a clearer picture of the various forms of impact of the multiple endogenous and exogenous factors, we have given concrete examples, significant ones, in our opinion. These suggest the interdependence and close links which are created between interventions external to certain sociocultural groups and the kind of transformations which those interventions engender in the way of life of the target populations. They may also demonstrate the influence of these actions on the success of the intended objectives.
Part I

CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT: THE PROCESS AND THE INTERACTIONS; WHAT IS AT STAKE
Introduction

The heterogeneous and incompatible nature of the concepts of culture and development is taken for granted in economic theory.

Culture, in today's accepted usage, is defined as being both the perfect expression of a society, with its distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional characteristics, and the result of its history, the creative heritage of a society, in its literary and artistic forms. By virtue of its various strands, culture is not a "quantifiable" reality for which recipes for growth or progress can be prescribed. Culture is immaterial, "intangible" and qualitative, formed over time by successive "strata". Culture is dynamic, constantly changing and in permanent contact, with varying degrees of significance, with other cultures. "Cultures" are more or less split, depending on the importance of ethnic differences, and do not therefore necessarily contribute to national unity or to the cohesion of a society.

Development, on the other hand, is the result of the transformation of Western society at the beginning of the nineteenth century, under the simultaneous impact of economic liberalism and scientific and technological progress. The latter is considered to be the systematic application and most remarkable "product" of the former. Development is therefore quantitative and quantifiable. It can be concretely analysed, and can give rise to well-defined procedures and techniques, the aim of which is to reach a level of economic growth which engenders social progress and human fulfilment. Development also evolves, but its "movement" is more dynamic than that of culture. Its immediate effects are "material" and "tangible", and it is easy to evaluate them by mathematical calculations of economic and financial profitability and by eventual solutions obeying a priori rules, applicable to any sociocultural context. Unlike culture, development is a unifying force and creates social cohesion, despite the disparities and inequalities (rural/urban, rich/poor, etc.) which it also helps to create.

These are some of the differences which have meant that, over time, theories about development have been created without taking into consideration a possible reciprocal influence between cultural factors and economic progress or failure within a certain society. The existence of a close interdependence between these two aspects has nevertheless been shown, or at least presented as a determining factor, by anthropologists, sociologists and economists who have looked at religious factors and the basic cultural characteristics of a given society to explain the roots of its economic growth. We have labelled these studies "humanist", given that this approach puts human beings and sociocultural contexts at the heart of its preoccupations. On the opposing side, there are theorists of capitalist economics who argue that development is independent of culture.

It must be specified that this "division" is not radical, as the conclusions of specialists on both sides often overlap, or are identical. The debate on these questions, and the impact of culture on the level of development will be the subjects of the first chapter of this section, while the second chapter will be devoted more particularly to the changes and consequences which development, in its present form and accepted sense, can effect in the cultures of countries of the "South".

2 For the many types of definition of the word "culture", see below, § 1.
I. RELATIONS BETWEEN CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT

1. The “cultural dimension of development”: a point in dispute

By “the cultural dimension of development” or “cultural aspects of development”, is generally meant the manner in which the cultural factors characterizing a certain society are taken into consideration when a development strategy for that society is being framed.

For the first time, the basic role of culture in world development strategies has been recognized and explicitly expressed in an evaluation report by the United Nations Joint Inspection Unit, concerning the implementation of the New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. This report affirms in particular that only when the process of development is truly rooted in the thinking of African populations will they really become fully involved in mastering the mechanics of modernization. “One of the most fundamental issues to Africa’s modernization efforts concerns the indigenous cultural factor, more precisely the interplay between traditional sociocultural values and practices and modern development imperatives.” UNESCO has played an important role in this recent change; the cultural dimension is one of the major themes of its doctrine, which has taken shape since the Venice Conference (1970) and has today become the most basic factor of development, serving as a benchmark for measuring all the other factors.

This change in awareness was a long, slow process, as development strategies adopted by newly independent countries were supposed to reproduce the model of highly urbanized and industrialized Western societies.

After several decades, during which development was reduced to a strictly economic dimension, and after the many failures of the strategy, questions began to be asked about the causes of this situation. It was thus that studies by anthropologists and sociologists (Taylor, Lévi-Strauss, Max Weber, Durkheim, etc.), and by certain economists, such as François Perroux, for example, became the point of departure for explanations of the effects of the transformations undergone by traditional societies during economic development.

§ 1. The anthropological and humanist approach

The anthropological heritage

The “cultural dimension” is a relatively new approach in world development strategies. Its supporters consider it to be the only approach capable of offering a viable solution, given the events and crises that have been part of development policy and which have periodically forced the re-evaluation of the importance of the cultural factor. The basic idea is that sustainable development can exist only if the “sociocultural context in which development is

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4 In this paper, we propose to take into consideration the contribution of anthropologists and ethnologists to defining the concept of culture. This definition constitutes the point of departure for cultural approaches to development. However, we should like to remind the reader that anthropology, in its original form, which studied non-industrialized peoples as “savages”, has often been criticized and called a “science of servitude” which comes to the aid of neo-colonialist interventions, so as to accelerate the dominance of capitalism on a world scale. This attitude still persists today, in the work of such authors as Pierre Jallée (Le pillage du Tiers Monde, Maspero) or Samir Amin (Le développement du capitalisme en Côte d’Ivoire, L’accumulation à l’échelle mondiale, etc.). For more details concerning these aspects, see also Auzia (J.-M.), L’anthropologie contemporaine, PUF, 1976, pp. 31-95.
to take place, as well as the specific conditions that relate to the particular culture\textsuperscript{5} are taken into consideration.

From this perspective, culture is considered, in the anthropological sense of the term, to be the “whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs”. This definition appears in the preamble to the Mexico City Declaration in the Final Report of the World Conference on Cultural Policies, Mexico City, 1982, and constitutes the starting point for “integrated” development strategies.

Two basic features of this definition are significant for development: its collective character (since culture is characteristic of a society or a group, it is social and defines a way of being together with others) and its comprehensive dimension (culture consists of all the activities by which a society defines and identifies itself).

This definition is applicable to all societies, Western and non-Western, “developing” and “developed”, but “it applies with special force to many communities in the developing world, where the identity of the group still has priority over any sense of individual identity in structuring to the psychological reality of its members and determining their ability to act confidently in their own names”\textsuperscript{6}.

In fact, the definition of culture is a thorny problem in anthropological and sociological analysis, as there are almost as many definitions of culture as there are authors; hence its ambiguity.

First of all, we seem to persist in confusing at least three or four very different meanings of the word “culture”:

(a) a narrow meaning, the direct result of a Western, elitist conception of society: it applies to works of the mind, or in other words “the fine arts” and “literature”;

(b) a wider, sectoral meaning: a culture is whatever results from a “cultural system”, as opposed to other systems (political, economic and bio-social), and which includes language, mentalities, opinions, information, education, scientific research, philosophy and religions;\textsuperscript{7}

(c) an overall or anthropological meaning: a culture is defined as being all the institutions, techniques, behaviours, beliefs and values which characterize a given society, considered in its specificity and its distinctiveness; hence the expression “dialogue of cultures”;

(d) and finally, a dynamic, diachronic meaning, perhaps the most important, because it includes all the others: culture, whether individual or collective, in its original metaphorical meaning (to cultivate the earth): at the same time a return to one’s roots, the recognition of a common identity and heritage, and a project, a

continual process of creation moving towards the future. In this sense, “culture is the means of transforming this heritage and is the key to real development.”

These various shifts in meaning, and the complexity of its “components”, make this a difficult concept to define. American ethnologists A.L. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn have put together a typology of definitions of culture. According to them, the term “culture” had seven different definitions between 1871 and 1919, and 157 between 1920 and 1950. They have identified various types of definitions: **enumerative** (following the example of Taylor, culture is seen as a whole made up of “knowledge, beliefs, art, law, morality, customs and all the other aptitudes and habits which human beings acquire as members of a society”); **historical** (culture represents a social heritage, a sum total of learned behaviours); **normative** (culture is a way of life common to the individuals making up a given society, and a group of rules and ideals devised to perpetuate social interactions); **psychological** (culture appears as a “learned manner of solving problems”); **structural** (according to Lévi-Strauss, culture is a coherent network of meaning into which all sectors of social life fit (relationships, religion, politics, etc.)); **genetic** (every lasting social interaction implies the setting up of a means of communication - culture - uniting all the acts and situated at a much more abstract, inclusive level than explicit behaviours, which, according to the situation, may be complementary or divergent) and **semiotic** (culture presupposes a “code”, that is, a system of meanings which the members of a group know and use in their interactions).

Study of the operative range of these definitions reveals their complementary character. Thus, while conceiving of culture as being all recurrent productions of social action, definitions of the enumerative, historic, normative types in fact suppose that these productions are coherent and form a unit. Structural and semiotic analyses offer a different explanation for this coherence, namely, their belonging to a single code, a single system of meanings. As for the genetic definition, it emphasizes the dynamic character of culture, its development and transformation through interactions with other cultures, that is, with other systems of meaning.

**Culture and the sociological explanation**

Theories of political and economic sociology can take credit for having shown the complementarity of the different components that feature in the anthropologists' definitions. They have made a major contribution to explaining the links between the system of meanings of a society, and hence its culture, and the factors which contribute to the economic transformation or the modification of its social structure.

Thus, setting out to analyse the relationships between *action* and *meaning*, Max Weber, one of the “founding fathers of economic sociology”, set himself the goal of “knowing the cultural meaning and the causal relationships of concrete reality.” In the very first pages of *Economy and Society*, the author defines activity as “human behaviour (...) when and to the extent that the agent or agents give objective meaning to that behaviour”. Activity becomes social when, “according to the meaning intended by the agent or agents, (it) relates to the
behaviour of others, in relation to whom the activity is directed.\textsuperscript{13} By bringing together the analysis of human activity and that of meaning, Weber claims a cultural dimension for sociology. Taking this approach, the author considers that "strictly traditional" and "strictly affective" behaviours are at the limit of meaningfully oriented activity. Tradition, affective reaction and reasoning concerning values all bring us face to face with activities which clearly reveal the plurality and discordance that history has assigned to cultures.\textsuperscript{14}

Thus we come closer to the anthropological construction of culture, while enriching it with several supplementary elements. First of all, the conditions that give rise to cultures are determined not by social systems, but by the actors, by the competition between them and by their creativity, faced with given challenges. These conditions are indissolubly linked to action, to social relations, and above all, to the repeating pattern of the latter.

It is through power, domination (relations of force create competition between status groups with particular "ideal and material interests", and this competition will lead to the domination of one of them, whose models of behaviour and values will become sources of personal commitment for each individual within the society) or custom (human action is not constant creation, but usually imitation, the re-use of established meaning) that the meaning of the action shifts from being individual to being collective. Thus it creates the "network of meanings" which imprisons and constrains all the individuals within the same social interactions. This culturalist attitude is very clear in the work of the German sociologist; he notes, for example: "What we find interesting, we economists, is the analysis of the cultural meaning of the historic situation that has made exchange nowadays a mass phenomenon."\textsuperscript{15}

Thus the interactions between the different actors in contact with one another forge a certain system of meanings with which the actors will identify. If power struggles impose "dominant models", this interaction risks bringing about the loss or destruction of the "dominated" models. If we refer now to the modern tendency of the capitalist economy to become universal, it may be deduced that the success of this process would inevitably depend on the power of the "dominant" model to impose itself on local customs; their disappearance, total or partial, would thus be inevitable in the long term.

Culture and its operative range

But beyond the difficulties encountered in defining culture, recourse to this concept also creates methodological problems which incontestably limit its operative scope. By raising questions about the relationship between culture and politics, Bertrand Badie draws attention to the complexity and the limits of the operational analysis of culture in the following terms: "The concept is first of all a victim of its own pertinence: although it allows each group's particular system of meanings to be understood, it is already a product of the constraints that weigh upon the observer, who in turn belongs to a culture which leads him to perceive the cultural characteristics that he is studying according to his own meaning system. Several methodological presuppositions could be made at this stage: is it possible to perceive one culture through another? Is it possible to preserve the identity of a meaning system by describing it and expressing it through the use of a different system? Is the simple act of translation not already a considerable source of reduction, not to say perversion, of meaning?"\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{13} Weber (M.), \textit{Economie et société}, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{14} Idem, p. 22.
\textsuperscript{15} Weber (M.), \textit{Essai sur la théorie de la science}, op. cit., p. 161.
One explanation of the slowness with which Western political and economic sociology has begun to consider the cultural problems of development resides perhaps precisely in the fact that it refused for many years to ask this type of question. This has been one of the major methodological difficulties concerning the dimension of cultures. Everyday language is already responsible for many misunderstandings, referring indiscriminately to “French culture”, “Breton culture”, “Western culture”, “working-class culture”, but also to “dominant culture”, “subcultures” or “microcultures”. Scientific language generally oscillates among this variety of uses, keeping up an interminable debate concerning whether it is appropriate to speak of “an Islamic culture” or “Islamic cultures”, “a Christian culture” or “Christian cultures”.

From this point of view, one obvious point is clear: a map of cultures cannot be established in the same way as a chart of economic growth. The latter refers to reality and to concrete criteria; culture, on the contrary, refers to a complex construct, the limits of which vary according to the subject being studied, and which therefore implies a decision, or a choice, by the sociologist.

One well-known example in this connection is the analysis made by Max Weber, who believes that the essential characteristics of the Puritan ethic can be found at the root of the creation of modern capitalism. Indeed, since he observes culture to be a “social fact”, Weber sees the creation of modern capitalism not as a universal category of social action, but as a “historical individual” which implies a precise cultural meaning.17 By contrasting Protestantism and Catholicism, the sociologist is identifying the existence of an obvious interdependence between the values of the Puritan religion and those of modern capitalism, which breaks with medieval capitalist practices, thus distinguishing itself from non-Western types of capitalism and creating a singular action model. By drawing attention to the importance of predestination, Weber considers Puritans to be under permanent stress, always seeking actions that will give them the certainty that they are the elect, seeking performance rather than luxury, and cultivating asceticism rather than the desire for money. Their actions on earth are organized in the most rational manner possible, so that, by succeeding in their work, they can be assured of salvation.

Three essential characteristics of the Puritan ethic might explain this attitude:

First of all, Protestantism refers constantly to a strong tension between “cosmic” order and “earthly” order. Human action acquires a goal-oriented meaning which sets it apart from resignation and from religious ecstasy, thus already ruling out Catholic monasticism.

In the same way, Puritanism goes further than any other culture in “disenchantment with the world”, leaving magic behind and abolishing the sacramental functions and thus the religious institutions forged by Roman Catholicism. Finally, social action takes on a purely individualistic meaning, as, by acting within society, individuals act to find their own salvation, but without the intermediary of any institution, and therefore alone before God.18

Thus Weber asserts and demonstrates that there exists a direct causal link between culture, in the anthropological and semiotic sense of the term, and the behaviour of the social actors, which leads to and explains the choice and the definition of an economic model.

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18 For more details on this thesis of opposition between the Puritan and Catholic ethics, *cf. idem*, p. 122 et seq.
This is how the birth and the spread of Western development is explained. It is based on the cultural values of European society, and spread over almost the whole planet in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, through colonization and trade. The Western development model is not a culturally neutral concept; it is rooted in the Western idea of progress. This, added to individual independence, the first signs of which appeared when European feudal society disintegrated, has evolved since the eighteenth century into individualism and a sense of competition applied to the accumulation of wealth.

There exists, therefore, a close relationship between Western culture and the development model of the West. The latter is an "endogenous model", which evolved out of the development of social relations in Europe; once again, this shows the complementary character of these two concepts.

By taking into account the contribution of anthropological and sociological studies to a definition of culture and the role it plays in the structuring of a society, we can better understand the increasing interest in culture that has been observable for several decades. This change is part of the history of ideas and of the policies followed with regard to development in the Third World.

§ 2. The economist vision

Scientifically constructed by anthropologists, the concept of culture has a special status for them, as we have seen above. It is seen as the central subject of analysis and the identifying mark of that science. In the domain of economics, on the contrary, the concept of culture has been reduced to a banal reality, one variable among many others, in relation to which it must be situated. This refers to the fact that culture is more often than not taken in its most narrow sense, reduced to the Western conception of society, and designating works of the mind, or the literary and artistic production of any society or social group.

Economists also try to use it as an instrument of comparison, to perceive and interpret the gaps that separate different economic systems. They are thus constantly tempted to place cultures in universal categories which show up the differences or similarities. In this way the "Asian miracle", for example, is recognized in terms of the values of the Confucian ethic.

Adopting these principles, certain theorists believe that development that respects the cultural values of various societies is meaningless and cannot constitute a possible or desirable solution to the present problems of the Third World. Their arguments are based on the fact that the capitalist development model is one-dimensional, the only one which is viable and capable of offering the eventual improvements hoped for by the populations of the "underdeveloped" countries and the only way of reducing such calamities as overpopulation, famine, war, disease, etc. "Respecting cultures is not a value in itself. If respecting cultures means maintaining misery, poverty and contempt for the elementary rights of human beings, there is no reason to regret deculturation and Westernization."

The cultural dimension in preoccupations concerning development is thus considered to be a pure illusion, a utilitarian conception of culture introduced into development for no good reason. The typical example, often quoted in this context, is that of the informal economy, which has developed and which functions in these countries on the model of the market economy, and the creation of which is independent of the cultural identity of these societies:

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true cultural recognition in this case seems to be cancelled out by the one-dimensional economic model". 

In the same way, in a paper on economics and ethics, Benjamin Higgins holds that classic economic thought is more and more pertinent as regards development, while emphasizing the limits of economic analyses when it is a matter of understanding present development problems and tackling them: "Macro-economics analyses the overall functioning of national economies. It studies the behaviour of households, companies, workers and investors in order to explain the price-structures, the allocation of resources and the distribution of income. As regards politics, the main task of the macro-economy is to ensure sustained growth [of income per inhabitant] as well as full employment and the prevention of inflation. It is basically neutral as to the distribution of income among social categories, regions of one country and countries themselves. It is based on a single value judgement: sustained growth, full employment and stable prices are good things.

This kind of analysis is in line with the theories of economic specialists that have marked the main tendencies in development assistance in post-war history.

Stages in the growth of awareness

In the first stage, which corresponds closely to the 1950s, the originally Marxist model predominated, giving priority to infrastructure and to "industrializing industry", as well as the narrow elitist concept of culture. The latter was identified with works of the mind, that is, "fine arts" and "literature", as can be seen from the specific role played by Ministries of Culture, which were created during this period, and even in the name UNESCO, in which culture is appended to science and education. Development projects, whether in terms of international multilateral or bilateral cooperation, completely ignored cultural aspects.

Against this background, it can be appreciated that from the outset of developmentalist theories, the cultural factor was introduced only in a negative way: the traditional environment (traditions, works of art, customs) was incompatible with economic progress.

From the 1960s onwards, there was a tendency to question the primacy of economics, and to put politics first. The importance of the idea of power in the interpretation of any societal system was stressed, with the contrast between dominator and dominated. At the same time, the colonial powers recognized the independence of many countries which thus acceded to political sovereignty on an international scale, that is, to the right to have a cultural policy in a systemic sense.

With the 1970s a new phase began, during which it was increasingly recognized that economic conditioning and the way authority and politics were organized were not the most important elements; rather, ways of thinking, the situation of the individual in the world, i.e. ontological and philosophical concepts, were paramount. The ideologies of a society themselves imply, in large measure, not only mentalities, behaviour and opinions, but also political institutions, economic life and social relationships. The basic idea behind these observations was that societies organize themselves around the networks between individuals and groups, between groups and society as a whole, and therefore between nature and culture, taking the latter in its overall anthropological meaning.

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20 Idem, p. 55. See also Perrot (D.), "La dimension culturelle du développement: un nouveau gadget", ibidem, pp. 41-54.
21 "Economics and ethics in the new approach to development", in Philosophy in context, Vol. 7 (Philosophy and Economics), 1978, pp. 7-29. [Extract translated from the French, the original being unavailable.]
During this period, the same movement could be seen in the Third World countries, which were now demanding decolonization and cultural independence. Peoples and ethnic groups began the quest for their own identity by returning to the roots of their own culture, while UNESCO began to emphasize the cultural dimension of development. This implied that there could be no true development unless it was rooted in the way of life, the beliefs and the world-view of the community concerned. It was understood that development comes about through the understanding of the deepest impulses of societies, and the traditional values of those who had previously been the “silent peoples”.

International organizations, and above all UNESCO, affirmed that an imposed development model - a Western one - must give way to what was called “integrated endogenous development”, with the populations concerned taking charge of themselves and of their own future. Culture, rather than being a “surplus” or a “plus”, was to take on the status of a basic condition for development.

This new position has been affirmed in recent decades in many speeches and conferences of regional and worldwide scope, and multilateral and bilateral cooperation and development organizations have in turn endorsed it.

On a practical level, the financial crisis of the States and the numerous problems which appeared in economics dependent on outside capital, aid or loans, led the theorists to revise their approach to economic take-off. Accordingly, the qualitative approach to development began to take over from the quantitative: the theory of basic needs (training people through vast education programmes and then satisfying their food needs) and of structural adjustment plans (allocating lump sums to States, paid in stages, on the condition that the latter apply certain economic measures, such as export incentives, budgetary and fiscal reform, the downsizing of public services, privatization of some sectors of the economy, modification of agricultural prices, etc.) were to form the priorities of development assistance from the start of the 1980s.

But the move from speech to action is far from having been accomplished. The difficulties of the operative range of the concept of culture, and the fact that many economic specialists denied the utility of this approach to the development process, explain the fact that the application of these principles has often remained stagnant.

Study of these great theories in the history of development reveals the existence of a dominant ethnocentric ideology, based on the following:

1. A linear, mechanical conception of history, which presupposes that all societies must pass through the same stages of development to reach a stage at which the economic apparatus is capable of assuring the same level of income as that of the populations of countries considered to be “developed”. This model is most explicit in the theory of the “mass impulse”, and is most flagrantly invalidated by the economic history of the oil-producing countries.

2. A technocentric method of reasoning, according to which the main aim of any society is to acquire the values that are characteristic of “developed” societies: a spirit of initiative, profit, competition, material security and above all a determined effort to possess certain goods and services typical of highly industrialized societies.

3. A point of view strongly influenced by economic theory, namely that the appropriate use of instruments of economic policy is enough to allow a country to achieve the above objectives.
A summary analysis of the effects of the application of this ideology points to some obvious observations:

First of all, the results of mimetic development were very often partly or wholly disappointing, given the number of failures. Thus, although structural adjustment, for example, first tried in Asia and Latin America (in countries deep in debt, but having begun a process of economic diversification and endogenous industrialization), enabled major financial balances to be re-established, and the confidence of foreign investors to be restored, the "social cost" was high. In Latin America it has been called "the lost development decade". In the same way, applied in Africa in the middle of the 1980s, structural adjustment did not achieve the expected results. The causes were said to be of a different type: the poor functioning of infrastructures, severe deterioration of agriculture, absence of integration between cities and countryside, etc.

Second, the application of this ideology in fact created a mechanism of cultural transfer (understood here in the anthropological sense of the term), from the industrialized countries to the developing countries, from the centre towards the periphery. Thus societies without sufficient resources adopted a lifestyle accessible only to a minority of the population, which in fact mortgaged their economic future and compromised the preservation of their cultural identity.

Without denying the extent of some economic progress which resulted from development, or the positive impact of science and technology, it must be remembered that these changes generally took place without taking into account two essential factors: the "social cost", in terms of violence and collective and individual distress arising out of transformation judged to be "positive", and the obstacles to development processes endogenous to the societies in question.

The need for and usefulness of development is not challenged by taking these factors into consideration, but goals should be adapted to the means and the needs of the populations concerned, without creating negative repercussions on their standard of living or on their cultural identity.

It is from this point of view that the cultural dimension could provide a solution, among others, for the success of the development process. To that end, we must consider why culture could offer such solutions and what might be the effect of the needs of a Western economy on developing groups.

2. Building cultural factors into development strategies

Basic economic elements - resources in the form of raw materials, capital, the workforce, production ratios, investment, exchanges, distribution, growth rates, etc. - have hitherto been, as we have seen, at the centre of explanatory accounts of development. The most immaterial characteristics of a civilization - religion, prejudices, superstitions, historically based reactions, attitudes to authority, taboos, motivations for activity, behaviour in response to change, individual and collective morality, values, education, etc. - were relegated to the rank of minor satellites, spinning around the central structure.

But if development "is ... a process which extends beyond mere economic growth and to incorporate all dimensions of life and all the energies of a community, all of whose

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members are called upon to make a contribution and can expect to share in the benefits”,23 such a process is impossible without the active and dynamic participation of the target populations. However, this implication is based on an underlying factor that identifies and determines the way a society behaves, namely, its culture.

§ 1. Culture, the root of all human activity

If culture is “the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society”, thus forming a “system of meanings” decipherable only by that society, the result is that all human activity undertaken by that society is directed and dictated by its own specific, deep-rooted characteristics. Culture, in the anthropological sense of the term, is at the root of all human behaviour, whether in “modern” or “traditional” societies. This relationship has been represented in the following chart.24

This chart (the number of sectors has been chosen at random), clearly shows the fact that all human behaviour, all productive activities developed by human beings, integrated into a certain society, are profoundly rooted in this whole, which constitutes both the heritage and the spiritual and conceptual development of the social group to which it belongs. It is this set of characteristics which forges the identity of a society and which determines its own particular characteristic activities, in relation to which the society defines itself.

Culture, taken in the restricted sense of the term, as a distinct category of activities, becomes a specific domain towards which the choice of a number of people can be directed, depending on their preferences. But this understanding of culture as a sector of activities is, in reality, valid only for the populations of developed countries. In non-industrialized countries, “in mining villages, inner city ghettos, shanty towns and remote rural communities around the world, the survival of the group has always been and still is the best policy, even the only policy to choose from, to ensure the survival of the individual. The individual who is able to

put him or herself first, before the interests of his or her community, is for most societies a comparatively recent historical invention, and at best only an intermittent and partial reality even today, derived from their mercantile philosophy and from the later evolution of Christianity.25

Recourse to "traditional" forms - and all societies carry within themselves their own traditional forms - acquires a new dimension in developing societies, since the sense of the private life of the individual is subordinated to that of the community. The demands made by the latter can always take priority over personal wishes, at any time, without warning.

A significant example of the differences between the way culture structures and defines human behaviour in "traditional" and "modern" societies might be the following:

"Doctor Terry Ryan, Secretary for Economics in the Ministry of Finance of Kenya, says that he is waiting for the day when a local economist will propose an analysis based on the real motivations of Africans and will show a real grasp of the means of increasing social capital in the present African context. For example, few foreigners, it would seem, easily understand how an African can, by wasting time (for example, by drinking a beer with a friend in a local 'pub'), be increasing his social capital, because personal relations can often be a better guarantee of security for an individual than the meagre salary earned by working. Ryan attributes the lack of consideration for local cultural and religious values to the Western way of thinking about social privileges and individualism. Rich Westerners cannot understand that even slaves have an advantage over the poor. Slaves have an identity; they belong to someone, whereas poor people today, particularly in Africa, do not belong anywhere, and have no links to anyone."26

Participants in human activity, whether "modern" or "traditional" countries, are thus acting according to their own "models", which are the result of inheritance and the development of the societies in which they are moulded as individuals. Their behaviour thus reflects the internal logic of the social group to which they belong, and this coherence is explained by the fact that it corresponds to the same system of meaning to which individuals belonging to the same society subscribe. Hence the fact that "Westerners" feel "out of place" in Africa and do not understand the attitude of the inhabitants of this part of the world as regards "work", while rural Africans find it difficult to adapt to activities with fixed timetables, since in traditional societies, time has another dimension. It is cyclical, repetitive; it is measured from the sunrise to sunset and according to the ripening of the crops, to the rhythm of the seasons. This perception is totally different from that of "modern" societies, which perceive time as linear, irreversible and inescapable.27

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26 Ryan (W.F.), Culture, Spirituality and Economic Development. Opening a Dialogue, Ottawa, International Development Research Centre, 1995. [Translated from the French, the original being unavailable.]
27 We do not have space in this study to develop these aspects more fully. We should like to point out, however, that the cyclical concept of time has often been understood by modern thinking to be the mark of the primitive nature of a culture, or the symptom of an individual's regression. Such a conception, in the two cases, is said to be an attitude of denial of the reality of temporal irreversibility. It is in any case the recognition of this irreversibility, as forming the essence of time, that is at the root of modern Western understanding of the world and of history. Suspected of being archaistic, the cyclical intuition of time runs through all the modern criticisms: political (it seems intrinsically reactionary), psychoanalytical (it carries individual and collective mythical "illusions", said to be aspects of a regressive, infantile attitude), economic (it is said to prevent progress and growth), etc. But, on the other hand, it can be upheld (cf. for example, Eliade, M., Le mythe de l'eternel retour, Gallimard, 1969) that the thinking of cyclical time tries to introduce a temporal experience of the sacred which is part of humanity's immemorial heritage. Thus,
The indications of the way in which specific cultural characteristics (religion, tradition, customs, etc.) influence, structure, coordinate and determine the life and the behaviour of members of a society are obvious in every area of the latter's activities: political (type and internal organization of political systems, decision-making mechanisms), economic (work-profit relations, production technology, distribution of the final product), town and country planning (model and zoning of dwellings in an urban or rural setting), etc.

Outside interventions in any group in society that wishes to modify itself in one way or another, in its own particular internal order, risk overthrowing the system, and the repercussions are usually negative for the future of the individuals or social groups involved. Their reactions to exogenous factors are different and complex, and often reveal, when it is a matter of "development", a rejection of the "graft" imposed on them.

Studies concerning possible solutions, aimed at an adaptation of local working methods to the demands of a modern economy, show that taking cultural factors into account could yield useful answers: "African workers are known for their high absenteeism. Why not develop temporary jobs? For Africans, time is divided into fairly variable periods, and their way of life gives a rhythm to the days according to several sequences (hunting, working in the fields, eating, rest). It would be judicious to adopt flexible, personalized working hours. There is no need for Africans to take long holidays, as they take leave every time there is a ritual or occasional celebration. This would seem to call for flexible, personalized working hours, and the formal recognition of holidays taken over very short periods". 28

§ 2. Local distinctive features faced with outside intervention

Taken for the most part in its most limited sense, as one sector of human activity among other sectors, such as the economy, health, politics, etc., culture becomes an area which, in development strategies, is secondary, as the belief is that it will flourish only if the economy does so. The economy is capable of boosting activity in all the other sectors. It is in any case with this in mind that the expression "cultural development" is used.

This position is specific to the economic theories of development, as conceived by specialists from industrialized countries. They are a "product" of "modernity". But this "modernity" is in its turn the result of successive transformations and the development of Western society, which, by its aspirations, its way of acting, its beliefs, its prejudices, etc. - its culture, in other words - has arrived at the stage of development towards which so-called "underdeveloped" countries are moving. It could therefore be considered that there exists a direct relation between the Western development model and the culture of the industrialized countries. Schematically, this relationship could be represented in the following way:

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\text{culture} \leftrightarrow \text{development}
\]

The ongoing reciprocal influence between culture and development marks and defines the development of "modern" societies. There exists, therefore, a perfect compatibility between Western culture and its product, industrial development, culminating in the nineteenth century.

starting from the first intuition, given or archetypal, of cyclical time, human beings organize collective reality and the temporal rituals which order social life.

The same model, transferred to "traditional" societies, shows that this concordance cannot be maintained, as two incompatible elements must be reconciled: the "culture" or "cultures" of poor countries (still deeply rooted in their traditions, customs and religious beliefs), and unfamiliar ways of life and behaviour, which are sometimes in conflict with the deepest convictions of these societies.

Here is an example:

Early in the 1980s, the Ecuadorian Ministry of Agriculture decided to launch a guinea-pig farming project with the financial help of the World Bank. The objective was a classic one: to take a traditional agricultural activity, the raising of guinea pigs, which goes back well before the Spanish conquest, and try to modernize it. The basic arguments were twofold: the guinea pig is an important feature of the rural population's diet and the urban market is potentially large. So the aim of the project was to increase agricultural production of guinea pigs. For this purpose a "rational" farming strategy was proposed, but it was to be applied in the context of the Ecuadorian peasant "culture" of the high plateaux.

Following the specialists' rational analysis of the problem, the diagnosis was as follows:

Guinea pigs are traditionally raised in the home and more specifically in peasant kitchens. Little control is exercised and feeding is a matter of luck: the guinea pigs eat what is left of the day's cooking. There is no systematic inspection for disease, and treatment is often given too late. Productivity is badly restricted by the traditional way the guinea pigs are raised, which, in other words, is quite irrational. This is an obstacle to the changes it would be desirable to make to the Ecuadorian agricultural economy.

The technical solution proposed was therefore as follows:

The animals should be kept outside the kitchen and the peasants' living area in new cages designed so as to keep the sexes apart and for better control of rearing methods and of diseases that were decimating the numbers of guinea pigs. There should be genetic control of males and females to prevent degeneration of the species. New species should be introduced. Better and more rational feed should be provided, Lucerne being considered the best. A leaflet on ways of maintaining the best possible health conditions would be produced.

These proposals could bring nothing but good. The technical solutions advanced are rational: their dissemination should not pose any problem except for ill will on the part of the peasants or their possible over-traditional mentality. It would be simply a matter of teaching them how to go about things. Lastly, showing them how the scheme would work and the economic benefit it would bring would be enough to motivate them to learn the techniques. Thus the project had all the appearances of agronomic, institutional and economic relevance and rationality.

This, however, is where the cultural dimension of the problem assumes its full importance.

The point of view of the technicians was to see the guinea pigs as food, consumed primarily for its nutritional value, and not as a foodstuff with special cultural significance. A cultural approach to the situation shows, on the contrary, that the social and symbolic significance of the guinea pig is greater than its market or even nutritional
value. The guinea pig is an exceptional foodstuff. Its consumption is tied in with the stages in the family cycle at its most important moments (birth, baptism, first communion, confirmation, marriage, birthdays and death) and with social events, particularly those in which the intention is to show regard for friends, neighbours, “godparents”, natural parents and any authority or persons of importance.

It is also bound up with civil and religious festivals: religious ceremonies and pilgrimages and important civil ceremonies. Last of all, the guinea pig is used as a way of treating pneumonia, bronchitis and colds. During pregnancy, a woman should eat guinea pig frequently, as she should also from one week after the birth of the child for a period of three months, preferably in soup. There is a link between the presence of the guinea pig near the oven in the kitchen and the happiness of the family. So its presence in the home is essential.

The conclusion to be drawn from this story is that it is not possible to forgo a cultural study if a development project, however technically well designed it may be, is to avoid the possibility of failure. From the very beginning, therefore, an anthropologist has to be called upon to make a study of the whole cultural environment of the project.²⁹

This example shows that traditional societies, acting according to other principles and rules, define themselves according to a different way of reasoning and demand another type of development, which does not necessarily mean archaic or non-industrial development. In their main lines, the tendency of development projects is rather to seek to normalize social behaviour based on the rules of “the scientific organization of work” or Western organization models. However, the latter are based on sociological or psychological postulates according to which there exists a universal rationality. They take it for granted, in particular, that the individuals concerned are in agreement with the objectives of such organization. Experience shows, however, that the cultures of these societies have varying capacities of resistance, aggression, challenge and integration.

In any case, it is obvious that within the process undertaken when an attempt is made to modernize a certain traditional society, there usually exists an antinomy between tradition and progress, a conflict between two dynamics, and it is this contradiction which often constitutes the root cause of the difficulties which certain countries experience in setting the process of development in train.

When it comes to explanations for the failure of certain projects, two distinct positions can be distinguished:

on the one hand, development experts usually explain these phenomena using value-judgements: poor understanding by the population of the meaning and value of the project; the need to make more efforts to raise awareness among the people affected, and to offer motivation and guidance;

on the other hand, specialists who evaluate such projects maintain that in general they do not take local distinctive characteristics into account; the conception and the setting up of these projects is “foreign” to the populations concerned; they are seen as “hostile”, and this is the main cause of their failure:

Anyone who has lived in the African countryside must have been struck by the fact that development projects seem in many ways like foreign bodies. They are so visually (all foreign contributions, and those only, are mentioned in detail on big hoardings), by their infrastructure and by the resources used, as well as by the foreign personnel who manage them or serve as advisers. They are also psychologically foreign, since the village people do not feel themselves to be part of the management and the implementation of the project [...] They are also foreign because after the flow of outside funds and personnel has dried up, few elements are incorporated into the daily life of the population to become one of the aspects of its sociocultural system.30

The understanding of cultural phenomena and their integration into a project or a development programme become difficult to the extent that the decision-makers do not belong to the cultural universe in which the project must be implemented. The impact of these changes on the socio-economic life of a society or a social group can be different in kind, and is usually at the root of many failures which occur in these contexts.

II. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON CULTURE

As we have been able to establish, the relationship between the concepts of culture and development is a fraught and ambivalent one that gives rise to a host of questions concerning not just the way the two connect with each other, but the very definitions of the terms. This relationship produces effects of varying kinds and degrees, which lead to significant changes in the environments they influence.

It has often been seen, not least in "developed" countries, that even when difficulties of an economic nature are solved and living standards are raised, social problems break out. Technological and economic progress, the dynamic of societies in flux, has sometimes created obstacles that did not previously exist. These are what have been termed the "human costs" of development, one of these costs being biological in nature - pollution and destruction of the environment (contamination of water and the air, noise, destruction of fauna, vegetation and soils) - while the other is social and cultural and takes the form of urban decay and social disintegration (overpopulation, the creation of shanty towns, the loss of cultural identity,31 the break-up of communities and families, the isolation of social categories and age groups, etc.).

If social progress is the primary objective of development, these consequences are extremely undesirable, as they have a destructive effect on life. In other words, the current crisis of development is having an impact on people as biological, individual beings within society; it is a psychobiological crisis as much as a sociocultural one.

This situation has been brought about by the simultaneous workings of a number of factors:

- the failure of development planners to find methods and solutions that are appropriate to the situations and needs of the countries concerned;
- the attitude of the elites in power;

31 Cultural identity is defined as "the living core of a culture, the dynamic principle whereby society, drawing on its past, nourishing itself upon its own potential and accepting contributions from without as its own needs dictate, pursues the unremitting process of self-creation" (UNESCO, World Conference on Cultural Policies, Mexico City, 1982).
the impact of different forms of development transfer (transfer of legal systems, technical and economic know-how, technologies, etc.) on the living standards of the target populations.

If these transformations are effected without reference to the cultural dimension of these societies, the social costs can become extremely high, and “development” can no longer be accomplished, or at least “launched” irreversibly. It can prove far more costly to make up for these dysfunctions than to produce strategies and initiatives, right from the outset, that foster development and take account of the traditions and sociocultural characteristics of the societies concerned.

1. The Issues raised by economic development

§ 1. The culture clash and its consequences

Today’s world is characterized by ever-increasing contact between different nations. One effect of this ceaseless movement is to alter the properties that define those nations: their culture, their socio-political and economic systems, etc.

If we confine ourselves to studying the processes that arise when two cultures come into contact and act upon each other, the phenomenon that most frequently receives a mention is that of acculturation, the definition of which generally concentrates on the following aspects:

“Since a cultural system is determined by the internal balances among the forces making up the group, if a hegemonic outside system intervenes, the balance of the old system breaks down, to the advantage of the dominant values of the dominant system. Thenceforward, new alienating and alienated cultural signs, detached from the hegemonic system, are introduced into the old culture. As these signs and productions are no longer produced by the group concerned, they are outside their control, and thus produce a typical alienated culture situation. This is what is called acculturation.”

It should be pointed out that there are contacts which are not necessarily hegemonic. In Cordoba, for instance, Jews, Christians and Muslims lived together for some time without the domination of one group crushing the cultures of the others. What acculturation refers to, however, is the whole range of phenomena resulting from direct and continuous contact between groups of individuals from different cultures, when this leads to changes in the cultural types of one or both groups.

Through study of the changes produced in the course of colonization, another concept, that of controlled acculturation, began to be introduced into the research field of human sciences specialists. Thus, since Malinowski, colonial anthropologists have sought to create a science of the interpretative phenomena of civilizations, so that colonization can “succeed” and imperial administrators can avoid the mistakes of the past.

With the formation of independent States in Asia, Oceania and Africa, and with different economic or ideological “imperialisms” competing around these new States, there emerged the notion of planned and rationally oriented acculturation. This involves, on the one hand, having the governments of countries that have recently appeared on the world map take charge of acculturation, which in this case means Westernization only, and, on the other,

making use of scientific theories to further interests that are left far too ambiguous; this is why a new vocabulary has been invented - development instead of acculturation - with consensus being built on the primacy of the politico-economic perspective.

Two types of “domination” factor, and thus two types of planning system, have been identified, one in the “West” and the other in the “East”.

Planned acculturation in the West lays stress on the cultural aspect, and consequently on the ideas of adaptation (of native traditions to modern values), maturation (the more time is allowed for change the better it will succeed; you cannot force nature) and function (any cultural institution is performing a function, so it can only be replaced by another, deemed better because Western, if the latter performs the same function). The strategy for achieving these ends would be to employ two postulates of the theory of cultural anthropology:

1. Any culture is composed of a set of cultural traits; these traits are linked to one another by networks of reciprocal action and reaction.
2. Culture dominates the life of society, so any change to institutions, structures and behaviour will be pointless unless the system of values has previously been adjusted and attitudes have also progressed.

With this ideology as the starting point, a whole series of changes have been brought about, during and since colonization, in the countries of the Third World. The measures taken have been determined, broadly speaking, by the following strategies: changing just one feature (for example, dietary habits) in the knowledge that, because cultural phenomena are interconnected in networks, a chain reaction will take place, but one that the experts will be able to monitor; acting first on people’s attitudes, through literacy training; or fostering the emergence of new needs that did not exist in the old culture, for example by introducing money and launching previously unknown goods on to the market; lastly, avoiding xenophobic reactions by choosing leaders in each community that is to be “acculturated” and then “acculturating” them so that they become members of the “in” group and not the “out” group, turning them into defenders of change and Westernization.

As regards the countries of Eastern Europe, which were subject to a communist regime for almost half a century, acculturation (which is not acknowledged as genuine) rested on the following two postulates:

1. The Marxist distinction between infrastructure and superstructure: if methods of production are changed, cultural systems will automatically change with them, or old cultures will turn into mere “folklore” that no longer represents any danger.
2. As these cultural undertakings depend on modes of production, among the political conflicts that involve force and revolution (struggle against feudalism, religious orders, etc.), there will be another shock, a cultural one between the cultures of socialist countries and the cultures of those around them, i.e. between the “proletarian culture” and the different “national cultures”. Relying on nationalist ideologies, while maintaining national values as “colouring”, proletarian culture ultimately proved to be external and invasive.

The two examples show that in reality the same phenomena are to be found in the different types of planned acculturation, and that there is ultimately an identity of substance beneath the differing concepts. The reason for this identity is that this phenomenon derives from the idea that certain Western values are superior, at least in the technical and economic
spheres, and often in the political one as well, and that these values should therefore be imposed by those in power (whether they are part of a given ethnic group or outside it).

The creation of independent nations with power over their own destiny was to create conditions in which adaptation phenomena could come to prevail over tension phenomena. Some examples of this are provided by the situation in Africa, with "Negritude" (i.e. the desire to maintain African traditions within acculturation processes) ceasing to have a polemical form and taking on a syncretic form, in which both types of culture coexist while simultaneously a search goes on for new, original formulae that suit the circumstances of each society. What has been called "African socialism", which seeks to be a "community socialism", based therefore on the identity values of the populations concerned, is opposed to the "societal socialism" of the West, and at the same time represents an attempt to "mould" the contributions of European culture to the specific characteristics of African cultures.

Yet this process of creating, transforming and adapting new models and forms of organization in the economic, political, social and other spheres is far from having been completed and from having found the appropriate solution for each situation. The most common situation in today's world, one that all societies are confronted with, is that of heteroculture, a term that refers to "the dualist structure of a society that is organized on the basis of two cultural patterns: tradition and modernity, these two sources being considered at once indispensable and mutually contradictory".34

As a rule, all the populations of "traditional" countries feel some attachment to these two sets of opposing values. "Modernity" means access to progress in all spheres: effective technologies and rising living standards, but also hospitals, roads, schools, radio, cinema, etc., and nobody will willingly agree to forgo these spectacular innovations. Yet at the same time people are deeply attached to their traditional values, and their respect for these is all the greater in that technological progress is generally non-native, foreign in nature, something that it is often impossible to do without, but that can generate frustration or inferiority complexes. It is so as not to "lose their souls" that people in Africa, for example, return to their roots and seek to revitalize their own heritage in order to preserve their cultural identity.

The situation of heteroculture gives rise to profound changes in the life of the countries that experience it. This state of tension, which often brings with it internal conflict and dysfunctions in all areas of activity, is the main consequence of the development transfer process, in all its manifold forms.

§ 2. The problem of knowledge transfer

With its aspiration to bring well-being and progress to the world, development consists in enabling the entire planet to benefit from modern techniques and new scientific discoveries. Theoreticians maintain that economic growth in developing countries, which is now considerably higher on average than in the industrialized countries, is partly due to the fact that these countries have had direct access to modern techniques and technologies through training and importation, without having to pass through the intermediate stages required to invent things and then improve on those inventions. Substantial economies have thus been obtained, in the form of time and capital savings.

This has been possible thanks to what is known as the transfer of knowledge or know-how. The extent of the domains in which these "transfers" take place is very large,

34 Michaud, G. and J. Poirier, op. cit., p. 23.
encompassing all knowledge about human activities, which it is difficult to divide up into clear-cut "fields". It seems that, generally speaking, the transfer of knowledge is carried out in the following areas: culture, education, lifestyle, models of social organization, information, science and technology. By producing major alterations in the habits and know-how of local populations in all fields (agriculture, fishing, traditional industries, legal system, etc.), this process contributes to the creation of other areas of activity, hitherto unknown (tourism, for example).

The transfer is effected in specific ways through "carriers of knowledge": people (personal contact between individuals), audiovisual media (radio, cinema, records, television, tape recorders and their technological derivatives), artistic productions (various literary and documentary productions, works of art, exhibitions, festivals, performances, etc.) and “things” (highly organized spaces and objects used in daily life for communication and production purposes, etc.; these are transferred from one country to another by trade or international aid, or they are produced locally, but following ideas or plans, and using raw materials or technologies, imported from abroad).

The knowledge transfer mechanism brings with it unavoidable ideological effects, which appear to be subproducts inherent in the whole of the knowledge transfer process and which, at the world level, derive from the dynamic of development. Non-industrialized countries are obliged to "import" the knowledge that is indispensable to them if they are to modernize their economies, teaching, etc., but the infiltration of cultural tendencies, ideas and doctrines, new models and techniques threatens their value systems, their traditional socialization mechanisms and their social structures.

Given these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that technology transfer, for example, is initially given a very warm welcome by some countries, as it is seen as a forerunner of growth and wealth. Yet this period of enthusiasm is often followed by a stage of violent criticism, which is accompanied by restrictive measures, attempts at rigorous selection, and even isolation or rejection.

In fact, solidly entrenched pre-existing cultures have often proved to be powerful and skilful enough to repulse the assaults of modern technology and preserve at least some aspects of cultural and technological diversity. Arnoldo K. Ventura quotes a typical example:

"In the Ganges delta, thirty underground water pipes were installed and then fitted with pumps imported from abroad; people did not use the drinking water piped in this way, however, but carried on drinking the water from their muddy tanks. They had discovered that the pumps were fitted with leather valves, which meant they could not be used, as Hindu tradition forbade them to drink water that ran through a cow’s hide."37

What this example clearly shows is that there is a risk that what may seem to suit the needs and experience of developed countries may not be appropriate in other circumstances; for technology to succeed, it needs to be harmonized with other cultural standards in society. If an attempt is made to sacrifice quality to quantity, without establishing solid cultural ties

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35 The term “culture” is used here in its strict sense and refers to all institutions connected with a creative activity; it encompasses literature and its readers, art and music, theatre, cinema, television, etc.
with technological products, there is a danger of going too far and coming up against inflexible resistance. Often regarded as "idle" and "incompetent", the "natives" are in fact capable of dedicating many hours to religious rituals and practices that demand extreme accuracy and great mental concentration, simply because cultural values establish a hierarchy among actions.

It should be pointed out, though, that in most developing countries these instances are only found among the groups that are most remote and isolated from daily contact with other groups. In most cases, the clash between local populations and modern technologies ends with the latter becoming established, largely because of the increasing pace of decolonization and the effects of foreign training, political and economic experience, colonial traditions, etc. This situation will gradually lead to the emergence of elites that aspire to copying foreign cultural models, thus causing cultural values to be marginalized.

The effects of this mimetic behaviour, which is generally imposed from outside, sometimes have serious consequences for local populations. Here is an example, concerned this time not with technology transfer, but with the transfer of dietary habits:38

The introduction of baby food in areas where hygiene is a problem raises many difficulties, and often has the opposite effect to the one initially envisaged, sometimes with tragic consequences. By constant aggressive advertising, the manufacturers of baby food and artificial milk have succeeded in making mothers believe that they must feed their children with milk of this type to ensure that they grow properly.

In fact, by ending breastfeeding or weaning infants prematurely, mothers in certain particularly deprived areas are actually exacerbating the malnutrition of their children (in proteins and calories), for a number of reasons.

Firstly, because mother’s milk given for three or four months provides the best nourishment there is and the best protection against infectious diseases such as those that cause toxicosis.

Secondly, because the mothers cannot read, and wish to make this costly foodstuff go further, they water it down too much or do not prepare it properly, this being one of the main causes of child malnutrition.

A lack of good-quality facilities for sterilizing feeding bottles properly, and other factors such as a lack of refrigeration equipment for storing preparations or the water to be used in them, mean that gastro-enteritis becomes a problem.

Psychologically, these practices break the bond between the mother and the child, yet the child needs such a bond from the earliest age.

Given these conditions, artificial foodstuffs make no sense in developing countries. Unfortunately, it is sometimes unavoidable for families to have to use these foodstuffs when the mothers are obliged to work in cities. Here again, the situation of the poor is the same as in rural areas, and the same consequences ensue. This has led certain countries, such as Papua New Guinea, to ban the use of baby foods except on prescription. It is also interesting to note that the popular belief in the contraceptive properties of breastfeeding has been confirmed scientifically. In Bangladesh, the average interval between births is three years, largely thanks to the production of

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38 Idem, pp. 112-113.
prolactin, a hormone secreted as a result of natural feeding. This effect is lost when the
time spent breastfeeding is reduced.

Action from abroad should concentrate instead on improving standards of living
for women, as this would help ensure that children developed normally.

Adverse consequences of this kind resulting from the introduction of the products of
Western civilization are numerous, and can be found across a whole range of fields.

The development of agriculture, for example, has led to cultural aberrations and the
breakdown of traditional values relating to agriculture and agricultural technology. Thus, in
Africa, a large proportion of the flat, fertile land has been given over to big farms that
generally grow export crops. Peasants who are obliged or have chosen to stay in the fields are
forced to cultivate the most infertile and inaccessible land using outdated traditional methods,
which do not provide a good yield.

It often happens that experts called in to restore agricultural production on such land
find that their work is hindered by the mistrust of peasants and their cautious attitude towards
innovation, as risks can carry a high price. and scientific methods are difficult to assimilate
and sometimes regarded as inapplicable, whereas the old methods appear to be infallible.
Efforts by farmers to assimilate new methods without understanding their use and importance
have led to disastrous results, as is illustrated by the example of farmers who buy fertilizer not
in accordance with their needs, but on the basis of price.

To escape from this impasse and achieve positive results, the most logical way of
approaching this cultural dilemma would be to improve the traditional methods used by
subsistence farmers. By drawing on local people’s help and knowledge of the environment
and enlisting real cooperation from them, it should be possible to adapt modern methods and
tools to their needs. To show how this can work in practice, we may take another example,39
which concerns the pressing need for drinking water that is found in many of the countries of
the Third World:

In a sub-Saharan area, a large number of deep boreholes were sunk using costly
and sophisticated equipment, without the local people having any real part to play in
this work. In one of the villages concerned, women used to have to fetch water from
10 kilometres away. Despite the seriousness of the need that the well was there to meet,
the villagers lost little time in stopping it up with stones: the tremendous time saving
made in the women’s working day, which was not filled by other activities, had led to
endless arguments which were seen as more detrimental than the difficulty of obtaining
water.

The solution found for a less deprived village was to pump water from the river
and store it in a water tower, whence it could be distributed through hydrants. The local
population had been heavily involved, providing labour and paying contributions. It was
agreed that the local people would meet the cost of fuel for pumping, after the start-up
period when it would be covered by the project. Despite a number of meetings to raise
awareness, the water pumping system soon stopped working because not enough
contributions were paid. It was not until several months later that anyone thought of
taking the matter up with the women, who had not hitherto taken part in the meetings
where decisions were taken. They very quickly organized themselves and took charge
of collecting contributions and organizing water distribution.

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This example shows that the success or failure of the process of transferring technical know-how largely depends on the sociocultural context in which it takes place, as only this can ensure that a development project will work and survive.

The consequences of tourism, which is seen in poor countries as an easy panacea for correcting exchange rate fluctuations, can also have severe consequences in terms of its social and cultural costs which, in some cases, far exceed the short-term benefits.

The tourist industry makes use of a range of techniques, among which mention may be made of:

- indoctrination and propaganda techniques (such as films on location);
- mass media techniques and other systems for distributing entertainment produced in metropolitan areas;
- public relations methods and other advertising techniques;
- techniques for building hotels, restaurants, leisure centres, holiday resort facilities and sports equipment;
- management and financing techniques; and
- far and away the most important, importation of top-quality foods, along with techniques for transporting and storing them.

In regions where nature provides ideal sites for tourist facilities (the Caribbean, for example), many governments are encouraged to diversify the economy of rural areas by promoting tourism, the argument being that this will provide leisure equipment and infrastructure.

This mechanism, which broadly speaking is a legitimate one for developed countries, unleashes severe imbalances within local populations: the only purpose of the new industries is to please tourists, facilities constructed in the countryside being beyond the reach of peasants; in most cases, these are debarred from any profitable involvement, their role being limited to that of serving staff or “models” for photographs. Prostitution, homosexuality, a distaste for the hard work of the fields and nostalgia for an unhurried and carefree existence are just some of the consequences of this process. Furthermore, the net benefit accruing to the host country is not great when compared to the dysfunctions that are brought into being.

This being the case, there is an inherent contradiction between tourism, as practised in poor countries, and development. Tourism, in fact, propagates the cultural values of the rich countries, whereas the development of a country involves efforts to encourage creative work

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41 In the Caribbean, for example, 40 cents in every dollar go back to the visitors’ home countries.

42 A list of seven mass tourism-related tendencies detrimental to development has been drawn up: “(a) excessive dependence on foreign capital, chiefly to adapt to the cultural values and tastes of holidaymakers; (b) the division of labour, which relegates nationals to second-ranking activities and enables foreigners to occupy the highest managerial positions; (c) excessive confidence in imported goods and services of ‘international quality’; (d) pre-emptive rights over nature reserves; (e) allocation to tourist infrastructure of the limited government resources available; (f) legislation favourable to foreign ownership of tourist facilities; (g) the trivialization of cultures and peoples” (Goulet, D., *The Uncertain Promise; Value Conflicts in Technology Transfer*, New York, IDOC/North American Inc., 1977, p. 106).
and discipline. As James F. Michele said: “As Prime Minister of my State (St Vincent), please forgive me if I do not rush to pick up this manna of dollars. The tourist dollar is not in itself enough to justify the ruin of my people. A people that has lost its soul is no longer a people, and its country is no longer worth visiting”.

It must be recognized, however, that tourism is not necessarily an obstacle to development, as it brings significant benefits. Nonetheless, it does transpire that, for better results, tourism should not be imposed on a community for strictly economic reasons, and it is the community that should decide what type of technology it wishes to introduce to that end. This type of tourism would enable more businesses from the country concerned to take part in the activities of this sector, but it will require tourists to be better informed, so that they can learn to respect the culture of the society they are visiting and recognize its human significance and the reason it is as it is.

In this section, we have just touched upon a few issues relating to the domains and problems that arise during the knowledge transfer process. These aspects are extremely complex and diverse; as has been seen, they concern all human activities and often make a decisive contribution to transformations in civilizations. To respond to the new needs and demands of the modern world, confronted as it is with serious problems such as environmental degradation, population growth and famine, there is no choice but to improve on the old methods and, in doing so, to create new ones, this process is, therefore, now necessary and inevitable. Yet experience shows that solutions from outside must be adopted only with the greatest care and without betraying the wishes of the majority.

These mechanisms, considered to be the principal means of economic development, have led over time to major changes in the countries of the Third World.

The results, however, have fallen far short of those expected at the beginning of the enthusiastic post-colonial period, and “underdevelopment” remains the condition of most of the planet. This state of affairs is largely the fault of those running and holding power in non-industrialized countries, whose decisions have determined the main lines of development strategies. A close relationship between developed countries as providers of funds and development models, on the one hand, and “underdeveloped” countries seeking financial assistance and support to improve their economic situation, on the other, has thus come into being. This relationship has become one of dependence, sustained by the transfer of know-how, by the interplay of worldwide economic and geostrategic interests, by bilateral and multilateral assistance policies, etc. The role of political decision-makers, then, has been crucial in these exchanges and is largely responsible for the current situation.

§ 3. Aid and power: strategies and ambiguities in the relations between donor States and recipient States

The relationships that arise between “donor” States and “recipient” States, between North and South, are extremely complex and diverse, bearing on such vast fields as political sociology, economics, international relations, international law, etc. These aspects have been the subject of numerous specialist studies analysing the changes and dysfunctions that have arisen in the political, economic and social spheres in newly independent States. We shall confine ourselves in the analysis that follows to touching upon some of the aspects that are most closely connected with the link between the policy followed by the elites in power, the

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provision of development aid and the culture of the countries concerned. The interaction of these three factors reveals the existence of several reciprocal types of determinism.

A. Determinism: development assistance - behaviour of elites in power

The relationship that arises between those providing funds (international development financing institutions, various bilateral, regional and international aid agencies, etc.) and the elites in power in developing countries, at the different levels of political or decision-making authority, is the result of mutual dependence and influence. Leaving aside the fact that certain politicians are propelled to power with outside support to serve the material or geostrategic interests of the great powers (France in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, for example), where the dependence of the former on the latter is plain to see, the provision of development assistance is made conditional on strict political and economic criteria: the introduction of democracy and multi-party politics, economic growth, respect for the environment, etc. It is up to the elites in power to accept and implement these principles; furthermore, it is those elites that propose development projects and programmes in order to obtain financial support.

In fact, finance is not granted unless development initiatives meet the criteria that those providing it have set for themselves and others. This choice is determined by the cultural frame of reference of the funding agencies concerned. What these understand by progress, poverty, democracy, liberation, emancipation, justice, human rights, participation, etc., will determine what is deemed to be worthwhile and thus deserving of financial support. Given these circumstances, the problems that affect this process stem not from “ill-will” but from the unconscious use by funding agencies of their own cultural references to determine eligibility.

Development projects, which aim at changing the situation for local populations, are implemented in a way that those providing the finance deem rational. One of the reasons for the failure of a large percentage of such projects is that those behind them project their own ideas and interests on to them, while seeking to retain the greatest possible room for manoeuvre. This is one of the characteristics of those who control finance, whether they be foreign funding agencies or local elites. There is another problem as well: these ideas and interests are often contradictory, they are subject to constant change and, what is more, they fragment development. The result is that the “grass roots”, the great mass of the population, are placed at the mercy of these contradictions.

One telling example of this might be the phenomenon of “evaluation”, as the very word incorporates the idea of “value”. Evaluations of development projects have to determine the “value” of what is done with the funds granted by the “North”. The standards on which evaluation is based are generally grounded in concepts such as effectiveness or economic life. According to specialists in this area, however, it is rare for donors to make clear at the outset what it is they mean by “effective” or, to use a more recent word, “sustainable”. It is equally rare to begin by considering and specifying how the recipient interprets these concepts in

44 In 1992, the American ambassador to the United Nations, Edward Perkins, gave a concise summing-up of the new situation that had resulted from the collapse of the Soviet bloc: “Prosperity depends on an international economic order that is oriented towards growth, an order that safeguards the environment and for which the private sector is the engine of expansion in emerging and developing economies. The involvement of the private sector on both sides of borders offers the prospect of an economic fraternity instead of just charity, as has been the case with traditional government-to-government aid” (quoted by Valladao, A., “Le développement à l’américaine”, Projet, No. 8, Spring 1995, p. 24). [Translated from the French, the original publication not being available.]

45 Cf. for example, Sizoo, E., “L’aide et le pouvoir : une problématique profondément culturelle”, in Economie et Humanisme, No. 325, June 1993, pp. 52-54.
practice. The recommendations of many evaluation exercises thus generally conform to the donor's frame of reference, and the vicious circle is closed: "evaluation is carried out to make donors feel secure, and reinforces their position of power, even if, in a limited sphere, it raises certain questions. What evaluation centres on is not the dynamics of local development, with its own logic, but measurement of the immediately visible impact of the aid being provided".\(^{46}\)

In fact, all that is generally studied are the short-term effects (there are few evaluations ten years after the end of a project, for example) and, above all, the effects planned for. Of course, the greatest lessons, both positive and negative, would be learnt from long-term and secondary effects. The donor can thus retain the "power" to choose which forms of behaviour will be entailed by "projects" and other cooperation plans. So, for example, financing may be available for a school, but not for the construction of a temple. Recipients have the power only to refuse the aid or to direct it as discreetly as possible in accordance with their priorities, by investing it in aid funds for productive activities only, or indeed for their own personal interest.

The negative impact of outside influences is also seen in cases where \textit{democratic systems are imposed} on developing countries. This problem has taken on a new dimension since the collapse of the communist bloc and the end of the East-West stand-off. A powerful wave of democratic reform shook developing States at that time. These pressures, in the form of popular demonstrations, referendums and local or national elections, were exerted to obtain faster democratization, and undermined many restrictive political regimes. The movements concerned had a variety of origins.

First of all, pro-democracy demonstrations have firm roots in these self-same States. African populations, for example, had already demanded more democratic freedom before the upheaval in Eastern Europe, as is exemplified by the case of Senegal, where the government authorized the formation of opposition parties towards the end of the 1970s, and that of Sudan, which went through a brief period of parliamentanism and democratic debate in the mid-1980s. Economic crisis gave a new impulse to the democratization movement, as a large part of the population correlated economic difficulties with the absence of basic freedoms.

These strong internal pressures for multi-party politics, however, were supplemented by pressure from the main international donors, which insisted that they would take account of progress in political freedom and good government when considering whether to grant aid. Although most ordinary people and members of elites manifestly believe that introducing a multi-party system is a step forward, others are still uneasy about what seems to them to be excessive optimism, given the specific circumstances of States, ethnic differences, the absence of a democratic political culture, etc.

It is now becoming clear, in fact, that economic progress has not followed political progress, as had been expected. Certain analysts are convinced that the failure of development policies is due to a "failure to instrumentalize political systems".\(^{47}\) giving rise to "evils" such as patrimonialism, patronage, nepotism, etc. When these aspects are referred to, what is being discussed is the relationship between the policies adopted by the elites in power and their consequences on the state of local development.

\(^{46}\) \textit{Idem}, p. 55.

B. Determinism: attitude of elites in power - internal sociocultural dysfunctions

Analysis of this relationship brings to light the existence of a twofold dynamic in the power relations between the existing authorities and local populations, particularly in Africa. On the one hand, elites often seek to associate themselves with the cultural foundations of their society in order to acquire political legitimacy and govern as they see fit. On the other, the fact that their governance is generally totalitarian and imposes exogenous development models means there is a danger of social and cultural dysfunctions unleashing situations of identity crisis that will lead to tragic consequences.

The cultural foundations of power

The political element, which has been recommended as a remedy for Third World development following the success of the role played by the State in stimulating rapid growth in Asia, has had unforeseen effects in most of the countries of Africa, where the State counts for much less than ties of kinship and traditions of predation dominated by what J.F. Bayart terms “the governmentality of the belly”.48 The way some heads of State are turning to the cultural roots of their societies in order to legitimize their power is revealing, as it helps account for the importance of cultural aspects in the structuring of hierarchies within developing countries.

Analysing these relationships, Michel G. Schatzberg49 shows that, by contrast with the West, where the idea of power is essentially transformative (the ability to get something done by someone), in Africa this concept is linked to the consumption of resources and “eating” (if you can eat, you are powerful, and the more you eat, the more powerful you are, there being a close correlation between the language of food and that of corruption), to references to witchcraft and other occult forces (the spiritual world is also a world of power and politics) and to the principle of unity and indivisibility (there can be only one “father” in the great family of the nation, and it is unlikely that the political “father” currently in power will be willing to share his rights and responsibilities with other “members of the political family”).

Crafty politicians understand these spiritual facets of power and deliberately use them to manipulate public opinion. Thus, the metaphors and language of fatherhood and the family are often used in Africa because they refer to deep-rooted cultural conceptions of what constitutes a legitimate political order. Thus, in the case of Madagascar, for example, the nature of the State cannot be understood without taking account of the contractual relationships between the people and its leaders, relationships “rooted in consanguinity and alliance between the holders of power and the people”.50

Other analysts believe that the cultural factor also accounts for the profound contradictions between rational ways of exercising power and the promptings of society: “... the emergence of numerous variants of patronage and corruption is not due solely to a tendentious interpretation of the colonial heritage, but also owes something to the survival of forms of behaviour that one might term ‘traditional’. This leads us to think that these ‘evils’ need to be qualified in the light of their ambivalence, which is linked to the emotional charge involved in the relationship between the forces of tradition and modernity”.51

50 Idem, p. 12.
Recourse to the study of political mindsets down through history, of sociology and of anthropology thus appears to be necessary if we are to achieve a better understanding of the "traditional" standards of political life and to adapt the principles of governance and democratization to local situations, in the interests of "the community"; failure to do so leads to deep crises, often resulting in interethnic wars.

C. Power and sociocultural crises

Under the effects of political and economic experience, training abroad and "subservience" towards "donors", elites (in political or some other type of power) seek to copy foreign models, seen as signs of "modernity", and to use much of their countries' wealth for their own personal ends.52 Addressing this, B. Badie spoke of the "cleaving of the world":

"The crisis of State legitimacy has been instrumental in reinforcing the dependence of the Princes of the South on those of the North, in aggravating their tendency towards patrimonialism and, because of this twofold process, in diverting the bulk of international aid into private hands. This practice of exclusion has sometimes seemed to serve a dual purpose: for the Princes of the North, it is an effective way of turning developing States into 'clients'; for the Princes of the South, it is also a good way of entering the club of States, which enables them to benefit from the appearance of power. But the price to be paid is heavy: over and above the stagnation that ensues in terms of development, this conception of relations between States has hastened the cleaving of the world - the split, now manifest, between the world of States and that of peoples and social movements. In developing countries, the governed are increasingly cut off from official governmental structures, and are losing the taste for citizenship, preferring to take refuge in substitutive identities [...]. The international is thus becoming a language of protest, bringing together the ideas of domination, exploitation, conspiracy and the systematic destruction of cultures."53

In these circumstances, indigenous cultures are a completely subversive power at the very heart of national government. Leaders enjoy wealth, influence and power at the expense of the majority. Generally, the latter "cling on" to the standards of their traditional culture and find it difficult to cope with conditions imposed by the central authority. Logically, there is a permanent conflict between those who feel reverence for foreign methods and those who are exploited by them. Analyses show that, in most developing countries, this has been instrumental in swelling the disenchanted mass of people who live in destitution. The ever-increasing number of the dispossessed has led over time to political and economic upheavals, the case of Zaire being one of the most revealing. According to certain analysts, it is "the cultural alienation of African elites on the Western model", and "bloodsucking elites, the agents of underdevelopment", that lead to disastrous economic effects.54

52 One recognized "developmentalist", René Dumont, described this situation in the following terms: "African governments also bear a large share of the responsibility for the failure of development. The elites that have risen to power have sought to live in the Western style. To do so, they have tried to obtain hard currency, and so they have given priority to export crops at the expense of food crops. 'Which are of no interest, because the poor have no purchasing power', as the Brazilian head of agriculture put it to me in August 1980, in Brasilia. Corruption and luxury spending, that is what leads to poverty, when the funds for education and health provided by sponsors dry up" ("Il aurait fallu donner la priorité à l'agriculture", in Croissance, No. 400, January 1997, p. 39).

53 "La scène mondiale atomisée", in Projet, No. 8, Spring 1995, p. 28.

It follows from these examples that the three-way relationship between development assistance, elites in power and local culture is a complex and ambiguous one, but one which has major consequences for the state of development of the Third World. The imposition of exogenous economic and political models that are incomprehensible to the local populations, the rise to power of a wealthy minority whose aim is to serve its own private or ethnic interests rather than those of society as a whole, the undermining of established communities; these factors ultimately come together to create a state of heteroculture, a loss of collective bearings, and a crisis of identification mechanisms.

Rejection of these models imposed from outside or by the coercion of home-grown elites is manifested in the modern world by the rise of Islamism, which is often regarded as one of the ways whereby people can return to their roots, to basic values. This situation of crisis means that the debate on the strategies and directions to be followed in the name of development is still an open one.

2. The limits of current development models

As we have now seen, the dysfunctions that maintain the division between North and South are varied in origin and extremely complex in nature. Different world development strategies, the involvement of financing bodies, bilateral, regional and international cooperation relationships, the work of non-governmental organizations, etc., have certainly played a large part in improving living conditions and initiating economic progress in numerous developing countries; the progress seen in the States of Latin America and the “Asian miracle” are proof of this. The social costs of this process have been enormous, however, while in many countries the state of development is still very low. This situation means that there is a need to consider how well suited the demands of development are to local needs and to take stock of the changes entailed by the transformations that are required if this end is to be achieved.

§ 1. The dichotomy between endogenous economic development and exogenous economic development

The concept of endogenous development is treated in the programmes of UNESCO and in studies carried out by numerous human sciences specialists as an important axis in the complex, multi-faceted process of development. The endogenous approach requires that account be taken of the sociocultural context in which development takes place, and of specific conditions connected with the culture concerned. This approach seeks to respond to the real needs of the target populations. It is based to a great extent on their degree of creativity, their values and potential and their forms of cultural expression, and its objective is to enable them to realize their ambitions. The endogenous approach enables the populations concerned to play an active part in their own technological development, while safeguarding the integrity of their sociocultural structures.

This ideology, which is often considered idealistic, comes into competition with what is known as “exogenous development”, meaning by this the development model of the industrialized societies, which is at the same time the aspiration of the elites in power in these countries and the objective of the work of different bilateral and multilateral bodies and institutions which, by different means (development assistance, structural adjustment programmes, etc.), propose or impose this form of progress towards material betterment.

One feature of Third World societies, for example, is that their experience of industrialization is affected by extremely onerous constraints connected both with the event of
independence, which by definition is something very recent, and with the very powerful enticements of foreign models.

The convergence of these two phenomena explains why, in a very brief initial stage, traditional cultural models were undermined, while subsequently, over the course of the 1960s and more as time went on, there was a return to these cultures, which manifested itself in the questioning of imported models; finally, we are now seeing the beginnings of less frenzied efforts to stabilize different original models of development. It is clear that this process of interchange between an emerging cultural code and a system of interactions that is now coming into being can only be understood by reference to social structures and events. It is essential to bear in mind that any given culture derives not from a model created out of nothing, but from specific historical contexts, which enable us to understand the conditions under which one particular model of interaction or another came into being and then stabilized into system-organizing cultural models.

The following diagrams55 show the differences between the two starting situations, which in fact represent two different cultural models:

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Pre-industrial cultural model

- Spirituality
- Religion
- Tradition

Traditional value systems

Systems of power
- Symbolic production

Community organization of society (egalitarian/non-egalitarian)
- Link to nature (sacred, condition of survival)

Rules for living

System of production and trade

Symbolic production
- trad./charismatic chief
- community ass. of elders

Sacred images
- representation
- erudite/pop. aesthetics
- ritual objects
- ceremonies
- trad. festivals

Collective memory
- education
- initiation

Group
- feeling of belonging

Extended family

No individual appropriation
- solidarity, cohesion (health, etc.)

Trading of surpluses
- Barter/monetary trade

Subsistence
- traditional knowledge and know-how
- local techniques

Agriculture, breeding, construction, etc.
- potlatch
- mutual credit (tontine)
- consumption
Theories, concepts and models of development that have come out of the European and American experience and that are built on a “quantitativist” European logic, therefore, do not apply to the realities of the countries that are now developing. For new styles of development to emerge, however, it would be necessary to accept the possibility that new, original forms of development might be found, ones that differ from what are claimed to be universal theories. The classic example of this is provided by the informal sector.
Composed of "microbusinesses" covering all areas of activity (food selling, manufacture of consumer items, repair, transportation, etc.), this sector reportedly employs more than half the urban population in sub-Saharan Africa, and the figure is in some cases close to 80%. The fact that the State sometimes encourages this kind of activity has been criticized by Western donors. But to try to subject this informal sector to the rules of the formal sector inevitably means suppressing it, and thus considerably increasing unemployment and aggravating the nutritional situation of the poorest. If the informal sector could give birth to small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) rooted in the local fabric, Africa could perhaps have a chance, at last, to find a path to development that was in keeping with its culture.

§ 2. Third Worldism: what is the reality, and what does it mean today?

The expression "Third World", which appeared in France at the time of the Bandoeng Conference (1955) from the pen of G. Balandier and A. Sauvy, designating the three quarters of the human race that was outside the Western world of development, was intended to illustrate the idea that international affairs were not just for the great powers, and that account would henceforth have to be taken of the huge numbers of people living in colonized countries, who had until then been mere bit players on the international stage. The expression "Third World" prefigures the use of the word "South" and refers to divisions other than the horizontal one between East and West.

Anyone who looks objectively at perceptions of the world over the last quarter of a century cannot fail to notice the remarkable change that has taken place in the way international relations are viewed, particularly those between the North and the South.

Over several "development decades" in the "new international economic order", the relationship with countries in the South has undergone profound transformations: the idealistic image of the planet as a "global village" united by bonds of solidarity has gradually given way to major divisions in the spheres of politics, economics, society, culture, etc.

In the economic sphere, this difference relates to the gaps between development levels. Thus, if the North sets the "standard", the ultimate stage to which most non-industrialized countries aspire, the latter, in the South, are still largely in a state of "underdevelopment". This situation is the result of several combinations of certain major factors, of which the most important are:

Widespread food shortages (over the last 30 years, a picture of the "geography of hunger" has been built up). While the stocks held by developed countries and the availability of transport mean that acute famines are confined to situations of political anarchy and war with economic blockades, chronic malnutrition, by contrast, is found everywhere, even in countries that are self-sufficient overall, owing to extreme social inequalities. Countries that can provide less than 2,500 calories a day per inhabitant must be regarded as failing to meet their essential needs. In fact, 75% of the world's population are in this position, and 25% provide only 2,000 calories per inhabitant per day.

The rate of natural population growth in the Third World ranges from 2% to 4%, the overall fertility index from three to eight children per woman. East Africa is the region that holds all the records, with a fertility index of eight children per woman, and a growth rate in the index of 10 inhabitants per square kilometre per year.

Industrialization is limited and incomplete everywhere. There are countries that have virtually no industries at all, and others where there are powerful ones, but nowhere has a complete and homogeneous industrial fabric come into being, which means that industrialization is reliant on costly imports (by contrast with Europe in the nineteenth century, where industrial growth was a cumulative process that propagated itself without tapping into outside resources). It must be noted, however, that there is now a major contrast between the new industrial countries of Asia, which have succeeded in setting a growth dynamic in train, and most of the other countries where, despite textile and metallurgical industries, etc., industrialization has not taken off.

Agriculture is dominated by the divide between food crops and cash crops, which compete for resources: land, investment and skilled labour.

The school enrolment rate is low and varies between countries (from 20% in Mali to 80% in Algeria), but the figures need to be treated with caution, given the variation in teaching quality and the number of hours of teaching per week or year.

Cities are two-tiered: functioning city centres, which are often very modern and expensive, contrast with poor suburbs, even shanty towns, where people from the countryside settle in large numbers, without real jobs and without resources. Swollen cities are a burden, and their glaring social inequalities sum up all the tragedy of the Third World. The economic consequences of this situation are made all the more serious by the fact that cities generate consumption patterns in which imports tend to play a very large part.

By contrast with nineteenth-century Europe, the national integration of countries is not a driving force: they are too small, or are deeply divided into rival regions or ethnic groups. This is generally the case in Africa, and is one of the main features of the extreme political violence seen in Third World countries.

The heavy weight of debt is still acting as a drag on development in numerous developing countries. The debt relief measures taken, particularly by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, have helped to give investors confidence in the newly industrialized countries of Asia and Latin America, but the problem is a long way from being solved, especially in Africa.

This brief outline of the main features that characterize the Third World today throws into relief the simultaneous appearance of two contradictory tendencies. On the one hand, there is the tendency towards the globalization of trade and the creation of a “global economy”. On the other, there is the rise of identity-related demands, particularly in Africa. There, the disintegration of the State has led people to turn back to their traditions, their religion, their language, their tribe, etc. The implosion of States has changed the objective of wars, now, it is not so much countries that turn warlike, but subnational elements in revolt against the uniformity of the nation-state. Formerly a force for unification, nationalism now sows division.58

In Africa, the list of socio-ethnic conflicts leading to civil war is a long one: Rwanda, Burundi (clash between Tutsis and Hutus), Senegal (struggle for the independence of Casamance), Mali, Niger (armed rebellion by the Touaregs), Chad, Sudan (rivalries between Muslims and Christians), Algeria (war between the State and Islamists), Somalia, Mozambique, Angola, etc. These struggles for tribal influence, often sustained and exacerbated by the political powers since independence, help to explain the widespread practices of favouritism and corruption, whose beneficiaries are determined by the ethnic origin of the leaders.

These situations show that the ethnic factor, and thus cultural references, are still inextricably rooted in African societies. Generally speaking, some analysts see this as creating “regrettable” obstacles to economic development, with the climate of political instability leading to the proliferation of famines and the creation of a “general state of tension that does not encourage international investment”.

But the increasing prevalence of these internal conflicts could lead the analysis further. The East-West rapprochement has accentuated the North-South divide and led to a loss of collective bearings: for the countries of the South, the socialist State was one of the landmarks of modernism, and they leant on this potential ally and its criticism of capitalism when expressing their demands and their global vision of the world in economic rhetoric (exploitation, unfair trade, development and underdevelopment, etc.). The division of the world, then, did not centre on ethnic or religious criteria, but on degrees or forms of development.

This system of common reference points has now collapsed, something that has been manifested in the way culture has been placed back at the centre, with the exaltation of identities, cultural borders, differences. These aspects, which are sometimes regarded as “excesses of culturalism”, are in fact a reaction to an excessive concentration on economics. The return to cultural values thus represents “a difficult but necessary stage in the process of globalization: where the economy has turned the world into a walled garden, culture seems to be the refuge of identities and particularism, placing the necessary international contradictions on ground where they can still be expressed”.

The restoration of culture to this central position, and its most serious manifestation, the rising strength of Islamism, now poses major risks to the North-South rapprochement, since cultural confrontations can be more savage and harder to manage than economic confrontations: “Whereas economic differences were by definition surmountable in development theory, cultural differences and identities are reinforced by their permanence and continuity. Development was a common realm of discourse and meaning, but the exaltation of cultural identities, pushed to the extreme, is multiplying situations in which communication between different types of discourse is impossible. Meanwhile, cultural stereotypes are confirming ordinary people in France and Europe in the feeling that their opposition to the ‘others’ in general, and to ‘Arabs’ in particular, is insurmountable. To see others as being irredeemably different is to cast them as barbarians, but it is also to turn oneself into a savage and shut oneself into a closed and moribund world. It is the return to inward-looking whiteness and Christianity that is now the biggest threat to Europe”.

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61 *Idem*, p. 22.
The Third World, then, raises a number of issues for international society and collective security. On the one hand, these issues may contribute to tensions on the international stage stemming, as we have just pointed out, from identity crises and xenophobia, but also from rivalry for influence among the great powers in areas of decolonization (indirect conflicts, military aid, military presence, intervention diplomacy, etc.), or from efforts to conquer economic or commercial markets (free trade zones, commercial aid policies, etc.). On the other hand, though, they can be factors for stabilization and harmonization in international society: the Third World could become one of the main stages for action on disarmament, and a place where developed, industrialized States act to foster economic progress.

The dialogue of cultures, a stronger dynamic of cultural cross-fertilization, and efforts by the North to understand and acknowledge the right to cultural difference, should be the priorities of the modern world.

Viewed from this angle, the role of international and regional cooperation and development institutions becomes extremely important, since what dialogue between cultures requires before anything else is awareness the world over of the importance of the cultural factor both for the advancement of the human race in all fields (economic, political, social, etc.) and for the maintenance of peace.
Part II

PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS
OF THE CULTURAL APPROACH IN INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES
Introduction

The term “strategy” is used in the United Nations to mean an “effort to integrate and rationalize all actions taken nationally and internationally with a view to reducing the gap between developed countries and developing ones”.

Being regarded from the economic point of view, progress was originally the subject of research by economists whose analyses generally led to various forms of investment that were profitable in the short term. When this reductionist conception of development led to failure, the attention paid to the cultural dimension increased remarkably over the decades, both within aid institutions and as part of the theory and practice of development funding. We propose to give an account of this in the chapter that follows by describing what, in this respect, are the increasingly significant activities and concerns of certain institutions and organizations working in a context of bilateral or multilateral development aid.

I. CHANGES IN THE WAY CULTURAL FACTORS ARE CONSIDERED IN THE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES OF SUPRA-STATE INSTITUTIONS

1. The cultural approach in the programmes of international institutions

§ 1. The United Nations agencies

According to the United Nations Charter, one of the missions of the Organization is to “achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character”.

To pursue this general mandate, the United Nations has at its disposal a number of organizations that concern themselves with the specific problems of development: the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary bodies: the five Regional Economic Commissions (Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Europe, Asia and the Pacific, and Western Asia), the technical Commissions (for the status of women, drugs, population, human rights, statistics, social development) and the Secretariat, which analyses economic and social data and problems and publishes studies on development.

Other specialized agencies, such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Bank group (IBRD, IDA, IFC, MIGA), etc., work within their respective spheres of activity to put in place world strategy guidelines and produce specific plans of action.

The general objectives of international cooperation (the fight against poverty, the promotion of women, human rights, etc.) generally derive from the medium- and long-term strategies of the United Nations, and could be formulated in terms of broad cultures.

In 1960, the United Nations proclaimed the first international development decade. The relative failure of this led Member States to adopt the decade as the basic time period within which they have coordinated their trans-sectoral and inter-agency development efforts. Three international development decades have been proclaimed, in 1970, 1980 and 1990.


Each of these decades is defined by a world development strategy. This enables United Nations agencies and Member States to turn their own development activities into a coherent and positive contribution to a set of international policy recommendations, and to define their role in inter-State relations and with international institutions.

Since 1960, the successive decades have reflected a concomitant evolution in the concept of development, in response to the profound and sometimes traumatic changes that have occurred across the world.

The Strategy for the 1970s simply stated that social objectives would be achieved by economic growth. The difficulty of implementing the Strategy for the 1970s led the General Assembly of the United Nations, in 1974, to draw up a recommendation for the establishment of a New International Economic Order and, in 1976, to adopt the basic needs strategy of the International Labour Organization. The first step towards recognizing the non-economic dimensions of development had thus been taken.

The Strategy for the 1980s further underlined the need to speed up economic development, but this objective was linked to considerations relating to justice, peace and stability. For the first time, therefore, the world Plan of Action went beyond economic and financial measures to propose specific actions in other fields, such as the environment, the human habitat, disaster relief and social development. Still, no explicit reference was made to the cultural aspects of development.

The Strategy for the 1990s marked a significant departure in this respect. The protection of diverse “cultural entities” is specifically listed among the objectives of the Strategy. The economic and social goals of the Strategy are envisaged throughout in terms of sustainable human development, and this is explicitly interpreted to mean that each community should be encouraged to choose its own approach to the use of human resources and the creation of institutions, according to its own priorities, its values, its traditions, its culture and its stage of development. Renewed emphasis is placed on the notion of participation: “Development must ensure respect for human dignity ..., [improve] the well-being of the entire population on the basis of its full participation in the process of development and a fair distribution of the benefits therefrom”.

In fact, the great objectives laid down as principles by the United Nations could be placed in relation to those of the World Decade for Cultural Development (1988-1997), whose conceptual basis has been widely noted, and which has been represented in tabular form as follows.

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The evolution of these strategies thus represents a significant advance towards recognizing the part played by human and qualitative aspects in successful economic and social development. However, until culture is explicitly affirmed as a central concept both in defining policy and in guiding action, "the full significance of its role will not be apparent, and cultural aspects will continue, albeit with the best intentions, to be instrumentalized and so undervalued".66

Among these specialized agencies, UNESCO is the institution that has attached the greatest importance to the cultural aspects of development.

The cultural dimension of development is one of the main planks of the UNESCO approach. This Organization has proclaimed, studied and tested, in numerous experimental projects and specialist working sessions, the importance of cultural factors and the cultural impact of development. Furthermore, UNESCO has been involved in a substantial number of the cooperation activities conducted by other United Nations specialized agencies, particularly the World Bank, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO), etc.

The concept of a "cultural dimension to development" gradually took shape and was subjected to analysis after the Conference of Venice (1970) and during the regional conferences that followed on from one another over the decades: Helsinki (Europe, 1972), Yogyakarta (Asia, 1973), Accra (Africa, 1975) and Bogotá (Latin America, 1978). The World Conference in Mexico City (1982) provided an opportunity to expand on the concepts involved, to consolidate the positions taken by UNESCO in relation to this pivotal theme, and to demonstrate their validity both for Third World countries and for the increasingly independent industrialized countries. The success achieved in making the idea of a "cultural aim of development" prevail meant that a new stage had been reached: development regarded as a total process with people, their being and their future at its centre; one that entails harmonization of all aspects of life ... people must be at once the main actors in and the true end of development.67

During the 1980s, on the basis of the conclusions reached in Mexico City, UNESCO carried out an impressive number of studies to determine what general conditions were

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66 Idem, p. 73.
needed to integrate the cultural dimension in development strategies and to demonstrate the
dynamic role that cultural factors could play in development projects.

Many other studies and reports have dealt with the effects of interactions between
culture and a variety of other factors in the economic or social sphere, such as technical and
industrial development (including the effects of this on cultural identity), education,
communication, science, the environment, etc.

UNESCO thus played the leading role in the World Decade for Cultural Development
Decade, which were inaugurated in 1992, reflect the importance of the role now ascribed to
culture in approaches to development: 1992: Culture and Environment; 1993: Culture,
Education and Work; 1994: Culture and Development; 1995: Culture and Agriculture; 1996:
Culture and Health; 1997: Culture and Technology (arts, sciences and communication).

The creation, in 1991, of the independent World Commission on Culture and
Development, chaired by Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, and the publication of the World Report on
Culture and Development, Our Creative Diversity, have had the virtue of demonstrating, on a
scientific basis, the interdependence between culture and development and the major role
played by cultural diversity in development and in the maintenance of peace.

The international role played by UNESCO in promoting the concept of the "cultural
dimension of development" is thus essential. While it has been criticized in certain circles, UNESCO, the "world's rational prophet", has an irreplaceable position because of its history
and heritage, and because it is the broadest international forum. Its recent studies have
focused on the practical approach entailed by the cultural dimension of development, and
provide a solid working basis for all other institutions and organizations whose aim is to
promote sustainable development that respects the cultural diversity of peoples.

The importance of the work carried out by UNESCO in advancing the concept of
development is thus fundamental. The way this organization has developed sets it apart
significantly from other international bodies, especially those of an economic nature: its field
of action, as laid down by its charter, has been progressively extended into new cultural fields
and towards a more and more globalizing conception of culture. Because of this, UNESCO
has naturally been in the "vanguard" of the battle for development.

Despite their importance, the positions taken by UNESCO can sometimes run up
against some common institutional and political obstacles, opposed to multilateralism in all its
forms.

Other United Nations agencies have explicitly adopted a broader definition of their
human development work (i.e. including cultural factors) since the 1970s, particularly the
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Children's Fund
(UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Food and Agriculture
Organization (FAO) and the International Labour Organization (ILO), while others have

68 Cf. for example, assertions such as "... the cultural dimension is nothing but a luxury that may be indulged
in as a sacrifice to the ritual of UNESCO, by launching a festival of African arts or inaugurating a
museum of popular traditions" (Latouche, S., op. cit., p. 56).

69 Namely: The Cultural Dimension of Development: Towards a Practical Approach, Paris, UNESCO,
1997, works that have already been referred to in the first part of this study.
devoted more time to devising an approach that goes beyond the purely technical definition of their mandate, one example being the United Nations Industrial Development Organization.

For their part, the research institutions - the United Nations University (UNU), the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) - have, since their foundation, interpreted their mission more in social than in economic or technical terms.

The most thorough reviews of existing working habits have been carried out by multilateral development cooperation institutions (WHO, UNICEF) or bilateral ones (Canadian International Development Agency), whose mandate included an explicit human or humanitarian element right from the outset, and by non-governmental organizations, which long ago adopted totally new policies in this field.

As regards coordination of efforts to arrive at more integrated policies, it should be noted that numerous inter-agency structures exist within the United Nations: ECOSOC, ACC, CCAQ and JIU. The idea of the lead agency and focal point for inter-agency projects is also a response to the problem of how to strengthen cooperation in the United Nations system. Lastly, since 1994 the former resident representatives of UNDP have been responsible for coordinating the work of different agencies on the ground.

Despite these favourable aspects and the efforts of UNESCO, it has to be said that, owing to institutional culture and pressure from certain Member States that are demanding a more strictly administrative policy and more visible results, the development planning methods currently used in the various agencies are still designed essentially according to economic, quantitative and sectoral criteria.

§ 2 The experience of other cooperation agencies and the activities of non-governmental organizations

In the sphere of multilateral international cooperation, an important role in Third World development is played by collaboration between the European Union and the States of Asia, the Caribbean and the Pacific (EU/ACP), on the basis of the Lomé Conventions.

Here once again, the attention paid to the “cultural dimension” of development has increased dramatically.

Thus, within the European Union, it is the term “cultural cooperation” that has increasingly become established. Although this term was being used well before 1986 in official statements and reports produced by the institutions of the European Community, it was given a legal status by the Maastricht Treaty. Article 128 of which sanctions the need for “European cultural cooperation”.

The third Lomé Convention, which came into force in 1986, included a section dealing with cultural cooperation. These provisions were renewed and extended by Lomé IV (signed in December 1989). Article 139 of this last Convention states that cooperation must:

- contribute to the self-reliant development of the ACP States, a process centred on human beings and rooted in each people’s culture;
- enhance their human resources, increase their own creative capacities and foster participation by the population in the process of development;
promote better international understanding and greater solidarity in the interests of mutual enrichment.

Cultural cooperation, being based on awareness of four sets of factors (social organization, economic organization, family organization and cultural factors), is thus the backdrop to the relationship with the ACP States and not just an additional field for such cooperation. It includes:

on the one hand, awareness of the cultural dimension of all development activities;

on the other, financing for specific cultural activities: safeguarding of the cultural heritage, production and distribution of cultural goods, cultural events, information and communication.

Here, then, we have a range of fields that make Lomé the clearest and widest-ranging text that the European Community has yet produced in the cultural domain with outside countries.

In other agreements signed by the European Community since Lomé III, the conception of culture is sometimes less exhaustive. That to be found in the last Lomé Convention, however, has gained widespread acceptance. The concept of “intercultural dialogue” permeates the provisions on cultural cooperation, to the point of becoming an essential form of it. It should be pointed out that the technical basis for this cooperation was worked out in collaboration with UNESCO.

This intercultural dialogue is grounded in a deepening of knowledge and a better understanding of cultures, and on “awareness of the interdependence of peoples of different cultures” (Art. 145). The result aimed at is reciprocal cultural benefit, with greater understanding in Europe of the positive and enriching contribution that ACP has to make to humanity, and vice versa.

For a very long time, the ACP States have been dominated not just economically or politically by the Western countries, but culturally as well, and this is still true in many respects.

The purpose of taking account of the cultural dimension is to foster a type of development that is not imported or copied directly from Western models, but is home-grown, and consequently better suited to local needs. According to the Lomé Convention, “the design, appraisal, execution and evaluation of each project or programme shall be based on understanding of, and regard for, the cultural and social features of the milieu” (Art. 142).

Article 143 lists a number of aspects to be taken into consideration when development projects are initiated:

adaptation to the cultural milieu and the implications for that milieu;

integration and enhancement of the local cultural heritage, notably value systems, way of life, modes of thought and know-how, materials and styles;

methods of information acquisition and transmission;

interaction between people and their environment and between population and natural resources;
social and interpersonal relationships;
structures, methods and forms of production and processing.

To that end, since 1992 the Commission has adopted new general guidelines for implementing its development initiatives, called the "integrated approach to project cycle/programme management", which include cultural aspects.

The cultural dimension, then, is now an integral part of every project. The Commission can therefore refuse to lend its cooperation to projects that would go against the values of ACP communities. That cooperation, which is grounded in respect for cultural aspects of developing countries, embodies an interesting type of participatory development planning. This method, moreover, is being employed more and more, notably by the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and certain national development ministries (that of Germany, for example).

Where bilateral cooperation is concerned, the activities carried out, for instance, by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the French Ministry of Cooperation, the Finnish Development Agency (FINNIDA) and the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) have been significant and reveal increasing concern to see that cultural factors are taken into account.70

The role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in cooperation for development is a vital one. This is due, on the one hand, to their status (they are not subject to public laws)71 and, on the other, to the diversity of the fields and levels where they operate. Although the sum total of financing provided by non-governmental organizations is small, as a proportion of all resources provided to developing countries (3% of the total in 1992, but close to 10% of official development assistance),72 it is continually growing as the role of NGOs becomes more and more essential, not only in emergency situations, caused by the proliferation of the regional conflicts in which they have to intervene, but also as a result of the tendency of institutional bodies to entrust them with the implementation of development programmes.

With their greater flexibility and proximity to the realities on the "ground", where their volunteers take direct action, and with their ability to implement rapid assistance programmes targeted at the victims of natural or human crises, NGOs are increasingly being regarded as key partners for institutional aid programmes, be they bilateral or multilateral, such as those of the World Bank, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). In this respect, the activities of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh and Sarvodaya in Sri Lanka are examples to be followed.73

71 Through their actions, NGOs have given birth to the concept of the "duty of assistance", voted in by the United Nations on the initiative of Bernard Kouchner in 1988 and since termed the "right of interference". This right, which has been put into effect on different occasions (Kurdistan in 1991, Somalia and Bosnia in 1992), calls into question two of the principles of international law (State sovereignty and non-interference in their internal affairs), which shows how the influence exercised by humanitarian action has been increasing in a context of world "disorder" and a proliferation of local conflicts.
73 See below, § 3.
Among NGOs that attach real importance to the cultural dimension of development, mention must be made of the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OXFAM), the Catholic Committee against Hunger and for Development (CCHD), the Cultural Network (grouping of NGOs acting in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America), the Panos Institute (made up of four NGOs in France, Hungary, Great Britain and the United States), etc.

These organizations, which are now mostly professionalized, with intervention techniques honed to deal with emergencies, are now present in all major conflicts and are extending the scope of their action by appearing on the international stage to warn of tragedies and call for the settlement of political crises with severe humanitarian consequences. Their “field” activities and experience are being called upon more and more when it comes to implementing development programmes and projects, as their participation offers the prospect of a fully cultural approach to development.

2. Funding bodies

For developing countries or countries in transition, most of which lack financial resources and have to cope with a variety of problems (population growth, famine, poverty) and with a large burden of foreign debt, development funding operations are very important. Given the fact that development theories originally concentrated exclusively on economic issues, funding agencies have tended to exercise a degree of hegemony over development policy.

A survey\(^\text{74}\) that the International Centre for Development was asked to carry out by the UNESCO International Fund for the Promotion of Culture in 1983 showed that, of 48 organizations financing projects in developing countries, just one had a specialist division that concerned itself with the cultural dimension of development, and this was at a time when most of them acknowledged that they had to concern themselves with this issue when implementing specific projects relating to rural areas. In most cases, funding bodies are primarily “business-oriented” and consider that the problem is none of their concern and that it is up to the beneficiaries to worry about the cultural aspects.

These organizations are beginning to show some concern about cultural impact, although this is generally quite limited. Nonetheless, a clear tendency in this direction can be discerned.

§ I. World organizations

Generally judged critically for structural adjustment policy recommendations that have ignored social and cultural consequences, the World Bank has been engaged for the last decade or so in innovative research and experimentation to promote development that is at once participatory and “environmentally” sustainable, the idea of “environment” being extended in this case to include the social and cultural context of projects.

In the conclusions of the Proceedings of an International Conference held at the Headquarters of the World Bank in 1992 with the title Culture and Development in Africa, it was stated that: “... despite the importance of local cultures, the conventional theory of development continues to insist that development takes place when populations are stripped of many of their old habits. Consequently, no serious effort has been made to study traditional

cultural values or their relationship with the development process [...] In the light of the evidence presented here, we can conclude that development has serious consequences for the culture of a society in transition and that the way its consequences are dealt with depends largely on the agents of change and on the degree of popularity their programmes enjoy”.74

These observations have led the authorities to affirm the need to establish an “integrated and integrating” culture framework for development: “A clear cultural identity that develops uninterruptedly is indispensable to the creation of an integrated and integrating culture framework, which is a sine qua non for the existence of relevant and effective institutions that are at once rooted in authenticity and tradition and open to modernity and change”.75

This new conception of development represents radical progress in the strategies and methods of action of funding agencies and deserves special attention, as it fits perfectly into the field of inquiry that we set ourselves in the introduction to this study.

This movement towards a cultural approach to development may be illustrated by a brief overview of the changes undergone by the project cycles devised at the World Bank.76

The need to reconsider the traditional cycle (devised in 1978) was felt when it was realized that it had become out of date, given “the participatory, risky and volatile nature of more and more development operations in the modern world”.77 Furthermore, retrospective project assessment had shown that insufficient involvement by beneficiaries and borrowers in decision-making and target-setting had been the main reason for the failure of many projects.

Centred on borrowers and beneficiaries, and no longer just on the requirements of the aid organization, the new cycle encourages collaboration with the local population at an early stage in the design and planning of development projects. The importance given to communication (which consists in gathering systematic information on the points of view and concerns of the main interested parties), experimentation (exploring the different approaches identified at the initial stage and identifying risks), learning at the level of local institutions and evaluation of risks enables greater realism to be brought to the design and pacing of projects.

“In Brazil, a project financed by the Bank to clean up the environment and improve sanitary conditions in the cities illustrates the importance of a wide-ranging exchange of views between the public authorities in charge of water and the environment, community leaders and the services of the Bank. It emerged during surveys carried out at the discussion stage that disadvantaged households without running water or refuse collection services and those that received only unreliable services were prepared to pay much more for such services than they were currently doing. Consequently, the project designers extended its objectives from the restoration of coastal areas to the improvement of water provision and refuse collection services, giving priority to the poor areas of cities.”78

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75 Idem, p. 17.
77 Idem, p. 42.
78 Ibidem, pp. 42-43.
So it is that, when they are designed to meet local people's needs, with their agreement and participation, and thus form part of a cultural approach, development operations have a better prospect of achieving lasting effects.

Similarly, the new cycle is in keeping with the Bank's objective of strengthening its partnership with other financing institutions. The experimentation stage, for example, requires thorough knowledge of local conditions and a permanent presence on the ground. It is often pointed out that the Bank takes advantage of work carried out by other bodies and forms strategic partnerships with other bilateral organizations at the experimentation stage, and with regional banks at the demonstration stage.

§ 2. The European Union

The Lomé Convention provides the basis on which to finance a whole panoply of activities of a cultural nature:

- measures to safeguard and enhance the cultural heritage;
- production and distribution of cultural goods and services;
- cultural events;
- information and communication;
- research on cultural issues;
- initiatives to realize the potential of human resources when the activities concerned have a primarily cultural character (women and development, human rights, etc.).

Cultural activities should help to root ACP populations more firmly in their traditional cultural heritage and to preserve and disseminate this, while reinforcing the self-reliance and creative potential of these different civilizations.

There are, however, no supplementary resources for financing cultural activities, which are funded either by the National Indicative Programme of the ACP State making the request, or from the Regional Funds, if the request is made by two or more ACP States, or from the all-ACP funds, in the case of activities of a more general nature. The Foundation for ACP-EU Cultural Cooperation, mentioned in Article 141 of Lomé IV, enjoys this last form of financing.

Around 45% of National Indicative Programmes identify the cultural sector as an area for cooperation. The States concerned are the following: Benin, Guinea Conakry, Guinea-Bissau, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Burkina Faso, Gambia, Mali, Senegal, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Jamaica, Papua New Guinea, Comoros, Fiji, Kiribati, Western Samoa, Tonga, Vanuatu, Madagascar, Seychelles.

The Commission has already financed a large number of cultural projects, worth a total of some 47 million ECUs (Lomé III + Lomé IV), covering most of the possible areas of action. Nonetheless, the place given to the financing of initiatives designed to increase awareness of the cultural dimension of development remains insignificant when compared to the importance of this for the success of the development process: just 3.4% of all cultural cooperation funding and a mere 0.007% of the whole budget.
Once again, these figures show that cultural aspects are addressed only as an afterthought, once the concerns of economic development have been dealt with. Thus, the cultural dimension is overshadowed by ad hoc economic imperatives.

Meanwhile, under the Lomé provisions, it is up to the ACP States to devise policies and measures with a view to autonomous development that is true to their own culture. In fact, the pressure of other priorities means that these States do not always give the cultural dimension the importance that the legal texts ascribe to it, or that is claimed for it in political pronouncements.

More sustained collaboration between local decision-makers and funding agencies can thus be seen to be necessary; similarly, cooperation between the latter and regional financing bodies could be another effective way of taking account of the cultural dimension when projects of an economic nature are devised.

§ 3. Regional and local organizations

Generally speaking, it can be seen that the activities of regional development funding banks are inspired by those of the World Bank group, which means that they concentrate on financial profitability. Nonetheless, they are already participating in activities with a cultural content, through the intermediary of special funds (Social Progress Trust Fund, Inter-American Development Bank).

An intriguing example of this is provided by the Islamic Development Bank. Ulemas participate in and supervise projects financed by this body, and projects are “subject to the underlying philosophy of Islam and oriented in accordance with the standards and principles of Islam”.

As regards local practices, we have seen the creation of lending systems where surety is provided on a basis of trust, and which provide one of the principal means of sustaining small-scale local development. This approach also demonstrates the importance of the cultural factor in the design of solutions and their adaptation to local circumstances. These financial markets, which have sprung from the cultural frameworks of developing societies, and are unthinkable if viewed from the point of view of the principles of the Western economy, have been genuinely successful in poor countries:

The Grameen Bank is the best-known NGO of 12,000 “local groupings” in Bangladesh. Founded in 1969, it shows how a system of credit can be developed for the poor. Its founder, Mohammad Yunus, set out from the observation that landless peasants had no access to credit owing to the simple fact that they had no surety to offer. Contrary to received wisdom, he was to show that the poorest are not necessarily the worst debtors. The “bank”, which would not obtain that status until 1983, made a modest beginning, the method used being that of collective credit. To obtain loans, applicants, all of whom are from the most deprived rural areas, first have to form a group of five, which then meets regularly with a bank employee to learn basic principles.

The projects financed have not been enough to enable the economy of the region really to take off, but the country people who have borrowed from Grameen Bank loans have a standard of living that is some 20% higher than that of other landless peasants. Furthermore, this bank has begun to branch out into more large-scale and traditional

economic sectors, such as irrigation projects. From a hundred or so branches in 1984, it had grown to 500 by 1988, with 50,000 customers. In a country where women form the most disadvantaged group, 80% of loans go to them. The bank boasts a recovery rate of 98%.\textsuperscript{80}

If the economies of these regions are really to take off, it would be beneficial for local financial markets of this kind to be supported by funding agencies of a regional or world nature, with a view to developing them and moving them towards more advanced types of loans.

II. PROSPECTS AND PROPOSALS

The importance of taking the cultural dimension of development into consideration has thus gradually come to be recognized by the actors involved in this process. This has come about because a series of assessments of the causes leading to the failure of numerous development projects and programmes have pointed to the same conclusion: in a world in crisis, the interdependence of development and culture is no longer in doubt.

This finding, which has been a real revelation to certain enthusiasts for economic reform, has caused traditional approaches to development to be called into question, and there has been a search for new solutions that take into account and respect cultural factors; the strategies adopted to this end by international institutions, UNESCO and the World Bank, for instance, are good examples.

Some concepts and key words keep cropping up in the various studies produced to address these issues: participation, communication, respect for cultural diversity, confidence, cultural identity, etc. These are all new reference points that provide an outline of a different kind of "development", one that is self-nourishing, endogenous, an essential precondition for the sustainability of reforms. For these to be contemplated, radical changes are in fact required in the methods and conduct of the actors involved in development.

1. The cultural approach: a possible response to globalization

\textit{§ 1. Participation, communication, confidence: essential preconditions for the "success" of development}

If development is to respond to people's aspirations and be sustainable, it cannot be conducted on the basis of an external model, but must be organized in accordance with the objectives and methods freely chosen by each society, ensuring that transfers of knowledge in the spheres of social and human science, and in the field of technology, do not become an obstacle to endogenous development. Thus, rather than merely transferring knowledge whose effects are as likely to be destructive as invigorating for the societies and civilizations in question, there is a need to ensure that what prevails is the principle of \textit{exchanging knowledge}, something that entails considerable \textit{participation} by local populations.

Given this, grass-roots participation in a range of development-oriented activities involves a number of factors: initiatives coming from the community itself, joint decision-making between the funding agencies and the community, and involvement by the ultimate users in the management and operation of the facilities constructed, so that they can subsequently maintain them.

\textsuperscript{80} Quoted by UNESCO, \textit{op. cit.}, 1997, pp. 282-283.
The obstacles that stand in the way of increased grass-roots participation, such as patronage and corporatism, should also be removed. The fact is that the elites at the pinnacle of States and the economy are not willing to share their powers; to pressure from the dominated strata of society, they often respond with the weapons at their disposal, including a range of politico-ideological mechanisms through which dominant groups succeed in blocking change in the groups exploited. Under these conditions, a leading role in the design of projects must be assigned to the field operative, who needs to ensure that the local people are consulted, without intermediaries, so that there can be interaction, discussion, consensus and direct involvement. The constructive results of this process will depend to a large extent on the quality of communication between the field operative and the community. In this context, communication is "the indispensable tool of participation".

It is important for communication flows to work at a number of levels simultaneously:

field operatives and external development factors ➔ local populations ➔ other local group.

Furthermore, the less culturally homogeneous the community is, the more essential it is to encourage the different groups that make it up to communicate freely among themselves.

Communication flows of this kind can be generated effectively by a number of means: schooling that is integrated into the milieu (an example being the secondary schooling carried out in Senegal), integrated popular education centres (Guinea-Bissau), mass education methods such as educational radio (Senegal), extra-curricular television (Côte d’Ivoire, Tanzania), a rural press (Senegal, Mali), and organized activities that encourage participation, among others.

Participation through communication, and a dialogue between cultures, can galvanize social groups so that they are capable of taking initiatives and carrying out new experiments successfully.

But this "galvanization", the impetus towards social participation, can be triggered only if there is a climate of confidence. This term, indeed, crops up in numerous assertions that aim to provide possible solutions to the crisis cutting across developed and developing societies alike. Here are a few examples:

"The absence of a sustainable cultural framework tends to translate into a lack of national confidence and into social fragmentation, whereby Westernized elites are juxtaposed with alienated majorities [...] This self-confidence is indispensable if an attempt is to be made to create a cultural framework that will enable modernization to mean something more than a veneer of Westernization."^83

According to Alain Peyrefitte, the attitude of confidence represents the "quintessence of the cultural and religious, social and political forms of behaviour that exercise a decisive influence on development ... Without a doubt, the mainspring of development is confidence in personal enterprise, in the freedom to explore and invent".~^84

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83 Serageldin, I., Vice-President of the World Bank, op. cit., p. 18.
Confidence thus appears to be an indispensable precondition for the development process to begin. By means of an almost exhaustive analysis of the history of Western Christianity from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, Alain Peyrefitte shows that the forces driving the “take-off” of development in Europe are to be found in what he calls an “ethos of confidence” - a state of mind that disrupted traditional taboos and favoured innovation, mobility, competition and rational and responsible enterprise.

This judgement also holds true for the countries in transition of Eastern Europe, where the changes that have occurred since the end of communism have led to a real loss of bearings, to what is essentially a mental and moral breakdown. Recovery in these economies, which are at a more advanced stage, from the technical and material point of view, than those of many countries in the Third World, also requires the effective involvement of the populations concerned. Foreign capital has been just as essential there for “take-off” and reforms, but badly managed economic policies, as in Romania, Albania and Bulgaria, have caused people to become resigned and lose confidence in their future, some of the symptoms of which are general inertia and emigration by many young people. The interdependence between economic progress and a climate of confidence is thus demonstrated once again.

The attitude of confidence can also work in a different way. The failure of experiments designed to bring about a real change in the development process can also lead to a loss of confidence among the actors involved. A report published by Croissance magazine,\(^{85}\) entitled *Do you still believe in development?*, reveals that numerous specialists who have dedicated their working lives to fighting for development are now disappointed with the results. “I used to believe in it, and now I don’t!” declares Rony Brauman, former President of *Médecins sans frontières* (1982 to 1994). They believe that the solution lies in reformulating the concept of development and in energizing the activities of local populations, especially the young, while involving them in a concrete way in the process of change.

It is exactly this climate of confidence in their own values and future, of freedom to act and think as their own aptitudes and spiritual constitution dictate, that the peoples of the Third World should be helped to (re)discover; and this can hardly be achieved by maintaining the breach between the “dominators” and the “dominated”, regardless of the context and of how this divergence manifests itself, whether through the imposition of a certain economic and social model, support and assistance for corrupt elites in power, etc.

The most direct and effective way for nations to regain confidence in themselves and in their future is for them to be encouraged to participate - through communication and dialogue - in change and in the transformation of their own countries and living standards. Participation, communication, confidence and development thus constitute a network of reciprocal interdependence and conditioning, and the main axes of development programme strategies, together with the actions of the various actors in development, need to converge in this direction.

Specific methods and means of arriving at this cooperation have been devised by UNESCO, with practical solutions offered by the *A Cultural Approach to Development - Planning Manual: Concepts and Tools*. These principles need to provide the basis for planning any outside action undertaken in the name of development. It is therefore towards a comprehensive change in existing approaches to development that the new demands of development should converge.

\(^{85}\) No. 400, January 1997, pp. 36-40.
§ 2. Cultural identity and dialogue between cultures: the cultural background to the new world system

Disappointing experiences over the few decades for which development has been under way have led to reflection on ways of recasting the issues of development so as to bring about a real cultural revolution and thereby put in place a new world system. “Founded on actual situations rather than on a desire for standardization, the new world system is constructed on the foundations represented by different cultural identities.”

These identities should not be backward-looking, but should serve as the driving force of the development process by virtue of their own dynamics and of contact with other cultures. Cultural identity, the dialogue of cultures and cultural development are thus the cultural pillars of this new world system.

Cultural identity is in fact the equivalent, on the plane of thought, to the assertion of sovereignty over natural wealth on the material plane. This identity is based simultaneously on retrospective and prospective elements.

It therefore constitutes the main driving force of development, since it is the force that mobilizes communities and an integral part of several features that are of vital importance to the development process, whether in the sphere of agriculture, science or social organization.

What, therefore, has to be preserved and developed in the face of foreign ways of thinking and acting is a material and non-material cultural heritage. Laying claim to a cultural identity - which does not necessarily mean becoming inward-looking - makes it possible to combat the imbalances to which the presence of a dominant culture tends to give rise, as it brings with it a quota of creativity and a capacity for renewal that enable a society to evolve, without ceasing to be itself. Acceptance of and respect for cultural diversity are the very things to provide an alternative to the dangerous tendency towards uniformity in the world: the number of cultures identified in the world is put at 10,000. Many of these are threatened with marginalization or disappearance. In some cases, minority cultures are overwhelmed by dominant ones, and thus gradually disappear.

In view of this, one of the proposals of the Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development was for cultural rights to receive protection as human rights:

“Recent massive breaches of human rights have often been motivated by cultural considerations. These violations have included illegal confinement, persecution or assassination of artists, journalists, teachers, scholars and members of religious and minority ethnic groups; intentional destruction of the immovable cultural heritage and deprivation or destruction of the movable cultural heritage; restriction of speech or cultural expression; and many acts that curtail cultural diversity and freedom of expression. However, in too many instances, culturally persecuted individuals and communities find no adequate recourse in the existing framework of human rights protection. Cultural rights are now widely recognized as deserving the same protection as human rights. There is therefore a need for the international community adequately to secure the protection of cultural rights.”

To do this, one measure should be to draw up an inventory of cultural rights that receive no protection from existing international instruments and that could constitute the basis of an

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86 Balmond, L., op. cit., p. 28.
International Code of Conduct in relation to culture. This would make it possible to rule on flagrant violations of cultural rights and mobilize international solidarity to defend them.\textsuperscript{88}

The preservation of cultural diversity should in fact be one of the priorities of the modern world, confronted as it is with the challenges of globalization and economic development. Determined efforts are needed to ensure that growth is not devoid of cultural roots and therefore of a future, since, as we have just seen, growth without roots leads to the loss of cultural identity.

However, in today's world, preserving cultural identity cannot in any way mean peoples shutting themselves away inside their own national or ethnic frontiers. One of the characteristics of the modern world is undoubtedly the intensification of trade and communications. Less than ever now can cultures survive and develop in autarky; on the contrary, they are compelled to be interdependent. To this obvious fact, another observation should be added: the cultures that have flourished have been those that have benefited from countless influences, received and transmitted in a movement of unceasing enrichment:

"If the Pacific has emerged as the most dynamic region of the world, it is because it has drawn on the best practices and values from many rich civilizations, Asian and Western. If this fusion continues to work, there could be explosive creativity on a scale never before seen."\textsuperscript{89}

The dialogue of cultures also strengthens each culture and gives it a much greater field of action and invention. This dialogue is not just a factor for international peace, but is "the essential vehicle of a development policy founded on international solidarity".\textsuperscript{90}

At present, given the tendency of States to turn in upon themselves or to seek regional alliances, it is difficult to imagine such solidarity coming into being without major changes, both in the behaviour of international actors and in their methods of action.

2. The scope of the World Decade for Cultural Development

By proclaiming the World Decade for Cultural Development for the period 1988-1997, the United Nations was underlining the need to take account of local cultures in the development process, to affirm and enrich cultural identities, to stress the importance of creativity and participation in a period of rapid scientific and technological change, and to bring about increased acceptance of cultural diversity, in the interests of peace and international understanding.\textsuperscript{91}

These principles, in fact, represent the conclusions derived from the development activities of the international community, which have shown that efforts that neglect the cultural environment are unlikely to produce positive results.

Numerous congresses and conferences, cultural events, research projects, etc., were carried out over the period. Although it is called the decade for "cultural development", it should be stressed that this strategy enabled remarkable progress to be made with problems associated with the cultural dimension of development.

\textsuperscript{88} Idem, pp. 58-59.
\textsuperscript{89} Mahbubani, K., quoted by UNESCO, Our Creative Diversity, op. cit., p. 23.
\textsuperscript{90} Balmond, L., op. cit., p. 37.
\textsuperscript{91} On these issues, see also below, Chapter 1.
Led by UNESCO, the research on the cultural aspects of development carried out by large numbers of researchers and specialists has resulted in the formulation of a number of concrete proposals based on scientific data, which have made it possible to incorporate cultural aspects into various development programmes and projects. Thus, all the institutions involved in the development process have been provided with new working approaches that respect the cultural background of the populations concerned, and that thereby ensure success.

For these principles to be put into practice, profound changes must be made in a number of spheres of action.

§ 1. Reform and remodelling of the institutions involved in development

It is not enough to pay lip service to the importance of the cultural dimension of development without taking practical measures in that direction. For this growing awareness to produce results, a range of measures need to be implemented to ensure that the activities of international actors are properly organized, whether they are traditional actors (States and international organizations) or new ones, such as non-governmental organizations or decentralized communities in industrialized countries.

For a truly cultural approach to be implemented, then, the first thing that is needed is reform of the internal organization of these bodies. These changes need to be made, first and foremost, in accordance with the principle that actions should be harmonized internationally. This effort needs to start in the organizations of the United Nations system.

The structure of these organizations, their relations among themselves and their differences of status and mandate place numerous obstacles in the way of incorporating the cultural dimension fully into development. The fact that these specialized agencies of the United Nations system have been given specific mandates makes it difficult for them to respond in an integrated way to strategic requirements that by their very nature are trans-sectoral and demand an inter-agency response.

Again, some of these institutions are working on the basis of policies and mandates that concentrate exclusively on criteria of economic, financial and technical effectiveness; it thus appears that their mission is incompatible from the outset with an integrated approach to development. These remarks apply above all to the Bretton Woods institutions, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization, the recent strategy adopted by the World Bank being the exception vis-à-vis the strategies of the other two organizations (see above, Chapter 1).

Given these circumstances, it would be desirable for coordination efforts to be made with a view to integrating sectoral policies so that they serve the global strategy of action of the United Nations.

As time goes on, inter-agency communication and consultation should take the place of unilateral action, while particular attention needs to be paid to the planning, follow-up and production of development programmes.

Thus, the action taken to introduce self-assessment of results by certain agencies, such as the World Health Organization (cf. Annex VIII), is an example that should be followed by other bodies.

As regards the attitude of States, whether developed or developing, reference has been made to the need to devise a new basis of cooperation for development.
Where the industrialized States are concerned, there is still a considerable effort to be made in understanding and accepting cultural diversity. For this to happen, substantial changes in political action and mentalities will be required with a view to cultural cooperation.

As regards developing States, these should implement changes in their administrative organization. Substantial involvement by better-educated young people could lead to a regaining of the confidence that these countries need to improve their standard of living.

When it comes to world cooperation coupled with respect for cultural diversity, an important role should be assigned to non-governmental organizations, whose field experience is essential for a cultural dimension to development. Cooperation between these organizations and the other organizations involved in the development process would likewise be desirable.

Lastly, it is worth referring to the involvement of institutions of a different kind: these are decentralized communities in industrialized countries. Whatever their legal status may be, these institutions have the advantage of removing the burden of sovereignty from the relationship and of being in contact with small-scale economic, social and cultural units. They can thus carry out cooperation activities that are completely appropriate from the cultural point of view and act in ways that respect local specificities.

§ 2. The need to rethink the basis on which projects and programmes are designed

Any administrative reforms made to the internal organization of the bodies involved in the development process need to be accompanied by measures aimed at changing their way of working. These transformations, too, must be effected with a view to joint action, so that the objectives laid down can be achieved.

The measures that would need to be taken in this respect are extremely numerous and would require prior evaluation of the work in which each body is already involved on the cultural side. A few proposals of a general nature may, however, be put forward.

The objectives for the various stages of development to be achieved should be planned on a long-term basis.

In fact, generally speaking, the main international strategy documents do not fix precise deadlines for attainment of the goals that they set forth. Their objectives derive from a long-term vision and require “open” plans of action. To a great extent, however, this long-term vision is incompatible with the planning timetables of the specialized agencies, which tend to divide their programmes into periods of two, five or six years.

Experience shows that, while institutional objectives (particular construction projects or economic measures) can be attained within limited time periods, significant changes in people’s attitudes and basic living conditions cannot be brought about in the same time frames. Participatory, integrated development needs a great deal of time.

Some institutions have not just adopted the objectives of the main international strategies, but have established their own long-term strategies and plans of action, examples

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being the "Health for all by the year 2000" strategy (World Health Organization) and the Cooperative Action Strategy to Basic Education for All (UNESCO, 1994).

At the same time, many of these agencies organize their work on the basis of medium-term plans, setting the main policy directions of their activities for periods of five to ten years. Thus, the three priorities for the work of UNESCO in the period 1996-2001 are as follows: women, young people, Africa, and the least developed countries. Others, such as UNICEF, prefer to review their policy choices every two years.

Accordingly, changes in the way programmes are devised need to consider the issue of compatibility between different needs and time frames.

When the cultural factors of development are being considered, use must also be made of some indispensable methodological instruments: cultural indicators of development (indicators of cultural development, indicators of human development, qualitative development indicators, etc.), systematization of flows of information on culture and development, review of planning models and, for example, systems for training decision-makers in an approach to development that shows respect for culture.
CONCLUSIONS

The importance of the role played by culture in achieving sustainable development that is compatible with the rationale of societies and cultures in all their diversity has now been conclusively demonstrated. There is, then, a direct and reciprocal deterministic relationship between culture and development.

There can be no sustainable development if cultural identity is lost. The development of the West has come about and continues to progress, in its own fashion, because it came out of seventeenth-century Europe; similarly, the Asian miracle is due in large part to the skill with which the countries concerned have run their domestic policies, despite obvious difficulties and temporary economic downturns.

Any development process undertaken without regard to cultural aspects implicitly involves a loss of identity. This will occur to different degrees and lead to the formation of distinct social classes, and of elites in power that merely prolong the state of underdevelopment.

Similarly, the imposition of an exogenous model leads to a loss of collective reference points and of confidence in the future, the very confidence that, had it not been lost, could have provided the impetus that would have energized activity.

In these circumstances, the principles of development must rest on an integrated, endogenous approach based on real participation and cooperation by local populations and on real adaptation to the diversity and creativity of cultures. This multitude of situations is hardly likely to translate into a single development model, but each solution must be compatible with the sociocultural milieu concerned.

Strict, rigorous short-term planning is therefore undesirable, being incompatible with respect for these principles. On the contrary, long-term objectives would enable a better appreciation to be made of significant changes in the attitudes and basic living conditions of populations.

As regards the actors involved in the development process, there has been a recent but significant increase in willingness to take these aspects into consideration. Implicit reference to a cultural dimension is not enough, however, and real account needs to be taken of culture in development policy. The Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development, Our Creative Diversity, states it clearly: "It is development that has to fit in with culture, and not the other way round".

International economic organizations have long underrated the cultural dimension of their work. The multiplicity of the fields of activity in which these institutions work and the lack of a single international structure to deal with economic issues have led to this activity being "sectorized", in both time and space. They are concerned not so much with development in general as with the different issues affecting economic growth (funding, industry, trade, etc.), and do not take an interest in cultural problems. The recent changes seen in the framework of the World Bank strategy for action, and the principles for action adopted by the European Union with the ACP States, show an increased willingness to acknowledge and take account of factors of a cultural nature in development.
UNESCO evolved quite differently from the international economic institutions: by extending its field of action over time, it was to make the “cultural dimension of development” one of its main subjects for study and analysis from the 1970s onwards.

Changes in the way development and the importance of its cultural dimension are perceived have helped to alter the position of the international and regional organizations, according to their specific fields of competence, although there has been no firm direction to this.

Initiatives should be undertaken to harmonize fields of action and considerations of a temporal nature; again, the greatest importance should be attached to field work, which is one of the best ways of ensuring real participation and direct involvement by local people.

With this end in view, the role of non-governmental organizations needs to be developed through cooperation and partnership with international institutions. This would also have the beneficial effect of harmonizing spheres of action.

The aim of the reflection and action generated by the cultural approach, then, should be to rethink “development” as an “ideal” to be attained.
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