

evaluation

## CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT

EVALUATION OF A POLICY (1981-2001)



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EVALUATION OF A POLICY THEME (1981-2001)

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## PREFACE

Culture and development are closely connected. It is therefore not surprising that thoughts about the interrelationship between these concepts are as old as development cooperation, or indeed older. Colonial administrators were already emphasising the cultural dimension of the *mission civilisatrice*. A well-known example of this is the attempt to adapt the content of primary education in the former Dutch East Indies to local circumstances. Nevertheless, policy and policy implementation in the field of culture and development have never been the subject of a broad evaluation. This is the main reason why the Policy and Operations Evaluation Department (IOB) has included an evaluation of this policy field in its programming. This has already been done in connection with international cultural policy, with which the culture and development policy field has had close organisational links in the more recent past.

This evaluation differs from earlier evaluations by the IOB in that no opinion is offered regarding the efficiency or effectiveness of cultural projects or programmes. Culture and development policy has primarily focused on such issues as the way in which policy is rooted and grounded, and on changes in actual aid links. This report evaluates a policy theme: motives, goals and instruments and the relationship between them. Despite the importance attached to this subject in official policy documents, speeches and memoranda over the years, the policy has never been implemented in such a way that the efficiency and effectiveness of its implementation could be usefully evaluated; nor has this been done in this study. At first glance, it may seem rather pointless to evaluate a policy theme that has never been systematically implemented. The IOB has nevertheless done so because the problem – the inevitable cultural dimension of development – continues to be an item on the agenda and, moreover, because such an evaluation will show why it has proved impossible to implement certain aspects of policy which in themselves were worthwhile. The report includes a great deal of explanatory material on this latter aspect and thus offers leads for re-examining the connection between culture and development.

The evaluation was supervised by Henri Jorritsma, Inspector and Deputy Director of the IOB. Research assistant Heleen ter Ellen was involved in preparing the evaluation and consultant Jolle Demmers helped carry it out. In addition, extensive use was made of

material already collected and analysed by Anneke Slob during the evaluation of international cultural policy. Final responsibility for the report lies with the IOB.

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## 1. MAIN FINDINGS

Culture can be thought of as the full range of a society's tangible and intangible achievements. In this sense, development is cultural change. Seen in this context, development cooperation is a form of controlled or guided cultural change. The fact that culture and development are connected has never been the subject of discussion, but the nature of the connection has. This evaluation discusses a number of authoritative views expressed on the subject over the past two decades and the policy goals based on these views, as well as how, and to what extent, these policy goals were implemented in practice through development cooperation. An important restriction here is that an opinion regarding practice can only be formulated on the basis of what has been explicitly said or written. In this case, the information provided has proved insufficient to arrive at any conclusions regarding the efficiency and effectiveness of implementation. In other words, there have been many policy statements that have not been demonstrably implemented. However, it is very likely that many development workers – both at the Ministry and in the field – have been inspired by policy strategies concerning the role of culture and have implemented them to the best of their knowledge and ability. In current practice, however, this is only reported to a very limited extent and very unsystematically. Subject to this proviso, the evaluation has led to the following three main findings.

1. *Changes in views of the relationship between culture and development have had virtually no effect on the implementation of development cooperation.*

Since 1980, the role of culture in development processes has been regularly reinterpreted. Whereas in the 1980s, emphasis on culture was primarily seen as a means of increasing the effectiveness of development activities, in the early 1990s far more importance was attached to culture. Rather than as a means to an end, culture was seen as the basis for development and also as its ultimate goal. In the second half of the 1990s the focus shifted to preserving cultural heritage and to promoting the arts as a means of increasing cultural resilience. By the end of the 1990s, any explicit focus on culture had largely disappeared from development policy. Culture and development was never translated into feasible policy measures and thus was never implemented in bilateral cooperation, although attempts were made to do so.

2. *Culture and development policy as proposed in 1990 has proved impossible to implement.*

The policy of the early 1990s was marked by a dynamic and constructivist view of culture, which held that development is determined by forces within the culture of a society itself. However, such a view is at odds with current implementation of development cooperation, in which the focus is on the aim of cultural change as agreed between the donor and the recipient. If culture (and thus also cultural diversity) were to be chosen as the basis for development cooperation, this would mean a departure from current practice. Although several attempts have been made in this direction – for example, in sustainable development agreements – it has proved impossible to translate this altered starting-point into workable measures. Those that have been adopted are largely cosmetic.

3. *The nature of Cultural Programme projects has not changed over the past several years (despite the broader interpretation of culture in policy) and is essentially determined by a 'narrow' definition of culture.*

A large number of predominantly small-scale activities have been financed, initially from the Special Purpose Grant Programme and later from the Cultural Programme. Although over the years views of culture and development have changed, hardly any trace of these changes can be found in the makeup of the project portfolio. Most Cultural Programme funds have been spent on activities to preserve cultural heritage and arts, in particular music, film, language and literature. Only incidentally has new ground been broken, for example in the field of cultural education.

### Main areas of emphasis

Internationally, the past year has seen a revival of the 'cultural debate'. This concerns issues that were also raised in the first half of the 1990s, such as the universality of certain values in relation to respect for cultural diversity. So far this development has not left any visible traces in current development cooperation practice. However, the interrelationship between development cooperation and other elements of foreign policy calls for a review of the role of culture when determining priorities and choices.

Current development cooperation policy no longer provides explicit scope for the theme of culture and development. However, this does not mean that it is not implicitly all-pervading. Culture and cultural diversity play a background role in all kinds of obvious fields such as gender, institutional development and research. This particularly applies to the main guiding principles of current policy, namely ownership and demand-driven

intervention, which both require a high degree of intercultural communication between donors and recipients. In addition, both concepts are easier to apply if there is cultural homogeneity on both the demand and the supply side of aid, but this situation is the exception rather than the rule. Current policy fails to provide practical tools for this.

Both international developments and the principles of current policy call for renewed attention to the theme of culture and development. However, the challenge in the coming years will be to shape the relationship between culture and development in a workable manner. The past offers few leads for this.

Main findings

## 2. RESEARCH GOALS AND APPROACH

### 2.1 Justification

The evaluation of international cultural policy provided for in IOB programming was recently completed. A preliminary study had shown that, despite closer organisational and substantive links with international cultural policy in recent years, the culture and development component had historically been a separate policy field with its own development process. The preliminary study had also shown that in recent decades the cultural theme constantly played a role in development cooperation – although in different ways and to varying degrees – but that it was more difficult to determine how and to what extent it had been implemented. The complexity of the concept of ‘culture’ and the confusing picture of what at first glance appeared to be incoherent or even non-existent implementation made the IOB decide to conduct an independent partial evaluation on the basis of the material collected in the preliminary study. This evaluation focuses on the policy and the logic of intervention that is implicitly or explicitly derived from it, as well as the changes these have undergone. Secondly, the evaluation examines whether, and to what extent, activities developed or financed under the heading ‘culture and development’ are actually in line with the policy. Questions regarding the efficiency and effectiveness of activities financed from the Cultural Programme are not examined in this evaluation.

### 2.2 Goal and key questions

This evaluation has a twofold goal. First of all, it attempts to assess the degree of consistency between culture and development policy and the logic of intervention that is derived from it. Secondly, it sets out to examine how, and to what extent, culture and development policy has actually been implemented and to assess its feasibility.

There are many views of what culture is. In policy documents, two definitions of the term ‘culture’ are generally used, also referred to as the ‘broad’ and the ‘narrow’ definition. According to the broad, cultural-anthropological definition, culture is a community’s entire range of ways of living and thinking, including its tangible and intangible products. This definition was regularly used in policy documents on ‘culture and development’

in the 1980s and 1990s. According to the narrow definition, culture means the arts, cultural heritage and media issues, including language and literature and library matters. This definition is used in international cultural policy, but at the end of the 1990s it also cropped up in culture and development policy.

‘Development’ is also a term that has been defined in numerous ways over the years, ranging from an exclusively economic definition to broader sociocultural and economic ones.

This evaluation focuses on the relationship between culture and development. It not only looks at how culture is defined, but also at ‘discourses’ on how culture (whether defined in the broad or the narrow sense) ‘works’, what it ‘does’ and what relationship it is assumed to have with development. These implicit or explicit assumptions and views about culture and development form the starting-point for the analysis. An attempt is then made, by means of a systematic analysis of the resulting culture and development policy, to answer questions regarding the internal consistency and feasibility of the policy.

The questions below served as guidelines for the study. Together, they attempt to answer the key question of whether culture and development policy has been internally consistent and has offered sufficient leads for implementation.

- Which discourse on culture and development was dominant in which historical period, and why?
- Within this period, how was culture and development policy formulated?
- Which logic of intervention was connected to this policy discourse?
- Which instruments were then proposed?
- How and to what extent were these instruments actually employed?

### 2.3 Method

The IOB did not have any experience with this type of policy evaluation. This meant that it could not fall back on experience with specific research methods. Nor did the ‘classical’ evaluation literature offer much to go on. It was therefore decided to use a research method that has proved its worth in various academic disciplines, namely *discourse*

*analysis*<sup>1</sup>. Discourses refer to more or less interrelated ideas and concepts. In simple terms, a discourse is a way of looking at reality – one in which a specific representation of reality is provided and specific links are made. The purpose of discourse analysis is to provide explicit, systematic descriptions of such discourses within a specific historical context.

Culture and development policy is also based on discourses. In this evaluation, these discourses will be explicitly and systematically described or, if necessary, reconstructed on the basis of the source material. Next, an attempt will be made to determine what policy goals this discourse has given rise to. Thirdly, the extent to which policy goals have been translated into specific intervention strategies will be discussed. Finally, the extent to which proposed intervention strategies have actually been implemented will be examined.

The evaluation is based on all relevant written sources for the period 1981-2001, such as policy documents, explanatory memoranda, speeches, annual plans, annual reports, etc. It was preceded by a preliminary study, in which interviews were held with a number of key informants. During this preliminary study, two databases were set up, one for culture and development funds and the other for assignment of the cultural dimension in the MIDAS management information system. In both cases the preliminary study was limited to the past decade, as older figures proved to be incomplete and therefore unreliable.

#### 2.4 Scope and representativity

This evaluation covers the period 1981-2001. In this period there were various discourses regarding culture. As already pointed out, culture as a means for development was the dominant view in the 1980s. Although it is impossible to draw a sharp boundary between the start of one discourse and the end of the next, it can nevertheless be stated that this view first emerged with the publication of the report by the National Advisory Council for Development Cooperation (NAR) in 1981 and ended with the publication of the policy document *A World of Difference* in 1990. This last policy document also marked the beginning of a period in which discourses on culture as a basis for development were

<sup>1</sup> Discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary trend that developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s out of cross-fertilisation between linguistics, philosophy, literature study, anthropology, semiotics, sociology, psychology, history and communication science. The interdisciplinary character of discourse analysis not only yielded considerable theoretical and empirical diversity, but at the same time generated a large number of different angles and approaches.

dominant (Chapter 3). This period lasted until approximately 1993. The publication of the policy document *A World of Dispute* marked the beginning of a period characterised by a mix of different discourses on culture and development, in which the fundamental debate shifted to international fora. Although views on culture and development dating from 1990 were still occasionally found in policy documents after 1996, they were tending to disappear, and after 1997 they no longer played any role in policy. The relationships between the different discourses and policy goals are analysed in the various chapters of this document. The associated logic of intervention and how, and to what extent, this policy was specifically implemented are also examined. Unlike most IOB evaluations, this one does not attempt to assess the efficiency and effectiveness of activities financed under the heading 'culture and development'. The key questions in this evaluation relate to an earlier stage of the process, since they concern the relationship between policy/policy principles and implementation. The representativity of the study is therefore not an issue. As regards the study of relevant documentation, an effort was made to be as complete as possible. The basic principle was that all relevant documents from the evaluation period were to be studied and included in the analysis according to their relative importance.



## 3. CULTURE AS A MEANS TO AN END: 1981-89

### 3.1 Introduction

The notion that culture is an important aspect of development has existed ever since development cooperation began. The first references to the cultural aspects of processes of change can already be found in documents on colonial policy in the former Dutch East Indies at the beginning of the twentieth century, and later on in documents on the policy to be pursued in New Guinea. This policy primarily focused on the relationship between education and culture, but also discussed such issues as the cultural assimilation of technological change and the possibility of achieving a blend of cultures, i.e. a merging of the best elements of traditional, indigenous and Western culture.<sup>2</sup>

In the first phase of development cooperation after World War II, culture played a far less prominent role. Attention was primarily focused on knowledge transfer, improvement of infrastructure and development of productive sectors, in the belief that developing countries had to develop as quickly as possible into modern (i.e. Western-type) states. It was not until the 1960s and 1970s, when attention shifted to rural development (with the focus on small farmers), that interest in cultural aspects re-emerged. This time the emphasis was on explaining the conservatism of small farmers in cultural terms, rather than on reassessing or strengthening cultural traditions and individuality.<sup>3</sup> Especially in academic circles, culture – in the broad sense of the term – was cited as an explanation for the attitude of people in developing countries when confronted with changes from outside.<sup>4</sup> However, this view of the role of culture came in for increasing criticism when the modernisation paradigm began to be challenged worldwide in the 1970s. Criticism of the Western capitalist development model and an appeal to the right to be different were all part of this. Nevertheless, the view of ‘culture as a barrier to development’ persisted for a long time in development cooperation circles. During the 1980s, however, this view was

2 Van Baal, Jan, 1967, *Mensen in Verandering*. Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers.

3 Foster, G.M., 1965, “Peasant society and the image of limited good”, in *American Anthropologist*, No. 67, pp. 293-315, 1965.

4 Huizer, G.J., 1970, “Resistance to change and radical peasant mobilization: Foster and Erasmus reconsidered”, in *Human Organization*, 29, pp. 303-322, 1970; Shanin, T., 1971, *Peasants and peasant societies*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd.

gradually replaced by a different one in which the emphasis was more on the importance of independence and participation by local organisations and on continuing to build on local knowledge. Culture was increasingly seen as a means for development.

This chapter will examine the discourse on culture as a means for development, as well as the resulting policy and the related logic of intervention and policy instruments.

### 3.2 The NAR report

In April 1981, the independent National Advisory Council for Development Cooperation published an unsolicited report entitled *Cultural Aspects of Development Cooperation*. The report, which echoed opinions already being voiced in the academic world, signified a major shift in the view of culture and development. The notion that culture was a barrier to development was explicitly challenged. Instead, the emphasis was on culture as a means for development. The report focused on 'sociocultural awareness', included a wide range of views and had a clearly prescriptive tone. In Chapter 4, the authors indicated that very little is known about the cultural aspects of projects.

*'However, there is little or no material available on Dutch projects over the past decade: evaluation involves only the comparison of actual results achieved with project objectives, and any cultural factors in the partial or complete failure of projects are not considered in the reports. Longer-term evaluation and the study of the sociocultural consequences of projects are also rarely, if ever, undertaken.'*<sup>5</sup>

According to the report, the problem of Third World developing countries after World War II was chiefly regarded as an economic one, and Western society was taken as the model for solving problems. In this view, social relationships and cultural conditions were mainly seen as obstacles to economic growth. According to the NAR report, it was not until the 1960s that the technological/economic approach was increasingly seen to be failing, among other things because independent economic development was not being achieved in many developing countries and the gap between rich and poor in developing countries had become wider despite economic growth. This meant that identifying the essential problem of development was now a significantly more complicated task.

<sup>5</sup> NAR 1981, p. 28.

The report gave two explanations for the failure of economic development to materialise:

- 1) Insufficient recognition of the nature of the development process. This meant that people had tried to effect technological and economic modernisation by transferring capital and Western technical knowledge, but were not sufficiently aware of the cultural components of that technology or to what extent these components fitted into the cultural pattern of the country in question.
- 2) The asymmetrical relationship between the Western world and the developing countries and the resulting dependency of the latter.<sup>6</sup>

The report focused almost entirely on the first explanation of underdevelopment. It contrasted the 'sociocultural' view of development with the dominant 'technological/economic' view, and strongly emphasised the importance of 'cultural solidarity', 'independence' and 'cultural individuality' in solving the problem of underdevelopment. The Council called on donor countries to support efforts to achieve self-development based on the independent pursuit of a sociocultural system that fitted people's actual situation.

*'In this context, development becomes partly a social movement of people who know themselves to be bound together and make use of a variety of cultural symbols to confirm and strengthen their bonds, thus at the same time adding to the power of their movement. Seen in this way, the perception of cultural solidarity acquires very great relevance to development: those who have achieved self-awareness, in cultural as well as other respects, are likely to be better able to look after themselves than those groups in the Third World such as small farmers, landless peasants and slum dwellers in the cities – whose political, economic, social and cultural position is becoming steadily more marginal. From this it follows that projects aimed at promoting social and cultural awareness can help achieve economic development in accordance with the ideas of those concerned and should therefore be eligible for support.'*<sup>7</sup>

If societies focused on reinforcing cultural identity, they would be more able to develop in economic terms. This is in fact the implicit premise of the report. The emphasis on 'self-development' was in line with development theories in the 1960s and 1970s such as the '*dependencia* school' and the Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI) model, which focused on the independent economic and further development of Third World countries.

<sup>6</sup> NAR 1981, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> NAR 1981, p. 15

This line of thought was especially influential in Latin America. During the 1970s, various initiatives aimed at breaking the economic dominance of the West (such as OPEC and the New International Economic Order) were launched by developing countries.

Moreover, the NAR report was not an isolated statement about the relationship between culture and development. In the Netherlands, Prince Claus had for some time been calling for more emphasis on the cultural dimension of development processes. Internationally, too, there was increasing focus on the relationship between culture and development. During the 1982 global conference on culture and development (Mondiacult) in Mexico, this was taken even further. The final declaration of the conference stated that culture was not a means for development, but its final goal. Development should be led by culture. However, the problem was how to implement this in practice.

It would be a long time before these concepts made their appearance in Dutch policy documents.

### 3.3 The policy response: 'culture as a means of promoting effectiveness'

The NAR report had all the characteristics of a discourse on culture and development; it spoke of culture as an emancipatory means for development. However, the report did not reflect the official policy of the 1980s. From the Minister's response to the NAR's recommendations it is clear that the Government did not endorse the opinions expressed in the report. While the NAR report focused on how culture could promote independence (and hence development) in developing countries, policy in the 1980s focused on culture as a means of making aid more effective. The economic view of development was dominant here.

*'In this connection, the cultural projects that are relevant to my policy are those that are functional in the overall development relationship between the Netherlands and the developing country in question and whose goal is the necessary harmonious integration of economic development as promoted by the Netherlands into the developing country's own cultural development.'*<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Letter from Minister Van Dijk to the Chairman of the NAR, 8 June 1982.

Especially after 1982, words like 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness' were a recurrent feature of policy documents on culture and development.<sup>9</sup> Successive explanatory memoranda in the period 1982-89 indicated that the cultural dimension of the development process deserved attention and should be used as a criterion for effectiveness with a view to improving the quality of aid. This is stated as follows in an official document on the cultural dimension published in 1984:

*"The reasoning used in the policy document leads to the conclusion that the cultural dimension of the socioeconomic development process is relevant to development cooperation to the extent that activities resulting from consideration of this dimension demonstrably contribute to the realisation of the main goal of development cooperation (= sustainable poverty reduction, IOB)."*<sup>10</sup>

A synthesis of review findings up to 1984 by the then Operations Review Unit (IOV) also called for greater knowledge and consideration of the sociocultural context when implementing projects.<sup>11</sup>

The instrumental view of culture dominated policy in the 1980s. It was assumed that emphasis on culture (variously referred to as 'the sociocultural context', 'cultural activities', 'cultural identity', 'the cultural dimension', 'the cultural environment' and 'sociocultural grounding') could enhance effectiveness (viability, sustainability) and should therefore be encouraged. It is also clear that development was primarily seen in terms of socioeconomic development. This policy view of culture and development should also be placed in the broader policy/administrative context of the 1980s, which were a period of cutbacks and economic recession, as well as famine in Africa and a more critical attitude towards the use and effectiveness of government funds. Accordingly, emphasis on culture was considered desirable if it helped Dutch development policy to become more firmly rooted.

<sup>9</sup> Effectiveness means the extent to which policy activities help to achieve the ultimate goals. In the case of 'culture and development', the implicit reference is to 'long-term effectiveness', in which follow-up activities and spin-offs from the planned policy are examined (the 'outcome level'). Although the terms were often used interchangeably, this is clearly not the same thing as efficiency.

<sup>10</sup> DGIS/SA working document entitled *De Culturele Dimensie van OS* ('The Cultural Dimension of Development Cooperation'), 9 November 1984.

<sup>11</sup> IOV, *Globale evaluatie* ('Overall evaluation'), 1984, Section 6.

### 3.4 Logic of intervention

Policy documents from this period show that, although the importance of culture to development was widely accepted, it was by no means clear how this was to be put into practice. There was much emphasis on 'relevance to development', especially during the first half of the 1980s. This is apparent, for instance, from the Minister's response to the aforementioned NAR report of June 1982: 'The report offers few leads for putting into practice the things that it identifies as desirable in general terms'. The Minister pointed out that the 'cultural-anthropological definition of culture is of little help when it comes to policymaking'. He also warned that the 'broader implications' of development, as propagated in the NAR report, should not lead to efforts to promote economic development being 'temporised'. 'We should not lose sight of the fact that economic development is a precondition not only for sustainable reduction of hunger and poverty, but also for the continued cultural development of developing countries'. The Minister therefore concluded that, as far as his policy was concerned, 'relevant cultural projects are those that are functional in the economic development of the developing countries in question.'<sup>12</sup>

Apart from acknowledging the importance of culture, this emphasis on economic development, 'demonstrable relevance' and 'functionality' also indicated that the idea that cultural projects could specifically contribute to development was starting to be challenged in development cooperation circles. It is therefore not surprising that, despite its 'general acknowledgement' of the importance of culture to aid activities, the Ministry recommended that the cultural projects referred to in the report should not be carried out. The main argument for this was that higher priority should be given to other activities.<sup>13</sup>

During the second half of the 1980s, Ministry officials repeatedly stressed the need for a specific intervention strategy. The emphasis was on a 'system' that would make the cultural dimension 'visible and manageable' when implementing projects. The question was how to take 'systematic' account of the prevailing cultural values of the society or social groups in which projects were being carried out. The officials also indicated how resources could be used through culture-specific projects for activities that would rein-

<sup>12</sup> Letter from Minister Van Dijk, 8 June 1982.

<sup>13</sup> Memo from DGIS/SA, 6 December 1984, No. 1672/84.

force the cultural identity of a partner country or important groups within it, while helping to attain the primary goals of development cooperation.

### 3.5 Instruments

The 1985-86 explanatory memorandum stated that funds for a number of activities in the cultural field would be made available in one of the budget categories. The first step would be to conduct pilot studies for a number of programme countries (or regions within them). The studies would examine how systematic account could be taken of the prevailing cultural values of the society or social groups in which the projects were being carried out. There were also plans to encourage the planning and implementation of cultural projects relevant to development. One such initiative was the appropriation of NLG 100,000 for such projects under the terms of the cultural agreement signed with India in May 1985. The same memorandum promised support for activities in the field of culture under the Special Purpose Grant Programme.

The 1986-87 explanatory memorandum again referred to plans to develop a 'system' that would make the cultural dimension visible and manageable. The broad view of culture was restated, and it was emphasised that in future 'systematic' attention should be paid to this view when designing and implementing projects, especially those aimed at rural development in a bilateral context. The content of activities would need to be assessed in terms of their compatibility with the culture of the people for whom they were intended. The memorandum also referred to 'culture-specific projects', i.e. projects designed to reinforce the cultural identity of the people concerned and to help attain the primary goals. Such projects could also be used to back up projects already taking place in the country or region in question. In the 1987-90 explanatory memoranda, however, the idea of developing a system was no longer mentioned. The importance of culture in making development cooperation sustainable and effective was pointed out, but otherwise cultural projects were only mentioned in connection with the Special Purpose Grant Programme.

The Ministry appointed its first-ever policy officer for 'cultural development' in 1986. This person's tasks included drawing up strategies for implementing the new approach to culture and development in practice. The first visible (i.e. documented) effects – which were to be few in number - were in the Sahel programme, in which the decision was made to involve cultural anthropologists in carrying out integrated rural development projects.

Burkina Faso was chosen as the site for the experiment. In response to parliamentary questions, the Minister referred to the selection of two long-term trial projects in the field of rural development in Burkina Faso.

*'In the 1986-90 action plan for the second stage of the integrated rural development programme in Kaya, the cultural dimension of development is explicitly mentioned. The plan states that cultural identity is not only a source of development, but also a necessary dimension of it. It is intended that the experience gained in Burkina Faso will provide a basis for a more detailed bilateral policy. This policy will chiefly focus on the operationalisation of the cultural aspect, with emphasis on feedback regarding findings in the field to policymaking at central level.'*<sup>14</sup>

The experiment in Burkina Faso continued until the beginning of the 1990s, but was stopped owing to policy changes aimed at reducing the number of project staff posted abroad. The experiment was not repeated in other countries.

In 1988, a checklist entitled *Toetsing op de Culturele Dimensie* ('Testing for the Cultural Dimension') was also drawn up. However, the checklist had no clear status and hence was only used on a voluntary basis. There was occasional emphasis on culture in other policy fields, for example in the Women and Development programme. In 1989, however, the Minister for Development Cooperation decided not to renew the policy officer's contract - a sign that emphasis on culture was not considered a priority. At no time during the 1980s was culture systematically integrated into projects.

Although policy documents on culture and development do not contain any reference to it, at the end of the 1980s the theme was included in the MIDAS management information system. From 1990 onwards, projects that were in any way related to culture could be assigned a 'cultural dimension' label within MIDAS. This will be discussed in more detail later on.

Finally, there was the Special Purpose Grant Programme, which provided support for small-scale, one-off activities that could make a substantial innovative or supportive contribution to Dutch development policy. In a letter to the Lower House in 1987, the Minister reported that 'there are currently projects to support museums and strengthen culture:

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<sup>14</sup> Letter from Minister Bukman to the Lower House, 22 June 1987.



indigenous literature, restoration of monuments and support for theatre in developing countries'.<sup>15</sup> This concerned activities designed to help reinforce the cultural identity of developing countries or major groups within them. For example, support was given to a network of African publishers in order to promote African literature and strengthen their position in relation to large international publishers. Support was also given to activities aimed at improving expertise on the educational value of museums.

### 3.6 Conclusions

The 'broad' interpretation of development that emerged in the 1980s provided an opportunity to give development policy a new legitimacy (development was not merely economic growth, but also included emancipation, sociocultural development, etc.). These were welcome arguments at a time when the use and effectiveness of government funds were being critically examined as a result of the economic recession.

The discourse on culture and development in the 1980s that was presented to policy-makers in the form of external advice must be seen against this background. The advice was nonetheless disregarded, although this does not mean that the importance of culture was ignored. The policies of the 1980s clearly presupposed a positive relationship between culture and development, and stressed how emphasis on culture could make projects more effective. There were two recurrent notions in the various policy documents: (1) integration of the cultural dimension into projects is very important in promoting effectiveness, and (2) cultural identity can be reinforced by cultural projects.

A special terminology was used to support the first of these notions: integrating the cultural dimension into projects would help them 'take root' and become 'grounded', and this in turn would make them more effective and viable. This terminology was used in every document. However, when it came to working out the practical details of this policy, a number of snags arose. The presupposed positive relationship between culture and development now had to be 'demonstrated' and made 'manageable'. The situation was reversed: the policy now had to prove itself. This was a circular argument in which the importance of culture to development was posited and at the same time challenged: 'This is the way things are, but this is also the way things have to be.' The cultural dimension

<sup>15</sup> Letter from Minister Bukman to the Lower House, 22 June 1987.

had to be 'functional' and make a 'demonstrable' contribution to poverty reduction and economic development. During the period 1985-87, insistence that this contribution be 'demonstrable' resulted in repeated plans to develop a 'system' that would make the cultural dimension 'manageable'. In the end, however, these plans did not lead to the emergence of a specific set of instruments.

The second of the two notions, on the other hand, was put into practice. 'Independence', 'preservation of cultural identity' and 'cultural uprooting' (and the need to reverse it) were typical phrases. The implicit assumption was that specific cultural projects indirectly helped attain the goals of development cooperation. The resources used for these projects were provided through the Special Purpose Grant Programme and mainly involved support for culture in the 'narrow' sense, such as museums, theatre, language and literature, and restoration of cultural heritage. In a number of cases, the funds were used for activities that were more directly related to the reinforcement of cultural identity.

## 4. CULTURE AS A BASIS FOR DEVELOPMENT: 1990-93

### 4.1 Introduction

In the early 1990s, the theme of culture came to the fore on the development cooperation agenda. The end of the Cold War, hopes of a new world order and the appointment of a new minister contributed to this. In the 1990 policy document *A World of Difference*, culture was explicitly assigned a major role in development cooperation, a notion very much in line not only with the views of the NAR but also with those frequently expressed by Prince Claus. At the same time, the policy document formulated a number of specific policy goals for bilateral and multilateral cooperation and the establishment of a fund. The ethnic nationalist conflicts that occurred in the first half of the 1990s (especially the war in Yugoslavia) increased the realisation that culture could be seen not only as a constructive force, but also as a force for destruction. The dynamic, optimistic discourse on culture in *A World of Difference* was to fade into the background within a matter of years.

This chapter focuses on the period 1990-93, which – though brief – had a substantial influence on the role and meaning of the theme of culture and development in the 1990s.

### 4.2 A World of Difference

In *A World of Difference*, a new view of the relationship between culture and development was presented under the heading ‘Culture and development’ in the chapter entitled ‘Development by, for and of the people’. Three things stand out here:

(1) A dynamic (constructivist) view of culture was adopted, and static (essentialist) views were explicitly rejected. The document stated that ‘in Dutch development cooperation culture is regarded not as irrelevant or as an obstacle to development but as a basis for sustainable development.’<sup>16</sup> Culture was seen as being ‘in a state of constant flux’ rather than ‘immutable’ or ‘sacred’. This emphasis on the dynamic character of culture meant

<sup>16</sup> *A World of Difference*, 1990, p. 192.

that Dutch policy focused on 'stimulating development from within the culture' rather than simply 'preserving' or 'modifying' a culture. The Minister explained this view in a speech to mark the first UN World Day for Cultural Development in 1991, in which he clearly took a stand against the instrumental view of culture:

*'Culture is as changeable as the Dutch island of Rottum or as the courses of the rivers in Bangladesh. We cannot tie it down to a bed of concrete, nor can we predict how fast and in what way changes will occur. Culture is not the immutable reservation that some anthropologists would like it to be, nor is it the bastion of conservatism that some economists see it as. Nor do I see culture as instrumental, as something that developers can use to attain a supposedly higher goal. Instead, I share Mary Packard-Winkler's view that culture is essentially dynamic. The development process is grafted onto the cultural context, which changes along with it. Development begins and ends with development of culture (...).'*<sup>17</sup>

(2) Culture was not seen as synonymous with national society, but as an attribute of communities that could be either national, regional, local or tribal. The same view had been reflected in the policy of the 1980s, but it was now forcefully restated in the policy document. The document stated that cultural cooperation should take place not only at national (state) level but also, and in particular, at higher (international) and lower (local) levels. 'The call for a more pluralist society, for greater scope for grassroots initiative, for a greater input of local knowledge and expertise is also a plea for the recognition of endogenous development processes.'<sup>18</sup>

(3) Cultural exchange was also heavily emphasised in the policy document. Intercultural understanding is all the more important at a time of ever-increasing global tendencies. Cultural exchange and cooperation play an important role here (...).<sup>19</sup>

The emphasis on the dynamic, changeable nature of culture should be placed in the context of the entire policy document and international developments at the time. The document described the year 1990 as 'a psychological turning point in post-war history'<sup>20</sup> and expressed the hope that the international community would now enter a period of compromise rather than confrontation. It was expected that the end of the conflict

<sup>17</sup> Speech by Minister Pronk during the theme day on culture and democracy in the Ridderzaal, The Hague, on 31 May 1991 to mark the first UN World Day for Cultural Development.

<sup>18</sup> A World of Difference, 1990, p. 192.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 193.

between East and West, between the First and Second Worlds, would also mark the end of the Third World as a separate political identity for developing countries. 'From now on, the trend is likely to be towards a single world system, in which participation in the dynamism of world trade and economic modernisation will be more important than old, political dividing lines.'<sup>21</sup> According to the document, the disappearance of the First, Second and Third Worlds offered a unique opportunity for world unity. Although it was true that the new world system would be largely based on Western institutions and values, this should not lead to triumphalism, but to a critical review of those institutions and values. The policy document repeatedly pointed out that the risk of social exclusion and conflict had by no means disappeared in the emerging new world order, but it was nevertheless optimistic (and this optimism was shared by organisations such as the UN and other authorities).

#### 4.3 The policy: cultural diversity as a constructive force

*A World of Difference* formulated a wide range of policy goals in the field of culture and development for the very first time. In bilateral cooperation, the emphasis would be on strengthening interaction with local communities when carrying out projects and programmes. At multilateral level, active Dutch commitment to supranational integration, multilateralism and international cooperation to promote the new world order and global consensus was advocated. It was pointed out that in the new world order it was no longer a question of protecting developing countries against the power and conflicts of the developed world, but rather of encouraging or enabling them to become integrated into world politics and the global economy. Finally, the document proposed that funds be set up for activities to reinforce communities' cultural identity.

The discourses on the constructive force of culture and the advent of a global consensus were not only dominant in *A World of Difference*, but can also be clearly seen in policy documents published in 1991 and 1992. However, this optimistic view was to prove short-lived. In 1993, a new policy document entitled *A World of Dispute* toned down the lofty expectations of *A World of Difference*, partly as a result of the many violent intra-state conflicts of the early 1990s. The following quotations indicate the shift away from the optimism of 1990 (when the focus had been on the positive force of culture) to the bleak

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 67.

reality of 1993 (by when it had become clear that culture can also have destructive effects):

‘Through their culture, peoples enrich other peoples without impoverishing themselves. They can survive by providing others with understanding and knowledge. They can remain themselves through exchange with others (...) Such mutual cultural exchange and enrichment should be a major issue in the new world order (...) This could encourage the interweaving of East, West, North and South in a harmonious manner, without new world conflicts (...) An essential feature of the new world order should be that stateless people and cultures feel at home in it (...) Hence the statement that the cornerstone of international cooperation is cultural policy. Culture is an antidote to conflict.’<sup>22</sup>

‘Adjustment is the order of the day. The globalisation of the economy and the increasing interdependence between countries and peoples is bringing an increasing need for adjustment (...) This urge for adjustment does not, however, apply so much to one’s own culture or political community. On the contrary, the rebirth of ethnic consciousness and the establishment of all kinds of new states would seem to suggest a growing need for autonomy and individuality. This may even be an expression of a feeling of loss of cultural “security” due to the rapid disintegration of traditional social frameworks.’<sup>23</sup>

‘The civil war in the former Yugoslavia represents for the time being a new low in modern barbarity. Having co-existed fairly peacefully since the Second World War, the peoples of this multi-nation state have, as it were, suddenly lifted the lid on the cesspool of history in a fit of national psychosis and thereby resurrected old conflicts and arguments.’<sup>24</sup>

*A World of Dispute* had much to say about the ‘system transformation’ taking place in Eastern Europe and many of the developing countries following the end of the Cold War, and the fact that this transformation was not only economic but was also making deep inroads in the political and social sphere. However, there was no reference to the role of culture: culture and development did not have any explicit part to play. Euphoria about the end of the Cold War had made way for fear of ethnic tension and the destructive force of culture.

<sup>22</sup> 1991-92 explanatory memorandum, p. 78.

<sup>23</sup> *A World of Dispute*, 1993, p. 23.

<sup>24</sup> *A World of Dispute*, 1993, p. 5.

During the first half of the 1990s, another policy document that touched on the theme of culture and development was published. In this policy document on indigenous peoples (which appeared in 1993), policy on 'culture as the basis for development' and the dynamic view of culture could still be clearly identified, although the policy document did not present any specific policy goals based on this. Chapter IV ('Individual identity and cultural rights') stated:

*'Measures to reinforce the culture and identity of indigenous peoples must be sought in the field of education and in support for specific cultural activities to be identified by the peoples themselves. The Cultural Programme offers some scope for such support.'*<sup>25</sup>

The policy document also underlined the importance of returning cultural objects to indigenous peoples, an issue that had been often raised in UN resolutions, and of preserving important tangible and intangible items of cultural heritage, such as knowledge of nature, language, oral literature, manuscripts and works of art. The policy document then referred to the view of culture and development set out in *A World of Difference*:

*'(...) In current development cooperation policy, culture is seen as a basis for sustainable development. This principle also applies to indigenous peoples and involves a participatory and culture-oriented approach. Specifically, development activities must be desired and formulated by the community, their nature and form must be in keeping with the culture of the indigenous people concerned, and the community itself - or its representatives - must be able to participate in decisions concerning these activities, their implementation and their evaluation. (...) The acknowledgement of indigenous peoples' entitlement to an individual identity and cultural rights presupposes awareness and a change of mentality on the part of the dominant cultures. In any dialogue with indigenous peoples, members of dominant societies will be expected to show willingness to acculturate, and where necessary to question their own values and shift their priorities.'*<sup>26</sup>

#### 4.4 Logic of intervention

The (implicit) logic of intervention that formed the basis for the policy goals was determined by the conviction that the promotion of cultural diversity formed the basis for a

<sup>25</sup> Policy document on indigenous peoples in foreign policy, 1993, p. 20.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., pp. 29-31.

global, sustainable society. Reinforcing peoples' and communities' cultural identity offered them the opportunity to play a full part in a global, multicultural community. As far as bilateral cooperation was concerned, this meant that increased knowledge of the local cultural context and incorporation of local knowledge into bilateral projects and programmes would contribute to sustainable development, this being the only way to give recipients a greater say in designing and implementing such programmes. Cultural exchange was necessary in order to increase such knowledge of the local culture.

The logic of intervention behind the activities proposed at multilateral level was that support for and cooperation with organisations such as UNESCO in protecting cultural rights, reinforcing individual cultural identity and preserving cultural heritage would benefit development in general.

The logic of intervention behind the design of cultural and other funds was clearly formulated in the description of the Cultural Programme:

*'(...) If cultural heritage is damaged, this undermines the identity, the self-awareness and thus also the continuity of a community, population group or region. Lasting progress can only be made if the local culture is strong enough to absorb influences from outside. For this reason, reinforcement of a developing country's cultural identity is an important factor in Dutch development policy. Preserving, restoring and studying cultural heritage is part of this policy.'*<sup>27</sup>

The central component of the logic of intervention described above, namely greater interaction with local communities in carrying out projects and programmes, was in line with the constructivist view of dynamics and change in *A World of Difference*. This logic resulted from the policy goal of ensuring that development activities were in keeping with processes of cultural change. However, it did not give a clear answer as to whether the proposed approach was feasible. In order to establish this, the instruments proposed for the various policy fields must first be studied in detail.

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<sup>27</sup> Ontwikkelingssamenwerking en het Cultuurprogramma ('Development Cooperation and the Cultural Programme'), March 1994.



#### 4.5 Instruments and implementation

*A World of Difference* did not just set out a number of policy goals, but also specified the instruments needed to implement them.

The document announced the following steps in the area of bilateral cooperation:

- In the proposed sector studies, there would be considerable emphasis on local knowledge and local culture. Where necessary, the communities in question would be the subject of additional research and study, where possible carried out by local researchers. Efforts would be made to promote the training and education of such researchers in Dutch institutions and elsewhere. Resources would be made available through the Dutch Fellowship Programme to enable social scientists from developing countries to receive additional training in the Netherlands.
- The cultural context of cooperation programmes would be among the issues raised in policy consultations with programme countries.
- To this end, development indicators which provided a clearer picture of the level of sociocultural development – as proposed in the 1990 Human Development Report – would be drawn up. The criteria to be satisfied by development activities (such as the DAC Principles for Project Appraisal) would be made stricter.
- Participation by the local population, and assimilation into and interaction with the local culture, would be important criteria in identifying, assessing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating bilateral aid projects and programmes. Attention would be paid to the division of labour between men and women and the associated responsibilities.
- Experts on culture and development would be appointed both in the Ministry and in the field.

Only a few of the policy goals mentioned above were given specific shape during the period 1990-93. As far as can be determined, no activities were carried out in connection with sector studies or policy consultations. As for the development and use of indicators and criteria for sociocultural development, the first report of such an evaluation system

being introduced in practice was in the 1996 policy document *Hulp in Uitvoering* ('Aid in Progress'). However, this 'development screening test' did not specify exactly how culture was to be emphasised. The test was an instrument to assess proposed interventions in terms of their expected impact on 'key aspects' such as poverty, women, the environment, feasibility and sustainability, as well as control and management aspects.<sup>28</sup> Although the test did touch upon aspects of culture and development such as gender, the plans set out in the 1990 policy document were not reflected here. Project identification, formulation and implementation were more stringently assessed for participatory content. More was also done to appoint experts. In 1991, for example, a policy officer for culture and development was once more appointed, and the item 'Cultural aspects of development cooperation, their study and analysis' appeared in the job description of the relevant department for the very first time. However, the limited resources that were made available for this purpose, together with the lack of a clear set of instruments, meant that activities remained limited to seminars and workshops (such as the DGIS workshops on culture and development and the extension of the acculturation courses at the Royal Tropical Institute) and publication of articles.

*A World of Difference* announced two measures at multilateral level in the field of culture and development:

- In international fora, the Netherlands would press for the use of development indicators that provided a picture of the level of sociocultural development. In addition, the Netherlands would emphasise the rights of cultural minorities in connection with human rights policy, since respect for culture also meant respect for cultural pluralism within states.
- Multilateral and bilateral cooperation with UNESCO in the fields of culture and communications would be stepped up.

Most of the aforementioned multilateral policy goals and instruments have been put into practice.

In order to make the prevailing market approach to development more value-oriented, the UN decided to proclaim 1988-97 the World Decade for Culture and Development, with

<sup>28</sup> Aid in Progress: Development Cooperation and the Review of Dutch Foreign Policy, 1996, p. 7.

UNESCO as the controlling organisation. An intergovernmental commission was set up, with a chairmanship that rotated every two years on the basis of cultural origin. The first chairperson came from the Netherlands. To convince the international development community of the importance of culture, the commission decided to draw up a World Culture Report. In addition, there were plans to encourage reflection on global ethics by identifying a number of universally shared basic values. Among other things, these basic values would concern human rights and democracy. Whereas most countries were largely critical of new UNESCO initiatives, for years the Netherlands was an active supporter not only of the World Decade for Culture and Development, but also, in particular, the organisation of a global conference on culture in 1996 and the World Culture Reports. In addition to funding, Dutch support was provided in the form of personal commitment by people such as the Minister for Development Cooperation. In the Netherlands, a number of activities were also carried out in cooperation with the National UNESCO Commission (NUC).<sup>29</sup> In 1994, with funding from the development budget, the NUC organised an international conference in Zeist on 'Cultural dynamics in development processes.'

Finally, *A World of Difference* indicated that a programme would be set up to promote and preserve the cultural identity of communities in developing countries. The document also announced the establishment of a modest cultural exchange and cooperation programme. As a result, a single Cultural Programme was set up in 1991 (rather than two as specified in the policy document). Initially, each programme was to be allocated NLG 1 million in 1991. Small-scale local and regional activities that in the past had been funded under the Special Purpose Grant Programme were transferred to the new programme, which still exists today. The State Secretary for Foreign Affairs briefly summarised the goals and organisation of the Cultural Programme in a letter to the Lower House dated 21 February 1992.

According to the letter, the purpose of the new Cultural Programme was to encourage development of the cultural dimension of development cooperation by examining the need for support in this area in developing countries and by giving targeted support to specific activities. The programme was intended to provide initial, temporary support for

<sup>29</sup> The National UNESCO Commission plays an important role in the Netherlands in maintaining a link between the national and the international debate on culture and development. It sets out from the need for clear policy views on the relationship between culture, social cohesion and development. In this connection the commission attempts to link up the international debate, Dutch development cooperation policy and Dutch policy on multiculturalism in the Netherlands.

activities which could later either be transferred to the bilateral cooperation programme or continue under their own steam. The programme consisted of two pillars:

- Reinforcement of the cultural identity and cultural awareness of communities in developing countries. This included not only projects in the field of cultural preservation and management, but also activities designed to help the communities in question shape their own processes of sociocultural change. Support for such activities had to be explicitly requested by the members of the community concerned.
- Promotion of understanding between different cultures. Exchange of knowledge and skills of relevance to contemporary forms of cultural expression was deemed important here. This pillar could provide support for North-South and South-South cultural cooperation and exchange in various fields. Such exchange could be of importance in dealing with cultural change in the society in question.

Despite the considerable emphasis on culture and development in *A World of Difference* and the presentation of a broad plan of action covering both the bilateral and the multi-lateral field as well as establishing a cultural programme with its own funds, no separate 'spearhead programme' was established (as had been done for the environment, gender, urban development and research). The guiding principle continued to be that culture is essentially a cross-disciplinary topic that should be given consideration in all development cooperation activities. The regional chapter in the policy document on Africa, which has culture as its *leitmotiv*, was the most explicit manifestation of this.

#### 4.6 Conclusions

It was in the early 1990s that the Ministry produced its first-ever discourse on culture and development. Ideas that had been circulating outside the Ministry for some time but had not yet taken root in policy suddenly came to the fore, backed up by an ambitious plan of action.

In this discourse, culture was seen as a basis for sustainable development. The discourse put forward a constructivist, dynamic view of culture and emphasised the positive, linking force of culture. Moreover, culture was considered an important factor in 'world unification' and the new world order that had emerged after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. By 1993 this optimistic discourse had disappeared from policy documents. The 1993 policy

document *A World of Dispute* offers a bleaker view of the international situation and emphasises the destructive force of culture.

Although the discourse on 'culture as a basis for development' was followed up by a range of policy goals and initiatives for operationalisation and implementation, these only occurred to a limited extent in the period 1990-93. The priorities set by policymakers did not altogether materialise. Despite this, the logic of intervention formulated in *A World of Difference* was internally consistent with the constructivist policy discourse on dynamics and change. It focused on increased interaction with local communities when implementing projects and programmes. This emphasis on 'exchange in progress' was in line with the policy discourse which stated that 'development activities should be in keeping with the cultural context'.

Of course, the question remains why the policy goals were only implemented to such a limited extent. First of all, limited deployment of resources, staff and instruments effectively hampered successful implementation of the key goal in this policy field. This is particularly true of the broad-based grounding of bilateral cooperation in culture and development policy. In addition, most policy goals left room for casual or even cosmetic interpretation. It does not require a great deal of intellectual effort to put culture on the agenda for bilateral policy consultations on policy goals. Similarly, inclusion of a standard paragraph on culture in sector studies or country policy goals can all too easily become a routine. Such routines are usually short-lived, especially if no provision is made for sanctions.

However, it is doubtful whether this is an adequate explanation. Rigorous implementation of the policy implications of this discourse would have far-reaching practical implications for development cooperation. If aid is to be brought into line with the recipient's own cultural dynamics, the donor's policy goals must be given lower priority or even abandoned altogether. At the very least this means equality between the parties, which is at odds with the donor-recipient relationship. It therefore seems likely that the implications of such a change of attitude towards development cooperation were simply too much to countenance (assuming people were aware of them at all). Moreover, it remains to be seen to what extent the discussion partner in the donor-recipient relationship represents, is capable of representing or even wishes to represent the ultimate recipients' culture. In other words, whenever the idea of ensuring that aid is in keeping with 'the local culture' is mentioned, one is forced to ask oneself which culture is ultimately

being referred to. In fact, there may be a fundamental contradiction between the social engineering philosophy on which development cooperation is based and the autonomous cultural dynamics attributed to the recipients.

The other two fields – multilateral activities and cultural funds – were more indirectly related to the core of the policy. They tended to focus on issues such as preservation of cultural heritage, reinforcement of the cultural identity of developing countries and communities within them, and cultural exchange and cooperation. Important though these undoubtedly are, they are not factors that directly help to increase interaction with local communities when carrying out projects and programmes - especially since most of the resulting 'exchange links' involve artists, film-makers and museum staff rather than the 'local communities' in which the Netherlands is carrying out development work. Yet these are the very areas in which policy has been most clearly put into practice. For example, reference is made to the relationship with UNESCO and the fact that the Netherlands had played a leading role in the international debate on culture and development. The Cultural Programme was intended to act as a catalyst in the field of bilateral cooperation. However, instead of launching initiatives whereby innovative activities could gradually be incorporated into bilateral cooperation, it increasingly became an excuse for bilateral cooperation to shrug off its obligations in this area. Moreover, the focus of the programme shifted towards 'preservation' of forms of cultural expression and the arts, thereby increasing the distance between this approach and the constructivist, dynamic view of culture expressed in *A World of Difference*.

The conclusion is that the bilateral agenda set out in *A World of Difference* was never actually implemented. Given the rapid changes taking place on the international scene, the focus of the debate on the relationship between culture and development shifted to the international arena. Meanwhile, the Cultural Programme kept on the safe side for the time being by focusing on the arts and preservation of cultural heritage. However, emphasis on culture remained on the agenda. The next chapter will discuss this with reference to the period 1993-96.

## 5. THE POWER OF CULTURE: 1993-96

### 5.1 Introduction

In the course of the 1990s, the discourse on 'culture as a basis for development' and the dynamic view of culture gradually disappeared from policy documents on culture and development. The 1993 policy document on indigenous peoples still explicitly referred to this discourse, but little trace of it remained in later years. Only arguments in favour of 'reinforcing the cultural identity of developing countries and groups within them' and 'cultural exchange', as set out in the Cultural Programme, were still voiced.

Nevertheless, the theme of culture and development and how to implement it continued to occupy people's minds during this period. This was regularly reflected not only in speeches by the Minister, but also in support for UNESCO activities in this area. All this culminated in the conference on *The Power of Culture* which was organised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science in 1996 - a last attempt to revive the debate on the subject in Dutch policymaking circles. However, the impact of the conference on development cooperation policy was negligible. In the same year, the Prince Claus Foundation for Culture and Development was set up. Although the Foundation was financed from the development cooperation budget, this shifted the topic out of the Ministry and away from mainstream policymaking. The same can be said of the sustainable development agreements with Bhutan, Costa Rica and Benin, which were signed during this period and included features of the policy discourse in *A World of Difference*. The Minister also set up an independent body to handle these treaties, despite civil service proposals to create a project organisation within the Ministry.

### 5.2 From broad-based grounding to narrow funds

None of the policy documents that appeared during the period 1993-96 took a clear position on culture and development. The only indicators of how thinking on the subject evolved during this period are (a) two speeches by the Minister and a collection of speeches and essays by Prince Claus and (b) the relevant sections of successive explanatory

memoranda. A greater contrast can hardly be imagined. The speeches<sup>30</sup> still referred back to, or continued building on, the 1990 discourse, but from 1993 onwards the explanatory memoranda ceased to define the relationship between culture and development. Texts on culture and development concentrated almost entirely on accounting for spending and commitments under the Cultural Programme set up in 1991. Although the texts are quite similar, a 'narrowing of the discourse' can be detected. For example, the cultural exchange component gradually faded into the background and there was increasing emphasis on preserving cultural heritage as a means of reinforcing communities' cultural identity. In time, the notion of 'intercultural exchange' was restricted to that of 'exchange in the field of cultural expression (traditions, handicrafts, indigenous knowledge and preservation of cultural heritage).' This emphasis on 'preservation' and 'tradition' was far removed from the discourse of 1990, which had explicitly stated the need to reject the image of local culture as something static, conservative and inflexible. A narrowing of the discourse also occurred because emphasis on culture and development was increasingly concentrated within the Cultural Programme and linked to the spending of funds to support specific culture-related activities.

A document published by the IOV in 1995, which presents findings and recommendations on the basis of an analysis of reviews conducted in the period 1984-94, does not explicitly mention the theme of culture and development.<sup>31</sup> It does emphasise the importance of familiarity with local conditions when carrying out projects - a recommendation that had already been made a decade earlier.

### 5.3 The policy: contracting out culture

1996 was typical of the entire period in several respects. In that year, the policy document *Aid in Progress: Development Cooperation and the Review of Dutch Foreign Policy* (which scarcely mentioned the subject of culture and development) was published, the conference on *The Power of Culture* was held following the publication of the UNESCO document *Our Creative Diversity*, and the Prince Claus Foundation was established.

<sup>30</sup> Pronk, J. Culture as a mainstream, speech at the UNESCO-Netherlands symposium on culture and development, 10 June 1994. Pronk, J. Fighting poverty is important for safeguarding cultural heritage, in: *Illicit traffic in cultural property*, Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam, 1995.

Cultuur en ontwikkeling. Toespraken en opstellen van Z.K.H. Prins Claus der Nederlanden ('Culture and Development. Speeches and essays by HRH Prince Claus of the Netherlands'). Collection presented to mark the establishment of the Prince Claus Foundation on 6 September 1996.

<sup>31</sup> IOV Bevindingen en Aanbevelingen 1984-1994. Focus op ontwikkeling 3, 1995 ('IOV Findings and Recommendations 1984-1994. Focus on development 3, 1995').



Culture played an extremely small part in *Aid in Progress*. The document outlined how international developments at the end of the 1980s and the early 1990s had led to a new, thorough reassessment of Dutch development cooperation policy. 'Conventional wisdoms' from the past had to be reviewed and new frameworks drawn up.<sup>32</sup> The 'multi-dimensional' nature of development processes was emphasised, with a brief reference to the importance of culture. 'The process of comprehensive social development has political, economic, social, cultural and environmental dimensions.'<sup>33</sup> The list of new key issues included 'cultural factors' and items such as 'bottom-up' support for poverty reduction, institutional development, close links with emergency relief, and assistance with reconstruction and transition, good governance, further 'decompartmentalisation' of policy – and that was about it.

The basic idea of organising development cooperation on a completely different basis, with culture and cultural differences as the starting-point, had not been abandoned altogether. However, such goals were now pursued outside the mainstream of bilateral cooperation - in sustainable development agreements, in multilateral cooperation and in the Prince Claus Foundation.

Following on from the agreements reached at the UNCED Conference on Sustainable Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, the sustainable development agreements between the Netherlands and Bhutan, Costa Rica and Benin were based on equality, reciprocity and respect for cultural diversity, which were key features of the discourse in *A World of Difference*. Responsibility for implementing the agreements was assigned to an independent body called Ecooperation, on the principle that the agreements should be based on cooperation between all sections of society rather than just governments.<sup>34</sup>

During the UN's World Decade for Culture and Development (1988-97), UNESCO was asked to take an active part in strengthening the cultural dimension of the development process. The Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands, in particular, supported this from the outset. *Our Creative Diversity*, a report by the World Commission on Culture and Development (chaired by Javier Pérez de Cuéllar), was published in 1995. Although the report did not contain any revolutionary new insights, it can still be considered a milestone event in the World Decade for Culture and Development. It emphasised the

<sup>32</sup> \*Aid in Progress: Development Cooperation and the Review of Dutch Foreign Policy, 1996, p. 40.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>34</sup> Implementation of the agreements was recently evaluated. The evaluation provides a clear picture of the fundamental clash between 'traditional' development cooperation and cooperation based on equality and reciprocity.

intrinsic value of culture and stated that culture should not merely be seen as a means of achieving material goals. Culture was both a means of material progress and the goal of development, in the sense of the development of mankind in all its forms and as a whole. The most surprising aspect of the report was that it was published at a time when the debate on the strength of cultural diversity and positive views of multicultural society had vigorously revived as a result of the growing number of international conflicts based on ethnic origin.

Following the publication of *Our Creative Diversity*, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science organised a conference on *The power of culture* on 8 and 9 November 1996 in Amsterdam. It was attended by numerous representatives of cultural and development organisations. Three topics from the report were key items on the agenda: a new global ethics, challenges of a media-rich world, and commitment to pluralism. Despite widespread interest in the conference, with considerable media coverage, its ultimate impact on policy was negligible. The conference should therefore be regarded as the culmination of a period in which the theme of culture and development was explicitly recognised as a policy issue, rather than as the starting-point for a new discourse or, if one prefers, the revival of one that had been gradually fading. After the conference, the debate continued for some time on a website, but then petered out.

At the end of the World Decade for Culture and Development, an attempt was made to maintain the momentum that had built up not only in the Netherlands but also internationally. A new initiative was launched, namely the World Culture Report. Following *Our Creative Diversity*, this was an attempt by UNESCO to focus on culture on a less ideological, more pragmatic basis. Originally the idea was to publish annual reports, but it was soon decided to make them biennial. The report was intended to complement the annual report by the World Bank, which focuses primarily on the economy. Meanwhile, however, there was also the UNDP Human Development Report, in which the range of development indicators was not solely economic.

The aim of the World Culture Reports was to report trends in the field of culture and development, to monitor events that affected cultures worldwide, to draw up quantitative development indicators and to identify good cultural practices and make recommendations based on them. It was not until 1998 that the First World Culture Report was published. A second report appeared in 2000. The reports used both a broad and a narrow

definition of culture. Where a broad definition of culture was used, the promotion of specific values and the debate on global ethics became issues. This debate was linked to a sectoral approach in which a specific cultural policy was applied and a narrow definition of culture was used. The specific cultural policy related not only to the arts, cultural heritage and the media, but also to education and science. The reports attempted to combine both approaches, with the debate on cultural values forming the background for the specific cultural debate.

However, over the years the preparation of the World Culture Reports ran into all kinds of problems. First of all, it was difficult to find sufficient funding. The Netherlands was by far the largest donor for the first report, and agreed to fund the second one only on condition that more donors were found.

The First World Culture Report also came in for a good deal of criticism. It was accused of covering too many different angles and topics and of lacking policy relevance. In the Netherlands, the report had no significant impact on either policymaking or public opinion. However, the Netherlands had committed itself to follow-up reports and also attached importance to increased international focus on such topics as tolerance (which was seen as a typically Dutch concern). Another point made by the Netherlands was that collaboration with UNDP should be improved, since one of the original ideas from the 1980s – the idea that development had been seen in purely economic terms and that sociocultural indicators were needed to fill the gap – had to some extent been superseded by the UNDP initiative. This was especially true of development indicators. The Netherlands also feared a proliferation of world reports, of which the World Culture Reports had the most uncertain status. Nor did the political arguments about UNESCO and succession help to enhance the substantive debate.

In 1996 the Prince Claus Foundation was established with financial support from the Cultural Programme. Although the Foundation did not become operational until 1997, it deserves brief mention here. Close examination of its guiding principles and objectives reveals that they are very much in line with the discourse on culture and development that not only was regularly formulated by Prince Claus himself but also formed the basis for official policy in the early 1990s. This raises the question of whether there was a conscious decision to shift the implementation of a significant part of culture and development policy away from the Ministry. Although Government-financed, the Foundation has considerable autonomy when it comes to spending. The documents do not indicate to what extent the decision was based on political realities in the mid-1990s, but it seems

likely that one reason the Foundation was set up was to maintain the focus on the culture and development policy discourse that had been formulated in the early 1990s. The best way to ensure this was to transfer it away from the Ministry.

#### 5.4 Logic of intervention

In the period 1993-96, the logic of intervention did not change. Officially, the framework contained in *A World of Difference* was still the point of reference. Apart from the bilateral experiment with sustainable development agreements, the emphasis shifted from bilateral to multilateral cooperation and the Cultural Programme. As indicated in the previous chapter, the grounding of culture and development in bilateral cooperation had been the central feature of policy based on the discourse, but from 1993 onwards this was no longer the case. The reasons for this shift have never been explicitly stated. The clearest – albeit implicit – clue can be found in the letter from the Minister for Development Cooperation to the Lower House following the report *Our Creative Diversity* and the ensuing debate.

In the letter, dated April 1997, the Minister presented what he felt were the most important elements of the report, such as the emergence of a new global ethics, pluralism and multiculturalism. According to the Minister, the report strongly emphasised ‘culture as a goal of development’. He endorsed its main conclusions, but at the same time he appeared to distance himself from the debate by citing the Culture and Development Programme as the only specific example of Dutch policy in this area, with the emphasis on cultural heritage. He also indicated that the debate on diversity, morality and ethical problems should be conducted at international level.

*‘The importance that is attached to culture as a basis for sustainable development in development cooperation was reflected in the establishment of the Culture and Development Programme in 1991. (...)If cultural heritage is damaged, this undermines the identity, the self-awareness and thus also the continuity of a community, population group or region. Lasting progress can only be made if the local culture is strong enough to absorb influences from outside. For this reason, reinforcement of a developing country’s cultural identity is an important factor in Dutch development policy. Preserving, restoring and studying cultural heritage is part of this policy. The subjects in the report are entirely in line with this.’<sup>35</sup>*

<sup>35</sup> Letter from Minister Pronk to the Lower House, 7 April 1997.

The focus of Dutch policy on the cultural dimension of development was thus now apparently limited to the Cultural Programme and support for the preservation of culture and the arts.

A second clue may be a comment by the Minister on the poor reception of the UNESCO report during a debate in the Lower House in 1996.

*'This report did not go down well within UNESCO. If you talk about culture you are also talking about cultural rights, and if you talk about cultural rights you turn out to be talking about language rights. As soon as you start talking about language rights, diplomats and governments become extremely wary, because talking about language rights could help fuel separatist movements. For this reason, the culture report drawn up under the supervision of former UN Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar was not well received. There were only a few countries that welcomed the report as it stood, namely the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands. Most other countries were extremely cautious.'*<sup>36</sup>

Although the Minister indicated that the report had been well received in the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries, such was the political sensitivity of the issue that, when the original principles came to be translated into actual policy, the focus was restricted to the Cultural Programme. Although the official reason for the reduction in UNESCO funding at the end of this period was that its functioning had come in for harsh criticism, the aforementioned issues also appear to have played a part in the decision.

### 5.5 Instruments and implementation

Given the logic of intervention described above, it is not surprising that the implementation of the culture and development policy in the period 1993-96 gradually became more and more limited to multilateral activities and the Cultural Programme. In addition, the system of assigning a cultural dimension within MIDAS was continued during this period. The post of policy officer for culture and development was also maintained. In 1996, this post within the Directorate-General for International Cooperation (DGIS/SA) was abolished as part of a major reorganisation of the Ministry following the foreign policy review. It was transferred to the new Cultural Cooperation, Education and Research Department (DCO) and linked to the Cultural Programme.

<sup>36</sup> Minister Pronk, Lower House, 14 November 1996, TK 26-2114.

The most notable events in this period were the signing of sustainable development agreements with Bhutan, Costa Rica and Benin and the establishment of the Prince Claus Foundation for Culture and Development in 1996. The objective of the Foundation was to increase understanding of cultures and to encourage interaction between culture and development.

## 5.6 Conclusions

International political developments in the mid-1990s had a serious impact on the culture and development policy launched at the beginning of the same decade. The euphoria about unity in diversity which had marked the period after the fall of the Berlin Wall was replaced by a sense of gloom about the destructive effects of ethnic and cultural differences. The argument that cultural diversity was a source of dynamics and development proved politically more and more untenable. Not surprisingly, therefore, this theme ceased to be a key issue and, when it was translated into policy, interventions and instruments, the most sensitive and far-reaching elements of the discourse were replaced by less controversial ones; to the extent that such elements were retained, they became the responsibility of independent bodies outside the Ministry.

In the field of bilateral cooperation, the theme of culture and development vanished without trace. Admittedly, the 1996 policy document *Aid in Progress: Development Cooperation and the Review of Dutch Foreign Policy* did emphasise the need to further 'broaden' general development policy, but culture played an extremely small part in this. Although 'reinforcement of cultural identity' and 'cultural exchange' were recurrent themes in explanatory memoranda throughout the period 1993-96, there was increasing emphasis on 'preservation' as a means of reinforcing cultural identity. The same process could be seen in discourses on cultural exchange. In the period 1994-96, the emphasis was on 'tradition', encouraging cultural developments that were 'grounded' in the socio-cultural background of the population. In short, the dynamic view of culture gradually disappeared.

The signing of sustainable development agreements with three countries during this period was the only specific attempt to continue implementing culture and development policy in the field of bilateral cooperation. Even if unintentionally, this in some way made up for the failure to give bilateral cooperation a broad-based grounding in culture and development policy. Seen from this point of view, the decision to assign responsibility for

managing and implementing the agreements to an independent body was an understandable one. Classic development cooperation was not yet ripe for such a far-reaching experiment. However, the fact that the experiment was linked to foreign - specifically, development cooperation - policy created a good deal of friction in both the Government and the civil service.<sup>37</sup>

These developments in bilateral policy contrasted with developments in other fora, particularly UNESCO. The 1995 policy document *Our Creative Diversity* emphasised dynamics, and culture was seen not only as a basis for development but also as its goal. Although the Minister endorsed the UNESCO analysis in his statements to the Lower House, he distanced himself from it for purposes of Dutch policy. He felt that the issue of cultural diversity, universal values and ethics was definitely one for the international agenda. As far as Dutch policy was concerned, he chose to concentrate on supporting activities aimed at preserving cultural heritage and the arts.

Consequently, the Cultural Programme set up in 1991 grew steadily during this period and increasingly formed the basis for culture and development policy. Moreover, with the establishment of the Prince Claus Foundation in 1996, a substantial part of the related spending was contracted out.

In conclusion, whereas one might have expected the period 1993-96 to be one in which the culture and development agenda launched in 1990 was fully implemented, the indications are that it became increasingly irrelevant during that period. The translation of a broad policy into a much narrower range of action is a clear symptom of this.

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<sup>37</sup> Evaluation of sustainable development agreements.





## 6. FROM CULTURE TO ART: 1997-2001

### 6.1 Introduction

As of 1997, the importance of culture to development was no longer emphasised in development cooperation policy, and less and less attention was paid to culture and development policy. This trend was enhanced by policy developments such as the sector-wide approach, the foreign policy review and ultimately the organisational merger of 'culture and development' and 'cultural cooperation' into 'international cultural policy'. Culture was not designated as a sector, nor was it seen as a cross-disciplinary topic. Despite repeated references to the policy in the early 1990s, the actual focus was on support for various forms of artistic expression.

The shift within the policy field from a 'broad' to a 'narrow' interpretation of culture and development was already apparent in the 1996-97 explanatory memorandum. This appears to have marked the beginning of a move towards a 'narrow' interpretation of the policy. The fact that culture and development was moved around so often and had so many different names in the late 1990s would appear to illustrate this process. In 1996, the theme of culture and development was transferred to the Cultural Relations and Communications (Developing Countries) Division. Initially, all spending on culture was listed under the single heading 'cultural cooperation', which also included international cultural policy and culture in developing countries. The policy field was subsequently listed as a subcategory (culture in developing countries) under the heading 'country programmes relating to education and culture' within the department. During this period it increasingly became part of international cultural policy, and the two fields were eventually merged under the heading 'international cultural policy' in 2001. This move appears to have had two objectives, namely strengthening the Netherlands' international cultural profile and coordinating its international cultural cooperation and foreign policy.

During the years 1997-2001, the pillars of culture and development policy were the Cultural Programme, the Local Cultural Funds and the Prince Claus Foundation. In addition to managing these funds, there was some emphasis on multilateral cooperation (UNESCO, World Bank). The topic played virtually no part in bilateral development cooperation policy.

## 6.2 From cultural interaction to demand-driven policy

In the period 1997-2001, culture and development policy was influenced by three important developments: (1) the translation of 'broad' policy into 'narrow' action; (2) the gradual merger with cultural cooperation policy; and (3) the introduction of new policy goals.

During this period, culture and development policy was a jumble of differing views. The revised culture and development memorandum of March 1998 states:

*'(...) Culture is more than just an economic process and culture is more than just an instrument. Not only is culture the basis for development, it is also the ultimate aim of development seen as "the flourishing of human existence in all its forms", as described in the report Our Creative Diversity. In the policy document A World of Difference, the basis was laid for the integration of culture and the cultural dimension into development cooperation policy. Culture is seen as the basis for sustainable development.'*<sup>38</sup>

When this was subsequently translated into specific projects in the memorandum, there was a significant restriction. The Cultural Programme was described as the part of the policy that focused on 'support for cultural identity in developing countries and preservation of cultural heritage.' Issues mentioned included support for expansion of museum collections, exhibitions, schools for traditional art forms, theatre, literature, and travel allowances for artists. In short, although the broad view of culture was still found in policy statements in the late 1990s, when it came to implementation the term 'culture' was generally used in the sense of the arts. In other words, the broadening of policy did not have any noticeable effect on the implementation of the Cultural Programme, which in practice continued to fund the same type of activities as the Special Purpose Grant Programme had previously done. A 1999 document on the International Cultural Policy Division stated quite plainly that the term culture 'will primarily be used in the sense of the arts.'<sup>39</sup>

The second shift that occurred in the period 1997-2001 concerned the organisational merger with cultural cooperation. Following the foreign policy review, policy fields had

<sup>38</sup> Revised Culture and Development Programme memorandum, TK 25 600 V, No. 68, 1998.

<sup>39</sup> Official job description of DCO/JC, 1999.

begun to be decompartmentalised, and as a result the unit responsible for the Cultural Programme was merged with the unit responsible for cultural cooperation. The substantive basis for this merger had in fact been laid down in the policy document on culture published by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science in 1996.<sup>40</sup> This document observed that in recent years the two fields had become 'increasingly intertwined'. This was expressed as follows in an internal brainstorming memorandum issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in late 1998:

*'The analytical basis for cultural policy as pursued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and culture seen from the point of view of development cooperation is the same. Culture as a framework and condition for development is the basis for the contemporary way of thinking about culture.'*<sup>41</sup>

What is interesting is that in 1998 this idea did not yet appear to have taken root within the department concerned. The 1998 annual plan stated that the relationship with other fields of work 'is not always as clear as it might be'. It was especially difficult to 'identify common ground between the Culture and Development and Cultural Cooperation programmes, in view of their greatly differing lines of approach.'<sup>42</sup> Despite this, preparations were made in 1998 and 1999 for the two programmes to merge. It was stated that 'the major advantage of the merger is synergy (...) It will be possible to integrate the implementation of the programmes. Wherever possible, they will complement and reinforce each other'.<sup>43</sup> The merger took place in 2000.

The way in which policy synergy between the two sections was interpreted was clearly expressed in the department's official 'job description':

*'By the very nature of its mandate, DCO/IC will have to confine itself to the concept of culture as initially used in the cultural policy document, i.e. in the sense of the arts, cultural heritage and media issues, including language and literature and library affairs, and secondly as described in the revised Culture and Development Programme memorandum of March 1998.'*<sup>44</sup>

40 Pantser of Ruggengraat: cultuurnota 1997-2000 ('Armour-plating or Backbone: cultural policy document 1997-2000'). Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 1996.

41 Internal memorandum on foreign cultural policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 1998.

42 DCO/CO 1998 Annual Plan, p. 3.

43 DCO/CO memorandum 0047/99, 11 January 1999.

44 Official job description of DCO/IC, August 1999 version.

The following ideal picture of coordination between the various policy fields within the division was provided in a policy document that was drawn up to provide substantive justification for the merger:

*'Cultural exchange is envisaged by all those involved in foreign cultural policy as an ideal instrument for attaining the differing goals (which, it should be re-emphasised, often only differ in points of detail). A visit to the Netherlands by a museum director from Indonesia should result in permanent links with the Municipal Museum in The Hague and a request to the Rijksmuseum to help restore objects in the Indonesian museum. After following a course at the Royal Tropical Institute, the director should start to organise workshops for up-and-coming cultural managers in disadvantaged areas of Jakarta and – if at all possible – the lighting in his museum in Jakarta should be installed by Philips.'*<sup>45</sup>

Analysis of the policy discourse on culture and development elicits a third comment. By the end of the 1990s, the discourse on 'culture as a basis for and/or goal of development' had clearly become less relevant. With the appointment of a new Minister for Development Cooperation, new policy goals in which culture no longer played an explicit role were introduced. The focus of the new policy was on topics such as poverty reduction, ownership, good governance and human rights. The guiding principle was that the recipient country's policy and governance were the factors that determined whether a project qualified for aid and that the aid – preferably provided on a multi-donor basis – should be in line with the recipient country's own policy. What mattered were the recipient country's priorities rather than those of the donors. Another goal was the abolition of project aid in favour of sectoral support. This was in line with a growing international consensus among a group of like-minded donors. In the new policy it was assumed that focusing on demand-driven intervention and ownership would eliminate any need to emphasise the cultural dimension of development cooperation. The conditions governing development aid were conceived to be 'value-free', i.e. universally valid. Nor did the new policy offer any scope for experimentation with sustainable development agreements. As a result of this new approach, the agreements were ultimately rescinded and the countries in question became entitled to ordinary cooperation provided they met the criteria.

<sup>45</sup> Internal memorandum on foreign cultural policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 1998.

### 6.3 The policy: culture as forms of artistic expression that criticise society

Various policy documents reveal the attempts that were made by the Culture and Development Division to adapt to the new policy:

*"The main goal of development cooperation policy is sustainable poverty reduction. Internationally, the cultural dimension is increasingly seen as an essential condition for sustainable development and poverty reduction. Cultural awareness or cultural identity is an essential condition for understanding and dealing with one's environment and for internalising new stimuli or developments in accordance with one's own culture. Awareness of one's own cultural background is essential here and helps to actively direct development: "knowledge of one's roots provides a direction for the future."*

*(...) Cultural projects are also very suitable for raising issues such as human rights, democratisation and good governance within one's own cultural perception. In this sense, culture serves as a breeding ground for political and intellectual currents that can act as critical counterweights to stagnation, corruption and unwanted dependency in developing countries. Artists can expose and criticise social processes in an original manner. Culture is thus a critical force for change.<sup>46</sup>*

What is remarkable about this quotation is that it is in fact a blend of the various views of culture and development policy in the 1990s, from culture as an essential dimension of development to culture as identity and finally culture as art (with artists as critics of society). An attempt was made to integrate this blend into the new policy. However, despite these attempts at modernisation, the division's annual plan for 2001 concluded that 'culture and development is no longer receiving the attention it should in current policymaking.'<sup>47</sup> Culture was not included as a cross-disciplinary topic in the debate on the switch-over to a sector-wide approach; at the end of 2000, however, the responsible department was asked to submit proposals on how culture and development could be linked up with the GAVIM<sup>48</sup> priorities in sectoral analysis and how funding designed to eliminate cultural bottlenecks could be made an integral part of policy.

<sup>46</sup> DCO/CO memorandum in connection with the budget for the twenty-first century, February 1999.

<sup>47</sup> 2001 DCO/CO Annual Plan

<sup>48</sup> The GAVIM priorities (Poverty Reduction, Women and Development, Institutional Development, the Environment and Good Governance) concern matters on which international agreements have been reached and set forth in the goals and plans of action of various world conferences.

Although the new policy was based on a broad interpretation of the concept of poverty and hence was in line with international developments in ways of looking at poverty, the economic development paradigm appears to have become dominant once more. Within this paradigm, emphasis on culture is justified only provided it increases the effectiveness of aid. This would seem to be a return to the view held in the 1980s.

*'In recent years (from 1991 to 1998), financial resources from the Culture and Development Programme were used to fund various cultural activities in countries with which there were development cooperation links, on the principle of "culture as a basis for sustainable development". There now appears to be a growing need to determine how the cultural dimension contributes to economic development in such countries.'*<sup>49</sup>

It is therefore not surprising that in 2000, entirely in keeping with this approach, a programme entitled 'Research Issues on Culture and Economic Development' was financed through the partnership programme with the World Bank. The objective of the programme was to determine to what extent the World Bank takes a country's cultural dimensions into account when implementing economic development programmes aimed at reducing poverty, at both country and sectoral level. Incidentally, the 2001 annual plan reported that progress with the programme was extremely slow, partly because the World Bank itself had shown relatively little interest in it.<sup>50</sup>

#### 6.4 Logic of intervention

The introduction to the revised memorandum of March 1998 from the Culture and Development Programme (formerly known as the Cultural Programme) stated:

*'In 1991, a separate Culture and Development Programme was set up in order to explore "the cultural dimension of development cooperation" as an aspect of policy. The programme contributes to this by providing specific support after the needs of developing countries have been determined.'*<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> DCO/IC 2000 Annual Report.

<sup>50</sup> DCO/CO 2001 Annual Plan.

<sup>51</sup> Revised Culture and Development Programme memorandum, March 1998.

The wording is remarkable, since under previous policy the Cultural Programme had hardly been intended to be used for such a broad dimension – policy goals for bilateral development cooperation had been drawn up for this purpose instead. As this much broader interpretation of culture and development policy (as set out in 1990) had never been implemented and, moreover, was gradually being eliminated from policy documents, it was transferred to the Cultural Programme in 1998. However, the assignment of this new function to the Cultural Programme was never followed up. Apparently it was mere window-dressing.

The logic of intervention that formed the basis for culture and development policy underwent another essential change in the period 1997-2001 as a result of its integration into international cultural policy. Whereas in the first few years emphasis was still placed on attaining the goals of the Culture and Development Programme (reinforcing cultural identity and promoting cultural self-awareness, as well as promoting understanding between different cultures), from 2000 onwards this logic of intervention was linked to the goal of the new division, namely enhancing the Netherlands' international cultural profile (with the emphasis on the Netherlands as a cultural 'free port' and preservation of the common cultural heritage). The focus of this new logic was the independent role of the artist as a critic of society. On the one hand, the artist was seen as a defender of his people's cultural identity, but on the other he was also someone who could encourage processes of cultural change. Support for artists thus also meant support for development processes.

### 6.5 Instruments and implementation

The three instruments that were available to implement culture and development policy in the period 1997-2001 were the Culture and Development Programme (which had its own budget), multilateral cooperation with UNESCO, and the 'cultural dimension' of the MIDAS management information system.

In the period 1997-2001, the Culture and Development Programme was the chief instrument for implementing the logic of intervention referred to above. The programme mainly served to support activities in the field of cinema, performing arts, literature and book distribution, museums and exhibitions, conservation and restoration, and conferences and workshops.

This policy field had its own budget. Whereas the total budget was still only NLG 4.8 million in 1996, from 1997 onwards spending stabilised at around NLG 12.5 million a year (or 0.15% of total development cooperation funds). This rapid increase in spending was due to the establishment of the Prince Claus Foundation, which became operational in 1997 and has received a grant of NLG 5 million every year since then.

After 1997, the system of Local Cultural Funds was instituted as part of the foreign policy review and the delegation of responsibility to embassies. Embassies that could see opportunities in this area were allowed to finance small-scale activities in the field of culture and development. Interest in these funds far exceeded the available budget, and in 1998 only 9 out of 27 applications were approved.

With an annual grant of NLG 5 million, the Prince Claus Foundation is the largest of the funds. The Foundation has a board and an international advisory council. The Foundation, which operates autonomously, endeavours to support activities in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean that increase understanding of cultures and promote interaction between culture and development at local, national and international level. The Foundation does this by awarding prizes, supporting and publishing publications and promoting networks and innovative projects. It has taken a critical view of prevailing development cooperation practice and is currently the organisation that most directly represents the policy of the early 1990s. However, a recent evaluation of the work of the Foundation shows that in practice it also translates its 'broad' view into 'narrow' action. The Foundation sees artists as 'cultural innovators' who are particularly well placed to criticise social relationships and initiate endogenous processes of change. The evaluation criticises this approach on the grounds that the Foundation chiefly operates within the limited world of cosmopolitan intellectuals and artists. This elite has often proved incapable of initiating a broader discussion.<sup>52</sup>

In the past few years, the Cultural Programme has not been the only source of financing for activities in the field of culture. Although not financed by the Culture and Development Programme, the *HIVOS Cultural Fund* should be mentioned here. The HIVOS Cultural Fund also uses resources from the broader Cofinancing Programme to fund activities in the field of culture and development. However, despite broad defini-

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<sup>52</sup> Evaluation of the Prince Claus Foundation, 2001.



tions, these activities are also limited to the arts, on the assumption that art contributes to sustainable development. The HIVOS Cultural Fund focuses on leading artists in developing countries to a lesser extent than the Prince Claus Foundation, although the activities do overlap somewhat. HIVOS focuses especially on popular art and supports art organisations that are only active at the local level.

The conclusion that can be drawn regarding the implementation of the Culture and Development Programme between 1997 and 2001 is that support was mainly given to the arts, cultural heritage and media issues. The underlying idea was that support for these sectors would help reinforce cultural identity in developing countries and increase understanding between different cultures, and that this would benefit the development of these countries. Another conclusion is that the goals of international cultural policy were reflected in the implementation of the aforementioned projects. In many cases the emphasis was on enhancing the Netherlands' cultural profile, promoting the Netherlands as a cultural 'free port' and, very occasionally, preserving the 'common cultural heritage'. Examples include the emphasis on preservation of heritage from the days of the Dutch East India Company (in such countries as Yemen and Sri Lanka) and on how activities in South Africa should reflect 'the multicultural character of the Netherlands and South Africa', Dutch archaeological research in Egypt, the exhibition of works by Dutch artists in Bolivia, and the large percentage of funds spent on international festivals here in the Netherlands.

At multilateral level, support for UNESCO was continued after the end of the World Decade for Culture and Development. The main component of this was the Dutch contribution to the First World Culture Report. Although after this report was published there were doubts about whether to continue supporting it, it was decided to continue. In this connection, substantive proposals for the future were made to UNESCO, particularly regarding long-term programming, concentration on one key issue per report, emphasis on difficult topics such as cultural diversity through dialogue, and large-scale, targeted distribution. These proposals were followed up as fully as possible, but finding more donors remained a problem. In 1999, the Netherlands suddenly changed tack and threatened to withdraw the support it had already promised for the Second World Culture Report. This change of attitude was due to changes in development cooperation policy,

which had implications not only for bilateral cooperation, but also at multilateral level. While the Netherlands was increasingly trying to adopt the World Bank approach, a number of UN institutions – including UNESCO – were increasingly coming under fire. Doubts about the effectiveness of the organisation, which had already existed for some time, now became more serious, and support in the Netherlands for multilateral aid rapidly dwindled. Substantive development cooperation input was restricted to the educational sector, while cultural issues were mainly left to the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, with guidance from the Ministry of Economic Affairs on such matters as copyright.

In the period 1990-2000, as already mentioned, the MIDAS management information system enabled policymakers to assign projects a 'cultural dimension' as a policy characteristic. This served a twofold purpose: (a) the system could be searched and, if necessary, could produce quantified information on the overall development cooperation portfolio; and (b) it made policymakers more alert to the relevant dimensions of development activities. Initially, training courses were organised for policymaking staff on how to deal with the cultural aspects of development activities and where to apply the cultural dimension in the system. An attempt was made to identify patterns in the assignment of the cultural dimension, in the hope that this would provide some indication of how the concept of culture was actually interpreted in the context of development cooperation. Although the data for the period 1990-94 are probably incomplete and are not always very reliable, a few trends can be identified. By far the greatest proportion of cultural dimensions (41%) were assigned to projects relating to the arts (including the performing arts, literature and museums). Next (in descending order of importance) came projects relating to indigenous peoples (9%), education (8%), children (8%), cultural heritage (7%), women (6%) and sport (5%). This does not reflect the broad anthropological view of culture. Although the work done by cultural anthropologists in rural development programmes in Burkina Faso in the late 1980s and early 1990s still reflected the notion that culture had an important role to play in many development activities, this notion had apparently never become widely accepted. An interesting detail here is that the cultural dimension was assigned to projects involving indigenous peoples (in the international political meaning of the term) but not to identical projects (even in the same country) that involved other population groups. For example, projects involving lowland Indians from the Bolivian rain forest were assigned a cultural dimension, but those involving highland Indians from the Andes were not. In Kenya, projects that focused on nomadic herdsmen were assigned a cultural dimension, but those that focused primarily on

sedentary farmers were not. It should of course be noted that, if the cultural/anthropological concept of culture were to be broadly applied, distinguishing between projects on the basis of the cultural dimension would no longer be possible. In any case, with the introduction of a new management information system (known as Piramide), the assignment of cultural dimensions to projects has been discontinued. The new system of assigning policy characteristics does not provide any way of identifying projects that focus on culture. Nor can the system accommodate projects that focus on the cultural aspects of other sectors, such as cultural education. There is thus no longer any emphasis on culture and development in the field of bilateral cooperation.

## 6.6 Conclusions

By the end of the 1990s, all that effectively remained of culture and development policy was a comparatively small and somewhat isolated Cultural Programme. The idea that culture has an important part to play is no longer part of bilateral policy, and support for UNESCO has been reduced to a minimum following adverse reports on the way in which it functions. Sustainable development agreements are being phased out. The main focus of support from the Cultural Programme is now on the arts and preservation of cultural heritage. The debate on the meaning and interpretation of the relationship between culture and development has shifted to the Prince Claus Foundation, although even there policy appears to be narrowing in a similar way.

During the period 1997-2001, the definition of culture contained in the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science's policy document on culture became increasingly popular. In this document, culture is defined to mean arts, cultural heritage and media issues, including literature and library affairs. On closer inspection, the view of the relationship between development and culture in terms of art turns out to be a variation on the 'absorption' theme, which has been mentioned earlier. Lasting progress can only be made if the local culture is strong enough to absorb outside influences. That is why reinforcing a developing country's cultural identity is such an important factor in development policy. During the period 1997-2001, the idea that a community's or a country's cultural identity could be reinforced by support for the restoration of cultural heritage and the arts came to the fore. The question is whether this is a new mantra or a demonstrable fact. The assumption that cultural identity can be reinforced and development enhanced by supporting activities in the field of the arts and the preservation of cultural heritage needs to be carefully examined (and it should be emphasised here that the

relationships involved are very difficult to measure). Have activities carried out with support from the programme helped reinforce the cultural identity of the groups or countries concerned? For example, has the restoration of cultural heritage in the areas concerned increased their resilience and their ability to absorb outside influences? Has this helped these communities or countries to develop? The answers to these questions are still unclear.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

In the period 1980-2001 the theme of culture and development has been approached in various different ways, each with its own discourse.

The 1980s were marked by a clash between the NAR's view that culture was a means for development (the instrumental view of culture) and a development cooperation policy which focused on economic development. The response to the NAR's view was ambiguous: on the one hand it was endorsed, but at the same time it was expected to prove itself. In other words, culture was a criterion for effectiveness only if it could be seen to be effective. In 1990, a fundamental change occurred. For the first time, the Minister presented not only a discourse on culture and development, but also a culture and development policy. Culture was seen as the basis for development and its final goal (the constructivist view of culture). The policy was backed up by a broad plan of action. However, although this policy discourse recurred in documents well into the 1990s, it rapidly lost relevance from 1993 onwards. At that point there was a blend of different discourses. However, emphasis on the preservation of culture gradually began to predominate, and the dynamic view of culture that had prevailed in the early 1990s disappeared. Culture and development was increasingly seen as an issue for the international agenda. By 1997 culture had ceased to play any significant role in development cooperation policy. The broad interpretation of culture which had formed the basis for policy in 1990 made way for a narrow interpretation of culture, defined to mean the arts and cultural heritage.

Culture and development policy was clearly influenced by shifts in international and domestic political views on the definition of cultural diversity. The discourse that played such a leading role in policy in 1990 was based on views that had already been developed in academic circles and had been combined into recommendations by the NAR. People now steered clear of the economic reductionism that had dominated development philosophy in the previous decades. Development had become a broad, multidimensional concept in which social, cultural and economic factors were on an equal footing. People began to retreat from this view from 1993 onwards, as a result of troubling international developments, with ethnic and cultural conflicts in many parts of the world and especially in Eastern Europe. The years between 1993 and 1997 were marked by efforts to achieve an

international consensus on universal values. This debate focused on the shared values that united peoples, rather than the cultural and other features that distinguished them from one another. The final declarations and action plans of the various international conferences began to influence the policies of bilateral donors. In the development policy that took shape at the end of the 1990s, based on a growing consensus among donors that aid should be demand-oriented and in line with the policy of the recipient country, emphasis on the relationship between culture and development was no longer deemed necessary.

Culture and development policy has always been prescriptive in tone. The importance of the relationship between culture and development has never been empirically demonstrated in actual development cooperation practice. The result has been a predominantly philosophical approach which appears to overlook the fundamental dilemma in current development cooperation practice, namely that donors are looking for a development process, whereas recipients do not 'get developed' but develop by themselves on the basis of their own cultural identity. The decision to focus on culture (and hence cultural diversity) as the sole basis or starting-point for development cooperation not only means a total break with current practice, but also raises numerous questions as to the feasibility of possible alternatives.

It is not surprising that the discourse was seldom translated into specific policy goals and that, even where this did occur (for example, in *A World of Difference*), the next step – the development of specific instruments – usually failed to materialise. In particular, it proved impossible to implement the policy for purposes of 'regular' bilateral cooperation. The experiment with sustainable development agreements was the only serious attempt to put the policy into practice. In all other cases the dilemma was avoided by transferring the debate elsewhere (for example, to the Prince Claus Foundation) or by claiming it was part of the international agenda (UNESCO). With hindsight, a more modest attempt to implement the ambitious discourse of 1990 might have had more prospects of success; indeed, some efforts were made in this direction at the outset. One is forced to conclude that, perhaps except for a brief period in the early 1990s (and this was very limited in scope), culture and development was never given any real priority in development cooperation activities. The resources and instruments that one would have expected in view of the declared policy were never made available. Such specific measures as were proposed were so open-ended that they were of marginal significance at best, and cosmetic at worst. Accordingly, bilateral cooperation was not given a firm grounding in culture and

development policy, but was transferred to the Cultural Programme (later renamed the Culture and Development Programme), again with limited resources. Although unintentionally, the Cultural Programme became an excuse to cease all emphasis on culture and development in the field of bilateral cooperation. At the same time, the theme was shifted to the international arena, on the assumption that the problems of cultural diversity and universal values could be better dealt with at that level.

Apart from the sustainable development agreements, the establishment of the Prince Claus Foundation in 1996 can be seen as an attempt to pursue an independent, critical approach to culture and development at a time when this was becoming increasingly impossible in regular development cooperation practice. Nevertheless, the Prince Claus Foundation also found it hard to translate into specific action the broad view of culture on which its policy was claimed to be based.

However, the fact that successive views of culture and development were scarcely reflected in actual policy does not mean that no money whatsoever was available for cultural activities. Numerous activities were funded from the special cultural funds in the late 1980s and the Cultural Programme and the Culture and Development Programme in the 1990s. Indeed, annual spending increased from NLG 1.8 million in 1991 to NLG 12.5 million in 1997. However, changing views of culture and development had little or no impact on the type of projects carried out. Throughout this period, the emphasis was on preserving cultural heritage and the arts. In short, however 'broad' the policy, its implementation was always 'narrow'.





## ANNEX 1: TERMS OF REFERENCE

### Evaluation of Culture and Development Cooperation

#### *Justification*

IOB programming makes provision for an evaluation of international cultural policy as part of foreign policy. A general assessment has made clear that, despite closer links with international cultural policy in recent years, 'culture and development cooperation' has traditionally been a separate policy field that warrants separate evaluation. The preliminary study has revealed that, in the last few decades, any focus on culture has always been part of development cooperation policy (albeit in different ways and to differing degrees) but that the extent to which the policy has actually been put into practice is far harder to determine. The complexity of the concept of 'culture', and hence its implementation for purposes of development cooperation, has made the IOB decide – initially on the basis of the material collected during the preliminary study – to focus its evaluation on the policy discourse and the logic of intervention that is implicitly or explicitly derived from it. Once the policy evaluation has been completed, it will be decided whether a follow-up study of practical implementation would be useful.

#### *Background*

The notion that culture is an important aspect of development has existed ever since development cooperation began. The first references to the cultural aspects of processes of change can already be found in documents on colonial policy in the former Dutch East Indies at the beginning of the twentieth century and later on in documents on the policy to be pursued in New Guinea. These documents primarily focused on the relationship between education and culture, but also discussed such issues as the cultural assimilation of technological change and the possibility of achieving a blend of cultures, i.e. a merging of the best elements of traditional, indigenous and Western culture.

In the first phase of development cooperation after World War II, culture played a far less prominent role. The main emphasis was on improvement of infrastructure and development of productive sectors. It was not until the 1960s and 1970s, when attention shifted to rural development (with a focus on small farmers), that interest in cultural aspects

re-emerged. This time the emphasis was on explaining the conservatism of small farmers in cultural terms rather than on reassessing or strengthening cultural traditions and individuality. Especially in academic circles, culture – in the broad sense of the term – was cited as an explanation for the attitude of people in developing countries when confronted with changes from outside. This view of culture persisted for a long time in development cooperation circles. Only in the period between 1980 and 1990 did the perspective gradually shift. Rather than an obstacle, culture came to be seen as a strength, as a starting-point for development. Ideas such as participation, interaction with local organisations and building on local knowledge pervaded the policy discourse on development cooperation. Culture was sometimes put forward as an argument for disregarding certain social developments. A good example is primary education (at least as regards content), which was mainly seen as a matter for each country to resolve for itself.

Although it was certainly not the starting-point for this shift in perspective, the 1990 policy document *A World of Difference* can still be regarded as a milestone. For the first time culture became the very basis for development cooperation, based on the notion of development of, by and for the people. In the policy discourse, culture became the driving force behind development. However, the policy document moved beyond mere discourse and proposed the following specific policy goals for bilateral and multilateral cooperation and the establishment of funds:

- Emphasis on culture and local knowledge in sectoral studies, if necessary through complementary research by local experts who can be given additional training for this purpose.
- Reference to the cultural context during policy consultations with programme countries.
- Elaboration of development indicators that provide a clearer picture of sociocultural development.
- Inclusion of an assessment of local participation and assimilation of/interaction with local culture when identifying, assessing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating projects and programmes.
- Appointment of experts on culture and development within DGIS and in the field.
- In international fora, pressure for the use of development indicators that provide a picture of the level of sociocultural development.
- Emphasis on the rights of cultural minorities as part of human rights policy.

- Increased multilateral and bilateral cooperation with UNESCO in the field of culture and communications.
- Establishment of a programme to promote and preserve communities' cultural identity in programme countries and regions.
- Establishment of a cultural exchange and cooperation programme.

Of course, this change in approach to culture in Dutch development cooperation circles was not an isolated development. Internationally there was also a shift, in which UNESCO played an important role. In particular, the publication of *Our Creative Diversity* in 1996 can be regarded as a milestone event, which was followed up in the Netherlands by a conference and a book on *The Power of Culture*.

Developments in the field of culture and development cooperation cannot be seen wholly in isolation from international cultural policy. The clearest instance of overlap can be seen in the culture and development programme which was set up in 1991 (some NLG 12 million per year, or 0.15% of total development cooperation funds). Although broadly based on the policy principles set out in *A World of Difference*, priorities gradually changed over the years, and the emphasis shifted to the arts and cultural heritage. Especially following the foreign policy review, the implementation of culture and development policy and international cultural policy began to converge, a process that in 2000 culminated in the organisational merger of these formerly separate policy fields.

A major part of the culture and development budget (NLG 5 million a year) goes to the Prince Claus Foundation, where similar shifts have occurred in the interpretation of the term culture. Another body that deserves mention here is the HIVOS Cultural Fund, which is funded by the Cofinancing Programme and also focuses on the arts, despite a broad definition of culture.

#### *Aim of the evaluation and research questions*

The aim of the evaluation is twofold: (a) to assess the consistency of the policy discourse on culture and development cooperation and the logic of intervention based on it, and (b) to examine how and to what extent culture and development cooperation policy has been implemented.

The evaluation should therefore answer the following questions:

- How has emphasis on culture been expressed in development cooperation policy over the past 15 years? What implicit or explicit concepts of culture have formed the basis for this? What logic of intervention has been envisaged, and how much importance has been attached to culture in planned development activities?
- How and to what extent has the Netherlands encouraged or followed international policy developments in the field of culture and development cooperation?
- What is the policy framework, what are the criteria for funding ‘cultural’ projects and what changes have occurred in this area in the past decade?
- What is the relationship between the general policy discourse on culture and development and the policy criteria for financing cultural projects?
- What is the range of cultural projects and what geographical and sectoral patterns can be identified here?
- How has the cultural dimension been assigned to projects in the past decade and what geographical, sectoral or other patterns can be identified here?
- Is there a relationship between the general policy discourse on culture and development and assignment of the cultural dimension?
- Is there a connection between (a) culture and development cooperation policy and its implementation and (b) international cultural policy, and if so what?

#### *Approach and method*

The evaluation will make use of the material collected in the preliminary study. This comprises all relevant written sources for the period 1985-2000, such as policy documents, memoranda, speeches, annual plans and reports, as well as written reports of interviews with key informants. In addition, two databases have been compiled during the preliminary study: one on culture and development funds, and one on the assignment

of the cultural dimension in the MIDAS management information system. In both cases the preliminary study is limited to the past decade.

In addition to material from the preliminary study, the evaluation will, where necessary and appropriate, make use of material collected and analysed during the evaluation of international cultural policy.

The evaluation will include the following components:

- (1) An analysis of the policy discourse. This will include three elements: (a) a systematic description of the policy discourse and the changes that have occurred within it, (b) a reconstruction of the notions of culture and the relationship between culture and development cooperation on which the policy was based, and (c) an analysis of the logic of intervention that is implicitly or explicitly derived from the policy. The consistency and feasibility of the proposed policy and the associated logic of intervention will be assessed in the light of this analysis. The criteria used in the evaluation will be based on the policy itself – in other words, the policy will be evaluated on the basis of its own claims.
- (2) A list of the instruments developed to implement the policy, and an assessment of the extent to which they have actually been used.
- (3) An analysis of the database for all the projects financed from culture and development funds over the past 10 years, based on geographical and sectoral criteria, type of implementing organisation, budget and duration.
- (4) An analysis of the database for all the projects to which a cultural dimension has been assigned over the past 10 years, based on geographical and sectoral criteria and type of implementing organisation.

The text analysis method will be used for the study. The possibility of additional interviews with key informants will also be considered, depending on the state of progress of the study.

### *Organisation*

The policy evaluation will be carried out by an external senior consultant and supervised by IOB inspector Dr. H.E.J. Jorritsma. The preliminary study was conducted by research assistant H. ter Ellen. An internal reference group (whose members include A.S. Slob) has been set up within the IOB to evaluate and liaise with international cultural policy.

The study will result in a report in which conclusions will be drawn concerning the relationship between the policy discourse on culture and development cooperation and specific activities in this field, together with recommendations for further studies (where possible and/or desirable).

The report will be no more than 75 pages long.

In addition, two databases will be set up: one on cultural projects and the other on projects with a cultural dimension.

Once the evaluation is completed, a seminar will be organised for people working in the field of culture and development cooperation both within the Ministry and elsewhere.

## ANNEX II: HISTORY OF CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY

History of culture and development policy, 1981-2001

*April 1981* NAR advisory report on cultural aspects of development cooperation

*June 1982* Response to the NAR report by the Minister for Development Cooperation  
Cees van Dijk

*April 1983* Policy document on cultural aspects of development cooperation published by the Minister of Welfare, Health and Culture Eelco Brinkman

*May 1984* Policy document on the review of bilateral cooperation (development cooperation)

*October 1984* Report by the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture on the seminar on cultural aspects of development cooperation

*1984* Symposium on culture and development cooperation ('Culture and Commerce'), Royal Tropical Institute

*November 1984* DGIS/SA working paper on the cultural dimension of development cooperation

*1985* UNESCO symposium on the cultural dimension of development, The Hague

*1986* Establishment of a fund (under the Special Purpose Grant Programme) to subsidise projects that reinforce cultural identity

*July 1986* Policy document on multilateral cultural links published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture and the Ministry of Education and Science

*1986* First policy officer for culture and development appointed (DGIS/SA)

*June 1987* Letter from the Minister for Development Cooperation Piet Bukman to the Lower House on the cultural dimension of development cooperation

*1988* Culture and development checklist published. Policy officer's contract not renewed. UNESCO World Decade for Cultural Development starts, with Dutch backing and initiatives. As of 1988, culture and development workshops are held twice a year for DGIS staff

*1989* Theme days on culture and development cooperation for DGIS staff (6 times in the period 1988-91). A new head of DGIS/SA is appointed – a new boost for cultural policy

*1990* Culture and development mentioned in the policy document *A World of Difference*.

*1991* Policy officer asked to return to DGIS/SA to work on culture and development as well as population and development. Cultural Programme set up.

*November 1991* Seminar on culture and development for DGIS staff

*February 1992* Seminar on culture and power for DGIS staff

*February 1992* Letter from the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the Lower House on foreign cultural policy

*September 1992* Two-day seminar for DGIS staff on culture and communications in relation to development

*March 1993* Memorandum on indigenous peoples in foreign policy and development cooperation

*September 1993* The policy document *A World of Dispute* surveys the frontiers of development cooperation

*1994* International conference on 'Cultural dynamics in development processes' organised in Zeist by the National UNESCO Commission

*November 1995* *Our Creative Diversity*, report by the UNESCO World Commission for Culture and Development



*June 1996* Workshop on culture and development for DGIS staff

*1996* Policy officer for culture and development leaves and is not replaced. Following the foreign policy review, a new Cultural Relations and Communications (Developing Countries) Division (DCO/CO) is set up to manage the Culture and Development Programme

*1996* The policy document *Aid in Progress: Development Cooperation and the Review of Dutch Foreign Policy* is published

*1996* Prince Claus Foundation established

*November 1996* International conference on *The Power of Culture* organised in Amsterdam by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science

*1997* Publication of the report of the conference on *The Power of Culture*, Royal Tropical Institute

*March 1998* Revised Culture and Development Programme memorandum published

*November 1998* UNESCO's First World Culture Report published with intellectual and financial support from the Netherlands

*2000* New International Cultural Policy Department (DCO/IC)

*2000* Publication of the Second World Culture Report, with only a limited contribution from the Netherlands

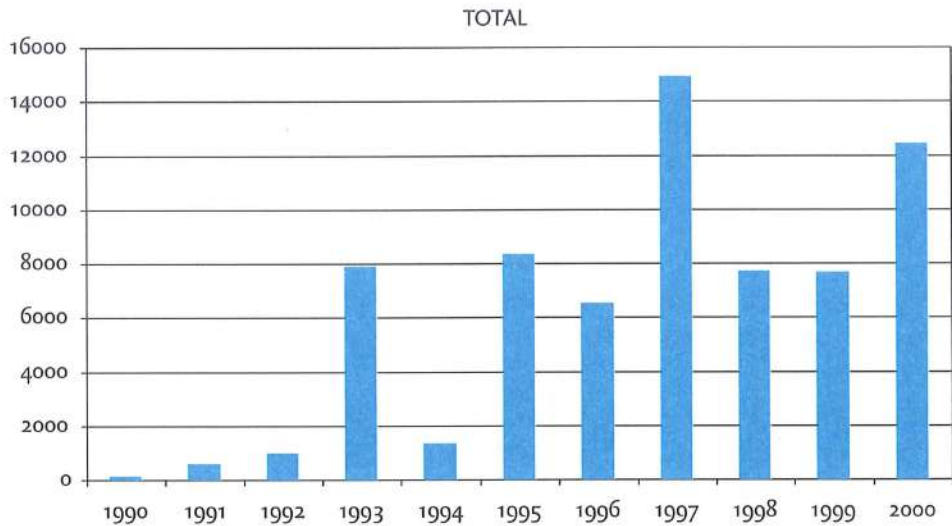


## ANNEX III: CULTURAL FUNDS

For the purposes of this evaluation, the Cultural Programme has not been analysed in terms of efficiency and effectiveness. That would require a separate evaluation of how funds are spent. Data on the makeup of the project portfolio were collected in the preliminary study for the evaluation of international cultural policy. This annex gives an overview of these data.

In the period 1990-2000, several hundred projects were financed from the Cultural Programme. Over the years, spending increased from NLG 1.8 million in 1991 to NLG 4.8 million in 1996 and over NLG 12 million in 2000. The following chart shows annual commitments within the Cultural Programme for the period 1990-2000.

Chart 1: Annual commitments within the Culture and Development Programme, 1990-2000 (in thousands of NLG), KBE 700, 418 and 419

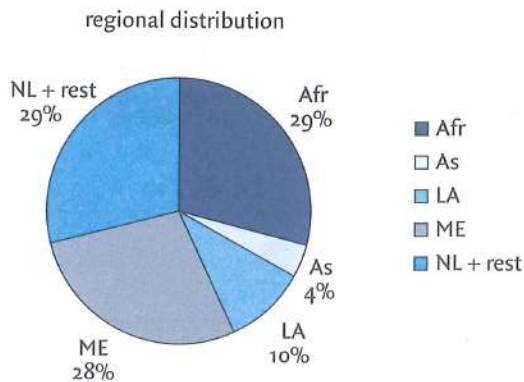


Over the entire period, the annual amount committed averaged NLG 6 million. For the first five years, this figure was considerably lower (around NLG 2 million), but in the period 1995-2000 it was substantially higher (NLG 9.6 million). For the most part, the

comparatively large annual fluctuations can be explained by the fact that the amounts involved are commitments rather than expenditure. The large differences from year to year are due to the approval of several substantial projects in the field of cultural heritage. The annual fluctuations in expenditure are considerably less dramatic, since spending on large projects is spread over several years. The commitment of NLG 25 million to the Prince Claus Foundation in 1996 is not included in the above chart because the Foundation is strictly speaking not part of the Cultural Programme.

The following chart shows all financed activities grouped by region where the activities took and/or where the contractual partner was established.

Chart 2: Regional distribution of funds (in per cent)



What is striking is that three regions - Africa (Afr), the Middle East (ME) and the Netherlands and the rest of the world (NL + rest) - have received virtually the same amounts.

The most striking feature in Africa is the amount of spending in South Africa, which has had a Local Cultural Fund of NLG 1 million a year since 1995. A number of major cultural heritage projects have been funded in Mali. Finally, several major regional literature and documentation projects have been supported.

In the Middle East, almost all the projects funded were in the field of cultural heritage. Fairly close cooperation links have been forged in this area, especially in Yemen. Yemen is the country that has received the largest amount from the Cultural Programme (more

than NLG 11 million). Following various individual projects which included the restoration of a mosque, a cultural heritage cooperation programme was signed between Yemen and the Netherlands in 2000. In Egypt, several cultural heritage projects have also received support. A striking feature is that in the early years of the programme there was considerable emphasis on Christian – particularly Coptic – heritage in Egypt and Syria.

A large number of activities have taken place in the Netherlands or have involved contractual partners based in the Netherlands but operating in various parts of the world. In many cases funding has been repeatedly extended. This category includes contributions to the Hubert Bals Fund, the Festival Mundial and the National Academy of Visual Arts. The Hubert Bals Fund supports film-makers from developing countries. The Festival Mundial receives an annual contribution not only to enable musicians from developing countries to perform there, but also to make Dutch people more aware of development problems. The Academy receives funds from the Cultural Programme to provide training for visual artists.

Far fewer activities were supported in Latin America (LA) and Asia (As). Only Bolivia received a comparatively large grant in 1993 for a museum of popular art.

In addition, the project portfolio for the period 1990-2000 has been broken down by type of activity. This is summarised in the following table. The percentages refer to amounts committed. It should be noted that the 'local cultural funds' category itself comprises a range of different types of activity.

Table 1: Breakdown by type of activity (in per cent)

Type of activity	%
Cultural heritage and museums	44
Language and literature and documentation (including libraries)	10
Film (including documentaries)	10
Local Cultural Funds	16
Broad interpretation of culture (conferences, intercultural dialogue)	4
Miscellaneous	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

It is clear that by far the largest amount has been allocated to activities relating to cultural heritage and museums. The number of activities involved is by no means the highest, but the average amount per activity is high. For example, a certain amount of costly restoration work has been financed. A recent development in this category is the increase in the number of museum cooperation projects, in which organisations such as the Royal Tropical Institute and also the International Council of Museums have played an important role. In general, it can be said that structural cooperation links are increasing.

The language and literature and film sectors each received 10% of the funds committed. Expenditure in the language and literature sector was chiefly in Africa and, in addition to various more minor activities, also covers regional distribution networks. In the film sector, the work of the Hubert Bals Fund is particularly striking, and the Jan Vrijman Fund has recently performed a similar role in the field of documentaries.

The amount committed for broad intercultural dialogue is remarkably low (only 4% of the total). By far the largest amount concerns European-Arab dialogue, to which almost NLG 900,000 was allocated in 1997. Dutch organisations involved in this dialogue included the Interchurch Peace Council Netherlands (IKV) and the Association of Netherlands Municipalities (VNG), together with many other Arab and Dutch organisations. Although the final report was positively evaluated, a second application for financing was rejected. A number of activities in this category concern maintenance of the Dutch website on *The power of culture*. A one-off grant was made to the Dutch Association for Culture and Development (which has since been dissolved). In addition, a number of conferences have been financed on such topics as cultural dynamics in development processes and traditional leadership. Curiously enough, the Cultural Programme has also provided a grant for sports for the disabled. One is forced to conclude that, despite a few interesting initiatives, the Cultural Programme has failed to attain its original goal of providing opportunities for a broad cultural dialogue.

As a result of the foreign policy review and the resulting delegation of responsibility to Dutch embassies, the latter have had a greater say in decision-making and project implementation since the beginning of 1997. Embassies that could see opportunities in this area received support from the Ministry to set up a Local Cultural Fund. However, the Ministry continued to determine which themes would be funded. Local Cultural Funds were set up as pilot projects in South Africa and Egypt in 1995 and 1996 respectively. The Egyptian fund gave support to small-scale projects in the fields of archaeology and

contemporary forms of art. In 1997, funds were set up in South Africa and Kenya. Embassies soon showed great interest in setting up such funds, and 27 applications were received in 1998. The annual report attributes this interest to the fact that the funds enabled embassies to respond adequately to immediate needs within the areas for which they were responsible.<sup>53</sup> Owing to limited resources, funds could only be set up in 9 countries (Mali, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Peru, the Philippines and India, plus the countries already mentioned). In early 1999, when the decision to concentrate aid on a limited number of countries took effect, a number of Local Cultural Funds were abolished. In 1999, funds were ultimately set up in Bolivia, Egypt, South Africa, Mali, Zimbabwe, India, Ramallah (Palestinian Territories), Sri Lanka and Yemen. During the period 1996-2001, South Africa and Egypt received the highest amounts of funding (NLG 5.8 million and 2.6 million respectively). The table below lists the various Local Cultural Funds.

<sup>53</sup> DCO/CO 1998 Annual Report.

Table 2: Local Cultural Funds (figures in thousands of NLG)

Country	Period	Total amount
South Africa	1995-2000	5,800
Egypt	1996-2000	2,600
Kenya	1998-2000	1,050
Zimbabwe *	1998-1999	450
Burkina Faso	2000	100
Bolivia	1999-2000	500
Nepal	1998	200
Sri Lanka	2000	100

\* In 1997, NLG 240,000 was released through another fund as a forerunner of the LCF

In Egypt the Local Cultural Fund supported restoration projects, training programmes and contemporary forms of artistic expression (theatre, film, Nubian culture and modern dance). The 1997-2000 annual plans for Egypt repeatedly indicated that opportunities for independent artists in Egypt were limited by the dominant role of the Ministry of Culture and by government censorship. The 'spiritual' climate and the religious revival were not considered conducive to the free development of new art forms. The Local Cultural Fund

saw a task for itself in this area. The reports also stated that archaeological research could lead to closer cultural links between the Netherlands and Egypt.

The fund set up in Bolivia in 1999 gave high priority to efforts to reinforce the cultural identity of the indigenous population (at least the lowland Indians). This was based on the discourse on 'culture as a basis for sustainable development'. In practice, this mainly took the form of support for bilingual primary education.

The largest Local Cultural Fund was in South Africa. This fund was evaluated by the IOB as part of its evaluation of the implementation of international cultural policy in South Africa. The main findings of this evaluation will be briefly discussed below.<sup>54</sup> On 1 July 1995, the South African Local Cultural Fund was set up for a trial period of 18 months. Prior to this, a number of specific cultural activities had been financed from, among other things, the central cultural programme. A memorandum to the Lower House in 1998 stated that this Local Cultural Fund, which has since been extended, was primarily intended to encourage the process of cultural transformation in South Africa. However, the term 'cultural transformation' was not defined, nor was it specified how the two goals of the Cultural Programme related to this specific goal of the fund. From the start, it was clear that activities in the field of art and art education would be the primary recipients of support. The memorandum also indicated that there could be cooperation with both governmental and non-governmental organisations. Disadvantaged population groups were seen as special target groups, and it was stated that the focus of cultural exchanges with the Netherlands should be on knowledge transfer.

Analysis of the South African Local Cultural Fund shows that some 30 organisations a year received grants. The largest number of projects approved in a single year was 37 (in 1999). Since then, the aim has been to limit the annual number of projects to 20 in order to keep the management burden within acceptable limits. The average contribution per project is NLG 35,000, and this amount is gradually increasing. Very small contributions (amounting to a few thousand guilders), which were common in the period 1995-98, are virtually a thing of the past. Some twenty organisations have received more than one grant from this fund, while another ten organisations have regularly applied for and received grants (three times or more). This indicates the extent to which most of the organisations are dependent on donor finance. Virtually without exception, the recipients

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<sup>54</sup> IOB working document on the evaluation of Dutch international cultural policy in the context of South Africa.



are non-governmental organisations. They include (a) organisations that were set up during the struggle against apartheid and are now active in numerous fields (including art education) and (b) typical art organisations which, in the new political context, are now working for different audiences and with different target groups. Financing of the art sector by the South African government is rather limited, and only a few donors are active in this area. The main bilateral donors are Sweden and the Netherlands. Demand for financing substantially exceeds supply. The following table shows the distribution of projects by type of artistic expression over the period 1998-2000.

Table 3: Distribution of Dutch support in South Africa, by type of artistic expression

Type of artistic expression	1998*	1999	2000
Theatre	2	8	6
Dance	--	8	7
Visual arts	3	6	7
Music	2	3	--
Film	1	1	1
Literature	--	3	1
Miscellaneous	13*	8	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>27</b>

\* Not all project data were available for 1998. Projects in which the type of artistic expression is not clear are grouped under 'miscellaneous'.

The performing arts (theatre and dance) are the most frequently funded types of artistic expression, but in general one is struck by the broad distribution of projects over the various disciplines. In addition, the analysis showed that approximately half the projects involve formal or informal art education. This includes both support for professional and other training of film-makers and managers of art organisations, and township programmes for dance, theatre, music and integration of art education into the school curriculum. One third of the projects are more audience-oriented and comprise (among other things) tours and performances by companies, exhibitions, festivals and distribution of books. According to the evaluation memoranda submitted by the embassy, this virtually always involves formerly disadvantaged groups and individuals, in other words

members of the poor black population. Apart from an occasional workshop or master class, almost no cultural exchanges with the Netherlands were financed from this fund. Instead, such activities were financed from the funds available for Dutch international cultural policy. The Local Cultural Fund was almost always used to support purely South African initiatives.

In contrast to the often small-scale activities and comparatively small organisations that are supported by Local Cultural Funds, there are also some larger contractual partners or recipients of grants under the Cultural Programme. Organisations or activities that have received more than NLG 2 million (in one or more commitments) are:

- The museum for popular art in La Paz, Bolivia (in 1993).
- The Hubert Bals Fund (several grants).
- The National Academy of Visual Arts (several grants).
- The Government of Yemen (various cultural heritage projects).
- The Royal Tropical Institute (various projects involving collaboration with other museums).
- Strengthening of libraries and documentation centres in East Africa (in 1997).

There have thus been two large one-off grants and four structural grant relationships.

## ANNEX IV: SOURCES

### Types of source:

Parliamentary papers and policy documents

Other public documents and literature

Internal memoranda, etc.

Speeches

Prince Claus Foundation sources

HIVOS Cultural Fund sources

National UNESCO Commission sources

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## ANNEX V: LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

Sipko de Boer, April 2000  
Peter de Haan, July 2000  
Louk de la Rive Box, June 2000  
Angeline Eysink, July 2000  
Fons Gribling, August 2000  
Hans Janssen, July 2000  
Pieter Lammers, July 2000  
Marc Moquette, August 2000  
Anke Niehof, July 2000  
Edith Sizoo, April 2000  
Henk Tieleman, September 2000  
Chudi Ukpabi, July 2000  
Ellen van der Laan, September 2000  
Adriaan van der Staay, July 2000  
Bob Waisfisz, July 2000



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- 258 1993 **Evaluatie en Monitoring.** De Rol van Projectevaluatie en monitoring in de Bilaterale hulp \*)
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