The Cultural Turn in International Aid

*The Cultural Turn in International Aid* is one of the first volumes to analyze a wide and comprehensive range of issues related to culture and international aid in a critical and constructive manner. Assessing why international aid is provided for cultural projects, rather than for other causes, the book also considers whether and how donor-funded cultural projects can address global challenges, including post-conflict recovery, building peace and security, strengthening resilience, or promoting human rights.

With contributions from experts around the globe, this volume critically assesses the impact of international aid, including the diverse power relations and inequalities it creates, and the interests it serves at international, national, and local levels. The book also considers projects that have failed and analyses the reasons for their failure, drawing out lessons learnt and considering what could be done better in the future. Contributors to the volume also consider the influence of donors in privileging some forms of culture over others, creating or maintaining specific memories, identities, and interpretations of history, and their reasons for doing so. These rich discussions are contextualized through a historical section, which considers the definitions, approaches, and discourses related to culture and aid at international and regional levels.

Providing consideration of manifold manifestations of culture, *The Cultural Turn in International Aid* will be of great interest to scholars, students, and practitioners. It will be particularly useful for those engaged in the study of heritage, anthropology, international aid and development, international relations, humanitarian studies, community development, cultural studies, politics, or sociology.

Sophia Labadi is a Professor of Heritage and Archaeology at the University of Kent in the UK.
There is a burgeoning interest among academics, practitioners, and policymakers in the relationships between ‘culture’ and ‘development’. This embraces the now well recognized need to adopt culturally sensitive approaches in development practice, the necessity of understanding the cultural dimensions of development, and more specifically the role of culture for development. Culture, in all its dimensions, is a fundamental component of sustainable development, and throughout the world we are seeing an increasing number of governmental and non-governmental agencies turning to culture as a vehicle for economic growth, for promoting social cohesion, stability, and human well-being, and for tackling environmental issues. At the same time, there has been remarkably little critical debate around this relationship, and even less concerned with the interventions of cultural institutions or creative industries in development agendas. The objective of the Routledge Studies in Culture and Development series is to fill this lacuna and provide a forum for reaching across academic, practitioner, and policy-maker audiences.

The series editors welcome submissions for single- and jointly authored books and edited collections concerning issues such as the contribution of museums, heritage and cultural tourism to sustainable development; the politics of cultural diplomacy; cultural pluralism and human rights; traditional systems of environmental management; cultural industries and traditional livelihoods; and culturally appropriate forms of conflict resolution and post-conflict recovery.

Global Heritage Assemblages, Development and Modern Architecture in Africa
Christoph Rausch

The Cultural Turn in International Aid: Impacts and Challenges for Heritage and the Creative Industries
Edited by Sophia Labadi

The Cultural Turn in International Aid
Impacts and Challenges for Heritage and the Creative Industries

Edited by
Sophia Labadi
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1 The cultural turn in international aid? Setting the scene

Sophia Labadi

International aid is often associated with humanitarian assistance. Humanitarian assistance is arguably the most visible aspect of international aid because it is often reported in the press. Images of planes full of basic necessities fill news reports as noticeable responses to natural or man-made disasters, such as the 2010 Haiti Earthquake, the 2017 landslides and flooding in Nepal or the ongoing Syrian Civil War. Yet, humanitarian assistance is only one aspect of international aid. For researchers in the United Kingdom, international aid might increasingly be associated with the Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF), a portion of the UK official international development aid dedicated to practical research that addresses the challenges faced by developing countries. Some academics have readily and enthusiastically engaged with this fund, applied to its numerous schemes and implemented projects tackling global challenges, including poverty and inequality, gender equality or climate change. However, some academics have shown some resistance, especially in the Humanities (AHRC, 2018) to implement such a scheme and the GCRF has faced similar criticisms as the wider international aid machine. For some, these schemes further neocolonialist approaches where they operate asymmetrical power relations between the Global North and South and top-down approaches (Noxolo, 2017: 342–344).

Despite its importance and also its controversial nature, surprisingly little has been written on international aid and culture. A greater consideration of culture has often been presented as a way of addressing some of the criticisms just expressed of the international aid machine (The World Bank, 2001; Sen, 2004: 37–58). Previous publications on this topic have assessed whether taking greater account of local communities and their culture (defined as the knowledge, beliefs and customs of a society) has helped to address the shortfalls of externally imposed development projects (Escobar, 1995; Rao and Walton, 2004; Mosse, 2005), the impacts of cultural identities and cultural diversity on aid-funded development projects (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010) or the approaches and impacts of specific international organizations on heritage and development (Labadi, 2017a: 45–69; Lafrenz Samuels, 2018).
The present volume of commissioned papers moves beyond existing publications. Whilst a number of books take for granted the cultural turn in international aid (Willis, 2005; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010), this volume takes a different stand. Its main aim is to discuss whether and how cultural projects funded through international aid fulfil the characteristics of the cultural turn. It is through such questioning that a real critical assessment of aid-funded cultural projects can happen. This volume is also unique in its broadened understanding of international aid, not considered solely as economic development, but also as human development as well as cultural and heritage diplomacy. Such understanding aims to complicate the discussions on international aid and culture. This volume defines culture primarily as intangible and tangible heritage, cultural and creative industries as well as the creative economy. Heritage (sometimes associated with creative products) is the only cultural form directly mentioned in the 2015 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, the framework that guides international aid spending until 2030. For this reason, it is fundamental to describe the connections between international aid and such understanding of culture. This is another aim of this volume.

To explain further these points and aims, the introduction starts by clarifying the notion of international aid and charting its origins. It then discusses the multifarious dimensions of the cultural turn in international aid covered in this volume. This introduction then details the selection of authors in this volume. The final section details a running concern of this volume: the need for critical self-reflexive questioning.

**International aid: the White Man’s Burden?**

International aid can be defined, rather restrictively, as the voluntary transfer of public resources from donor governments, usually rich countries from the Global North to developing ones, multilateral institutions (such as the UN and its specialized agencies) and nongovernmental organizations. This transfer of resources is accompanied by the transfer of ideas, values and practices from the Global North to the South. Such aid aims to promote the economic development and welfare of developing countries, including democracy building and reconstruction, humanitarian relief, or the prevention and mitigation of conflicts. With the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals in 2000 and the Sustainable Development Goals in 2015 by the United Nations (see chapter by Labadi, this volume), international aid increasingly aims to tackle global challenges, including poverty, climate change and gender equality. This type of international aid is also referred to as ‘official development assistance’ (ODA), a term coined by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and its Development Assistance Committee in an effort to measure international aid flow. This committee is made of the 29 major donor countries, including the US, France, the UK and Australia. This committee compiles a list of countries
that can receive ODA every three years, identifying ‘least developed countries’, ‘other low-income countries’, ‘lower middle-income countries or territories’ and ‘upper middle-income countries and territories’, according to their per capita gross national income (GNI). For the proponents of international aid, this system is important as it monitors the percentage of the GNI provided by donors as ODA. Through this system, the OECD can check which countries reach the goal of allocating 0.7% of their GNI on ODA. This figure of 0.7% is rather arbitrary, but most countries do not reach the threshold. For instance, it was not until 2013 that the UK became the first G7 country to spend 0.7% of its GNI on international aid, in the wake of the ‘IF campaign’ and ‘Make Poverty History’ movements. Conversely, Australian international aid is at its least generous level ever, at just 0.23% of GNI, as explained by Logan in this volume (DPC, ANU 2018).

For critics, this model maintains the two invented categories of ‘developed’ and ‘developing world’, as well as their associated asymmetrical power relations with the domination and control of developing countries by developed ones (Escobar, 1995). Knowledge and power to define and describe “The Other”/recipients of international aid’ is bestowed upon donors in this system. In addition, whilst official international aid might be understood as a benevolent system where rich countries’ disinterested goal is to make the world a better place, in reality a number of major donor countries use aid to fulfil their own national priorities and to strengthen their trade and investment opportunities. The UK and Australia have made clear that they will use international aid to further their own national interests (DfID, 2015). That international aid is tied to the national agenda of donors and not the needs of receiving countries has fuelled debates about the nature and effectiveness of international aid (Mosse and Lewis, 2005).

However, it is rather restrictive to define international aid as the official public resources spent by donor countries from the Global North for the development and welfare of developing nations. International aid is increasingly fragmented and complex. South–South cooperation between countries has been a reality since the Bandung conference of 1955 that aimed to promote nonaligned, postcolonial economic, cultural and political cooperation in the Asian–African region (Gray and Gills, 2016: 557). South–South cooperation has been reinvigorated with the economic achievements of the so-called BRICS countries: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. Whether these new dynamics are reproducing existing power relations and geographies of inequalities, imposing neocolonialist agendas and promoting outdated notions of progress are issues for debate that go beyond the realm of this volume.

Nongovernmental and not-for-profit organizations are also major actors of the international aid landscape. They often fund their activities through voluntary contributions and government grants. An increasing number of these organizations originate from and work in the Global South on contemporary challenges, although the market is still dominated by institutions from the
Global North that might be better known, such as Oxfam or Save the Children. The scandals that have hit a number of these organizations, for example the revelation in early 2018 of Oxfam staff sexually exploiting victims of the 2010 Haiti earthquake and reports of funds mismanagement, have resulted in distrust from public and private donors. This, coupled with new social media platforms and the easiness of fundraising through crowdfunding or social networks has led to fragmentation and individualized approaches to international aid making. For example, the French social media star Jerôme Jarre was able to raise nearly $4,000,000 to aid people in Somalia in September 2017, from his 15 million followers across social media. These new models are flexible and can raise significant funds quickly. Yet, these approaches might also lack in-depth understanding of the complex geopolitical situations on the ground, and a long-term vision (see also the chapter by Kurlanska in this volume).

The present volume adopts a definition of international aid as a fragmented landscape, to reflect fully on its multifarious and complex forms. The first section discusses the intellectual framework and approaches to international aid and culture by multilateral agencies, including UNESCO, the European Union and the World Bank. The other two sections focus on bilateral aid provided by governments, NGOs and humanitarian agencies. These sections also discuss the impacts of aid for receiving countries and on tackling global challenges.

The roots of international aid can be traced back to colonialization (Eyben, 2014: 22–40). Colonization was an enterprise of exploitation, repression, subjugation and alienation (Loomba, 2005). It was also conceived, for some, as ‘well-intentioned’, with the aim to bring civilization, education, progress and the latest scientific and medical discoveries to the colonial world. In the words of Kipling’s poem, colonization is *The White Man’s Burden*: ‘To fill full the mouth of Famine / and bid the sickness cease’ (Kipling, 1899). Some heritage sites from colonial times depict the White Man’s Burden. The Musée National de l’Histoire de l’Immigration in Paris, for instance, is housed in what used to be the Palace of the Colonies, built in 1931 for the International Colonial Exhibition. Frescoes decorating the walls of the function room, executed by Pierre Ducos de la Haille, celebrate the ‘civilizing’ and ‘positive roles’ that France played in its then colonies, as well as the ‘positive contributions’ brought, including medicine, justice or science (Labadi, 2013, 2017b). There is a continuity between the work of colonization and international aid, with the aim of aid being to bring progress, development and welfare to receiving countries.

This continuity can also be seen as characterizing the 1950s and 1960s with the fast expansion of specialized intergovernmental agencies from the United Nations and the World Bank, as well as the creation of departments on international aid within national governments. These institutions recruited staff and consultants with colonial service backgrounds (Kapur et al., 1997; Kothari, 2006: 118–136; Murphy, 2008; Eyben, 2014: 38). Eyben even mentions that her then husband changed the subject of his MA degree...
on his CV from colonial studies to development (Eyben, 2014: 38). At that time, what mattered was not the local understanding of a place, but the technical and general knowledge on the economy, infrastructure development and health that these administrators had acquired during the colonial period (ibid., 92; Coles, 2007: 125–141).

There is a long-running debate, both in academia and in the general press, about the nature and effectiveness of international aid (Sachs, 2005; Easterly, 2007; Moyo, 2010). For some, the colonial mindset and the belief in ‘The White Man’s Burden’ still characterize international aid. Aid workers have been found to be behaving, voluntarily or involuntarily, as zealous neocolonial ‘missionaries’, to use the categorization developed by Stirrat (2008: 414). These workers’ goal is to convert targeted communities of international aid to a new promised life of modernity and development, as well as to liberate these populations from ignorance, poverty and injustices. Meanwhile, in aid-receiving countries, like in colonial times, structures of privileges characterize the lives of aid workers, who are physically separated from local communities and local counterparts (Chowdhry and Nair, 2002; Kothari, 2002, 2006: 124; Biccum, 2005: 1005–1020). In their autobiographic and self-critical exploration of their world as international aid workers from the North, Martini and Jauhola describe their lives in developing countries as characterized by good salaries and benefit packages, expensive shopping trips, cosmopolitan consumerism, parties with other expatriates and houses with swimming pools in exclusive neighborhoods (Martini and Jauhola, 2014: 76–96). In other words, for some, the international aid machine is maintaining the very system of domination, inequality and inequitable power relations that it is intended to address.

**Cultural turns in international aid?**

The cultural turn in international aid refers, in this volume, to three phenomena: first, the cultural turn in projects on economic development, second, the cultural turn in human development projects and finally cultural and heritage diplomacy.

The cultural turn in economic development projects funded by international aid is already well covered in past publications (Schech and Haggis, 2000; Radcliffe, 2006; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010), including in volumes published in this series (see Basu and Modest, 2015; Stupples and Teaiwa, 2016). It is generally agreed that this cultural turn was caused by the failure of development models as narrow technical exercises that aimed to bring progress, modernization and economic growth to developing countries (Labadi and Gould, 2015: 199; Labadi, 2018: 38). The cultural turn in international aid, in this context, aims to take better account of the specificities of cultural contexts and local communities (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010: 64) and is based on bottom-up approaches, so that economic development projects are better aligned with and respond to the actual needs of these
communities. This cultural turn is also characterized by the inclusion of cultural heritage in, and as, economic development projects. At least until the 1980s, cultural heritage was considered as useless and backward, and often destroyed in the name of development, progress and growth. A turn occurred in the 1980s with the utilitarian consideration of heritage for development. The protection, restoration and rehabilitation of heritage could bring significant economic growth through job creation in the building trade, tourism, foreign investment and lead to rising property prices. The World Bank has been at the forefront of such uses of heritage (see Bigio and Licciardi, 2010; Throsby, 2012; but also Lafrenz Samuels, this volume). Development professionals believed that this model would reduce poverty. Heritage for development projects would create economic opportunities for the poorer segments of societies through greater use of their traditions and knowledge, considered as their key assets. However, this approach has exactly the same goal as traditional development projects, which is to bring economic growth to targeted communities, although this time it is through greater consideration of heritage. In other words, the methods might have changed but the goal and end results are the same as before.

This volume moves beyond this understanding of the cultural turn as economic development, to take greater account of alternative models of a fulfilled life. One such form promotes culture as key to peace-building, postconflict reconstruction and reconciliation, which are increasingly included as components of sustainable development (UNCSD, 2012). Culture, primarily understood as material and intangible heritage but also as including the creative industries, is often considered the basis for rebuilding the identity, resilience and self-confidence of communities as part of postconflict or postdisaster reconstruction (see chapters in this volume by Nut and Kisić). The assumption here is that intangible and material heritage as well as the creative industries are some of the most visible signs of identity and belonging. Restoring material heritage and reviving intangible manifestations and creative industries can lead to rebuilding individual and collective forms of identity, as well as cohesion and social relations, which have been damaged by conflicts or disasters. This logic obviously obeys a universalizing view of culture as appreciated by all and an idealistic understanding of societies that ignores the past conditions and social relations that have resulted in violent conflicts. Another problematic aspect of this approach, as covered by Nut in this volume, is the revival of the creative industries solely for tourists and not for the benefits of locals.

A fulfilled life cannot be achieved without respect for human rights. For this reason, this volume discusses critically cultural projects funded through international aid that aim to protect the rights of children and of adults. A human rights–based approach is an essential component of an ethical framework to heritage management and conservation. It shapes fundamental questions about whose heritage should be protected, whose rights are affected and how stakeholders influence these processes (see Larsen and
Sinding-Larsen, this volume). Another aspect of the cultural turn considered is how creative play, artistic interventions and laughter can make a real change to children affected by humanitarian disasters. This is a way of fulfilling Article 31.1 of the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child which recognizes ‘the right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child and to participate freely in cultural life and the arts’ (United Nations, 1989).

A final phenomenon covered is the use of international aid for cultural diplomacy (including heritage diplomacy) by governments. Cultural diplomacy can be defined as soft power, that is the capacity to obtain a benefit without the use of economic or military means, but by generating a positive attraction that facilitates the accumulation of other forms of power (Nye, 2004: 5). For Zamorano, two types of cultural diplomacy exist. First, a culturalist and benevolent approach of artistic, intellectual and cultural–pedagogical exchanges that aims to promote a country’s culture and, in this process, acts as soft influence. The other model is a neo-propagandist approach which instrumentalizes culture for national, political and economic gains and interests (Zamorano, 2016: 178–179). Cultural diplomacy as soft power has been used both by capitalist and communist countries to expand their economic and geopolitical spheres of influence over the past 50 years.

To win the ‘hearts and minds’ of African leaders, North Korea, for instance, used cultural and heritage diplomacy (see e.g., Kersel and Luke, 2015) as part of their African foreign policy. This took the form of ‘gifts’, including the construction by Pyongyang of the 50 meter-tall Tiglachin monument (meaning ‘our struggle’ in Amharic) in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), offered to Ethiopia in 1984 to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie (Jopela, 2017: 124–125). In the context of the Cold War, for North Korea, diplomacy with newly independent African nations was a strategy to gain some influence, recognition and legitimacy. In a post-Cold War context, cultural diplomacy can help a government to be more visible and influential in the international arena, as has been the case for Japan with its international aid programmes for heritage conservation projects, for instance in Hue in Vietnam (Akagawa, 2014; Logan this volume). However, cultural diplomacy can also have insidious, negative and unforeseen consequences. As a mechanism where the tastes, practices and lifestyles of donor countries (usually from the Global North) can affect targeted populations, cultural diplomacy can lead to downgraded senses of collective and personal identity, pride and self-achievement among aid receiving societies, who tend to be from the Global South (see Thiaw and Ly, this volume).

The volume

This edited volume of commissioned papers aims to fill a gap in academic knowledge through critical analyses of the complex and multifarious dimensions of the cultural turn in international aid. This volume also assesses
whether the cultural turn characterizes aid-funded cultural projects. The first section addresses how international organizations have defined the cultural turn in international aid, whether and how these approaches have changed over time. It also considers the limits of these models. To do so, this section provides a historical and genealogical contextualization of international aid for culture by engaging in critical discussions about the different definitions, approaches and discourses developed by international and regional organizations over time. Furthermore, this section critically assesses to what extent and in what ways broader aid and development frameworks (e.g. the Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals) have had an impact on international cultural approaches and discourses.

More specifically, De Beukelaer’s and Vlassis’s chapter discusses how key international organizations define the ‘creative economy’ and the implications of these definitions for aid, funding, collaborations and policies. The chapter by Dabdoub Nasser and Bouquerel examines culture in the European Union (EU) aid programme for the Mediterranean region and links it to the EU discourse on culture since 1995. In doing so, it highlights key changes and challenges, including the increasing bottom-up use of culture to prevent radicalization, whilst also addressing the ambiguities of the EU’s actions. Lafrenz Samuels charts the cultural turn in international aid and economic development at the World Bank from the 1980s onwards, details critically its implementations in urban projects and exposes its limits in dealing with some key transnational challenges. Finally, Labadi charts the attempts by UNESCO to put culture at the heart of the international aid and development agenda in 2000 and 2015, and brings forward possible explanations for the failures of such efforts.

The second section shifts to in-depth critical analyses of donor-funded cultural projects at national and local levels. This part assesses why projects have been funded, and discusses their short-, medium- and long-term impacts on the ground. It also assesses whether these projects created relations of power and inequality between stakeholders of aid funded projects and how these have manifested on the ground. Whenever relevant, these contributions consider whether these initiatives have been used for negotiating broader geopolitical, diplomatic and economic agendas. Some contributions also critically assess the reasons why donor-funded projects often fail and the lessons that can be learnt.

More specifically, Morgan provides an autoethnographic insight into his work on the Liberian music industry sector, which had been undertaken as part of a consultancy project for the World Bank. Morgan self-consciously engages with the assumptions which had guided his research, and the failures of his approach. Staying in Africa, Thiaw and Ly discuss the recent renaming of a square on Gorée Island in Senegal as the Place de l’Europe, following a grant from the European Union, and consider international aid and power relations, knowledge making and memory politics in relation
to this case study. Using a similar method as Morgan, Kurlanska, another US scholar, reflects critically on the community library she set up in Nicaragua, during her time as a Peace Corps volunteer, and the reasons for the relative failure of such a project, in terms of sustainability and the empowerment of community members. Nut assesses how international aid for cultural NGOs has transformed the traditional performing arts sector in Cambodia, charting their increasing move towards commercialization and international tourist markets. Continuing the reflection on Asia, Logan charts Australia’s use of soft power and cultural diplomacy over the past 25 years, and discusses its weak status compared to other aid sectors in Australia and other countries from the region.

The third and final section assesses whether and how donor-funded cultural projects help to address global challenges. This part pays particular attention to the reasons why culture (understood primarily as heritage) is considered the best medium to address these challenges, whilst also examining the motives behind donor-funded projects. It also assesses the effectiveness of using culture to address global challenges, as well as the short-, medium- and long-term impacts of such approaches. More specifically, Kisić critically considers whether and how cultural heritage can contribute to postwar reconciliation through the case study of post-Yugoslav heritage reconstruction, professional capacity building and the (re)interpretation of heritage. Jigyasu reflects on post-disaster reconstruction for heritage sites. Broadening his reflection, he considers whether traditional knowledge and techniques can be integrated into the design and construction of housing as well. Larsen and Sinding-Larsen consider whether international funding of cultural heritage projects can promote and protect human rights. They then present the ‘Our Common Dignity’ project and reflect candidly on issues and lessons learnt when implementing this approach. Finally, Cunningham covers an issue that has rarely been addressed in academic literature: the integration of playfulness and laughter in humanitarian responses through artistic and interactive interventions targeting children. The conclusion to this volume discusses the key issues which emerged from all of the chapters and provide concrete solutions and suggestions to move forward.

Critical self-reflexive questioning

In 2009, I implemented a large-scale EU-funded project as a consultant for UNESCO. The project goal was to use culture (understood primarily as the creative industries) for poverty reduction in selected developing countries in Africa and the Pacific islands. This project was my first encounter with and incursion into what was then, to me, the unknown world of international aid and development. I had up to then worked solely on projects on heritage conservation and management. Because of my ignorance and/or naivety, I readily accepted the strategies, approaches, narratives and outputs on culture for development proposed by senior staff to fulfil
the goals of this project. This included the development of copyright laws in the targeted countries, which were copied from Western models; the provision of entrepreneurship training for people working in the creative sectors and the identification of new market opportunities for cultural products. It was only when my consultancy mission was over and when I was reflecting upon my achievements that I realized how uncritically I had accepted these dominant Western ideologies of using culture for development and had embedded them in my everyday implementation of this EU-funded project (Brookfield, 2000: 36; Sandlin and Bey, 2006: 257). When reflecting on this project, to my own dismay, I might have involuntarily become one of those ‘colonial missionaries’ I described at the beginning of this chapter using Stirrat’s categorization (2008: 414), in my attempt to convert the targeted beneficiaries to a new life aligned with Western aspirations and values.

Inspired by the limits of my own experience, I wanted this edited volume to be firmly anchored in critical (self) reflexive questioning (see for instance Mosse, 2013: 227–246; Martini and Jauhola, 2014: 76–96). Such critical reflexive approach is characterized, first, by a detachment from and questioning of the main assumptions, discourses and practices relating to culture and international aid. In other words, this positioning helps to question why and how certain approaches and ideas are acknowledged as more valid than others and are thus adopted to frame and direct cultural projects. This approach also critically analyses the understanding of what constitutes ‘best practice’ and ‘successful projects’, examining the form and nature of categorization and normative practice. This questioning might be more successful when applied to both theories and practice (see Stanley-Price et al., 2006: 185). This is a reason why a number of the authors selected for this volume work simultaneously as practitioners and academics.

A self-aware and reflective practice requires the consideration of one’s own biases and complicities in hegemonic practices (Cunliffe, 2004: 408). At the heart of this approach is a denunciation of objective reality, impartial assessment and universally applicable principles. The goal is for authors to reflect upon and understand the underlying assumptions and motivations behind their work and choices. This helps to avoid the pitfalls of international aid as a (neo)colonialist endeavor that produces the opposite of what is aimed for, including the continuation of (neo-) colonialist realities, spatiotemporal inequalities and inequal power relations between the Global North and South (Stirrat, 2008: 19). The chapters in this volume by Morgan and Kurlanska, two American scholars who used to work in the international aid industry prior to moving to academia, are examples of this in-depth self-awareness and reflective questioning.

However, self-reflexive questioning is not only about the self in isolation. To be truly effective, such method of enquiry needs to recognize the ‘positionality’ of researchers and practitioners. This involves understanding that an author’s socioeconomic and ethnic background as well as their
gender and geographical origin(s) will influence their approaches, visions and thinking (Hodder, 2003: 55–39; Sandlin and Bey, 2006: 258). For this reason, many of the contributors from this volume come from the very country they are writing about, whether it is Nut on Cambodia, Thiaw and Ly on Senegal or Kisić on the post-Yugoslav space. But this volume also reports on the domination of the international aid sector by Westerners, with contributions by a number of Europeans and North American authors.

The positionality of authors also requires the consideration of projects in their wider institutional contexts. This is reflected in multivocal narratives proposed by researchers on projects on international aid. Indeed, this consideration of the positionality of authors helps to reveal, engage with and deconstruct competing approaches and realities, as authors connect their personal self to the social and institutional contexts of projects. Kurlanska’s chapter provides an example of this, as it charts the different views on funding libraries with aid from the US. She deconstructs why it is widely believed that libraries are successful projects and are often funded, whilst she is of the belief that libraries tend to fail. This notion of multivocality as defined by Bakhtin (1981; Mizzi, 2010) also reflects the multiple and sometimes conflicting ideas and desires expressed by people and institutions. This means that multiple realities and narratives on culture and aid exist both for people and institutions. It might therefore be difficult to arrive at one coherent understanding of reality. For instance, the chapter by Dabdoub Nasser and Bouquerel forcefully explains the complex factors influencing the design and implementation of projects on culture funded by the EU, including political considerations, local socioeconomic situations as well as the fight against terrorism and radicalism. But this entanglement of priorities, visions and understanding also affects people. This is discussed by Morgan in his chapter in this volume and his autoethnographic assessment of his changes of understanding of what constitutes a successful cultural project, according to new knowledge acquired and greater understanding of the music sector in Liberia. The conclusion of this book will reflect on these self-critical reflexive approaches, highlight their shortcomings and propose novel solutions to improve these models.

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Notes

1 In September 2007, 42 national coalitions for cultural diversity created the International Federation of the Coalitions for Cultural Diversity, by grouping in the aggregate more than 600 cultural professional organizations representing creators, artists, independent producers, distributors, broadcasters, and editors in the publishing, motion picture, television, music, performing arts, and visual art fields. The Federation is incorporated in Canada and has its Secretariat in Montreal.

2 See for example UNESCO’s 2013 Creative Economy Report:

This Report will therefore focus on the contributions that cultural resources can make to drive sustainable development processes as a whole. Culturally driven ways of imagining, making and innovating, both individual and collective, generate many human development “goods”, and these in turn can contribute to inclusive social and economic development, environmental sustainability and the attainment of peace and security, all goals upon which the post-2015 United Nations development agenda is predicated.

(UNESCO and UNDP 2013, 39).

1 The European Neighbourhood includes 16 countries of which 10 are in the Neighbourhood South – Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Tunisia and Syria.

2 This funding is not exclusive to partner countries of the Neighbourhood South.

3 The Directorate responsible for the Neighbourhood Enlargement at the Commission (DG NEAR) is only one of several players. DG DEVCO, as well as EEAS through the Delegations to the EU based in third countries, also include culture in their programmes.

4 Mrs Christiane Dabdoub Nasser was a partner of two projects developed in the framework of Euromed Heritage 2 and the Team Leader of the Regional Monitoring and Support Unit of Euromed Heritage 4. She was also the Team Leader of the Med Culture programme technical assistance unit (TAU). Mrs Fanny Bouquerel has developed different cultural projects in the Southern Mediterranean area funded by the EU, and is currently the capacity development expert of the Med Culture TAU.


6 This term is henceforth used throughout the paper to what is currently referred to as the Neighbourhood South, a term which emerged in 2004 after the 2004 enlargement of the European Union.
7 Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the UK.
8 Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey and the Palestinian Authority.
10 Communication on ‘European Agenda for Culture in a globalising world’ (Commission of the European Communities, 2007).
11 The Lisbon Agenda, or Lisbon Strategy, was a plan to make the EU “the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world”, see www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lis1_en.htm.
12 The so-called South Mediterranean countries include Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya (in 2014) Morocco, Palestine, Syria and Tunisia.
14 As the funding instrument for ENP, the ENI covers cooperation with South Mediterranean countries (Algeria, Egypt, Lebanon, Libya, Jordan, Israeli, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, the occupied Palestinian territory and East neighbourhood countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine) either bilaterally or regionally (in this latter case also Russia is included. The ENI is managed by DG NEAR.
15 The transition towards a market economy was considered one of the ills of the Barcelona process.
16 https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/3648/creation-eas_pl
19 See note 10.
20 As well as its sister programme Euromed Audiovisual.
21 Since 2013, cultural heritage has been incorporated to the broader definition of culture that the EU adopted, as can be seen in Med Culture and the bilateral programme in Tunisia; it is only in Algeria that the EU is financing a consequent cultural heritage development programme at bilateral level.
22 www.euromedheritage.org/intern.cfm?menuID=7&submenuID=1.
23 See note 21.
24 What is referred to as the petit patrimoine in French.
25 Terms of reference for the Technical Assistance of the Med Culture programme. The countries involved are Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Palestine.
27 These consultations continued on a regular basis throughout the duration of the programme.
28 Drama, Diversity and Development (DDD) is a grant project funded under Med Culture and managed by Minority Rights Group International.
29 More Europe is cultural civil initiative, composed of a public-private partnership of foundations, civil society networks and national cultural institutes, whose objective is to highlight and reinforce the role of culture in the European Union (EU)'s external relations, www.moreeurope.org/?q=about-us/mission-statement.
30 See JOIN(2016) 29 final. See also the speech of Federica Mogherini at the Culture Forum in Brussels in 2016, (Mogherini, 20016).

1 Interview, 21 April 2016.

2 Interview, 7 June 2016.

1 Due to a tendency to conflate the recording industry with the broader music industry sector, I prefer to use the plural *music industries* as much as possible. When the term *music industry sector* is used, it will refer to all economic opportunities for artists broadly, in particular live performance, the dominant revenue stream in Liberia.

2 I will be using a more limited definition of *culture*, one that is often specified by using *arts and culture* and implies an artist, a creative process, and an output in the form of a product or experience that normally carries symbolic meaning and is often intellectual property.

3 This optimistic view of CCIs as engines of economic development enjoyed widespread institutional support, documented in reports from UNDP & UNESCO (2013), UNCTAD (2010), and the EU Commission (2010) among others. The Creative Economy strategy of the UK is an example of national cultural policy based on this approach.

4 The inclusion of a lonely $35,000 USD grant to the Miss Liberia Beauty Pageant in the cultural sector is an interesting example of what the Government of Liberia chose to fund as a priority cultural activity. The 2012–2013 National Budget also identifies $79,500 USD “contingent” expenditure for National Collective Societies, clarified in Liberia’s update to WIPO as ‘Liberian Musicians’ Union, the Liberian Movie Union, Liberian Cultural Union, the Liberian Artists Union and the Liberian Association of Writers’ (Addy 2015, p. 3). This nascent support of five industry trade societies is likely related to the need to create a collective management organisation in accordance with accession to WIPO, as laid out in their 2009 accession plan (Mengistie et al. 2009). I observed the connection to the WIPO accession plan at the 2011 Intellectual Property conference I attended where these societies were informed about current and potential policies in accordance with WIPO accession.

5 There are countless theoretical frameworks for how to value and define arts and culture. Of particular note in international development is the perspective of Yuidice (2003) who explores the emerging view of culture as a resource that can be invested in and developed to further other goals. De Beukelaer (2015) notes the fluid historical definitions of the words *culture* and *development* and debates where to draw the line between culture as merchandise and something sacred.

6 A rare example of a non-instrumental cultural industries *capacity building* project was the 2013 Film Festival: Image of (Liberia) funded by the Prince Claus Fund, see http://princeclausfund.org/en/annual-report/2013/activities/42/the-magic-lantern-cinematheque-de-tanger-tangier-morocco.
7 See Eade (2007) for the problematic evolution of capacity building from its origins in the works of Paulo Freire and Amartya Sen, its popularisation by UNDP, to the use by institutions such as the World Bank in service of a ‘neo-liberal agenda of rolling back the state, privatising public services (the ‘marketisation’ of social welfare), good governance, and democratisation’ (p. 632).

8 ‘Agglomeration Externalities: Growth of bars/restaurants, vendors, around successful concert venues. Network Spillover: Firms gain benefits from other firms that are located nearby, such as in the clustering of music venues or record stores in particular areas’ (Morgan 2014)

9 Gospel artists seemed to be an exception. Gospel CDs by Liberian artists were available. I confess to be less knowledgeable of the nuances of certain genres such as gospel and rural traditional music. Urban popular music was the area I was working in.

10 For one example of an NGO song, see Too Young to be Pregnant, commissioned by NGO Jump Liberia https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q5WJDt1hW7o

11 For more information on telechargeurs, see Polgreen (2015).

12 At this time, the Liberian copyright law of 1997 covered infringement of copyright on physical goods, but no laws regarding digital piracy existed. New IP laws were passed in 2016.

13 We did not think to approach telechargeurs when creating PSDS focus groups, a huge oversight. We did reach out to the operators of distribution centres for physical media. They were nervous and difficult to engage. The path to legitimacy is often resisted (in many business sectors), because legitimacy means paying taxes means and sharing revenue. Either prices must be raised, or the vendors must take less money.

1 USAID was established by President John F. Kennedy in 1961 as the primary US government agency to fight against global poverty and promote democratic societies.

1 The term NGO or non-governmental organisation is relatively recent. This acronym was created by the United Nations in 1945 to name observers that do not represent state institutions. The definition is vague enough to include informal small groups than more professional agencies.

2 Traditional living arts designate all ephemeral arts (music, dance, chant, theatre, poetry), practiced during collective festivities or traditional ceremonies.

3 China ceased to support the KR after 1997 and developed a close relation with the current regime dominated by the Cambodian People’s Party.

4 Victim of the regionalist rivalries, and the cold war, Cambodia was used by different protagonists to assert their influences over the region, on one side, Vietnam and its protégé the Communist People’s Party and the other side, an uneasy political alliance forming of two smaller non-Communist forces, FNLPK (Republican Khmer People’s National Liberation Front) and FUNCINPEC (National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia) and the Khmer Rouges.

5 The United Nations Border Relief Operation (UNBRO) was a donor-nation funded relief effort for Cambodian refugees and others affected by years of warfare along the Thai-Cambodian border. It functioned from 1982 until 2001.

6 The United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) was a United Nations peacekeeping operation in Cambodia in 1992–1993. It was also the first occasion on which the UN had taken over the administration of an independent state, organised and run an election.

7 www.phnom-penh.biz/Restonet/pp/annuaire.nsf/3acef478e80cb135c12570830061fe8d/f083e2ae191500e147256f49001ed262!OpenDocument

8 https://phareps.org/language/fr/about-us/

9 www.kokthlok-cambodia.com/

10 http://khmerarts.org/
While Australia is the world’s 53rd largest country in terms of population, estimated at 24.6 million for 2018 (World Population Review 2017), it has the 13th largest economy in terms of GDP (Statistics Times 2017) and the 18th largest military (Grinberg 2018).

The ODA function was absorbed into the Australian Department of Trade and Foreign Affairs (DFAT).

This extended from hosting the Nara Conference on Authenticity (1994) to managing the appointment of Matsuura Koichi as Director-General of UNESCO (1999–2009) and establishing under his aegis UNESCO’s Intangible Heritage Convention (2003).

Over half a million Australian residents were born in China, representing 2.2% of the total population, those born in India, the Philippines, Vietnam and Malaysia made up another 4.6% while those from Islamic western Asia, including Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan, made up 1.4% (ABS 2017, 2018).

Reasons cited for the withdrawal were that UNESCO had become too inefficient, spendthrift and harmfully politicized (ie. anti-Western). See Lynch 2017 for further details of the US withdrawals in 1984 and again in 2017.

AUD28,000 was provided by the ANU to assist background research and the National Museum of Australia gave AUD5,000 towards publication costs (Ken Taylor, pers. comm., 22 May 2018).

Used in various countries (eg. Australia, UK, Canada), the term ‘White Paper’ is a government report on a particular subject giving information and canvassing ideas that may form the basis of government policy making.

Myanmar currently has one inscribed site on the World Heritage List: Pyu Ancient Cities (2014). It submitted a nomination for Bagan in January 2018 and a decision will be made by the World Heritage Committee in mid-2019.

For example Bruce Pettman’s work on the Bali Cultural Heritage Conservation Project funded by the World Bank, 1999–2000, and Elizabeth Vine’s authorship of a restoration and revitalization handbook for the owners of historic buildings in Asian cities (Vines 2005).

Cultural Heritage without Borders (CHwB), a Swedish NGO mainly funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, was established as a direct response to the targeting and destruction of cultural heritage during the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

International Centre for Underwater Archaeology (Zadar, Croatia); Regional Centre on Intangible Cultural Heritage (Soﬁa, Bulgaria); Regional Centre on Digitization of Cultural Heritage (Skopje, FYR Macedonia); Regional Centre on the Restoration of Cultural Heritage (Tirana, Albania); and Regional Centre for the Management of Cultural Heritage (Cetinje, Montenegro).

For more detail see: www.seeheritage.net/ (last accessed 7 of January 2018)

For more detail see: www.bmuseums.net/ (last accessed 7 of January 2018)

In 2014 there was a whole stream of topics at the BMN annual conference concerning interpretation and education around dissonant, contested and difﬁcult heritage in museums, and this was one of the three eligible topics for the small grant scheme that year. However, no museum applied for this topic.


The participating museums were: National History Museum, Albania; Museum of the Republic of Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina; National History Museum, Bulgaria; Croatian History Museum, Croatia; Leventis Mu-
nicipal Museum of Nicosia, Cyprus; German Historical Museum, Germany; National Historical Museum, Greece; National Museum of Montenegro, Montenegro; National History Museum of Romania, Romania; Historical Museum of Serbia, Serbia; National Museum of Slovenia, Slovenia; Museum of Macedonia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

1 Credcrunch50, EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database.

2 According to the research findings of Duyne Barenstein (2006) in other parts of Gujarat, also in Bandhadi contractor-driven reconstruction was less appreciated. The people of Navi Bandhadi were highly dissatisfied with the urban design of their new houses, which did not take into consideration their rural way of life and the local climatic conditions.

3 Accordingly, ‘A’ category houses had a carpet area of 250 sq. ft. These were provided to farmers who were landless or had land up to 1 hectare. ‘B’ category housing of 400 sq. ft. carpet area was provided to those having landholdings between 1 hectare and 7 hectares, and all bigger landlords having more than 7 hectares of landholding got ‘C’ category houses of 750 sq. ft. The built-up area for these houses was about 10% more than the carpet area to allow for future expansion. In ‘C’ category villages, the government was supposed to provide technical assistance towards strengthening and retrofitting, through junior engineers. However, the technical assistance was limited to new constructions and a definite amount of money was allocated to the houses in ‘C’ category villages that were supposed to carry out strengthening and retrofitting on their own.

4 Typical vernacular houses in this region are called *wada* and are made of dry masonry stone walls organized around an inner central courtyard, surrounded by rooms on each side. This typology has a front yard that is used as a buffer for private and public spaces within a household. These *wadas*, with elaborate, massive stone-clad entrances varying in size and shape, are located adjacent to one another along winding roads typical of traditional settlements in Marathwada. 


4 One of the authors, Amund Sinding-Larsen, had the privilege to act as consultant and advisor during the 1980s and 1990s to the Directorate and to NORAD on much of this work.

5 Norway was represented on the UNESCOs executive board by Mrs Ingrid Eide, and Norway was a substantial supporter of the initiative. The first president of the Norwegian Sami Parliament Mr Ole Henrik Magga was a member of the commission, representing indigenous peoples as well as the Nordic countries.

6 Other efforts included a strategy on international culture and sports cooperation 1997–2005, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and “Africa 2009”, a capacity building program run by UNESCO and ICCROM.

7 The recently held ICOMOS General Assembly in India (New Delhi, December 2017) adopted recommendations by the international working group to continue developing the Our Common Dignity initiative also during the new triennial work period.

8 In parallel with growing attention on rights issues from the WH Advisory Bodies, Farida Shaheed, Special Rapporteur on Cultural Rights to the UN Human Right Council (2011, 2016) for example recommended that “(n)on inscription on UNESCO lists relating to cultural heritage or national lists or
registers should be requested or granted without the free, prior and informed consent of the concerned communities”. Special Rapporteurs on indigenous rights along with the Expert Mechanism have on several occasions equally raised these concerns.

1 This Action Plan is available at: www.kent.ac.uk/secl/news/index.html?view=9943.
2 https://www.kent.ac.uk/european-culture-languages/news/11163/heritage-development-africa