

Thinking outside the Box:
Arguments for IADB's Involvement in the
Preservation and Development of Heritage

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Introduction

Thinking Outside the Box: Culture and Capitals.

Development divorced from its human or cultural context is growth without a soul

Our Creative Diversity,
Report of the World Commission
on Culture and Development

Why should the IADB get involved with culture? This question, raised by the Inter-American Development Bank's paper *Culture, Social Equity, and Sustainable Development: The Task Ahead*,¹ is actually a very appropriate question.

This paper argues that the answer lies in the logic of the IADB's focus on development: empowering the clients' capabilities. Moreover, this involvement with culture and poverty reflects the latest IADB guidelines and strategic approaches, which address the questions of equity, sustainable development, integration, and social development.²

This paper aims to challenge the question on the role of Culture/culture for IADB's mission, discussing the role of culture in development through suggestions, speculations, and case studies from several parts of the world. Most of the cases have been collected through interviews, brain storming, intense discussions, collegial laughs, and open doubts. They are not complete, but should offer a glimpse in what people cherish and what they experienced contributing to better their lives.

In the paper two terms will be used: "culture" and "Culture". The first, (culture spelled with a small

"c") will indicate culture in its anthropological sense, as the day-to-day ways of living, the beliefs, the cosmology, and the interpretation that we give to the world. The second term will indicate Culture with the capital "C" (capitalization of the letter does not imply any judgment of value or worth). Under this second definition, it will be considered the physical expression of culture. Culture "with the capital C" is material and immaterial expression: architecture (including archeological sites), painting, sculpture, dance, theater, written and oral literature, music, etc. This emphasized distinction is not current. However, during the research conducted by this paper, it became clear that it may be appropriate to distinguish clearly the two notions in order to clarify a sector in which confusion about terminology has led to many misunderstandings.

This paper supports the assumption that both culture and Culture are important, if not essential, tools and aims of development. Working with culture and Culture means addressing several aspects of capital:

- a. Natural Capital. Managing Cultural resources often means managing natural resources, for example with archeological site management in natural areas. Moreover, archeological discovery can revive knowledge on sustainable agriculture systems that are more efficient and less intrusive on the ecosystem.
- b. Physical Capital. Working with Cultural projects requires higher levels of services and competence from the actors of development.

¹ Claudio de Moura Castro and Ephim Shluger, *Culture, Social Equity and Sustainable Development: The Task Ahead*, IADB, Education Unit, January 2001.

² Alejandra Radl, *La dimension cultural, base para el desarrollo de America Latina y el Caribe: desde la solidaridad hacia la integracion*, Intal Divulgacion, Documento Divulgacion No. 6, IADB, March 2000.

Cultural tourism, for example, requires a higher level of quality in credit services or in infrastructure. Culture can also offer fertile terrain for promoting new jobs (for example, in the music sector, or multimedia and on-line services, etc.), which require more infrastructure.

- c. Human Capital. Curiosity about one's past and celebration of one's creativity helps to promote a proactive attitude towards knowledge ("promoting knowledge seeking and not knowledge using"), which is an essential long term quality for development. Cultural projects require higher coordination among promoters (in the example of Cultural tourism, typically tour operators) and conservationists (typically archeologists, or art historians), more complex forms of cooperation between the private and public sector, etc.
- d. Social Capital. Work with both culture and Culture fosters self-esteem, reinforces community bonds, and initiates an analysis of institutional cultures.
- e. Cultural Capital. Last but not least; this paper will define Cultural Capital as composed by an asset that contributes to cultural values. The asset can exist in tangible or intangible form. "The tangible Cultural Capital exists in buildings, structures, sites, locations with cultural significance, artworks, artifacts, sculptures, and other objects. The assets give rise to a flow of services that may be consumed as private and/or public goods entering final consumption immediately, and/or they may also contribute to the production of future goods and services, including new Cultural Capital. Intangible Cultural Capital comprises a set of ideas, practices, beliefs, traditions, and values which serve to identify and bind together a given group of people, however the group may be determined, together with the stock of artworks existing in the public domain as public goods, such as literature and music. These intangible Cultural assets also give rise to a flow of services which may form part of private final consumption and/or may

contribute to the production of future cultural goods".³ Cultural Capital is intimately connected with the other forms of capital. The demarcation area between Social Capital and Intangible Cultural Capital is gray; the source of interconnection among people in Social Capital is based on trust, in Intangible Cultural Capital in common identification in a form of art, for example the *Moldava* symphony for the Czech people.

This paper is divided in two sections:

The Role of Culture in Development – theoretical content. Focuses on the broad definition of culture as an essential part of development. When development was defined as merely raising per-capita income, many of its biggest failures came from the lack of appreciation of the importance of culture.⁴ A "culture-centered" or "culture-conscious" approach to development emphasizes institution building, self-empowerment, and "people's right to have some power over the decisions that affect their lives".⁵ Such an approach is valuable in traditional development projects in sectors like education, infrastructure, and health, as well in projects that specifically promote and/or preserve Culture.

The Social Impact of Culture – empirical content. Presents cases in which building self-confidence and improving the ways in which each person can express her/his-self in her/his own culture helps strengthen the human aspects that make development successful and sustainable. This *Section*, tries to suggest intuitive, empirical reasons to that question offering an anthology of cases in which Culture has been used to improve the quality of life of people. In fact, assumptions of this paper is that aim of any development action is the improvement of peoples' quality of life, and that sources of quality of life are sense of

³ David Throsby, *Cultural Capital*, in: Journal of Cultural Economics, 23, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999.

⁴ Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Towards a New Paradigm for Development: Strategies, Policies, and Processes*, Prebish Lecture, UNCTAD, October 19, 1998.

⁵ Jonathan Renshaw, Marie-Madelaine Mailleux Sant'ana, Volker von Bremen, *Guidelines for Socio-cultural Analysis*, Preliminary draft, July 2001.

identity, playfulness, creativity, sense of belonging, idleness, and freedom of expression. As a working hypothesis, this paper suggests that many of these sources can be nourished by Culture, both as a source of social memory and history, as well as in the ways it enhances life with creativity. *This Section* is divided in two sub-sections. The first one addresses the role of social capital and its relation with culture/Culture. It presents cases in which culture/Culture has supported the improvement of the quality of life in terms of building self-confidence and improving the ways in which each person can express her/his-self in her/his own culture, thus improving their social capital. The second sub-section will introduce the case of Italy, a country that has had lately consciously experimented with Culture as an asset for long-term development projects.

This paper is complemented by another document: *Thinking Outside the Box: Strategies and Examples for the IADB's Involvement in the Preservation and Development of Heritage* in which are presented; i) a briefly reports on methodologies for measuring the impact of interventions that aim specifically at the Cultural

sector in development and ii) a micro-level analyses of strategies that have been adopted to maximize the development impact of Cultural projects. These represent "best practices" that can be implemented in policies that aim to promote development both of the cultures of the societies in question, and through its tangible impact on Cultural artifacts.

Finally, it might be important to underline that this paper will not emphasize the common distinction between Cultural Heritage (e.g. archeological sites, historic cities) and Living Culture (e.g. festivals, theater, literature). These broad categories will be often incorporated in the notion of Culture. Moreover, as mentioned in the introduction, this paper will not address two other broad sectors of Culture. Commercial Culture (publishing, television, cinema, etc.) will not be analyzed in this paper, being this theme explored by other studies conducted by other section of the Inter-American Development Bank.⁶ Historic Cities, as well, will not be analyzed in this paper, having been object of previous Inter-American Development Bank's publications.⁷

⁶ IADB's Paris office, June 2001.

⁷ Eduardo Rojas, *Old Cities, New Assets, Preserving Latin American's Urban Heritage*, IADB, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999; Eduardo Rojas and Claudio de Moura Castro, *Prestamos para la conservacion del patrimonio historico urbano. Desafios y oportunidades*, Serie de informes tecnicos del Departamento de Desarrollo Sostenibile, IADB, Washington DC, 1999; *Una Obra en Marcha, El Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo y la proteccion del patrimonio cultural*, IADB, Washington DC, 2001. Eduardo Rojas, *Old Cities, New Assets, Preserving Latin American's Urban Heritage*, IADB, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999; Eduardo Rojas and Claudio de Moura Castro, *Prestamos para la conservacion del patrimonio historico urbano. Desafios y oportunidades*, Serie de informes tecnicos del Departamento de Desarrollo Sostenibile, IADB, Washington DC, 1999; *Una Obra en Marcha, El Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo y la proteccion del patrimonio cultural*, IADB, Washington DC, 2001.

The Role of Culture in Development – Theoretical Content

As mentioned in the general introduction, during the research conducted for this paper, it became clear that it might be appropriate to distinguish clearly the two notions of Culture/culture in order to clarify a sector in which confusion about terminology has led to many misunderstandings. Two terms will be used: “culture” and “Culture”. The first, (culture spelled with a small “c”) will indicate culture in its anthropological sense, as the day-to-day ways of living, the beliefs, the cosmology, and the interpretation that people give to the world. The second term will indicate Culture with the capital “C” (capitalization of the letter does not imply any judgment of value or worth). Under this second definition, it will be considered the physical expression of culture. Culture “with the capital C” is material and immaterial expression: architecture (including archeological sites), painting, sculpture, dance, theater, written and oral literature, music, etc. This emphasized distinction is not current. However interconnected, the two notions play a different role if used as means and aims of development.

The Role of Culture in Development (Broad Definition) – theoretical content. This section focuses on the broad definition of culture as an essential part of development. When development was defined as merely raising per-capita income, many of its biggest failures came from the lack of appreciation of the importance of culture.⁸ A “culture-centered” or “culture-conscious” approach to development emphasizes institution building, self-empowerment, and “people’s right to have some power over the decisions that affect their lives”.⁹ Such an approach is valuable in traditional development projects in sectors like education, infrastructure,

and health, as well in projects that specifically promote and/or preserve Culture.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NOTION OF POVERTY

The philosophical debate on the relationship between culture and economics is sometimes considered an unsettling one. However, ideas coming from art theory, anthropology, cultural studies and philosophy are exerting a growing influence on the political and ideological positions of some development and economic thought.¹⁰ These ideas have not yet achieved widespread acceptance in all parts of development economics, but they have clearly changed the way people think about what poverty and development mean.

This paper argues that the dichotomies culture/economics and culture/development pose the question in improper terms. As emphasized by the World Commission on Culture and Development, “it is meaningless to talk of the relation between culture and economy, since economy is part of a people’s culture”.¹¹ With respect to culture, again the World Commission has underlined the differences with some traditional areas of development like health, education, or the environment, that have clearly defined metrics and indicators. Culture is a notion that can be too broad and amorphous to be framed in a specific definition as measured in traditional economic terms. As the importance of culture is increasingly recognized, new means of measuring success in development, as well as the definitions of development and poverty must evolve.

Debate on several levels has confirmed the need to revise the notion of poverty. Many critics of traditional definitions seek a more complex understanding of the main question: what is

⁸ Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Towards a New Paradigm for Development: Strategies, Policies, and Processes*, Prebish Lecture, UNCTAD, October 19, 1998.

⁹ Jonathan Renshaw, Marie-Madelaine Maillieux Sant’ana, Volker von Bremen, *Guidelines for Socio-cultural Analysis*, Preliminary draft, July 2001.

¹⁰ *The Value of Culture*, proceedings from the conference, 31 July-9 August 2000, Amsterdam-Maastricht University.

¹¹ World Commission on Culture and Development, *Our Creative Diversity*, UNESCO, 1995.

development? Should economic growth be the final aim of development activities? How does culture affect the quality of growth? What cultural factors affect the sustainability of development? Definitions from two of the main actors in development, the Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank, show an evolution of the concept:

“The reduction of poverty requires improvements in four inter-related dimensions of well-being: a level of income sufficient to cover basic needs, an ability to avoid and cope with sharp declines in income, a voice in the institutions that shape governance and the access to market opportunities, and improvements in the quality of life.”¹²

“Poverty is pronounced deprivation in well-being. But what precisely is deprivation? The voices of the poor bear eloquent testimony to its meaning. To be poor is to be hungry, to lack shelter and clothing, to be sick and not cared for, to be illiterate and not schooled. Poor people are particularly vulnerable to adverse events outside their control. They are often treated badly by the institutions of state and society and excluded from voice and power in those institutions”.¹³ “Well-being was variously described as happiness, harmony, peace, freedom from anxiety, and peace of mind”.¹⁴

Aside from questions of terminology, these positions center on the consensus that the aim of any development action is the improvement of peoples’ quality of life, and that economic growth is a means to reach this improvement, not the final objective. The consensus emphasizes that growth alone cannot miraculously solve all forms of deprivation, and attention needs to be given to the type and content of growth.

The current analysis from the *Human Development Approach* and the work of the World Commission on Culture and Development

have reiterated this point: poverty is not only the lack of material goods, of wealth, but is mainly a lack of opportunities and freedoms, or, in Amartya Sen’s words, of capabilities.¹⁵ There is on-going work (scholarship) aimed at defining the limits of this new notion of poverty. The book *Valuing Freedom* by Sabine Alkire provides a very useful examination and comparison of the principal methods of measuring poverty and development used in the UNDP *Human Development Indicators*. What is important for the purpose of this paper is that all these methods have identified a source of quality of life among sense of identity, playfulness, creativity, sense of belonging, idleness, and freedom of expression.

What is the important element here? As a working hypothesis, this paper suggests that many of these needs can be satisfied by Culture, both as a source of social memory and history, as well as in the ways it enhances life with creativity. When the aim of development has become more than just economic growth, and poverty is recognized as broader than any simple, single definition, it can be talked about poverties reduction, meaning the satisfaction of a broad range of more complex needs. The criticism on the old development paradigm and the research on the Human Development Indicators suggest that the “culturalistic” approach could be more promising and effective for addressing the question of sustainable poverty reduction.

WHAT IS CULTURE?

This paper will proceed from UNESCO’s definition of culture, approved by the World Commission on Culture and Development and adopted by all the member countries of the IADB. The adoption of the definition by the IADB is supported by the fact that the definition reflects the IADB’s approach to the intangible aspects of development.

According to UNESCO, Culture is defined as: “a group of beliefs, the whole complex of distinctive

¹² IADB, discussion paper on the definition of Poverty, August 2001.

¹³ World Bank, *World Development Report, Attacking Poverty*, 2000/2001.

¹⁴ Narayanm Chambers, Shah, and Petesch, in: World Bank, *World Development Report*, 2000/2001.

¹⁵ Sabina Alkire, *Valuing Freedom: Sen’s Capability Approach and Poverty Reduction*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2002. We are grateful to Ms. Alkire who allowed us to utilize her work before publishing.

spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or a social group. It includes creative expression (e.g. oral history, language, literature, performing arts, fine arts and crafts), community practices (e.g. traditional healing methods, traditional resource management, celebrations and patterns of social interaction that contribute to group and welfare and identity), and material and built forms, such as historic sites, buildings, historic cities, arts and objects".¹⁶

The UNESCO definition can be applied to the distinction proposed above between *culture* and *Culture*. Small "c" *culture* is the anthropological sense of the "distinctive spiritual, intellectual, and emotional features that characterize a society or a social group". Capital "C" *Culture* is defined as the "material and built forms, such as historic sites, buildings, historic cities, arts and objects".

Combining the definitions of culture with that of poverty leads us to questions such as: what are the cultural and socio-cultural factors that affect broad development? How can valuable elements of a traditional culture be combined with modernization? How are cultures and models of development related to one another? And, for the specific purposes of economic analysis and evaluation of projects: how can we measure impact of cultural projects? The World Commission on Culture and Development admits that these are the key questions and that there are not yet precise answers.¹⁷ What can be done is proceeding through empirical evidences on the role of culture/Culture in development. This paper will try to present empirical evidences in Part II, The Economic and Social Impact of Culture, and in Part III, Strategies for Maximizing the Development Impact.

IS CULTURE TOXIC TO DEVELOPMENT?

If some practices are disruptive of development, it is legitimate to ask: *Is one culture better than another for the purposes of (economic)*

¹⁶ World Commission on Culture and Development, *Ibidem*.

¹⁷ World Commission on Culture and Development, *Our Creative Diversity*, UNESCO, 1995.

development? Before discussing the positive aspects of culture in development, some of the arguments surrounding how culture may detract from development should be considered. It is usually agreed upon that there are aspects of culture or "culturally-accepted practices" that can destroy or disrupt many parts of their society. Examples include clientelism, corruption, or deprivation of human rights on the basis of gender, age, or ethnic origin. However, even accepting the "culturalistic" interpretation of Social Capital¹⁸ - meaning that human interactions are determined by the culture of that community -, such negative traits have developed within a society for historical reasons. However, just as they were created, they can be modified, since culture is not a static concept, but a concept evolving in response to external or internal inputs.¹⁹

Notwithstanding the acceptance by most of the world's countries of UNESCO's general definition of culture, which does not imply a judgment of worth of cultures, there are strong critics on the notion that each culture has the same "value" of the other. These critics subscribe to what can be called an "*economic theory of cultural evaluation*". This school of thought raises the question of the value of culture mainly in its relation with development, judging different forms of culture as positive or negative. The main question this school asks is which culture will foster development and which one will pose obstacles to it, instead? This argument normally grounds itself in Protestant and Confucian values, in the best of Weber's tradition. One of its most representative champions, David Landes²⁰, stated that some cultures are "toxic" to development,

¹⁸ Nicoletta Stame, *Local development and community based partnership*, World Bank's conference on Evaluation and Development: the Partnership Dimension, Washington DC, July 23-24 2001.

¹⁹ Anne Deruytere, Chief Indigenous People Div. , closing comments on the *Socio-Cultural Analysis Workshop*, IADB, July 2001.

²⁰ David Landes, *The wealth and poverty of nations : why some are so rich and some so poor*, New York : W.W. Norton, c1998.

because they “handicap people who cling to them”.^{21/22}

The cultural evaluation’s argument is challenged by Amartya Sen who, in his book *Development as Freedom*, emphasizes the inadequacy of this kind of analysis, which aims to explain or justify specific economic success or failure based on specific cultural values.²³ One of the leading examples of the cultural evaluation’s line of thought is the interpretation of the economic success of some Asian countries, based on their Confucian tradition. Confucian values would explain the lack of respect for human rights (e.g. China), arguing that this is based on a Confucian tradition which praises obedience over individual rights. As well as Confucian values that promote discipline, obedience, hard work, and respect for hierarchy would explain the impressive economic growth of Japan, Korea, China. *Mutatis Mutandis* the same argument can be used to explain economic success based on Protestant ethos.²⁴

At the same time, there is another cultural evaluation’s line of thought that views not in disciplines and respect for hierarchy the engine for development, but rather in “liberalism”, meant as freedom- and tolerance-oriented cultures. Generally, such characters of respect for freedom and tolerance are attributed to the Western cultures, underlying a “natural” impossibility for development for other parts of the world that do not share this freedom-oriented vision.

Sen’s critique on these arguments is twofold. First of all, Sen emphasizes the incredible diversity of cultures in the Asian world, arguing

²¹ David Landes, *Culture Counts*, Proceedings from the conference, World Bank., UNESCO, Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Florence, October 1999.

²² David Landes, *The wealth and poverty of nations : why some are so rich and some so poor*, New York : W.W. Norton, c1998. At the beginning of his analysis of several world cultures and times, Prof. Landes stresses that this evaluation of culture is only based on their impact on the economic growth, with not judgment of worth on the quality of life in broader sense

²³ Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Alfred Knopf, New York, 1999.

²⁴ Max Weber, In David Landes: *Ib.*

that Asia should not be seen as a unified block of Confucianism. In addition, Sen stresses that there has also been a inaccurate reading of Confucius (a more complex author than he is normally portrayed to be), whose interpretation as a promoter of authoritarian values is, not surprisingly, suggested by the government authorities themselves. Moreover, Confucian or Protestant ethos would not explain the successes of Thailand, or partially of Singapore, or Hong Kong, or South Korea, or of Catholic countries such as Italy or France.²⁵

Secondly, Sen proposes that there is not a culture “toxic” to development, while another “fosters” it. Sen suggests that any culture that emphasizes the importance of freedom and tolerance fosters development. The so-called Western myth is – in Sen’s words – an historic distortion. “The valuing of freedom is not confined to one culture only, and the Western traditions are not the only ones that prepare us for a freedom-based approach to social understanding”.²⁶ As examples, Sen cites third century’s Indian Emperor Ashoka who determined the standards for art; historiography, ethic, medicine, and mathematics for the Indian culture based on universal criteria of tolerance. Another example are twelfth century’s Cairo and Baghdad, tolerant and urban centers in which Islamic thinkers preached religious and political tolerance, while Inquisition was blooming in the Western countries. However, as firmly regretted by Izzat Majeed, a Pakistan writer and businessman²⁷ in a open letter in a Pakistan newspaper, the manipulation of the Islamic religion, following that [twelfth, thirteenth century] period of tolerance, has happened with the objective to maintain the power in the hands of few. The question is also not to debate on Islam as a culture “toxic” to development, but on the practices that have been “toxic” limiting freedoms of people in deciding freely what traditions they wish or not to follow.

²⁵ Amartya Sen, *Culture and Development*, World Bank, Tokyo Meeting, 13 December 2000.

²⁶ Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Alfred Knopf, New York, 1999. Chapter 10.

²⁷ Thomas L. Friedman, *Breaking the Circle*, Editorial, The New York Times, November 16, 2001, Late edition – Final, Section A, Page 25, Column 5.

Following the World Commission's and Sen's lines of thought, this paper suggests that it is spurious to attribute to one culture the capacity to foster more development than another (the so called Western myth) for two reasons: Firstly, the notion of specific human rights and values such as tolerance, critical sense, access to decision making, etc. can be found in the history of many countries. So the question whether the culture of one country is or is not supporting development, should be restated in terms of how such values have been manipulated for power purposes, such as keeping part or a large part of the population far from the decision making process, under the "excuse" of cultural values. Secondly, the notion of development is not an absolute concept. Some cultures can promote behavior that is considered toxic for a specific form of development, but that in reality supports the kind of development appreciated in that specific culture. For example²⁸, Sen cites the two cases of the reaction towards a general health care system – that for the European culture is almost an axiomatic right for every citizen, versus the American culture, where this is not. On the opposite front, the question of high unemployment, that in the European culture is almost accepted as an obvious fact of life – versus the American culture where this would be the cause of a high level of unrest. Which form of "development" is better?

This paper supports the idea that forms of intolerance, repression of creativity and freedom of expression, as well as repression of intellectual curiosity become impediments that affect societies on the whole on various levels: in their mental growth, in the integration and possibility to develop an aptitude towards learning, trying, understanding – which are all elements that underlie (economic) development. This paper suggests as well that the mental positive attitude towards learning, creativity, and curiosity can be fostered by the appreciation and understanding of both the cultural roots and tradition of a person, and in celebrating the creating of new living Culture.

²⁸ Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1999.

CULTURE AND POVERTY

If poverty is the lack of freedom to live the life people want to live, and this "way" is defined by their set of values, social connections, beliefs, then this approach takes into account people's culture, meant as their beliefs, values and ways of living.

The roles of culture/Culture in fostering development' projects are twofold: first of all, the recognition of people's culture should be the first understanding of their ways of thinking and judging the world and consequently how to forge a project. Secondly, their material Culture is a fundamental asset that mirrors their past and future activities and ways of expression. Moreover, if we consider development not only as growth of GNP, but as an enhancement of the freedom and the well-being of people, then cultural issues should play a role at the outset and at the end of development activities: both as promoters of development, and as the aims of development itself.

Under the first assumption [culture in its anthropological sense], this paper contends that the main question is not just to abstractly recognize the importance of culture for development. Rather, it is important to have the means to include people into the design of the projects, in this way allowing them to use their culture to promote development (participation). The concept of *Etnoingeniería* proposed recently by the IADB's Unidad de Pueblos Indígenas y Desarrollo Comunitario offers a "series of principles and methodologies whose aim is the adaptation of the works of infrastructure, and the processes of implementation to the cultural specificity of the beneficiaries."²⁹

²⁹ Carlos C. Perafan, *Etnoingeniería marco conceptual*, Unidad de Pueblos Indígenas y Desarrollo Comunitario, IADB, Washington DC, May 2001.

The same question has been raised by the research on Guidelines for Socio-cultural Analysis at the IADB³⁰ that has stressed the following points:

- * Poverty is no longer perceived to be synonymous with low income, and the paradigm of poverty reduction now encompasses a much wider range of issues. They include the right to satisfy basic human needs. They also include a concept of human rights, including the right to security, access to justice, and people's right to have some power over the decisions that affect their lives.
- * Bank lending never represents more than a small proportion of total government expenditure. If Bank lending is to have a significant impact at a national level, projects or bank operations should aim to achieve some kind of multiplier effect or additionality, inducing significant changes in the relations between the poor and the institutions that are supposed to serve them. This implies helping the poor and disempowered develop the capacity to envision a better future, determine their goals, and organize to achieve them.
- * This has led to great awareness of the need to understand the cultural context in which people operate – hence the term socio-cultural analysis. Experience has shown that it is not sufficient simply to ensure that resources are channeled to the poor. Rather the resources need to be applied in a way that is relevant to their needs, effective, and can be sustained in the long term.
- * This implies the direct involvement of the beneficiaries in the definition of priorities, and in the design and implementation and evaluation of projects". However, as the Guidelines for Socio-cultural analysis recalls "achieving participation is not easy, and participation offers no magic solutions to the problems of poverty, social exclusion, and underdevelopment. The poor are often – often rightly so – mistrustful of attempts to involve

³⁰ Jonathan Renshaw, Marie-Madelaine Mailleux Sant'ana, Volker von Bremen, *Guidelines for Socio-cultural Analysis*, Preliminary draft, July 2001.

them in dialogue. Also, they lack confidence in their own ability and are often tempted to provide the answers that they feel are expected of them.³¹

Under the second assumption [Culture in its material and immaterial manifestation, as an artifact], this paper suggests that Culture is an important tool to achieving several necessary pre-conditions for development. Culture addresses at once: I) recognition and celebration of people's cultures (development of pride, integration, and identity), ii) development of "those incommensurable qualities of curiosity and dissent that are the leaven of thought"³² and prepare societies and individuals to trade with ideas, iii) economic commodities *strictu sensu*.

The social function of Culture heritage should be emphasized as essential repository of memory and a creativity-enhancing instrument. These, in turn, play a central role in the reinforcement of fundamental objectives, such as solidarity, historical memory, shared knowledge, tradition. It is important to point out an experiment that has been conducted by the Ministry of the Treasury in Southern Italy that aims to foster the region's development by also using the "strategy" of promotion of Culture (living culture and Cultural heritage) as instruments of economic and social capital development.³³ *Section II, The Social and Economic Impact of Culture – empirical content*, will present this case.

³¹ It is important to emphasize that participation is a more complicated process when the project involves fragile Cultural assets. For example, in Pompeii, Italy, it has been experienced that the municipalities that surround this unique archeological site, claim their right to be involved in its management on the base of short sighted economic reasons, and not because of historical ties and understanding of its both cultural and economic importance. The people should be given the means to understand the potential and problematic of such an archeological site and being able to decide what to do with it, without interference of organized criminality or of a few number of speculative projects.

³² David Landes, *The wealth and poverty of nations : why some are so rich and some so poor*, New York : W.W. Norton, c1998.

³³ Ministero del Tesoro, *Assi prioritari, Piano di Sviluppo del Mezzogiorno*, 2001-2006.

The Social Impact of Culture – Empirical Content

according to the principal methods of measuring

Can Culture Help?

If lack of self-confidence and exclusion reduce the ability to participate in the life of our community, can Culture help?

Yes. The project in Lantonville, Trinidad has shown a community regaining self-respect and care for their neighborhood through the international appreciation of their production of a local musical instrument, the steel-drum. The regained self-respect led to a higher involvement in the beautification process of the neighborhood.

If we have forgotten to be proud of our city, can Culture help us to remember to be?

Yes. The project “Napoli 99” has helped adults and children to increase their awareness and pride in the history of their city and region. Supported by a visionary public administration, they have started and reinforced the renaissance of Naples.

Can exclusion or ethnic rivalry be addressed by Culture?

Yes. The “Adopt a Monument” project in Skopje, Macedonia, has helped students and adults to appreciate the mixed origin of their common Cultural heritage and improved their mutual understanding.

Can traditional Culture and modern living Culture work together improving the well-being of people?

Yes. Modern artists use as inspiration and define their present identity at least partly from tradition. One example is modern Islamic calligraphy¹, which allows current artists to enter the market with products already in the archetypes accepted by the consumers. Or it can help Mexican artisans from Michoacan to proudly teach their children¹ an activity that both ensures economic support and pride in their own history.

Chart No. 1. **Can Culture Help?**

SOCIAL-CAPITAL IDENTIFICATION: IDENTITY, SENSE OF BELONGING, CIVIC-MINDEDNESS

This Section presents cases in which the use of Culture has improved the ways in which people think about themselves, relate to each other, and plan their future. This improvement is viewed as an improvement of the quality of life of these people. In *Part I, The Role of Culture in Development (Broad Definition) – theoretical content* Poverty was defined as pronounced deprivation in well-being, where well-being “was variously described as happiness, harmony, peace, freedom from anxiety, and peace of mind”.³⁴

Another piece of the definition recalled that aim of any development action is the improvement of peoples’ quality of life, and that economic growth is a means to reach this improvement, not the final objective. Finally, quality of life was improved –

poverty and development used in the UNDP *Human Development Indicators* – by sense of identity, playfulness, creativity, sense of belonging, idleness, and freedom of expression.

Some aspects of the improvement of quality of life, such as *sense of identity* and *sense of belonging* have a social connotation [the list is not exhaustive, neither claims to be able to incorporate all the different social aspects of quality of life]. Such social connotation will be addressed under the broader concept of social capital. This Section will present a conceptual discourse on the notion of social capital and on its relation with culture/Culture.

Social Capital, Few Definitions

It is not the aim of this paper to deepen the debate on the definition of social capital, however, it is important to extrapolate some central points from

³⁴ Narayanm Chambers, Shah, and Petesch, in The World Bank, *World Development Report*, 2000/2001.

the several evolutions of the notion.³⁵ *Part II, The Social and Economic Impact of Culture – empirical content* will concentrate on a working definition of social capital as *aspects of social structure such as trust, networks, and conventions that encourage collaboration and coordination among friends and strangers determining the ability of humans to achieve common goals.*

To clarify the notion of social capital used in this paper, it might be important to quote only a few of the authors dealing with the question that have been analyzed during the research for this paper in their use of the connection between social capital and culture.

Putnam³⁶ analyzes the different performances in terms of economic growth and institutional efficiency in Northern and Southern Italy, attributing the cause of this discrepancy to the different social capitals. Social capital that – in his words – is determined by the historical macro models adopted by different Italian regions.

According to Putnam's "culturalistic" social capital, development, or general economic and social satisfaction are produced by an efficient social capital, following this scheme:

Historic background → Development (or absent development) of Civic-mindedness → Trust among citizens and between citizens and institutions → Public participation in general decisions → Higher efficiency market and better performance institutions → Economic and social satisfaction.

Coleman and others distinguish³⁷ between social capital at individual and collective levels. At the individual level a positive social capital is characterized by healthy self-esteem, entrepreneurship, emotional intelligence (hope).

³⁵ Bernardo Kliksberg, *Capital Social y Cultura. Claves Olvidadas del Desarrollo*, INTAL Divulgation, Documento de Divulgacion 7, June 2000.

³⁶ Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, Princeton Press, 1993.

³⁷ Bernardo Kliksberg, *Capital Social y Cultura. Claves Olvidadas del Desarrollo*, INTAL Divulgation, Documento de Divulgacion 7, June 2000.

At the collective level, a positive social capital is characterized by trust, sense of responsibility towards a group, city, or territory, readiness to change, and a participatory attitude.

Guy Hermet reports that in the tradition of the Enlightenment's philosophical thoughts, these traits of individual and collective social capital translate into values that determine the day-to-day life of citizens and forms a "good" or a "bad" society. A "good" social capital is represented by the societies that follow these values in the following order of priority: 1. Respect of the laws, 2. Respect of religious values, 3. Respect of family values. A "bad" social capital is characteristic of societies that invert the hierarchy of values to the following order: 1. Respect of family values, 2. Respect of religious values, 3. Respect of the laws.³⁸

Douglass North³⁹ emphasizes the role that institutions play in shaping economic performances and how they co-determine (with technology) the cost of transaction and production, hence the competitiveness of markets. In turn, "institutions consist of formal rules and informal constraints (norms of behavior, conventions, and self-imposed codes of conduct), and the enforcement characteristics of both. In short, they consist of the structure that humans impose on their dealings with each other".⁴⁰ All these aspects are clearly determined by the culture of the "humans" involved.

According to a further refinement of the notion, social capital is also one of elements of the "holy tetra" of natural capital (natural resources), technical capital (physical and immaterial infrastructure, such as credit system and transportation system), and human capital (technical skills of humans). Social capital is defined as the way in which people and organizations interact, creating all the basic and necessary conditions for the other forms of capital

³⁸ Guy Hermet, *Culture et Développement*, Presse de la Fondation des Sciences Politiques, Paris, 2000.

³⁹ Douglass C. North, *Transaction Costs, Institutions, and Economic Performances*, International Center for Economic Growth, ICS Press, 1992.

⁴⁰ Douglass C. North, *Ibidem*.

to be put into action and defining the frame within which the different forms of capital will balance their impact and their efficiency. Moreover, according to Guy Hermet, social capital is the only capital that is not depleted with use, but on the contrary, increases.⁴¹

If social capital is this necessary element for the positive and fruitful mixing of the several forms of capital, and if it is also needed to determine the success or failure of any society, how can social capital be created or improved? It is interesting to see that many interpretations of social capital are quite passive. In Putman's words, the low social capital observed in present Southern Italy has been determined by centuries of vertical authority and relationships of clientelism, which in turn are a consequence of an authoritarian and centralized way of governing. Low social capital has created inefficient institutions and inefficient markets, which in turn will hinder any social and economic development. In other words, according to Putman, a person is condemned to underdevelopment, if his/her ancestors were the "wrong kind".

But the static position of considering the social capital as a *status quo* has been criticized at several levels. In order to break the negative cycle of little social capital, there have been experiments in Europe that have stressed the role of institutions into forging a different social capital. Many of these experiences started in Italy, with the *Patti Territoriali* (Territorial Pacts), a successful model later approved by the European Union and applied in almost all European countries (as of Spring 2001, 170 national Pacts and 10 pan-European Pacts have been approved). This model consists in creating artificial communities around – normally – industrial projects, that link the local and the global community through networks.⁴² The collaborative behavior that is a sign of significant social capital is not a pre-requisite (as Putnam

said), but it can be created by new rules and new institutions.

The Taboo of Non-Transferability of Experience. Can We Learn to Do Things Differently?

The experience with the *Patti Territoriali* has shown that once the basic notion of "the taboo of non-transferability of experience"⁴³, is broken, a new social capital can be forged on the basis of new rules introduced by efficient social policies. It is important to emphasize: I) the possibility of change over time (and consequently the important role of learning); ii) the contingency of values (some patterns of behavior can be positive for a specific moment of a society's development, and become obsolete afterwards); and iii) the particularity of values (within big cultural and social models there are broad variation, that should be taken into account).

The engine of such a change is a catalyzing idea around which many forces in the societies can gather and move towards a new way of "doing things." In this way a new culture is created⁴⁴

This paper argues that Culture [with the capital "C"] can be used as a catalytic asset to motivate people to do "thing differently" and with pleasure.

The main question raised herewith is: if social capital is a necessary condition for the functioning of a society and for the fruitful mixing of all forms of capital can we improve social capital through Cultural projects?

The question raised above should in this case be posed again in two forms: can culture [with small "c"] define social capital? Well, given the definition of culture [beliefs, the interpretation that people give to the world, cosmology] and of social capital [the way people interact] the connection is evident.

But the second question, one that addresses the core of this paper is: can Culture [with capital "C"] become a way to improve, enhance social

⁴¹ Guy Hermet, *Culture et Development*, Presse de la Fondation des Sciences Politiques, Paris, 2000.

⁴² Nicoletta Stame, *Local development and community based partnerships*, The World Bank conference, Evaluation and Development: the Partnership Dimension, July 23-25 2001

⁴³ Nicoletta Stame, *Ibidem*.

⁴⁴ Amartya Sen, *Culture and Development*, The World Bank, Tokyo Meeting, December 13, 2000.

capital? Or, to put it in more challenging terms: can a cathedral (or a museum, or an historic monument, etc.) improve the civic-mindedness of a person? It is argued that Capital assets have a symbolic function around which different parts of the population can coalesce. Nevertheless there are virtually very few projects that consciously use Culture in order to produce social capital, while in reality the potential is enormous.

It is observed an increasing demand for this use of Culture. Many indigenous people in Latin America, for example, are becoming more vocal about the wish to be integrated into the management, the use, the exploitation, the presentation, and the image connected with Culture (in this case with archeological sites).⁴⁵

This paper suggests that this delay in understanding the role of Culture as a factor for building social capital is determined by two reasons:

a. If we follow the pattern: history determines social capital, which determines institutions, the latter determine economic growth – it seems that Culture is nothing more than a simple crystallization of history. Culture is in this assumption only the “by-product” of a specific social capital, and not a way to determine it.

b. Culture is seen often as an “external” entity, detached from the real life of people, appreciated for its aesthetic and historic value, but not really necessary, therefore not able to improve trust, or civic-mindedness, or other positive elements of social capital.

On the contrary, this paper strongly suggests that Cultural Heritage and Living Culture have been, are, and will be the expression of a society and can be used as catalyzing elements to reinforce the trust among the people, their self-esteem, their sense of identity, all elements that form social capital.

When communities remember and learn to read their history and Culture, they move on the first step towards an awareness that could become the trigger for changing the ways things are done, without the insistence that established traditions should be followed because of religious or secular authorities.

When communities open their attention to the many expressions of Living Culture from all the components of their population, they open the path for integration and mutual respect, which is the base for trust and consequently of empowered social capital.

⁴⁵ Interview with Anne Deruyttere, Chief Indigenous People Div. IADB, July 24, 2001.

Theater has been used in many parts of the world to disseminate knowledge about an event, to awake awareness, to celebrate one's group culture, and other objectives. Examples are the theater performed on the ruins of the Sarajevo's library or in the Rio's *favelas* about real, daily problems of those communities. Theater is a sophisticated and very effective form of social capital building. One very important case has been the Sna jtz'iba theater in Chiapas, Mexico, probably one of the oldest forms of indigenous theater in Mexico.

Education and cultural roots¹

Since its creation, more than 25 years ago, the Sna jtz'iba theater in Chiapas has been revolutionary in several aspects: a) it has been one of the first theaters to work and perform only with indigenous people; b) it has been the first to have in its team women (who later founded an autonomous first indigenous only-women theater company in Mexico), c) it coordinates and manages an extensive language program in indigenous language that has already reached 5,000 people. The themes performed take inspiration both from the mythology and from the daily problems of the communities (violence, poverty, immigration, etc.). The activity of the theater has improved the integration among the communities of indigenous people and disseminating knowledge about their culture among the *mestizo* population. The racism is still a plague, but the impact in terms of visibility of the indigenous culture has conducted to the creation of a Government financed unit for the support of Indian Art and Literature.

The awareness of their roots and demand for theater and classes in traditional language are very strong,

A constant problem for Latin America's societies is the discrimination against large part of its population.¹ Cultural expression is a way to improve the voice of the excluded and, on the other hand, it is a way to improve their "appeal". Culture and art can become the best ambassadors for different parts of the society. If social capital is trust and cooperation, and it is easier to cooperate with people we consider more similar to us, the question is not the homogenization, but the extension of the range of criteria by which we consider something or somebody similar to us. Knowing something is the first step, and living Culture is a very pleasant way to making ourselves more aware of others.

(See Annex)

Trinidad, steel drums. Music and pride¹

Laventville is a low-income, crowded, hillside community, who has been stigmatized as uneducated and bad-mannered. Over a decade ago, the residents decided to take their destiny in their own hands and fight these psychological and economic handicaps.

Rooted in the pride of the creation of the original musical genre of the steel drum music, local committees promoted fundraising with private businesses to improve the neighborhood. The first activity was to develop a cleaning campaign for the environment. This project was extremely successful: the cleaner environment made a huge difference in the way people felt about their neighborhood and it also developed a higher environmental awareness. Parallel to this nascent feeling of civic pride thanks to the general engagement in these beautification projects, the international success of steel drum music has attracted interest and appreciation to Laventville. Residents expect that this will be an important turnaround for the neighborhood, attracting tourists to the birthplace of steel drums, in an appealing and clean environment. Steel drum music has become a sign of distinction for the residents, taught to children, it helps them develop discipline and pride in their own local music and identity.

Case Study: Renaissance of a City. Naples, Cultural Heritage and Civic-mindedness.

It may be important to emphasize the role of learning in the understanding the value of preserving or

promoting a Culture. The interpretation of ancient art as “boring” and “static” can be changed, as mentioned before, by the way in which this form of art is presented.

**A new perception of the own cultural heritage
Naples’ children adopt a monument¹**

Naples is a large city (population of over 2 million) with an impressive historic and Cultural landscape. The physical Cultural heritage of Naples is concentrated in the historic center, in which deterioration, traffic congestion, pollution, crime, and overcrowding had imposed a high price on the fabric of the city. One central problem was the estrangement of the Neapolitans from their town, which translated into low Civic-mindedness. According with the studies on social capital (see Putnam) Civic-mindedness is an essential element for a functioning public sector and consequently for the efficiency of a city.

In 1984, Mirella Stampa Barracco and Maurizio Barracco, members of the city’s upper class, created the foundation “Napoli 99”. The foundation promotes and disseminates the knowledge of the cultural heritage in Naples and, more in general, of Southern Italy. The foundation uses its activities of conferences, exhibits, restorations, publications as the tools to reach a broader aim: “to act concretely in the social fabric, sensitizing the citizens to a higher degree awareness towards cultural heritage; with the assumption that this latter could be an important economic opportunity, an element of identity and cohesion, and source of income”.¹ Fortunately, the activity of the foundation was supported by a growing interest of the public administration for the revitalization of the city. The fruitful cooperation between the foundation within the larger program of public administration has deeply transformed the city. Many parts of the historic center are now closed to traffic, large parts of the center have been readopted by the citizens, while street lighting has improved, criminality has been reduced, pride and awareness are reinforced. There is a strong general perception of the city’s renaissance, while many Neapolitans have started to feel again pride for their city (which is epitomized by the larger number of Cultural events and increased number of participants, as well by the expressions in several occasions – newspapers, interviews, etc. – of their pride).

In this example, one of the most successful projects of the Napoli ’99 foundation has been the special program: *La scuola adotta un monumento* (The school adopts a monument). The project, initiated in 1992, is one of continuing education to respect Cultural heritage and of natural and architectural landscape. The project moves from the understanding of the central role of schools in building the new citizens and views in the youth the privileged subject for the understanding of a new concept of Cultural goods. Students from different grades were in charge of specific monuments of their neighborhood. “Adopting” the monuments not only implies knowing its history, but also being responsible for its maintenance and understanding its anthropological connection to the living fabric of the city and taking the monument under a “spiritual” wing as the symbol of the cultural roots and identity of the children.

According to the comments of visiting tourists, including Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton¹, the project has been extremely popular and successful. Children now welcome local visitors and tourists with pride at the adopted monuments. Schools from other cities in Italy and Europe are requesting to become part of the network. The children offer guide services and have developed a new perception of their position in the city, as well as esteem for their own work. This large success has induced many other cities in Italy to introduce the program, and to build a network among themselves. One of the projects of the national network has been “*La scuola adotta un monumento*” verso *nuove frontiere* (The school adopts a monument: towards new frontiers). This project involved the creation by each school of a plastic 3D model of the adopted monument. All the monuments will be collected in Naples to form the first museum of this type for the blinds.

The Italian national network is now expanding to European cities, forming a network that includes one single city per country, chosen for its representational value.

Condition of success:

- a) The activity of *Napoli ’99* has been supported by the public administration, both the municipality and the Ministry of education.
- b) The project on Schools is part of a larger program of promotion of the city. Financial support has been assured by the EU.
- c) The project started with an initiative of the upper class. The motivation was twofold: on one level, there was the interest of some supporters for projects involving schools, given their professional and academic background in education. On the other level, there was a spirit of “*revanche*” of the intellectual *alv*, that finds its roots in the Naples revolution of 1799 (from which the name of the foundation).¹

Case Study: Trinidad: Building integration and self-esteem through living culture

How a working-class suburb in Trinidad is turning itself into a musical mecca

The Port of Spain suburb of Laventille, a low-income hillside community of small, densely-packed houses, is considered the birthplace of steel band music. But ever since it was settled by freed African slaves in the 1840s, its residents have had a bad reputation. The loud and rowdy Laventille drum bands that paraded through Port of Spain streets during Carnival and often fought among themselves didn't help the image. "Too many people in this country still see any type of crass behavior as almost exclusively resulting from a Laventille upbringing," says Trinidad journalist Terry Joseph. "It is as though the area has successfully claimed some kind of monopoly on lawlessness and vice." For a young girl from Laventille and other girls apply for the same job," says Horace Raymond, a Laventille civic leader, "you can rest your head on a block that the one from Laventille won't get it because of the stigma." But for over a decade now, Laventille's residents have been working not only to change this image but also to turn Laventille into a tourist attraction. A 1991 IDB environmental loan, which earmarked \$940,000 for storm drainage works and parks in Laventille, seems to have had a catalytic role in stimulating this quest for respectability. Laventille's transformation from slum to proud community actually began during the mid-1980s when this petroleum-exporting country prospered from high oil prices and Laventille residents started replacing their "box-board" houses of rough-cut lumber and corrugated metal roofs with concrete block homes.

In 1989, local civic leader Horace Raymond says he helped to persuade the government to make an abandoned building at the foot of Picton Hill available to the neighborhood for a community center to replace one that had burned down years before. The new center was named after Spree Simon, who Laventille residents proudly claim is the "father" of the steel band for being the first person to tune a steel drum, transforming it from a simple percussion instrument to one capable of playing a full range of notes. In the early 1990s, residents began to form neighborhood committees to seek funding from private businesses to finance cleanup campaigns in return for posted advertising signs. "We told them that we were unemployed and we wanted work," recalls Raymond, "and that we would clean up the area if they paid us for the maintenance. It wasn't easy." But erosion and flooding were a constant problem. There were no storm drains to channel rainwater down the steep hillsides. Silt and garbage washed down from the hills, clogging canals that drain the runoff to the sea and flooding homes and businesses.

The IDB loan financed eight large drainage works to eliminate these problems. But the project had several objectives, says Andrew Brewster, the IDB sector specialist who helped to design and supervise the project. One of them was to help create neighborhood firms to do the construction work. "We had 15 groups come in here," recalls Brewster. "When they realized that this was not going to be a handout, people started dropping out. But we got five or six really strong groups formed. The objective was that once they had finished the job they would be able to bid on other government jobs." Brewster says that two of the groups are still in business. One of them, the Successful Laventille Networking Committee, runs an after-school homework center where local students can get assistance from tutors. The project also included funds to turn several vacant lots into landscaped parks, including lots next to the panyards of two of Laventille's oldest, biggest, and best steel bands, the WITCO Desperadoes and Carib Tokyo. According to Brewster, the sites were selected next to the panyards because the two orchestras were the oldest civil society organizations in Laventille and it was easy to involve them in helping to create these new parks.

"There is a correlation in terms of how you feel about where you live once it is cleaner and brighter," says Jacqueline Huggins, regional coordinator for Trinidad's Community Development Fund and a Laventille resident. "Once your environment is clean and tidy, you feel better." "It is one of the most rewarding projects I've worked on," says Brewster. "In terms of impact, this project made a big difference in people's lives. More important, it raised the level of environmental awareness." The IDB-financed drainage works and neighborhood parks, which were completed in June 1995, contributed to a nascent feeling of civic pride in Laventille. In 1993, seven neighborhood committees lined together to form the Laventille and Environs Beautification Committee (LAEBCO). In the process, Raymond says he spent so much time away from his family that his wife divorced him. "Community work mashes up family life," he says. "I just tell myself that somebody has to do it. I like seeing things done and I just keep going."

In 1994, Trinidad and Tobago Instruments Ltd., built a new factory in Laventille, where it now employs 50 people and manufactures 12,000 professional and semiprofessional steel pan instruments a year, exporting 90 percent of its production to Europe, Japan and the United States. In 1997, LAEBCO got funding from the government to paint huge likenesses of Trinidad's two national birds, the elegant scarlet ibis and the coco loco, on the sides of the tanks atop Picton Hill and the notes of a steel pan on top of the tanks. The tanks now dominate the Laventille from land and air. Today, at least 15 steel pan orchestras are headquartered in Laventille. In an effort to attract tourists, Laventille launched its own steelband festival in 1995 to celebrate its central role in the development of the instrument. Laventille's newest steel band, the Harlem Syncopators, was formed in late 1998 by pan pioneer and native Laventille resident Daisy McClean, who spent \$3,200 of her own money and donations to purchase 20 pans and \$1,280 more to build a small panyard to get neighborhood kids off the streets at night. The group practices five nights a week.

"It gives the kids discipline," she says, "because you have to come to the panyard at a certain time and you have to practice. I like to see the kids playing. There's a sense of pride in Laventille today to do something for the community. You can't wait on the government for everything." Today, LAEBCO is trying to raise funds to restore the old English Fort Picton on Picton Hill and turn it into a tourism office. Residents now talk about the day when tour buses will bring loads of cruise ship tourists to Laventille to see the birthplace of the steel pan and the water tanks atop Picton Hill, hear the Desperadoes practice, buy crafts and eat local foods.

It will be quite a turnaround for this singular neighborhood.

Other Examples

Self-esteem and historic past. Cuzco, Peru¹

On the way to visit the famous destination of Macchu Picchu, international tourism stops in Cuzco. Located in the Peruvian Andes, Cuzco developed, under the Inca ruler Pachacutec, into a complex urban alvan with distinct religious and administrative functions. It was surrounded by clearly delineated areas for agricultural, artisan and industrial production. When the Spaniards conquered it in the 16th century, they maintained its structure but built Baroque churches and palaces over the ruins of the Indian city. The Cultural tourism projects and their impact on the environment and population have stressed the negative aspects of raised living costs and increased poverty. However, the large international interest for their glorious past has improved self-esteem and pride in the indigenous people, in social capital terms reducing their poverty. It should be emphasized as well that having a large flow of tourists coming to the area has given to the indigenous people means for living (even with the negative burden of increased costs of living that reduce the positive effect of tourism). As in the words of a local: "we are proud that so many people want to see our past".

Violence and symbolic function. The Yemanja celebration, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil¹

On New Year's Eve tens of thousands of people gather to pay homage to Yemanja, the goddess of the sea. With flowers and candles, they perform the ancient rituals dressed in white. At midnight, the mass of humanity rushes into the sea, carrying flowers and gifts for the goddess. If the waves claim their offerings, the worshippers know that the goddess will grant their prayers for the new year. The interesting aspect in terms of social capital is that the symbolic function of the celebration coalesces so strongly people that there are not moments of violence or delinquency registered during the night, even with a so large mass in movement.

In conclusion, living culture and culture heritage can be excellent instruments for improving the self-esteem of people. Psychologists observed in the analysis of social behavior⁴⁶ that self-esteem and social skills are elements that will determine the performance of children and adults, defining their ability to read the relations among people, controlling their violence, helping them to realize their projects. If this form of social intelligence is absent, children could interpret any failure as a sign of their low value and develop depression.

CULTURE AND POLICY

The choice of methods for the evaluation of Cultural projects is connected with the decision-making process of allocating resources. Many countries in the world consider Culture almost as a luxury expenditure (or as PR costs) and, at the first sign of recession, cut the expenses for Culture dramatically.

The thesis of this paper is that both culture and Culture are essential for:

- a) The quality of life of a country (quality that – as we saw – should be the final aim of every development project).
- b) For its identity,
- c) For reaffirming its creativity for the future and maintaining strong connection and understanding of the fabric of the society,

⁴⁶ Daniel Goleman, *Emotional Intelligence*, Bantam Books, 1995.

- d) For promoting images, memories, pleasure that are the base of many economic activities (used – for example – for tourism purposes). It has been emphasized that ideas, creativity, and originality are the real conditions for market competition. These qualities can be reinforced by exposure to Culture, both as users and as creators.⁴⁷

This paper supports the idea that access to Culture is an essential aim for development. Access to Culture⁴⁸ can include I) More equal access to participation in the supply of Cultural services to consumers, e.g. does everyone have access to employment as an actor or a violinist if she/he would have the talent and/or the wish to? ii) Access to participation in the decision-making process of Cultural policies, iii) Passive consumption of Cultural services (attending a play), or active (playing a piano).

Particularly for the low-income people, studies have shown that their access to Culture is strongly limited for two main reasons: 1. Most data collection on Cultural expressions does not adequately capture the ways in which low-income people value and understand art and Culture⁴⁹, 2. There are higher barriers for the access of the low-income people to so-called “high” Culture:

- a. Monetary (i. Cost of admission, ii. Price of complementary goods or services, iii. Ancillary costs coming from attending Culture outside the home).
- b. Non-Monetary (physical and psychic).
 - Culture is centralized not only towards cities, but also within larger cities. It can be difficult to reach it (for example, if the only theater is in the wealthier part of the city and there is not efficient public transportation).

⁴⁷Shalini Venturelli, Associate Professor of International Communication Policy, American University, Workshop on Creativity and Development, WBI, The World Bank, Fall 2001.

⁴⁸ John W O’ Hagan, *Access to and Participation in the Arts: the case of Low Incomes*, Journal of Cultural Economics, No. 20, 1996.

⁴⁹ SAIP social group. Penn University , Working papers, 2000.

- Productions, for economic scale in promotion, are geared on majority taste, so that part of the population is not represented.
- Preferences. So-called “high” Culture does rarely use the expression’s media appreciated by the low-income people (e.g. cinema and traditional art/music events).

The limited access should become the first target of every development policy that uses Culture as development tool and aim.

Institutional Capacity

During the research for this paper, it became clear that the institutional component is essential in any Cultural project, even if the private participation is massive. In many countries in the world, Culture maintenance and promotion is competence of public institutions (State, municipality, Church, etc.). If a project aims to promote the access to, the use, and the promotion of Culture there are conflicting interests come into play: on one side, the public sector in charge of the maintenance and protection of the Cultural sector will or not be able or willing to compromise on the preservation aspects (that are very often negatively affected by the use); on the other side, the private sector that could be called into play has specific goals and interests that can conflict with the ones of the public sector (mainly the perspective of short versus long- term use and existence of the Cultural assets).

Finally, the demand for services by the private citizens, both the population living in proximity of the Cultural assets or visiting it, is not the same. Among others we can recall demand for i) educational, ii) recreational services, iii) extractive, iv) facilitation of the access (both in terms of infrastructure and information).

In this frame of reference, this paper suggests that the development of the institutional component and its capacity building should be a central concern within development Cultural projects. Experience indicates that a competent, strong institutional counterpart and initiator (if not even leader of the project) is important in any Cultural project.

In terms of capacity building, it is essential to train/expose the institution in charge of the Cultural assets in Cultural management. In particular, in Latin America most of the Cultural heritage is owed by a public institution (State, municipality, Church) while the interests come from different sectors of societies, who have different values and attribute different symbolic meaning to the Cultural assets. If the public sector is a main actor in any Cultural project, its strengthening is essential. The expertise in Cultural management would have several effects:

- a. Developing within the institution the understanding of the logic of the private sector (both in terms of sponsor or partner in a project's component) and consequently improving the cooperation between private and public sector.^{50/51}
- b. Promoting the capacity of the public sector to manage efficiently in the long term the project, being able to combine on one side the long term needs of protection and maintenance of a non-renewable Cultural asset, and the on the other hand the access and use of it.
- c. Promoting the use of resources (both human and physical) within and beyond the project, and help creating social capital within the institution and between the institution and its partners, both public and private.
- d. Developing expertise in project management according to more economic means that can be used in many other fields of the institution's life (e.g. creating a local or regional promotion campaign, or developing new educational services with schools, or doing effective fund raising, etc.)

A single project in Culture does not have its effects principally in income generation, but in improving some tangible and some intangible

⁵⁰ Fabrizio Barca, *La Valorizzazione della Cultura, Risorsa per lo Sviluppo del Mezzogiorno*, in *Economia della Cultura*, Vol. 2,

Mulino Editore, Bologna, 2000.

⁵¹ Martine Tridde, Secretary General Paribas Foundation, France, in: *Financing, Resources, and the Economics of Culture in Sustainable Development*, world conference organized by The World Bank, UNESCO, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Italy, Florence, October 4-7, 1999.

components that have been demonstrated essential to development (such as infrastructure, access to Cultural assets, identity, self-esteem, creativity, integration, trust, etc.). Strengthening the institution in charge means building the basis that sustains in the long term all the tangible and intangible effects of the project.

The case of Italy

In 1996 the European Commission on Regional Policies affirmed the importance of Cultural potential for the development of economic systems in some of the less privileged regions of Europe.⁵² The interest of the EU was not limited to the restoration of single Cultural resources, but aimed at broader objectives:

- a. A balanced and sustainable development of the entire territory, in which the Culture represents one of the elements that contribute to the protection of the environment. \
- b. The revitalization of the context in which Culture is located (historic cities, rural areas, natural parks etc.).
- c. The development of networks and circuits that connecting the different Cultural resources (both heritage and living), allows promoting of an entire area. In the intents⁵³ of the European Union, the creation of networks allows to each single element (e.g. historic city or festival of theater) to maintain its individuality and specificity, while reaching a broader exposure because presented together with other events/monuments. An example is the circuit Villages d'Europe, which while promoting a tourism package that offers more services to the tourists (e.g. a booking systems for the hotels of several villages in the circuit) in the same time maintains the individuality of each village that does not have to conform to any structural standard (no effect Club Mediterranee').

⁵² Ministero del Tesoro, *Rapporto Interinale Settoriale, Tavolo Settoriale Beni Culturali*, CIPE No. 140 December 22, 1998

⁵³ Ministero del Tesoro, *Rapporto Interinale Settoriale, Tavolo Settoriale Beni Culturali*, CIPE No. 140 December 22, 1998

Based on this agreement, a very important experience is developing currently in Italy, where – for the first time in the European Union – one of the strategies for the development for the EU funds dedicated to the development of its poorest regions, is based on Culture. The previous Italian government has conducted a long legal battle to be allowed by the EU to invest in the Cultural strategy. The decision was based on the understanding by a pool of Italian economists that Culture was an essential and strategic asset for development.^{54/55/56}

The program will include:

- a. Archeological sites
- b. Monuments in historic centers
 - Restoration of architectural complexes that offer Cultural services (archives, libraries, museums, universities, academies, etc.)
 - Landscapes
 - Infrastructure for performing arts
 - Increasing services in libraries (connecting them in networks, new media, etc.)
 - Creation of new laboratories for restoration
 - Increasing security in archeological sites, museums, churches
 - Promoting knowledge of the historic and Cultural patrimony (document and music archives, Risk-map for natural and Cultural resources, etc.)

In terms of employment, the objectives are: a) development of new professions connected with the Cultural patrimony, b) promotion of traditional professions connected with the Cultural patrimony (restoration, maintenance, etc.).

Funds for the program are insured by:

⁵⁴ Fabrizio Barca, *La Valorizzazione della Cultura, Risorsa per lo Sviluppo del Mezzogiorno*, in: *Economia della Cultura*, Vol. 2, 2000.

⁵⁵ Ministero del Tesoro, *ASSE II "RISORSE CULTURALI" (Spiegazione in termini di massimizzazione delle crescita / Capacità di creare occupazione / Altre integrazioni e informazioni)*, Internal Working Paper, Ministry of Treasury, Italy, 2001.

⁵⁶ Ministero del Tesoro, *Asse Risorse Culturali*, Internal Working Paper, Ministry of Treasury, Italy, 2001.

- a. Structural funds from the European Union
- b. Special national funds from the national budget to the Ministry of Culture (which is undergoing a substantial institutional-building process) (\$200 million for the 1998-2001 period)
- c. Since 1998 the national Lottery transfers funds to the Ministry of Culture for programs in depressed regions (planned \$292 millions for 1998-2001)
- d. New fiscal law (approved in June 2001) for the complete deductibility of donations for Cultural patrimony.

The approach is integrated, which means that interventions on restoration, on training, on support to local entrepreneurs, infrastructure, etc. are programmed and developed at the same moment.

In fact, in terms of institution building, the program of the Ministry of Treasury has promoted a “porosity” among institutions, so that competence from one administration can flow into the other. Also, the projects are designed with the highest transparency, so that both public administration and civil society (in form of associations of citizens) can participate in both the *ex ante*, and *ex post* evaluation. The knowledge transfer within the higher level of the administration is insured by new special commissions, led by functionaries (with a high level of autonomy) from the Ministry of Culture. The regional commissions are composed by decision-makers from the private and public sectors that negotiate and monitor the implementation of each single project.⁵⁷

Since 1997, with the so-called *Bassanini* law⁵⁸, part of the national Cultural heritage, that was until that law completely competence of State and Church, has become part of the Region’s responsibilities, moreover the law promotes private/public partnerships.

In the day-to-day experiences of the economists promoting⁵⁹ this program, the process is showing

⁵⁷ Fabrizio Barca, *La Valorizzazione della Cultura, Risorsa per lo Sviluppo del Mezzogiorno*, Ib.

⁵⁸ Law 112/97 on the Regional Devolution.

⁵⁹ Interview with Benedetta Stratta, Economist,

very positive results in terms of building social capital in the civil society, institutional strengthening, increased services to the communities, and rapidly increasing revenues from the Cultural sites (numbers of exhibits, number of visitors in museums and archeological sites, number of museum-shops).^{60/61} The positive effects in terms of increased social capital are perceived in higher efficiency of other non-Cultural projects in the regions. *Ex post* indicators have not yet been collected (December 2001), but among the economists there is a perception of a positive process that is undergoing. For example, the reading on the higher success of projects developed after the implementation of Cultural projects given by the economists⁶² operating on Sicily's projects is that Cultural projects have an higher level of complexity that require an higher level of cooperation among the actors.

The factors determining this success were:

Decentralization

- i. The closer connection between the Cultural project (e.g. museum, or theater, or restoration of a monument, etc.) and the authority in charge.
- ii) The broader political interest for the local authority to intervene in the project.
- iii) A more efficient and less bureaucratic management of the project.
- iv) For certain regions, the larger availability of resources coming from local taxation and not from central allocation.

Ministry of Treasury, Rome, December 2001.

⁶⁰ Interviews with Giampiero Marchesi, head of the Cultural Program in the Special Unit dedicated to Development; Benedetta Stratta, Task Manager for Cultural Programs in Sicily, Ministry of Treasury, May-July 2001.

⁶¹ Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, *Rapporto 2000, Politiche, Iniziative e Progetti del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali*. Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, Dipartimento per l'Informazione e l'Editoria

⁶² Interview with Benedetta Stratta, July, December 2001.

Social Capital

For certain regions, a deeper understanding by the population of the significance and importance of that particular aspect of the regional Cultural heritage (higher social capital).

Technical resources

The possibility for the Regions to use the central (mainly technical) resources of the Ministry of Culture in case of necessity with the respect of the laws on landscape preservation and architectural integrity. (Note: These laws were among the most advanced in Europe and have been very recently changed by the central government). The application or creation of laws that allowed the opening of new professions in the Cultural sector, as well a broader participation of the private sector.

Capacity Building

A series of three excellent and far-sighted ministers of Culture who believed in the role of Culture as economic promoter. The introduction for the first time of public economists as advisors to the ministry of culture.

Marketing/Communication

An intense and effective marketing campaign organized by the Ministry of Culture towards the promotion of the idea of living Culture and Cultural heritage as economic and social asset for the country. This opened the path of a chain reaction that involved on one side a larger interest for the private companies to intervene in the Cultural sector and on the academic side, the creation of countless new university courses on Culture and related professions. For example, one leading Italian university for management and economics⁶³ is offering extremely successful new *curricula studiorum* which include management of cultural organizations, management of fashion companies, management of design companies, management of performing arts organizations.

⁶³ Interview with a co-founder of the new curricula, Guido Guerzoni, Associate Professor, Università L. Bocconi, Milan, Italy, November 2001.

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