The Relations between Culture and Development in the Present Context

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1 This document includes some of the reflections made in recent years by the Laboratory for Research and Innovation in Culture and Development.
1. Background

The conceptual contributions to development have not placed culture as a determining and essential factor and whenever they have incorporated the cultural dimension they have done so from a highly generalist, ambiguous and unspecific point of view. The classical approaches of economics, as well as national and international policies, attach little importance to culture on development agendas despite the great efforts made by different United Nations agencies, which lack an overall vision of the issue. UNESCO efforts and contributions have not received the treatment they deserve due to their difficult conceptual definition, which has resulted in a wide range of notions and interpretations on the role of culture in development that, on many occasions, have created a degree of contradiction.

Similarly, the incorporation of culture into development policies at a local, territorial or national level entails many approaches and guidelines, with highly varied positions, some of which are distanced from the objectives of cultural development as understood in multilateral agreements. These difficulties increase when development policies, implemented by national governments in which there are cultural differences, confuse the role of national culture with the development of possible cultures coexisting within their territory.

The complexity of the issue is framed within the different ways of approaching the incorporation of culture for development, which come from the different interpretations of the concept. Each disciplinary field considers its definitions and, on many occasions, these are closer to theoretical and academic work than to the reality of cultural life in developing countries.

We cannot forget that, in the postulates on development, there are different ideological approaches and that they are constructed upon a determined cultural image of the centres of power. These range from the most technocratic trends to positions on human development and the promotion of social capacities. Similarly, we know that the models of growth, well-being, freedom, progress and so on are concepts that come from defined cultural visions that are not the same in all realities.

Two prior and important reflections should be borne in mind before analysing the relations between culture and development in more depth:

- Most constructs on development have mainly been based on economic growth, per capita income levels or the reduction of extreme poverty in keeping with the parameters established for decades after the Second World War. At present, despite their paramount importance, development and the overcoming of world poverty cannot be analysed based only on these principles. Recent data in the American continent shows that economic growth is not the only motor for reducing poverty and famine in the world and, therefore, it is essential to integrate and consider other dimensions.

- We must emphasise that there have been (and perhaps still are) certain approaches to development that impose some models and do not regard as necessary a dialogue with cultural realities, which they view as a brake on progress. They argue that it is not possible to improve living conditions unless certain principles of the cultural identities of origin are abandoned and consider that the “failure” of certain policies is due to the non-ownership by these societies of the concept of development advocated by classical capitalism that had had a great influence in Europe and North America during the Industrial Revolution.

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2 "There is a sense in which accelerated economic growth is impossible without painful adjustments. Ancestral philosophies must be eradicated; the old social institutions must be broken up; the ties of caste, creed and race must be undone; and vast masses of people unable to follow the rhythm of progress must see their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated. Very few communities are willing to pay the price of economic progress." United Nations (1951), Measures for the Economic Development of Underdevelopment Countries, New York, p. 15.
From the second half of the 20th century\(^3\) a concept broader than that of development gradually took shape in keeping with the results of the major commitments regarding development policies and the contributions of the assessments by international programmes\(^4\) for a more all-encompassing concept, incorporating different dimensions such as human and sustainable development, freedom and cultural diversity.

**2. References at a multilateral level and international agencies**

UNESCO began a process of reflection on cultural policies and development from the 1970 Venice Intergovernmental Conference,\(^5\) which was followed by regional conferences in Europe (Helsinki, 1972)\(^6\) and Asia (Yogyakarta, 1973).\(^7\)

Many authors agree that the 1975 Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Africa\(^8\) marked a turning point as most of the least advanced countries called for incorporating a different cultural dimension of development from positions of autonomy:

“...cultural development is not only the qualitative corrective of development but the true objective of progress. (…) They remembered the difficulties that emerged and the failures brought about by a development oriented, until now, towards purely quantitative and material growth. (…) A more general definition of the concept of integrated socioeconomic development, which has its deep roots in cultural values...”

These early incorporations have progressed slowly, in which the broadest visions of integral development are set against certain highly limited positions. Some of these guidelines place culture in the interventions aimed at development only when there are groups considered minority, indigenous and so on,\(^9\) with a vision of culture focused on the most anthropological, ethnic and sometimes exotic aspects, ignoring other facets of the cultural dimension, such as cultural citizenship for the whole population.

International and multilateral reflection initiated a process of dialogue with the different countries and geopolitical regions of highly diverse backgrounds that were shaping a new vision of culture as a component of development, in which different goals stand out that must be taken into account and that we can see in the following documents:

- The Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean (Bogotá, 1978)\(^10\) related culture to the improvement of living conditions and its contribution to integral development as an issue to be incorporated into the development policy agendas beyond classical formulations. Moreover, it integrated some of the ideas that emerged in the 1975 Accra Conference.

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\(^3\) The criticism of the “economicist” current began in the late 1960s with the results of the first UN Development Decade.


\(^6\) http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0000/000014/001486eb.pdf

\(^7\) http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0000/000090/009054eb.pdf


\(^9\) It should be remembered that the 1975 Accra Conference states in point 65: “cooperation is not only situated at the level of the governments of minorities but also among the urban and rural populations, as well as the level of natural cultural communities” (pag.10).

\(^10\) http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0000/000090/009054eb.pdf
- The World Conference on Cultural Policies, held in Mexico in 1982, agreed a “deepening and enrichment of the concepts” for debate allowing progress in the relations between culture and development. These reflections have had a great influence in later decades and are a reference for all those working in this field. The Conference posited, among a wide range of concepts, that a balanced development can only be guaranteed through the integration of cultural factors that must be incorporated into the approaches of the most general development strategies.

- These meetings agreed a proposal to be submitted to UNESCO to promote the World Decade for Cultural Development 1988-1997 with a large number of sectoral works and a line of study which is very important in the history of the reflection on the relations between culture and development. Many documents and publications were produced in several countries of the world with the participation of many experts and policy-makers. The contributions of this Decade were multiple, varied and interesting and perhaps have not been analysed in depth. Notable among them is the Final Report of the Commission which has become a work of reference both for its contributions and its relevance: “all forms of development, including human development, are determined in the end by cultural factors.” “Our Creative Diversity” is structured around principles which see the cultural dimension of development as a form of understanding “ways of living together”, as a variable for economic growth and greater well-being while proposing a series of specific actions to the international community.

- The work of the Commission led to calling an Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development in Stockholm in 1998 that emphasised a series of fundamental principles on the relation between culture and sustainable development and that “one of the chief elements of human development is the social and cultural fulfilment of the individual.” With these statements, the Action Plan produced by this Conference focuses on the contributions of creativity to human progress, the role of culture in an increasingly more globalised society, and the commitment to create conditions for world peace based on the reduction of poverty. It introduces the principle of respect for cultural freedom and the contributions of culture to development; “harmony between culture and development, respect for cultural identities, tolerance for cultural differences in a framework of plural democratic values, socioeconomic equity and respect for territorial unity and national sovereignty are among the preconditions for a lasting and just peace.” Objective 1 of the Action Plan recommends that the states should adopt measures to “make cultural policy one of the main components of development strategy.”

- In 2000, the UN General Assembly, after a long process, approved the Millennium Declaration with its well-known Development Goals that reveal the great commitment of the international community to the fight against poverty and famine. This Conference would influence all international policies and multilateral agencies in order to find new forms of effectiveness in development cooperation that have already been seen in other issues. The MDGs, as an expression of an international consensus in terms of development policies, do not include any specific goal related to culture, focusing on the toughest problems of world poverty and the structuring of highly specific and technical goals without considering cross-over aspects or indirect objectives.

15 It should be noted that no Conference had been called since 1982; in other words, this Conference was 16 years later, with the novelty of incorporating the word development in its name.
16 http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm
17 As can be seen, the Action Plan of the 1998 Stockholm Conference sponsored by UNESCO did not have any influence on the Millennium Development Goals, which reveals the great difficulty of the UN agencies to coordinate and create synergies with the common processes.
With these reflections, we have introduced a first phase of the conceptual and political evolution on the relations between culture and development until the year 2000 which we will analyse based on the following considerations or conclusions:

- In the last two decades of the 20th century there was a highly significant change in the appreciation of the role of culture in development by the least developed countries, which began to see their cultures as an asset to overcome poverty. Probably the most significant is the recovery of their cultural identities as a main issue for the political construction of new phases or processes of post-colonial states and the reforms in the approach to culture contained in the new constitutions of many countries. In terms of multilateral agencies, there is a major advance in the conceptualisation of the cultural dimension for development led by UNESCO but with the participation of other bodies such as the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, UNDP, FAO, and OEI.

- These transformations in the classical vision of development, only focused on economic growth, or the consideration of culture as a brake on development, gradually changed in the face of the failures and poor results of the great principles advocated on the growth of the least developed countries or the reduction of poverty. This process took place at the same time as the incorporation of new contributions to the concept of human development and the learning of traditional practices that find difficulties given the resistance of the cultural identities of the partner or receiving countries.

- Most texts, conclusions, documents and statements on culture and development produced by international agencies, along with national and local initiatives, have begun to have a very solid and clear theoretical and conceptual formulation. However, they do not achieve a level of effectiveness because of the poor commitment of development policy-makers to their active incorporation into the agenda. Similarly, there is some emphasis on the importance of culture but without resources and direct actions.

- Beyond grandiloquent statements, placing the dimension of culture in active development policies has not been achieved because of lack of economic means or poor regard for its importance within human development, in which the basic actions and culture does not appear as a priority or a complementary need. Many national or local development plans do not even mention culture and when they do incorporate it a highly reductionist vision prevails; that is, cultural policies do not have any influence (and sometimes they are not taken into account) in the field of formulating development policies.

- Although the World Decade Commission for Cultural Development quite explicitly argued for the need for greater structuring of the procedures and, for the first time, the capacity-building of human resources, at an international and local level, this initiative has not resulted in specific programmes in the long term as far we have been able to analyse at present. Moreover, there is not enough investment in applied research or the analysis of good practices, which would allow the establishment of a framework of reference for the implementation in the field of innovative initiatives. Despite the progress in formulating cultural development policies in some countries, these resulted in programmes of limited continuity or unsustainable initiatives that would bring about greater normality.

A new century began with the aforementioned Millennium Development Goals without a reference to culture but with highly significant contributions.

3. A decade for a change
The progress in the last 25 years provides a highly important basis for understanding the relations between culture and development in contemporary times, which we can examine with reference to the following developments. We will not analyse them in detail but they do offer a guideline:

- The processes of international consensus upgrade and make more specific the commitments of the countries to the international community, which, along with the conventions, are a world regulatory framework of great importance for development policies. This new framework of reference takes on more meaning for the actors of development cooperation in culture as a foundation for their proposals and action. In this last decade, major efforts have been made in this respect, which justify and support the fieldwork and the creation of specialised systems of knowledge management. We can mention the following:

  - Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, High Level Forum, March 2005.

- The donor countries have begun to incorporate more explicitly specific measures related to culture into their development cooperation policies and some European donor countries have produced their own specialised strategies, among which the following stand out:

  - Denmark Culture and Development – Strategy and Guidelines, Danida, Copenhagen (2002), [http://www.um.dk/Publikationer/Danida/English/DanishDevelopmentCooperation/CultureAndDevelopment/index.asp](http://www.um.dk/Publikationer/Danida/English/DanishDevelopmentCooperation/CultureAndDevelopment/index.asp)
Other countries now include culture in their cooperation programmes in different forms (France, Great Britain, Germany, USA, Canada, Japan, and so on).

- Multilateral bodies such as the World Bank, IDB, OEA, WHO, ILO and OEI, encouraged by UNESCO, have begun some programmes on the cultural dimension in development from different perspectives and in accordance with their aims.

- Different initiatives and agreements have a bearing on advancing the political formulations of implementing actions that demand a more advanced technical level, integrate new conceptual contributions and allow analysis of new experiences that would provide the basis for creating a knowledge management system:

  - UNDP/Spain Millennium Development Goals Achievement Fund


  - International Seminar: Culture and Development of the Presidency of the European Union (Girona, May 2010)

  - The Millennium Summit in September 2010 clearly and explicitly incorporated two points in relation to the role of culture in the Millennium Development Goals and the later UN Assembly Resolution in December 2010 was a point of broad integration in multilateral policies. We can say, with some satisfaction, that a long process of recognition by the international community of the role of culture in development polices has been consolidated at a political and declarative level. Millennium Summit: Keeping the Promise: United to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals (UN, September 2010), http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=41293&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

    “2. Invites all Member States, intergovernmental bodies, organisations of the United Nations system and relevant non-governmental organisations: (...) (b) to ensure a more visible and effective integration and mainstreaming of culture into development policies and strategies at all levels.”
In the last few years we have seen greater visibility and an increase of different initiatives in the field of culture and development carried out at a local, national and international level by agents and actors of cooperation and culture with very significant experiences, strengthened by the advances in their recognition in this field.

Despite this conceptual effort, we cannot forget the serious world situation in the application of these principles, from positions of no respect for fundamental rights and cultural rights to the lack of means for putting these actions into practice. The social agents, civil society and cultural actors have serious difficulties in forming part of the dynamics of local and national development policies leaving culture as incidental, dispensable or marginal.

The support of the international community must find ways of helping the initiatives in the partner countries, through international cooperation, to be able to exploit culture, creativity and expression as an element of tangible and intangible development. The advances in this field can be analysed in the future if this declarative framework, which we have presented, can really reach the true protagonists of cultural development in their realities, which are the individuals, groups, communities and societies, where international cooperation must intervene by facilitating access to skills in order to take advantage of their cultures as a factor of development.

4. Implementation in the field

These principles are the result of a pressure by the least advanced countries on the international organisations and of the contribution of their visions in the general framework of reference for development cooperation.

The countries themselves and their national governments are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of culture in development policies and are implementing them differently through several strategies.

- In some cases, those responsible for the national cultural policies establish long-term plans on culture where the emphasis on development is incorporated more explicitly and they are a reference for governments.
- Similarly, systems of data preparation are established on the contribution of the cultural sector to development with the specification of cultural statistics or specialised studies.
- More effective coordination mechanisms are established between development policies and cultural policies so that they incorporate this dimension into more general plans.
- The relations of culture with other sectors that are strategic for development, such as education, tourism, and governance, are valued.
- Meetings, seminars and exchanges are encouraged for the circulation of good practices and the establishment of specialised training in this sector.
- Creativity and cultural practice are seen as essential in innovation policies and social and business endeavours.

At another level, local and regional governments are incorporating the cultural dimension into their development perspectives based both on local dynamics and in relation to national plans. They establish their own policies with very unequal results and sometimes with little effect on culture because of a lack of a strategic vision and specific skills.

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18 It is impossible to incorporate the immense work carried out in recent years on the implementation of programmes and actions on culture and development. This is only a general reference to show that the previous references are only one level of the work done but the great value is in the projects and actions in all countries and at different levels.
Most proposals on the incorporation of culture into development obligatorily involve alliances with the local dynamics and must foster greater implementation and effectiveness of the local in development processes. Although the reality is very different from one context to another, it is clear that without the incorporation of the government levels closest to the reality and citizens it is difficult to achieve an implementation of real programmes with an impact on development.

In this state of the issue, the most important aspect is the enormous contribution of the different social and cultural actors of our societies to the cultural life of their community, locality, territory or country. In accordance with or at the margin of international declarations or governmental policies, these continually maintain their will to participate in cultural life.

The communities, groups and organisations make up a civil society that is the most important focus for the implementation and consolidation of culture in development policies.

5. Notes for a new agenda

The result of these evolutions can be seen in a positive context where the different dynamics that come together to deepen relations between culture and development have generated lines of work that must influence development policies. Within the multiple proposals and guidelines that have emerged from these processes we can note the following:

- **Guide reflections towards practice** overcoming the approaches centred on academic discipline-based definitions on culture with a high content of a very broad and totalising vision (culture is everything, culture is in everything) that come from theoretical analysis perspectives but are difficult to apply to the specification of intervention policies or projects.

- **The selection of issues and needs** in the identification of development policies excludes, or does not consider, culture as one of the preferred fields of action as it is seen as dispensable in the light of certain facts and social urgencies that have some justification. Considerations such as the idea that culture is a luxury or the difficulty of appreciating the contributions of culture to the precariousness of poverty and famine can be understood from an excessively instrumentalist and short-term vision. There are studies on the importance of safeguarding cultural life as an element of identity and self-esteem and as a precondition for development processes in highly vulnerable populations (displaced, refugees, etc.), maintaining a minimum of cultural life as an element of social cohesion, self-esteem, identity, etc. The efforts of many indigenous or native peoples investing in their culture, despite their conditions of economic poverty, have allowed them to survive with their culture and diversity in the face of contemporary trends.

- **Striving for a more active presence of cultural agents** (governmental, private and of civil society) in the diagnostics and designs for development policy planning. Incorporating the available knowledge of the contributions of culture into the social dynamics that have a bearing on improving conditions of life, growth and well-being.

- **Expanding the analysis of the cross-over nature of culture** in the field of development policies is crucial and is the expression of a reality although it has represented a difficulty for the specification of some forms of intervention in relation to other fields. This is one of the most important problems of the approach of culture and development at present, so it must be studied in much more depth to find a balance between overly broad approaches that involve the dissolution of culture as a substrate in other sectors and its specificity. In this field, we have the reflections and antecedents of other fields such as gender equality, governance, education, and so on, which despite their great cross-over nature must be defined as a distinct field.
The recognition of cultural rights and cultural diversity has provoked a very broad reaction in favour of actions aimed at conserving, recovering, organising and promoting the activities that make up the cultural life of different societies, reactivating the efforts in maintaining identities and projecting their cultural forms abroad. This has generated a very considerable increase in development projects with the incorporation of cultural objectives, the emergence of cultural institutionalism, and the training of human capital in this sector. In other words, a gradual incorporation of culture into the political and social agenda of our societies. The existence of new practices, efforts at adaptation, recovery of heritage, and so on, have generated a wide range of forms of intervention with successful, varied and innovative experiences at all levels as can be seen in the existing documentation. Despite this, records, reports, learning or the processes of systematisation of the practices or studies of revitalisation and transfer of experiences do not seem to follow the same trend.

In the first considerations on the introduction of culture in development policies, from the second half of the twentieth century to the present, many themes and approaches have evolved in relation to cultural policy studies. First, the emergence of specialised government structures (Ministries of Culture) as the structuring of institutions and governance in the field of culture that have favoured setting up a field of cultural policies within the set of public policies. As a consequence of this political process, a field of practice is configured upon the analysis of the cultural sector as part of the social reality alongside other more established sectors in the public and private fields. The contributions of these processes of configuration of policies and perspectives of the economic–social sector provide a new foundation for culture and development policies. In these approaches, cultural policies have the possibility of assessing their specific impact and linkage effects on the global reality, with the emergence of lines of work on what has been called cultural economics.

Great efforts are being made for the creation of a field of research specific to the cultural sector that have been contributing and working on some of the issues set out but with a very weak and poorly harmonised level of structuring and of the great advances made. Many of these works have not been carried out because of lack of resources of all kinds. In this respect, within the great variety of the cultural sector, we have few experiences and centres of research specialised in relations and interdependencies between culture and development.

Our background in excessively broad approaches, from highly generalised conceptions of culture and an excessively rhetorical political discourse, has not made it possible to clearly and explicitly present the contributions of culture to development. This has led to highly different perceptions that range from scepticism to thoughtlessness as an effective dimension in development to other options on the great current value attached to the cultural dimension of development. In this respect, there is an effort to find ways of measuring and establishing applicable cultural indicators and their incorporation into the processes for the assessment of projects and policies. The advances in this field are making it possible to guide the action with more clarity and measure the contributions of culture very differently from the method used thus far.

One of the characteristics of culture and development projects is their high level of intangible impacts that cannot be easily reflected as measurable results but positively affect them in the short and long term. The lack of experience and forms of presentation means they are not reflected in the processes of assessment as a component and are not considered in the final reports. The problem of estimating the intangibles in current society is not a theme exclusively of culture but is being expressed in other sectors of innovation, the new economy, the value of services, and so on. In this respect, it is necessary to prepare forms for its presentation and clarification, and how to train those responsible for cultural projects for their incorporation in the results of the interventions.

Cooperation in culture acquires a singularity in the processes of ownership recommended by the Paris Declaration because of its aim and form. Although in other fields of cooperation for development the external intervention can be very significant by type of activity, aid or solution to the problems posed, in the field of culture it is totally different. It is impossible to envisage cooperation in culture and development with a prominence and leadership of the population itself or governmental institution if this is done from respect for the principles of the Convention on the Protection of Cultural Diversity. The projects must favour empowerment of the population and the assumption of responsibilities for the recovery and dynamic of the cultural life of the partner countries. Hence, one of the fundamental and essential strategies for cultural development is oriented at the generation of individual, collective and institutional capacities of the societies or communities with which there is cooperation. We consider that cooperation in development in culture is a good apprenticeship in processes of ownership in other sectors. The commitment of alignment could be considered in the same way. Moreover, this can incorporate processes of cultural cooperation understood as forms of mutual understanding between cultures and recognition of “otherness” as a way of accepting and understanding the intercultural environment of our modern societies.

As stated in “Our Creative Diversity”: “governments cannot determine the culture of a people: indeed, they are partly determined by culture. But they can have positive or negative influence, and therefore affect the course of the development of culture.” Therefore, development policies in culture must explicitly and inclusively contemplate civil society, the private sector and cultural activities of individuals and groups, as most cultural life is developed between these actors, with or without government help. We should not forget one of the principles stated very explicitly by this same text and which is paramount to understanding cultural policies: “cultural freedom allows us to satisfy one of the most basic needs: that of defining our own cultural needs.” In other words, governments cannot define the cultural needs of their citizens without facilitating and encouraging the free exercise of this concept of cultural freedom which is also reflected in the UNDP Human Development Report 2004.

The broad synergies between the different social actors at a local, national and international level can legitimate the long experience and practice in the relations between culture and development and advance towards a greater presence of culture in development policies from the contributions brought about by the reflection and management of knowledge to achieve the goals of the United Nations Resolution.

Everyone’s commitment is to achieve greater recognition of the cultural dimension in development based on the contribution from efficient theoretical and executive approaches, for the common aim of achieving greater efficacy of the commitments in the fight against poverty at an international level and for the post-2015 objectives.

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