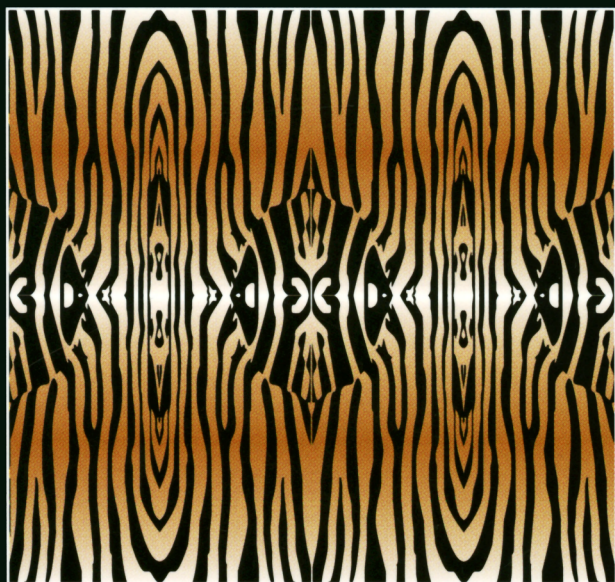


CULTURE and DEVELOPMENT

by

Ismail Serageldin



The World Bank

Culture and Development

Ismail Serageldin

Text of the film version of the introductory lecture to the 1992 International Conference on Culture and Development in Africa, cosponsored by the Governments of Norway and Sweden, the Rockefeller Foundation, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, and the World Bank.

The World Bank
Washington, D.C.
1998

Contents

Preface	<i>v</i>
Introduction	1
Setting Aside False Dichotomies	1
Social Context	10
Looking at Culture across Space and Time	11
Overlays	11
A Code for Monumental and Vernacular Architecture	13
Why Cultures Disintegrate: A Three-Tiered Model	17
Breakdown of the Code:	
Examples from Mosque Architecture	22
Artists in a Changing Society	27
A Recapitulation: Three Conceptual Constructs	33
Back to Development	33
Conclusion	42
Acknowledgements	46

Preface

This text is based on the transcript of an oral presentation and accompanying slides that were used to introduce the topic of culture and development at the International Conference on Culture and Development in Africa, held at the World Bank in 1992. Because the presentation was so dependent on visual materials, it could not be included in the published proceedings but was later produced as a video.

Nevertheless, a number of those who saw the video have asked for a written transcript. This is that transcript, and it is intended to accompany the video. Thus, there was no effort made to introduce footnotes or references. The divisions are the notes that I had prepared to deliver the lecture.

I am gratified by the extent to which this lecture has been favorably received by knowledgeable people in many parts of the world. I hope that it serves to encourage many more people to explore the vast domain of culture and development.

Ismail Serageldin
Vice President
Special Programs
The World Bank

Introduction

What is culture? And why is it important to those who deal with development? Let us start with a brief definition. By culture I do not mean just the arts and certain intellectual disciplines. Rather, when we address cultural issues, we mean the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. Culture includes not only arts and letters but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of human beings, value systems, traditions, and beliefs.

When defined so broadly, how does one “read”—understand and interpret—a culture? Let’s take what many people would call Islamic culture and what I would call the cultures of the Muslim peoples. It is a world culture. About 1 billion people, mostly in Africa and Asia, identify themselves as Muslims. It is a culture that has contributed to the heritage of all people everywhere. Its products go from architecture to science, from literature to music, from law to philosophy. There is hardly a domain of human endeavor in which the genius of the Muslim peoples has not made a contribution over the centuries. Their legacy graces the capitals of the world and is intertwined with the Western Renaissance (figure 1).

How does one interpret this Muslim society of today? In approaching this culture from the outside, there is a tendency to think of Muslim society in a mythical, romantic fashion, as a timeless, unchanging, exotic culture like images taken from old books. There are many similarities between what one finds in old books and what one finds today, even in such things as the mode of dress and these tents. They still exist. And if we look at the way the bread was made centuries ago, it is also the way it is being made today. And, yes, even that old stereotype, the caravan, exists today.

Setting Aside False Dichotomies

But this kind of approach that an outsider can take to a culture can frequently be misleading. It leads us to four false dichotomies that I think we should set aside from the beginning.

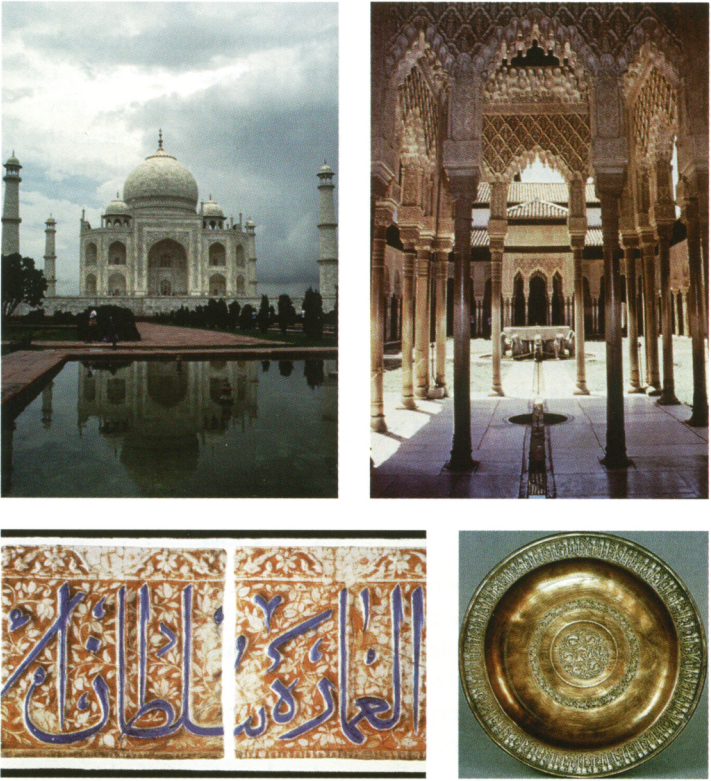


Figure 1 (a, b, c, d)

The Taj Mahal (upper left) and the Alhambra (upper right) combine with superb everyday objects (lower right) and calligraphy (lower left) to create a rich legacy not only for the Muslim peoples but for all of humanity.

Modernity and Tradition

The first of these false dichotomies is that between modernity and tradition. We have different views of modernity. One of these views is the alienation of human beings from the machine, as exemplified in Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times*. Another is the appeal of a dynamic model, as exemplified by Rockefeller Center in New York. Against that, one stereotypically sets off structures such as the Mu'ayyad Mosque (figure 6a) as being unchanging, traditional things of the past.

Is this dichotomy between modernity and tradition so clear cut? One would really have to question it. Let us take an example from calligraphy. This is a tenth-century kufi calligraphy. Modern artists use it as an inspiration and define their present identity at least partly from it, as we can see in the 1983 work of Kamal Bullata.

And then we find something like this (figure 2a). We might say that this is a very modern piece of work that was inspired perhaps by a computer chip or even by the work of Piet Mondrian (figures 2b, d). But look again. As modern as it may appear to our eyes today, this piece is a fifteenth-century design that was done unselfconsciously by somebody expressing his other culture, and it is now found in the Topkapi Museum in Istanbul. In fact, it spells the word *Ali*, flipped over four times.

This is not the only example in which very “modern” designs are found in classical pieces. If we look at this tenth-century Mesopotamian plate (figure 2c), the asymmetrical design is very modern in conception and simplicity, as is the *coupe à l’oiseau* from the same period.

This blurring of modern and traditional occurs not just over time. In contemporary society we think, for example, of the status of women. This is a contemporary (veiled) woman in rural Egypt. So is this. Both sisters live side by side in a very complex reality in which there is a sense of identity with Muslim culture that cannot be simplified to a single stereotypical view: veiled or unveiled.

Spirituality and Materialism

Another view that leads to stereotypes is the notion of a material and spiritual dichotomy. We are told that modern Western societies are materialistic. One talks, for example, about the new “cathedrals,” the headquarters of banks such as Foster’s Shanghai/Hong Kong branch, which cost over \$1 billion. Its interior is seen as the new “cathedral of commerce.” Against that stereotype one opposes another stereotype: a mythical view of a permanent spirituality in Islam that is maintained, whether in Mecca or New Mexico, by people deriving their sense of identity exclusively from the *Qur’an*. Like all appearances these stereotypes

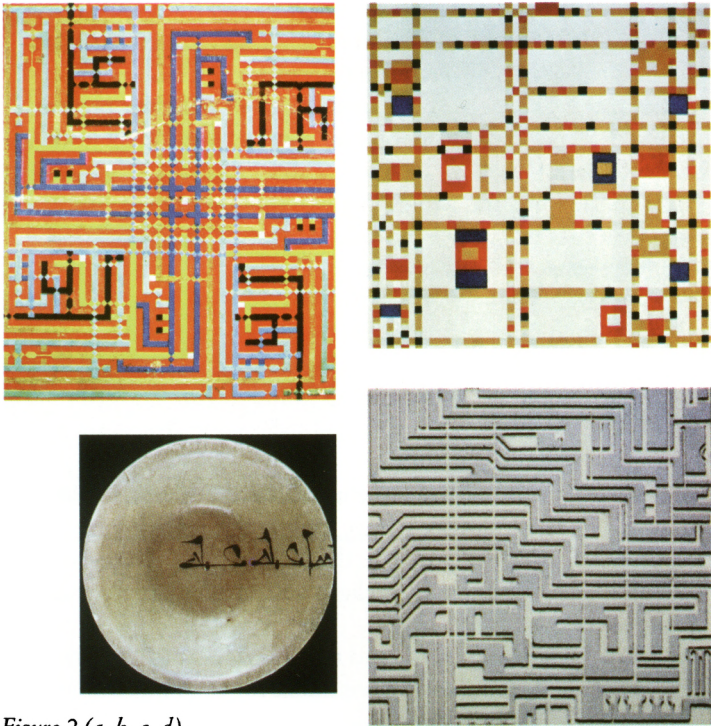


Figure 2 (a, b, c, d)

Modernity and Tradition

The designs in medieval pieces, such as the calligraphy (upper left), could have been taken from the painting of Mondrian (upper right) or the patterns of a computer chip (lower right). Equally modern in its asymmetrical layout and simplicity is the tenth-century Mesopotamian ceramic plate (lower left).

are deceiving. Again, like the appearance of the two women in Egypt, this simplification is wrong—both cultures have a mix of spirituality and materialism (figure 3). Yet the stereotype is perpetuated, at least partly, because Muslims, in defining their identities in different cultures, assert this “otherness” as we can see, for example, in this mosque in Washington, D.C., which has nothing to do with Washington’s climate, its urban character, or its history. The Washington Islamic Center is a combination of medieval Mamluk

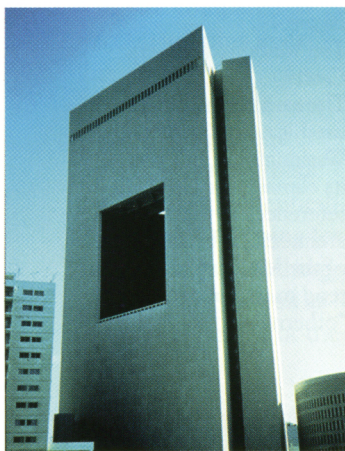
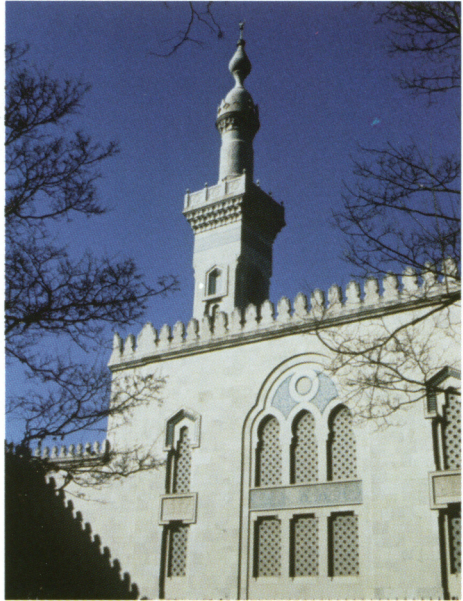


Figure 3 (a, b, c, d)
Spirituality and
Materialism

Both the Western and the Muslim societies of today have a mixture of spirituality and materialism, reflected in commercial buildings such as the TransAmerica Building in San Francisco (upper left) and the National Commercial Bank in Jeddah (upper right), as well as in such manifestations of piety as the small Mosque of Gourna in Egypt (center) and Ronchamps in France (bottom).

Figure 4
The Washington Islamic Center

The architectural style used is not related to Washington, D.C. nor its climate. Its references to the architectural heritage of the Middle East tend to underscore its “otherness.”



and Andalusian styles (figure 4). This tends, therefore, to emphasize that “otherness” and to feed that dichotomy.

High-Tech and Low-Tech

The third false dichotomy that we must set aside is the notion that somehow modernity, the West, “the other” are high-tech, and the Muslim world—because it is located mostly in Africa and Asia—is low-tech. This is reinforced by a vision of small villages such as Niono, which produces mud brick architecture (figure 5a). It is elegant, but it is low-tech.

And this is certainly a reality.

But this, too, is part of the Muslim world. This is the Kuwait complex of Water Towers. Not only was it an award-winning design, but this group of water towers became a symbol for the State of Kuwait. Even more so is the airport in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, the Haj Terminal Airport (figure 5b). It is one of the largest structures in the world. It was designed by the late Fazlur Rahman Khan of Bangladesh and is the size of fifty-four football

fields. This incredible design—we can see its size compared to the jumbo aircraft next to it allows up to 96,000 pilgrims in its interior at one time for up to thirty-six hours.

It not only took 830 engineers to design the state of the art tension rings and the structure that we see here, but also the material on which these people are walking was a new synthetic that had to be invented for this project. It is very much twentieth-century work—the synthetic was invented by Owens-Corning for that purpose. Therefore, that this complexity exists is something that we should take into account. The Niono Mosque as well as the Haj Terminal are both part of the contemporary reality of the same Muslim cultures.

Muslim and Non-Muslim Contributions

The fourth and last dichotomy or stereotype that I would like to put aside is the presumed exclusivity of the Muslim culture to the Muslim people. The stereotype is that Muslims behave differently from non-Muslims and that non-Muslims are not part of the same society. But let me show you some pictures.



Figure 5 (a, b)

High-Tech and Low-Tech

The Niono Mosque in Mali (top) and the Jeddah Airport Terminal in Saudi Arabia (bottom) are both parts of the Muslim world, yet they express opposite extremes of technology. The first was built with earth by a simple mason, the second by a team of 830 engineers and architects under the direction of the late Fazlur Rahman Khan. It required inventing new material for the membrane roof.

This gentleman is not a sultan. He is Rabbi Abraham Ben Azra, who was the head of the Jewish community in Cairo in the eighteenth century. By appearance and dress he would be just the image you would expect of any of the Mamluks of the period.

One can go further and see, for example, in a more recent 1920 picture of a sheik and a priest that their appearance and dress are almost identical. We may say, perhaps, that the veil is clearly something that is identified in people's mind with Islamic culture. I show you this picture of a 1923 assembly of Christian women in the patriarchate of Cairo, which shows very much that veiling at that time was a social custom.

We could well ask, what could be more uniquely Muslim as an exemplar of Muslim culture than the *Qur'an*? I might say the Bible. This is a Bible of the same period, the Mamluk period, which clearly uses the same forms of artistic and decorative expression—people identifying with the artifact they are producing.

We may look at these arabesque designs that are closely identified in people's mind with Muslim mosques. This is the Minbar of the Mu'ayyad Mosque (figure 6a). I will show you the identical ones in the Moalaqqa Church in Cairo of the same period (figure 6b). The *Mihrab*, toward which people pray in mosques, is clearly identified as part of the architecture of Islam. I would say that when we look at the apse of the Church of the Virgin, it is identical to the *Mihrab* I have just shown you. I could go on indefinitely. Even the doorway of the Al-Mu'ayyad Mosque is identical to the doorway of the Moalaqqa Church, which we see here. Clearly, we are talking of a rich culture, where both Muslims and non-Muslims find inspiration and identity and to which both contribute.

Let us look at an example from this century in Cairo—the Coptic Museum (figure 6c). There is the cross in the middle of the arch of this facade. The building was designed in this century by distinguished members of the Coptic community. And what facade did they draw on for inspiration? They drew on the eleventh-century Al-Aqmar Mosque in Gamaliya, Cairo (figure 6d).

So there is a common heritage to which the imagery is being contributed by Muslims and non-Muslims alike, and it is a shared heritage in which both groups participate. The manifesta-

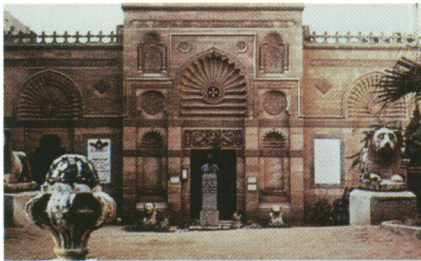
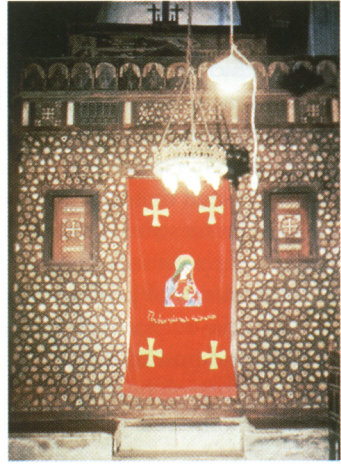


Figure 6 (a, b, c, d)

Muslim and Non-Muslim

What we refer to as Muslim societies are societies in which the art and symbolism is made by both Muslim and non-Muslim members. Similar use of decorative arabesques can be found in the Mu'ayyad Mosque (upper left) and the Church at Gamaliya of the same period (upper right). These shared contributions are manifested in the facade of the Coptic Museum of Cairo (lower left), which drew for inspiration from the eleventh-century Al-Aqmar Mosque in Gamaliya, Cairo (lower right).

tions of this shared heritage continue even when one finds the Fatimid Mosque inside a medieval monastery in St. Catherine in Egypt, and both of them are functioning.

Social Context

This leads me to the first intellectual point that I would like to make, which is that when talking about culture, one cannot take it out of its societal context. Whatever the work or the visible manifestation that the society has produced—be it a legal code, a piece of architecture, a painting, an artifact, music, or dance—it has to be seen first within an immediate context that defines the discourse, the style, the code within which people interpret the work, and the broader societal context that defines the way of life and the system of production. Any attempt to remove a cultural expression—such as taking a piece of Asia out of its society and context and putting it in a museum here—voids it of that social context. Interpretations based on such dislocated images tend to be shallow in their meaning and understanding (figure 7).

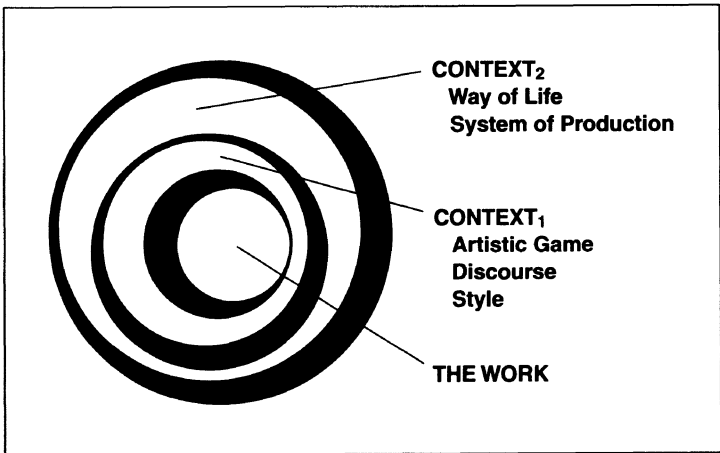


Figure 7

The Importance of Social Context

To interpret any work of art (or the product of any society), it must be seen in its social context—an immediate social context that defines the discourse, the style, and the code with which a society's members interact and a larger context that defines a way of life and a system of production. These ideas were first put forward by dos Ventos, based on the concepts of Wittgenstein.

Looking at Culture across Space and Time

Let us move next to the manifestations of culture across space and time. Many of the examples I use are paintings, sculptures, and architecture, because they are visual and easily communicable. One could make the same case with music or literature or legislation, but it would not be so easily accessible.

If we look at certain villages, mosques tend to be the dominant structure all around them. Mosques have certain attributes that one associates with how they should look. These are mosques in the Middle East (figure 8a) and in North Africa—very common with domes and minarets, elements to which we shall return later.

But then here is another mosque in Bosnia (figure 8b).

This one is in Indonesia (figure 8c).

This one is in Niger.

And this, believe it or not, is the Great Mosque of Xi'an in China (figure 8d). Although it may look like a temple to most people, it is a mosque. Here is the interior being used.

What do these mosques tell us? They lead us to my second intellectual point, which concerns overlays.

Overlays

Every subcommunity starts with certain givens—a climate, a geography, a society that may be different. In figure 9 I have schematized them as two very different designs (the two diagrams on the top) to which there are overlays that come from something additional, some common thread. In this case, when we are talking about the cultures of the Muslim peoples, that common thread would be Islam, and here is the symbolic manifestation of this Islamic element (the two common designs at the center of the six diagrams).

Then if you overlay this common Islamic element on to the two divergent ones, it produces this (the two diagrams on the bottom). If you look only at the superficial manifestation that you see, such as the exterior manifestations of the mosques that I have shown you right now in China, Niger, and Egypt, these manifestations do not look similar at all. Therefore, one should be very wary of trying to judge by the superficial appearances

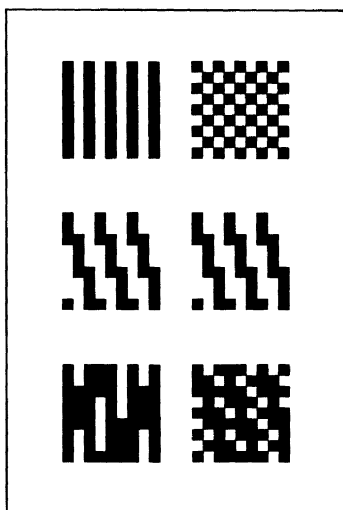


Figure 8 (a, b, c, d)
 Tremendous variety in the superficial expression of buildings is shown by comparing the external appearance of these four mosques from Cairo (top left), Bosnia (top right), Indonesia (center), and China (bottom). It is essential to go deeper than superficial appearance to sort out the deep structure of culture and society.



Figure 9

Local non-Islamic characteristics owing to climatic, geographic, traditional, or other influences can be very diverse, as exemplified symbolically by the two top diagrams. Combining a subtle overlay that Islam brings (symbolized by the common middle diagram) with the originals results in two different-looking outcomes (symbolized by the two bottom diagrams). Those who try to compare only the final appearance of the two bottom diagrams may find nothing in common between them—as do many observers who limit their review of the architecture of Muslim societies only to the physical manifestations of the buildings. Yet the common thread (middle diagram) is certainly there and indeed contributes much to the final outcome.



that one sees in society. We must make the intellectual effort of disentangling the contributing factors, if we want to see the deep underlying structures of societies, recognize the differences and the commonalties, and understand how these different forces have acted in the creation of the society we see today.

These are the first two intellectual points that I wanted to make: the importance of the societal context and of not looking superficially.

A Code for Monumental and Vernacular Architecture

We are talking about development, and therefore we are also concerned about poverty and the poor. If we talk about Muslim cultural identity defined by exemplars such as the magnificent Qait Bey Mosque from North Africa (figure 10a) or this beautiful ceiling in the Qalawun complex (figure 10c), you could ask: What

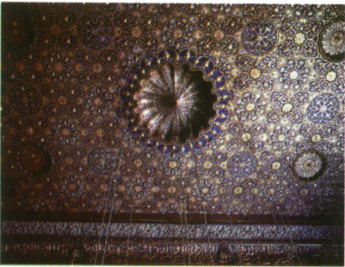
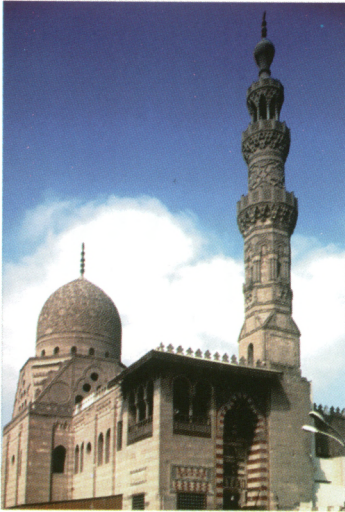


Figure 10 (a, b, c, d)

Magnificent exemplars, witnesses to a past grandeur, such as the fourteenth-century Qait Bey complex in Cairo (above left) or the ceiling of the Qalawun complex (bottom left), do not appear relevant to the poverty prevalent in much of the Muslim societies of today (upper and lower right).

does this have to say to people who live in this abject poverty? What is the connection between this rich monumental exemplar and the poverty we see in slums (figures 10b and d)?

My argument is that what you see here is a manifestation of the inappropriate development paradigm that was used. That is why you do not see the connection.

Perhaps the way to address this question is to understand that there exists a code in a society that is central to the interpretation of its cultural identity—a code that is understood throughout that society and that gets broken when the development process takes on inappropriate manifestations.

Let us look first at the code before it gets broken. Then we will look at the code after it gets broken. Let us first look at a series of very rich monuments from Cairo, along with very poor architecture from a nearby village in the western desert, also in North Africa, and let us see what similarities there are between them (figure 11).

This is the village of Ghadames. It is very modest compared with the skyline of the monuments of Cairo. But if you look more closely at this monumental example, with the narrow vertical spaces between buildings, you find that people in Ghadames, in their very modest way, also express themselves in narrow, vertical spaces.

The double arches that you see here are also found, in their very modest, clumsy way, in the houses of the peasants (figures 11a, c). Why would a peasant go to the trouble of trying to build an arch, with all the complexity that implies, when it is so much simpler and much more effective to just put a lintel across? Because the peasant identifies with a particular notion of the aesthetic. He identifies with and does not feel alienated from it.

You can find this in other manifestations as well. Notice the arch and niche here, in this huge monumental structure with a niche next to it (figure 11b). Now look at how the modest villager provides his own doorway and his own niche next to it (figure 11d).

Here we have a culture that is still alive—vibrant, not alienated. The people who produced these beautiful drawings and decorations relate to them as part of a social reality (figure 12). That reality speaks to them, and they understand it. It talks of pilgrimages, of harvest, and of marriage. The people who visit these houses “read” these drawings and understand them in the same fashion as those who created them.

Look at the use of light, for example, again from the very modest vernacular environment to the broader, monumental

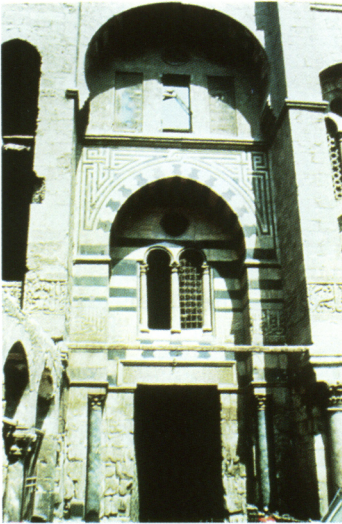


Figure 11 (a, b, c, d)

Parallelism between monumental exemplars and vernacular expression can be seen in the use of arches (upper left and lower left); and in the composition using an arch and niche, both in the Ashrafiyya Complex in Cairo (upper right) and in the modest peasant home in Ghadames (lower right).



Figure 12
Vibrant murals speak to those who “read” them in the same fashion as those who drew them. The code is unbroken.



Figure 13
In this award-winning design for a health clinic in Mopti, Mali, it is clear that the new (structure in front) can be harmoniously integrated with the old (structure in back) without breaking the code.

example. There is an ongoing code that has not yet been broken. Where the code has not yet been broken, one sees its product in harmony with what surrounds it.

But I am not talking about a mythical view of Muslim culture, which I set aside at the beginning. The harmony can and does exist between the modern and the old, as you see here in Mopti, Mali (figure 13). Here is the old structure, here is the modern structure—the code has not been broken. It is a successful example of integration. Or one can have cases of total modern-on-modern integration, as one sees for example in Singapore.

Why Cultures Disintegrate: A Three-Tiered Model

But that is not the case in many other societies in which the code has been broken. And this leads me to the third and final intellectual or conceptual paradigm I would like to give you, which is why the code in a society breaks down or disintegrates, and how social behavior functions in that society. To do so, I would like to present a three-tiered model of social behavior.

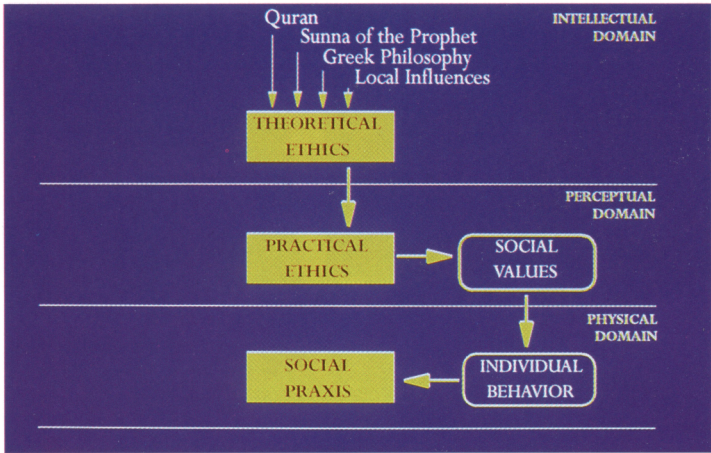


Figure 14

A three-tiered model of social behavior differentiates among the intellectual, perceptual, and physical domains. Theoretical ethics reside in the first domain. Practical ethics, a distorted version, is what is perceived by most people and is in the perceptual domain. Practical ethics determines social values, which in turn determine individual behavior in the physical domain. When collectivized, individual behavior becomes social praxis (what people do), which is what we observe societies doing in the real world.

The three tiers define the intellectual, the perceptual, and the physical domains. At the level of the intellectual domain, theoretical ethics (what should be—the normative ideal) are debated by scholars, philosophers, and intellectuals. Here in addition to the *Qur'an*, the *Sunna*, and the body of Muslim scholarship, many other tributaries come into play, including pre-Islamic local traditions, Greek philosophy, and Western contemporary thought (figure 14).

The vast majority of people, however, do not perceive this “ideal order” of the theoretical ethics. Their perception of ethics is the distorted one that I have termed “practical ethics.”

Practical ethics is one that allows some Muslims to show prejudice, to feel free with the blood of others in the name of being a good Muslim—in spite of the categorical injunction,

“There shall be no coercion in religion” (*Qur’an* 2:256). Less dramatically, it condones the visitation of saintly shrines and the demanding of intercession by saints, many of whom, incidentally, were historically unsavory characters. Such practices are categorically rejected by Islamic theology of all schools. Nevertheless, the practices are widespread, and they are considered by their practitioners to be manifestations of being a good Muslim. Thus practical ethics becomes the relevant framework for the overwhelming majority of Muslims.

Practical ethics shapes social values. These are the primary guides to individual behavior in the real (physical) world. Many rituals as well as people’s sense of “what will others think” are dominated by the prevalent social values. Hence individual behavior, by and large, conforms to the prevalent social values. When collectivized, individual behavior becomes social praxis, or what we observe society doing every day.

Change can enter the schema in several ways. First, and most common, it enters at the level of social praxis because of strong modernizing forces or major physical changes (figure 15). An example of a modernizing force is the impact that the massive increase in oil revenues in Saudi Arabia in the mid-1970s had on northern Yemen. Not only did massive migration to the north bring money and new consumption patterns, but it also changed practically all aspects of Yemen life, including architectural expression. More important, villages depopulated of all able-bodied men meant that women assumed different roles. Such changes became acceptable in terms of practical ethics and social values. A change in the social praxis moved up to the practical ethics.

Likewise, when fourteen years of drought destroyed nomadism as a way of life in Mauritania, former nomads acquired new patterns of behavior in a very painful transition to living in quasi-permanent refugee settlements around such cities as Nouakchott and Rosso. Again, changes in social praxis found their way to practical ethics and social values, to support and reinforce necessary changes in individual behavior (and social praxis).

If something persists long enough in the domain of social praxis and starts being widely accepted in the domain of practical ethics, the *ulama’* (religious scholars and philosophers) and

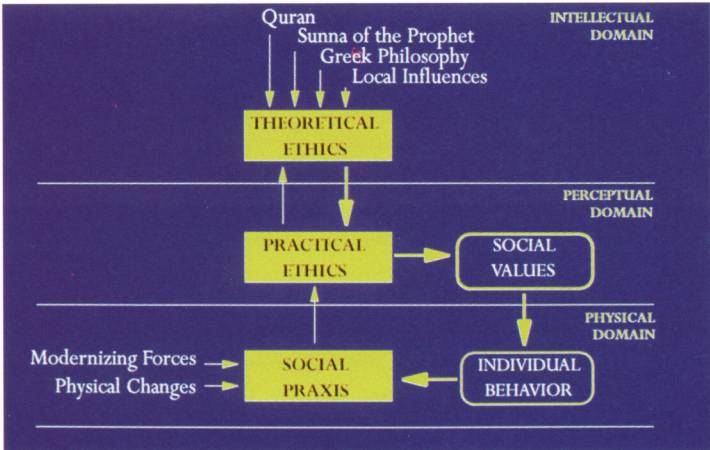


Figure 15

Change enters the physical domain and affects social praxis. If it is persistent and important enough, it gets internalized to the level of practical ethics and feeds the social values to accommodate the new behavior. If that persists long enough, the scholars and theologians functioning at the intellectual level deal with it in the theoretical ethics.

the intelligentsia generally start changing (or reaffirming) the theoretical ethics to respond to that challenge. Thus, for example, the widespread availability of interest-bearing banking has triggered responses from various Muslim religious authorities.

But change also can come directly into the intellectual domain when new ideas are confronted, analyzed, adapted, and incorporated. This was the case with Greek philosophy at the time of Al-Farabi, and it is the case today with a number of contemporary ideas (some of which we will discuss later).

Change also enters directly into the perceptual domain by two vectors: the mass media and the education system (figure 16). Both of these have much to do with shaping the world view of most people and hence help define their concept of self and society, however imperfectly or inadequately.

To the extent that all these changes are entering or being addressed at the perceptual and especially the intellectual domains, there is a possibility of maintaining the general frame-

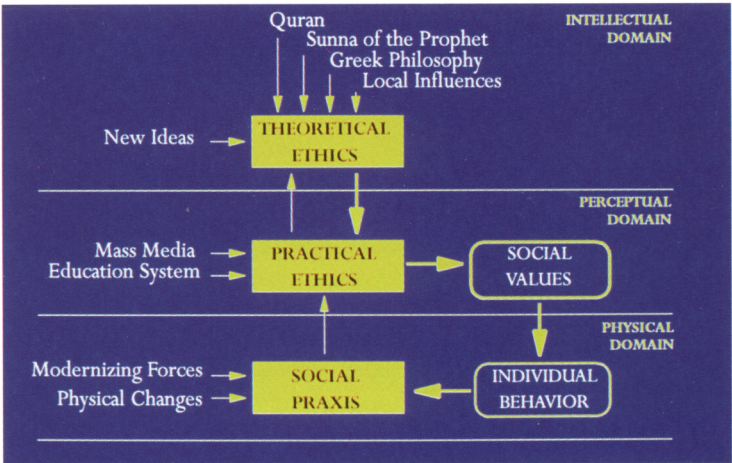


Figure 16

Change can also enter the perceptual domain through the education system and through the mass media. It can enter the intellectual domain through new ideas. It is important that the whole system remain capable of integrating the new while remaining integrated and coherent to avoid breakdowns of the code that governs artistic and social discourse.

work of society's cultural identity. It would be an evolving framework, even a rapidly evolving framework, but it would be both integrated and integrating. Integrated in that the internal coherence of the framework is maintained and people feel at ease with themselves and their society. Integrating in that it is capable of incorporating new and novel elements, thus constantly growing and adapting to new challenges, and generating the capacity to respond to new challenges and to create new opportunities. This integrated and integrating framework is a healthy one in which artists and the intelligentsia can continuously probe the challenges of nature, society, and the inner self—opening windows through which to see the world and holding up mirrors for people to see themselves, to help expand the boundaries that limit society's scope and define the wise constraints that make its people free.

I submit that in the Muslim world today, most of the change is coming from the level of social praxis, and a good part of it is entering the perceptual domain of practical ethics through the

mass media, which have in this age of global communications mostly expanded the influence of the seductive and effective mass culture of “the West” generally and of the United States specifically.

Today, there is little if any integration occurring at the level of the intellectual domain—hence the power of the rejectionist argument advanced by the Muslim fundamentalist movements. Their framework is certainly an integrated one, but it is not an integrating one. Because of the weakness of its intellectual foundations, it fears modifying old solutions or designing novel ones in order to hold on to the coherence and logical integration of the old framework.

On the diagram all the arrows on the left indicate the way change comes into the system. To the extent that change can be internalized and integrated, that system works. To the extent that it cannot, change creates a tension in the system and a breakdown in the code, and that leads to something very different from the harmony we saw before.

Breakdown of the Code: Examples from Mosque Architecture

For a quick visual example of how this breakdown occurs, let us look again at the Cairo skyline—it looks very Islamic with all those minarets. But if we zoom in a little more, there is nothing “Islamic” about those buildings, and by the time we reach the street, we have a picture of total chaos (figure 17). This is a listed monument protected under the World Heritage convention. Next to it is the street sign of a commercial shop—a brand new street sign—with the word *ATCO* written in English and Arabic. It is written in Arabic as *ATCO*, which means nothing in Arabic, but it is an English acronym for Arab Timber Company. It is the beginning of this inability to integrate and reinterpret that is a problem. We see the same breakdown in the mule next to the Toyota, the man in the jalabiyya next to the child in the T-shirt. If the system was ready to take in the new and integrate it, this variety would be a wonderful source of diversification and enrichment. But in cases in which the system is unable to do so, it leads to disin-



Figure 17

The chaos of a contemporary street scene in Cairo

Listed monuments mix with commercial buildings and old and new modes of dress and transport. All this could be enriching in a self-assured, integrated, and integrating cultural framework. Unfortunately, in periods of cultural self doubt, it tends to break down the code.

tegration and a breakdown of the code. The manifestation of this breakdown is seen in this effort at decorating with arches the clumsy structures that we see (figure 18a).

It is not a matter of wealth. Here is the building for the Young Muslim Women's Association in Cairo. It is an expensive modern building that somehow needed something. They thought of arches, and they pasted them on as after-the-fact manifestations of cultural identity (figure 18b). Or see this very solid, expensive building. The facade of this apartment building is decorated by clumsy paste-ons. How far we have come from the unaffected peasants homes in Ghadames or the self-assured treatments of the classical facades!

How different these manifestations are from the simplicity with which the villagers in Ghadames could deal with the code and interpret it in their own way without artificiality or self-consciousness.



Figure 18 (a, b)

The broken code is reflected in ugly efforts at creating arches on a facade, or in “pasted-on” decorative arches above windows in the building housing the Young Women’s Muslim Association.

But the breakdown of the code is not just in the decoration of facades. Let me deconstruct how certain symbols of the environment get broken down.

This is the image that most people in the Middle East and North Africa have of what a mosque should look like (see figure 8a on page 12). It has domes and minarets and doorways. In fact it is so well understood that this schematic is used in popular folklore to express mosques and piety. It is so well known that the minaret and the dome signify “mosque,” as you can see in this cutout in Bangladesh.

These two elements had different functions as architectural elements when they were functional in society. Let us look first at the minaret (figure 19). The minaret had two functions: the call to prayer and to act as a landmark.

Here is what the landmark function looks like today (figure 19a). Why would anybody want to place a minaret next to the tall buildings in this way? We will come back to this. Some people have sought to preserve the landmark function by building much larger minarets. This one is sixty-three stories high, rather disproportionate to the small mosque under it (figure 19b). But



Figure 19 (a, b, c, d)
Breakdown of the code is manifested in the degradation of symbols to signs to signals. Minarets, dwarfed by modern high-rise structures (upper right), are maintained in ridiculous proportions (upper left) or even pierce the balcony above (middle). In Indonesia they have opted for a functional approach, using only two loudspeakers and a rod (bottom).

at least it may have succeeded by rising above the Cairo landscape and dominating the Coca-Cola sign, a symbolic victory over materialism!

On the other hand, some in Indonesia have gone completely toward the functional, forgetting the landmark role (figure 19d). Here is the real function: the call to prayer. Two loudspeakers and a rod—that is all you really need for a functional contemporary minaret. Well, this is certainly a defensible view.

Some are not really quite clear—this Bengali solution is somewhere in between. It is partly functional and relies on

microphones, but somehow one considers that perhaps the muezzin could still go up there under this umbrella and watch people go by.

But there is a third function, which people who are unsure of themselves feel the necessity of linking up to, and that is the signal function. Here is a very small mosque with a dome, and this little minaret is neither a landmark nor is it functional as a call to prayer (figure 19c). It is put there because the people felt that if they let go of that piece, the building would not be understood and seen as a mosque. It is no longer an architectural symbol. It has been degraded to a mere signal! This approach can be pushed to ridiculous extremes, as you can see here. The mosque is on a first floor, and they pierced the balcony of the second floor to put a minaret next to it.

The same loss of symbolic quality and architectural validity can be seen in the dome. The dome was indeed the epitome of an elegant architectural solution that creates a volumetric space beneath it that provides a symbol of the heavens (figure 20a).

What happens when the code is broken? Let us look again at this mosque that I showed you earlier (figure 19 b). In the background is the real dome, and if we enter the mosque, we see that it is the space over the prayer hall. But it cannot be seen from the street. So they built a totally artificial dome that sits on a flat roof and has no opening from inside the mosque, just so that it could be seen on the street. That is not all. Let us go back to our functional friends in Djakarta. What did they do? They made some take-away domes (figure 20c). These are little aluminum structures sold on the street, which are taken away and put on top of the building's regular roof (figure 20d)!

Here is a little mosque, complete with a functional minaret and a little take-away dome on top. I asked them: "Why do you do this? Why don't you let go of that little dome?" They answered that then "it would not be a mosque!" This kind of fear of reinterpreting the past heritage in contemporary terms is not unique to Indonesia.

This is from Lahore (figure 20b). Again we see that the dome and the little minaret have nothing to do with the mosque.

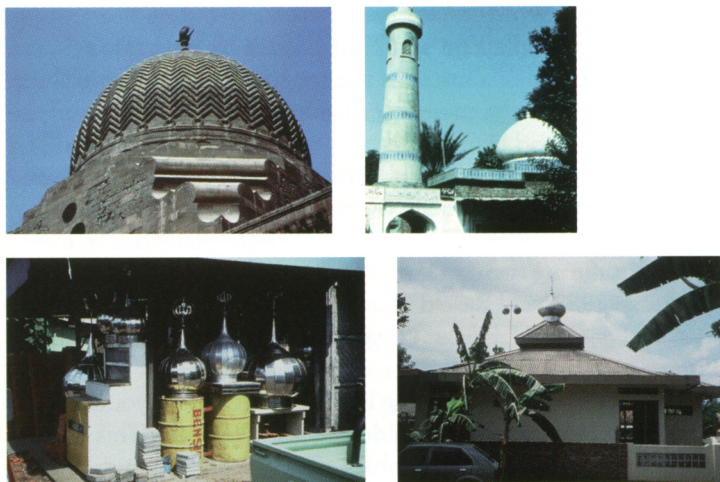


Figure 20 (a, b, c, d)

Domes, once beautiful architectural solutions (upper left), are also degraded to function as a signal—either by falsifying the domes as in this example from Lahore (upper right) or in the extreme case of these “take-away” ready-made domes from Indonesia (lower left), which were added to the roof of the structure (lower right).

The dome is on top of the shops and not on top of the prayer hall. The minaret is built on top of a door and is not accessible. But these are manifestations of the degradation of symbol to sign to signal.

These are examples of what happens when the code in a society breaks down.

Artists in a Changing Society

Artists are like the canaries that sailors took down with them in the early submarines—if the canaries died, that would be advance warning that the air had gotten bad. Artists in society speak to us more sensibly because they are more sensitive. What do they tell us about their societies today?

They tell us that there is a sense of unraveling, that they feel very much caught up like ants on a Möbius strip, like these little brilliant designs by Escher.

Artists in the Middle East and North Africa

Artists in the Middle East and North Africa have tried to reinterpret tradition and modernity in meaningful ways, and I will show some examples of the reuse of calligraphy in contemporary terms.

This is traditional calligraphy from the tenth century, and here are two modern reinterpretations by Kamal Boullata from 1983, titled *ana la ana* and *Allah nour*—elegant reinterpretations by a creative artist. So are these works by Mahjoub Ben Bella (*Kitabat Marsouma* 1983) and Rashid Qureshi (*Wasiat al-addad* 1981). This work by Naja Al- Mahdawi (*Caligramme* 1985) reminds one of a Firman.

In these cases the lettering is hardly visible, and you cannot read the content of it, but it is done with calligraphy. This one is totally done with illegible scribbles of calligraphy. There is only a reminiscence of the calligraphy. For each of these artists the use of calligraphy somehow helps to root their work in authenticity. The calligraphy disappears as a way of communicating a message and appears as a way of rooting their artistic expression in the authenticity of their societal cultures.

But rooting contemporary artwork in the elements of the past is not limited to calligraphy. It can also be a link to the illustrations in books. This is a triptych of the medieval *Shahnameh*, and this is a modern interpretation of a triptych by Elias el Zayyat (*Al atfal wal asafir wal madinah* 1971). Artists need to give it their imprint, a contemporary relevance and something uniquely relevant to their existential condition.

This same phenomenon occurs when artists struggle with painting the human figure, long regarded as a Western art form. This is Al-Tuhami Al-Nadher of Algeria's view of the back (*zabr min Nour* 1981). Nazir Nab'a's *Damascus* (1986) is a very allegoric view of the human body. This is true also of sculpture. This is the 4,000-year-old Egyptian statue of Sheikh-el-Balad. Here is a contemporary 1972 interpretation of it by Adam Henein.

Some artists have broken completely, like Nabil Shehadeh, who did this abstract expressionist work (*Composition* 1984). He and other abstract painters have also tried to find new forms of expression. Some of these artists felt that their audience was not

appreciative enough, that they (the artists) did not communicate as well as they would have liked. These artists had become part of the global movement, but they were not able to communicate because the old code between them and most of their audience had been broken, and a new code had not yet been created.

Most of the serious artists I have spoken with decry the loss of identity in their societies, caught as they are in the throes of a disjointed Westernization. These artists are struggling valiantly to resymbolize the contemporary environment against the powerful forces of vaneer Westernization in society. They are trying through their art to provide the means and the vehicle for expressing their society's identity in contemporary terms.

I will show you one last example of such an effort. It is the work of Ahmed Mostafa, who uses very classical elements of calligraphy in a very unusual and contemporary way (figure 21). He has struggled perhaps more than most in trying to give new meaning to old paradigms. His work is unique in showing a skillful ability to use traditional script in abstract contemporary design constructs, as in this work, or in using modern stylized lettering for traditional *Qur'anic* verses as in these stained glass compositions. His work also involves geometries of different forms.

Artists in the West

But what of Western societies and art? How do they manage to deal with incorporating the new? There are some very powerful examples of the ability to take from another culture. I will show some of the contributions of African culture to Western art. This is taken from the excellent exhibition, *Primitivism in the Twentieth Century*, at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1984.

This 1931 Picasso bust was taken from this Guinean Nimba mask. This is documented, except that the Guinean Nimba mask was part of a social reality, part of a social ritual. It had a meaning for the artist who created it and for the people who used it. Broken out of the societal context and put into the Musée de l'homme, it became only an artifact, an appearance. It was voided of its social content. Picasso also could look at a



Figure 21 (a, b, c)
 Masterful modern calligraphy by the artist Ahmed Mostafa shows the use of classical lettering in totally modern abstract design (top) and the use of modern lettering to render classical passages from the *Qur'an* (middle) or to articulate the rendering of shapes and objects as in this impressionistic presentation of the *Ka'aba* (bottom).

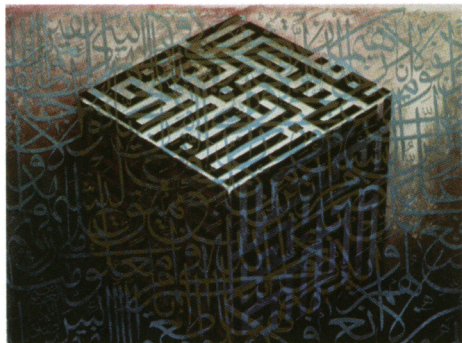
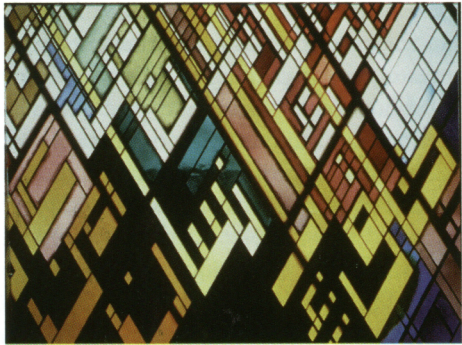




Figure 22 (a, b, c)

Western societies, because of their self assurance, have no difficulty borrowing from other cultures to enrich their own. Max Ernst's 1934 sculpture (upper left), for example, was inspired by this bird's head mask from Burkina Faso (upper right). Likewise, artists in Western societies can more readily reinterpret and redefine their heritage as was playfully done by Charles Moore in the Piazza D'Italia in New Orleans (bottom).

Grebo mask and then interpret it in a guitar because all he was looking for, as an artist in a very powerful hegemonic culture, was to reenrich and reinterpret his art for his society, and he could take from other cultures as he saw fit.

And he was not the only one. This portrait of *Madame Matisse*, on the left, painted by Matisse, draws on this Upper Volta mask of Gabon. Max Ernst's 1934 sculpture is a straight take-off from the bird's head mask of Burkina Faso (figures 22a and b). Others have been inspired by African art forms generally, even if they have not directly copied any specific work, such as Barnoff-Rossiné's *Symphony No. 1*, which was inspired by the Guinean Baga Bird headdress.

For more significant pieces, for example, *Demoiselles d'Avignon*—one of the landmark paintings of this century because it moved people from realism to nonrealistic painting in 1907—was partially inspired by appearances of African masks. Although we are told now that it was not a direct copy because this Etoumbe mask did not come to Europe until 1931, it did not matter anymore because it was not a question of copying; it was an enrichment of the elements of a vocabulary on which a powerful artist could draw to create his own innovative contributions.

Others show similar influences. Emil Nolde's masks were drawn from Brazilian shrunken heads. This Brancusi sculpture certainly benefited from the Guinean mask before you.

These examples show that a society that is self-confident can take from other societies and incorporate something new and make it its own. However, this is not the process that is happening in many of the poor societies with which we are dealing under the "development" paradigm, where in Africa, for example, there is a real risk of marginalization of large segments of these societies.

If we look at the United States, for example, we see that Charles Moore can build in the Piazza D'Italia a very playful reuse of such old architectural idioms as Corinthian columns because there is a sense of assurance, there is a sense that "This is mine. I can use it any way I want. I can reinterpret it—I do not worry about whether I have to let go of it or not. I can make a contemporary interpretation today that will be as much mine as the old one was" (figure 19c). How different is that self-assurance from the tiny minarets and false domes we saw in societies where "identity" is being ravaged rather than redefined.

And Picasso not only borrowed from the Africans, he also reinterpreted, for example, the work of Courbet. I point out here the appearance of *Demoiselle de la Seine* so that we can see what he did with it. Whether we like his reinterpretation or not, he was drawing from all sorts of examples around him, and he was able not only to devise a new language, but to make powerful statements as well. He did that in *Guernica*, through which he spoke to the problems of anger and anguish over the Spanish Civil War, which marked the inter-war evolution of intellectual thought in the West.

A Recapitulation: Three Conceptual Constructs

To sum up, the conceptual paradigms that I would like to draw from all we have seen are: first, why the code gets broken—and we talked about the three-tiered diagram; second, that we should avoid looking at superficial manifestations of culture, but should go deeper so as to disentangle the strands that make up a culture; and third, that under no circumstances should we look at culture without its societal context.

Back to Development

Now some may ask why should we, who deal with development, be concerned about all that? I believe that we should be concerned about all that because we are using an economic framework to work on development problems: we have started to integrate from the micro- (grassroots) to the macro- (national) levels of the economy, and we have gone further to introduce the political dimensions in dealing with the political economy of transition and transformation. We are increasingly talking about social issues, and it is my contention that we should be seeking to expand this paradigm to include the cultural and the ethical issues as well (figure 23). Because if we do not, we run a very grave risk.

Life Chances and the Risks of Social Disaster

To illustrate this risk, let's look at this diagram, which captures some ideas first put forward by Sir Ralph Dahrendorf in his book, *Life Chances* (figure 24). He said that there are bonds or

The Domain of the Conceptual Framework

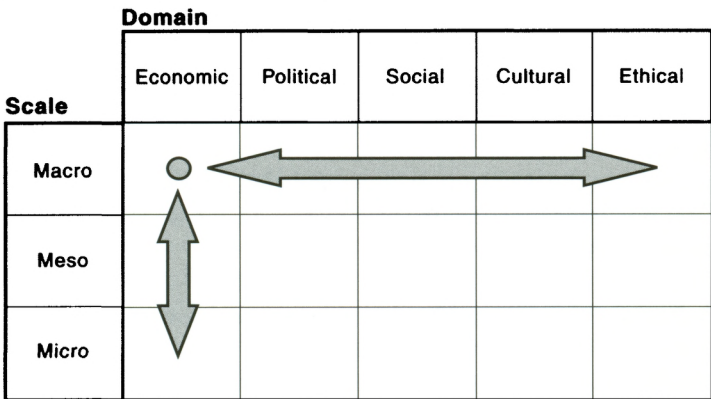


Figure 23

We are extending the fields of concerns of development by linking the micro- (grassroots) levels to the macro- (national) levels of the economy and by extending concerns from the economic to the political, social, cultural, and ethical domains.

ligatures that bring people together, that define a unit, a social group. People like to identify themselves as members of groups, and these bonds are found in groups as varied as professional societies and traditional villages. And there are options that people want. In the past we have generally believed that there is a tradeoff between the two, and development was seen as moving between the possibilities of that tradeoff. Dahrendorf says that this is a wrong perception, that we should be seeking to increase both bonds and options together, thereby increasing what he called *life chances*.

What this means is that, stereotypically, a traditional village society appears strong on bonds and low on options, whereas modern Western society offers many options but is low on bonds or integration—extended family structures are broken down, people abandon their grandmothers to nursing home care, and the like (figure 25). If this paradigm leads us to the conclusion that the traditional village is stifled and anomie reigns in Western

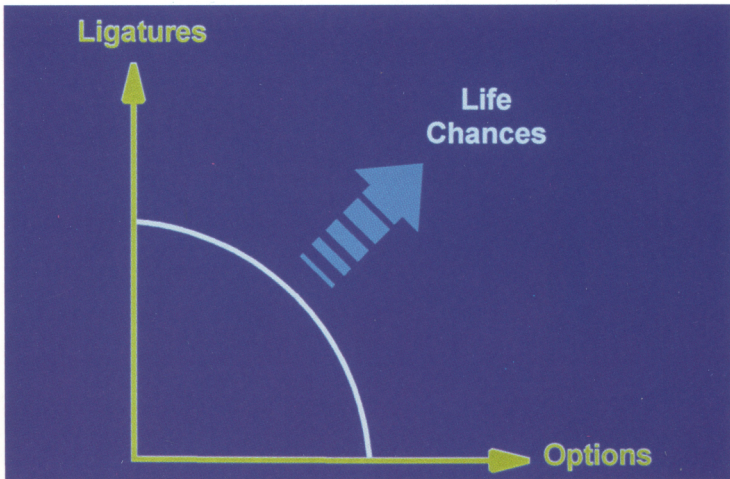


Figure 24

Sir Ralph Dahrendorf's seminal work, *Life Chances*, showed that ligatures (bonds) and options should not be considered in the form of tradeoffs, but that development should seek to extend both bonds and options in ways that would constitute an improvement in "life chances."

society, we may rightly ask, what is at the inner core here? At the inner core is total social disaster (figure 26). This is where people have neither options, economic or otherwise, nor the strong bonds of support that exist in a traditional society. An example would be the urban underclass in Western societies—such as the homeless in American cities—who have neither options nor bonds to fall back on.

We have been talking implicitly as if the development paradigm is a tradeoff that moves diagonally from the upper left quadrant down to the right. In theory, one would argue, according to Dahrendorf, that we should try to shift that diagonal upward. But is that what is actually happening? In fact, some would argue that societies like Japan's have moved horizontally during the nineteenth century by increasing the options and maintaining the bonds, while most development programs run diagonally. The real risk is that if we lose the bonds that exist in society faster than we create the economic options, we will move downward. If we do

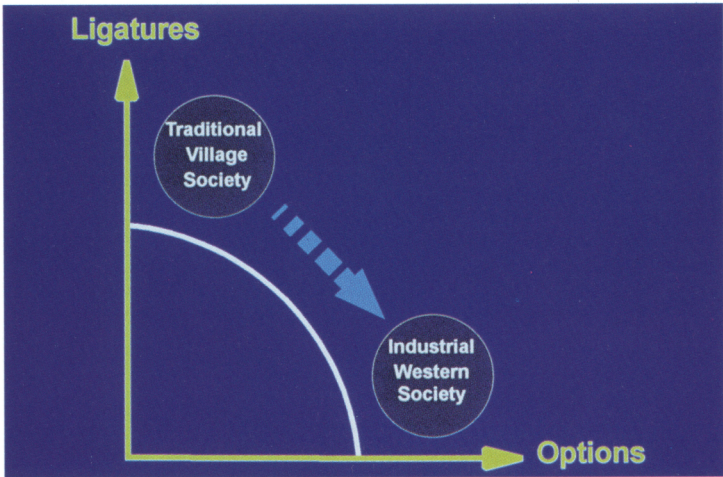


Figure 25

Stereotypically, a traditional village society is stifled by too many bonds and too few options, while a modern Western society has many options but suffers anomie. Most conventional development programs implicitly accept a tradeoff and assume that development means to move diagonally down the diagram.

not increase the options fast enough, that tradeoff would lead to a form of social disaster. This scenario is what I am worried about, and why I think that the cultural dimension, which is the key to understanding the bonds between people, is so important.

An example worthy of note is that of Ghana. It had to cope with some 2 million refugees who emigrated from Nigeria in early 1981–82. These people entered Ghana and were absorbed by their own families almost without a ripple. This could happen because a sense of belonging still existed. There is no way that Ghana could have coped with this influx through some social security mechanism administered by the state, for we see everywhere the weaknesses and the inabilities of governments in developing countries to administer such mechanisms. If we lose the bonds that exist in society faster than we can create the new institutions, we face social disaster. This is what we should be concerned about.

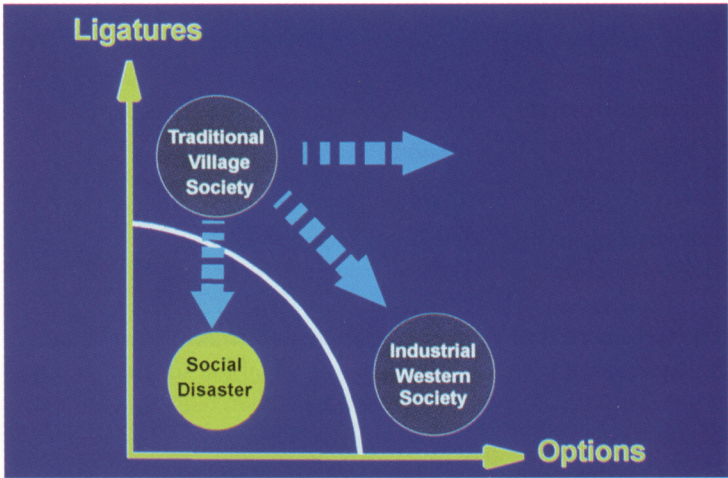


Figure 26

At the center of the diagram is social disaster, with neither bonds nor options (exemplified by the homeless urban underclass in U.S. cities). Some societies (such as Japan) modernized while maintaining the bonds, thus moving horizontally rather than diagonally. The real risk, however, is that if bonds are lost faster than options can be created, the “development program” would lead to social disaster.

What should we do then? My answer is that we must empower people. And this leads me to the development approach that reinstates the code and reaffirms an integrated and integrating cultural framework through empowerment.

Empowerment

To illustrate empowerment, let’s look at public housing. The top-down technocratic approach is based on the notion of a slab block and was legitimated early in this century (figure 27). This solution was adopted in Frankfurt in 1922 (figure 27a) and in Cairo in 1980 (figure 27b) or is it the other way around—I don’t think anyone can tell the difference anyway. It makes no difference that they are sixty years apart, that climatically they are totally different, that technologically they are different. It is exactly the same technological solution. It

leads to the instant slums that we know only too well in so many countries (figure 27c).

When people had options, when they were empowered to express themselves about whether they wanted this kind of housing, they did not.

This is Pruitt-Eigo in St. Louis in the United States. What to do about it was put to a vote of the people, and in 1973, a milestone event, they blew it up. This is not a condemnation of architectural design. It is the condemnation of a social policy.

Confronted with this experience, what are the alternatives? The technocratic approach sought to emulate the variety of an Italian hill town. This is Moshe Safdie's Habitat for the Montreal Expo. This is supposed to recreate the Italian hill town, and to be fair to Habitat, I show you an Italian hill town in black-and-white, so that you will not be enthralled by its beauty in color. But what makes them different is that in the Italian hill town, every house is different. There is individual creation, and the total is an organic whole. Whereas Habitat is a top-down solution of simple engineering work that is flipped over backward and forward again and again. It is an example of what disempowerment is all about.

Here is a case of actual empowerment taking action (figure 28). It is a standard public housing project of slab blocks, not very different from so many others. But here, for reasons that I will not go into, the tenants felt that it was their own. So what did they do? First, they individualized their homes. They painted some blue, some yellow (figure 28a). Some are complete, some partial, but suddenly they start saying, "This is mine." Next, they work together and they make additions (figure 28b). They talk together, and they agree to make additional spaces.

Before we know it, the geometry has disappeared; we cannot see the geometry of the original block any more (figure 28d). People have taken over. They have been empowered, there is dynamism, there is development taking place. What is more important is that the additions that they build are of better quality than the original structure that the government provided because it was assumed that the people would be unable to build such structures (figure 28c).



Figure 27 (a, b, c)

Top-down technocratic solutions are exemplified by these ugly slab block public housing designs, which are the same for 1922 Frankfurt (top) or 1980 Cairo (middle) and produce these instant slums (bottom).



Figure 28 (a, b, c, d)

In Ain Al-Sira, residents take charge and individualize their dwellings first by painting the outside (upper left), then by negotiating and building additions (upper right), which multiply to the point that the original geometry of the slab block is no longer visible (bottom right). The quality of the additions is frequently superior to that of the original buildings, which were provided because the residents were presumed to be incapable of building for themselves (bottom left).

Now let us go to an extreme case of absolute poverty—the refugee camps where the Mauritanian nomads live because fourteen years of drought destroyed their herds (figure 29). This is the camp near Rosso, where the people line up all day long to receive water. They are very, very poor, and—remember, these are nomads—they have no tradition of building.

These are the kinds of shelters they have put together. But there is a very strong sense of community. This person wanted to move his dwelling, so what did the others do? They all pitched in and physically lifted it up and carried it to its new location (figure 29a). This is the real power base on which empowerment can take place. It is this bond that makes people pitch in to help one another and that has to be allowed to flourish and to be given a chance to express itself. Thus are people empowered.

Let's see what happens when in these very same circumstances some architects and engineers come in and empower the refugees by providing them with the technical know-how that they lack. Here is the same refugee camp, and here you can see the beginning of the new project. With the support of a nongovernmental organization called ADAUA, these same nomads built these kinds of structures (figure 29b)! These are the same people.

Look at the complexity and the elegance of the structures that they are now able to produce. I would argue that by any standard, aesthetic or otherwise, these are very elegant, sophisticated structures that are comparable to the best that talented architects can produce, and far better in fact than the slab blocks that governments tend to provide. These kinds of structures emanated from people who before could build only ramshackle shelters of cardboard and corrugated tile. A new code is being developed. This is the result of empowerment.

But is this what is happening in places like Africa today? I do not think so. If we take some examples from some African cities, we see that most have this kind of environment.

This structure is clearly stunning, but I do not think people relate to it. This is the ECOWAS Fund Building in Lomé. What is also stunning is that it has no contact with the vibrant culture of the marketplace, with the reality of how people react, the traditional cultures that exist in Togo. I found this breakdown well expressed in this picture I took of a woman walking down the street in front of the statue (figure 30). Afterward, I asked her whether she realized that this statue was a paean to Togolese womanhood. She just had no idea! The code was totally broken, totally alien, so that it had no manifes-

Figure 29 (a, b)

In refugee camps of erstwhile Mauritanian nomads, whose way of life was destroyed by years of drought and who do not have building traditions, the sense of community survives. These very poor people show solidarity in moving the poor shelter of one member of the community (top). With sympathetic support from a nongovernment organization called ADAUA that empowers and builds on that sense of community, they succeed in building elegant structures for themselves and even for the offices of ADAUA (bottom).



tation, no presence, and hence there was no linkage between the woman and the statue.

This same rupture manifests itself in another form of cultural expression. Take something as vibrant and natural as the local dancers in West Africa (figure 31). Here is what happens when dance gets taken over by top-down government organizations. The difference between the authenticity of this expression and the total artificiality of the government-sponsored one is tragic to behold.

Conclusion

In closing let me emphasize what I believe must be done to rejuvenate the whole approach to development. I have a vision of an approach to development that views it like a tree, which is nurtured by feeding its roots, not by pulling on its branches. We

must empower people to be all they can be. They must create their own identity, their own institutions.

This is a vision of sustainable development.

A vision that is people-centered and gender conscious, that seeks equity for all and empowerment of the weak and the vulnerable everywhere, that they may be the producers of their own welfare and bounty, not the recipients of charity or aid.

A vision that has no room for complacency in the face of the misery of millions of kindred souls who suffer in the grip of extreme poverty and hunger in a world that has the means and the ability to help them lift themselves out of conditions that are beneath any definition of human decency.

A vision that considers the need to abolish such conditions as a simple expression of respect for the most basic of human rights and that considers the failure to strive for the elimination of the scourge of hunger as a degrading complicity in an unacceptable state of affairs.

A vision that recognizes that development must have a cultural content, that recognizes that governance and institution building and enhancing human capacities are all central parts of the development process and may in fact be the frame that undergirds economic well-being.



Figure 30

This Togolese woman does not recognize that the statue behind her is intended as a salute to women like her.

Figure 31 (a, b)
The vibrancy of traditional dance (top) is lost in the government-sponsored version of organized dancing (bottom).



A vision that places the short term within the long term, that places short-term actions within a long-term framework.

A vision that is environmentally sustainable, that will leave future generations as much as if not more than we ourselves found, that will husband the resources of this fragile planet just as we learn to use its bounty. This vision is not a denial of the importance of economic management and economic growth, but it is a recognition that economic growth is only one part of development.

How can we relate that vision to the hard calculus of economics and finance?

On one level of reality human beings are no more than three gallons of water and a handful of minerals held together by chemical reactions. This reductionist view is one that has served us well in medicine and science and has enabled us to produce major improvements in human well-being. But it is a partial image, one that misses the difference between a Hitler and a Mother Theresa, a Stalin and a Mozart. It misses all those special features that make human beings human.

In the same spirit one can say that reducing a society to the sum of its economic and financial transactions is the equivalent of reducing this society to three gallons of water and a handful of minerals. It misses all those marvelous, amazing things that human beings create through their interactions with other human beings and with their environment. All that we have learned to call a human society—a community, a sense of place, a culture, and a manifestation of a people and their environment.

Yes! We have the unique opportunity to change the way humankind relates to its environment. It is a challenge that we at the World Bank are determined to meet, working collaboratively with our partners who share this objective. We cannot afford to let this opportunity escape us, either by sins of commission or of omission. We can think of better ways of promoting development, we can convince policymakers and the world at large.

It can be done. It must be done. It will be done.

Acknowledgements

With special thanks to the Freer Gallery of Art, the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., and to Milo Beach, Director and the staff of the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery.

Special appreciation to the Egyptian Ministry of Tourism, H.E. Fuad Sultan, Minister, and Samir el-Sadek, Advisor.

Special appreciation for permission to reproduce the works of art and historical photographs is expressed to the following institutions and individuals:

Kamran Adle	Roland and Sabrina Michaud
The Aga Khan Award for Architecture	Ahmed Mostafa
ARS, New York/SPADEM, Paris	Municipal Museum, Istanbul
Intissar Azouz	Musée Barbier-Mueller, Genève
Mahdjoub Ben Bella	Musée de l'Institut du Monde
Beyeler Collection, Basel	Arabe, Paris
The Lillie P. Bliss Bequest,	Musée Picasso, Paris
The Museum of Modern Art,	The Museum of Modern Art,
New York	New York
Moustafa Boujamaoui	Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts,
Kamal Boullata	Istanbul
Charles Correa	Museum für Volkerkunde und
Farokh Derekshani	Schweizerisches Museum für
Adam Henein	Volkskunde, Basel
The Hermitage Museum,	The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art,
St. Petersburg	Kansas City, Missouri
Laila Ali Ibrahim	Suha Ozkan
Nasrallah Kasrayan	Rapho Agence de Presse
Jack Kennedy	Photographique
Hashem Khosrovani Collection,	Mona Serageldin
Musée d'Art et d'histoire, Genève	Succession H. Matisse/ARS,
Rachid Koraichi	New York
Nja Mahdaoui	Topkapi Museum Library, Istanbul

Special thanks for the provision of additional footage to: The Royal Saudi Arabia Embassy Information Office, Washington, D.C.; the United Nations Development Programme; and the World Bank Film Unit.

“Why should those involved with development be concerned about culture?” With this opening question Ismail Serageldin, Vice President of the World Bank, takes viewers on a visual odyssey into the manifestations of cultural expression and their links to development. Examples are given from architecture, painting, sculpture, calligraphy, dance, and the art of everyday objects—from monumental palaces and mosques to decorated walls of peasant homes—as well as great works of art in museums. Moving from airports to public housing, he argues for a more sensitive approach to culture and development. Discarding superficial stereotypes, he seeks to bring out the deep underlying structures of communities and societies. Analyzing the Muslim cultures of Africa, the Arab world, and the Far East, as well as examples from the United States and Europe, he weaves an intricate pattern of ethics, socioeconomic change, and models of cultural codes and social behavior. He concludes with a model of development that incorporates the cultural and ethical dimensions of modernization. This, he argues, is superior to models that limit their analyses to the financial and economic dimensions. The model presented rests on the empowerment of the poor to become the producers of their own welfare and the builders of their own cultural institutions.

Ismail Serageldin is Vice President for Special Programs at the World Bank. He organized the International Conference on Culture and Development in Africa, held at the World Bank in Washington, D.C. on April 2-3, 1992. The conference was co-sponsored by:

The Government of Norway
The Government of Sweden
The Rockefeller Foundation
UNESCO
The World Bank

This monograph contains the text and selected slides of the film version of the introductory lecture to the conference. The video is available in 52- and 28-minute versions in NTSC, PAL, and SECAM formats. The video was produced and directed by Katrina J. Ecolivet, “STEPS FOR MANKIND” Productions.

Office of the Vice President
Special Programs
The World Bank
1818 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20433 U.S.A.