Cultural Heritage Aid

Cultural heritage as a means to development

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Degree project for Master of Science in Conservation, 30 hec

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2011/24

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ABSTRACT

This thesis handles donor countries relation to cultural heritage aid and investigates if aid agencies have any awareness of the complexity of cultural heritage and any discussion of their part in creating heritage. The donor countries investigated are Japan, Germany, Sweden and Norway. The purpose of the thesis is to describe and discuss the discourse of cultural heritage aid and scrutinize how the donors define the concept 'cultural heritage', their motives for giving aid to cultural heritage, and if the countries deal with aspects of power in their cultural heritage policies. The investigation is done with the methodology of discourse analysis through text analyses. The sources constitute of cultural heritage theory literature, foreign aid theory literature and policy papers, guidelines and other documents from donor countries concerning their cultural heritage aid.

The thesis is disposed in one theoretical part and one empirical part. In the theoretical part, the cultural heritage sector's definition of cultural heritage, usual motives within foreign aid and different views of the ownership of cultural heritage is described. This chapter also includes aspects of power connected to cultural heritage aid. The empirical part presents text analyses of the donor countries´ cultural heritage policies.

The thesis concludes that the foreign aid sector is coherent in its definition of cultural heritage as something material or immaterial, something from the past used and valued in and by today's society. All usual motives within foreign aid such as humanitarian, moral, economic, political and environmental are adjusted to fit in cultural heritage aid policies. Relating to power structures, the donor countries acknowledge different kinds of power aspects within cultural heritage aid.

The conclusion that the motives vary from moral to economic reasons show that the donor countries have a great belief in the effects of cultural heritage. The cultural heritage is mainly used through its utilitarian value. The thesis questions the notion of global responsibility and highlights the issue that cultural heritage can foster both positive and negative forms of development. The thesis ends with the rhetoric question if too much is asked of cultural heritage within foreign aid.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

I have chosen the theme for this thesis because it encompasses many different issues of my interest. It embraces questions of how different groups of people, across national borders, perceive each other's cultural heritage. These questions include issues on right of definition, right of interpretation, tolerance and respect of different perspective of cultural heritage.

During my master program, I have studied a number of courses related to this topic, courses focusing on global cultural heritage, cultural heritage in conflict areas and courses in social anthropology. In the course *Integrated Conservation*, 15 hec, I wrote a paper in which I compared two aid organizations, the Swedish Cultural Heritage without Borders and the German GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit), and one of their projects.

1.2 Problem

Foreign aid is meant to help people in need, to help in developing a society through transferring resources from a richer country to a poorer. It can be argued that cultural heritage is a resource that brings value to a society, but that it is not a basic human need such as food.

Cultural heritage is socially and culturally constructed and its characteristics differ between different situations and locations. Cultural heritage can also be a powerful political instrument in society, and can be used to create collective unity, to create groups around a common past and exclude groups of people, e.g. in nation building.

From this starting point, it is interesting to analyze donors' reasons for giving assistance to cultural heritage, since the donors risk influencing processes around creation of meaning and memory and the construction of identities and nations, processes often politically biased. It is interesting to investigate if the donor's have any awareness of the complexity of cultural heritage and any discussion of their part in creating heritage. There are always aspects of power within foreign aid activities, since a stronger part provides financial or knowledge-building help to a part in need. The power lies with the donor to decide which projects receive funding and which conditions that are tied to the implementation of the aid. When dealing with cultural heritage aid, the donor risks valuating the history of the recipient, and risks creating and/or maintaining a certain interpretation of history.

1.3 Purpose

The purpose of the thesis is to describe and discuss the discourse of cultural heritage aid through the perspective of four different donor countries; Japan, Germany, Sweden and

Norway. The thesis investigates whether a coherent approach exists, a single discourse, or whether there are differences between the various donors' approach to cultural heritage projects.

The thesis wants to contribute to the discussion of ownership of cultural heritage in today's globalized and international world, where richer countries take on to help poorer countries with the conservation and management of their cultural heritage. The thesis discusses and problematizes aspects connected to this willingness to help.

1.4 Relevance

The thesis contributes to create awareness of how aid activities are affected by the complexity of cultural heritage. It can provide support for aid agencies in their effort to create a more transparent and well-targeted assistance. International aid is a large and widespread business that sets about large amounts of capital. Accordingly, it can have major effects on conservation and management of cultural heritage.

The results can also be of interest for the cultural heritage sector, such as institutions and authorities, since power issues and community inclusion are current issues within the national arena.

1.5 Questions

The purpose of the thesis is achieved through answering a number of questions, namely:

1. ***How do the donor countries define the concept 'cultural heritage' within their foreign aid?***

This question is related to a general cultural heritage theory, to grasp if a specific definition exists within foreign aid, or if this follows a general definition within the cultural heritage sector.

2. ***What are the donor countries' motives for giving aid to cultural heritage?***

This question is related to a general aid theory, to grasp if there are other reasons to give aid to cultural heritage than the general reasons existing within foreign aid.

3. ***Do the donor countries deal with aspects of power in their cultural heritage policies?***

This question has not the ambition to answer exactly how the aspects of power are handled, since this would require a different kind of study than this thesis. The question is meant to investigate if the donors at all give awareness to power processes in their information material.

1.6 Outline

The thesis has an outline that seeks to, in a pedagogically and logically way, describe the investigation to the reader. Here is a brief introduction of each chapter and its contents.

Chapter one contains the introduction, including the starting points in terms of purpose, issues and theoretical framework. Sources and methods are presented and explained. Previous research and the thesis position in this research are presented.

Chapter two contains the theoretical framework that provides a background and context on foreign aid and cultural heritage, and the theories related to these two fields, as well as some general aspects of cultural heritage aid.

Chapter three contains the empirical core of the thesis. Four different governmental donors and their relationship to cultural heritage activities are examined, in order to explain how donors define cultural heritage, the reasons for assistance and if they handle power processes related to cultural heritage. Each country's foreign aid is presented briefly, followed by a text analysis of the cultural heritage policy.

In **chapter four** the questions and conclusions of the thesis are presented and summarized. The chapter also suggests further research.

Chapter five discusses and problematizes the conclusions.

Chapter six contains a summary of the thesis.

Chapter seven contains a summary of the thesis in Swedish.

The references are listed in **chapter eight.**

1.7 Definitions

A number of concepts are used repeatedly throughout the text. Here follows an explanation of how each concept is used and how it should be understood.

Cultural heritage refers to material heritage, such as buildings and objects, with a historical connection or interpretation, or which can be used in a historical interpretation. Intangible cultural heritage such as dance, music or theatre is thus not included. However, a concert hall or theater building can be seen as a cultural heritage according to the thesis' definition. In the text analysis in chapter three, the donors form their own definitions.

Foreign aid refers to financial or knowledge-building support provided by a state/organization to a state/organization or project. The thesis makes no principal difference between multilateral or bilateral aid. The exact transaction path from the donor to a cultural heritage project is less interesting. Aid, assistance and development cooperation is used interchangeably.

Cultural heritage aid is understood as assistance provided for projects intended to preserve, develop or increase the knowledge of cultural heritage. Projects aimed at education in conservation issues is also included, as well as equipment grants to museum activities.

Donor is the country, company, organization or individual that donates money or other commodities to a recipient.

Recipient is the part that receives a donation, in this thesis the part that receives foreign aid.

The cultural heritage sector is constituted of professionals within national authorities, museums, international organizations and other cultural heritage bodies.

Right of definition refers to the power to decide what should be prioritized for conservation and what should be designated as cultural heritage.

Right of interpretation refers to the process where a particular interpretation takes precedence and dominates the view of a particular cultural heritage.

A list of abbreviations is compiled in appendix two.

1.8 Limitations

The thesis' starting point and the empirical focus lie with the countries that provide foreign aid, i.e. the donor. This focus is chosen in relation to the purpose and questions of the thesis, which are based on the idea that the donor has got the greatest power in aid activities. It would have been possible to study the recipient. For example, it would have been possible to examine how the recipient perceives the aspects of power between donor and recipient. Potential problems with such an investigation are the amount of many different recipients, which do not manifest their views publicly or internationally. One possible method would then have been case studies and interviews. Within the time frame for this study it would only have been possible to make one such case study, which would have given a narrower perspective than the current study allows. Consequently, such an investigation would have required another thesis regarding purpose, issues and methodology.

The thesis deals with a variety of donor countries to, if possible, see patterns, similarities and differences between them. I am aware that the scope is chosen at the expense of depth. If only one or two donor countries had been studied, the thesis would maybe have been more exhaustive on the overall policy and politics of the countries. Instead, this thesis has strictly investigated policies and guidelines concerning cultural heritage. Each country's general development cooperation policies has not been scrutinized, only overall information texts and policies found in texts relating to cultural heritage assistance. This is both a matter of time and a matter of stringency in the research material and process. However, each country's national foreign aid policy is also implemented in aid to cultural heritage.

The effects of the aid have not been studied, only the official reasons for giving it. The aid has not been evaluated and the thesis will not give any suggestions for improvement, only highlight theoretical contradictions and problems within cultural heritage aid.

Concerning boundaries within the theme of foreign aid, the thesis has no principal distinction between development or humanitarian aid, development cooperation or capacity-building assistance. The relevance is that the aid is given to cultural heritage. If the aid concerns cultural heritage in need of conservation, disaster relief or projects to educate craftsmen are of minor importance for the purpose of the thesis. It is the policy regarding cultural heritage that is in focus.

The thesis does not deal with ethical or moral issues relating to aid, with the exception of moral issues directly linked to cultural heritage. Thus the thesis does not address aid's impact on economic growth or the fungibility of aid, the problem that when aid is received in order to cover basic needs it enables the recipient to spend money on for example armed conflicts.[1]

There are no geographical limits of the donors. These have been selected from the list of members in OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) by strategic criteria, see further in "Sources".

1.9 Previous Research

In this section previous research on cultural heritage aid will be accounted for. The section is fairly strict, and does not handle adjacent literature to a large extent. That kind of literature is only accounted for very briefly, and the majority of the section handles essays and texts relating directly to cultural heritage aid.

Foreign Aid & Cultural Heritage

The issue of cultural heritage linked to foreign aid is a sparsely researched area. Bengt OH Johansson has written, on behalf of Sida (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency), *Kulturarv & biståndspolitik* [*Cultural Heritage & Development Policy*], where he compiles Swedish laws and international conventions concerning international development cooperation. The publication also contains motives of why heritage should be included in development activities, with reference to Swedish guidelines and international conventions to which Sweden is a party.[2]

The research on aid, on ideas, positive/negative effects and so on, are extensive. Examples are Odén[3], Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen[4], Riddell[5], and Polman[6]. Research on

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[1] Fungibility is dealt with perspicuously in Carlsson Hansén (2010), and more specific in Polman (2010).
[2] Johansson (2001)
[3] Odén (2006)

NGO's (Non Governmental Organization) and power aspects has been investigated by authors such as Bebbington, Hickey & Mitlin[7]. I will not elaborate more on this literature here, since it does not specifically deal with cultural heritage assistance. Instead, this literature is handled in the theoretical chapter two.

Similarly, research on cultural heritage has developed theories on how cultural heritage give meaning, construct memories, identities and nations, how cultural heritage should be preserved etc. Authors to mention are Lowenthal[8], Smith[9] and Gillman[10].

A few aid agencies have published evaluation reports on cultural heritage aid. However, these only evaluate the organization and the planning and implementation of the projects and not the concept of assistance to cultural heritage. The emphasis is on evaluation, not analysis. Norwegian NORAD (Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation) has published such an evaluation of their cultural heritage projects, produced by Nordland Research and Chr. Michelsens Institutt.[11] Japan has had its Cultural Grant Assistance evaluated by the Japanese EAM (External Advisory Meeting on ODA Evaluation).[12] The Austrian development agency has also evaluated its culture and cultural heritage assistance, an evaluation conducted by COWI A/S.[13]

Essays and Thesis on Culture Aid

There are a large number of Swedish essays on the theme foreign aid, preferably in subjects such as economics, political science, international relations and social anthropology. This thesis deals only with the essays that relate to aid to culture or cultural heritage.

In the master thesis *Kulturens makt* [*The power of culture*], written in Library and Information Science in the University of Borås, Pernilla Kwingwa Lidman and Karin Rehnström explore the Swedish aid agency Sida's culture assistance using post-colonial theory combined with Paul Ricoeur's theory of ideologies. They try to trace post-colonial ideology in the work of Sida. The thesis. The authors use text analysis to examine Sida's ideology of cultural assistance, and focus on the perception of culture in Africa. The essay also seeks to investigate how the discourse of aid mirrors the image of Sweden. Kwingwa Lidman & Rehnström have a broad anthropological view of what culture is, and mentions only briefly issues relating to cultural heritage. The authors' goal is to highlight colonial ideas

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[4] Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen (2005)
[5] Riddell (2007)
[6] Polman (2010)
[7] Bebbington, Hickey & Mitlin (2008)
[8] Lowenthal (1998)
[9] Smith (2010)
[10] Gillman (2010)
[11] Nordland Research Institute & Chr. Michelsen Institute (2009)
[12] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (2004)
[13] COWI (2007)

in Sida's culture assistance policy and to illustrate the power issues. Their findings show that there are colonial ideas within Sida's culture aid discourse[14], which perhaps is not surprising in a study using postcolonial theory.

A similar thesis has been written by Nathalie Bladh and Emmy Eklundh entitled *Modernisering idag -Sidas kulturbistånd ur ett kritiskt perspektiv* [*Modernization today – Sida's culture assistance in a critical perspective*]. The thesis is written in political science in Lund University. Using theories of critical development and postcolonial theory, they make a discourse analysis of Sida's culture assistance and ask if Sida reproduces a modernization theory. The authors mean that there are clear traces of modernization and development theory in Sida's public records. The theory of development derives from a perspective of development as linear, where economical wealthier countries' type of society is seen as ideal. Bladh and Eklundh conclude that the idea of relief operations conducted on the recipient's terms requires nuance. The essay does not deal with cultural heritage as a specific field.[15]

Marlene Thelandersson investigates, in a essay from the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, the reconstruction of Sarajevo in the paper *Efter krig kommer fred* [*After war comes peace*]. She studies the reconstruction based on her future role as a landscape architect. Thelandersson describes how many different parties, both local and international, influenced the reconstruction process. Among others, she describes the European Commission's assistance and Cultural Heritage without Borders' operations in the city.[16]

Veronica Trépagny has done research on cultural assistance and cultural exchange between museums, and describes in the article "Under luppen. Kulturbistånd och museiutbyten" ["Under the microscope. Culture assistance and museum exchanges"] how Sida's policy on cultural projects were used in a Swedish-African museum programme. Trépagny studies the relation between the Swedish Östergötland county museum and the Musée Historique d'Adomey in Benin. She investigates how the two parties define the concepts of *culture*, *development*, *democracy* and *equality* in relation to the museum, concepts that are central in Sida's policy for culture assistance. The parties considered the two latter concepts most differently. Democracy was defined as freedom of speech or public will and national unity. Gender equality was seen as linked to gender or something relative. One of Trépagny's conclusions are that we cannot consider the western definitions as universal. She also shows that policies are ineffective if they are not known to or discussed by the parties involved.[17]

Research by International Organizations

International organizations have published materials both on cultural heritage within

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[14] Kwingwa Lidman & Rehnström (2006), p.64ff, 88ff
[15] Bladh & Eklund (2008)
[16] Therlandersson (2009)
[17] Trépagny (1998)

development policy and on assistance in general.

Unesco (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) has done an extensive research on cultural diversity and its influence on development. These theories are expressed in various reports, such as *Our Creative Diversity*[18] and the World Report *Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue.*[19] Unesco works extensively with research on how culture can be a positive force in the efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, for instance the work on *Culture and Development Indicators.*[20] The World Bank has conducted research on cultural heritage in development work, mainly focusing on the economic benefits. Some theories are expressed in *Cultural heritage and development: a framework for action in the Middle East and North Africa*.[21]

1.10 Discourse Analysis –Theory and Method

The study is conducted with analysis tools drawn from discourse analysis. Other methods useful could instead have been argumentation analysis, ideology analysis or content analysis. Argumentation analysis was disregarded at an early stage since it is mainly intended for studies of debates, or least for texts with argumentative intentions. The material for this thesis is not primarily argumentative texts, but rather informative. Ideology analysis is directed primarily to the study of ideologies, and the most common tools for this analysis imply that the researcher must establish an ideological scale, in which the results are categorized. This was not suitable for the purpose and issues of this thesis. Content analysis is a method with a linguistic focus, which uses statistics as its main analysis tool. Neither that was suitable for the purpose and issues if this thesis.

Discourse analysis is a theoretical and methodological wholeness that is constituted by a number of philosophical, theoretical and methodological premises that the researcher must relate to.[22] In this chapter I will describe the different parts of discourse analysis, and how these relate to the thesis.

Discourse analysis is a broad theoretical and methodological approach with several different orientations. Approach and inspiration to this thesis have mainly been taken from the books *Textens mening och makt*[23] [*The power and meanings of the text*] and *Diskursanalys som teori och metod*[24] [*Discourse analysis as theory and method*]. The analysis tools used in this study are mainly taken from Michel Foucault's discourse analysis, with some elements from Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. The essay has thus been inspired from method literature

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[18] World Commission on Culture and Development (1996)
[19] Unesco (2009)
[20] Unesco, *Culture and Development Indicators*
[21] The World Bank (2001)
[22] Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (2007), p.10
[23] Bergström & Boréus (2005)
[24] Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (2007)

on discourse analysis in general, and not from texts written by Foucault or Laclau & Mouffe.

Theory

The central concept of discourse analysis is naturally *discourse*, with a wide range of definitions attached to it, depending on the research in question and the scientific tradition. Foucault, regarded as one of the creators of discourse analysis, defines discourse as

> "hela den praktik som frambringar en viss typ av yttranden."[25]
>
> ["the entire practice which produces a particular type of expressions."]

Bergström and Boréus develop this definition with the words

> "[E]n diskurs kan beskrivas som ett regelsystem som legitimerar vissa kunskaper men inte andra och som pekar ut vilka som har rätt att uttala sig med auktoritet." [26]
>
> "[A discourse can be described as a system of regulation that legitimizes certain knowledges but not others, and decides who has the right to speak with authority."]

and

> "[D]iskurser säger /…/ något om vad som kan sägas, vem som får säga det och varifrån, dvs. från vilka olika positioner något sägs och hur något sägs."[27]
>
> ["Discourses say / … / something about what can be said, who may express it and from where, i.e. from what different positions something is said and how something is said."]

Furthermore, Winther Jørgensen and Phillips give following broad definition

> "en diskurs är ett bestämt sätt att tala om och förstå världen (eller ett utsnitt av världen)." [28]
>
> ["A discourse is a specific way to talk about and understand the world (or a segment of the world)."]

Relating to cultural heritage aid, the *discourse* is the dictums of cultural heritage and foreign aid by aid organizations, recipients etc. These dictums are connected to normative views of cultural heritage, which are related to the society's view of memory and identity etc., and to views of foreign aid, which are linked to perspectives on what development is. Also the recipients' views of the aid are included in the discourse of cultural heritage. Consequently, this thesis only investigates parts of a much wider discourse.

Even though discourse analysis has many different approaches and orientations, there are

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[25] Foucault (1993), p.57, quoted in Bergström & Boréus (2005), p.309
[26] Bergström & Boréus (2005), p.309
[27] Bergström & Boréus (2005), p.312
[28] Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (2007), p.7

some premises that are shared by all orientations. Winther Jørgensen & Phillips distinguish four such premises, which this thesis also accedes to:

- *"En kritisk inställning till självklar kunskap"*[29]
  ["A critical approach to established knowledge"]
  We understand the world through our own categories. Our perception is not a mirror of the world, since it is always translated through those categories.[30] Relating to cultural heritage, theories about cultural heritage has been developed and transformed and has moved through different paradigms, just as any other science.

- *"Historisk och kulturell specificitet"*[31]
  ["Historical and cultural specificity"]
  Our view on knowledge of the world is always influenced by our culture and history. Consequently, this knowledge could have been different in another culture.[32] Concerning cultural heritage, the views of what cultural heritage is, what it does and how it should be preserved or conservated depends on the culture that the heritage is situated in.

- *"Samband mellan kunskap och sociala processer"*[33]
  ["A relation between knowledge and social processes"]
  Our way to view the world is maintained in social processes. Truth and knowledge is produced within groups of people.[34] Regarding cultural heritage, certain interpretations of heritage and history often become dominant within a culture.

- *"Samband mellan kunskap och social handling"*[35]
  ["A relation between knowledge and social action"]
  Certain actions become natural or unnatural within a specific culture. Different views of the world result in different social action.[36] Relating to cultural heritage, certain ways to use or handle the cultural heritage become "right" or "wrong" in a specific culture.

The premises are based on the fact that discourse analysis implies having a constructivist perspective on reality, which in short is a perspective where no objective right or wrong

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[29] Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (2007), p.11
[30] Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (2007), p.11
[31] Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (2007), p.11
[32] Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (2007), p.11
[33] Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (2007), p.11
[34] Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (2007), p.11
[35] Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (2007), p.11
[36] Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (2007), p.11

exists, no definite truth. As written above, the reality is understood through our own created categories and structures. These constructions of reality are influenced by our specific historical and cultural features, which mean that there is no fixed and forever determined view of reality. The dominating view of reality is maintained in social processes where people are gathered around similar perceptions of reality. This view of the world becomes normative in the society, and consequences in social actions.[37] Concerning cultural heritage, this means that the discourse of cultural heritage is contextual, and that the dictums can change over time and space, according to the normative processes in society. The goal of a discourse analysis is to show how these representations of reality are constructed and how they are spread, thus to investigate meaning and the basis of meaning.[38]

In discourse analysis, language play a central role, because language create the image of reality. Speech and writing are representations of reality and give the physical world meaning. Nevertheless, events and phenomenon can be attributed with different meanings from different perspectives and different discourses can advocate different social actions in one and the same situation.[39] Within the cultural heritage sector a common view exists that cultural heritage is created only when something is identified as heritage, when it is spoken of and written about as heritage and linked to different values and meanings, often related to historical events. Cultural heritage is strongly connected to its word and language, and the designation is highly important. If there was no such word as cultural heritage or any similar word/concept, the phenomenon of cultural heritage would not exist.[40] Sanctuaries and memorial places would probably still exist but they would have been talked or written about differently and questions about preservation would have looked different.

Power and knowledge has a vital function in Foucault's discourse analysis. Foucault is interpreted as seeing power as productive, something that cannot be exercised by an actor against a subject, but something that shapes the discourse and the knowledge within it. In this perspective, power does not have to be seen as something negative, but can provide positive opportunities and be a motor for creation of social relations and images of reality. However, power requires knowledge:

> "Makt är både det som skapar vår sociala omvärld och det som gör att omvärlden ser ut och kan omnämnas på vissa sätt medan andra möjligheter utesluts. Makt är således både produktiv och begränsande."

> ["Power is both that which creates our social world and what makes it possible for the world to be viewed and mentioned in certain ways, while other possibilities are

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[37] Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (2007), p.11f
[38] Neumann (2003), p.34, 75
[39] Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (2007), p.15f
[40] See for example Smith (2006), p.3

excluded. Power is thus both productive and limiting."][41]

Power processes are inherent in processes of both cultural heritage and foreign aid. As mentioned earlier, within foreign aid a donor decides which project to finance and the terms tied to the assistance. Within the cultural heritage sector, someone designates a site as a cultural heritage, and decides how it shall be preserved. These power processes can, as Foucault's theory implies, be both positive and negative. It can be argued that places of significance can be "saved" from dereliction through a designation as cultural heritage, but that the heritage also can be used to manipulate history writing or exclude groups of people from a nationalistic context. Foreign aid can be used to help people in need, or be used as a means to economic growth in the donor country or to produce a philanthropic image of the donor country.

According to Bergström & Boréus, Foucault or discourse analysis in general does not give actors a prominent acting space, but is rather interested in the forcing standards that the discourse creates.[42] Foucault means that actors should be considered within the framework of the discourse. This means that actors exist within the discourse framework, and therefore are not entirely free to act.[43]

In summary, the thesis is based on a number of assumptions, namely:

- Discourse is all that can be said or written about cultural heritage aid which takes on a normative role.
- Cultural heritage is culturally and socially constructed and in need of a language.
- Cultural heritage is something changeable and unstable, something that demands a context and interpretation.
- Foreign aid always generates a certain amount of power: a donor gives to a recipient.
- Cultural heritage always generates a certain amount of power; someone designates something as heritage or in need of conservation. Someone selects a particular interpretation of history that applies to a particular heritage.
- The power within cultural heritage can be used, in both positive and negative ways, for the construction of meaning, identity, nation-building and for political motives.

The theoretical framework is further developed in chapter two.

Method

The thesis is divided in two parts, the first with a theoretical focus and the second with a empirical focus. The theoretical part builds on previous research and international agreements. The empirical part builds on text analyses of documents from four donor

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[41] Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (2007), p.20
[42] Bergström & Boréus (2005), p.328
[43] Bergström & Boréus (2005), p.312

countries. Even though discourse analysis can include a variety of different methods and sources, this thesis has used texts analysis as its major tool. In chapter four and five, the two parts are related to each other to map out eventual interdiscursive relationships.

The theoretical part, chapter two, takes its point of departure in two different spheres of theories: theories of cultural heritage and theories of foreign aid. In studying foreign aid, the thesis is interested in usual motives of giving aid. In studying cultural heritage theories, the thesis is interested in perspectives of what cultural heritage is, what it is good for and the complexity of it, among others through referring to conventions within the cultural heritage sector. Aspects of power are referred to through examples of situations within cultural heritage aid. International agreements and conventions can be said to represent idealistic thoughts of cultural heritage that show different views of cultural heritage.

The empirical part, chapter three, investigates how the questions of the thesis are handled by four donor countries that give aid to cultural heritage, using texts containing guidelines and policies. The interest here is on seeing how the donor countries *write/talk about* cultural heritage. The questions are detailed under "1.4 Questions".

Based on discourse analysis, a number of analysis tools have been chosen to be used in the text analyses of the donor countries. The tools of analysis are as follows:

● **Signs**. How *cultural heritage* is constructed and formed; different words and concepts that are included in and connected to the concept cultural heritage. This tool of analysis is taken from Laclau and Mouffe, who by tradition is more semiotically oriented than Foucault.[44] The tool is connected to question number 1 and tries to answer how the countries define cultural heritage. In the text analyses, words that are frequently used to describe the features and characteristics of cultural heritage are viewed as signs.

• **Chains of equivalence**, that consist of a collection of concepts that constitute the discourse and determines its boundaries. Such a chain has a central concept to which all other concepts are connected to, a so called **nodal point**. The concept has been introduced by Laclau and Mouffe.[45] In this study, *cultural heritage aid* is the nodal point. The chains are used to determine why the donors have an interest for cultural heritage and how they think cultural heritage aid can contribute to society. This tool of analysis is connected to the second question. The chains are summarized in an illustration for each country.

• **Management control**. What kind of control systems the countries use to regulate the aid, according to the policy documents. This includes both positive and negative aspects of power control.[46] This tool of analysis is connected to question number three and is used to study how the donors manage power aspects.

[44] Bergström & Boréus (2005), p.315
[45] Bergström & Boréus (2005), p.317f, 337
[46] Bergström & Boréus (2005), p.331

• **Interdiscoursive dependencies**. Dependencies and relationships that exist between the different discourses. This tool of analysis is used to answer the questions of how the discourse of cultural heritage aid relate to cultural heritage theory and to foreign aid theory, questions one and two.

A central problem in discourse analysis, which is also relevant for this study, is that researchers themselves can become part of the discourse under analysis. This risks reducing the objectivity of the study. Relating to this study, I am part of the cultural heritage discourse through my profession as an antiquarian, and I am aware that I cannot put myself entirely outside this discourse. There is always a risk that the issues will control the outcome because they are addressed from my antiquarian perspective. Moreover, the results will be influenced by the selection, the organizations under study and the texts studied, which is also choices that I as the researcher do. In order to secure the thesis' quality and validity it is necessary to have an awareness of these problems and consistently work with transparency regarding choices and strategies. See further under "Criticism of sources" below.

1.11 Sources

The thesis deals with three different groups of sources in which the first two are important reference material for the analysis of the third group, which represents the empirical material. The three groups are:

Cultural heritage theory literature that discusses the concept of cultural heritage. This material consists of theories about the creation of cultural heritage and international conventions where the international community has agreed on certain positions. This material is used as reference material to analyze whether the donors' views on cultural heritage are in line with the cultural heritage sector's perspective or not.

Foreign aid theory literature provides theories and arguments for foreign aid. The focus is on general theories and theories directly related to cultural heritage projects. This material is used as reference material to explain and understand how the different discourses relate to each other, to analyze whether the reasons for giving aid to cultural heritage are the same as general motives within foreign aid or not.

Policy papers, guidelines and other documents from donor countries that represent the core of the thesis' empirical part. This material is written by the countries'aid agencies or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and is collected mainly from the agencies' and the ministries' websites. These texts, expressing the countries' policy concerning assistance to cultural heritage, are analyzed using qualitative text analysis with a focus on discourse analysis. The material is used to examine the countries' approach to cultural heritage. The sources are

further presented in chapter three.[47]

Selection

The countries have been selected by criteria based on the list of member countries of OECD. OECD analyzes and compiles information on the world's economic development. DCD & DAC (Development Co-operation Directorate & Development Assistance Committee) which operates within OECD, compiles statistics on world and national aid flows. At the turn of 2010/2011, OECD had 35 member countries. The selection is made based on this list, with a hierarchy of criteria that are tested against all OECD countries' governmental websites and/or its development agencies' websites using search words such as "cultural heritage", "cultural", "heritage", "culture", "history", "patrimony" etc. The criteria are based on the premise that texts to analyze exist.

1. Countries that according to the website provide foreign aid to cultural heritage. (14 countries).
2. Countries that have information in the form of policy, reports or evaluation reports that concern aid to cultural heritage on its aid agency's website or its Ministry of foreign Affairs website. (7 countries)
3. Countries that offer the above information in any Nordic language or English. (4 countries).
   (See more about the selection in the table in appendix one.)

From the criteria the following countries are qualified for the study:

- **Germany**   - GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, GmbH)
- **Japan**   - Mofa (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan)
- **Norway**   - Norad (Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation) and MFA (the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
- **Sweden**   - Sida (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency)

The organizations are further presented in chapter three.

Criticism of sources

Naturally, the analysis is dependent on the chosen texts. As mentioned in chapter 1.6, only texts regarding cultural heritage aid have been analyzed, and texts regarding the overall foreign aid policy of the countries have not been analyzed. Neither press releases nor other texts concerning project descriptions have been analyzed. The analyzed texts are guidelines, policy documents and information texts. Some of the texts, e.g. from GTZ, handle culture aid, with cultural heritage as one integrated part. Other texts, e.g. from Sida, explicitly handle cultural heritage aid. It has been a difficult task, in the case of Germany and Norway,

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[47] Print-outs of the texts are kept by the author.

to sift out statements regarding cultural heritage in texts handling "culture" in general. These texts have explicitly included cultural heritage and has paragraphs exclusively on cultural heritage, but opinions on culture can also apply to cultural heritage. This has been a challenge throughout the work with the text analyses, and my aim has been to clarify when the statements concern culture in general or cultural heritage in specific.

Consequently, the texts are different and have a different approach to questions concerning cultural heritage. The texts have not been written to be used in a survey like this thesis. Some of them have been written for primarily informative purposes. Thus, it is important not to add values and opinions to the texts which they do not express. It is important in all text analyses to let the texts speak for themselves. It may seem as if the texts differ a lot depending on them being created for different uses, but as sources for the questions of this thesis the texts has functioned equally.

Another problem is that the researcher alone makes the choices of which texts to analyze and which paragraphs to quote. I have chosen a broad approach, analyzing the most of the texts connected to cultural heritage aid. The transparency in this thesis is secured through an extensive presentation of the analyzed paragraphs and the theses drawn upon them. As a result, chapter three includes an extensive amount of quotes.

The majority of the sources for the text analyses are taken from the internet, from websites of governments and international organizations. How up-to-date these sources are may be questioned in situations where there are no information on when the texts were published on the website. This applies for example to the texts by Mofa and some of the texts by GTZ. However, one has to assume that such an official actor publishes texts they can stand for. These texts are not found in an archive or such at the website, but are linked to the starting page. This is seen as giving them a certain amount of accuracy. Other texts are brochures and texts that are placed on the websites in form of pdf:s. The validity of these texts has been viewed equal to a printed source.

Concerning the authors of the texts from the donors, this thesis has viewed the documents as the opinions of the aid agencies or ministries that has published and spread the texts. At least one of the texts, from Sida[48], is written by a well known architect working within the cultural heritage sector (Bengt O.H. Johansson). The opinions of the cultural heritage sector could be seen as having an advantage in this text. This can of course be the case. However, Sida are using this text as their own guidelines which can be argued to show an acceptance of the theses expressed. Sida's text is also distinguished in that the author is announced in the publication. This does not apply to the other texts.

The theoretic literature is used as support in answering the questions of the thesis. Consequently, this literature has mainly consisted of general literature that gives account for

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[48] Sida (2005)

different theories, more explanatory than enforcing of new theories.

The conventions referred to in chapter 2.3 represent idealistic views on cultural heritage, which are not always reflected in practical work with cultural heritage. However, they are helpful in providing examples of different theoretical views on heritage and are easy to compare with the policies from the donors. Even the policies are representatives of an idealistic view on the work with cultural heritage aid, which may not always be reflected in the aid activities.

2. CULTURAL HERITAGE AID – MOTIVES AND ASPECTS

2.1 What is Cultural Heritage?

> "Cultural heritage consists of the creations of previous generations and how we perceive, interpret and manage them today."[49]

This quote is taken from the Swedish National Heritage Board's website. It tells us that cultural heritage is something man-made, something that has been past down through history. The Board also points out that cultural heritage is constantly changing, since cultural heritage is something from the past used and interpreted in the present.[50]

Bohman highlights the broadness of the concept and characterizes cultural heritage within three perspectives of explanation:

- **The exemplary cultural heritage:** The heritage as ideological, political or socially positive parts of our past that are prioritized for conservation and preservation.
- **The all inclusive cultural heritage:** Everything past down to us from earlier generations.
- **The analytical cultural heritage:** Both positive and negative parts of our past that has formed us and our society and therefore is conservated.[51]

Bohman argues in favor of the analytical perspective, meaning that the all inclusive perspective is impossible to uphold. If everything is heritage then nothing is valuable. Bohman argues that cultural heritage is something subjective, something chosen.[52] This view is supported by Harrison. He sees categorization as an important part of the creation of cultural heritage. The categorization and listing of specific sites and objects as cultural heritage designate them as something valuable and worth conserving.[53] Today, cultural heritage theory highlights the notion that the value of cultural heritage is not inherent, but attached to the heritage "by particular people at a particular time for particular reasons".[54]

Harrison stresses the fact that there is an intangible heritage attached to every tangible heritage, in the form of stories, connections to traditions and ceremonies etc. Consequently, cultural heritage can also be seen as a practice that includes intangible heritage such as

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[49] Swedish National Heritage Board
[50] Swedish National Heritage Board
[51] Bohman (2003), p.12f
[52] Bohman (2003), p.13
[53] Harrison (2010), p.11
[54] Harrison (2010), p.25

language, dance, traditions etc. but also practices of conservation and preservation.[55]

Lowenthal writes on the difference between cultural heritage and history. He means that heritage is transformed to be useful in the present, for political, ideological and social reasons. Lowenthal writes:

> "History tells all who will listen what has happened and how things came to be as they are. Heritage passes on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose. History is enlarged by being disseminated; heritage is diminished and despoiled by export. History is for all, heritage for ourselves alone."[56]

However, there are relations between "old" and cultural heritage. Harrison stresses the fact that a categorization process can designate one object as cultural heritage and another object as simply old and valueless. Ronström gives another perspective on the aspect of age when describing the transformation of the city of Visby. He shows how the inscription on the World Heritage List worked as an incentive to accent the medieval past of the city core. The time layers were eradicated on behalf of medieval traces.[57] This is an example of where the value where directly connected to age, and where the attitude was "the older the better". Moreover, Bohman gives a perspective of how time changes the view of cultural heritage. Drawing on a negative or dissonant cultural heritage (such as objects related to Nazi Germany for example), he argues that within a short timeframe, the usual reaction is to eradicate the objects, which are not perceived as cultural heritage. After a certain amount of time, a tendency to conservate starts showing, mainly as a discouraging example. After a longer time, people can start reinterpret the heritage.

In summary, cultural heritage is a material object/site or an immaterial phenomenon which are man-made and historically interpreted to be used in the present.

2.2 Motives of Foreign Aid

Foreign aid can be used as economic and political instruments and is affected by economic and political variations in the donor country and by global power relations. Odén means that aid always has political consequences in the recipient country, even if the donor country chooses to see the aid as a mere technical resource transfer.[58] The goals of foreign aid have differed during the past decades, but one can see a clear tendency towards an increased number of goals that include more areas of social life.[59] The inclusion of aid to cultural heritage can be seen as such a widening of the scope of foreign aid.

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[55] Harrison (2010), p.9
[56] Lowenthal (1998), p.128
[57] Ronström (2008)
[58] Odén (2006), p.11, 167
[59] Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen (2005), p.4

The aim of foreign aid has gone from the target of changing economic and social conditions, to include development of institutions and reforms of politics. Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen mean that this can be seen as a tendency towards increased intervention by the donors, and that this trend requires a preventive respect for the recipient country's right to self-determination.[60]

According to Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, the most important motives for donors to give foreign aid relate to moral and humanitarian reasons, politics and matters of national security and considerations of economy and trade. Former colonial relations can also have an influence on the motives. In the last fifty years, emphasis has been put on motives relating to the desire for an improved and sustainable environment, to limit international migration and the fight against narcotics, epidemics and terrorism.[61]

The overall motives for foreign aid can differ between donors and situations. Odén means that goals related to solidarity, humanitarian reasons and development are common as official political goals in international discussions on foreign aid. In reality, there is a great focus on the foreign policy of the donor country, where foreign aid is used as a political instrument. While political reasons are common motives for donor governments, the humanitarian motives are more important to NGO's and civil society.[62] Also Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen mean that there is a difference between the declared motives and the real ones, particularly in official bilateral aid. They mean that moral and humanitarian motives are overstated in official statements, while economic and national security reasons are tacit or understated. Although of course, this depends of the context.[63]

Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen divide the most common motives into three groups, namely:

- **Moral and humanitarian motives.** Based on the idea that rich countries have a moral obligation to help poor countries. This can be based on various religious or ideological beliefs or on a view that poor countries have the right to a larger part of the world's resources, as they too have the right to development. Moral and humanitarian reasons have been major motives in the multilateral aid through the UN (United Nations).[64] However, purely moral and humanitarian motives are rare within the international aid debate, and are usually combined with other motives such as some kind of self-interest.

- **Political and economic motives.** Even if political or national security rarely is the official reason for foreign aid, a large part of the aid is distributed in accordance with

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[60] Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen (2005), p.4
[61] Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen (2005), p.9
[62] Odén (2006), p.13, 32ff
[63] Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen (2005), p.16f
[64] Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen (2005), p.10ff

political and national security priorities. Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen mention China, India and the former Soviet Union as examples of this kind of motives. Economic and commercial interests are often used as motives in the choice of recipient and method of the aid. E.g. former colonies have received aid from former colonial power in order to maintain trade relations. Nations such as the USA, Canada, Germany and Japan, who do not have an extensive colonial past, have been led by commercial interests in the choice of recipient countries. It is not unusual with conditions tied to the aid, for example conditions of purchases of goods from the donor country. Among others, Japan has previously had a large amount of tied aid.[65]

- **Environmental motives.** A motive that has increased since the 1980's, both in bilateral and multilateral aid. This motive is based on the idea that a common global interest and inter-dependency exists in relation to the environment, and that the poverty in developing countries is a strong contributor to the degradation of the environment. Sustainable development is the catchword.[66]

2.3 Conventions and Charters in the Cultural Heritage Sector

In this section, a number of conventions and charters within the cultural heritage sector will be presented in order to explain two different views on the ownership of cultural heritage. These two views, which I call **universalistic** and **particularistic**, are the most used perspectives on the ownership of cultural heritage within the global arena. The two views will be drawn upon in the text analyses in chapter three. The concepts are developed from the concepts *particularism* and *cosmopolitanism* used by Gillman[67] and *nationalism* and *internationalism* used by Merryman.[68] I have chosen the words universalistic and particularistic as synonyms to the words of Gillman and Merryman because I find these words more clearly expressing the character of the two perspectives. For example, these two views have consequences in questions of returns or repatriation, but are of importance also in questions of foreign aid to cultural heritage, since they handle issues of who has the right to the power of definition and interpretation.

Gillman lets the debate on the Elgin Marbles (marbles taken from Parthenon in Athens to British Museum in London) exemplify the two views through quotes from Greenfield respectively Merryman:

> " 'The marbles are part of an Athenian ancient monument, and the Greek people are the indigenous descendants and inheritors of the Athenian republic. The link between Greek civilization, Athens and the marbles appears to be inexorable, and does not even bear

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[65] Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen (2005), p.12ff
[66] Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen (2005), p.15f
[67] Gillman (2010)
[68] Merryman (1986)

comparison with any possible link that Britain may have with pieces of classical Greek sculpture, transported thousands of miles from their home.'

Merryman counterbalances this with a British claim:

'They help define the British to themselves, inspire British arts, give Britons identity and community, civilize and enrich British life, stimulate British scholarship. While one may argue that in these terms the Greek claim is more (or less) powerful than that of the British, it is not unreasonable to perceive the two positions as roughly equivalent' ".[69]

These examples show very clearly how the two approaches produce different effects on the same object.

The Hague *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* from 1954 (hereinafter referred to as "the Hague Convention") was drafted to protect cultural property from damage of belligerents in armed conflicts. The Hague convention view cultural heritage as something that belongs to all peoples and the preamble sums up the spirit of the convention:

"Being convinced that damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world;

Considering that the preservation of the cultural heritage is of great importance for all peoples of the world and that it is important that this heritage should receive international protection;"[70]

The spirit of this convention is, according to Gillman drawing on Merryman, one of "cultural internationalism", where the cultural heritage is seen as something universalistic beyond a sheer nationalistic interest.[71] One can assume that the statement of a need of international protection also implies support of international assistance in times of need.

Gillman draws on Merryman in his comparison between the Hague Convention and the *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property* from 1970 (hereinafter referred to as the 1970 Convention). The 1970 Convention draws on the idea that cultural properties need to be protected from leaving the borders of the nation in which it was created, and represents a particularistic view of cultural heritage. Also in this convention is the spirit encapsulated in the preamble:

"Considering that cultural property constitutes one of the basic elements of civilization and national culture, and that its true value can be appreciated only in relation to the

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[69] Greenfield (1989) & Merryman (1986), quoted in Gillman (2010), p.47
[70] *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict…* (1954)
[71] Gillman (2010), p.42, Merryman (1986), p.837

fullest possible information regarding its origin, history and traditional setting."[72]

According to Merryman, this convention manifests a nationalistic view of cultural heritage, and is retentive in comparison with the protectionist view of the Hague Convention.[73] Merryman states that the 1970 Convention's main purpose is "to restrain the flow of cultural property from source nations by limiting its importation by market nations."[74] He emphasizes that source nations are mainly Third world countries and market nations are mainly richer First world countries.[75] Gillman, referencing Merryman, notes that an economic and historical imbalance exists since many of the source nations are former colonies with a disadvantaged economy. Gillman means that stopping the trade in cultural property is about building a national collectivity within these former colonies and compensate for "wrongs in the past."[76] These transactions for cultural property go the same route as the foreign aid, from First world nations to Third world nations.

One convention that deals more directly with cultural heritage and international cooperation is the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (hereinafter referred to as the Cultural Expressions Convention) from 2005 that has as its guiding principles (article two) that:

> "International cooperation and solidarity should be aimed at enabling countries, especially developing countries, to create and strengthen their means of cultural expression, including their cultural industries, whether nascent or established, at the local, national and international levels.
> /.../
> Since culture is one of the mainsprings of development, the cultural aspects of development are as important as its economic aspects, which individuals and peoples have the fundamental right to participate in and enjoy.
> /.../
> Cultural diversity is a rich asset for individuals and societies. The protection, promotion and maintenance of cultural diversity are an essential requirement for sustainable development for the benefit of present and future generations."[77]

A series of articles exclusively handle the question of international cooperation in preservation activities of diverse cultural expressions. The convention exhorts its parties to promote and protect the diversity of cultural expressions in their development work, through strengthening cultural institutions, create access to the global market, support creative work and capacity-building in public and private sector and so on (article 12-14). The convention also exhorts its parties to protect and preserve cultural expressions that are

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[72] Unesco (1970)
[73] Merryman (1986), p.846
[74] Merryman (1986), p.843
[75] Merryman (1986), p.843
[76] Gillman (2010), p.43
[77] Unesco (2005)

"under risk of extinction, under serious threat, or otherwise in need of urgent safeguarding."
(article eight). In these situations, the parties shall also assist each other, particularly assist
developing countries (article 17).[78] The convention is not easy to interpret as a universalistic
or particularistic representative. It is universalistic in promoting cooperation in the cultural
sector, but promotes this cooperation on basis of right to culture, saying that every culture
has a right to *its own* culture. However, in the preamble the Cultural Expression Convention
regards cultural heritage as a universal resource:

> "cultural diversity forms a common heritage of humanity and should be cherished and
> preserved for the benefit of all".[79]

Consequently, this is a universalistic statement that does not give consequences in all of the
convention's guiding principles.

A general perception within the international cultural heritage sector is that cultural heritage
and the preservation of it is situational, a somewhat particularistic view on preservation.
What is singled out as cultural heritage and how it should be kept differs between various
places and cultural or political systems. An international charter that addresses this topic is
the *Nara Document on Authenticity*, written by ICOMOS (International Committee of
Monuments and Sites) in 1994. The document highlights the diversity of the world's
cultures, and states that this should be respected because it represents an intellectual and
spiritual diverse source. In article eleven, the document states:

> "All judgements about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility
> of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the
> same culture. It is thus not possible to base judgements of values and authenticity
> within fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that
> heritage properties must [sic] considered and judged within the cultural contexts to
> which they belong."[80]

This document expresses the idea that cultural heritage should be managed on the basis of
its own culture, the culture where the heritage has been created, i.e. a particularistic view
concerning the approaches to preservation of cultural heritage.

Gillman implies that *The Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and
Natural Heritage* from 1972 (hereinafter referred to as the World Heritage Convention) joins
together the universalistic and the particularistic view of cultural heritage[81], using both
phrases as "the world heritage of mankind as a whole", "cultural and natural heritage of
outstanding universal value" **and** "this unique and irreplaceable property, to whatever

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[78] Unesco (2005)
[79] Unesco (2005)
[80] ICOMOS (1994)
[81] Gillman (2010), p.49

people it may belong."[82]

According to this convention and its universalistic view, it can be argued that cultural heritage is not necessarily contextually diverse. Additionally, it is not only the ownership that is discussed. The World Heritage Convention also compares the *value* of cultural heritage across cultural borders.

The convention has been criticized for its eurocentrism, not only because of the statistics of the Word Heritage List. (Today 49% of the sites are situated in Europe, with Italy at the top with 45 of the world's 911 world heritage sites.)[83] Cleere means that the eurocentrism is not only a statistical problem, but that the eurocentrism is inscribed in the convention text, meaning that the concept of universality is paradoxical

> "and logically applicable only to the earliest phases of human cultural evolution, and perhaps also to the global culture of the late twentieth century. Cultural evolution is by its very nature one of diversification."[84]

Smith discusses the idea of the concept cultural heritage that the World Heritage Conventions gives rise to. She means that it is mainly European ideas that has been internationalized and becoming a "global 'common sense'".[85] She is also critical to the fact that the convention advocates a view of cultural heritage as monumental and tangible with universally significations and meanings.[86] Drawing on these authors, the World Heritage Convention has a universalistic view on cultural heritage, but it is a western, European view that is the basis of this universality.

However, there are also other perspectives on this universality. According to the World Heritage Convention, only the nation on whose territory the cultural heritage is located may nominate sites to the World Heritage list. Consequently, the right of definition for what is of universal value lies with the nation. I mean that this is the greatest contradiction within the World Heritage Convention. The nation is the basis for the universal cultural heritage.[87]

In summary, this section has explained two major views on how cultural heritage shall be understood. The **particularistic** view regards cultural heritage as something own by the people that created it, or that lives in the area where the heritage was created. The fact that sites or objects can be preserved in areas where the ethnic group that once created it does no longer exist can complicate the view of cultural heritage, and is a usual situation where the two views are conflicting, as in the example of the Elgin Marbles. The **universalistic** view regards cultural heritage as something that belongs to all mankind, since all peoples belong

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[82] Unesco (1972)
[83] Unesco, World Heritage Convention, *World Heritage List Statistic*
[84] Cleere (2001), p.24
[85] Smith (2006), p.21
[86] Smith (2006), p.27
[87] Turtinen (2006)

to the collective of humanity. The conventions referred to all make their own perspectives on cultural heritage, each starting from one of the two views. The Hague Convention represents a universalistic view, while the 1970 Convention and the Nara document represent a particularistic view. The Expressions Convention and the World Heritage Convention are documents that are inconsistent between the two views, showing the complexity of cultural heritage.

2.4 Aspects of Cultural Heritage Aid

The Right to Culture

In 1948, the UN proclaimed *the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*[88] which today is the most translated document in the world (more than 300 languages)[89]. Two of the articles, 22 and 27, concerns culture and states that all peoples have the right to participate in cultural life. Article 22 reads:

> "Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and *international co-operation* and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and *cultural rights* indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality."[90] (Emphasis added)

Consequently, the declaration calls for the international community to maintain or even enforce cultural rights. If cultural heritage is seen as such a cultural right, which it is by many researchers, it can be argued that this declaration supports cultural heritage aid.

Silverman and Fairchild Ruggles mean that cultural heritage should be included in human rights because the concept of cultural heritage in itself includes respect and protection of individual and group identities. However, Silverman and Fairchild Ruggles highlight the fact that cultural heritage constitutes of both identity and territory, which gives it the power to both unite and divide groups. The conflicts often concern rights of definition and control and spans from conflicts between individuals to conflicts between communities or even nations. The authors mean that human rights and cultural heritage risk coming into conflict with each other.[91] The authors describe how history manifested in cultural heritage has become a major factor in various conflicts, in genocide, ethnic cleansing and oppression, and state that "[A]mong the lessons learned is that the freedom or ability to articulate one's own cultural heritage and express one's own identity is vitally important."[92]

Drawing on Silverman and Fairchild Ruggles, cultural heritage is a human right. But it is a

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[88] United Nations
[89] United Nations Human Rights Office for the High Commissioner of Human Rights
[90] United Nations
[91] Silverman & Fairchild Ruggles (2007), p.3ff
[92] Silverman & Fairchild Ruggles (2007), p.11

human right that takes different forms in different situations. Consequently, cultural heritage rights risk coming into conflict with other cultural heritage rights, which depends on the fact that one object or site can have different meanings and be interpreted in different ways by different cultures and peoples. One human right should not be realized at the expense of someone else's right.

Power & Right of Definition

The research available on cultural heritage aid usually deals with aspects of power between the donor and the recipient. Power and the right of definition are somewhat different things, but get intertwined in cultural heritage aid. The donor usually takes on the right of definition, as the following examples illustrate in different ways.

The attempt to target the aid at a specific cultural heritage can bring reactions from the recipient, as the case of the destruction of the Buddha statues in the Bamiyan valley in Afghanistan exemplifies. In *New York Times* a member of the Taliban movement, Mr. Rahmatullah, gave his view of the incident. He tells how a delegation of European envoys and a representative from Unesco offered financial help to preserve the Buddha statues. The Taliban movement would rather see the money go to the starving population. This was rejected by the delegation. Mr. Rahmatullah says:

> " 'The scholars were so angry,' he continued. 'They said, if you are destroying our future with economic sanctions, you can't care about our heritage.' And so they decided that these statues must be destroyed.' /…/. 'If we had wanted to destroy those statues, we could have done it three years ago,' Mr. Rahmatullah said. 'So why didn't we? In our religion, if anything is harmless, we just leave it. If money is going to statues while children are dying of malnutrition next door, then that makes it harmful, and we destroy it.' " [93]

The destruction was preceded and followed by massive critique from Western media, Unesco and Governments, with arguments that the Buddhas were a global cultural heritage. Some mean that the destruction of the statues were one of the driving forces that led to the US-led invasion of Afghanistan.[94]

Silverman & Fairchild Ruggles write that the Taliban movement wanted to eradicate the Buddhist heritage of Afghanistan to achieve a more Islamic history writing, and that the Taliban argued for their right to demolish structures within their territory, arguing that "destruction as a concept was culturally constructed."[95] Harrison join in on this statement and argues that the Taliban movement behaved in a proper manner according to their

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[93] Crossette (2001)
[94] Harrison (2010), p.161, 164
[95] Silverman & Fairchild Ruggles (2007), p.13

beliefs.[96] Harrison uses the word "iconoclasm" to explain the destruction of the statues, meaning that it implies a "judgement of value" and that judgements are made concerning cultural heritage in all nations. A designation of a site or object as cultural heritage always includes the rejection of another site or object.[97] However, Harrison mentions arguments that the destruction was not only an action in the name of Islam, but also an action against the UN, the World Heritage system and Unesco:

> "The attack on the Bamiyan Buddhas was not only an attack on the statues but also an attack on what some would see as a form of western imperialism, the imposition of a set of materialistic values on the state of Afghanistan by a world community that would not even recognize its legitimate rule."[98]

This is a few of many different interpretations and explanations of the destruction of the Buddha statues. In this context they are used to show how the recipient is not powerless over its own cultural heritage, while simultaneously showing how the donor tries to determine where or how the money should be used. In this example, different dimensions of power and right are intertwined. It was the donor or the international community who took the right of definition and designated the Buddha statues as a universal cultural heritage, while the Taliban movement defined it as less valuable, at least in relation to a starving population. The destruction of the Bamyian Buddhas is an illustrative example of a situation where the right of definition becomes self-assigned to different groups and where views on cultural values, history and right to cultural heritage is completely at odds with each other.

Jan Mosander has examined the Swedish foreign aid, and writes about a project where assistance was given to the renovation of a synagogue in the Latvian city Sabile. Mosander means that the project was initiated by Sweden and that the Latvian authorities were quite uninterested. The Jewish community in Riga was never contacted and it had not lived any Jews in Sabile since they had been driven out in the 1940s. Consequently, the synagogue would not be used as an active religious building even if renovated. Any plans for other uses did not exist. The Jewish community claimed that if they had been contacted, they could have participated in discussions on the priorities of projects. The Jewish community pointed to several other cultural heritages which they considered to be in greater need of financial assistance, such as the synagogue in Riga or the cemetery behind the synagogue in Sabile.[99] This example shows how the donor can set the agenda for which of the recipient's heritage that should be prioritized. This example is not unique, for example, the evaluation of Norway's foreign aid to cultural heritage projects shows similar problems with Unesco projects in Ethiopia, where experts showed little interest in the local priorities.[100]

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[96] Harrison (2010), p.160
[97] Harrison (2010), p.165
[98] Harrison (2010), p.166
[99] Mosander (2008), p.135ff
[100] Nordland Research Institute & Chr. Michelsen Institute (2009), p.42, 119

In summary, this section has given examples of problems with power issues in cultural heritage aid. Cultural heritage can be viewed as a human right, but the right of definition and interpretation are complex issues which can problematize cultural heritage aid. In the next chapter the four donor countries' relation to cultural heritage aid will be scrutinized.

3. THE DONOR'S VIEW OF CULTURAL HERITAGE AID

3.1 Japan

Japan's foreign aid is implemented by two different parts; Mofa (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and Jica (Japan International Cooperation Agency). They work on basis of Japan's ODA (Official Development Assistance) chart implemented in 2003. ODA is carried out in 160 countries and regions, the majority being Asian countries. ODA is both bilateral and multilateral.[101] In 2009, Japan was the fifth largest donor in the world in terms of amount of capital, and the 21st in relation to GNI (Gross national income), according to the OECD.[102]

Jica administers the bilateral aid through *Technical Cooperation*, *Japanese ODA Loans* and *Grant Aid*. Some Grant Aid programs are administered by Mofa for diplomatic reasons, for example the Cultural Grant Assistance.[103]

Japan has shown a great interest in international cooperation for the preservation of cultural heritage, and has put a great focus on culture in their foreign policy. Among others, Japan established a fund for preservation of World Heritage in Unesco in 1988. The Angkor monuments in Cambodia and the Bamiyan ruins in Afghanistan are examples of projects that have received funding from that fund.[104]

In 2006, the JCIC (Japan Consortium for International Cooperation in Cultural Heritage) was established, which is a network where Mofa and The Agency for Cultural Affairs together with universities and other institutions, NGO's and foundations, are working together for a more efficient international cooperation. The JCIC works as a network for promoting international cooperation, exchange information and carrying out case studies and research on international cooperation in cultural heritage. The JCIC also publishes and disseminates information on the topic.[105]

The texts used for the analysis has been taken from Mofa's website and from a pamphlet called *Cultural Grant Assistance of Japan*, accessed from Mofa's website. Mofa's website has entries both on the Cultural Grant Assistance programs and other general information on Mofa's work with cultural heritage aid.

The entries about Cultural Grant Assistance (CGA) inform that the program was established in 1975 and is divided in two parts; Cultural Grant Assistance and Grant Assistance for Cultural Grassroots Projects. The program consists of funds that

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[101] Japan Official Development Assistance (2008), p.6f
[102] OECD
[103] Jics, *Japan's ODA and JICA*
[104] Mofa, *Preservation and Restoration of Tangible Cultural Heritage*
[105] JCIC, *Message*

"are granted to cover the cost of procurement, transportation and installation of equipment and construction or restoration of facilities used for various cultural and higher educational activities and the preservation of cultural heritage."[106]

Consequently, the CGA is targeted at objects and labor, and does not fund for example institution building or projects concerning social inclusion.

In 2007, Japan enacted the *Law on the Promotion of International Cooperation for Protection of Cultural Heritage Abroad*, consisting of 14 articles. The second article, regarding basic principles, says:

"Bearing in mind that cultural heritage is the invaluable common property of humanity, international cooperation on cultural properties shall be those activities through which Japan makes an active contribution to the development of the diverse cultures of the world, playing a leading role in international society through the application of its store of knowledge, skills, and experience to safeguarding endeavours [sic], and which at the same time promote increased mutual understanding internationally, while fostering a spirit of respect among the Japanese people for different cultures." [107]

With this law, Japan takes a standpoint similar to that of the Hague Convention from 1954, which states that the cultural heritage of one people is important for all mankind.[108] Japan presents a view of heritage as something universal with universal values, which is important across cultural boundaries. This is further explained in a text generally regarding cultural heritage:

"Cultural Heritage is the symbolic presence that integrates the history, traditions and culture of a country, and while it is an irreplaceable source of pride for that country's people, it also possesses a universal value that can touch all people around the world.

Through such diverse causes as wars, natural disasters and poverty, there are numerous properties of precious tangible and intangible Cultural Heritage currently placed at risk. International cooperation to ensure that such Cultural Heritage is passed on to future generations as a precious legacy shared by all mankind, one that not only demonstrates a position of approval and respect for the cultures of others, but also creates a stable foundation for the international community. Accordingly, Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been concentrating its efforts on international cooperation for Cultural Heritage as one of the pillars of its diplomatic policy."[109]

In conclusion, Japan views cultural heritage as something symbolic, something that integrate today and yesterday. Cultural heritage is presented as positive, something precious to be

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[106] Mofa, *Cultural Grant Assistance*, Public Diplomacy/Culture
[107] Mofa, *Promotion of International Cooperation for Protection of Cultural Heritage Abroad*…
[108] *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*…
[109] Mofa, *Cultural Heritage*

proud of. While it is presented as belonging to a certain people, it is also viewed as universal, something people all around the world are responsibly for. Additionally, cultural heritage is presented as both tangible and intangible.

Japan is fairly quiet about the influences of cultural heritage, why cultural heritage is needed in society. Regarding this, it is the feeling raised by cultural heritage that is dominating, e.g. "pride" and statements such as "can touch all people" and "fostering a spirit of respect".[110]

On the question why Japan finds it important to give foreign aid to cultural heritage, one can highlight concepts from the quote above, such as "respect for the cultures of others" and "stable foundations for the international community".[111] In the pamphlet, Japan mentions that all ODA is intended to promote economic and social development, and to increase social welfare.[112] The aforementioned view of cultural heritage as something universal which we all have responsibility for can also be seen as a reason for assistance.

However, there are also clear indications of self-interest in the texts of Mofa. In a general text on cultural heritage, Mofa writes:

> "Cultural diplomacy may take a long time to yield results. Nevertheless, Japan believes that support for the Cultural Heritage that is the pride of a nation touches the hearts of people directly. This kind of aid that does not stop with just material support but also conveys Japan's knowledge, skills and heart [sic]. Cherishing culture can bring about a great long-term benefit."[113]

Here one can sense a wish to use the cultural heritage aid to win influence, perhaps through goodwill. The CGA is intended to support the spreading and development of different aspects of culture, cultural heritage included. Nevertheless, Mofa expresses a wish of supporting culture that has a relation to the Japanese culture, which conveys a strong self-interest. However, the CGA is introduced as a program for assistance in order to promote e.g. cultural heritage **within** the developing country. Mofa claims that:

> "There is a trend in developing countries towards increased interest in the promotion and encouragement of the country's unique culture alongside the development of the economy and society. In many countries, efforts are being made to improve not only just economic and social infrastructure but also culture."[114]

One can question the choice of the word "improve" a culture, but it is unclear if this is only a linguistic problem or an intentional choice of words. This paragraph has a sense of a philanthropic view of development aid. However, Mofa continues with the following paragraph:

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[110] Mofa, *Promotion of International Cooperation for Protection of Cultural Heritage Abroad…*
[111] Mofa, *Cultural Heritage*
[112] Mofa, *Cultural Grant Assistance of Japan*
[113] Mofa, *Cultural Heritage*
[114] Mofa, *Cultural Grant Assistance,* Foreign Policy, ODA

> "Cultural Grant Assistance is meant to deepen mutual understanding, friendship and goodwill between Japan and developing countries, by providing those countries with support for their efforts."[115]

Consequently, the projects that receive priority have a clear connection to Japanese culture, the effort that is rewarded is the effort of spreading the Japanese culture. In the pamphlet this is even more apparent, where different kinds of projects that receive priority are listed. The list includes projects for Japanese language studies, theatres which hold Japanese events or artists from Japan, museums that frequently hold exhibitions related to Japan and preservation projects that involve Japanese researchers.[116] CGA seems to be a program not only for promoting culture within developing countries, but also for promoting Japanese culture internationally.

Regarding control management, it is easiest to find these regarding the CGA programs. However, the second paragraph of the earlier quoted law says:

> "International cooperation on cultural heritage must be carried out on the principle of supporting the independent efforts of governments or related organizations in the foreign country where the cultural heritage is located, taking into account the importance of cultural diversity."[117]

Consequently, although a universal view on cultural heritage, Japan presents the perspective that the cultural heritage shall be preserved in a local context, within the local culture.

Concerning the CGA, a standardized application process exists. The application process differs between the two programs within the CGA, although eligible countries for the programs are countries with a GNI of US$6,275 or less. To apply for the Cultural Grant Assistance, a government or an organization can make a blanket application with a compilation of target projects to the Embassy (or consulate) of Japan. To apply for the Grant assistance for Cultural Grassroots Projects, the applicant has to submit an application with a number of different documents. Any type of non-profit organization can apply, as long as it works with culture or higher education at grass-root level. This can include, for example, NGO's, local authorities or universities. After submitting an application, Mofa makes a selection of projects. Projects with a high impact and a strong sustainability gain priority. The selection process has seven steps that include two stages of examination, by the embassy/consulate and Mofa, and a site visit by the embassy/consulate.[118] Additionally, JICS (Japan International Cooperation System) executes preliminary studies, procurements supervision and follow-up activities of the programs.[119]

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[115] Mofa, *Cultural Grant Assistance,* Foreign Policy, ODA
[116] Mofa, *Cultural Grant Assistance of Japan*
[117] Mofa, *Promotion of International Cooperation for Protection of Cultural Heritage Abroad…*
[118] Mofa, *Cultural Grant Assistance,* Foreign Policy, ODA
[119] Jics, *Scheme: Cultural Grant Aid*, JICS Info-Pack, (November 2009)

Clearly, there is a standardized system for control of the CGA programs. But there is a substantial difference between the application procedures of the two programs. In the Grassroots Projects, there is much more control in the initial step, while the Cultural Grant Assistance can be applied for with a blanket application. Controls are made in this program as well, but it is interesting that there is such a difference in approach from Mofa. The reasons can be diplomatic, since the Cultural Grant Assistance is implemented between governments.

Summary of Japan's Cultural Heritage Aid

- In the policy of Mofa, the concept of cultural heritage is formed by and connected to words and concepts such as: *symbol, history, tradition, legacy, pride, universality, diversity*, *tangible* and *intangible.* Japan has mainly a universalistic view of cultural heritage.
- Japan's reasons for assistance to cultural heritage can be summarized in the following illustration:

- The management controls are only explicit regarding the projects within the Cultural Grant Assistance programs, where it is clear that Mofa makes an informed choice of projects to fund. Policy says that the international cooperation shall be based on the principals of the local culture/context.

3.2 Germany

Since January 2011 Germany's foreign aid is implemented by GIZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit) which was established through a merger between the former DED (Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst), GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit) and Inwent – Capacity Building International. GIZ is a federally owned corporation and the majority of the projects are ordered by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. GIZ also cooperates with German federal states and municipalities and public or private sector clients in Germany and abroad, such as the EU (European Union), UN, World Bank and various NGO's. GIZ works in more than 130 countries.[120] In 2009, Germany was the third largest donor in the world in terms of amount of capital, and the 13th in relation to GNI, according to the OECD.[121]

Since the organization was so young when this thesis was written, the GIZ website was not yet complete, and visitors were advised to use the former DED, GTZ and Inwent websites.[122] Consequently, the information drawn upon in this thesis was taken from GTZ's website.

On the website of GTZ, information regarding culture can be found under the link "cross-sectoral themes". Information is thereafter divided on different entries. In June 2010, GTZ produced a brochure with information on the agency's work with culture, called *Culture and Development*. The website and the brochure contain, in parts, the same texts. However, there are some differences in certain paragraphs. Consequently, the texts from the website and the brochure have been analyzed parallelly. Even though all the texts focus on culture in a broader context they also handle cultural heritage. Therefore, both texts dealing with **culture** and texts dealing more specific with **cultural heritage** have been analyzed.

GTZ view culture as the world we live in, which is constantly changing, dynamic, creative and innovative[123], and a factor that is integrated in all GTZ's work through different life worlds, values and identities, be it education, environment, democracy building, conflict transformation or urban development. The agency's approach is that cultural diversity is an asset.[124]

Regarding the concept of cultural heritage, GTZ includes in it both tangible and intangible heritage, e.g. architecture, monuments, dance, language etc. Cultural heritage projects are included in the agency's urban development program:

> "In urban development programmes or projects that protect living cultural traditions, we help our partners to conserve material and non-material cultural heritage. This

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[120] GIZ, *About GIZ*
[121] OECD
[122] GIZ, *home*
[123] GTZ (2010), p. 5
[124] GTZ (2010), p. 7

means restoring national heritage sites that have been destroyed, protecting indigenous knowledge or encouraging the participation of indigenous peoples in the political process."[125]

In addition to restorations, the projects also include training of local craftspeople to conserve the cultural heritage.[126] Minding that GTZ mentions "national heritage sites", one can suspect that GTZ has a mainly particularistic view of cultural heritage, that it belongs to a national or ethnical owner. This conclusion is also based on the absence of expressions of the universality of cultural heritage.

The fact that GTZ include indigenous people as a large part of their work with cultural heritage is interesting, since this presents a perspective where indigenous peoples are seen as more traditional and environmentally friendly than other groups of people.

The agency emphasizes the importance of integrating restoration projects with cultural development and urban planning:

> "Under urban development programmes, GTZ encourages a holistic approach which not only conserves cultural heritage sites but also allows them to remain vibrant and alive./…/ But it also involves integrating cultural heritage into urban structures in such a way that traditional arts and crafts live on, while allowing contemporary life forms and subcultures to develop. Cultural tourism should be managed in such a way that the attractiveness of a region is enhanced and conservation of cultural heritage is combined with economic benefits."[127]

This is also handled in the brochure:

> "Combining conservation work on historical buildings with urban quality of life for a city's inhabitants promotes public acceptance for protecting a city's cultural heritage and creates a basis for successful cultural tourism. That is why development programmes are not only about renovating parts of cities, but also about keeping cultural traditions alive and making urban structures attractive, both today and in the future."[128]

GTZ takes on a broad approach to cultural heritage, where it is thought to affect processes in the third stage, for example increasing economic development through tourism at cultural heritage sites. They also present a view where the cultural heritage is present and matters in day-to-day life.

As stated, GTZ is of the opinion that culture is important in development cooperation. The connection between culture and development is described as:

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[125] GTZ (2010), p. 13
[126] GTZ, *The culture factor*
[127] GTZ, *Culture as a central theme*
[128] GTZ (2010), p. 13

"A strong cultural identity is the foundation of a society fit for the future. It binds together the diversity and cultural memory of different ethnic groups in a country. GTZ is aware of the significance and cohesive power of historical monuments, historical townscapes and symbolic architectural features as well as traditional forms of expression, artefacts, language, value systems and sets of rules."[129]

Here GTZ refers to cultural heritage as "cultural memory", which is important for a sustainable and stable development.

In their general development goals, GTZ states that the approach is to ensure "the participation of all stakeholders".[130] GTZ sees policy advice as an important part of its work for culture and development. This work aims at strengthening cultural institutions and administrations.

GTZ states three things that are needed to ensure respect for cultural right, namely:

– "an awareness of the cultural context in the partner country that shapes societal processes.
– sensitivity to the power that lies in cultural forms of expression and to how that power can be used as a motor for change and awareness raising.
– an environment which creates constructive frameworks and incentives for the production, marketing and exercise of cultural goods and protects cultural rights and cultural heritage."[131]

Here GTZ acknowledges the power that rest within culture and cultural heritage. This power is mainly seen as something positive that can promote positive social development and change. But the text can be interpreted as containing knowledge of the negative powers of culture, minding that "sensitivity" is stated as important.

### *Summary of Germany's Cultural Heritage Aid*

- In the policies of GTZ, the concept of cultural heritage is formed by and connected to words and concepts such as: *tangible, intangible, memory, tradition, indigenous, restoration, conservation* and *historical.* Germany has mainly a particularistic view of cultural heritage.

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[129] GTZ, *Approach*
[130] GIZ, *About GIZ*
[131] GTZ, *Background*

- Germany's reasons for giving aid to cultural heritage projects can be summarized in the following illustration:
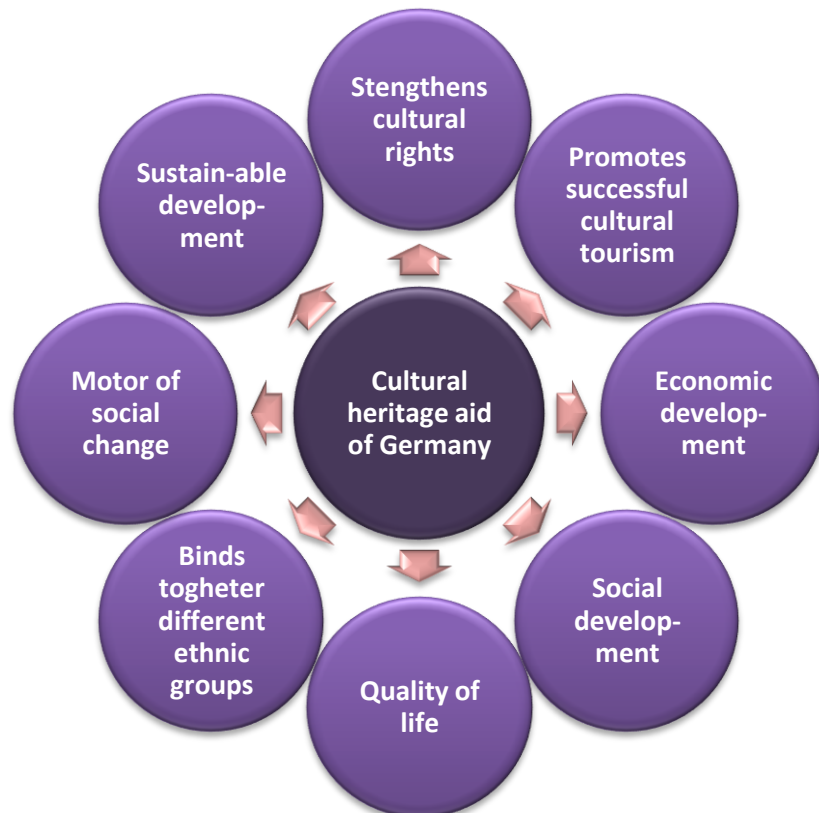
- The aspects of management control in GTZ's work with cultural heritage aid include putting attention to the power within cultural heritage that can influence cultural and urban processes. The agency finds participation of stakeholders important. GTZ also works with developing legal framework for cultural heritage.

3.3 Sweden

Sweden's foreign aid is implemented by Sida (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency). Sida gets its directives from the Swedish Parliament and Government and works under the jurisdiction of the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The agency's overall goal is to reduce poverty in the world and improve the living conditions of poor people.[132] Sida cooperates with other Swedish government agencies, organizations, associations and international organizations such as the EU, UN and the World Bank. 16 Swedish organizations have framework agreements with Sida, which involves economic agreements, e.g. 10% of the cost of joint projects. Organizations included are for example Save the children Sweden, the Church of Sweden and the World Wildlife Fund for nature.[133] Sweden gives foreign aid on long-term basis to 12 countries, which represents 57% of Sida's

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[132] Sida, *Organization* & Sida, *How we are governed*
[133] Sida, *How we operate*

annual budget.[134] In 2009, Sweden was the eight largest donor in the world in terms of amount of capital, and the largest in relation to GNI, according to the OECD.[135]

Sida's guidelines for cultural heritage aid is compiled in the publication *Caring for the historic environment,* which is the only text used for the following analyze. The text is published in 2005, but is the most recent text about Sida's policy on cultural heritage. According to this text, Sweden was one of the first countries to pay attention to cultural heritage within activities of foreign aid.[136] The foreword opens with a quote from the Hague Convention from 1954 (see chapter two)*.* This implies that Sida has a universal view of cultural heritage, a view where the world's cultural heritage is of importance for all mankind.[137] However, Sida also presents the view that the cultural heritage belongs to "the very place where they are developed"[138] and states that "[A] monument belongs to a location and cannot be isolated from its surrounding without losing its original meaning and significance."[139] This expresses a particularistic view of cultural heritage, where it belongs to the people living in the area where it is situated. Consequently, throughout the text Sida oscillates between a universalistic and a particularistic view of cultural heritage.

Sida defines cultural heritage sites as places important as symbols of ethnicity, religion and politics. Sida offers the following as a definition of historic environment:

> "…historic environment, which includes all buildings and landscapes, etc. constructed and cultivated by man throughout different ages and which are considered valuable, since they either stand as tangible witnesses to how earlier generations lived or constitute historical places or have specific religious or cultural significance."[140]

Sida offers a very inclusive view of "the historic environment", which includes both natural and cultural sites, although it is seen as something man-made or cultivated.

Regarding the concept of cultural heritage in relation to historic environment, Sida writes:

> The historic environment refers to the environment formed through human culture. The potentially broader concept of cultural heritage may be used in the same sense but could, depending on the context, have other or additional meanings as described below. The term (historic) monument refers to a single object, for example, a building endowed with historical or architectonic significance irrespective of age; historic or heritage sites are designated areas, for example, rural landscapes, urban districts or industrial areas with similar significance. A common feature of these concepts is that they may possess various time layers, from their earliest past to the present. Historical or cultural

[134] Sida, *Sveriges biståndsländer*
[135] OECD
[136] Sida (2005), p.6
[137] Sida (2005), p.2
[138] Sida (2005), p.11
[139] Sida (2005), p.15
[140] Sida (2005), p.5

significance relates to the particular assets of the heritage in question, i.e. its values, which can be either historic, aesthetic, spiritual, scientific, social or ecological. This applies also to the general concept of cultural heritage, which are the cultural values and assets that we choose to inherit from previous generations. The cultural heritage can be material or immaterial and can be connected to special places in the form of memories and traditions /…/."[141]

Sida has a broad definition of cultural heritage. However, cultural heritage is seen as something historical, something with a relation to the past which is associated with a cultural value.

To conclude, Sida has a two-fold view of cultural heritage, both as something universalistic and something particular. It can be both material and immaterial and the values are dependent on the people and society that designate it as cultural heritage. Cultural heritage is seen as something contextual.

Sida is quite open with their reasons for giving aid to cultural heritage projects:

"For Sida there are two main reasons for supporting poor countries in caring for their historic environment. On the one hand it is a global responsibility, which is equally important for us as for people of the countries where the sites are located. In this respect it is similar to the protection of the ecological heritage. On the other hand, recognition and protection of the historic environment is an important contribution to cultural development in individual countries."[142]

Once more, Sida points out two different views of cultural heritage, as something universal, that is equal important for different people regardless the origin of the heritage and a particularistic view, by emphasizing poor people's right to their own history. Accordingly, Sida sees cultural heritage as part of human rights and sees it as their solidarian responsibility to protect cultural heritage threaten in armed conflicts. Sida also approach a neutral perspective on these rights, stating that

"The defence of the right of one group's cultural heritage should never be allowed to violate the rights of others to their cultural heritage."[143]

Sida also mentions that their target is poverty reduction and social inclusion. The agency highlights the importance to assist in increasing the access to cultural heritage for poor people, which are said to suffer more often when old urban areas are renewed, since those areas often have predominantly poor inhabitants. Because of this, Sida finds it important to empower those groups with influence over urban planning. Using local resources or preserve cultural heritage for development of tourism, can create work opportunities for poor people.

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[141] Sida (2005), p.10
[142] Sida (2005), p.2
[143] Sida (2005), p.11

However, Sida also notes the risk of gentrification of former slums in inner-city areas as a consequence of preservation and renovation. The agency also highlights the importance of sustainable development of tourism. [144]

Sida puts great emphasis on cultural heritage linked to sustainable development, meaning that it is about "using assets where they exist instead of seeing them as barriers to development."[145] Cultural heritage is seen as a resource for social development and a resource that can be re-used through sustainable preservation activities.[146] Sustainability is also mentioned in connection to solidarity and unity within groups of people. Cultural heritage is said to hold people together through shared memories, both positive and traumatic. Sida means that the "consciousness of a common past /…/ creates a sustainable solidarity, a feeling of sharing a 'common fate'."[147]

Sida means that the development cooperation aims at helping the recipient country to protect their own cultural heritage, through increased knowledge, efficient institutions and rules and civil participation.[148] In order for the aid to be sustainable, Sida stresses the importance of local participation:

> "If renewal and further development of our environment are to succeed and become sustainable, then they should be based on both insights and knowledge of the domestic cultural traditions, and the involvement and participation of those concerned. A world where humane cultural traditions are respected becomes safer with fewer risks of conflicts and terrorism."[149]

However, Sida acknowledges that cultural heritage is socially and culturally constituted:

> "An appreciation of cultural heritage is based on human values and its selection mirrors the circumstances under which the choice is made, by whom it is made, and the interests of the person making the decision."[150]

Sida shows this attitude in stating that cultural heritage is something that is *chosen*, something that is designated and not obvious or a given. However, Sida also acknowledges that the interpretations and designations of cultural heritage are not always given and unchallenged within the recipient country:

> "…we must bear in mind that those cultural values that may be assigned to the environment are just values and therefore dependent on whom makes the assessment and to which religion, social group etc he or she belongs. The people themselves decide

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[144] Sida (2005), p.5, 12f, 14
[145] Sida (2005), p.9
[146] Sida (2005), p.2, 5f, 9f
[147] Sida (2005), p.10
[148] Sida (2005), p.18
[149] Sida (2005), p.10
[150] Sida (2005), p.10

which story they want to be told. That the cultural heritage is an asset for all does not mean that different groups always agree on it [sic] significance and future use."[151]

and

"Cultural heritage can then lead to conflicts of values. It is a delicate task in development cooperation to choose the right strategy to avoid undermining the interests of weaker groups due to concentration on a certain cultural heritage."[152]

Additionally, Sida acknowledges the power that lies within the values and interpretations of cultural heritage, and that this actually can increase conflicts and terrorism:

"On the one hand cultural heritage can be used to strengthen a group's own identity, which may have a benign and inspirational effect, especially in the case of newly founded states. On the other hand, it can be used as part of a ruling strategy that tries to cement the legitimacy of the "superior" groups and therefore exclude other interests."[153]

The last decade's conflicts with religious overtones and the preservation of colonial sites in former colonies are used as examples of dissonant cultural heritage. However, Sida states that all aspects of the past must be preserved and remembered to prevent falsification or political manipulation. Sida finds a strong connection between cultural heritage and democratic development, and even goes so far as to imply that a "democratic development of a multicultural society *is only* possible if the cultural heritage/…/ is respected."(emphasis added).[154]

Other threats to cultural heritage, according to Sida, can be ignorance and indifference from decisions-makers, weak cultural policies or insensitive physical planning. Rapid urbanization and urban expansion with insensitive exploitation processes can have a devastating effect on historical city centers.[155]

Sida finds it important to use local resources and to base the preservation projects on traditional handicrafts and techniques, which can create local jobs. This approach can also result in a revival of old techniques. In a fact box in the guideline, called "Wise and cautious approach" the Swedish legislation concerning alterations to existing building is summarized.[156] It is clear that the attitude conveyed in this legislation is seen as globally applicable. Under "What can Sweden contribute?" Sweden's strengths within the cultural heritage sector are presented, which include establishments of managements systems, a tradition of coordinating various interests, tradition in democratic decision-making, showing

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[151] Sida (2005), p.10
[152] Sida (2005), p.10
[153] Sida (2005), p.11
[154] Sida (2005), p.12
[155] Sida (2005), p.14f
[156] Sida (2005), p.13

respect for different traditions etc.[157]However, another fact box tells about the Swedish urban renewal during the 1960's. This is presented as a "historical self-destruction" and a terrible example of modernization, along with a warning that the similar risks happening in parts of Asia.[158] Totally, the guidelines are not especially self-enhancing. There are only a few fact boxes that highlight Sweden's national work with the cultural heritage, and emphasize Sweden as a leading country in these matters.

Summary of Sweden's Cultural Heritage Aid

- In the guidelines of Sida, the concept of cultural heritage is formed by and connected to words and concepts such as: *environment, man-made, traditions, memory, history, sustainability, material, immaterial, values, identity* and *asset.* Sweden has a two-fold view of cultural heritage, both as something universalistic and something particular.
- Sweden's reasons for giving aid to cultural heritage project can be summarized in the following illustration:

- The aspects of management control in Sida's work with cultural heritage aid include acknowledging the importance of local participation, resources and techniques in order to form a sustainable aid. The powers articulated through the values and interpretations of cultural heritage, that can be used e.g. in nationalistic projects, are also recognized.

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[157] Sida (2005), p.19
[158] Sida (2005), p.15

3.4 Norway

Norway's governmental foreign aid agency is called Norad (Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation) and is directed by the MFA (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs).[159] The Norwegian Government views development policy as an integral part of the foreign policy, and sees foreign assistance as "the most flexible instrument of development policy".[160] In 2010, Norway gave bilateral aid to a total of 118 countries, Tanzania, Afghanistan and the Palestinian territories being the largest recipients. Norad provides aid both for development cooperation, humanitarian actions, peace-building and research, both bilateral and multilateral.[161] The major multilateral partner regarding cultural heritage is Unesco.[162] In 2009, Norway was the ninth largest donor in the world in terms of amount of capital, and the second largest in relation to GNI, according to the OECD.[163]

The agency works on a broad basis, with a large amount of focus areas, one of them "culture" which sorts under human rights.[164] Norad has included culture in their development work since 1981, and the work is divided between Norad, the MFA and the Norwegian embassies. Since 2004, the MFA has got the main responsibility for the work with culture. Today Norad's main focus regarding culture lies in giving technical assistance to the embassies, such as quality assurance and advice-giving. Norad does not give aid to mere cultural projects, but gives grants within research and educational programs, such as "Art and Culture Education", supervised by SIU (the Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Higher Education).[165]

The texts used for this analysis are a brochure called *Norad's support to Culture* and the strategy program *Strategy for Norway's culture and sports co-operation with countries in the South* which covers the period 2006-2015 and was published by the MFA in 2005.[166] The strategy is under evaluation and the evaluation report is expected during the autumn of 2011[167], which unfortunately is outside the time frame for this thesis. Additionally, information from the website has been analyzed. As mentioned in chapter one, Norad's cultural heritage aid has been evaluated by the Nordland Research Institute and Chr. Michelsen Institute. This evaluation report has been used as inspiration and as reference material, but has no major role in the text analysis, given that the text in the report is not produced by official authorities.

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[159] Norad, *About Norad*
[160] Norad, *Norads strategi mot 2010*
[161] Norad, *Countries*
[162] Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005)
[163] OECD
[164] Norad, *Kultur*
[165] Norad, *Kultur*
[166] Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005)
[167] Willoch (2011-04-11)

On their website, Norad states that cultural considerations are important in all development cooperation and divides the concept of culture into three different categories to understand its relation to development cooperation work. The categories are:

- Culture as an inherent value, e.g. cultural expressions that do not always have artistic value.
- Culture as a tool for development, e.g. through tourism.
- Respect of culture as a factor for success in development projects.[168]

The MFA views culture as having both an inherent value and a utilitarian value, but states that these two values should not and need not to be set apart.[169]

In the strategy, the MFA makes a distinction between two main definitions of culture; culture as *identity* and culture as an *expression.* Cultural heritage is sorted under the last category. Cultural expressions are understood as

> "/.../ cultural resources that form part of the life of an individual and a society, and that can form a basis for social and political engagement, commercial activity and enterprise development. /.../. Culture in this sense constitutes a separate sector of society, involving such issues as establishing good framework conditions for cultural participation, production, consumption and conservation."[170]

This is a view of cultural heritage as something constitutive, something that participates in the construction of society and is integrated in, not separated from, society. This means that taking care of the culture can mean taking care of the wellbeing of the society.

In summary, according to the view of culture presented by Norway, they have a particularistic view of cultural heritage as something situational and depending on the current place, society and culture, and something that is important for all cultures.

Norway's overall goal with development cooperation is to fight poverty, which also applies to aid to cultural heritage.[171] However, there are other, more detailed reasons. In the brochure, Norad asks the question "Why Culture?" and gives the following answer:

> "Cultural expressions are a fundamental part of human well being, human identity and pride. In a time of globalization culture and cultural heritage contribute to a sense of belonging. /.../ Living culture and both tangible- and intangible cultural heritage, can be used as tools to achieve other developmental objectives. There is a rich potential in the use of culture as a tool or vehicle for development."[172]

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[168] Norad, *Kultur*
[169] Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005), p.11
[170] Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005), p.11
[171] Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005)
[172] Norad (2000)

Consequently, Norad views cultural heritage as something that can bring safety and context to people, and something that can be used as instruments for development. The quote is interesting in that it starts out with the direct effects of a preserved cultural heritage, and ends in the statement that cultural heritage can be used as a tool for development. This can represent a view where aid is given to cultural heritage not for its own sake, but for the positive effects the preservation of cultural heritage can have on other development goals.

In their strategy, the MFA means that their work shall, among others:

> "ensure better access to cultural goods and create better conditions for free cultural expression and participation in partner countries; this is a fundamental human right and essential to cultural diversity at national and global level.
>
> encourage the use of the cultural heritage as a resource for the sustainable development of society, for instance in connection with value creation, business development and the cultivation of a sense of identity."[173]

The MFA refers to the, in time of the writing of the strategy, upcoming *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* in the beginning of the strategy.[174] The MFA clearly views cultural heritage as a human right and important for a positive economic development and for the development of a healthy society.

Some of the objectives stated by the MFA relate to Norway's international and cultural connections and exchanges. The MFA states that culture within foreign aid promotes cross-cultural dialogue and "a more balanced picture of other cultures", and helps cultural institutions in both Norway and the recipient country to increase their international contacts.[175]

It is clear that Norad sees culture and cultural heritage as something powerful which can be used for other things than mere cultural processes. Norad states that "Culture /.../ defines access to resources and control."[176] Unfortunately, this statement is not further developed. At the website Norad also mentions that cultural expressions (which includes cultural heritage) is seen as a "powerful instrument" in reconciliation and democratization processes.[177]

The MFA writes in its strategy that Norway works mainly with cultural institutions and organizations in the recipient countries, but that more emphasis will be put on involving academics and writers in the projects.[178] Another goal is to increase the amount of long-term framework agreements, to work with fewer small scale project and more large

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[173] Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005), p.19
[174] Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005), p.9
[175] Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005), p.19
[176] Norad (2000)
[177] Norad, *Kultur*
[178] Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005), p.summary

projects.[179] The evaluation report shows that the most cultural heritage projects are multilateral (44 out of 60 during 2000-2008), mainly through Unesco. The report highlights the well known challenge of implementing local participation in Unesco projects.[180]

Nevertheless, the MFA wishes to put a greater focus on increase of the use of local resources, and on "national ownership"[181] in its cultural aid:

> "a move away from donor-controlled projects towards sector programmes and budget support are key elements of the government's policy. The developing countries are to be the ones to define priorities and decide which sectors should receive assistance."[182]

It is clear that it is important for Norway to implement the wishes of the recipient population in the cultural heritage projects. This view shows that Norway is aware of its inability to fully grasp the priorities and values of the recipient country without help from the inhabitants.

Summary of Norway's Cultural Heritage Aid

- Norway's definition of the concept of cultural heritage is formed by and connected to words and concepts such as: *cultural expression, identity, intrinsic value, utilitarian, value, resource, tangible* and *intangible*. Norway has mainly a particularistic view of cultural heritage.

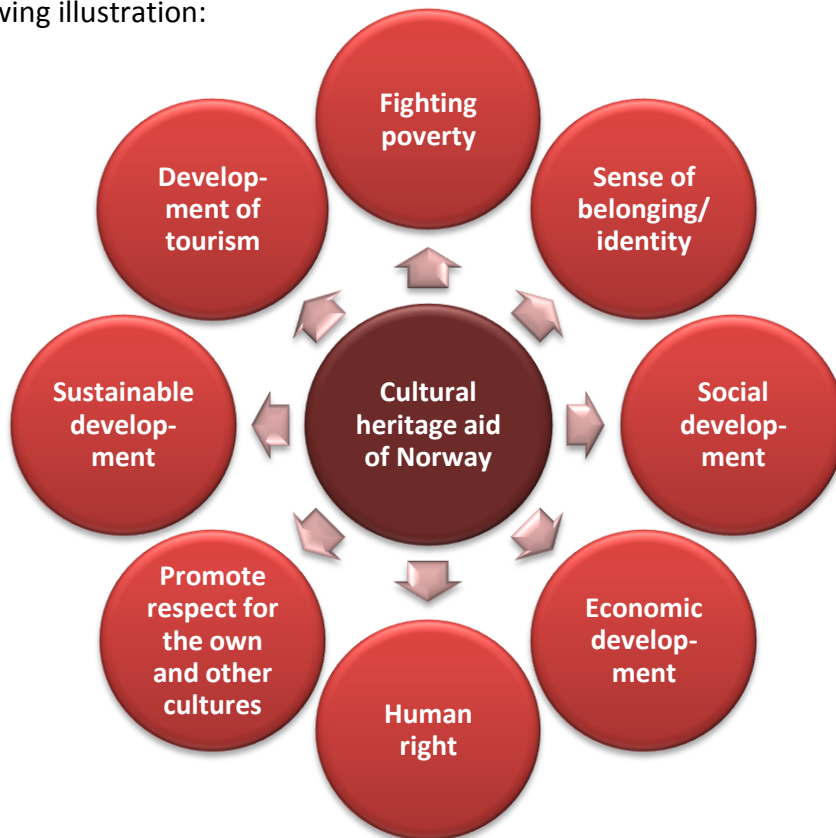[179] Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005), p.21
[180] Nordland Research Institute & Chr. Michelsen Institute (2009), p.18, 36, 107f
[181] Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005), p.13
[182] Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005), p.13

- Norway's reasons for giving aid to cultural heritage project can be summarized in the following illustration:

- The aspects of management control in Norway's work with cultural heritage aid include an awareness of the power within cultural heritage, and a will to put greater focus on national ownership of and greater local participation in cultural heritage projects for a more successful foreign aid.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter the questions of the thesis will be answered. The questions and connected issues are further discussed in the next chapter.

- ***How do the donor countries define the concept 'cultural heritage' within their foreign aid?***

There are both differences and similarities on how the donor countries describe cultural heritage. There is a clear tendency to describe it in a recursive perspective, which all countries except Norway do. Cultural heritage is seen as something that is passed down from earlier generations, through using words such as *history* and *tradition*. Japan adds *legacy* to these words and Sweden adds *memory*. This recursive view is totally in line with a general definition of cultural heritage that exists within the cultural heritage sector, where cultural heritage is viewed as an object or site that is historically interpreted. The reason Norway does not use any recursive words can be just a coincident, and can depend on the fact that the Norwegian texts refers a lot to culture in general (which do not need being recursive) and not only to cultural heritage.

Using a recursive perspective also highlight the value of cultural heritage as something unique, something inimitable and symbolic. Words such as *value, asset, resource* and *symbol* represent this view, but are only used by the Nordic countries; Sweden and Norway. Japan instead uses words such as *universality* and *diversity* to explain the character of cultural heritage. Sweden has the most material concentrated policy, using words such as *man-made* and *environment* to explain the physical features of cultural heritage. The Swedish Sida has a definition close to that of the Swedish National Heritage board, that cultural heritage is something man-made, something that has been passed down through history.[183]

Words used by all countries are *material/tangible* and *immaterial/intangible*. This is in accordance with the cultural heritage sector, which has come to include intangible heritage to a greater extent during the 21st century with Unesco in the forefront. This is among others demonstrated with the Cultural Expressions Convention described in chapter two.

Turning to the universalistic and particularistic views of cultural heritage, there are some differences between the donor countries. Regarding Sweden, it is clear that Sida has inherited the conflict between universalism and particularism that exists within cultural heritage theory. Sida has quite the same discussion, writing that the conservation and protection is a global responsibility yet is something that can only fully be appreciated within the local or national arena. Japan has a clear universalistic view. Germany and Norway accedes to a particularistic view of cultural heritage. The variations and oscillations between a universalistic and a particularistic view of cultural heritage resemble the discussion and the

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[183] Swedish National Heritage Board

conventions within the cultural heritage sector.

In conclusion, the foreign aid sector defines cultural heritage as something material or immaterial, something from the past used and valued in and by today's society. The definitions are quite coherent between the countries investigated, and are also in line with definitions within the cultural heritage sector.

- ***What are the donor countries' motives for giving aid to cultural heritage?***

Usual official motives within foreign aid can be divided into the three groups presented in chapter two:

- Moral and humanitarian
- Political and economical
- Environmental[184]

Within cultural heritage aid, all three groups are represented. Some of the motives have been transferred quite unchanged to the activities within cultural heritage aid. Human rights, poverty reduction and a general development goal are usual motives in the studied countries.

Calling on moral and humanitarian reasons, most of the donor countries mean that cultural heritage is a human right, something all countries except Japan express. However, Japan view cultural heritage aid as contributing to *cultural development*. In spite of a great focus on the economic benefits, all donor countries state that cultural heritage aid is positive for the society and the safety for the recipient. All countries use the motive *social development.* Additionally, cultural heritage aid is stated to *bind[s] together different ethnic groups* (Germany)*, is *social inclusive* (Sweden)*, improve *quality of life* (Germany and Sweden) and is important in *nation building* (Japan). Sweden and Japan view themselves as having a global responsibility to provide assistance to cultural heritage projects, something that correspond with their view on cultural heritage as something universalistic that belongs to everyone.

The notion that cultural heritage is a human right is a motive that can be said to derive both from foreign aid theory and cultural heritage theory. Human rights are important aspects of foreign aid, but a discussion within the cultural heritage sector exists of whether cultural heritage qualifies for implementation on the declaration of human rights or not.

The economic motive is used by all donors as a very strong reason for aid. Development of tourism is frequently used as a heavy post within economic development motives, used by all countries except Japan. Many of the other motives are connected to this reason in that they are said to foster an economic development.

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[184] Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen (2005), p.10-16

The environmental motive is used by all but Japan. All other countries stress the sustainability of cultural heritage, and state that using the heritage as a resource in restauration and regeneration processes contributes to a long-lasting sustainable development.

Japan stands out as the only country that expresses a clear self-interest, saying that the cultural heritage aid can *strengthen relations with Japan,* and show the goodwill of Japan. Japan is also surprisingly strict in giving aid primarily to projects with a positive effect on the economics and image of Japan. However, this matter should not be too inflated, since this thesis has not studied how these opinions are reflected in individual projects. Still, the fact that Japan's self-interest is so pronounced in the texts shall neither be neglected. Nevertheless, there is always the possibility that this goodwill aspect only has consequences for some projects and not for others. Interesting for this thesis is that it is the official policy. Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen highlight that there are usually differences between the official and unofficial reasons for foreign aid[185], and self-interest can be such a political motive that is understated. Norway and Sweden indicate a pride over their contributions to cultural heritage aid, but not as explicitly as Japan. Consequently, there is a possibility that the other donor countries also have self-interest or goodwill reasons within their foreign aid, but do not express is as explicitly as Japan does. The contradiction with this statement is that Japan gives major support to cultural heritage that has a connection to Japan while expressing a universalistic view of cultural heritage and saying that cultural heritage aid can give positive effects through cultural exchange.

In summary, motives within foreign aid are used also in cultural heritage aid. All usual motives such as humanitarian, moral, economic, political and environmental are adjusted to fit in cultural heritage aid policies. The strongest reason is the economic, which is also connected to many of the other motives.

- ***Do the donor countries deal with aspects of power in their cultural heritage policies?***

There are various aspects of awareness of power in the policies of the donor countries. In two of the countries, Norway and Japan, the cultural heritage aid is handled by the Foreign Ministry, which puts it explicitly close to the countries' foreign policies. In Germany and Sweden, the cultural heritage aid is managed by governmental aid agencies. Certainly, even in those countries the foreign aid is part of the countries' foreign policy. The difference is that in Japan and Norway culture and cultural heritage aid is chosen as one area of foreign aid that is administered directly by the Foreign Ministry instead of the governmental aid agency. This shows that cultural heritage is seen as useful in diplomatic and political relations.

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[185] Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen (2005), p.16f

There are three aspects of power that can be distinguished in the texts:

- Power in the selection of projects
- The power within cultural heritage
- Local participation/ownership

Japan has a strict application process for its Cultural Assistance for Grassroots Projects, which gives Mofa an exclusive right to choose projects to fund. However, the Cultural Grant Assistance can be applied for with a blanket application, which gives the recipient more space to act towards its own designated cultural heritage sites.[186] The other countries do not express any policies in the initial selection of projects.

Sweden stands out as the country with the most extended awareness of the power within cultural heritage. Sweden, Germany and Norway highlight the positive aspects of cultural heritage as a motor for change, economic development through tourism etc, but Sweden also highlights the negative power that cultural heritage can represent. Sida acknowledge the fact that cultural heritage can be used in nationalistic projects and in defining one ethnic group from another. The agency also highlights the fact that a designation of a site can be controversial, and that cultural heritage can be used as targets in armed conflicts. With these statements, Sida recognizes the complexity of cultural heritage. Although Germany hints that they understand that there is a power within cultural heritage, it is not as explicit and argued as by Sweden. Norway hints that culture is a power factor, but does not elaborate on this. The countries' main opinion about cultural heritage is that it is nice and positive.

All countries except Japan express that it is important with local participation in aid projects. Germany stresses the importance of including all stakeholders in the projects and Norway emphasizes the importance of national ownership and use of local resources. Sweden accedes to these theses and highlights the right to interpretation in stating that it is the local people that "decide which story they want to be told"[187].

To conclude, the donor countries acknowledge different kinds of power aspects within cultural heritage aid, such as power in the selection of projects, the power within cultural heritage and the issues of local participation or ownership. Japan is the only country that describes the selection process, but is the only country which does not stress the importance of local participation. Sweden stands out as the county with the most extended discussion on the complexity of cultural heritage as something positive and negative.

4.1 Future research

This thesis has had the ambition to describe and discuss the discourse of cultural heritage

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[186] Mofa, *Cultural Grant Assistance,* Foreign Policy, ODA
[187] Sida (2005), p.10

aid. The whole discourse of cultural heritage aid is naturally much wider than the issues discussed in this thesis, and includes for example the recipient of the aid. This is a major issue for future research. Building on this thesis, it would be interesting to investigate the policies practical impacts, how the principles that are expressed in the texts are translated into action and viewed by the recipients.

The major restriction of this thesis is the fact that it has not been possible to clarify how the selection processes are designed since this is so little handled in the texts by the donor countries. This mean that no conclusions have been drawn upon the issue of how the definitions of cultural heritage influence the initial selection of projects to fund. Since the selection process has been scarcely described in the texts, this would be an interesting theme for future research.

Another possible theme for future research is to investigate if other areas of foreign aid also use many different motives or if cultural heritage aid takes on a special position regarding this.

5. DISCUSSION

"Too much is now asked of heritage. In the same breath we commend national
patrimony, regional and ethnic legacies, and a global heritage shared and sheltered in
common" –David Lowenthal[188]

The motives for giving aid to cultural heritage do not seldom relate to other things than the actual objects or sites that are designated as cultural heritage. There is a tendency among the donors to not have an interest in the actual heritage, but to what the heritage can do for society, how it can contribute to economic or political development. Although cultural heritage is defined, among others, through recursive concepts, there are few motives that relate to the cultural heritage as a unique collection of objects and sites that cannot be replaced and that helps people understand their history and identity; a reason for conservation used within cultural heritage theory. Even though this motive is used, mainly by the Nordic countries, it is far overshadowed by the economic reasons. These motives often relate to tourism development, increase of jobs etc. The focus is on the economic and sustainable effects where cultural heritage is seen as a resource. It is not primarily the cultural value that is of interest, but the utilitarian value of cultural heritage. It can be argued that cultural heritage is seen as something that has the ability to influence all aspects of development. Drawing on Bohman and his three perspectives on cultural heritage[189], a risk that the heritage is viewed as all inclusive exists, which by extension risks undermining the value of cultural heritage. It can be argued that if cultural heritage is expected to contribute to all aspects of development, it risks being so exploited that it loses its social, spiritual or traditional value.

Moreover, cultural heritage is mainly seen as something nice and positive. This is a view frequent within the cultural heritage sector as well, but it is important to understand the mechanism of how heritage can be used. Cultural heritage can be used as material (and immaterial) reminders about history and can contribute to a nation's historical writing. The historical writing is often used to credit the own nation, sometimes at the expense of other nations or ethical groups. The historical writing is thus only one of many possible interpretations of history, and not a definite truth. If the aid agencies have an awareness of the possibility that the cultural heritage is included in a nationalistic agenda, it can prevent involvement in projects that use the heritage as a "ruling strategy"[190]. For example, none of the donor countries pronounce any kind of renouncement against any types of cultural heritage. One could imagine that there exist situations where the heritage is used in a way that the donor does not view as compatible with their mission. This could for example include religious, nationalistic or political issues.

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[188] Lowenthal (1998), p.227
[189] Bohman (2003), p.13
[190] Sida (2005), p.11

Cultural heritage as constitutive of the nation's history represents a particularistic view of cultural heritage. However, some of the donor countries instead show tendencies toward having a universalistic view of cultural heritage. This can create problems around the right of definition. Who has the right to designate what shall be viewed as cultural heritage? Does a foreign aid agency have the right to force aid activities on a heritage site, without the approach of the recipient? An example of this is the synagogue in Sabile, and the attempt by Unesco regarding the Bamiyan statues, written about in chapter two. None of these stories are successful examples of cultural heritage aid.

Additionally, a universalistic view can foster an opinion of global responsibility to protect cultural heritage. But does that responsibility include a global right to preserve? If everyone has a global right, is that a right even if the national or local people do not view it as valuable? The majority of the countries handle this issue by highlighting the importance of local participation or ownership. However, this mainly concerns the actual conservation or regeneration process concerning a site or building, and not the initial selection concerning which projects to fund. For an aid agency that takes a particularistic stand to cultural heritage, the questions of ownership would become complicated in such a situation. Having a universalistic view can simplify through stating that no one has more right than any other to decide definitions or interpretations, which can create better conditions for compromises. However, this view can also fuel international conflicts.

The recursive perspective was obvious in all policies. As stated in "Conclusions", even in cultural heritage theory is time and age important factors in the designation of cultural heritage. However, within the sector discussions exist on the issue of how old something has to be in order to be valuable. Traditionally, the answer has been "the older the better", for example shown by Ronström[191] referred to in chapter two, a view that one can assume that the aid agencies would agree upon. If the aid agencies have a very strict definition of cultural heritage as something old, a number of sites will not be included because they are not old enough according to the premises stated by the aid agencies. When something is regarded as old can differ a lot between different cultures, so it becomes problematic if the aid agencies have a strict view of what they regard as cultural heritage based on age.

As Lowenthal writes: Is too much asked of heritage? Or is cultural heritage so powerful that it can bring positive effects to all aspects of development? This thesis shows how the donor countries have a great belief in cultural heritage. In the end this is mainly to be viewed as something positive. Something that can increase the value of heritage in today's society. However, it is important for the donors to understand the complexity of cultural heritage. I mean that cultural heritage do have the ability to foster development, but this ability implies both positive and negative forms of development. I will finish this thesis with quoting a story told in the evaluation report of the cultural heritage aid of Norway that illustrates the risks of

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[191] Ronström (2008)

pushing for a prominent and all inclusive cultural heritage aid:

> Unlike many of its neighbours, the postcolonial period in Malawi has been one of relative peace and stability, with former deadly enemies living side by side without too many problems. This in itself is a source of pride to present-day Malawians, marking the country's distinctiveness in comparison to many other countries on the continent. Said my taxi driver:

- *The most important culture in Malawi is the fact that we don't fight each other, despite being so many different tribes. Look at the other countries around here and compare!*

> This is in fact a statement about *Malawian* cultural identity and heritage; about a collective experience, a symbol of unity across potential internal divides, something valuable and shared. The young man continued:

- *Bringing in the past could be dangerous/…/! We are also very aware of what separates us. The splits will always be there. For example, we are still unable to declare Chewa the national language, even though it is spoken by more than 90% of the population. Pushing for this could be very dangerous, and we know it!*

> Then he added:

- *Apart from this, we have many dances, songs and plays which are very important to people. But they vary between the tribes.*

> These statements show that taking cultural heritage for granted as something shared and positive could prove counter-productive to producing national unity. The message given is that the reason people live peacefully in the present, is that the past is *not* evoked. Yet cultural heritage is seen as important.[192]

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[192] Nordland Research Institute & Chr. Michelsen Institute (2009), p.128

6. SUMMARY

This thesis investigates donor countries relation to cultural heritage aid. The theme has earlier been scarcely researched and is interesting because the donors risk influencing processes around creation of meaning and memory and the construction of identities and nations, processes often politically biased. It is interesting to investigate if aid agencies have any awareness of the complexity of cultural heritage and any discussion of their part in creating heritage. The donor countries investigated are Japan, Germany, Sweden and Norway.

The purpose of the thesis is to describe and discuss the discourse of cultural heritage aid and its questions are:

1. *How do the donor countries define the concept 'cultural heritage' within their foreign aid?*
2. *What are the donor countries' motives for giving aid to cultural heritage?*
3. *Do the donor countries deal with aspects of power in their cultural heritage policies?*

The questions are related to cultural heritage theory and foreign aid theory to investigate if any relations exist between the different discourses. The investigation is done with the methodology of discourse analysis. The sources constitute of cultural heritage theory literature, foreign aid theory literature and policy papers, guidelines and other documents from the donor countries concerning their cultural heritage aid. The policy documents and other texts from the donor countries' websites have been analyzed through text analyses with analysis tools drawn from discourse analysis.

The thesis' starting point and the empirical focus lies with the countries that provide foreign aid, i.e. the donor, and the recipient has not been investigated. Neither effects of the aid have been studied, only the official reasons for giving it.

The theoretical starting points are:
• Cultural heritage is something changeable and unstable, something that demands a context and interpretation.
• Cultural heritage is culturally and socially constructed and in need of a language.
• Foreign aid always generates a certain amount of power: a donor gives to a recipient.
• Cultural heritage generates a certain amount of power; someone designates something as heritage or in need of conservation. Someone selects a particular interpretation of history that applies to a particular heritage.
• The power within cultural heritage can be used, in both positive and negative ways, for the construction of meaning, identity, nation-building and for political motives.

The thesis is disposed in one theoretical part and one empirical part. The empirical part presents the text analyses of the donor countries. The theoretical part describes the cultural heritage sector's definition of cultural heritage, usual motives within foreign aid and different views on the ownership of cultural heritage. This part also includes aspects of power connected to cultural heritage aid. In the cultural heritage sector heritage is defined as a material object/site or an immaterial phenomenon which are man-made and historically interpreted to be used in the present. Cultural heritage can be viewed as a human right, but the right of definition and right of interpretation are complex issues which can problematize the concept.

The thesis explains two major views on how cultural heritage can be understood. The **particularistic** view regards cultural heritage as something own by the people that has created it, or that lives in the area where the heritage was created. The **universalistic** view regards cultural heritage as something that belongs to all mankind, since every peoples belong to the collectivity of humanity. The thesis refers to a number of conventions that all make their own perspectives on cultural heritage, each starting from one of the two views. The Hague Convention represents a universalistic view, while the 1970 Convention and the Nara document represent a particularistic view. The Expressions Convention and the World Heritage Convention are documents that are inconsistent between the two views, showing the complexity of cultural heritage.

The thesis concludes that the foreign aid sector defines cultural heritage as something material or immaterial, something from the past used and valued in and by today's society. The definitions are quite coherent between the countries investigated, and are also in line with definitions within the cultural heritage sector. The motives within foreign aid are used also in cultural heritage aid. All usual motives such as humanitarian, moral, economic, political and environmental are adjusted to fit in to the cultural heritage aid policies. The strongest motive is the economic, which is also connected to many of the other motives. Relating to power structures, the donor countries acknowledge different kinds of power aspects within cultural heritage aid, such as power in the selection of projects, the power within cultural heritage and local participation or ownership. Japan is the only country that describes the selection process, but is the only country which does not stress the importance of local participation. Sweden stands out as the county with the most extended discussion on the complexity of cultural heritage as something positive and negative.

In the concluding chapter, the discourse of cultural heritage aid is discussed. The conclusion that the motives vary from moral to economic show that the donor countries have a great belief in the effects of cultural heritage. Cultural heritage is mainly used through its utilitarian value. The thesis questions the notion of global responsibility and highlights the issue that cultural heritage can foster both positive and negative forms of development. The thesis ends with the rhetoric question if too muck is asked of cultural heritage within foreign aid.

7. SAMMANFATTNING

Denna masteruppsats undersöker givarländers förhållande till kulturarvsbistånd. Temat är tidigare utforskat endast i liten omfattning och är intressant eftersom givarna riskerar att påverka processer kring skapande av mening, minne, identiteter och nationer, processer som ofta är politiskt färgade. Det är intressant att undersöka om biståndsländerna är medvetna om kulturarvets komplexitet och om det förs någon diskussion kring deras del i att skapa kulturarv. Länderna som undersökts är Japan, Tyskland, Sverige och Norge.

Syftet med uppsatsen är att beskriva och diskutera kulturarvsbiståndets diskurs. Undersökningens frågor är:

1. Hur definierar givarländerna begreppet "kulturarv" inom sin biståndsverksamhet?
2. Vilka är motiven för att ge bistånd till kulturarv?
3. Hanterar länderna maktaspekter i sina policyer kring kulturarvsbistånd?

Frågorna relateras till kulturarvsteori och biståndsteori för att undersöka om det finns relationer mellan de olika diskurserna. Undersökningsmetoden utgår ifrån diskursanalys. Källorna utgörs av kulturarvsteoretisk och biståndsteoretisk litteratur samt policydokument, riktlinjer och andra dokument från givarländerna om deras kulturarvsbistånd. Givarnas texter är hämtade från deras webbsidor och har analyserats med hjälp av textanalyser med analysverktyg hämtade från diskursanalys.

Uppsatsens utgångspunkt och dess empiriska fokus ligger hos de länder som ger bistånd, det vill säga hos givaren. Mottagaren har inte studerats. Inte heller effekterna av stödet har studerats, utan endast de officiella skälen för att ge kulturarvsbistånd.

De teoretiska utgångspunkterna är:

- Kulturarv är något föränderligt och kontextuellt, något som kräver ett sammanhang och en tolkning.
- Kulturarv är kulturellt och socialt konstruerat och i behov av ett språk.
- Bistånd innebär alltid en viss maktutövning: en givare ger till en mottagare.
- Kulturarv innebär alltid en viss makt, någon utser något som arv eller i behov av bevarande. Någon väljer en viss tolkning av historien som ska gälla för ett visst kulturarv.
- Makten i kulturarvet kan användas både positivt och negativt, för byggande av mening, identitet och nationer samt för politiska motiv.

Uppsatsen är uppdelad i två delar; en teoretiskt och en empiriskt del. I den empiriska delen presenteras textanalyserna av givarländernas texter. I det teoretiska kapitlet presenteras kulturarvssektorns definition av kulturarvet, vanliga motiv inom biståndsvärlden samt olika syn på ägandet av kulturarvet. Detta kapitel innehåller även aspekter på makt kopplat till kulturarvsbistånd. I kulturarvssektorn definieras kulturarv som ett materiellt objekt/plats

eller ett immateriellt fenomen som är skapat av människan och som tolkas historiskt för att användas i nuet. Kulturarv kan betraktas som en mänsklig rättighet, men rätten att definiera och rätten till tolkning är komplexa frågor som problematiserar kulturarvsbiståndet.

Uppsatsen beskriver två inriktningar i hur kulturarvet kan förstås. Den partikularistiska uppfattningen menar att kulturarv tillhör det folk som skapat det, eller som lever i det område där det skapades. Den universalistiska uppfattningen betraktar kulturarv som något som tillhör hela mänskligheten, eftersom varje folk är del av en kollektiv mänsklighet. Uppsatsen hänvisar till ett antal konventioner som alla gör sina egna tolkningar utifrån dessa två inriktningar. Haagkonventionen har en universalistisk uppfattning, medan 1970 års konvention och Nara dokumentet representerar en partikularistisk uppfattning. Uttryckskonventionen och Världsarvskonventionen är dokument som är inkonsekventa mellan de två riktningarna och som visar på komplexiteten i kulturarvet.

Uppsatsens resultat visar att biståndssektorn definierar kulturarvet som något materiellt eller immateriellt, något från det förflutna som används och värderas i och av dagens samhälle. Definitionerna är ganska samstämmiga mellan de undersökta länderna och är också i linje med definitionerna inom kulturarvssektorn. Motiv inom andra former av bistånd används också i kulturarvsbistånd. Vanliga motiv såsom humanitära, moraliska, ekonomiska, politiska och miljömässiga skäl anpassas för att passa in kulturarvsbiståndet. Det starkaste motivet är det ekonomiska, som också är kopplat till många av de andra motiven. Givarländerna uppmärksammar också flera typer av maktaspekter. Det enda landet som beskriver urvalsprocessen är Japan, men Japan är också det enda landet som inte betonar hur viktigt det är med lokalt deltagande. Sverige utmärker sig som det landet som har den mest utförliga diskussionen om komplexiteten i kulturarvet som något både positivt och negativt.

I det avslutande kapitlet diskuteras kulturarvsbiståndets diskurs. Slutsatsen att motiven varierar från moraliska till ekonomiska skäl visar att givarländerna har stor tilltro till effekterna av kulturarvet. Kulturarvets praktiska värde är det som framhålls mest inom biståndsverksamheten. Uppsatsen ifrågasätter uppfattningen om ett globalt kulturarv och uppmärksammar att kulturarvet kan främja både positiva och negativa former av utveckling. Uppsatsen avslutas med den retoriska frågan om för mycket begärs av kulturarvet inom biståndsverksamheten.

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8.3 E-mails

Willoch, Cecilie to Smedberg, Lovisa (2011-04-11), *Re: Justert Strategi for Norges kultur- og idrettssamarbeid med land i sør?* A copy of the e-mail are kept by the author

Appendix 1

Selection Criteria

OECD-countries	Information on cultural heritage aid?
Australia	No
Austria	Yes, but not policy material
Belgium	No
Canada	No
Chile	No
Denmark	No
Estonia	No
Finland	No
France	No
Greece	Yes, but no policy material
Ireland	No
Iceland	No
Israel	No
Italia	Yes, but material only in Italian
Japan	Yes
Luxemburg	No
Mexico	No
Netherlands	Yes, but no policy material
Norway	Yes
New Zeeland	Yes, but no policy material
Poland	No
Portugal	Yes, but material only in Portuguese
Schweiz	No
Slovakia	No
Slovenia	No
Spain	Yes, but material only in Spanish
United Kingdom	No
Sweden	Yes
South Korea	No
Czech republic	No
Germany	Yes
Turkey	Yes, but not policy material
Hungary	No
USA	Yes, but not policy material

Abbreviations

DCD-DAC   Development Co-operation Directorate

EU   European Union

GNI   Gross national income

GIZ   Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit

GTZ   Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German technical cooperation)

ICOMOS   International Committee of Monuments and Sites

JICA   Japan International Cooperation Agency

JICS   Japan International Cooperation System

NGO   Non Governmental Organization

Norad   Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation

MFA   (The Norwegian) Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mofa   Ministry of Foreign Affairs (of Japan)

CGA   Cultural Grant Assistance

ODA   Official Development Aid/Assistance

OECD   Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

Sida   Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Styrelsen för internationellt utvecklingssamarbete)

SIU   the Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Higher Education

UN   United Nations

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization