



THE UNIVERSITY
of EDINBURGH



Culture and International Development:

Toward an Interdisciplinary Methodology

A study commissioned by the British Council

Culture And International Development: Towards An Interdisciplinary Methodology

by J.P. Singh

Published by

The Schar School of Policy and Government
George Mason University
Arlington, VA
February 2019
www.schar.gmu.edu

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List of Acronyms

All acronyms are spelled out at their first using. This is a list of all acronyms for those who may want to remind themselves of their meaning.

- ABC African Books Collective
- APNET African Publisher Network
- CIEPAL Center for Advanced Studies and Research in Latin America
- CODECU Comisión para el Desarrollo Cultural (Commission for Cultural Development),
Puerto Rico
- DIY Do It Yourself
- IT Information Technology
- NFVF National Film and Video Foundation, South Africa
- NGO Non-governmental Organization
- PABA Pan African Booksellers Association
- PAR Participatory Action Research
- PAWA Pan-African Writers’ Association
- UN United Nations
- WDR World Development Report, a product of the World Bank

Within the UN:

- UNCTAD United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
- UNDP United Nations Development Programme
- UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
- UNICEF United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund
- HDR Human Development Report, a product of the UNDP

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Foreword:

From Hierarchy to Network

In this valuable analysis of art's potential in development, J. P. Singh highlights the “cultural turn” that occurred in the latter part of the 20th century. On the face of it, recognising development's cultural dimension should not be controversial. All human societies depend on culture for their construction and cohesion, and art is its most self-conscious, ambitious and creative expression. But the West lost sight of that reality in the scientific and philosophical revolutions of the Enlightenment, when art became idealised as a source of transcendence. So, in Maslow's hierarchy of needs, art is associated with self-actualisation—the summit of human development, true, but also its last stage. Modernism's methodical, technocratic spirit saw culture as something to be addressed once other, more urgent problems had been solved. That idea, as Professor Singh shows, is no longer tenable. The cultural turn marks the point at which we began to understand that culture shapes how we see our problems and how we try to solve them. In effect, culture is how development happens.

Policy-makers used to thinking in terms of a hierarchy of needs can find it hard to adjust to networks of possibilities. They are beginning to see culture's importance to the knowledge economy, creative industries and tourism. But in health care, education and development, culture influences how people work. Its importance is not in the production of cultural goods but in sense-making and enacted values. Working with the grain of culture empowers people so that projects become more effective. In this context, old Western hierarchies of taste have little relevance, which is why hip-hop might be more valuable than classical music as a pathway to development. Culture is powerful because it can be simultaneously the end and the means of an activity.

This report traces how the cultural turn has changed ideas of what development might mean and how it might be done. But not everyone understands this in the same way.

That duality is reinforced by another critical shift that we might call the “participative turn.” It is very obvious in the cultural world itself, where participation has spread beyond its origins in 1960s community art to every aspect of cultural production. People want to be actively involved in creative work, and new technology is giving them the means to make, publish and distribute art. But participation has also grown in civil society and politics, as citizens take greater control over their lives, whether by choice or necessity. The organisational models of the industrial age are being remade to offer choice, often at the cost of security. The Internet and social media are revolutionising not only how people communicate but how knowledge is created and which voices are trusted. Together, these changes in how people understand, produce and engage with culture have transformed the landscape in which the British Council works.

How can a major institution adapt to these unstable times? It is not easy to work with uncertainty through systems designed to minimise it. Theories of change and logical frameworks can only take you so far when development is a participative process shaped by different cultural values. Delivering change is one thing; enabling it is something else. This report is an important step in establishing an approach to development through cultural relations and in helping the British Council respond to the opportunities of culture and development. Professor Singh makes a compelling case for the importance of the connection and proposes practical concepts to guide policy. In looking at how the British Council could support the capabilities of producers, strengthen access to the value chain, and defend marginal voices, he sets out a clear agenda for further planning. It is especially important that he recognises that what is effective in the global South is equally relevant in prosperous countries, including Britain. His ideas should encourage the British Council to review the role and potential of cultural relations as part of its activities as an integrated network within which knowledge can be created at any point and distributed to any other.

There are many ways in which this could be done, but the example of *In Place of War* is instructive because it shows how a simple model can strengthen access to the value chain in ways that are culturally sensitive and support participation. This small organisation, which came out of a University of Manchester research project, works in places where people are living with war and its aftermath, gang violence and/or political oppression. Through a network of 84 change-makers in 24 countries, *In Place of War* now supports projects in Palestine, South Africa, Columbia, and Uganda. The methodology is based on three pillars:

- Creating safe creative spaces in some of the world's most unsupported places;
- Creative entrepreneur training designed specifically for conflict zones; and
- International artistic collaboration as an antidote to violence.

By creating an infrastructure, building capabilities and supporting international access to the value chain, *In Place of War* empowers young people to transform their lives and their communities through music and art. British resources and know-how play a critical, but never dominant role in a network that depends on self-determined participation and cultural relevance. The work demonstrates the truth of Professor Singh's conclusion that: "For arts to be culturally sustainable and improve human well-being, people's participation and their ability to name their world are key practices."

The British Council has an opportunity now to build on its leadership in the field of culture and development, but it will need new approaches that empower others and value culture as a process not only a product. This is a time to make space for the solutions that others might propose, to listen creatively to their needs, and to nurture cultural relationships that are rooted in parity of esteem. It is when everyone involved has things to gain and to give that culture and development projects are most valuable.

François Matarasso
7 September 2018

Executive Summary

There are several key findings, or so-called “take aways” from the information contained within this report. These are listed here to emphasize their importance. Of specific note, the cultural turn makes ways of life and their representations salient to the international development. Until the 1980s, culture was ignored in the technocratic and economic models that informed the efforts of post-war institutions of development such as the World Bank or the bilateral aid agencies.

The cultural turn includes two elements. First, notions of human well-being that include a life of dignity and the cultural space to realize one’s identity and name one’s world. Second, cultural infrastructures, including a permissible political environment that allow for the production, distribution, and archiving – the value-chain – of artistic expressions.

The idea that development initiatives must resonate with people’s everyday cultural lives is now firmly entrenched. The latest iteration in human development is subjective well-being that builds upon Amartya Sen’s approach to development as freedom and capabilities to pursue several alternatives and a life of dignity.

The world of art often privileges cultural output, the spectacle of final products, in policy and ideas. Instead, we need an emphasis on cultural infrastructure to sustain such products in the long run. This ecology of culture and development would include notions of human well-being and the value-chain that must be brought together.

A cultural infrastructure is necessary to move from cultural participation to sustainable human well-being. Arts practices, no matter how embedded in communities, cannot survive without adequate support extending all the way from political and social space to create art, financial rewards and availability for their production, and adequate exhibition and distribution networks.

Cultural sensitivity also brings in the limits of these cultural possibilities. Political and social freedoms are important for cultural expressions to question existing understandings that may be oppressive. The internal vocabulary of cultures may allow for this questioning; it may equally allow for the quashing of these expressions and sanction anything from verbal harassment to bodily violence against the cultural producers.

This report recommends methodologies connecting cultural voices and participation with the infrastructures that produce them. The methodology is divided into three overlapping parts: policies that provide support for each step of the value-chain, selective incentives for strategic actors involved in a value chain, and culturally sensitive development interventions.

Introduction

The cultural turn in international development can be traced back to the 1980s. Culture—whether understood as collective ways of life in the anthropological sense, or symbolic representations in the artistic sense—would seem central to development efforts. Development interventions are intrinsically cultural in being largely passed through or aimed at collective formations be they nation-states or local societies. However, the study of culture is a relatively new entrant in the lexicon of international development. In hindsight, this is surprising.

The absence of cultural ideas from development thought becomes understandable when exhuming the rather technocratic and overly economic models that informed the efforts of post-war institutions of development such as the World Bank or the bilateral aid agencies.¹ While situated in a particular development context, that of European “modernization” and notions of progress, the lessons were universalized into “a historic” formulas that could be applied anywhere.

The high road to development was through industrialization and even 20th century Keynesian ideas, reflective of the formation of European nation-states, popularized the notion that international organizations, development agencies, and developing country governments could “pump-prime” development just as late-industrializing Prussia or United States did in the 19th century. Fifty years of post-war development thinking came undone as the forecasted development did not take place. As early as 1968, Economics Nobel Laureate Gunnar Myrdal famously derided the economists’ capital-output ratios as violin-music ratios, which overlooked the violinist. To make music, you need musicians.

“Generally speaking, the less privileged groups in democratic society, as they become aware of their interests and their political power, will be found to press for ever more state intervention in practically all fields.”

- Gunnar Myrdal

Culture is now inextricably linked with development. This review recommends two important aspects of the culture and international development literature that currently inform the methodology developed in this report.

- 1 Notions of human well-being that are fundamental to both involving people in development efforts and in thinking of how they may participate in improving their lives. Well-being includes a life of dignity and the cultural space to realize one’s identity and name one’s world. Notions of human well-being follow a vast literature from Amartya Sen (2000), Martha Nussbaum (2001), Kwame Appiah (1994), and Paulo Freire (1971). Human well-being is more about asking people what is important

¹ See Mosse (2005) for efforts to introduce a cultural & community-based perspective in British bilateral aid efforts. The Department for International Development was established in 2002, but its origins can be traced back to the Ministry for Overseas Development established in 1964.

in their lives than about being told what is important. We distinguish between the ability of cultural expressions to allow people to “name their world” (cultural voice and identity) versus affordances – the ability of cultural expressions to allow people to do things they were unable to do before. We also accord attention to the social and political environment within which people may or may not be able to name their world, be it a local adaptation of a Shakespeare play or an English adaptation of a Sanskrit play from *Kalidasa*. A political structure might ban Shakespeare as a foreign influence. Cultural biases or ignorance elsewhere might deem Kalidasa to be unimportant to a literary canon.

- 2 Cultural infrastructures: Cultural expressions require sustainable infrastructures that allow for cultural creation, production, distribution, archiving—the value-chain of cultural expressions. A permissible social and political environment is important throughout the value-chain as is proper training and access to finance and technologies.

Taking both factors together, we emphasize cultural processes that sustain cultural production rather than the product itself. The world of art often privileges, in policy and ideas, the spectacle of the final products than the infrastructure that may or may not be

Culture—whether understood as collective ways of life in the anthropological sense, or symbolic representations in the artistic sense—would seem central to development efforts.

able to sustain such products in the long run. We emphasize the ecology of culture and development that includes notions of human well being and the value-chain that must be brought together. The arts have been intrinsic to who we are, what we think, and what we do. The process model in this review looks beneath the “end-product” of an artistic production to examine the ways that culture sustains development. The anthropological “ways of life” understanding of culture informs the artistic “symbolic representations” aspect of culture.

The literature review is divided into 4 parts:

- 1 a survey of the literature on culture and development;
- 2 human well-being and culture;
- 3 a cultural infrastructure and value-chain perspective; and
- 4 proposals for a methodology for culture and development.

The literature review is interdisciplinary drawing from anthropology, cultural studies, economics, post-colonial history and literatures, international relations, political science, and sociology. It includes both scholarly and grey (policy, development agencies, and media) literatures.

Part 1: Bringing Back Culture

Development economics fashioned a narrative from a specific European experience and both its assumptions and its transferability were eventually called into question from anthropologists and sociologists. Arturo Escobar (1995) in evaluating the modernization narrative writes that abstract representations constitute reality, and the development narrative “created” a historical reality that policy-makers and academics believed. The narrative was that of “progress” and the historical circumstance it reflected was that of 19th century Europe.

In transferring the European experience to the developing world, the modernization narrative assumed that there were “backward societies” and “underdevelopment.” Developing world populations, imagined as docile and welcoming of international development ideas, were thought to need strategies advocated from technocrats housed in international institutions who propagated the narrative to the “native” governments (Hill 1986; Ferguson 1990; Escobar 1995). Such reasoning was part of the “authoritarian high modernism” that vested great authorities in states to direct the human condition (Scott 1998). Most of these projects failed or as Scott puts it, “‘fiasco’ is too light-hearted a work for the disasters I have in mind” (p.3). Industries did not take-off, agricultural yields did not improve, and social conditions remained static. Those questioning the modernization narrative tend to critique the way the developing world was imagined: like the thesis of Said’s (1978) *Orientalism*, they were seen as inferior and in need of assistance from international organizations and Western governments. Escobar (1995) calls it “a monologue from the heights of power.”

In hindsight, the cultural folly of the early development gestalt is easy to see. The local context of societies and cultures was missing in the development models that sought to improve their condition. Communication or dialogue with the communities, including simple consultations, was also absent. The models did not contain any reasonable suppositions about the conditions under which communities worldwide would adopt any model, be it wrong or right. As Everett Rogers (1971) pointed it, a group may not adopt simple practices like boiling water for drinking or child immunization for health because diffusion involves considering local practices and the way cultures process outside knowledge.

In transferring the European experience to the developing world, the modernization narrative assumed that there were “backward societies” and “underdevelopment.”

This section reviews the ways cultural policies emerged in post-colonial states and the ways that international and national efforts opened up participatory spaces.

Cultural Policies

The newly independent post-colonial governments lacked the legitimacy, resources, and imagination to play an effective role in cultural policy-making. The policy and elite consensus around economic development emphasized agricultural and industrial development and cultural policy had little role to play in these efforts that became known as modernization policies. If anything, while the colonial era movements often evoked cultural history and heritage for solidarity, the post-colonial state viewed culture more or less as traditional. National cultural identity was important for the purposes of nation-state building but it was not imagined with respect of creative expressions and products. It was no wonder that ministries or departments in-charge of culture also often dealt with the science and technology portfolios; the latter would provide a future, more “modern” direction for culture. At the international level, this was reflected in an organization that termed itself the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) whose philosophy was founded on scientific humanism; Julian Huxley, UNESCO’s first Director-General, was a zoologist but also believed in eugenics.

The post-colonial state inherited the legitimacy attached to being at the forefront of modernization efforts in the developing world, but its primary resources were directed toward agriculture and industry (Lerner 1958). As such, the consensus among cultural policy specialists is that creative products received “a comparatively low priority, when pitted against the needs of a developing economy, a backward industry” (Vatsayan 1972). In states such as China and Cuba, headed in the communist direction, a focus on culture also was seen as decadent and bourgeois.

However, there was one aspect that analysts seem to have missed. This was development communication, which prioritized communication media for economic development. In its early formulations, development communication models posited radio, television and newspapers as freeing the mind-set of traditional societies and peoples (Mody 2003). As such, the implicit cultural policy in terms of identity was to make people “modern” and shed their traditional ways of thinking. This was consistent with most writings of the period that viewed the state as delivering the developing world out of traditional cultures, which were perceived as backward.² Furthermore, the state sought to use these communication technologies for its own propagandistic purposes and controlled the flow of content.



With respect to cultural organizations or infrastructures such as production studios and museums, government agencies were ill-equipped to deal with cultural heritage, promotion, or exchanges. Very few developing countries singled out creative industries for prioritization, with the exception of a few state-sponsored programs here and there and impetus given to cultural tourism in a few places. Rudolph’s summary of cultural policies in India could be taken to apply to many other parts of the developing world: “Government’s reluctance to respect the autonomy of cultural organizations created to promote the values and interests of the arts (and history) is in part a reflection of its paternalism” (1983: 12). The state used its pulpit to speak about modernization and the value of the nation-state but, being resource constrained, it was not instrumental in putting any heft behind implementing policies to help the existing cultural sectors.

² A different position was taken by the Negritude movement in Africa that celebrated the continent’s Blackness in opposition to racism. However, Negritude itself is now critiqued as not distinctive African culture but a binary that responded to racism felt by Africa’s elite, such as Leopold Senghor, when they studied in places like Paris. Galvan (2004) writes that in Senegal, Negritude was understood in & confined to Dakar.

Culture and Development

Culture is a process. The cultural turn in development has meant examining complex and subtle changes in ways of life and the irrepresentations as they influence development. On the latter, the desired goals of development interventions were “outputs” such as per capita income, rate of industrialization, or agricultural productivity. As averages they meant very little. The per capita income of \$1,600 in India in 2017 does not reveal the nearly 300 million people living in poverty for less than \$1 per day, nor does it reveal that the richest 1% of Indian population accumulates nearly 60% of the country’s wealth (land and capital stock), making it one of the most unequal societies in the world.



Table 1 is a preliminary survey of the literature on culture and development. The grand view of culture and development posits the West as civilized and developed while the developing world is cast as uncivilized and inferior, in some accounts, or in opposition to the West in others. The grand view includes a clash of civilizations. Occasional controversies in the world of art that evoke the grand view include those holding a canonical view of Eurocentric art.

A slightly less grand view, not shown in Table 1, still identifies each culture with “core values” and posits cultures as somewhat distinct from each other but does away with the grandness of one culture being inferior or superior. However, this view also remains problematic because of its essentialism and staticity. The social science, anthropological and cultural studies views of culture are discussed in detail later, but they allow for learning, hybridity, possibilities and constraints for human agency, and resisting or challenging cultural hierarchies.

Table 1: Three Views of Culture and Development and a Possible Hybridity

	Grand View	Social Science/ Anthropology	>Hybrid View<	Cultural Studies
Theme/s	“Us” versus “Them”	Culture as a way of life: adaptation & efficiency	Cultural adaptation & hierarchies	Culture (“way of life”) but an arena for power struggles
Notes on identity	Identity fixed through time	Cultural hybridity manifests in various ways: cultural studies scholars especially pay attention to the way power hierarchies are re-produced through hybridity		
Notes on human action/agency	Humans are rational & instrumental	Agency embedded in social circumstances	Structures/agency	Agency/resistance/structure
View of Art	Backward versus progressive art	Arts reflect society	Art can bring about marginal change	Art reflects power structures including ideology
Possibility of development interventions	Infuse positive cultural outlook	Situate development interventions in social/cultural understandings	Intervention & participation	Limited by current power structures
Intellectual antecedents	Pericles, Weber	North (1994)	Freire (1970)	Said (1978)
Current practice/practitioners	Harrison & Huntington (2002)	Rao & Walton (2004)	Participatory Action Research	Escobar (1995)

The Rise of Participatory Development

Narratives are not only contested but they also respond to each other. The persistent counter-narrative to ideas shaped and implemented from international organizations was that they were not in touch with grassroots contexts and participation. The instrumental imaginary of the post-war international development is often characterized as monologic, while dialogic communication informs participatory development. Participatory narratives are therefore presented as inherently emancipatory in allowing populations voice and freedom, and bring out the centrality of communication in the shape of development narratives.

Another way to engage participation is to situate development, ideationally, within the broader context of culture of everyday life in an anthropological sense. Institutional economics, with its focus on evolutionary rules governing human behaviour hints at culture but does not engage it explicitly. North (1994: 364) writes: "It is culture that provides the key to path dependence – a term used to describe the powerful influence of the past on the present and future." Nevertheless, the language of culture, like that of poverty as a human rights violation, is difficult to construct in political economy without the slippery slope of attributing everything unexplained attributed to cultural factors. An important publication from the World Bank (Rao & Walton 2004), reflecting the build-up of initiatives in other UN agencies described below, brought together interdisciplinary practitioners to conceptualize a development agenda rooted in cultural practices. The volume speaks to understanding preferences, incentives, and behaviours as rooted in cultural practices. However, the broader reaches of the World Bank have not responded to including cultural variables.

The Role of the United Nations and Its Specialized Agencies

Historically, UNESCO, with its World Heritage program, had begun explicitly to promote the idea of cultural policies but the links to development, in the form of alleviation of poverty and deprivation, had not been made.³ The 1982 World Conference on Cultural Policies, or Mondiacult, held in Mexico City tried to forge this link through an anthropological focus on culture. In 1987, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Secretary General of the UN, responded to pressures from the Group of 77 (G-77) developing countries to declare 1988-97 as the Decade for Culture and Development. The idea of a World Commission on Culture and Development originated from this decade.



In 1993, United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor created the World Commission on Culture and Development. Former UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar was appointed its President. The Commission presented its report *Our Creative Diversity* to both the UN General Assembly and the UNESCO General Conference in 1995 (Pérez de Cuéllar 1995). The central lesson of the report is aptly summarized in the oft-quoted first sentence of the report's Executive

³ Agencies such as UNESCO also reflected ideas of social and cultural democracy that became popular in Europe in the 1970s. A Council of Europe conference in 1976 that brought together cultural ministers aimed to articulate notion of citizen participation that linked their well-being with culture & participation, and consciousness of one's cultural circumstances. The Norwegian Minister of Church and Culture conveyed it best: "Cultural democracy is the way to find opportunities and initiatives to play one's own flute in life. Cultural democracy is, further, to understand and accept other values than one's own. It means personal activity. Certainly too, it means to live with dignity and consciousness and that means to live socially. But at the same time, life is a lonely affair, and culture is part of life. So, culture is often a very personal thing, individually gained & appreciated" (Council of Europe 1976:12).

Summary: “Development divorced from its human or cultural context is growth without a soul” (p. 15).

The World Commission on Culture and Development was responding to various past historical and ideational developments in its report (Arizpe 2004). As these ideas progressed through the UN and UNESCO, they also reflected the link between culture and development explicitly addressed



in colonialist and post-colonial literatures that questioned the oppressive imposition of “White” cultures in the colonial worlds. Writers such as Aimeé Césaire, Amílcar Cabral, Franz Fanon, Leopold Senghor, Steve Biko, and Paulo Freire highlighted the cultural factors in colonialism that assigned people an inferior status. Only through a consciousness awakening and a cultural voice from within would the developing world free itself of such oppression. “Poverty, national oppression, and cultural repression are one and the same,” wrote Franz Fanon (2004/1963: 172). In 1978, Edward Said’s powerful treatise *Orientalism* recreated in meticulous detail the genealogy of historical ideas in Europe that assigned inferiority to the Orient—its generalizability then extended, among intellectual communities, to all colonized and oppressed peoples. Like Fanon and Freire, Said (1978:40) argued that the Occident created its superiority precisely by “othering” the Orient: “The Oriental is irrational, deprived (fallen), childlike, ‘different;’ thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, ‘normal.’”

Our Creative Diversity from the World Commission on Culture and Development (1995) reflects the dual impetus to bring culture into debates on economic development, while being starkly aware that culture must be understood in a liberating sense of an ethic that allows for diversity, pluralism, and freedom. The Report argued that, “development embraces not only access to goods and services but also the opportunity to choose a full satisfying, valuable, and valued way of life.” It also

Only through a consciousness awakening and a cultural voice from within would the developing world free itself of such oppression.

considered Samuel Huntington’s (1993) provocative thesis on clash of civilization, which posited that the differences between the Judeo-Christian and Islamic-Confucian civilization were irreconcilable and thus an endemic source of conflict. *Our Creative Diversity*, instead, argued that cultural diversity should lead and not thwart endeavors of peaceful coexistence in recognizing that diversity is the basis of interaction and cultural syntheses.

Our Creative Diversity adopted ideas from the United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP) Human Development Reports and argued for development as entitlement to a dignified way of life. Interestingly, the report pushed for competitive markets to assure provision of

communication media services to people around the world. It also called for increasing the participation of women and young people, and public and private organizations at all levels of governance to mobilize people for culture and development. The 1998 Stockholm Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Sustainable Development marked the end of the World Decade for Cultural Development and followed the work of the World Commission on Culture and Development. The Stockholm conference sought to prioritize culture in development strategies and expand efforts to galvanize financial and human resources in support of such efforts. A direct result of the *Our Creative Diversity* report was the publication of World Culture Reports (1998 and 2000) from UNESCO. In conclusion, though, the agenda for culture and development did not move forward much even as UNESCO has continued to produce reports that highlight its importance (UNESCO 2010). A mix of resource constraints, lack of clear incentives, and the dominance of other cultural issues within UNESCO are the likely causes. The culture and development narrative was, for example, overshadowed by the debates on cultural diversity, mostly about entertainment/cultural industries at UNESCO (Singh 2011A).

Dialogic Communication and Participatory Action Research (PAR)

The concept of dialogic communication, as a pedagogy of development, dates back to the Brazilian educator and activist Paulo Freire who locates its origins in consciousness awakening – a form of learning and knowing in which the subjects understand their historical circumstances and are able to name the world and themselves within it, thus finding a cultural voice. This is the necessary condition for the oppressed to see their circumstances “as a limiting situation they can transform” (Freire 2000/1970:49). The next step is dialogic communication, the sufficient condition, which entails problem solving informed by multiple or dialectical perspectives. The latter allow the actors to examine their life situation from multiple perspectives and indulge in problem solving. “In this theory of action one cannot speak of an actor, nor simply of actors, but rather of actors in communication” (Freire 2000: 129).

“Washing one’s hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral.”

- Paulo Freire

Latin American writers responded first to Freire, in the tradition of development praxis that came to be known as Participatory Action Research (PAR), and it provided not just a critique of modernization theory but also, more recently, of market-based systems in general. Broadly conceived there is an element of participation at the local level in most development interventions these days. However, participation does not necessarily lead to consciousness awakening unless subjects are able to name their world, challenge or question existing power relations, and then articulate action (the A in PAR) aimed toward transformation. PAR scholarship seldom meets all these criteria.

At the sake of sounding simplistic, most PAR scholarship so far has either critiqued models of development as being too driven by existing powerholders or they articulate the

hopelessness of being able to effect genuine participatory action. Huesca's (2003) essay analysing the evolution of PAR records a 1978 seminar on participatory communication at the Center for Advanced Studies and Research for Latin America (CIEPAL) where scholars "concluded that uses of mass media in development imposed the interests of dominant classes" (p. 211). He notes that in subsequent years, the participatory paradigm may have been misused and hijacked by development agencies such as the World Bank where no genuine participation took place and power holders were unwilling to yield anything to the marginalized. He notes a few instances where alternative and participatory media might be utilized effectively but in general, this essay is pessimistic on the prospects for PAR. He ends by noting that researchers should push the PAR agenda "by aligning themselves with new social movements that have recently emerged worldwide" (p. 221). Similarly, Escobar's (1995) critique of modernization imaginary, frequently cited by the PAR scholars, remains a critique of modernization ideas rather than a constructive step toward laying out the feasibility of an alternative pedagogy as Freire had done. Huesca's call regarding social movements is misplaced; without genuine participation in grassroots development work, joining social movements while a good expression of solidarity with the oppressed can devolve into empty sloganeering. Freire's praxis was rooted in grassroots work with peasants in Latin America and Africa, which he understood as a call for cultural action (see Freire 1970/2000, chapter 4). Therefore, engaging in grassroots development work rather than joining social movements may be a better avenue for PAR praxis (Singh & Hart 2004).

Participation and Global Development Efforts

Central elements of dialogic communication often are missing from development projects that claim to be participatory. At a macro level, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PSRPs) that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund introduced in 1999 as a precondition for debt-relief asked for broad participation from communities, stakeholders, and policymakers. In practice however, PRSPs yielded mixed results; not only is such broad participation impossible to implement, but it also ignores existing power relations (Mansuri & Rao 2013; Gaynor 2010). Mansuri and Rao (2013), World Bank economists themselves, are also sceptical of types of participation that are "induced" from states or powerholders, rather than outcomes of "organic" civil society or social movement processes. In a prior era, while exploring the precarious links between democratic participation and modernization in the developing world, Huntington and Nelson (1976) had distinguished between mobilized and autonomous participation. A widely used manual at the World Bank on participatory methods (Rietbergen-McCracken & Narayan 1998), presents experts who engage people at the grassroots utilizing various participatory techniques. However, in most of these methods, the emphasis is on engagement, rather than questioning the ways in which the experts acquired the codes and representations with which they wish to foster engagement.

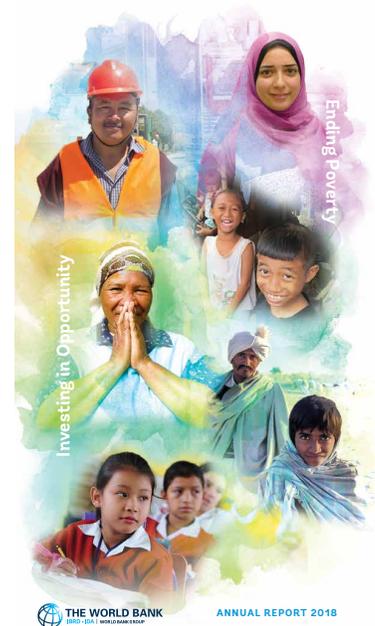


Table 2: Cultures of Participation and Development

	Structured/Hierarchical	Agentic/Horizontal
Consensual (state-dominated)	Stakeholder Disclosure Literature: United Nations, International Organizations, Governments Examples: Creative economy (UNCTAD/WIPO) Government-led initiatives	Network Consensual Discourse Literature: transnational & national societal networks Examples: Global Production & Consumption Networks
Conflictual (societal pressures)	Performance Mobilization Discourse Literature: advocacy & performance strategies Examples: Social movements' use of ICTs & social media; community theatre & performance	Oppositional Discourse Literature: critical theory, organizational behaviour Examples: Community radio, community arts productions

Source: Modified for culture and development from Singh, J.P., & Mikkel Flyverbom. "Representing participation in ICT4D projects" *Telecommunications Policy* 40, no. 7 (2016), p. 693

Accounts of participatory development often provide a glossy view of these efforts in which societal actors work alongside those in authority with a great degree of harmony. This is an idealized model; participation can also involve conflict. Table 2 is illustrative.

Along another dimension, societal or political structures may not allow society agency or freedom to participate or these structures may be internalized and constrain societal actors from exercising agency. For example, in a deeply patriarchal society, women may lack political rights, but they also may internalize this repression. A powerful passage from Tsitsi Dungrembga's novel *Nervous Conditions* is illustrative as the protagonist in the story begins to question the burden of sexism, patriarchy and colonialism in her life in colonial Rhodesia.

“Nyasha was beside herself with fury. She rampaged, shredding her history book between her teeth (“Their history. Fucking liars. Their bloody lies.”), breaking mirrors, her clay pots, anything she could lay her hands on and jabbing the fragments viciously into her flesh, stripping the bedclothes, tearing her clothes from the wardrobe and trampling them underfoot. “They’ve trapped us. They’ve trapped us. But I won’t be trapped. I’m not a good girl. I won’t be trapped.” ”

- Tsitsi Dungrembga, *Nervous Conditions*, 1988, p. 201



Tsitsi Dungrembga

Part 2:

Human Well-Being and Cultural Voice

The development narrative has shifted over time, alongside ideas of participatory development, toward embracing a cultural dimension. The latest iteration of this narrative speaks to subjective well-being of people parallel to an approach that offers the maximum number of possibilities in life (agency) along with dignity and lack of discrimination (Alkire 2002; Hojman & Miranda 2018). Participatory practices are important to this cultural shift because they emphasize inclusion and allow people, in the words of Freire, to name their world and articulate their cultural voice (Freire1971).

Development narratives are often amplified globally through international institutions, which further shape or adapt them. At the international level, the emphasis on industrialization strategies in the 1950s was countered with broad thinking to counter poverty in the 1960s which grew, rather than reduce, due to industrial progress; the exponential growth of urban slums in the 1960s in the developing world was a stark example. Dharavi in Mumbai, Rocinha in Riode Janeiro, and Kibera in Nairobi multiplied because of industrial job opportunities in these metropolises. In 1973, following the lacklustre record of industrialization, World Bank President Robert McNamara famously declared a war of poverty. Nevertheless, in 2015, a billion people worldwide - or nearly one-third of the people in the developing world - lived in slums (UN Habitat2016).



Toward Human Development

The paradigmatic shift in development thought came from the UNDP. The approach that countered the World Bank's claim came to be known as human development. The human development approach is associated closely with the work of economists Amartya Sen and Mahabub Ul Haq. Amartya Sen's work (1983, 2000) on entitlements and development as freedom sought to go beyond earnings and growth to ask what sort of life people are entitled to in various societies. For example, high per capita incomes in various countries may not instruct us on the roles and freedoms that women might avail in strongly patriarchal societies. Living in a brick house in a favela or a slum with a mobile phone is also not necessarily an indicator of a high standard of living.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) was created in 1965 through a synthesis of several development agencies. Unlike the World Bank, it does not offer loans but technical assistance. UNDP and the World Bank are often compared as offering different visions of development. Just as ideas of human development challenged the approach rooted in economic growth, UNDP also countered the World Bank's flagship annual publication, the World Development Report (WDR), published since 1978, with an annual Human Development Report (HDR) that started to be published in 1990. The data listed in the WDR were about indicators such as growth rates in incomes, industrialization and agricultural productivity. Instead, the HDR began publishing a Human Development Index, formulated by Mahbub Ul Haq, which considered income growth and social entitlements such as education and life expectancy.

The human development narrative was flexible enough to bring in concerns about governance and justice that impact people's entitlements and capabilities. The intellectual enterprise spoke to academics and policymakers who do not converge on economics. The administrator for UNDP today is Achim Steiner, known for his work on sustainable development, and succeeded Helen Clark, the former prime minister of New Zealand and a Sociology Professor.

Craig Murphy (2006: 247) provides the following assessment of UNDP's work.

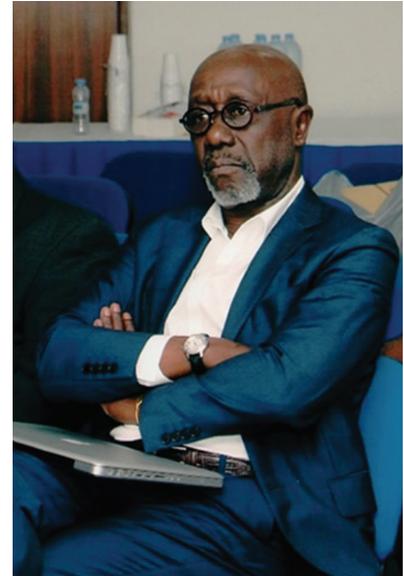
One reason for the ever-expanding network at the core of the global HDRs is that most reports focus on one or another new dimension, a new side of the wealth of relationships and current policy choices that determine the degree to which every human being can enjoy a full life – for example, income inequality, poor governance, restrictive gender relations, and over- and under-consumption.... Each of the new dimensions explored have, in turn, helped to maintain the vitality of the larger human development research programme and of the concept itself.

The human development approach – or, broadly, development with a human face as it came to be known as at the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) – has paralleled or spawned other narratives that speak to similar concerns. To be sure, the focus on human beings themselves, rather than as part of some output ratio, had precedents. UNDP thus succeeded in making these narratives institutional concerns during a period when international development narratives were settling into a dominant framework that came from the World Bank. In fact, UNDP helped to encourage similar initiatives within the Bank including participatory development. The two agencies have also collaborated on various projects together.

The human development approach has its limitations. UNDP as an agency may be as inaccessible as the World Bank to grassroots development practitioners, including non-governmental agencies (NGOs), and even human development appears as a set of "technical assistance" program designed in New York. While UNDP briefly turned toward community-led initiatives in the late 1990s, its connections to the epistemic communities in academia are stronger than knowledge generated at the community level (Murphy 2006: 347-349).

Human Rights and Dignity

Beyond UNDP, there are human initiatives that are well meaning and even institutionalized. However, many of them are broadly philosophical, and neither communities from below nor elite bureaucrats or policymakers know how to engage with them. One such approach is the characterization of poverty as a human rights violation. This approach, advocated by political theorist Thomas Pogge (2007) was briefly deliberated at UNESCO. Pogge argued that just as racism and slavery revealed societal prejudices, so does the continuation of poverty. Calling forth another analogy, Pogge (2007:20) notes: "If torture is so horrible that one must not engage in it even when a great deal is at stake, then it is hard to deny that one ought to save a person from torture when one can do at small cost. If this inference is indeed undeniable, then the human right entails the moral duty." Poverty elimination was posited as a human rights issue in the sense of humankind's moral duty to prevent oppressive practices. Pogge's formulation attracted the attention of Pierre Sané, former head of Amnesty International, head of UNESCO's Social and Human Sciences. The human rights approach was adopted in UNESCO in 2001 and related to UNESCO's mandate to remove the structural causes of violence (Singh 2011B). Nevertheless, within five years the initiative had died with resistance from member-states and the inability to spell out its feasibility (McNeill & St Clair 2009:125-128).



Pierre Sané

The difficulties with institutionalizing and propagating human rights or broadly cultural approaches to development notwithstanding, the idea that development initiatives must have resonance with people's daily lives is now firmly entrenched. The latest iteration of human development is subjective well-being that builds upon Amartya Sen's approach to development as freedom and capabilities to pursue several alternatives and a life of dignity. Hojman and Miranda (2018: 1) develop indicators of subjective well-being that include human agency and dignity: "Human agency refers to the capability of an individual to control her destiny and make choices to fulfill goals set autonomously. Human dignity is associated with the absence of feelings of shame and humiliation, and is ultimately related to social inclusion." Their empirical tests, based on a household survey conducted in Chile, show that subjective well-being is related to life satisfaction and higher income. Hajnal and Miranda's tests for agency and dignity stand over and above other psychological personality variables, for which they control and that may be related to notions of well-being.

Cultural Voice and Agency

The notion of human agency and dignity provides a connection with anthropological and other studies in social science that attend to participation in cultural activities. Appendix A revisits and recalibrates over a dozen studies from the perspective of both human agency and dignity that were taken as indicators of well-being above. The analysis here is unlike that of Hojman and Miranda (2018) who employed a survey "Other Dimensions of Household

Quality of Life” (ODHQL) based on 2,052 households in Chile. The purpose of Appendix A instead is to find the extent to which ethnographies and detailed descriptions of artistic cultural practices in diverse contexts might provide an insight into the possibilities of cultural expression and the way that these cultural expressions allow for a life of dignity.

The survey of cultural agency and voice in Appendix A affirms two broad trends. Culture expressions make visible the possibilities for their life and, in doing so, they speak to the absence or presence of shame and dignity. Column 3 describes cultural possibilities or affordances through artistic practices that can be related to agency in human well-being. The practices describe the possibilities for social intermixing and syncretism in contexts such as Senegal and Peru, expressing discontent such as through the use of social media and documentaries in Libya, and possibilities for community learning through international arts networks (British Council’s Golden Threads Programme). The possibilities and agency that cultural expressions afford must be weighed against the social hierarchies within which they are embedded and which they help to maintain. The cultural expressions described in Appendix A are buried in social and cultural complexities but as Abu-Lughod (1986) reminds us in the context of Bedouin poetry, they also provide a way of maintaining social hierarchies and exclusion. By the same token, these expressions also provide a vehicle for changing these practices from within and suggesting further possibilities.

Cultural expressions are vehicles for group identity and are often symbols of dignity and identity for groups. Column 4 of Appendix A lists the ways voice and dignity operate through these expressions. Mbaquanga music in South Africa provided a way for people to not only assert a Zulu identity in the post-apartheid multi-ethnic South African society, but also to negotiate tradition and modernity (Meintjes 2003). Similarly, folk theatre in India has long called attention to social issues and has also been instrumentalized to raise consciousness about developmental strategies ranging from healthcare to agricultural practices (Srampickal 1994).

Cultural expressions are inherently participatory in helping make people sense of their lives or in suggesting possibilities for the future. Appendix A provides several examples of such participation: Yemeni poetry is a vehicle for participation in politics (Caton 1990), as is community theatre in South Africa and Tanzania (BOP Consulting 2016; Marlin-Curiel 2004; Mlama 1991).

Cultural Participation and Values

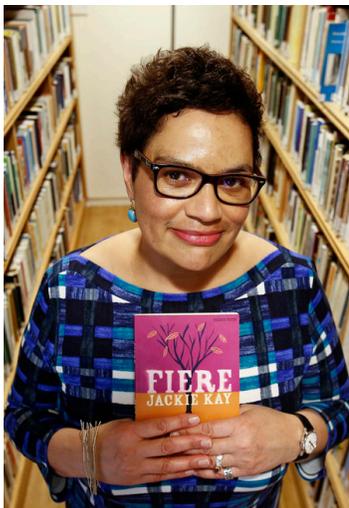
The literature on cultural participation and development ascribes multiple values beyond economic to understanding their importance (Throsby 2001). These can range from the economic value of cultural activities but also include historic, religious, intrinsic values of arts to communities. Throsby (2001) and Hutter and Throsby (2008) describe the various types of cultural value as follows:

- Aesthetic value, or properties of beauty or art shared in a culture;
- Spiritual value, or value to a religious group;
- Social value, expressed in terms of identity and location;
- Historical value, reflecting cultures through time;
- Symbolic value, as purveyor of representational meaning; and
- Authenticity value, accruing to the original work.

These mutivalenced notions of value provide both a vocabulary and caution for connecting arts with participation and empowerment. Matarasso (1997: 89) notes that “[m]ore than any other human activity, culture – and art as its most highly-charged expression – is concerned with values and meanings.” As such, “participation in the arts has the capacity, in partnership with other initiatives, to tackle serious social problems and the disempowerment which results from them” (p. 88). However, Matarasso goes on to articulate the existential condition of the arts in any society: while arts can be empowering, they are also often devalued in social and educational policy. The ever-present debates internationally on arts funding are an example.

Arts and the Limits to Empowerment

A broader existential concern with arts and social empowerment also arises from the possibilities of agency and voice described above. If arts provide a way for societies to name their world, then they can also limit the possibilities of naming this world in different ways. This tension is readily apparent in Scottish Poet Jackie Kay questioning the notions of British identity in one of her poems.

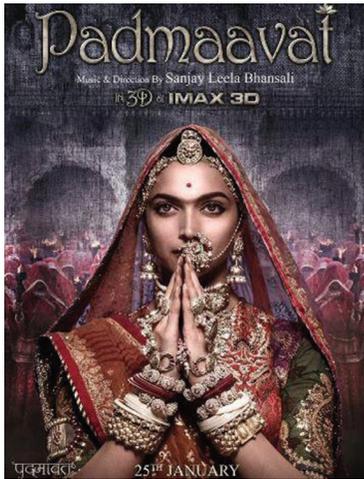


Jackie Kay

Would Jane Eyre come to the Information Desk?
 The speaker voice at Heathrow airport said.
 I stood and waited for her to appear, Jane Eyre.
 and when she was near, she was shouting:
 My name is Bertha; my name is not Jane Eyre
 I come from Kingston Jamaica. Look here.
 Well, they'd placed handcuffs on her.

The not so metaphorical handcuffs have been brought globally to incarcerate cultural producers who dared to question deeply situated cultural meanings even when they might be oppressive. Bollywood's *Padmavaat* in 2017–2018 ignited controversies with far-right Hindu nationalists for its portrayal of an apocryphal Hindu Princess – the producers relented to various cuts and amendments including covering the waist, through computerized colouring, of the actress Deepika Padukone in one of the dance sequences in the film. Higher-caste Rajputs, mostly men, had protested that a Hindu Princess would never show her waist in public. The protests are symbolic of recent gender-related controversies in India and the patriarchal practices in which they are embedded.

This brings us to the sensitivity regarding the cultural context of development projects. On the one hand, cultural expressions often contain an internal vocabulary to bring attention to social hierarchies, oppression, and discriminations. This vocabulary needs to be understood



in order to situate developmental interventions. Appendix A demonstrates that this cultural vocabulary is intricate but present in all cultural groups. Amartya Sen's (2005) book *The Argumentative Indian* also makes a fundamental point about participation and deliberation that is culturally sensitive: Indians are not more argumentative than others, as Sen's book title might imply, but that Indian traditions of argumentation, or other societies' traditions of argumentation, must be understood to democratically situate development interventions.

Cultural sensitivity also brings us to the limits of these cultural possibilities. Political and social freedoms are important for cultural expressions to question existing understandings that may be oppressive. While the internal vocabulary of cultures may allow for this questioning, it may equally allow for the quashing of these expressions and sanction anything from verbal harassment to bodily violence against the cultural producers.

In summary, there are two possibilities for cultural expressions to question existing development limitations and possibilities. The anthropological and sociological and possibility lies in working within the frameworks of practice to situate the new understandings. However, political economists have also called attention to political pluralism and lack of restrictions on human rights in general as incentives toward the production of new cultural expressions. "Our discussion also points out at the relevance of the State – through education and social policies that affect segregation and stigmatization – in shaping the cultural boundaries that make dignity and equal respect more or less likely to prevail in a given society" (Hojman and Miranda 2018). In providing a space for cultural expressions, both cultural sensitivity and state-backed political freedoms are important.

Part 3:

A Value-Chain Perspective

A cultural infrastructure is necessary to move from cultural participation to sustainable human well-being. Arts practices, no matter how embedded in communities, cannot survive without adequate support extending from political and social space to create art, financial rewards for cultural production, and adequate exhibition and distribution networks. We have traced the context of cultural voices in the developing world at various levels and multiple arts but they all face the problem of an inadequate cultural infrastructure. Pierre Sauvé (2006: 6) notes: “For most developing countries, structural difficulties represent daunting obstacles to cultural production and diffusion. This ranges from factors as diverse as the paucity of disposable income to spend on non-essential consumption, literacy, problem of secure and reliable access to electricity, particularly in rural areas, the low availability of consumer equipment (TVs, DVD players) as well as a general dearth of producers, broadcasters and distributors facilities.”

This section briefly documents a few key challenges for the developing world through various stages of cultural production. The supply and demand of creative products entails a value chain as depicted in Figure 1. Developing countries encounter difficulties with all aspects of the value or production chain though, depending on the type of activity, the barriers to entry in particular stages may vary. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (2008: 44) notes, for example, that in Africa the “value chain is simple (primary inputs combined to produce outputs sold directly to consumers).”

Despite the presence of well-known musicians all over sub-Africa, only seven African countries have an established live-performance industry, with venues and equipment. These are Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania, Kenya, South African, Mali, and Senegal. The renowned Senegalese musician Youssou N’Dour, associated with the Wolof polyrhythmic Mbalax-style, has set up his own performance establishment (Thiosanne) and a recording studio (Xippi) in Dakar. However, only South Africa and Zimbabwe possess a well-established recording industry. Nearly 100 percent of music in Africa is pirated and it is thus hard for musicians to earn royalties from local sales. In contrast, Latin America, which accounts for 5 percent of the world music sales, “has an established live music practice, a local and national broadcasting system, a domestic recording industry and in some instances access to international markets” (Cunningham et al. 2008: 5).

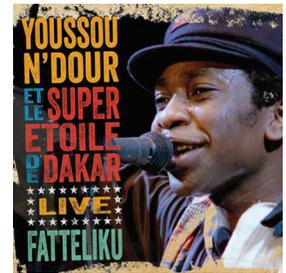
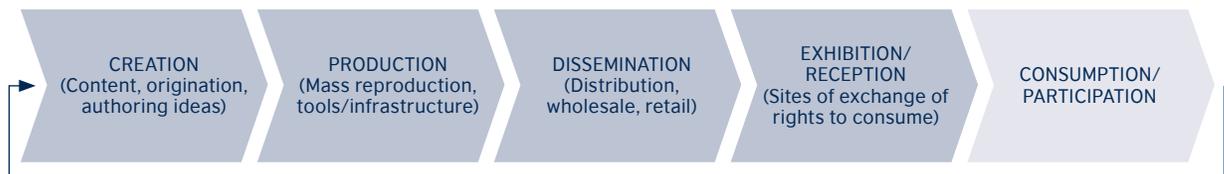


Figure 1: Analytical Model of the “Cultural Production Chain” or “Culture Cycle”



Source: Adapted from UNESCO Institute for Statistics. The 2009 UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics: Draft. December 2007, p. 24

While value-chain is presented here in a linear way for illustrative purposes, in practice the value-chain may not only be non-linear but each of the processes illustrated may occur and re-occur and may be connected to all other parts of the value chain. For example, the lack of exhibition spaces may guide a playwright in the kind of theatre she may write. Therefore, another way of imagining the value-chain below may be to view each stage as a spoke in a wheel with all parts connected to each other. Drawing from existing cultural anthropology and policy literatures, several examples of value-chains for cultural practices are listed in Appendix B. This value-chain covers creation, production, distribution, exhibition and archiving of artistic expressions as described in Figure 1. A few art forms in Appendix B are historical whereas others have come into being due to cultural globalization and hybridity. In general, there is no dearth of creative imagination though there are plenty of political and social practices and restrictions that contain it. Most art forms feature traditional and apprentice-based training, but few instances of professional training do exist. Distribution networks and exhibition spaces, along with archiving and preservation, are often lacking in the developing world and remain one of the biggest missing elements of value-chains in arts production in the developing world along with need for professional training academies and schools.

The following two cases illustrate in narrative form, a few challenges to value-chains in various developing country context.

Case 1: African Book Publishing and Film Production

Cultural infrastructures in Africa reveal a patchwork of support and project-based, rather than sustainable, financing. The example of book production is typical of the challenges. Nearly 98 percent of the books in circulation in Sub-Saharan Africa are textbooks. There were few avenues for literary works although several publishing and distribution network since the late 1980s have helped Pan-African Writers' Association (PAWA), African Publishers Network (APNET), Pan African Booksellers Association (PABA), and African Books Collective (ABC) (Nyanmjoh 2008). The problems of book publishing reflect that of other forms of cultural production. Brickhill (2010) notes that a great deal of artistic production in Africa rests on "cyclical project funding" even when there is infrastructural capacity for training and the development of the arts. Despite these obstacles, African traditions of story-telling have resonated through various artistic practices and cross-overs: Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o started off writing in English but then turned to his native Gikuyu; Ousmane Sembène switched from fiction to film to

“Language as culture is the collective memory bank of a people's experience in history.”

- Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o

make the point that African storytelling was well suited for multi-media and aural traditions rather than printed texts. In contrast to book publishing, African filmmaking traditions, while instructive for lack of infrastructural capacity, also feature recent developments that bridge this gap. Burkina Faso, home of the biennial film festival FESPACO, provides an interesting case. Its film industry generally produced two to three films

per year since 1971 and was completely dependent on foreign funding (Hoefert de Turegano 2008). The latter created an elite set of filmmakers but not a general capacity for film production. Meanwhile film distribution remained concentrated with either a French or a U.S. firm. Digital technology has had a two-pronged effect: first, the number of cinemas declined from 50 in 2001 to 19 in 2004 as film viewing moved indoors but at the same time, new technologies offer filmmakers cost effective opportunities that they lacked earlier. Famous directors such as Gaston Kabare, Dany Kouyate, Pierre Yomeago, and Regina Fanto Nacro have created their own studios. Meanwhile, the government has provided incentives for film from including regional distribution incentives and tightening its copyright laws. However, Hoefert de Turegano (2008: 126) summation of Burkina Faso's film industry is equally apt for other similar countries.

This brings us back to the question of what form the film industry in Burkina Faso will take. Burkina has a rich film culture, it has a budding local production scene, it is grappling with the problems of distribution and exhibition, it is not neglecting the importance of film education and training, it has the best African film festival in the world, and it has a government that is working to create a structured, legal context for the film and audiovisual sector, in sum, many factors working in its favour. Whether these advantages can be translated into economic success remains to be seen.

A counterpoint comes from South Africa. Lacking finance, South African cinema has tied up with foreign investors through the government's National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF), which has an aggressive film development program. Award-winning films such as *Yesterday* (2004), *Hotel Rwanda* (2004), *Tsotsi* (2005), *Beauty* (2011), and *The Wound* (2017) speak to this success. The NFVF also condemned threats of violence that surrounded the depiction of closeted homosexuality among Xhosa men in *The Wound*, and helped the film's producers register their concerns with South Africa Human Rights Commission and the Commission for Gender Equality.

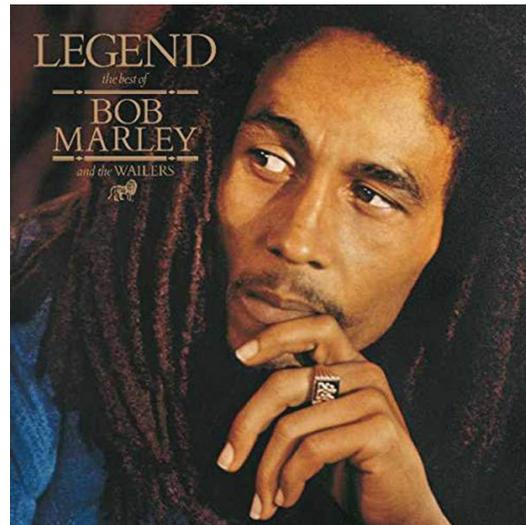


Securing financing and marketing for South African films are NFVF's key objectives and highlight a networked approach in which public and private, and domestic and international agencies play a role. The Indaba Charter adopted by NFVF and film stakeholders in South Africa in 2005 was clear in mobilizing a network approach and breaking the "dependency syndrome," which overzealously relies on the government (National Film and Video Foundation 2006: 7). NFVF also has raised the profile of its films through some high-profile participation moves at international film festivals such as Cannes and Berlin, where it regularly partners with Trade and Investment South Africa (TISA), the semi-autonomous investment promotion vehicle. NFVF also backs South Africa's objective to provide leadership for African cinema in general. South Africa now hosts the PanAfrican Federation of Filmmakers (FEPACI) responsible for the FESPACO film festival in Ougadougou. As noted earlier, FESPACO was a French-run show for Francophone cinema; the locus of shift to South Africa is significant. West African film industry professionals have long accepted, yet bemoaned French funding and control of their fledgling film industry. They are skeptic of South African moves but equally fatigued from pulling at the patronage strings of French agencies. While many professionals have decried the loss of African identity and values through commercialization, others see tremendous opportunities in global market networks and diffusion of technology, especially the way the video-based Nollywood – nicknamed "vrai cinema africain" – has grown in the last decade.

Case 2: Jamaican Reggae

Jamaican Reggae stands out as a success story of cultural voice, participation, and production. “Persistently neglected by state and society” Jamaican Reggae provided dignity to the creole “patois speaking Black sub-altern classes” (Paul 2010). The Reggae sound arose through communities and their cultural infrastructures: the “neighborhood sound system” and dancehalls (p. 128). It was then distributed through small labels like Studio One and Island Records that catered to legends like Bob Marley and Jimmy Cliff.

Nevertheless, the global sales of Reggae have not benefitted Jamaica or its economy, even when the record labels are owned by Jamaican migrants. The business model of Jamaican Reggae was not incentivized toward generating value-added at various stages of production (Reis & Davis 2008). For example, until recently overseas firms controlled up to 14 percent of the Jamaican Reggae royalty deals. The overall result is that despite Reggae’s success, Jamaica was not among the top 8 recorded music producers in Latin America at the turn of the century. These were: Brazil, Argentina, Central America, Colombia, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Mexico (p. 194).



Part 4:

Methodology for Culture and Development

How are the arts relevant and sustainable in people's lives? Who decides? These two questions not only inform the ecology of culture and international development practices, but also their long-term survival. Locating participatory cultural practices is the first step toward making arts sustainable and vibrant. The next steps entail policy incentives and strategy.

This section recommends methodologies connecting cultural voices and participation with the infrastructures that produce them. The methodology is divided into three overlapping parts: policies that provide support for each step of the value-chain, selective incentives for strategic actors involved in a value chain, and culturally sensitive development interventions.

Calibrate the Value-Chain

Supporting arts value-chains at a macro-level historically meant either providing economic incentives governing production through property rights (rules guaranteeing tangible and intangible rewards), or direct subsidies and payments to the arts (Caves 2002; Throsby 2001; Vogel 2007). Thinking of property rights and payments in a value-chain context needs some calibration at a micro level. Table 3 provides a preliminary list of the kinds of incentives and rewards that may be useful at each level of the value-chain and lists a few examples of these worldwide. These include openness and guarantees for creative expression, materials incentives for production, networks and exhibition spaces for distribution, and intellectual property rights protections.

Fortunately, policies informing all aspects of the value-chain are also not necessary. If an arts sector exists, then it probably contains some minimum levels of support at each aspect of the value chain. As seen above, the Jamaican reggae industry drew upon community infrastructure and local record labels in ways that African music has not been able to do. On the other hand, Jamaican musicians have lacked control over international distribution rights.

There is no single type of incentive or award that will inform all aspects of the value-chain.

An art strategy in a given context would then entail examining the value chain for support where it is most needed. There are also three transversal categories for support that cut across the entire value-chain:

- Training and education in the arts,
- Availability of finance, and
- Information infrastructures including websites and telephony.

Table 3: Cultural Value-Chain and Policy Instruments

Creative Value Chain and Target	Policy Objectives and Instruments	Examples and Exemplars
Creative Imagination	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tolerance & freedom 2. Embedding arts in existing cultural practices 3. Creative flows & hybridity 4. Preserving arts in conflict 5. Security of life for artists 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Creative cities (Florida 2002) 2. Openness to commerce (Cowen 2006) 3. Open cities during World War II; artists communes 4. Laws governing freedom of expression; grants & institutions encouraging creative expressions
Production	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Existence of creative industry infrastructures & talent 2. Security of property rights governing creative production 3. Subsidies to cover revenue deficits & increasing costs of arts (Baumol's cost disease) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Creative Britain (DCMS 2000) 2. Numerous arts agency policies from local to international levels (Cummings & Katz 1987); tax incentives for philanthropy & charitable donations (O'Hare et al 1983) 3. Emphasis in most national creative industry plans (UNCTAD 2008)
Distribution	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Encouraging arts festivals 2. Access to distribution networks through institutional support 3. Subsidies or grants for creating or accessing distribution networks 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rationalizing demand & supply (Frey 2003); inclusion & expressions (Snowball 2005) 2. Creating arts/creative product distribution agencies such as South Africa's National Film & Video Foundation
Exhibition	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. State & market incentives for creating exhibition spaces 2. Cultural tourism policies formexhibiting heritage 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. State led cultural policies (UNESCO 2006) 2. Tourism campaigns worldwide (OECD 2008)
Archiving & Preservation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Copyrights laws 2. Creative Commons 3. Creation of physical & digital archives 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. international & national copyright & intellectual property legislations (Watal 2000) 2. Creativecommons.org 3. National museums (Garcia Canclini 1995)

Adapted from J.P. Singh. Globalized Arts: The Entertainment Economy & Cultural Identity. New York: Columbia University Press. 2011, Chapter 7.

The idea of a value-chain is suggested here both as a formal and an intuitive methodology. In a formal sense, a sustainable cultural infrastructure implies taking stock of the inputs required at every stage of production and either qualitatively or quantitatively describing areas of strength and improvement. In an intuitive sense, it implies that even the most informal cultural productions entail a value-chain. For example, street theatre may seem a perfectly viable practice in a particular setting but locating missing elements – social and political restrictions, training for actors, exhibition spaces – can help to locate room for improvement.

Target Key Actors

Another way to strategize a methodology for support entails understanding the key actors involved in arts production. Appendix B provides a preliminary list of the way that arts value chains survive in local and national contexts. While governments may play a role in sustaining the arts, often civil society, arts organizations, and businesses are far more active in the arts sectors. A case can be made for especially encouraging sustainable business practices due to the existential state of arts funding worldwide.

Supporting a value-chain for production often entails providing support to key actors. This fundamental point is often hard to support in international governance institutions such as UNESCO and UNCTAD who are often beholden to national governments for their survival. However, agencies involved in international cultural relations, including the British Council, have greater leeway in supporting civil society and community mechanisms.

Table 4 provides a list of examples of how key actors can be mobilized toward arts production in diverse contexts. It is simplified here for pedagogical reasons – usually any arts sector will

feature a variety of actors. Two important points can be interpreted from the information in Table 4. First, identifying the value-chain also leads to key actors being involved in the supply of products. Second, along with incentives already noted in Table 3, there are many options and strategies toward working with key actors.

Table 4: Arts Sectors and Chief Actors Involved

Arts Sector	Chief Actors Involved	Notable Outcomes
Book Publishing in Africa	Publishing & distribution collectives	Networks promoting African writing – Pan African Writers Association (PAWA), African Publishers Network (APNET), Pan African Book Sellers Association (PABA), African Books Collective (ABC)
Fine Arts and Design	Government led	Support for arts clusters in China, participatory cultural policy making (Comisión para el Desarrollo Cultural [CODECU] – Puerto Rico), IT & design innovation hubs (several countries)
Creative Industries	Firm led global production networks	Cinema (China, India, South Africa), telenovelas (Latin America), female singers (Lebanon, Egypt)
Arts and Technology	Global Prosumers (producers & consumers)	Social media, DIY, Nollywood, International Youth Culture (Balinese reggae, death metal, etc.)

Strategic Development Interventions

A final point now about intervention: while arts must be culturally sustainable, this does not mean that support from outside the culture is undesirable. Only a view of the arts that presents culture as insular and isolated would not see arts as constantly evolving and syncretic. This provides a rationale for intervention, in connecting one form or art with another. However, a far greater reason exists for external intervention. This report has highlighted instances where international development strategies were culturally misinformed or not sensitive to local contexts. This means that to the extent that development interventions are culturally sensitive, they can both encourage and question existing practices. The best way to do that would be to involve the very actors who are involved at each stage of the arts production and to have a dialogic, rather than a monologic, relationship with them.

A culturally sensitive approach to development advocates understanding, not condemnation. It entails locating possibilities and alternatives within cultural frameworks to allow for agency and dignity. In avoiding development interventions that are not culturally sensitive, the methodology does not rule out cultural changes; instead, it advocates those that will be sustainable and, if needed, less disruptive. Further, in connecting culturally sensitive interventions with cultural infrastructures, we make development interventions even more sustainable in the long run. The appropriateness and scope of cultural infrastructures will vary with context. Looking again at Appendix B, strengthening professional training, for example, would look different in various contexts: for Tamil cinema it would mean professional academies; for *Jùjú* popular music in Nigeria, it would mean locating and supporting lineage-based networks; for DIY Indie music and fashion in Indonesia political and technical professional support would be for youth-based DIY locations and personal networks.

For arts to be culturally sustainable and improve human well-being, people's participation and their ability to name their world are key practices.

This report remains sensitive to social, cultural, and political practices that both assist and encumber people with their artistic and cultural expressions. For arts to be culturally sustainable and improve human well-being, people's participation and their ability to name their world are key practices.

Appendices

Appendix A: Survey of Literature on Cultural Voice and Agency

Region	Genre	Agency / Affordances / Possibilities	Dignity / Cultural Voice / Aspiration	Sources
India	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Folk Theatre Religious & secular forms Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) Street theatre movement Social action group theatre (SAG) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mythological, historical, romantic, religious, romantic themes Social / Protest themes: caste consciousness Expresses the cultural heritage of a region Powerful communicative medium Spontaneous, participatory & involving qualities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promotes discussion of socio-political issues (e.g. exploitation by multinational companies, brutal treatment of women in Indian society) Raise's consciousness (Freire's 'conscientisation') 	<p>Srampickal, Jacob. 1994. <i>Voice to the Voiceless: The Power of People's Theatre in India</i>. New Delhi: Manohar.</p>
Egypt, Awlad - Ali Bedouins	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poetry (oral lyric poems) Sung or recited in specific –mostly private – contexts (e.g. personal or romantic conversations, weddings, circumcision ceremonies) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perceived as personal statements expressing feelings about personal situations & relationships Bridges social distance; creates closeness & social intimacy Radical difference between poetic discourse expressing sentiments & the discourse of ordinary life, where there is lack of expression about personal matters Compels people to act (e.g. offer sympathy or help) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Through poetry, individuals frame their personal experiences in culturally valued terms Provides the means for women & young men to defy moral norms Poetry's anti-structural character is culturally sanctioned & formulaic. 	<p>Abu-Lughod, Lila. 1986. <i>Veiled Sentiments: Honor & Poetry in a Bedouin Society</i>. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press</p>
South Africa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Mbaqanga</i> / Zulu music 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expresses issues of race & ethnicity Shifted from an ethos of modernity, urbanity, & 'blackness' to 'traditional' & 'Zulu' sensibility Presents a means to engage with a pluralistic South Africa & the World Music market 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Popularized 'Zuluness' at the height of the Africa-centred World Music boom Affirmed personhood & carved out a social position within South Africa during the transition from apartheid to democracy 	<p>Meintjes, Louise. 2003. <i>Sound of Africa: Making Music Zulu in a South African Studio</i>. Durham, NC: Duke University Press</p>
Yemen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poetry (tribal poetry genres) Contexts of poetic usage: ceremonial occasions & important historical situations linked with the life of the poet or the 'community' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Oriented to the contexts of production & reception Expresses values such as piety, honour, courage, military prowess, generosity, politics & governance A form of political rhetoric in dispute resolution An act of artistic creation as much as of production of socio-political reality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A form of self-fashioning: the poet constructs himself as the ideal tribal, male self A form of persuasion rhetoric through which honour is created or defended The medium through which the tribe becomes involved in state politics 	<p>Caton, Steven C. 1990. <i>Peaks of Yemen I Summon: Poetry as Cultural Practice in a North Yemeni Tribe</i>. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press</p>

Region	Genre	Agency / Affordances / Possibilities	Dignity / Cultural Voice / Aspiration	Sources
Senegal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sabar, urban popular dances, neo-traditional performance & contemporary choreography Dance performance extends to language & the world of theatre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dance in official ceremonies embodies the West African notion of 'wealth in people' Affords women to experience personhood through their own bodies Helps practitioners to appropriate & rework Senegalese 'tradition' Contemporary dance offers the opportunity to participate in a transnational community of practitioners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Constructing postcolonial urban & national identities Fostering a sense of belonging Contributing to 'social mobility' Moral significance of dance in relation to gender & cultural evaluations of a person's qualities 	Kringelbach, Hélène Neveu. 2012. <i>Dance Circles: Movement, Morality & Self-Fashioning in Urban Senegal</i> . Oxford & New York, NY: Berghahn
India /Pakistan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hindustani (or North Indian) music, particularly the <i>sarangi</i> Produced by highly skilled but poorly regarded performers The <i>sarangi</i> is the only classical instrument in India still in the hands of hereditary professional musicians 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Embodies stories about the instrument's origin, its function, its sound & its tunes Symbolically linked to the immoral social space where a woman offers her art &, by implication, herself Cultivates emotion Affords an association with the Western violin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Sarangi</i> performances enact culturally honed bodily sensations & emotions that deeply affect individual & social identities Becomes a privileged site for expressing cultural nostalgia, & retaining cultural memory; or a contested site for reconstructing the past 	Qureshi, Regula. 2000. "How Does Music Mean? Embodied Memories & the Politics of Affect in the Indian <i>Sarangi</i> ." <i>American Ethnologist</i> 27(4): 805–38
South Africa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Theatre Victory Sonqoba Theatre Company (VSTC) VSTC performs 'Theatre for Education' & 'Theatre for Conflict Transformation' Developed as a model of <i>Theatre for Development</i> (TfD) that offers sustainability through professionalization & effectiveness through peer education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> VSTC plays are developed in workshops from real-life experiences belonging to or gathered by the cast. Theatre as a 'weapon to change people's minds, as well as a political instrument that encourages people to oppose injustice' Sets a powerful example of behavioural change through peer education, that aims to combat criminality, political violence, rape & AIDS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> VSTC breeds commitment to the community, because the company remains embedded within the community, both geographically & conceptually Post-performance discussion forges sense of empowerment & solidarity Company members become respected citizens who provide positive role models for youth 	Marlin-Curiel, Stephanie. 2004. "Wielding the Cultural Weapon after Apartheid: Bongani Linda's Victory Sonqoba Theatre Company, South Africa." In <i>Theatre as Empowerment: Community Drama on the World Stage</i> . Richard Boon & Jane Plastow, Editors. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Peru	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Huayno</i> is the most widespread Andean music genre. Andean working-class migrants Audience experiences are ethically framed & mediated by the figure of the <i>animador</i>, a type of compere 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Affords a surplus of sensorial & emotional expression Audience members choose, & are interpellated by generic identifications as a means of developing stories about themselves & making sense of their own experiences Successful performances express empathy with the emotional & ethical lives of ordinary people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The meta-identity of being an &ean migrant encompasses various other <i>subject</i> positions that audiences come to inhabit during <i>huayno</i> events <i>Huayno</i> spectacles become spaces where positive endorsement & acknowledgement of audience members' migrant status may help counter their marginalisation & neutralise 'existential anxiety' 	Butterworth, James. 2017. "The <i>Animador</i> as Ethical Mediator: Stage Talk & Subject Formation at Peruvian <i>Huayno</i> Music Spectacles." In <i>Collaborative Intimacies in Music & Dance: Anthropologies of Sound & Movement</i> . Evangelos Chrysagis & Panas Karampampas, Editors. Oxford & New York, NY: Berghahn

Region	Genre	Agency / Affordances / Possibilities	Dignity / Cultural Voice / Aspiration	Sources
Brazil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Bloco afro</i> (Carnaval dance) • Hybridity of music • Non-Brazilian themes & costumes • Overt political stance of black nationalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Performance groups are based on looks & a belief that those looks are the signs of a body that needs to matter, be counted, accepted, & celebrated • Danger of racialisation: a dancing black body cites the belief of racial blood memory, reiterates it as cultural norm, & sediments it as a law of racial capability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Directors & creators of <i>bloco afro</i> performance see themselves as members of the global struggle for black liberation & self-determination • Performers validate their identity & perceive themselves as heirs of diverse black cultural influences 	<p>Scott, Anna Beatrice 1997. "Spectacle & Dancing Bodies That Matter: Or, If It Don't Fit, Don't Force It." In <i>Meaning in Motion: New Cultural Studies of Dance</i>. Jane C. Desmond. Editor. Durham, NC: Duke University Press</p>
Tanzania, Bangladesh, Zimbabwe, Cameroon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Popular Theatre • A variety of theatrical expressions at grass-roots level to research, analyse & solve development problems • The Popular Theatre movement emerged as a response to the marginalisation of people & their lack of participation in development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identifies & analyses what the community considers to be its problems & facilitates discussion & exchange within the community • Becomes a communication medium under the community's control • Ideological & methodological issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attempts to integrate the culture of the <i>dominated</i> in development processes • Promotes recognition of different lifeworlds & approaches development from the totality of people's way of life • Creates critical consciousness & invites action 	<p>Mlama, Penina. 1991. <i>Culture & Development: The Popular Theatre Approach in Africa</i>. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.</p>
United Kingdom, Finland, United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social impact of arts programmes • Focuses on economics in its deeper sense as the management of society's resources • Highlights the real purpose of the arts, which is not to create wealth but to contribute to a stable, confident & creative society • However, Participatory arts projects can fail or underachieve 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation in the arts is an effective route for personal growth • Contributes to social cohesion • Brings benefits in other areas such as environmental renewal & health promotion, & injects an element of creativity into organisational planning • Produces social change • Represents a flexible, responsive & cost-effective element of a community development strategy • Strengthens rather than dilutes Britain's cultural life, & forms a vital factor of success rather than a soft option in social policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participatory arts projects can be empowering, & help people gain control over their lives • Encourage people to become active citizens • Develop a positive local image, community identity & a sense of belonging 	<p>Matarasso, François. 1997. <i>Use or Ornament? The social impact of participation in the arts</i>. Bournes Green: Comedia.</p>
Global	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts & culture-based projects aimed to facilitate bottom up development • The <i>Golden Thread</i> programme was part of a Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO) initiative in international development • Two strands: <i>Artists in Recovery & Voices & Spaces for Social Change</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved community learning • Raised awareness of pressing social issues • Validated cultural activities as legitimate forms of creative expression & legitimate & inclusive forms of social dialogue • Provided safe spaces for artists to come together & develop their practice • Equipped people from poor economic backgrounds with technical, teamwork & leadership skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoted human rights & freedoms through providing funding to artists to develop their creative abilities & engage with audiences • Validated participants' voices & supported them to develop new forms of expression • Enabled diversity of expression & freedom of expression on a large scale • Created & sustained new communities of practice & increased inclusion • Influenced attitudes within the public sphere & civil society, & to some extent development policy 	<p>BOP Consulting 2016. <i>British Council 'Golden Thread' Culture & Development Programme Evaluation</i> (Final Report). London: BOP Consulting</p> <p>See also: Stonock, Lois & Charlie Tims. 2016. <i>They Built This City on Rock & Roll. Reflections on the British Council's 'Golden Thread' Programme</i>.</p>

Region	Genre	Agency / Affordances / Possibilities	Dignity / Cultural Voice / Aspiration	Sources
Egypt, Libya, Morocco & Tunisia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arts, culture & social change in the aftermath of the uprisings in the region in 2011–2012 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The use in Tunisia of hip-hop music as a key medium of discontent Graffiti across North Africa both encouraged public participation in art & functioned as political commentary Tahrir Cinema in Cairo, an artist-organised initiative, screened documentary footage from protests & clashes on a screen set up in Cairo's famed square In Libya, art was being used to raise civic awareness through the dissemination of comics & cartoons in non-urban areas, communicating in new ways & making the messages immediate & more easily accessible. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Artistic & cultural activism, seeping into the mainstream of cultural practice By supporting & encouraging small local identities, the Moroccan state has prevented the sort of popular unified uprisings found elsewhere in the region. This has had the effect of satisfying the need for a sense of belonging, while disabling these groups from bonding together with a shared sense of grievance or political expression 	The British Council 2012. <i>Voices of the People: Culture, Conflict & Change in North Africa</i> . London: the British Council

Appendix B: Survey of Literature with a View toward Locating Missing Aspects of the Cultural Infrastructure⁴

Area of Interest	Methods	Information from Literature
Congo/Rumba (<i>musique moderne</i> , Congoese popular dance music)	Creative Imagination & Restrictions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The paradox of rumba: its cultural importance is contradicted by the fact that it has been synonymous with state authority and power • Music as 'a complex field of action' where popular culture and politics interpenetrate • Owing to the lack of income from other sources, many musicians engage in the practice of commercialised praise singing known as <i>libanga</i>
	Professional Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 1940s studio houses (<i>maisons d'édition</i>) provided some professional training. • Later on, mostly informally, within professional musical groups (usually consisting of 15–25 members)
	Production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural policy in the 1970s revolved around the notion of <i>authenticité</i>, which resulted in the state committing resources to the arts • In the 1980s the government kept musicians dependent on the regime for financial support and political protection • In the first part of the 1990s, producers and distributors created a national association of producers, COZAPEDIM
	Distribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Centralised, usually one distributor and several redistributors (some of them making \$18K per year) • Vendors of home-made cassettes could make \$100 per month • Music stores and markets • Pirated audio- and videocassettes • Efforts to combat piracy • Creation of COZAPEDIM (see above)
	Exhibition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State-owned TV stations • Concert venues
	Archiving & Preservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of SONECA (Société Nationale Des Éditeurs, Compositeurs et Auters) • Many musicians cede ownership to the producer by receiving a flat fee for each recording • Most royalty payments come from foreign copyright agencies
	Sources	White, Bob W. 2008. <i>Rumba Rules: The Politics of Dance Music in Mobutu's Zaire</i> . Durham, NC: Duke University Press
North India/ Impact of cassette technology on North Indian popular music. <i>Rasiya</i> (folk song genre) as case study	Creative Imagination and Restrictions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None of its performers rely solely or even primarily on recordings for their livelihood • The emergence of <i>rasiya akharas</i> (all-male music clubs) was conditioned by the initial stages of modernisation of Indian society, introducing a new dimension of urban-elite patronage, artistic cultivation and semi-professionalism • Predominantly male-oriented music – exclusion of women • Cassette tapes, as a 'democratic-participant' mass medium, encompass issues of freedom, autonomy and national integrity
	Professional Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informal networks • Apprenticeship based
	Production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The economic liberalisation policies of the 1970s led to a phenomenal spread of cassette technology • By the mid-1980s cassettes represented 95% of the music market • The precise number of cassette producers is difficult to estimate (author's estimate is 250) • In 1986, former HMV director Anil Sud claimed that small regional producers had captured 75% of the \$60 million legitimate market • A cassette of regional folk music made on a minimal budget may turn profit with sales of only 100 pieces
	Distribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Markets / bazaars • No significant radio air-play for promotion • Grassroots appeal and word-of-mouth popularity • Indian Phonographic Industry (IPI) – lobbying for reduction of excise duties and for a crackdown on piracy
	Exhibition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Performance contexts are varied (e.g. women undertaking a local pilgrimage, villagers gathered around a fire, passengers on a bus, in temples at the end of a session of <i>samaj</i>, incorporated into <i>rasilila</i> drama, <i>nautanki</i> theatre, in all-male music clubs (<i>akharas</i>)) • Film culture has led to the decline of <i>rasiya</i> live performances

⁴ Sources are academic, except for a few web references for missing information

Area of Interest	Methods	Information from Literature
North India/ Impact of cassette technology on North Indian popular music. <i>Rasiya</i> (folk song genre) as case study continued	Archiving & Preservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indian Performing Rights Society (IPRS) – holds mechanical and performing rights of artists and collects royalties for its members
	Sources	Manuel, Peter. 1992. <i>Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India</i> . Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press
Zimbabwe/ Theatre for Development, with a focus on the Zimbabwe Association of Community Theatre (ZACT)	Creative Imagination and Restrictions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resting on the application of Freirian pedagogy, the Theatre for Development in Africa is framed by an ideology of liberation and has had a political agenda: 'the resurgence of African thought' Community theatre came to be associated with the government in the early stages of the post-independence era ZACT has demonstrated that critical consciousness can develop from within the community Theatre companies recruited by invitation or through audition, or more organically if members knew each other already (e.g. from school) They attracted more males than females
	Professional Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Training workshops provided by Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production (ZIMFEP), the Ministry of Education and ZACT Sponsorship and training of the Zimbabwe Theatre Works as a full-time organisation 'Teaching by example', i.e. demonstrating that theatre can work as a tool for development and employment Income is frequently insufficient to cover the basic needs of participants
	Production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formation of the Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production (ZIMFEP), which created the Community-Based Theatre Project (CBTP) in the Shamva district, chosen because of its diverse population ZIMFEP also created a theatre company of school leavers, Zimbabwe Theatre Works Various theatre companies subsequently formed the Association of Community Theatre (ACT) (Harare), which became ZACT, a national organisation The largest financial contribution comes from Humanistic Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries (HIVOS), a Dutch development agency donated to ZACT over 300K DFL in 1990–92 and at the end of 1992 committed another 500K over three years
	Distribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The African Workshop on Theatre for Development, sponsored by the Zimbabwean government in collaboration with International Theatre Institute, the International Amateur Theatre Association, and UNESCO, culminated in the formation of the Union of African Performing Artists as well as the establishment of a cultural house in Murewa
	Exhibition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A tour of eastern, central and western provinces was funded by the cultural division of the Ministry of Education The Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture developed a network to ensure the successful implementation of cultural programmes throughout the country ZACT exchange programmes
	Archiving & Preservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Zimbabwean law recognises a number of intellectual property rights that require formal registration in the Zimbabwe Intellectual Property Office (ZIPO) or the African Regional Intellectual Property Organisation (ARIPO) or under the Madrid International Trademark System (Madrid System) before such rights can be protected and enforced against third parties in Zimbabwe The Copyright and Neighbouring Rights Act Source: https://www.honeyb.co.zw/intellectual-property-law-zimbabwe/
	Sources	Byam, L. Dale. 1999. <i>Community in Motion: Theatre for Development in Africa</i> . London: Greenwood Press

Area of Interest	Methods	Information from Literature
Afghanistan/ traditional Herati music played on the <i>dutār</i> , and instrumental art music played on the <i>rubāb</i> , but the overall focus is on urban male hereditary professional musicians	Creative Imagination and Restrictions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Afghan popular music originated as a response to the emergence of radio broadcasting • Four bands of urban male hereditary musicians in Herat at the time of the study • Hindustani music was an integral component of their identity as musicians and provided them motivation in the face of small economic rewards and social prejudice • Advent of female bands since the 1930s. Female bands were organised in terms of kinship • Main source of income came from playing at wedding festivities • While music was condemned and criticised in the context of the debate about the lawfulness of music in Islam, it was also associated with positive and pleasurable qualities and had spiritual value • Urban music in Afghanistan both reflected but also facilitated processes of modernisation, nationalism and the use of technology
Afghanistan/ traditional Herati music played on the <i>dutār</i> , and instrumental art music played on the <i>rubāb</i> , but the overall focus is on urban male hereditary professional musicians continued	Professional Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kabuli art music was brought to Herat in the 1930s by Herat's governor, and musicians played in weddings and other celebrations • Learning through apprenticeship based on a teacher-pupil relationship • Being exposed to the musical sounds • Performing in public • Oral notation • Short-term training in Kabul • Simplified distinction between amateurs (<i>shauqi</i>) (playing for the love of music; self-taught) and professionals (<i>kesbi</i>) (making a living; hereditary musician trained from an early age)
	Production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kabuli radio music has had an impact among musicians in Herat • Bands were receiving 1,500–4,000 afghānis to play at a wedding party • Spring and summer were the busiest periods • Music patronised by urban elites
	Distribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Owing to the informal nature of the music, state and institutional support was non-existent at the time of the study
	Exhibition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weddings and other festivities • Herat Nanderi theatre • Nightly concerts during the Ramadan • Spring country fairs • Dinner and garden parties
	Archiving & Preservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relevant arrangements were not in place at the time of the study.
	Sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Baily, John. 1988. <i>Music of Afghanistan: Professional Musicians in the City of Herat</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
India/Tamil cinema	Creative Imagination and Restrictions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cinema and politics meet in Tamil films' concern for nativity (i.e. everyday life) • Most of India's films are produced each year by regional film industries working in vernacular languages in 2011, for example, India's Central Board of Film Certification cleared 1,255 feature films for release: 206 in Hindi, followed by 192 in Telugu, 185 in Tamil, and the remainder in twenty-one other languages and dialects • Between the 1950s and the 1970s, the film studios of Madras emerged as powerful players in the Tamil political landscape • Since 1967, the post of chief minister in the state of Tamil Nadu has been held almost continuously by men and women from Tamil cinema • 'New Wave' of gritty and experimental Tamil films, conversant with contemporary developments in global cinema yet faithful all the same to everyday life in South India
	Professional Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Film and Television Academies • Tamil Nadu Film Institute • Mostly young men come as apprentices into cinematography, choreography, and editing with almost no formal training

Area of Interest	Methods	Information from Literature
India/Tamil cinema continued	Production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Budgets for Tamil cinema have skyrocketed in recent years. Financing is difficult to secure • Until the 1970s, Tamil films were produced by studios in Madras and other, smaller towns such as Coimbatore, Salem, and Madurai. Only one of these early studios, AVM Productions, has survived as an active centre of film production • 131 Tamil films were released in 2009, more than ever before, but that only 19 of them recovered the costs of their production and release, with hardly a few managing to earn a profit • It was only in 2000 that commercial entertainment won official recognition in India as a legitimate industrial activity. Subsequent years saw the entry of many of India's leading business conglomerates into the business of film and television production • Tamil Film Producers' Council (TFPC) decreed in 2008 that Tamil films could be produced for release only by entities registered with the TFPC or partnered with one of its members
	Distribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2009, 81% of the industry's revenue came from ticket sales on 1,357 domestic screens • Cable and satellite rights amounted to 11% and international theatrical sales to 6% of total revenue. Music, home video, mobile, and Internet streams together contributed only 2% of revenue • Distributors in the seven film 'territories' of Tamil Nadu might bid for the right to release the film and subsequently provide 'minimum guarantees' of revenue to share with the producer, in exchange for the exclusive right to distribute the film in those particular territories • Distributors, who shouldered much of the burden of financing Tamil film production in past decades, now are largely unwilling to guarantee a minimum level of revenue for most films they release • Festival presence of a film was a problem, implying that the film lacked commercial potential among domestic audiences
	Exhibition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Film theatres, including multiplexes • Film festivals
	Archiving & Preservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DVDs • No requirement for registration of copyright under the Copyright Act, 1957 • Source: https://www.medianama.com/2016/07/223-copyright-assignmentscam-fight-tamil-film-industry-spicyip/
	Sources	Pandian, Anand. 2015. <i>Reel World: An Anthropology of Creation</i> . Durham, NC: Duke University Press
Nigeria / Jùjú popular music	Creative Imagination and Restrictions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yoruba music can be used as a metaphor for social order and a means of negotiating status • In the face of widening inequalities in Yoruba society, <i>Jùjú</i> performance seems to play a role in reproducing hegemonic values by projecting a classless image of society thus concealing the emergence of a privileged elite • Yoruba musicians still retain the power to unsettle existing hierarchies and class relations • Number of <i>Jùjú</i> groups increased dramatically in the 1950s • Provided workers and migrants with alternative means of work • People involved in the production of popular music in Ibadan were under 1,000
	Professional Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lineage based systems of training • Apprenticeship under a master • Membership in a series of groups
	Production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patronised by Yoruba-speaking Christians and the Yoruba political elite after WWII • Emergence of Nigerian-owned record labels • Decca set up business in Lagos (in 1959 reported an annual turnover of £100K) • Development of the Nigerian Broadcasting System • The Oil Boom in the 1970s culminated in the first <i>Jùjú</i> superstars, as their patrons became richer • The Indigenisation Decree (1977) grew Nigerian control over the means of massreproducing music • Three legal recording pressing facilities
	Distribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informal cassette industry in Ibadan • With the exit of major record companies from the 1980s distribution channels have been weak and piracy rife

Area of Interest	Methods	Information from Literature
Nigeria / <i>Jùjú</i> popular music continued	Exhibition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Performances in beer parlours ('hotels'), with band profits ranging from ₦5 to ₦100 • Celebrations
	Archiving & Preservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unwillingness of the Nigerian Government to enforce copyright laws • Nigerian Copyright Council (N.C.C.) but piracy is widespread
	Sources	Waterman, Christopher Alan. 1990. <i>Jùjú: A Social History and Ethnography of an African Popular Music</i> . Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press
Indonesia / 'indie' music and fashion	Creative Imagination and Restrictions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indie youth, through the principle of 'do-it-yourself' (DIY) have seized the means of cultural production • Fashion practitioners draw on samples from the icons and imageries circulating in the global mediascape • DIY as an egalitarian, collaborative and democratic form of cultural participation • Indonesian musicians combine styles into new configurations • The Indonesian indie scene is much more inclusive than it used to be • Despite the anti-corporate rhetoric of DIY practitioners, its ethos of self-reliance, creativity and flexibility reflects current neoliberal ideals
	Professional Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-taught practitioners • Relying on knowledge acquired via the Internet or through 'zines' and personal networks • 'Distros' (distribution sources for independent music and fashion) as educational centres
	Production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informal cooperative networks / community participation / pooling resources • Badung's status as a commercial centre and home to hundreds of garment factories, led to the development of a cottage clothing industry
	Distribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proliferation of shops and 'distros' (see above) • Distros share the profit with fashion labels (usually 50%) • National cassette outlets sell music by indie bands • Online free-download record labels
	Exhibition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Distros sponsoring events • Modex Independent Clothing Expo in Makassar, plus other similar events • Ministries of Tourism, Development and Industry: Forums, events and grants • Local Governments issue permits for events
	Archiving & Preservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zines, blogs, online record labels and websites as digital archives of the 'indie scene' • Bands such as Mocca have signed onto major labels (selling 150,000 copies of their first album) and follow associated copyright laws
	Sources	Luvaas, Brent. 2012. <i>DIY Style: Fashion, Music and Global Digital Cultures</i> Oxford: Berg Publishers

Appendix C: Reflections and Alternatives

Design Thinking and the Cultural Turn

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Recent decades have seen a 'cultural turn' in both what used to be known as the developed, and the developing world. The 'creative cities' and 'creative classes' of Richard Florida (e.g. Florida 2005) have appeared on the ground globally, and the importance of the 'creative economy' recognized in initiatives such the British Government's Industrial Strategy Challenge Fund.

At the same time, curiously, the concept of creativity has come under attack from within that very creative class: increasingly seen as a relic of an outmoded romantic/modernist conception of High Art and the Artist as Genius (see, for example, Hallam & Ingold 2007) and as the incommensurable other to the otherwise technocratic culture of modernity.

Thinking like a designer can transform the way organizations develop products, services, processes, and strategy...It also allows people who aren't trained as designers to use creative tools to address a vast range of challenges.

(<https://www.ideo.com/eu>)

In their place arises the conception of 'Design Thinking', once the invention and preserve of engineers and, notably, the product design agency IDEO. Their playful 'method cards' were initially created to help designers formulate initial concepts for products and services; and are now used to formulate policy and business strategy.

Design Thinking challenges the idea that culture is, primarily anyway, Art – at least Art of the single, self-motivated, genius-authored kind. It emphasizes, instead, cultural forms and processes that are collective, iterative (sometimes repetitive), 'Nobrow' (Seabrook 2000) rather than 'high' (Art) or 'low' (Craft), at home with, rather than distinct from, technocracy.

What might this turn in creative industries have to say to a value-chain perspective on development?

Firstly, to draw on Hallam and Ingold or Sennett's (2008) notion of craft: the value chain isn't a chain, but (at least) a loop: the 'creation' of culture - from the tribal dance to the designer coffee machine – does not happen on the *tabula rasa*. It takes place within genres and conventions drawn from the archive of previous production, which is therefore not the passive end point of the process, but its genesis.

Secondly, the iterative loop between archive and production, in which the latter constantly reformulates and challenges the former, can accommodate *both* conservatism *and* innovation, either of which, on its own, becomes culturally oppressive – essentialist on the one hand, airily technocratic on the other.

Thirdly, if cultural ecologies are to be made sustainable, then culture itself cannot be imagined in classical 'Art' terms as something necessarily 'free' of conditions and constraints – particularly those of audience. Design thinking, harnessing what used to be called creativity towards other-oriented ends *as well as* unconstrained self-expression, can offer a way to imagine how.

Just like Art or Creativity, Production and Culture are, of course, highly problematic words – at their worst, yet another occidental imposition. At their best, however – as engines of both continuity and change, shared as well as individual expression – they can, as this report suggests, play a key role in ensuring that development can actually change and improve lives.

Using Network Analysis to Capture Value and Value Chains

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Value chains that create, produce, distribute and preserve cultural goods are central to culture and international development (Coe, 2015; Pratt, 2015; Singh, this report). This brief review seeks to illuminate how network analysis as a method can be utilized in culture and international development.

A network consists of a set of actors (or nodes) and ties that link them, where ties are typically of two types: state (e.g., kinship, role, knowledge or affect) and event (interactions or transactions) (Borgatti & Halgin 2011). In the case of culture and development, the actors may be specific people or organizations, such as aid organizations, artists/creators, producers, distributors, and exhibitors that comprise the value chain and enable cultural production. The ties that connect actors (or nodes) may be resources or bonds (e.g., communication, ideas, affect such as liking or hate). Examples of resources that flow between actors (or nodes) include funding from aid organization to artist or to a training organization, money from the artist to the material provider such as a film stock company, a film by the director to a distributor and from the distributor to an exhibitor. Examples of bonds include the development of ideas between an artist and producer or aid organization when agreeing to fund a project, as well as the sharing of ideas and information that comprise artistic and social movements.

Social network analysis is particularly useful for revealing the structure of the value chain, such as how centralized cultural production is, whether the value chain has holes, such as disconnected fragments, or whether the value chain is highly centralized with all key resources or information flowing through one key actor, which gives enormous power and control over cultural production to that actor (typically called a broker). Network analysis can also be used to discern whether the various actors in cultural production are connected to one another (called density, which tends to generate greater similarity of products and greater resilience under conditions of uncertainty) or more unevenly connected with enables new sources of information or resources to enter. The connections within a network are important for determining how the actors and activities may be governed, which governance mechanisms are used: formal mechanisms such contracts or informal such reputation (Jones, Hesterly & Borgatti 1997).

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[Many parts of the report adapt sections and tables from JP Singh's work referenced below]

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