



# Evaluation of Norwegian Support to the Protection of Cultural Heritage

Evaluation Report 4/2009



*Front page photos:*

*Ethiopian-Norwegian cooperation is being announced outside the walls of King Fasiledes' bath.*

*Village children from the Lilongwe district in Malawi perform traditional children's dances, a knowledge project supported by the Malawian-Norwegian framework agreement on cultural heritage.*

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# **Evaluation of Norwegian Support to the Protection of Cultural Heritage**

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## Preface

Support to culture, cultural heritage and arts has been part of Norway's development cooperation for many years. Several Norwegian institutions have been involved in this work, which has been guided by different strategies. The cooperation is at present based on the Strategy for Norway's culture and sports cooperation with countries in the South (2005).

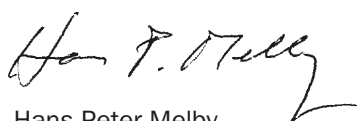
The evaluation was commissioned to obtain an understanding of the results of the Norwegian support to the protection of cultural heritage. The emphasis of the study was on assessing relevance, efficiency, results (effectiveness) and sustainability. The evaluation also provides recommendations regarding the future cooperation in this sector.

The evaluation report gives an overview of the support from 2000 to 2008, with a closer look at three countries - Ethiopia, Malawi and Nepal. The report shows that 60 cultural heritage projects were supported during this period, most of them in Africa or Asia, with a budget of close to 275 million Norwegian kroner. Sixty per cent of the funds were given to multilateral projects (through United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation - UNESCO).

The evaluation lays emphasis on economic perspectives related to the protection of cultural heritage ("culture economy"). Among the conclusions, the team underlines the importance of institution building and the need to support and build on local resources. The report calls for a look at the current balance between bilateral and multilateral support. It recommends to involve additional professional resources in Norway in the future.

The evaluation was carried out by a joint team from the Chr. Michelsen Institute and Nordland Research Institute, supported by experts in the countries studied.

Oslo, July 2009



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Acting Head, Norad's Evaluation Department



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## Abbreviations

ACE	Norad's Arts and Cultural Education programme
CHM	Cultural Heritage Management
DCH	Directorate for Cultural Heritage (Riksantikvaren)
EEA	European Economic Area
EU	European Union
FK	FK Norway - Fredskorpset
LRC	Lotus Research Centre (Kathmandu)
MCCA	Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs
ME	Ministry of Environment
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NOMA	Norad's Programme for Masters' Studies
Norad	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NUFU	Norwegian Programme for Development Research and Education
NWHF	Nordic World Heritage Foundation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PTD	Participatory Tourism Development
RA	Riksantikvaren (Directorate for Cultural Heritage)
ToR	Terms of Reference
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
WHS	World Heritage Site



# Executive Summary





## Executive Summary

This evaluation will address the experiences of Norwegian support to the protection of cultural heritage in developing countries. Norwegian support to this field of interest dates back to the 1980s, but the study focuses on the period 2000 - 2008. The main emphasis has been on institution- and capacity building for the preservation and protection of cultural heritage, with particular regard for UNESCO's Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972).

Since 2005, Norwegian support to the protection of cultural heritage has been directed by a Strategy for cultural and sports cooperation (2006 – 2015), where particular importance is attached to the promotion of cultural diversity, and where cultural heritage is seen as a resource for development. The strategy also covers Norwegian support to the 2003 UNESCO convention on the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage resources (ratified by Norway in 2007). The current strategy thus covers a much wider field than cultural heritage protection. None the less the protection of cultural heritage remains an important component in a strategy that encourages the use of cultural heritage as a resource for sustainable development, promotes cultural expression as a basis for intercultural dialogue and the strengthening of civil society. The outlook of the 2005 strategy captures the developmental purpose and validation of cultural heritage protection efforts and corresponds in broad terms with the culture economic perspectives that underlie the present evaluation.

Norwegian support to the protection of cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, is organised in a multilateral programme, where Norway have provided extra-budgetary support to UNESCO through a series of two-year programme agreements, in addition to Norway's membership obligations and general support to UNESCO's normative functions. Additionally, support has been provided on a bilateral basis to a number of projects sponsored by Norwegian embassies in developing countries. Particular emphasis has been placed on cultural infrastructure and the development of institutional capacity.

The project portfolio for cultural cooperation is analysed in the study, indicating that Norway in the period 2000 – 2008 has supported 60 cultural heritage projects (mostly in Africa and Asia) with a budget contribution of close to NOK 275 million. 44 multilateral projects and 16 bilateral projects have been identified, including 6 networking programmes in Asia, 5 networking programmes in Africa and 7 international programmes. Over the period, 60% of Norwegian

funding to cultural heritage protection has been granted through multilateral support. Of the 16 bilateral projects, 12 can be found in Africa, while 60 % of the support to bilateral projects goes to Africa.

Norwegian support covers both tangible and intangible cultural heritage; 59% of the support to the protection of tangible cultural heritage has been allocated to projects in Africa, while 34% of the support for intangible cultural heritage is for projects in Asia. It follows that the largest proportion of site-specific investments (62%) has been in Africa. It is also interesting to note that 48% of the funds allocated to capacity building have been spent in Africa. Africa has received 54 % of the funds directed at economic development and 50 % of the funds allocated to the development of tourism.

A review of Norwegian stakeholders supporting cultural heritage protection shows clearly the central position of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which assumed a main responsibility for this sector in 2004. MFA is now the main source of funds and policy guidance in this field. Norad's capacity for delivery within the field of culture has been scaled back since its peak in the 1990s and is now focused on technical advisory services. The Directorate for Cultural Heritage offers a range of valuable technical services related to the preservation and management of cultural heritage, but has yet to respond adequately to the challenges of institution-building for cultural heritage management, which is re-emphasised in the 2005 strategy as a major Norwegian policy objective. The Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Culture both have nominal responsibility for the UNESCO conventions on tangible and intangible cultural heritage respectively, while most of the financial support to UNESCO is actually extended through MFA. The Nordic World Heritage Foundation is supported by the Ministry of Environment to provide ancillary support to UNESCO's World Heritage activities but plays a less prominent role in Norwegian policy formulation and support.

Norway is a major contributor to UNESCO, which is the only multilateral institution with a strong mandate to support cultural activities and protect cultural heritage. A distinction is made between Norway's membership obligations to UNESCO and the 'extra-budgetary' support offered to UNESCO's cultural heritage management activities. There is a tension between the normative functions of UNESCO as the custodian of the world heritage conventions and the more recent initiatives to support cultural heritage protection in a more holistic and developmental perspective. There is more or less full congruence between UNESCO's views and Norwegian policy positions on both counts; UNESCO's capacity to support practical cultural heritage protection activities, however, presents more challenges than the management of the heritage conventions.

Three cases were selected from the project portfolio for further study. This selection was guided by a suggestion in the Terms of Reference that at least one of two designated pilot countries for the new strategy should be studied, hence Malawi was selected. Ethiopia was selected as a country where Norway has supported both bilateral and multilateral efforts, and finally Nepal was selected as a country that has been involved in three Norwegian funded multilateral

networking programmes organised by UNESCO. The sample represents important issues in Norwegian support to the protection of cultural heritage, but cannot be said to be statistically representative of the project portfolio.

The **Ethiopia case** covers one bilateral project and two multilateral projects for site-specific restoration and protection of cultural heritage, in addition to one multilateral project directed at intangible heritage (music). The bilateral project has been curtailed due to implementation problems and political difficulties, but the works that had been carried out were firmly rooted in the local community and had contributed to capacity building and institutional development of the national institution charged with heritage protection. Locally, this project was viewed positively, in spite of obvious difficulties and shortcomings. The multilateral projects also experienced implementation delays, but were far less positively viewed by local stakeholders, whether in the local community or by the national counterpart institution. The multilateral projects were said to have shown less concern for local engagement, popular participation, national ownership and direction, although the experiences discussed were tied to only the first of two projects. These issues have been incorporated in the plans for the second project (where implementation has not yet started). The intangible heritage project was implemented by the regional UNESCO office in Nairobi but it proved impossible to obtain any information about it locally, where it was unknown, or by contacting the regional office, where requests were unanswered.

The **Malawi case** discusses a large programme agreement with the Malawi Department of Culture, organising Norwegian support to cultural heritage protection. It covers a range of activities including capacity- and institution-building interventions, site-specific rehabilitation and preservation activities, research and interventions to revive and document intangible cultural practices. Several of the technical restoration projects included in the schedule of the programme have been completed as planned; the major question raised by the review concerns the programme logic underlying the activities. The overall goal of the programme was defined as contributing to the Malawi national identity, with unity in diversity and economic development as important collateral objectives. Quite apart from the issue of how change along these dimension may be measured, the review put in doubt the logical connection between the restoration of colonial-era buildings and national identity. Other components of the programme, particularly those related to the preservation of intangible culture like popular songs and dances, currently represent a modest proportion of the programme, but could probably play a greater role in terms of contributing to the national identity. The review also discusses the Chongoni rock art site, which has been inscribed on the World Heritage List, with support for the required preparatory work from the Norwegian-funded programme. After the site was recognised, however, it has been largely forgotten, in terms of preservation and development of site management plans, or in terms of integrating the site in local level development plans.

The review recognizes the achievements of the Norwegian programme to date (mostly relating to concrete restoration of buildings, as well as some capacity

building in the national Department of Culture) but points out that the main shortcomings involve poorly substantiated assumptions about links between programme activities and over-ambitious programme goals, general neglect and inadequate prioritisation of intangible culture and finally, a centralised management structure for cultural heritage management that has proved inimical to local and civil society involvement and which is isolated from the national educational and research sector.

The **Nepal case** study examines, from the local point of view, the experiences from three UNESCO networking programmes that Nepal has taken part in, i.e. how programme goals and programme interventions have been translated into activities involving local stakeholders in Nepal. The review points out that the three networking programmes all worked with intangible cultural heritage, partly with a geographical focus on some of the most remote and isolated areas of Nepal. Two of the programmes were directed at reviving traditional decorative arts and building crafts in Buddhist temples on the one hand, and restoration and conservation of religious practices, structural and decorative aspects of (mostly Buddhist) temples in the Himalayas on the other. The third networking programme was directed at the development of eco-tourism in a remote region of the country. The funding of the projects was substantially lower than for the bilateral projects studied in Malawi and Ethiopia. This should be taken into account when the results are evaluated. Moreover, the projects were all implemented during a highly turbulent period in modern Nepali history, which may be partly the reason why they were implemented without involving national government counterpart institutions.

The review points out that in one of the projects, lack of communication between the local implementing organization and UNESCO meant that considerable time and energy was spent on planning activities that there was no budget to carry out. In the view of the local organization, their priorities were not taken into account. The sustainability of the projects has been limited, partly because of lack of resources and capacity among the organisations to replicate the activities, partly as a result of lack of interest from the government. The review reports a surprising lack of coordination between the three UNESCO projects and defective communications with central government. The eco-tourism project seems to be the most successful of the three in terms of how well it was integrated in local conditions and with local stakeholders, but even here, the support received from UNESCO was limited. The review points out that the large-scale networking approach, managed from a regional centre, is a quite expensive model for programme implementation, particularly given the modest level of programme activities on the ground.

The lessons and conclusions to be drawn from this evaluation are of course closely related to the case studies presented, and even if these are not statistically representative, they point to some issues that are important to the Norwegian effort. One is the current balance between multilateral and bilateral channels of assistance and their relative usefulness in terms of achieving Norwegian policy objectives. In view of the strong focus on institution- and capacity-building



in the Norwegian policy documents, there may be an argument for a more direct bilateral involvement with cultural heritage authorities in a select number of countries. But this does not seem feasible before two major weaknesses in the management of bilateral assistance have been revised, viz. the dependence of Norwegian support to cultural heritage protection on a small number of institutions in Norway (almost exclusively the Directorate of Cultural Heritage) and dependence upon the personal initiative of interested officers at Norwegian embassies to carry cultural heritage protection projects forward. Both issues render cultural heritage protection vulnerable.

These three case studies are the basis for the success criteria that have been formulated for cultural heritage protection projects, viz.:

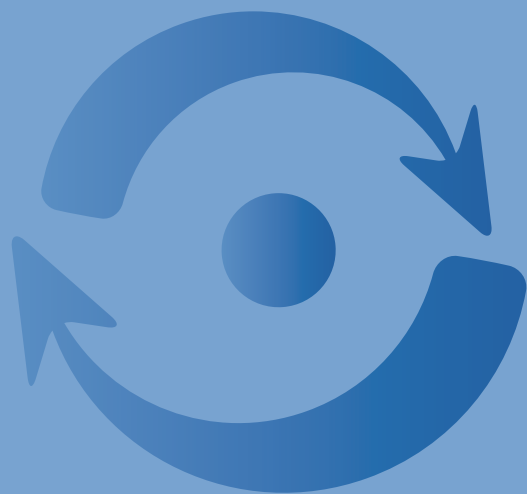
- Tangible and intangible cultural heritage can be important components of economic innovation and for local development
- Local involvement and local ownership is a precondition for a successful project
- Successful projects should be based on local definitions and local perceptions of cultural heritage
- Successful projects require broad partnerships of different kinds of knowledge and expertise
- The research and education sector should be recognised as a central stakeholder in capacity building and sectoral development projects for cultural heritage

The evaluation summarises the experiences with reference to standard evaluation criteria, after a review of some important cross-cutting themes that have presented themselves. These particularly concern the poor level of coordination between projects in the cultural heritage sector as a whole (in the countries reviewed), as well as between donors. A large and complex organisation like UNESCO is particularly prone to criticism on this count. The issue of coordination, however, is tied in with the issue of institution-building; this evaluation supports the view that coordination is primarily the responsibility of national authorities. The Norwegian strategy for cultural cooperation has recognised the importance of institution-building, indicating that NOK 50 million annually, or some 65% of the Norwegian global vote for culture, should be earmarked for institution-building. This evaluation has not been able to identify adequate and workable models for institution-building within the material reviewed in this sector. There are some successes resulting from capacity building within tightly circumscribed technical fields, but viable and effective institutions involve far more than technical skills. In view of the undisputed importance of properly functioning institutions for cultural heritage, this remains an urgent priority.

The final section offers some recommendations at the policy, strategy and project level respectively. It is important to actually operationalise and implement the policy initiatives announced in the 2005 strategy if the policy objectives are to be achieved. At the strategic level the report points out that large parts of the Norwegian effort is channelled through multilateral institutions, with a limited involvement of Norwegian institutions, limited scope for country-level

coordination of the Norwegian effort and limited opportunity for oversight and results monitoring. Norwegian bilateral institution- and capacity-building initiatives can benefit from mobilising and coordinating additional professional resources in Norway, partly through already established funding mechanisms for research and training, thus expanding the Norwegian resource base.

# Main Report





# 1. Introduction and Background

This evaluation will address the experiences of Norwegian support to the protection of cultural heritage in developing countries. Norwegian support to this field of interest dates back to the 1980s, initially offered as part of Norwegian support to environmental management. Cultural Heritage was one of the four priority areas in the strategy, and this point of departure is central to the division of the roles that we find today. To implement this strategy Norad established the Environmental Project (1997-1998), bringing in a broad range of experts from environmental sectors.

As far as policy is concerned, cultural heritage was briefly discussed in Ministry of Foreign Affairs' (MFA) Strategy for environment in development cooperation 1997-2005 (MFA 1997). United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO 1972) was a fundamental document in terms of this strategy. The main priority established at the time was on institution- and capacity building for the preservation and protection of cultural heritage, which was seen as being valuable in itself, as a source of knowledge and understanding, as well as an expression of identity and cultural diversity.

Since 2005, Norwegian support to the protection of cultural heritage has been directed by a Strategy for Cultural and Sports Cooperation 2006 – 2015 (MFA 2005), where additional emphasis is given to cultural diversity and cultural heritage as a resource for development. Although not too much should be made out of the distinction between preservation and use of cultural heritage, particularly not when it comes to intangible cultural heritage, the distinction remains a theme in the debate. The development of sustainable tourism was a policy objective in the first strategy; there is no doubt, however, that the current strategy is more ambitious and more inclusive in terms of the uses of cultural heritage. Culture is both identity and expression and both aspects are important preconditions for the evolution and consolidation of civil society. The right to cultural expression is an aspect of universal human rights. Furthermore, culture, in its diversity, is fundamental to the fight against poverty. The current strategy thus covers a much wider field than cultural heritage protection as such, but also this is expected to contribute to the main aims of the strategy, which are listed as:

- To increase access to cultural goods and to improve conditions for cultural expression
- To encourage the use of cultural heritage as a resource for the sustainable

development of society, for instance in connection with the creation of added value, business development and the strengthening of a sense of identity

- To promote increased knowledge and contacts across political and religious divisions to emphasise common norms and frames of reference for increased inter-cultural dialogue
- To strengthen civil society as a precondition for political and economic development
- To promote equitable cooperation between cultural institutions in Norway and in the South for mutual benefit and for increased professional capacity and an international outlook

Support to the protection of cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, is organised in a multilateral programme, where Norway provides extra-budgetary support to UNESCO through a series of two-year programme agreements, in addition to Norway's membership obligations and general support to UNESCO's normative functions. Additionally, support has been provided on a bilateral basis (with funding from the MFA's global vote for cultural cooperation, from country programme frameworks or regional allocations) to a number of projects sponsored by Norwegian embassies in developing countries. Particular emphasis has been placed on cultural infrastructure and the development of institutional capacity, along the lines of both the 1997 policy document and the 2005 strategy.

The back-drop to the current evaluation are the two strategy documents discussed above that have guided Norwegian efforts in the field of cultural heritage. The evaluation points out how the first strategy is less ambitious and offers a more narrow scope than the second. In the crudest terms the distinction between the two can be thought of as the distinction between passive protection/conservation and active use of cultural heritage resources. In real-life situations these distinctions become much more blurred and it becomes increasingly difficult to determine which aspect should be emphasised in the evaluation of a project. This report will therefore start by presenting a theoretical outlook on cultural heritage protection, examining the concept in a contemporary setting, discussing why it is important and what we can expect from it in terms of long-term benefits, particularly as these relate to the international development agenda expressed through the Millennium Development Goals (MDG).

The structure of this report will reflect the tasks and issues presented in the Terms of Reference (ToR) for the evaluation assignment. It will initially attempt to present an orderly account of the project portfolio for cultural heritage protection, taking due note of the diversity of development assistance channels and the wide geographical distribution of projects. It is difficult to draw specific conclusions from an examination of the project portfolio in terms of how well achievements are related to the policy objectives of the strategy paper underlying interventions, partly because the policy objectives are fairly general, partly because specific project goals often are generated by local conditions rather than overarching policy objectives, and partly because actors and stakeholders have related to the strategy paper in different ways. It seems fair to say that the

diversity of the project portfolio reflects the diversity of stakeholder approaches and that it is often difficult to discern a consistent policy perspective across the portfolio.

The project portfolio for cultural heritage cooperation is presented below, indicating that Norway in the period 2000 – 2008 has supported 60 cultural heritage projects (mostly in Africa and Asia) with a budget contribution of close to NOK 275 million.

There are comparatively few stakeholders involved in Norwegian support to cultural heritage protection. It is important to understand the shifting relationship between the 3 main stakeholders in Norway (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation and the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, under the Ministry of Environment) to understand how the strategy papers relate to specific project experiences. There are divergent views among the stakeholders on how the strategies should be implemented and there is no monolithic structure guiding Norwegian policies in this field. In fact, the evaluation points out that there seems to be ample room for individual initiative and expression of personal interest in shaping specific cooperation projects, which must be seen as both a strength and a weakness of the system. These features, however, seem to explain some aspects of the portfolio which normally would be seen as discrepancies in the context of Norwegian development policies, for instance the surprisingly large bilateral cultural heritage support projects in Pakistan compared to the overall development cooperation portfolio in that country.

Given the distribution between multilateral and bilateral channels, however, with 3 times as many multilateral as bilateral projects and with funding volumes reflecting this (almost 3 times the amount of money has been spent through the multilateral channels compared to bilateral projects) a main stakeholder is UNESCO, as the only multilateral development cooperation organisation with culture in its mandate. But it is important to keep in mind that UNESCO does not implement Norwegian projects, on the contrary, the cooperation is clearly a matter of Norway supporting UNESCO's programmes. Furthermore, this is not an evaluation of UNESCO, whose policies and operations are of course not directed by Norwegian strategy papers. At the policy level one may at best hope for an overlap of views and a commonality of goals and objectives, with reference to the fundamental commitments arising from the international conventions, while at the operational level, the relationship must be guided by acceptance and respect for the integrity and autonomy of UNESCO as a development organisation in its own right.

The focus of the evaluation is on the experiences of a select number of projects in terms of how these projects have performed with regard to the policy objectives of the Norwegian strategy papers. Given the thematic diversity and wide geographical distribution of the project portfolio it has not been possible to design a sample that is statistically representative of the portfolio. The case studies have been selected with a view to some main dimensions in the project

portfolio (e.g. multilateral vs. bilateral, Africa vs. Asia, site-specific investments vs. institution–building, protection vs. use, tangible vs. intangible cultural heritage) and are examined with reference to the goals and objectives of the Norwegian policies. These analyses and explanations have been contextualised to the extent possible in terms of geographical setting, local policy environment, development assistance channels, local partnership arrangements and so on, in order to answer the more specific evaluation questions formulated in the ToR.

The main focus of this examination has been on the outputs produced by the project interventions, primarily in local contexts. This local bias has been deliberately chosen, partly with reference to the current Norwegian strategy paper, which emphasises the contributions of cultural heritage protection to local development and partly with reference to the theoretical outlook presented, which gives locality a privileged position in terms of understanding the significance of cultural heritage protection under the current circumstances of expanding globalisation.

The 2005 strategy paper foreshadows the formulation of success criteria for cultural heritage protection projects. Contrary to what is expressed in the strategy document, these criteria have not been formulated as benchmarks against which Norwegian-funded projects could be evaluated. When the issue is introduced in the present evaluation it becomes more a matter of drawing some lessons of successful experiences from case study material and fitting them into the theoretical framework guiding our outlook on cultural heritage protection. The success criteria established are, therefore, a mix of normative and descriptive statements, deriving partly from the experiences of the case studies and partly from the 2005 strategy paper.

The main point of the evaluation must be to contribute to the improvement of cultural heritage protection. This is a far more complex issue than what it seems. The evaluation will conclude by drawing up a set of recommendations on the basis of some of the same experiences that underlie the success criteria, i.e. the recommendations use the success criteria as a set of development objectives to be reached. The recommendations will be made at both a strategic level, i.e. in terms of discussing the goals and purpose of cultural heritage protection, and at an operational level, i.e. in terms of discussing how to organise the effort.

Norwegian support for cultural heritage development is large and complex, and an evaluation of this support – even if the mandate only relates to the period 2000-2008 – has to be based on a selection of themes and problems. A team consisting of both cultural heritage experts and development experts is important in this kind of evaluation – since development assistance interventions directed at cultural heritage issues will add concerns and considerations arising from development cooperation modalities to the issues involved in cultural heritage work as such. The subject matter of the evaluation has therefore been defined by two different sets of concerns, related to these two different perspectives.



### **The Norwegian strategy for culture cooperation**

The *Strategy for Norwegian culture- and sports cooperation with developing countries* (MFA, 2005) is an important background document for this evaluation. Here, a Norwegian understanding of, and input to, the ongoing discourse on culture and development is described. The main aim of the strategy is to define the role of culture in Norwegian cooperation with developing countries.

The strategy has been formulated in a human rights perspective, and «*the right to culture*» has been defined as a meta-goal for all Norwegian culture projects. Goals, objectives and activities are formulated accordingly. Norwegian support for culture should explicitly promote the human right to free expression, and programme- and sector-oriented support with the aim of developing institutions for an open and diverse cultural sector will have a high priority.

It is not necessarily an easy task to translate these general objectives into policy, however. As the strategy emphasises, the concept of culture covers a very wide range of phenomena and understandings, from – *first understanding* – our value systems and models for living, to – *second understanding* – the set of activities and expressions often thought of as constituting «the culture sector». «Supporting culture» could therefore imply everything from the willingness to listen to local voices and narratives in development projects on the one hand to supporting a philharmonic orchestra on the other. Project objectives as well as methodologies, would have to be highly different in these two contrasting understandings.

Cultural heritage can be understood as a particularly complicated case in point. On the one hand, these projects can have the materiality and concreteness that allows for objective descriptions, measures and aims. On the other hand, even tangible cultural heritage is rarely constructed merely for a certain «sector» of society, but clearly represent expressions of culture in the first understanding of the term as well.

In the Norwegian strategy, however, heritage has been placed under the «culture sector» (MFA 2005:11) after some internal deliberations on the issue. We find this categorisation problematic for several reasons. First, cultural heritage can often be understood as tangible and/or intangible expressions and/or memories of a former cultural value system. Furthermore, various heritage symbols and objects also form part of contemporary value systems – as foundations for identity and/or resources for economic development.

In the strategy, furthermore, culture as value systems is defined as closely connected to identity and belonging, with a heavy influence on the way we construct our societies and socio-cultural milieus. Cultural heritage can find its place within this definition as a contextual and ever-changing set of ideas, symbols, tangible and intangible expressions that make up the human environment. Even when it comes to objects and structures considered to have unique objective value according to international standards<sup>1</sup> a system for use and

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<sup>1</sup> UNESCO's conventions for the protection of intangible and tangible cultural heritage are the most important and influential international mechanisms for bestowing formal objective value on a heritage object or practice.

protection that does not include local communities would hardly be sustainable in the long run. In these cases, then, local relevance and use value should ideally be *created* through for example job creation programmes and/or establishment of local stakeholders committees.

Cultural heritage symbols are public goods that derive their significance from a cultural collective. A concept like «the cultural heritage sector» could be understood as a formalised system of experts, guidelines and supportive institutions. Such a structure can only benefit local development, however, if it places fundamental value on the *placed* beliefs and value systems that in the present or the past give meaning to the heritage objects.

This integrated approach, based on the inclusion of local communities, does find support in the strategy, as the strong recommendation of programme support, sector orientation and institution building is balanced by a clear emphasis on local involvement. Willingness and ability to include local communities is a precondition for receiving Norwegian support (MFA 2005: 21, 25).

Local involvement invariably raises one of the most controversial issues in all public discussions about cultural heritage; whether use value or objective value shall be prioritised in support programmes. A similar controversy relates to the alleged opposition between identity value and economic value. The Norwegian strategy states that separating between these different understandings will neither be possible nor practical (ibid. 11). This is probably true, but it must not be forgotten that in a wide sense it is only because culture has consequences beyond itself that it is linked to development in the first place. Culture is made, produced, used, and can only survive as tradition by being reproduced as relevant in a human public space. Culture can be a source of renewed identity, belief, pride, motivation as well as new economic opportunities. In a developing country with limited economic resources and in large need for new income-generating strategies, cultural heritage symbols and objects represent potential assets for economic growth. It does not follow, however, that identity values or «objective values» need to be sacrificed.

In a concluding chapter on «reporting and evaluation» in the strategy document, the need to develop concrete success strategies for culture in development cooperation is put in italics. The same chapter emphasises the need to try out different, and closely documented/evaluated models and approaches to cultural cooperation. We cannot see that this actually has been done as far as the issue of cultural heritage is concerned.

A very important task for the evaluation team has therefore been to point to holistic development approaches that seek to incorporate the range of potentially oppositional priorities within cultural heritage management into one strategy. The *culture economy strategy* – the use of local knowledge/culture as assets for economic-, place- and identity development – has functioned as the theoretical underpinning of this evaluation. This approach is presented below.

## 2. Presentation of Theoretical Perspective

In a world affected by rapid globalisation, and therefore in many ways subject to standardisation, the interest in and value of what is locally unique and different has increased over the last 20 years (Casey 1996, 1998). The concept of “*glocalisation*” (Eriksen 2000, Cawley, Gaffey and Gillmor 2008, Lønning 2003, 2007, Ritzer 2003) – a fairly recent contribution to the public and academic vocabulary – refers to the somewhat paradoxical fact that people today, across former borders and boundaries appear to become both more similar and more different at the same time. We experience more of the same technologies and we are subjected to many of the same visual symbols and information streams making us, on a structural level, more similar. Globalisation, then, could be described as homogenisation writ large. On the other hand, this homogenising process produces another “counter-force” which (re)creates *symbolic* boundaries through new forms of identification. Place and location and cultural heritage have proved to be potent and fruitful pools of resources for expressing this (re)constructed difference. Many of the same processes can be discerned across the globe today. There is the renewed symbolic interest for locality and the locally specific. As we become more alike, we actively search for that which is “different”, “exotic”, “original”, “pure”.

Glocalisation – the local in the global – is expressed through this renewed focus on local tradition, knowledge and identity, but also through growing markets for locally distinctive produce and services. Recent research within a growing international discourse on culture and development, show clearly that a strong local cultural identity has a very beneficial impact on regional economic development (Lønning 2003, 2007).

Protection and promotion of cultural heritage has been increasingly influenced by this two-sided development. Remnants of the past have been promoted as particularly potent tools for the communication of local/regional/national identity and culture. Furthermore, heritage symbols are often manifest and concrete and therefore possible to transform into economic market spheres as products and services.<sup>2</sup> These processes have affected the very way cultural heritage is viewed as symbol and resource. Whilst heritage protection started out as efforts to preserve the past through creating visual and objectified images of it, an

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<sup>2</sup> The Norwegian Directorate for cultural heritage's programme on heritage based economic development – currently evaluated by Nordland Research Institute – is a good example. See <http://www.riksantikvaren.no/?module=Articles;action=ArticleFolder;publicOpenFolder;ID=1647> Last visit 13.08.08.

emerging paradigm appears to be centred on such symbols' potential use in and for the present (Lønning and Haugsevje 2002).<sup>3</sup>

The strong growth in international tourism can be seen as both result of and driving force for the increasing market for local culture and tradition, cultural heritage included. Tourism is the fastest growing business in the world (Nordin, 2005), and today it incorporates the whole planet. The effects on cultural heritage protection are potentially enormous, with the introduction of a new set of actors discovering and seeking economic profit. Cultural heritage objects, sites and symbols appear to be particularly well suited to be incorporated in what Pine and Gilmore (1999) have labelled *the experience economy*; products and services that seek to arouse personally memorable and unique experiences. A lot of the most important heritage sites in the world have become massive tourist attractions, with the potential of overuse and destruction as result.

On the other hand, a new generation of travellers – expressing this emerging search for “glocal” difference – increasingly seem to favour and seek out heritage attractions that are seen as linked to and even integrated in local culture and communities (Nordin, 2005). This is a rapidly growing sector in the tourist market and a process that opens up for the use of many distinctively *local* heritage sites and symbols. The concept *geotourism*, originally introduced by National Geographic, points to this same trend; the more “local” a community and its attractions are, the higher is its potential as a tourist attraction.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, the forging of close links between attractions and the local culture/community that encompass them and provide them with meaning, can be a very fruitful and effective development strategy in itself (Lønning and Haugsevje 2002). If “landscape” can be understood as “the world out there” (Bender, 2006: 303), cultural heritage form part of what can be called *cultured landscapes* (Lønning, 2007); our interpretations, associations and expectations regarding a place, its people, as well as its natural and cultural surroundings. These landscapes “are contested, worked and re-worked by people according to individual, social and political circumstances ... [and a]s such they are always in process” (Tilley, 2006: 7). If *placed* cultural heritage is part of these same processes, questions of *connection* and *connectivity* – to local culture, knowledge, tradition – become highly important. The meanings of cultural heritage hereby become central constituents of always emerging cultured landscapes; our personal and collective landscapes of identification, participation and continual (re)creation (Lønning, 2007). Heritage resources thus change from being representations of the past in need of protection from the present, into becoming essential building blocks in development strategies aimed at providing a better future for the local community in question.

This evaluation has had a special focus on the extent of awareness of these potentials, as well as on strategies developed to utilise them. Cultural heritage

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3 There is a clear awareness in Norad on the issue of whether culture is to be regarded as a value in itself or as a tool for social and economic development. See e.g. [http://www.norad.no/default.asp?\\_ID=3452](http://www.norad.no/default.asp?_ID=3452) Visited 20.07.08

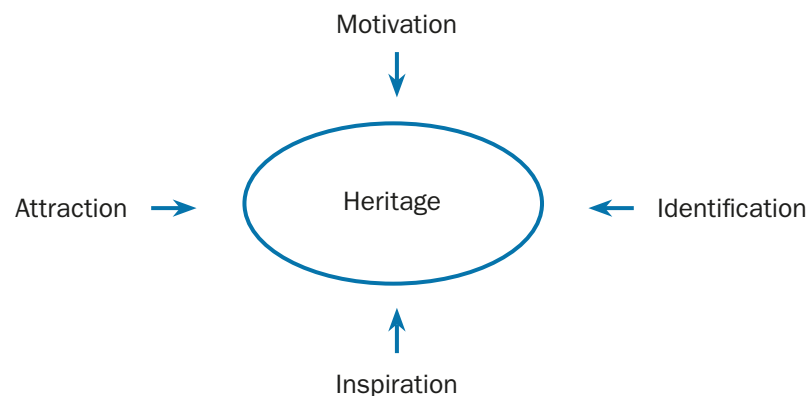
4 Innovation Norway has followed up on this concept, and is seeking to promote Norway as a tourist venue along these same principles. See <http://www.innovasjon Norge.no/Satsinger/Reiseliv/Geoturisme/> Visited 27.07.2008.

can represent important assets in innovative local/regional processes that can lead to economic as well as socio-cultural development. If we understand innovation as *cultural creativity* (Hallam and Ingold, 2007), cultural heritage represents a formidable set of resources (Lessig 2002, 2004, Lønning, 2007).

Within such an open-ended and resource-focused perspective, the most effective cultural heritage development and management model is nearly always multifunctional in character (Lønning 2007). Rather than isolating/focusing on one aspect or perspective, *potentiality* is nurtured actively. Heritage symbols can have varying implications and meanings, both for individuals and groups, depending on context and setting. Multi-functionality – or *perspectivism* (Solomon, 2003) – implies recognising and even seeking to maximise this diversity of meaning/potentiality in project development. Focusing on dynamic interplay – within the project framework – between established understandings/meanings and new ideas and perspectives, can create both a very effective as well as a future-oriented and sustainable development initiative (Lønning, 2007).

The following model can serve to illustrate such an expanded view of tangible and intangible cultural heritage. The traditional “material” understanding of cultural heritage as “attraction” (or object with independent value) here represents only one of several potential perspectives. The model shows how heritage symbols can function as sources of cultural identification, as well as motivate and inspire actions and development initiatives that might or might not be linked to the heritage symbols/objects. The model allows for open-ended projects seeking to maximise local potential and involvement. No focus is here given priority *a priori*, but is a result of project development and dynamic interplay between different voices, interests and understandings:

**Figure 1. Heritage as sources of cultural identification**



In line with the discussion of *cultured landscapes* above, we have focused on the use of cultural heritage as local/regional symbols and potential attempts to link cultural symbols to create more holistic images and experiences of the region for the local population as well as for visitors. This open-ended interplay between the local and the extra-local is central to the culture economy development strategy.

### **The culture economy approach:**

#### **Cultural heritage as resources for local development**

In the broader international discourse on culture and development the connections between place, culture and attraction have gained increasing interest and focus, and development strategies have emerged based on these approaches. As a potentially fruitful way of combating negative impacts of globalisation, large and important international actors like the OECD (1995, 1999, 2005, 2006b) and the EU (LEADER II, 2001) have encouraged vulnerable local communities and regions to enhance and partly “purify” the image of place, and, furthermore, to develop strategies aimed at transforming local knowledge and tradition into resources for economic and cultural development. Such strategies have been defined by Ray (1998, 1999), Kneafsey (2000, 2001) and Lønning (2002, 2003, 2007) as *culture economy approaches* to local development.<sup>5</sup>

The aims of such strategies are twofold, but still always interconnected: First to produce new grounds for local culture and identity, and second to develop new commercial products for internal and external consumption. Ideally, these two aims are thought to reinforce each other, as a strong local identity will probably have a positive effect on local entrepreneurial activity, and vice versa.

An important part of the culture economy process thereby becomes the definition of development paths and projects based on the locally and/or regionally specific. Individual attractions are no longer considered isolated objects but become part of a more ramifying local/regional strategy based on the particular cultural and/or natural resources of the location. Thus, the strategy is less focused on pure product-orientation, and focuses more broadly on *the place* as a point of departure for economic and cultural development and growth. Knowledge/resources – thought of as the raw material for the strategy – can e.g. be found within local food, language, art and handicraft, music, visual presentation, historic places and events, buildings and building techniques, mythology and folklore, literature, particular landscapes, nature and fauna (Lønning 2003).

Whilst “famous” and/or internationally unique cultural heritage symbols could and do function as tourist attractions in themselves, the culture economy approach opens up for the use of a far wider range of local heritage resources being used as markers for the local community and culture in question (Lønning and Haugsevje 2002). In short, cultural heritage is here seen less as “fixed” objects, but rather as a set of resources and symbolic expressions of a local

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<sup>5</sup> Culture economy is presented here as a distinct perspective on the broader culture and identity discourse.

community, conscious of its identity and assets, being part of wider place making and economic development strategies (ibid).

These potentials have had a strong bearing on our approach to the evaluation project. In what way and to what extent are economic development potentials integrated in the project chain? To what extent are the interconnections between place and cultural heritage part of the discourse? How is cultural heritage conceptualised on a continuum between fixed and isolated objects on the one hand, and expressions of a present cultural community on the other?

Findings in this project could provide us with important inputs and suggestions regarding how cultural heritage can be used even more effectively as tools for local development in the future.

### **Cultural heritage protection in developing countries**

When the English journalist Tim Butcher in 2004 set out to recreate H. M. Stanley's famous expedition down the Congo River, one of the comments he got from a local notable was that "History is a luxury people cannot afford around here, where the more pressing things are where the next meal is coming from or the next drink of clean water" (Butcher, 2008:86).

The comment refers to one of the poorest and most conflict-ridden countries in the world, but raises an important general point. Effective promotion and protection of cultural heritage can hardly be accomplished without a proper understanding of contextual challenges and opportunities.

Most research based knowledge on cultural heritage as a resource in the culture economy is based on empirical data from Europe and the USA. Applying this knowledge base to cultural protection in developing countries will be scientifically challenging, but also potentially rewarding. Growth in global tourism has opened up a market for the locally unique all over the world. Cultural heritage protection in developing countries is also becoming linked to this growth in global tourism (Buckley et. al 2008, Ondimu 2002, Winter 2007). At the same time, many such heritage projects are being promoted in economic, social and cultural contexts where many people struggle to fulfil basic needs. There are thus examples of heritage projects in developing countries where only a very limited part of the local population can be said to benefit (Browman 1996, Hampton 2005).<sup>6</sup> The question of how these contextual differences affect strategies for cultural heritage protection and use have been an important concern in the evaluation project.<sup>7</sup>

### **Cultural heritage as power and politics**

As cultural heritage are potent symbols for manipulation, great sensitivity is needed in planning and development. There is always a potential for popular mobilisation around cultural heritage symbols, and this mobilisation is not

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<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, representatives from the Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage have pointed to the large scale project *Africa 2009* as a particularly successful attempt to develop *national* cultural heritage competence in Africa. Information on this project can be found at: <http://www.africa2009.net/> (Last visited 03.05.09)

<sup>7</sup> See annex 8 for a review of the literature on cultural heritage projects in developing countries.

always of a positive and constructive kind. While cultural heritage forms the basis for more and more tourism projects around the world, there are also numerous examples of heritage symbols becoming important elements in violent local, regional and national conflicts. Sri Lanka (Tambiah 1986) and Israel/Palestine (Lønning 1995, Scham and Yahya 2003) are classic cases where the field of archaeology and heritage maintenance have become heavily charged with political meaning, and where cultural symbols of the past are used to support territorial and political claims in the present.

Thus, the question raised in the ToR, “Whose heritage is promoted?” becomes very important. For a cultural heritage project to aid in creating positive and constructive development, the issue of legitimacy is crucial. To the extent that heritage sites or traditions can be understood as having independent value in themselves, an authority needs to be present to define quality regulations and indicators. To the extent that heritage is used as a tool for broader economic development, actors with the potential and interest for developing products and services based on the cultural symbols need to be given at least partial access and partnership rights. Existing knowledge on cultural heritage promotion shows that the issue of the right to define what heritage should be prioritised, has a crucial impact on the project’s success as a regional development effort (Ray 1998, 1999). This is an argument favouring endogenous approaches also in issues involving heritage promotion. In areas with a potential for conflicting interpretations and use, broad actor networks are particularly important.



### 3. Methodological Approaches

The methodological design of the study has been based on the analytical approach described above; focusing cultural heritage as a set of resources for social, cultural and economic development. A few purposefully selected projects have been analysed to show how the goals and objectives of the project are related to the Norwegian policy framework, how interventions are designed on the basis of a theory of the relationship between intervention inputs and the resulting chain of outputs, outcomes and impacts (programme theory or intervention logic).

The main evaluation questions guiding the case studies and the preparation of this report have been the following:

- How is the ongoing debate on cultural heritage protection and development between protection for its own sake and protection through use, reflected in official strategies as well as planning and project documents for Norwegian aid?
- To what extent are involved actors at all levels aware of the potential for using cultural heritage as bases for broader place- and economic development initiatives, and how is this potential awareness expressed in planning, development and project implementation?
- Does an awareness of and focus on the economic potential of heritage projects lead to more local initiatives for heritage protection and development?
- To what extent are local heritage projects used as resources for local entrepreneurs within e.g. tourism or crafts?
- To what extent are local cultural heritage projects considered parts of more comprehensive local/regional development strategies based on local knowledge/culture?
- Who are the local actors involved, and to what extent are the projects mobilising a broad network of local participants?
- In what way do the projects relate to questions of e.g. ethnic identity, gender and age?
- Is social status in any way relevant to participation in heritage projects locally?
- To what extent are heritage projects funded by Norway integrated in and/or expressing official local, regional or national policies on culture and development?
- How is heritage value defined locally, and which actors are entitled and/or in a position to do so?

- Who defines which heritage symbols – tangible and intangible – are chosen for protection and/or development?
- To what extent do local citizens feel “ownership” towards the initiatives, and to what extent are local citizens encouraged to participate in project development?
- To what extent is the issue of local identity raised in heritage development projects, and how is this identity operationalised and implemented? Can heritage development projects lead to greater awareness of local identity, and what is the best strategy for promoting these linkages?
- To what extent are projects funded by Norwegian funds co-funded, and who are the other funding actors?
- To what extent are funded projects sustainable, in the sense of being able to continue without external support? What is the economic basis of this potential sustainability?
- How is the balance between tangible and intangible heritage in Norwegian support?
- How are intangible cultural heritage resources operationalised into development projects locally?

A wide range of data sources have been used to collect the information utilised in the analyses. Some of the main sources are:

- project proposals
- progress reports
- reviews and evaluations
- policy documents relating to the specific project under scrutiny or the context in which it is placed
- a comprehensive literary review on cultural heritage and development in developing countries
- interviews with all major stakeholders in Norway (Directorate for Cultural heritage, Norad, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs, The Ministry of Environment, Nordic World Heritage Foundation)
- extensive interviews with UNESCO personnel involved in projects supported by Norway
- interviews with officers at Norwegian embassies and their counterpart institutions
- interviews with people with responsibilities for project preparation and execution at the local level
- interviews with members of the public, including visiting tourists (separately or in group sessions)
- in-depth projects studies in Ethiopia, Malawi and Nepal.

The team had a close dialogue with the relevant Norwegian embassies during fieldwork. A debriefing session with the relevant Norwegian embassy, involving a verbal report on first impressions/findings and a first discussion of issues that were to be raised in the field reports were conducted in Addis Ababa and Lilongwe. In Kathmandu, the embassy was informed about the evaluation, but did not have time for a formal debriefing.

The selection of countries for in-depth field studies was guided by a suggestion in the ToR that at least one of two designated pilot countries for the new cultural heritage strategy should be studied. These countries are Pakistan and Malawi. The team chose Malawi due to the comprehensive framework cooperation with Norway on cultural heritage, but also due to the very tense political situation in Pakistan in late 2008. Ethiopia was selected as a country where Norway has supported both bilateral and multilateral projects. Finally Nepal was selected since the country has been part of three of the UNESCO regional networking projects. It was important to the team that the sample represented important issues in Norwegian support to the protection of cultural heritage. Still, the selection countries and projects cannot be said to be statistically representative of the project portfolio.

The field studies raise issues that are of general concern to the design and management of projects to support the protection of cultural heritage. They cover important aspects of development assistance management and report on both bilateral and multilateral projects. As such, the field studies highlight a number of issues that are central to the overall effort of working with cultural heritage. This is not to say that the field studies are representative of the project portfolio in a statistical sense, which they are not. Given the diversity and geographical distribution of the portfolio, a representative design would be expensive, time-consuming and difficult to achieve. None the less, the field studies reflect how the Norwegian strategy for cultural and sports cooperation relates to some of the realities of cultural heritage management in developing countries. These realities are highly diverse and the results of the Norwegian efforts clearly reflect this diversity.

These questions will be raised in the reports from the field studies. Brief analytical summaries of the field studies are presented in the main report, while independent field reports are made available as annexes.

## 4. The Project Portfolio

This section will present an overview of Norwegian support to cultural heritage projects. Between 2000 and 2008, 60 projects have received Norwegian support worth approximately NOK 275 million. The project portfolio covers significant variation in terms of project scope, size and duration, as well as with reference to aid channel, geographical distribution and the subject matter of the projects supported, most significantly with reference to tangible and intangible cultural heritage. In the following we will present the project portfolio in some charts and graphs, to capture this variation. The table presented in Annex 3 will offer more detail at the project level.

A quick overview of the project portfolio shows the following highlights:

- Norwegian assistance to cultural heritage protection between 2000 and 2008 has been distributed to **60 projects**, of which **44 are multilateral and 16 bilateral**
- Norwegian support has been provided to projects in **15 countries in Asia** (in addition to 6 networking projects) and **11 countries in Africa** (in addition to 5 networking projects)
- Most of the money has been spent on **multilateral** projects (NOK 166 million out of NOK 275 million), with approx. NOK 109 million allocated to **bilateral** projects
- About half the **multilateral** projects are international or involve networking between two or more countries
- Most of the **multilateral** projects are located in Asia, with most of the **bilateral** projects found in Africa
- 27 projects focus on the protection of **tangible** cultural heritage, 13 projects on **intangible** heritage, while 20 projects do both
- Most of the **tangible** cultural heritage projects are found in Africa, where 59% of the money has been spent on such projects
- In Asia, **intangible** cultural heritage projects are more prominent. This also holds if projects that cover both tangible and intangible cultural heritage are considered.
- A large part of the funding for African projects has been expended on **capacity building activities**

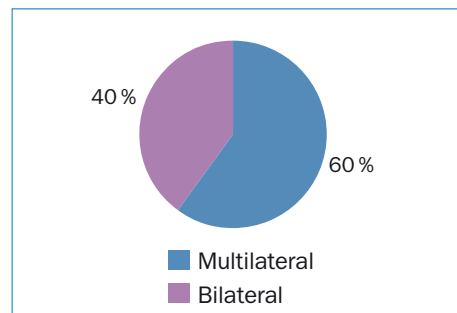
The most important issue arising from this overview concerns the distribution of support to a comparatively large number of projects with a wide geographical distribution. Although most of the projects are implemented by multilateral agencies and pose few problems in terms of day-to-day management as far as

the Norwegian donor agency is concerned, the wide distribution and the large number of projects may easily present challenges in terms of policy coordination and oversight. There are few stakeholders in Norway to provide the capacity required for this and project performance depends entirely on the level of trust put in the implementation capacity of the multilateral agencies. A more active involvement in policy coordination and project oversight would probably require a significant expansion of capacity among Norwegian stakeholders.

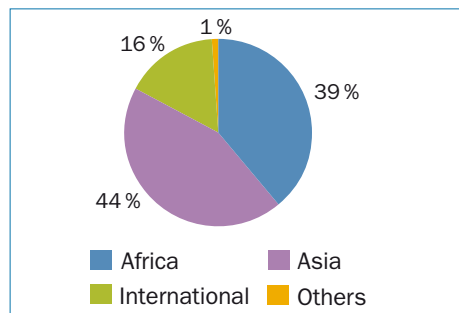
In terms of **aid channel**, the great majority of the projects (44 in total) are **multilateral projects**, funded through UNESCO. Close to half of the multilateral projects (19 in all) are either international in format or take the form of regional networks between two or more countries that have some form of cultural heritage issues in common. Six of the networks are located in Asia, five are in Africa, one is in the Pacific, and there are seven international networks. The rest of the multilateral projects address issues in one country only. 12 of them are located in Asia, five in Africa, and one in South America. **Bilateral projects** constitute a smaller share (16 in total). While projects in Asia dominate multilateral support, the opposite is the case for bilateral projects. Only 5 of the bilateral projects are located in Asia, while 11 are located in Africa.

A comparison of the volume of funds channelled through multilateral and bilateral support, similarly shows the predominance of the multilateral channel. Close to NOK 166 million was disbursed through multilateral channels between 2000 and 2008, while about NOK 109 million was distributed through bilateral channels in the same period. Close to half of the multilateral projects are defined as international and regional networks, comprising a total of NOK 108 million.

**Figure 2.**  
**Aid volume - multilateral and bilateral**

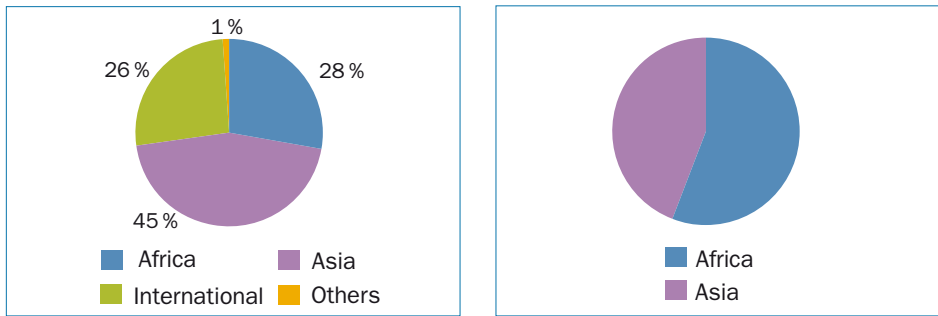


**Figure 3.**  
**Geographical distribution**



Overall, the geographical distribution shows that the support to Asia is somewhat higher than to Africa, comprising a total of NOK 122 million and NOK 106 million respectively. All assistance to Oceania and Latin America is multilateral assistance, with one project in each region. Furthermore, international projects receive a total of NOK 43 million.

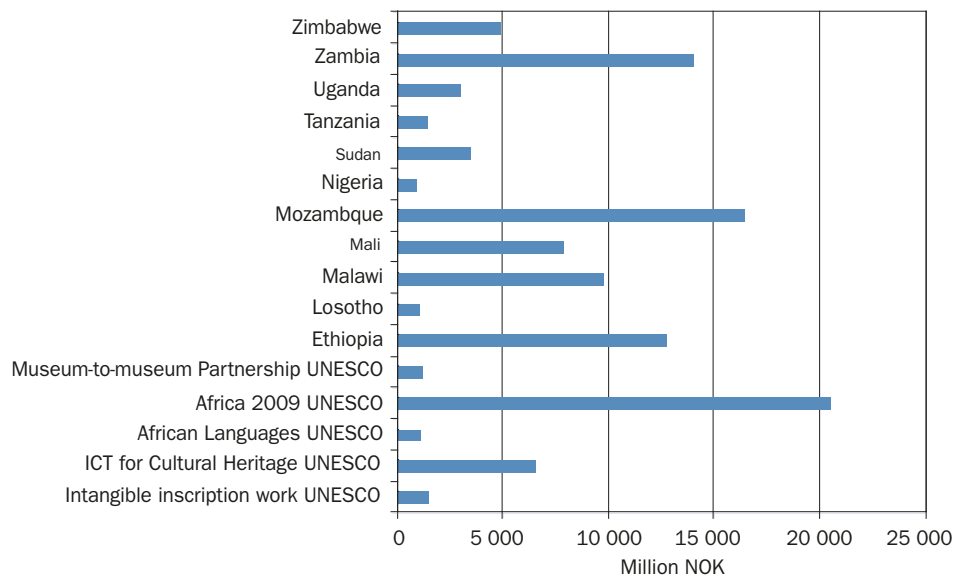
**Figure 4. Multilateral support, by region** **Figure 5. Bilateral support, by region**



While Asia dominates the picture in terms of multilateral assistance, Africa stands out in terms of bilateral support, comprising a total of NOK 60 million. Asia received a total of NOK 48 million in bilateral support for cultural heritage protection projects. As indicated above, there are no bilateral cultural heritage projects in Oceania/Latin America.

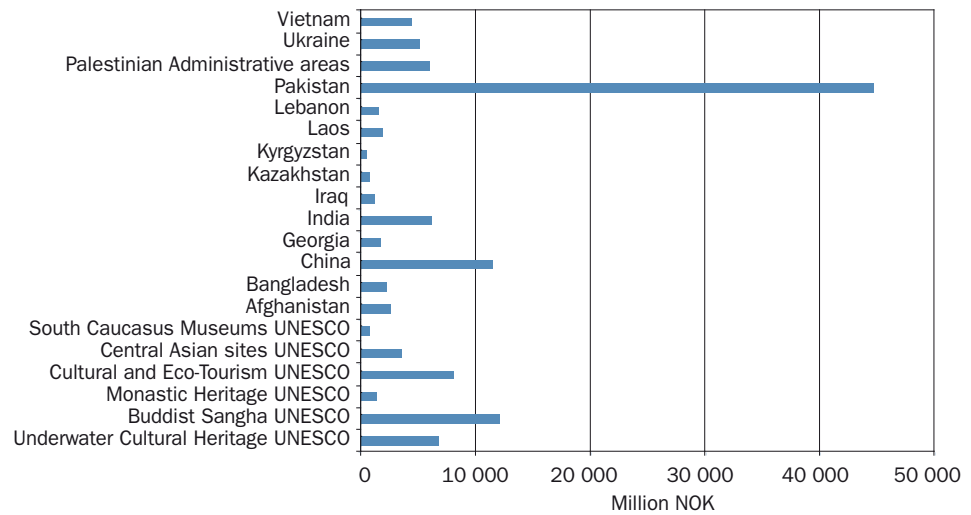
At the project level, support to Africa is dominated budget-wise by the Africa 2009 project which aims to improve the management and conservation of immovable cultural heritage in Africa (a UNESCO project worth NOK 21 million). It is followed by support to Mozambique (restorations at Ilha de Mocambique and the Rock Art project (totally NOK 16 million), and support to the National Heritage Conservation Commission of Zambia (NOK 14 million). Other African countries that have received a substantial amount of funding are Ethiopia with around NOK 13 million (conservation of tangible and intangible cultural heritage), Malawi with about NOK 10 million (support to national archives, research, excavations, and rehabilitation of monuments, and Mali, which has received around NOK eight million (conservation of manuscripts). Projects in other African countries have been funded with sums between NOK 380 000 and 6 million. In terms of number of projects in each country the list looks somewhat different, with Ethiopia on top with five (including networks), followed by Malawi with four projects.

**Figure 6. Projects, Africa**



In Asia, Pakistan is the country that ranks definitely highest in terms of funding with NOK 45 million to four projects (Lahore Fort, rock carvings, musicology etc.). This is about four times as much as the second country on the list, China, which has received NOK 12 million (Ecomuseums and the Drum Tower). India (NOK 6 million), the Palestinian administrative areas (6 million), Ukraine (NOK 5 million) and Vietnam (NOK 4 million) have all received substantially more funding than the eight countries that are at the lower end of the funding scale. The largest network project to receive Norwegian support is the Buddhist Sangha Network (UNESCO/NWHF) that has been funded with NOK 12 million. When we include involvement in the UNESCO funded networks, there are five Asian countries that stand out with three Norwegian funded projects each: China, India, Pakistan, Nepal, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan.

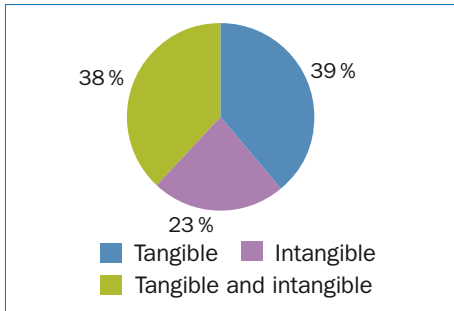
**Figure 7. Projects, Asia**



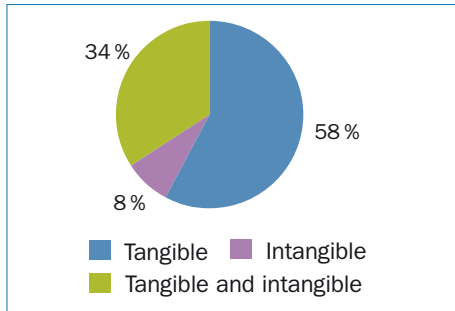
**Project Content**

When we look at the balance between **tangible and intangible projects**, 27 projects focus on tangible culture, 13 on intangible, and 20 on both. In terms of size total support to tangible heritage adds up to NOK 105 million, whereas support to intangible cultural heritage sums to NOK 64 million. Additionally projects covering support to both tangible and intangible heritage total NOK 105 million.

**Figure 8. Support, tangible and intangible projects Overview, Africa**



**Figure 9. Overview, Africa**

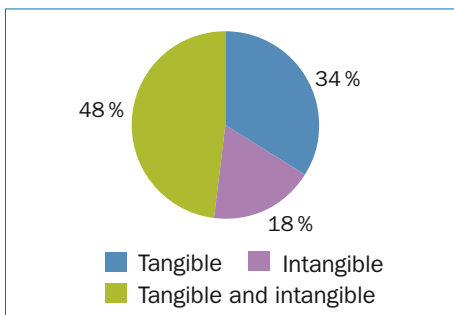


In Africa a total amount of NOK 62 million has been distributed to the support of tangible heritage projects, dominated by countries such as Zambia (NOK 14 million) and Ethiopia (NOK 10 million), whereas support to intangible projects comprises NOK 8 million, dominated by Uganda (NOK 3 million). Norwegian support to both tangible and intangible projects in Africa (NOK 36 million) is dominated by the regional projects.

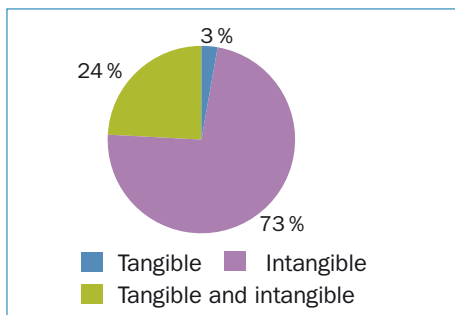
Norwegian support to tangible projects in Asia constitutes close to NOK 42 million, with Pakistan, India and China (receiving NOK 7 million, NOK 6 million and NOK 5 million respectively) being the dominant countries of support. The Buddhist Sangha Network (NOK 12 million) dominates the support to intangible projects. Moreover, Asia has received a substantial amount of support directed at projects comprising both tangible and intangible projects (NOK 59 million).

The seven international projects are dominated by intangible projects and have received about NOK 32 million. The two projects in the Pacific and in South America are also intangible and consist of a total support of about NOK 2 million.

**Figure 10. Overview, Asia**



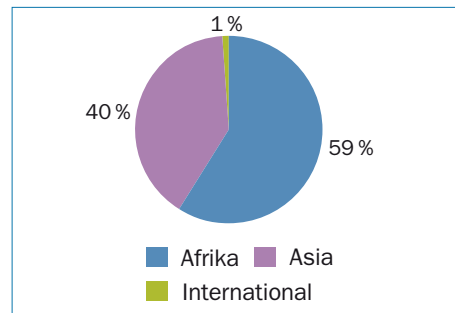
**Figure 11. Overview, international**



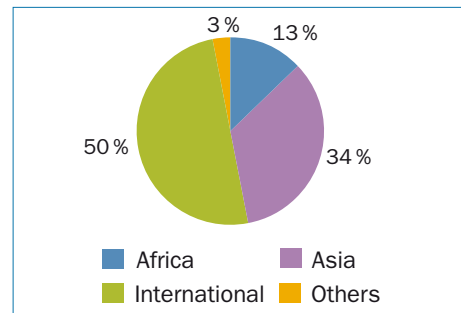
A comparison of support to tangible and intangible heritage projects across the regions shows that the amount of support to intangible projects in Asia is more than twice as much as in Africa (NOK 21 million and NOK 8 million respectively). The number of tangible projects in Africa and Asia is about the same (12 and 13 projects respectively), but the size of the support is higher in Africa.



**Figure 12. Regional support for tangible projects**



**Figure 13. Regional support for intangible projects**

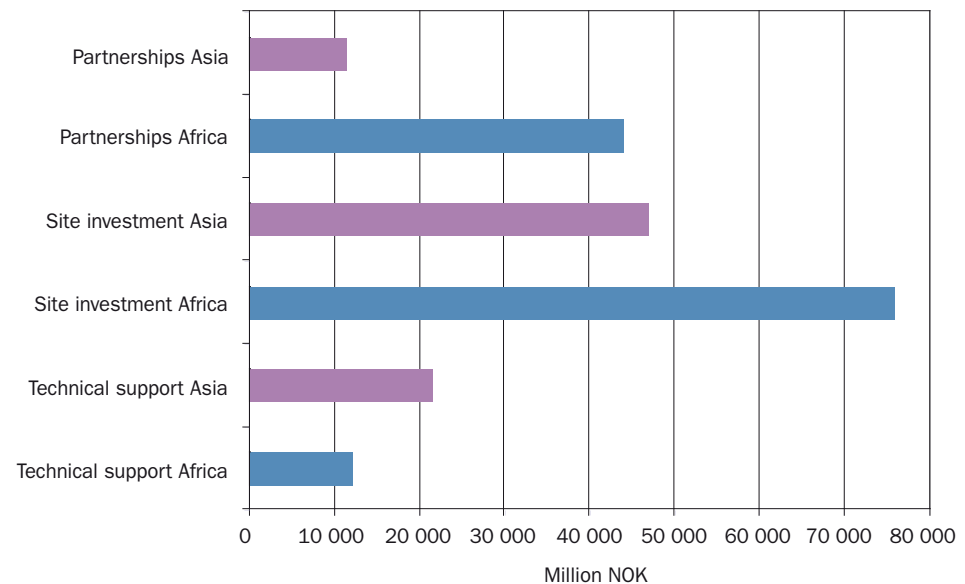


In addition to channels of support to tangible/intangible heritage, project size and project location, the following criteria related to intervention logic and programme content may be highlighted:

- partnership projects, with technical training and support
- institutional, professional and local capacity building
- economic development and tourism and site specific investments.

The great majority of the projects aim to support institutional/professional capacity building (43 projects) followed by site specific investments (25), economic development (22), tourism (18), technical support (8) and partnerships (5).

**Figure 14. Technical support, site investment and partnership**

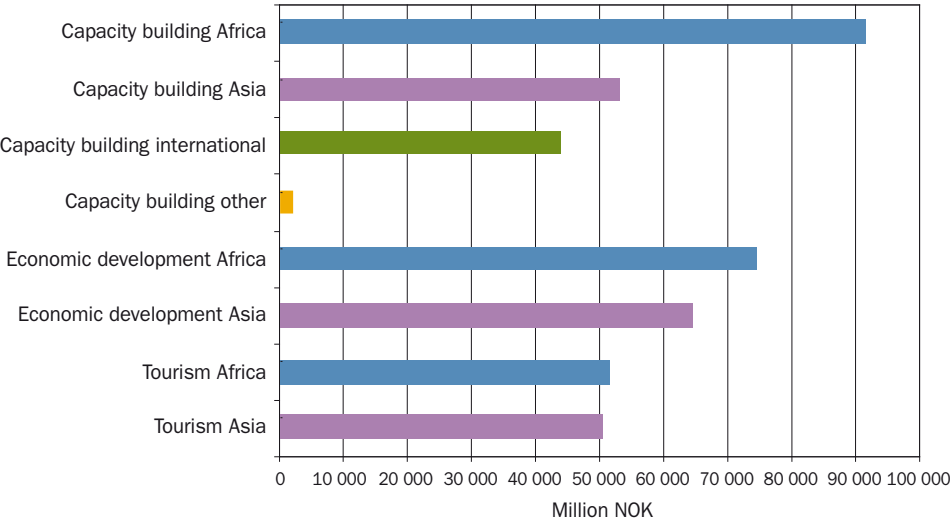


In terms of regional diversity Africa dominates with regard to support of **partnership projects** while Asia dominates in terms of projects including some form of **technical training/support**. None of the projects in Latin America or Oceania, or the international projects has partnership or technical training as an explicit goal. Notable projects in terms of funding regarding partnership projects in the regions include Africa 2009, Museum-to-museum partnerships, Mozambique (Ihla de Mocambique and Archaeological Research and Heritage Management in

Mozambique/Rock Art) and Pakistan (Lok Virsa Joint Institutional Cooperation). Pakistan also constitutes one of the highest ranking countries in terms of technical training/support, while the project concerning ICT for cultural heritage is the largest network in terms of technical training.

Comparing **site-specific investments**, Africa continues to dominate Asia in terms of size of support, while the number of projects including such investments is about the same in Africa and Asia (13 and 12 projects respectively). Some countries receiving project support to specific sites include Mozambique, Ethiopia, Malawi, Pakistan and China.

**Figure 15. Capacity building, economic development and tourism**



As noted above, the bulk of project support has been aimed at institutional/professional capacity building (43). Africa also dominates if one compares the regional support to **capacity building projects**. Notable projects in terms of funding to institutional/professional capacity building include the bilateral projects in Zambia (Support to the National Heritage Commission) and Mali (The Timbuktu Manuscript Project), as well as the regional Asia network (Buddhist Sangha).

With regards to projects aiming at **economic development** and **tourism**, Africa has received a higher level of amount of support compared to Asia. Notable projects in terms of funding include different Asian networks (Development of Cultural and Eco-Tourism in the Mountainous Regions of Central Asia and the Himalayas, and the Buddhist Sangha network), as well as bilateral projects in Malawi and Ethiopia.

The most significant issue arising from this diverse project portfolio is the wide geographical and thematic distribution. This is a distribution strongly influenced by history, however, and given the considerably more ambitious objectives of the current Norwegian policy paper on cultural cooperation (compared to the previous policy positions) it may be advisable to review both numbers and

distribution. There are few Norwegian stakeholders involved in this field of cooperation and it is difficult to assess how Norwegian support to cultural heritage protection relates to the multiple objectives of the strategy, particularly at the community level, without some kind of local monitoring and regular reporting. The field studies below will show that there is significant scope for improvement in this regard, as far as both bilateral and multilateral projects are concerned.

## 5. Presentation of Stakeholders

The main purpose of this chapter is to describe and assess different roles of Norwegian stakeholders involved in support to the protection of cultural heritage in developing countries.

A description of the different stakeholders and their respective roles in this policy field is presented, followed by an assessment of roles and cooperation issues.

The main Norwegian stakeholders in protection of cultural heritage in developing countries are:

- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA)
- The Ministry of Environment (ME)
- The Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs (MCCA)
- Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad)
- The Directorate for Cultural Heritage (DCH)
- Norwegian embassies<sup>8</sup>
- Nordic World Heritage Foundation (NWHF)

The main document shaping Norwegian policy in this field is the Strategy for Culture and Sports in Cooperation with Countries in the South. This strategy establishes guidelines for the work on protecting cultural heritage in the South.

### **The Strategy for Culture and Sports Cooperation with Countries in the South**

The Strategy for Culture and Sports Cooperation with Countries in the South was launched by the Minister for International Development in August 2005. The strategy covers artistic and intellectual activity, cultural heritage, media development and sports. Five thematic areas are given priority, and protection and promotion of the cultural heritage is among these<sup>9</sup>. One of the main objectives for Norway's cultural co-operation with countries in the South is to

*Encourage the use of 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.<sup>10</sup>*

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<sup>8</sup> Some embassies have a central role in regard to the initiation of cultural heritage projects. However, this varies between the embassies and depends on the personal interests of the staff. The role of the embassies will be described under the sections on DCH, Norad, and MFA.

<sup>9</sup> The other priority areas are: cultural rights, freedom of expression and intellectual property rights, cultural and peacemaking activities, culture and diversity in inter-cultural dialogue, culture and enterprise development/development of cultural industries and culture and media development.

<sup>10</sup> The Strategy for Culture and Sports Cooperation with Countries in the South, p. 19.

Three main approaches characterise Norwegian support for cultural co-operation with developing countries: Establishing and strengthening cultural infrastructure, promoting exchanges between cultural actors, and supporting culture through multilateral channels.

The strategy document represents a major shift in responsibility among Norwegian stakeholders. Cultural heritage was a part of Norad's strategy for environment in development cooperation (1997-2005). In 1999, Norad entered into a framework agreement<sup>11</sup> with the DCH. The Agreement gave the DCH responsibility to initiate a way forward, and within cultural heritage, the following project areas were given priority: capacity and institutional building, work with heritage sites, documentation, restoration, museums development, culture- and ecotourism, city planning and artisan training.

UNESCO, as the only UN organisation with culture as part of its mandate, is an important partner to Norway's strategy for culture and sports co-operation with countries in the South. A two year program agreement on cooperation between Norway and UNESCO was established in 2003, and has been renewed every second year since then.

For 2008-2009, the main line of action on the cultural field is:

*Promoting cultural diversity through the safeguarding of heritage in its various dimensions and the enhancement of cultural expressions.*<sup>12</sup>

This main line of action is specified through the following objectives:

- 1. Protecting and conserving immovable cultural and natural properties, in particular through the implementation of the World Heritage Convention (1972).*
- 2. Safeguarding living heritage, particularly through the promotion and the implementation of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention (2003).*

The thematic priorities specified in the Strategy for Norway's culture and sports co-operation with countries in the South<sup>13</sup>, correspond with the programme agreement between Norway and UNESCO on the cultural field, as expressed in "Framework Agreement on Programme Cooperation in the Field of Development Cooperation between the Government of Norway and UNESCO". For 2008-2009 a grant of NOK 9 million for each of the two years is made available.

### **The Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

In 2001, the Department for Culture, Public Diplomacy and Protocol in the MFA announced that they intended to assume responsibility for certain parts of the cultural portfolio under program area 3 – development cooperation. Up to then, the MFA had handled culture under program area 2 – as part of Norwegian

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<sup>11</sup> Fagsenteravtale.

<sup>12</sup> Draft Program Cooperation Agreement Norway/UNESCO 2008-2009.

<sup>13</sup> Priority areas are: 1) protection and promotion of cultural heritage, 2) cultural rights, freedom of expression and intellectual property rights, 3) cultural and peacemaking activities, 4) cultural diversity and inter-cultural dialogue, 5) culture and enterprise development, 6) culture and media development.

foreign policy promoting Norwegian art and culture abroad. A process aiming towards a new division of responsibility between MFA and Norad in this sector began, with a further elaboration in 2004, when the MFA assumed responsibility for the whole cultural sector, including cultural heritage as a part of development cooperation. With the implementation of the Strategy for Culture and Sports Cooperation with Countries in the South, the MFA took charge of the cultural cooperation with development countries

### **Norad**

Since the early 1980's, support for culture and the arts had been included in development cooperation, as a part of Norad's general effort towards lasting improvements in economic, social and political conditions for the populations of developing countries. Participation and access to culture and arts were seen as fundamental rights and crucial for human well-being, identity and pride, as well as instruments to achieve other development policy goals. Norad played an important role in Norwegian cultural cooperation with developing countries during the 1980's and up to the shift of responsibilities in 2004.

Cultural cooperation has been organized along several models since the outset in 1981, first as a small unit directly under the Director General. From 1991, a division of culture was established, organized under the department of civil society and later moved to the department of information and communication.<sup>14</sup>

A comprehensive internal reorganization of responsibilities took place within Norad in 2001. A new model for managing the cultural area emerged: one adviser from the technical department was assigned responsibility for the technical follow up towards the embassies and the MFA. Furthermore, one full-time officer in the civil society department handled the administration of support to home-based<sup>15</sup> cultural projects while each regional department was given thematic responsibility for culture in their respective regions. A technical network on culture was formed to ensure an optimal collective effort. Norad put emphasis on raising consciousness about the important role culture can play in nation building and development. The focus was on "mainstreaming culture: how to make sure that cultural issues and support to culture was introduced in the forums and agendas where policy was discussed and decisions made". A check-list for culture in Norad's cooperation was prepared<sup>16</sup>, with a special relevance for the embassies. The check-list requires that culture should be a visible part of annual activity plans, and special attention is directed at culture as a tool, i.e. the country's cultural life and culture should be seen as a resource in country programs and private sector development. With reference to Norad's cultural grant, this document makes clear the importance of separating the overall concept of culture from a more operational and concrete concept. The cultural grant is used to support the cultural sector (traditional and contemporary cultural expressions). The preservation of tangible and intangible cultural

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<sup>14</sup> The staff force increased from 2 employees in the 1980s to 4 during the 1990s.

<sup>15</sup> Project cooperation where the contract regulating the support was entered into with the Norwegian partner.

<sup>16</sup> Check-list for culture in Norad's cooperation – are we aware enough?, Norwegian Agency for development cooperation, 30 March 2002.

heritage is guided both by the Strategy for Environmental Development Co-operation issued by the MFA in 1997, and the present cultural strategy. Support to UNESCO has been provided by MFA's budget vote for culture throughout the period.

In 2004, a major shift of responsibilities took place between MFA and Norad, when the Ministry assumed responsibility for the whole cultural sector, including development cooperation. This resulted in a different role for Norad. The Strategy for Norway's Culture and Sports Cooperation with Countries in the South points out that Norad's main task is to safeguard and promote culture along the same lines as other priority areas for development efforts, in addition to providing technical assistance on development issues to the MFA and foreign service missions.

From 2005, and with the implementation of the Strategy, the staffing level in Norad was reduced to one and a half adviser. The remaining agreements on culture cooperation administered by Norad were transferred to MFA by the end of 2006. From 2007, Norad has concentrated on professional tasks, with one adviser on culture placed in Norad's technical department for peace, gender and democracy.

### **The Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs**

The protection of cultural heritage, as an institutional field, is divided between the Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs and the Department of Cultural Heritage in the Ministry of the Environment. The Ministry of Culture is in charge of art and other moveable objects, while the Ministry of the Environment is responsible for monuments and sites. Additionally, the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have shared responsibility for the cultural field in relation to international cultural cooperation. The Ministry of Culture is thus only responsible for Nordic and multilateral cultural cooperation and the dissemination of foreign culture in Norway.

The Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs is responsible for the follow-up of UNESCO's policies, budgetary- and strategy documents, related to UNESCO's Major Programme V: Communication and Information, and to Major Programme IV: Culture. As for the Cultural Programme, the Ministry of Culture shares the responsibility together with the Ministry of Environment. In the field of cultural heritage, the Ministry is specifically responsible for The Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention (2003).

### **The Ministry of the Environment**

The Ministry of the Environment is responsible for cultural heritage nationally and internationally. The main responsibility is placed within the Department of Cultural Heritage, co-operating with the Department for International Cooperation in relation to international aspects of cultural heritage. During the 1990s, the Ministry was mainly involved in developing policies and administrative procedures within the Norwegian Environmental Administration for integration of cultural heritage management in Norwegian development aid, inter alia through

an agreement with Norad.<sup>17</sup> As such, the Ministry has been mainly involved in preparing the policy framework. The Department of Cultural Heritage has been involved to some extent in initiating and planning concrete projects.

The Ministry played an active role in the founding of Nordic World Heritage Office in 1996, and still has the main responsibility for financing the Nordic World Heritage Foundation.

### **The Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage**

The Directorate for Cultural Heritage in Norway (Riksantikvaren) is a directorate under Ministry of Environment. One of the six strategies defined in The Strategic Plan of Action for the Directorate is *to work in an international perspective*. The approach to international cooperation on cultural heritage conservation is based on *“a desire for mutual exchange of knowledge, sensitivity to the political significance of the cultural heritage and the cultural understanding of the cooperation.”*<sup>18</sup>

In international development cooperation, the Directorate emphasizes that cultural heritage management based on respect and dignity, is a resource for a sustainable development. The active involvement of local communities in planning and protection of heritage resources is crucial. In this perspective, cultural heritage represents possibilities for economic development, mainly through tourism.

The Directorate serves as a centre of competence on cultural heritage issues for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Norad, as set out in a general agreement. As a centre of competence, the Directorate offers assistance within areas such as: conservation, management and presentation of rock art landscapes, technical assistance in wood conservation, traditional building techniques and adapted technology, use and development of historic cities and areas, capacity building through institutional cooperation and integrated environmental approaches.

The Directorate has been involved in several bilateral projects, e.g. with The National Heritage Conservation Commission in Zambia, in order to strengthen institutional capacity. The funding for this project has been provided through the Norwegian Embassy in Lusaka. Other examples of bilateral projects are capacity building activities through the Aga Khan Cultural Service in Pakistan and the building of eco-museums in China. These bilateral projects are funded by the respective embassies from country-specific development cooperation budgets.

### **The Nordic World Heritage Foundation**

A Nordic World Heritage Office was established in 1996, as a pilot project by the Norwegian Government, in cooperation with the other Nordic Countries and UNESCO. In 2002, the office was established as an independent foundation by the Ministry of the Environment, due to UNESCO's requirements for institutes and centres which seek to work under the auspices of UNESCO. In 2003, UNESCO's Executive Board recommended granting the Nordic World Heritage

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<sup>17</sup> Fagsenteravtale

<sup>18</sup> Working Document; Directorate for cultural heritage in an international perspective.



Foundation status as a category 2 centre under the auspices of UNESCO, and this was approved during UNESCO's General Conference at its 32<sup>nd</sup> session in 2003. In 2007, NWHF was evaluated by UNESCO and the status as category 2 centre was re-granted by UNESCO's General Conference during its 34<sup>th</sup> session in 2007, for a new six year period, with a new agreement signed by UNESCO and the Ministry for the Environment late 2008.

The Nordic World Heritage Foundation receives annual core funding of NOK 3.5 million<sup>19</sup> from the Norwegian Ministry of Environment. In addition to this, the Foundation has since 2001 mobilized NOK 17.459.000<sup>20</sup> for projects and activities. All NWHF initiatives are approved by its board and coordinated with the UNESCO's secretariat, the World Heritage Centre. The Agreement signed between UNESCO and NWHF (2004-2008) defines the policy context for NWHF's support. Article 1 specifies that

*The Foundation shall contribute to the medium-term strategies of UNESCO, in particular the implementation of the standard-setting instruments in the field of culture and enhancing linkages between culture, capacity-building and sharing of knowledge.*

### **Roles and cooperation among Norwegian stakeholders**

Implementation of the Strategy for Culture and Sports Cooperation with Countries in the South in 2005 led to a major change in the division of responsibility among Norwegian stakeholders involved in cultural heritage protection in developing countries. In the 1997-2005 period, cultural heritage was handled as a part of Norwegian environment policy, with the exception of MFA's support to UNESCO. Cultural heritage was included as part of Norad's strategy for environment in bilateral development cooperation, and Norad entered into framework agreement with the Directorate of Cultural Heritage to initiate and prioritize project activities.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible for implementing the Strategy for Culture and Sports Cooperation, is the main coordinator in this policy field and has the leading strategic and implementation role among the Norwegian stakeholders within cultural heritage in developing countries. Norad's role within cultural heritage in developing countries is defined by the Strategy, which points out that Norad's main task is to highlight culture along the same line as other priority areas for development efforts. In addition, Norad is responsible for providing technical assistance on development issues to the MFA and foreign service missions, i.e. embassies. This represents a marked change from the period 1997-2005, when Norad and the Directorate for Cultural Heritage had a far more active and responsible role regarding policy initiatives and implementation of policy.

The Directorate for Cultural Heritage has a clearly defined formal role according to the Strategy, as a centre of competence on cultural heritage issues. None the less, the dialogue between the Directorate and the MFA concerning the Strategy

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<sup>19</sup> 2008

<sup>20</sup> Total amount 2001-2007.

seems to be limited. One should note, however, that the Directorate has an international strategy of its own, where development cooperation is included. Interviews conducted for this evaluation leave the impression that the Directorate strongly wants to give cultural heritage a more distinct and prioritized role in coming strategies for cultural co-operation with countries in the South. It is also clear that the Directorate wants a more visible and active role in the implementation of these strategies.

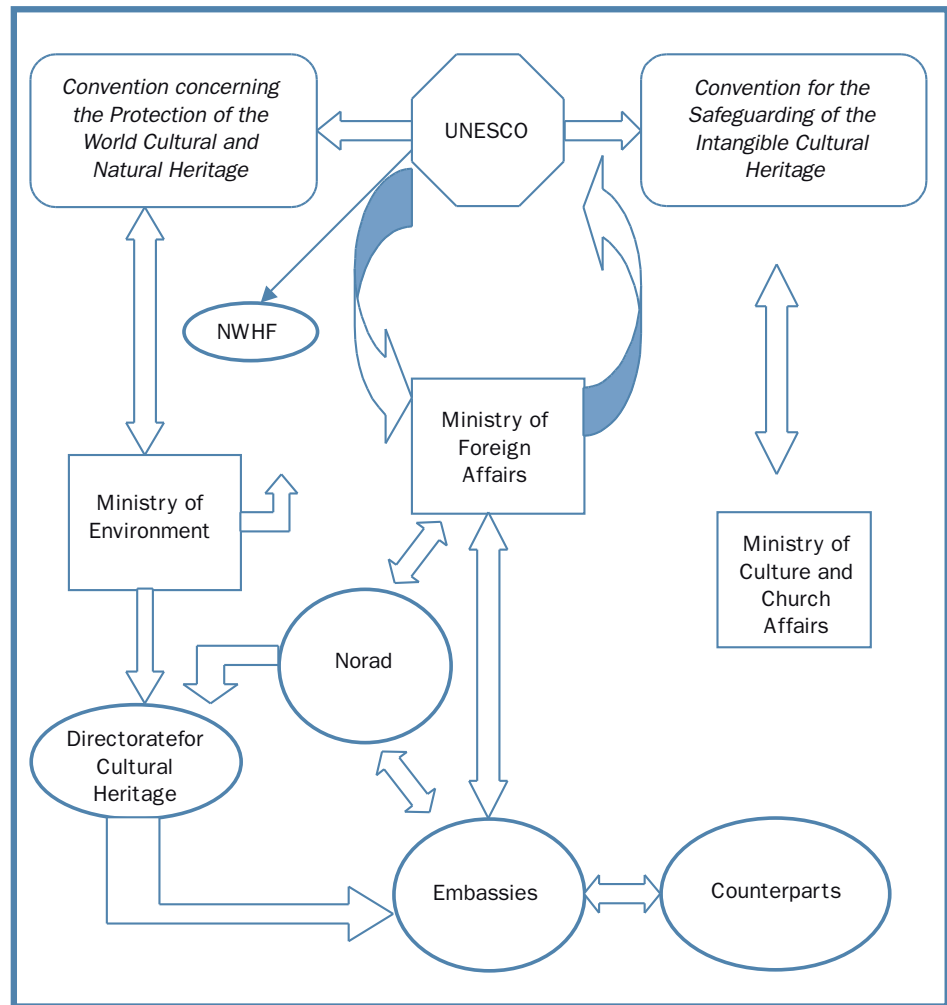
The Ministry of Environment has an important position among the Norwegian stakeholders, being responsible for international commitments regarding cultural heritage. During the interviews, it became clear that the Ministry has noted the careful increase in the number of culture heritage projects in Norway's cooperation with countries in the South over the past few years. This increase was regarded as insufficient, however, and the need for a more clear focus on cultural heritage in Norwegian development was distinctly expressed.

The Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs seems to have the most limited role among the stakeholders, restricted to following up the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, including donations to the Fund set up for the purpose of supporting the Convention.

Nordic World Heritage Foundation has no formal role in Norwegian cultural heritage policy in developing countries. But given its close ties to UNESCO it may be seen as a part of Norwegian extra-budgetary support to UNESCO, and the Foundation might be considered as partly implementing Norwegian international development policy.

Figure 16 illustrates the organisational set up of stakeholders within cultural heritage in developing countries.

**Figure 16. Illustration of organisational set up of stakeholders**



**Figure 17. Stakeholders and their responsibilities in connection with international cooperation for protection of culture and cultural heritage**

Stakeholder	MFA	Norad	Embassies	ME	DCH	MCCA	NWHF
<b>Thematic area</b>							
Strategy for environment in development co-operation (1997)		Prepared					
Check-list for culture in Norad's cooperation – are we aware enough? (2003)		Prepared	'Culture' in Annual Activity Plans				
The Strategy for Culture and Sports Cooperation with Countries in the South (2005)	Responsible for "Framework Agreement on Programme Cooperation in the Field of Development Cooperation between the Government of Norway and UNESCO"	Highlight culture Provide technical assistance on development issues	Cultural heritage protection projects		Technical advice and network building		
Responsibility areas in general in connection with international cooperation for protection of culture and cultural heritage	Responsible for international <sup>21</sup> and multilateral cultural cooperation and the dissemination of foreign culture in Norway	Providing support for cultural activities through friendship links and NGOs	Cultural heritage protection projects	Protection of monuments and sites Responsible for cultural heritage nationally and internationally Financial contribution to Nordic World Heritage Foundation	Implementing ME's policies Cultural heritage: International cooperation, collaboration with neighboring countries, the EU-EEA Area and international development cooperation Centre of competence on cultural heritage for MFA and Norad	Protection of art and other moveable objects Responsible for Nordic and multilateral cultural cooperation and the dissemination of foreign culture in Norway Responsible for The Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention (2003) Follow-up of UNESCOs Major Programme V: Communication and Information, and to Major Programme IV: Culture	Contribution to the medium-term strategies of UNESCO; enhancing linkages between culture, capacity-building and sharing of knowledge Cooperation with Norwegian authorities regarding development policy, especially World Heritage protection in developing countries No formal role in Norwegian cultural heritage policy

<sup>21</sup> Apart from Nordic cooperation which is a responsibility of the MCCA.

## 6. Norwegian-UNESCO Cooperation on Cultural Heritage in Developing Countries

UNESCO is the only UN organisation working in the field of culture. It is particularly well known for its World Heritage List. The work with this list – formulation of guidelines and inscription processes etc. – is part of UNESCO's traditional mandate and funded over the mandatory budget (a USD 17 million contribution based on assessment of member states). Project cooperation with Norway, on the other hand, is part of what UNESCO calls its “extra-budgetary activities”. This USD 307,8 million budget<sup>22</sup> consists of voluntary contributions from individual states, and Norway is here one of UNESCO's most important donors. Since 2003 this cooperation has been governed by a bi-annual programme agreement, providing a set of guidelines for how Norway would like to frame the support. The total Norwegian funding is about NOK 33 million annually, with NOK 9 million allocated to the culture sector.

Each year UNESCO suggests a set of projects that they see as suitable for the cooperation with Norway (“Norway FIT”). The suggestions are forwarded to the Section for Culture in the MFA, and from there sent to Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Nordic World Heritage Foundation for comments. The final list is agreed upon in a meeting between Norway and UNESCO each autumn.

Allegedly, in only two cases has Norway decided not to support the suggestions from UNESCO. And as many people from the secretariat emphasised in discussions with us, there appears to be compatibility and congruence between UNESCO policies and Norwegian strategies. UNESCO, we were told, has focused on culture as a motor for development for quite some time, but Norway is still seen as a pilot country with respect to this issue among the organisation's member states. Also, there were many positive words about Norway's “flexibility” in dealings with UNESCO. The term seems to refer to a general lack of interference both in internal matters as well as in project identification, preparation and implementation. Japan, another main contributor, was used as an example of a very different approach, where focus is often on single projects and “monuments”, and with strict guidelines from the donor.

There are in addition well developed bilateral links between Norwegian actors like Directorate of Cultural Heritage and the Nordic Heritage Foundation and UNESCO.

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<sup>22</sup> This figure was given by Akio Arata, UNESCO, in a letter 03.03.09.

A challenge relating to UNESCO as a partner in using cultural heritage as motor for development, is the organisation's overall focus and dependence on its conventions. In the field of tangible culture, most projects link up to the world heritage sites. But since developing countries are seriously underrepresented on the World Heritage list, and, because, only a modest proportion of the world's cultural heritage is represented there, it is clear that there is a limit to the role UNESCO can play in fulfilling the Norwegian strategy. Several of the staff we met in UNESCO also said that the organisation is not necessarily the best implementer on the ground.

It is difficult to get a clear picture of how UNESCO involves local stakeholders and NGOs in their local development projects. UNESCO is fully aware of the importance of working with local stakeholders and local communities, but the people we met also admitted that this is a great challenge for the organisation in a time where more and more focus is on the "extra-budgetary activities". The fieldworks for this evaluation have confirmed that these challenges exist. A possible solution might be broader development cooperation frameworks where UNESCO's role is more concentrated to its core competence.

There are, however, UNESCO/Norway projects that look very interesting when it comes to translating the culture and development strategy into practice. These seek to develop *community centres* and have local participation as an independent goal, with quite loosely formulated conceptions of heritage and how to use it. Community centres are arenas for local management and consumption of *local* heritage, and could potentially become interesting starting points for processes of innovation and cultural creativity.

### **UNESCO's work with intangible cultural heritage**

Two major considerations make up the historical background for UNESCO's 2003 convention on the world's intangible cultural heritage. First, many developing countries are underrepresented on the tangible list, and much of these countries' heritage is intangible. Second, the world is changing rapidly, and many valuable and important cultural traditions are threatened by these changes.

The new convention is open for inscription. The concept of "safeguarding" is being used for this purpose. At the same time, UNESCO officials clearly emphasise that the main point is to focus on "living heritage" – i.e. cultural traditions and expressions which are being actively used today. Upon our question as to whether "living heritage" actually needs "safeguarding", we were told that the latter concept has been translated as "continuous recreation" and/or "ensuring viability". Both inscription on the intangible list, as well as UNESCO's development projects linked to the convention have this focus; support and assistance to recreating contemporary cultural expressions.

Although UNESCO officials are quick to emphasise that all conventions are for all states, the historical background indicated above makes the intangible convention very interesting in relation to Norwegian development support for cultural heritage. The fact that the nomination processes are far less bureaucratic and

costly, increases this interest. Furthermore, the focus on existing and established cultural expressions means the direct and natural involvement of the local community, thus potentially saving resources on project development and implementation.

Norwegian involvement in “intangible projects” has just started, and has up to now been limited. UNESCO staff working on intangible cultural heritage still had the same general positive attitude to Norway as a partner. There was a clear notion that Norwegian interests and the convention for intangible heritage are very congruent. The Norwegian strategy of using culture as a tool for development appears very compatible with the UNESCO intangible convention’s focus on the process (active use) as more important than the product. One of the leaders of the division still emphasised that some clearer guidelines and instructions from Norway could be positive. The potential as well as resource base is huge, and it would be helpful with somewhat clearer input as to future focus and direction. Norwegian multilateral cooperation does not, as a matter of policy, attach guidelines at this level of detail to Norwegian support.

In general, the UNESCO staff on intangible heritage appeared enthusiastic, knowledgeable and able to follow up on the many development potentials that the intangible convention could open up. In terms of Norwegian strategies and interests, an increased cooperation with UNESCO on intangible cultural heritage seems both natural and relevant.

### **Use of cultural heritage as resources for development**

The evaluation project has a clear focus on cultural heritage – tangible and intangible – as resources for social, cultural and economic development. Many of our questions during fieldwork in UNESCO were related to this issue. A general impression from many conversations would be that this is not where UNESCO has its core competence. Whilst being a very important aspect of many projects, experiences as well as competence seem somewhat scattered and underrepresented in the staff. For instance, only two people within the large culture sector work on tourism, a point showing that issues relating to local use are not given very prominent priority within the organisation.

Questions relating to how experiences from the development of World Heritage sites – i.e. involving heritage objects of “universal value” – could be transferred and/or translated into models for utilising the potential in cultural heritage resources that are “only” national, regional or local were given somewhat opaque answers. There are some theories on what such strategies could look like, but these have not been tried out in practice.

A consequence could be that stakeholders with more knowledge on local development and innovation should be involved in local projects. UNESCO appears to be open to this. A further promising development relates to the evolving focus on intangible heritage, where focus on “heritage in use” is a central modus operandi.

Since there is no official strategy or database of experiences, the real success rate of UNESCO/Norwegian culture for development projects needs to be evaluated through in-depth on site project evaluation. A couple of studies have been done already, showing that the results have not been too impressive, and for the purpose of this evaluation, a clear focus should be on how heritage resources can be used most effectively to benefit the local population.



## 7. Ethiopia Case Study - Realising a Unique Potential

### Overview and summary

Norwegian support to cultural heritage in Ethiopia has been channelled through

- Bilateral support for the restoration of king Fasiledes' bath in Gonder, 2001 – 2007: NOK 4 521 000
- Support through UNESCO for the rock hewn churches of Lalibela:  
Phase I: The development of a limestone mortar technique for restoration of the rock hewn churches in Lalibela, 2007 – 2008: US \$ 299,959  
Phase II: Strengthening the management system of the site through technical assistance, participatory planning and capacity building. Focus on sustainable tourism, 2009 – 2010: US \$ 500,000
- Support through UNESCO for a study of traditional music in Ethiopia (intangible heritage), 2005 – 2008: US \$ 343,886<sup>23</sup>

The evaluation has focused on the first two projects, as it turned out to be impossible to get information about the music project. The team has done in-depth field studies of the two major Norwegian cultural heritage projects in Ethiopia, as well as studied documents related to these projects. When it comes to the project support through UNESCO, only phase I has started. Background information about Ethiopia's cultural policies have also been important sources of data.

The evaluation confirmed that there is a great potential for using cultural heritage resources for local socio-cultural and economic development in Ethiopia in general and in Gonder and Lalibela in particular. First, there is a strong local historical awareness and pride, and the resources are in active local use. Second, the resources are of a unique international value. Even though there are still relatively few cultural tourists in Ethiopia, the numbers have more than tripled over the last 6 – 7 years. Third, there is a strong local interest in using these resources more effectively for local development in the future. Fourth, cultural heritage protection and development is gradually becoming a development priority within Ethiopia's federal regime.

However, the same federalist system has thus far proved to be a challenge when it comes to project implementation. The restoration project in Gonder has not yet been finished, and substantial funds remain undisbursed due to major delays in project implementation and reporting. From persons involved in both projects

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<sup>23</sup> Please see annex 3 for a brief description.

supported by Norway, however, the project in Gonder was described as a relative success, whilst the work in Lalibela in comparison was defined as seriously biased in favour of international experts with limited efforts towards involving local experts or the local population. Our interviewees all expressed a clear preference for bilateral support as the most effective when it comes to creating concrete results.

Finally, use of cultural heritage resources for local development/innovation has not been a major consideration in any of the projects supported by Norway, despite this issue being of the utmost importance for the most important local stakeholders in Gonder and Lalibela. In future support for cultural heritage development in Ethiopia, local development should be an integrated part.

### **Cultural heritage in Ethiopia**

The importance of the country's and region's cultural heritage was emphasised by more or less everybody we spoke to. The churches of Lalibela are in daily use by the local population, and have been so since they were built. The royal enclosures in Gonder are used by the local population as a recreation area, schools and students are using them for historical studies and learning, and Fasiledes' bath is still being used by the population for the important religious Epiphany ceremony in January. Many people also emphasised the effect that the increasing numbers of cultural tourists have on their own identity. "The fact that people come from all over the world to see our culture, makes us very proud of what we have got", was a common phrase.

Instead of being a threat, tourism – apart from being a source of income – here becomes conducive to local identity development.<sup>24</sup> This shows very clearly that heritage symbols acquire local meaning and cultural relevance both through being used locally as well as through becoming the object of interest of others. A representative from the tourist authority in Gonder told the team that people have more hopes for the future now, as people from the outside have started discovering the castle. At the same time, this increase in external interest has led to the castle becoming more popular as a recreational arena also for the local population.

In Gonder, the number of tourists visiting the royal enclosures has risen by between 10 – 20 000 each year from 36 000 in 2004 to an expected 106 000 in 2008.<sup>25</sup> This increase has come almost without promotional advertising abroad, and with limited organisation of the local tourist industry. The potential is very large, particularly as modern airports have been built in both Gonder and Lalibela, but a realisation is dependent upon a more coherent effort when it comes to product development and further developing the linkages between tourism and the local communities.

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24 This interrelation between the local and the extra-local is an important part of successful culture economies (Lønning, 2003, 2007, Ray, 1998, 1999). When local people experience that people from the outside, newcomers to the area or tourists, show interest in local knowledge and culture, this has a very positive effect on local identity and innovation using local symbols (ibid.).

25 The figures are from the tourist office in Gonder. We did not obtain the exact figures for Lalibela, but as the rock hewn churches are considered the number one cultural tourist attraction in Ethiopia and described by tourists guides as the one thing you cannot miss (Briggs, 2006), the numbers are definitely higher. Tourist officials described a somewhat similar increase as the one for Gonder.



*The ancient rock hewn churches of Lalibela, Ethiopia, represent some of the most spectacular cultural heritage sites in the world. Photo: Dag Jørund Lønning*

There is great interest at all levels of government in Ethiopia to further develop sustainable cultural tourism in Lalibela and Gonder, and tourism has for the first time appeared as a separate issue in the government's development plan ("PASDEP"). Representatives of the authorities, as well as the stakeholders' committee in Lalibela, argued that cultural heritage projects in the future should focus more on local development and income generation, and emphasise the inclusion of local communities.

### **The rock hewn churches of Lalibela; the unknown wonder of the world**

In the small rural village of Lalibela in the northern Ethiopian highlands is a congregation of structures that are no less amazing than the pyramids of Egypt or India's Taj Mahal. Neither words nor pictures can give real justice to these eleven totally unique (at least outside Ethiopia) churches that are carved directly into the rock. They are many, they are huge, they are splendidly decorated and joined by an amazing system of tunnels, walls and aqueducts.

The churches of Lalibela are all in active use by the local population. The deep and holistic integration between valuable cultural heritage and the local community makes visiting the area a unique experience. It is also into this integration that Lalibela wants to invite the visitors. The local stakeholders we talked to emphasised the need to see the churches in a wider context, including the needs of the village and the surroundings, and argued that future projects should seek to strengthen these relations and focus more on collective benefits. The churches are so important to people that the best way to secure them for the future might go through integrated local development projects.

Ongoing Norwegian support for the churches of Lalibela is canalised through UNESCO, and focused on developing a new lime mortar technique for more effectively sealing the cracks that can be found in these ancient buildings.

UNESCO has had a strong voice in Lalibela in relation to an EU-funded project focused on raising large, heavy and very modern-looking shelters over the churches. Due to UNESCO pressure, plans were amended in a way that will probably make the shelters less harmful to the enclosures in the long run. This UNESCO initiative was praised by the local owners of the churches and the stakeholder committee. When it comes to UNESCO's own project, however, the team received many critical comments: The aim of phase I of the project – developing a functioning lime mortar technique for the sealing of roofs and cracks in the limestone churches – was seen as very positive. If it succeeds, it will mean a lot for the future of Lalibela. UNESCO has also built a local stakeholders committee as well as sought an ongoing dialogue with the church administration. Unfortunately, central project stakeholders told us, the local influence has remained very limited. The project has been top down, and heavily influenced by foreign experts. The major part of the project budget has been used for a group of Italian experts who has spent very limited time in Ethiopia, UNESCO's own local consultant argued. He said that out of a total budget of approx. 300 000 USD, only 45 000 has been spent in Lalibela. Much of the external experts' work has also focused on the historical dimension, whilst he himself has built a group of 25 local artisans who have been given some training through local workshops and a study trip to Gonder. This group has been given the responsibility to develop the limestone mortar technique itself. This work is now underway, and a test site has been built. Lack of funding for the local part of the project is seriously delaying progress, though. He was himself waiting for his own salary that was long overdue.<sup>26</sup>

An even stronger criticism against UNESCO's project role was presented by a senior officer in Ethiopia's federal cultural heritage department. He questioned the whole selection process when it comes to international experts and consultants in UNESCO, arguing that "often it looks like they pick their own friends". He argued that many more Ethiopians should be involved. Also, he said, the organisation interferes far too much in Ethiopia's own cultural heritage policies in Lalibela, "and even needs to employ international experts to create local management plans for Lalibela". "Experts come from abroad with little interest in hearing what our own priorities are", he continued.

Many of the challenges described here are known to UNESCO, and according to the description of phase II of the project, developing local site management capacity that will benefit the poor community of Lalibela will be emphasised. It is important that this intention is translated into practice. Phase II has not yet started in Lalibela.

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<sup>26</sup> In a comment to a draft version of this report, UNESCO argues that this point is now being looked into.

### **The castles of Gonder; heritage of the great kings of old**

The large royal complex and enclosures (“Fasil Ghebbi”) of the city of Gonder is also a World Heritage site. The many buildings that make up the royal enclosures, represent work ordered by 6 consecutive Ethiopian emperors and queens of the Solomonic dynasty, starting with Fasiledes (1635-1667) and ending with Iyasu II (1730-1755).<sup>27</sup> Each of the rulers have made their mark on the area, and the main enclosure covers an area of 7 hectares, holding 6 castles as well as a number of other buildings for a wide range of different purposes.

The enclosures have gone through a major restoration programme supported first by UNESCO and later by the World Bank. The number of visitors has also increased rapidly over the last decade.

The ticket to the main enclosure includes the opportunity to visit the bath of the first of the Gonder kings; Fasiledes. He is considered to be the founder of the city of Gonder as the country’s capital (in 1635).<sup>28</sup> “Fasiledes’ bath” lies at the outskirts of the city centre, and the enclosure includes walls with guard rooms, royal stables, a healing house and main rest house, and a large pool. Large parts of this enclosure have been renovated and restored with the support from the Norwegian embassy in Addis Ababa. The goal of the project has been to enable Fasiledes Bath to continue to provide its traditional religious services for the future in an authentic shape. This goal has been achieved. After the restoration, the bath complex could again be used for the mass baptism during the very important religious Epiphany festival in January.<sup>29</sup>

We spoke to representatives from all four levels of Ethiopia’s federalist system of government, and did not get one negative comment regarding Norway as a donor in general, and the concrete restoration project in particular. The contrast to how the UNESCO project in Lalibela was described was striking. People who were involved in both projects, argued that the Gonder project was much more effective in every respect due to less bureaucracy, a lot more local influence, and the real opportunity the project gave for local competence building. In Gonder, a central project officer told us, 95% of the funds have been used on site. The project has also given employment opportunities for many local artisans. Whilst only 25 – 30 people were trained in Lalibela, the Gonder project has provided education for 50 local experts. Between 200 and 300 people have received special training in restoration work. 1200 workers have been employed at the site, and 700 of these have been poor women. This is a strong priority, and the government also wants to give as many people as possible the feeling of ownership to the sites. Among the workers present during our visit, the large majority were women. Women’s unions have been included as stakeholders along with a range of local NGO’s.

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27 The last emperor of Gonder is said to have been more interested in arts than in governing Ethiopia, and was therefore under the control of his mother Mentewab for long periods of his reign . The castle erected during this period is today called «Mentewab’s Castle».

28 Gonder remained Ethiopia’s capital for 250 years.

29 Epiphany is the commemoration of Christ’s baptism by St. John. In the Julian calendar, Epiphany falls on the 19<sup>th</sup> of January. Mass baptisms take place all over Christian Ethiopia on this day.

And yet, there have been serious challenges relating to this project. 2,2 million Birr of an original budget of 6,3 million have not been paid. According to the embassy, it is also very unlikely that this sum *will* be paid. From the embassy's side, the project is considered to be finished. Due to diplomatic problems between Norway and Ethiopia in 2007, 14 ongoing project agreements were terminated, including the support to Fasiledes' bath. The main reason for the problems of the project, however, is repeated delays when it comes to reporting and project implementation. Quite a few reminders have been issued from the embassy, some of them very clear on the negative consequences of continued delays. The embassy even offered a special budget for the closing of the project, but got no reply within the three months that the offer was open.

Our visit to the project site confirmed that even if a lot has been done, there is considerable work left before the restoration can be said to be finished. Both on the walls, the horses' stables, the main house at the complex as well as on the drainage system there are many unfinished jobs. Whilst the original project budget would have covered the whole sum at the time it was approved, today – due to serious inflation – an estimated 5 million Birr is needed to finish the work at the complex. When Norway cut the funding, the project stopped. There is no alternative donor, and there are no available funds in any of the four involved levels of government.

A positive factor is that nobody denied or tried to hide the administrative problems created by the new federalist system for distribution of responsibilities and power. No one blamed Norway as donor, but said that the whole responsibility for the delays was on the Ethiopian side. There appeared to be a strong interest in improving the system for the future. On the other hand, Ethiopian federalism appears to be an effective strategy for local involvement. There are many local stakeholders, and there is a willingness to include traditionally marginalised groups in project development and implementation.

### **Conclusion**

Despite the problems described, we still have the impression that there is a strong willingness to utilise Ethiopia's spectacular heritage resources in ways that will benefit both local communities as well as marginalised groups. To this very poor country, its unique history represents a reservoir of promising development resources in an age where cultural tourism is growing rapidly as a global phenomenon. Due to renewed interest for distinctive locality in an era of global standardisation, cultural heritage furthermore represents a source of new identity and pride. Extra-local search for the uniquely local can lead to increased community focus and interest in its own history as an economic and socio-cultural pillar for future development. This process is underway in both Lalibela and Gonder, and should be aided and strongly supported in future projects in these areas. Future projects should to a larger extent focus on linkages between heritage objects, cultural tourism and local development. The only sustainable preservation strategy is local empowerment and the creation of interest in the possibilities that heritage resources represent for the future of Ethiopia.

## 8. Malawi Case Study - Cultural Heritage as National Identity?

### Overview and summary

Norwegian support to cultural heritage in Malawi has been channelled through

- A general programme agreement between the Norwegian Embassy in Lilongwe and the Government of Malawi with the aim of producing a strong Malawian national identity, now at the end of its second phase.  
Phase I (2002 – 2005): NOK 3 million  
Phase II (2005 – 2008): NOK 5,1 million
- Project support for the KuNgoni Centre of Culture & Art at Mua (2003-2006): NOK 1,25 million
- Support to the National Archives (2004-2005) NOK 380 000

The programme agreement is more or less unique in Norwegian cultural heritage support for developing countries, and this presentation has a main focus on the results of using this tool. An important conclusion is that programme goals have been overambitious, and the link between chosen cultural heritage activities and these same goals remain unclear. Even though most defined activities have been accomplished according to plan, limited progress has been made on the overarching aim of the agreement: promoting national identity. The support for the KuNgoni Centre of Culture & Art has been concrete, project oriented, and the funding has made a positive impact in further developing this important cultural institution in Malawi. The description of support to the National Archives will be integrated with the main project study.

This evaluation is based on 1,5 weeks of fieldwork in Malawi, including interviews with central stakeholders and participants and in-depth project studies. Central project documents regarding Norwegian support have been scrutinised.

### Cultural heritage in Malawi

A short review of the social science literature would show that constructing a collective national identity through the promotion of cultural heritage symbols might be difficult as well as potentially controversial. The fact that Malawi is a postcolonial state with a long pre-colonial history of inter-group turbulence and conflict, adds to the difficulty.

People in fact told us that the reason tribes live peacefully in the present, is that the past is not evoked. Yet cultural heritage is seen as important. Dance and song appear to be on top of the list of the expressions that people value the highest. Malawi hardly has monuments or monumental buildings comparable to

the ones found in Ethiopia and Nepal, but a large number of intangible traditions are integral parts of contemporary lives and cultures. Many people mentioned the famous *gule wamkulu* dance - performed by initiated dancers to appease the spirits at important life transition rituals.

### **The Norwegian-Malawian framework agreement**

The general framework agreement between Norway and Malawi is by far the largest contribution to Malawi's cultural heritage sector. According to the Embassy in Lilongwe, there have been few administrative problems with the cooperation thus far, and the relations between the embassy and the government of Malawi on cultural heritage are considered both good and direct. From the Malawian side we were nevertheless told that there have been some delays, and that the Department of Culture will not be able to finish the work on schedule (December 2008).

Phase II has had the following goal: *The overall goal of the support is to have and protect vibrant Malawi culture for national identity, unity in diversity and sustainable economic development.*

The programme supports the following activities:

- Rehabilitation of Livingstonia Mission National monuments
- Study of Nkhotakota Old Boma
- Research on rain shrines
- Excavations of historical sites in Mangochi and Karonga districts
- Revival of Malawian children's traditional songs, stories and games
- Documentation of traditional architectural designs and technologies
- Documentation and storage of Malawi antiquities collections and monuments
- Rehabilitation of National Archives of Malawi
- Procurement of vehicles and equipment
- Training, marketing and publicity
- Roofing amphitheatre and installing amenities
- Monitoring and evaluation of the programme.

In addition, developing the Chongongi Rock Paintings in Dedza was included as an extra activity in phase I. This activity has continued through phase II.

Our evaluation shows that some steps have been taken in the direction of economic development, but no measurable results have been achieved when it comes to promoting national identity. This was confirmed by officials in the Malawian cultural heritage sector. It is also difficult to see how the programme has contributed to "unity in diversity". Neither the links between activities and goals nor the overall connection between the defined heritage objects and national identity, appear to have been thoroughly discussed.

No one we talked to outside the government had heard about the programme sponsored by Norway. Upon hearing the list of activities included in the programme, there were definite preferences for the intangible activities, along with the focus on rain shrines monuments.



### **Evaluation of programme activities**

Due to the described lack of compatibility between chosen programme activities and overall goals, activities had to be evaluated more or less independently of the programme context, but still with a clear focus on the sociocultural and historical context of Malawi, socio-economic development, as well as to whether popular involvement has been a prioritised aim of the programme.

Interviews with officials in the cultural heritage sector of Malawi, confirmed that most activities involving physical restoration have been accomplished. The restored buildings will be used in the future. The amphitheatre and the National Archives have a direct and positive impact on the culture and knowledge sectors of Malawi. The team visited the National Archives and talked to the librarian, who confirmed this positive view. Academics use the premises for research. The general public use them to learn about the past and Malawian culture. On government functioning and policy, the National Archives' records can be used to measure potential progress in development.

The restored colonial monuments (Livingstonia and Blantyre Old Boma) do not necessarily have the highest identity value for the average Malawians, but could still prove valuable for tourism.

The team chose two activities for field trips and further study:

- Revival of children's traditional songs, stories and games
- Chongoni rock art site
- Competence and capacity building

### **Revival of children's traditional songs, stories and games**

This is the only defined activity within the programme agreement that focuses on intangible cultural heritage.<sup>30</sup> Approximately two times every month, the children from several villages in the area meet to learn and practice a repertoire of traditional songs and dances learned from village elders. Some of these games are competitions, and these have been particularly popular among the children. More and more children have participated, and the activity seems to have created a momentum of its own in the area. The people we talked to spoke with enthusiasm about the importance of transferring this old knowledge to the new generation. The project had made people, the old as well as the young, more interested in the traditional and local customs. The Department of Culture's main local cooperation partners are the village headmen. They send the children to the practice.

The Department's own work thus far has consisted in documenting the lyrics of a range of different children's games. One officer had come from the Department to do the survey and documentation. The work has resulted in a brief report presenting the lyrics and a short interpretation of a range of children's songs. No step has been taken to use this material in active promotion and/or revival campaigns. The report concludes that extra funding is needed if the findings are to be used as learning material.

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<sup>30</sup> In our conversations the representatives of the cultural heritage authorities expressed that intangible heritage is important to Malawi and should be prioritised in the future.

The Ministry's direct involvement in the village has been limited. Only limited funds were made available to the locals. The local organiser received K3000 (NOK 140,-) for every gathering, and a total sum of K2000 (NOK 95,-) was available for the participating children for every gathering to buy small pieces of soap for washing after the practice. As the number of children has increased, however, the total amount has not been raised.

The aspect of poverty and poverty alleviation was raised as very important by the villagers we spoke to. They clearly stated that the project, if it was to continue, should place more emphasis on some economic gains for the village.

### **Chongoni rock art site**

More than 200 rock art sites have been discovered in the beautiful Chongoni forest reserve. There are many attractive walking routes in the area, involving experiences of high natural and cultural value. The activity was intended to protect the sites, and develop an infrastructure for tourism. In 2006 the Chongoni rock art was inscribed on the UNESCO's World Heritage List. Funding from the Norwegian-Malawian cultural heritage programme has been central in the nomination and inscription process.

In the vicinity of the rock art sites there is a Forestry College, with ecotourism on its curriculum, and 10 villages with as many as 20 000 people altogether. The large number of people living close to the site, however, also brings challenges. Some of the sites have been heavily tagged by graffiti. Tourists have been at least as eager as the locals to put their initials on the stone. The problem, our guide said, is that there are no signs describing what the place actually is. We can testify to this. There was not a single piece of information provided explaining what the rock paintings are, what the UNESCO status implies, or why protecting the paintings is important.

The Ministry had once put up a fence around one site, the guide told us, without giving any explanation to the locals. Local children did not understand why they suddenly had been shut out from their favourite playing ground and tore the fence down. After this, nothing had happened; no information had been given from the Department of Antiquities to the locals, the guide told us.

From the authorities we were told that cooperation with locals was considered very important. During our visit to the area, however, the villagers we talked to all denied having any knowledge of the project. No one had informed them, and no one had asked them to join. Our informant told us that the villagers definitely would like to be involved. Many locals took pride in the rock paintings, particularly when tourists had started coming in from the outside to see them. The locals would be able to take care of the sites, and even function as guides. In this area, though, no one had been asked. Local representatives from the Department of Forestry were informing about forestry practices in general and the rock paintings as part of the forest, but they had had no relation to the cultural heritage authorities, and only knew of one site that had been renovated.

The activity appears to have been highly centralised. There is also a long way to go – with a lot of renovation, information and sign posting – before the sites can be presented for tourists on a larger scale. It is difficult to see how this can succeed without the involvement of local people.

### **Competence and capacity building**

The actions that we looked at had been conducted by people from the Ministry in Lilongwe. Neither the University of Malawi nor the Forestry College have been included as stakeholders. The project officer argued that the authorities could not afford using the universities for consultancies, but this argument would hardly apply to the development of university programmes within this field. As competence and identity building are important goals of the agreement, the educational institutions would probably be able to contribute, and should definitely be involved in the future.

### **KuNgoni Centre of Culture & Art at the Mua mission**

The goal of the project has been to aid Malawians in gaining a deeper understanding and pride of their own country's cultural identity. The activities of the programme have been:

- Completion of accommodation facilities at Mua
- Creation of videos on local cultures and cultural events
- Allowing for use of KuNgoni's cultural programmes outside the centre
- Safeguarding KuNgoni collections
- Creating a research centre on Malawi cultures

The KuNgoni Centre of Culture & Art at the Catholic mission in the village of Mua has been developed by Father Claude Bouchet over a period of more than 30 years. It includes a cultural museum depicting important cultural traditions of all major Malawian tribes, a crafts workshop for wood carving and embroidery, providing 150 local families with income, a shop selling locally produced art, an outdoor stage where traditional dances are performed, a small zoo, a guest house and a library with research facilities and a large collection of ethnographic material on Malawian tribal culture (opened by HRH princess Märtha Louise in 2003). An exhibition centre for Malawian arts made at the site is under development.

The centre is popular with tourists, but is widely used by Malawians as well. The annual traditional dance festival has gained in popularity with dance groups coming from all over the country (unique in Malawi), and school classes also regularly use the premises. The wood carvings made at Mua are famous, and some of them are on display in the Vatican museum. The KuNgoni centre arranges educational courses as well as supply tools for local craftsmen, and the shop at the centre sells the locally made products. All items are marked with the name of the craftsman, and when an item is sold this person gets his payment immediately (less a small administrative fee that goes to running the shop itself). There is a good turnover at the shop, and the arrangement represents a good and reasonably stable income for the local population. The centre can also arrange performances of Malawian dance and song for groups of visitors, with the income going to the local performers.



*The KuNgoni Centre of Culture & Art at the Mua Mission, Malawi, is a comprehensive collection of tangible and intangible cultural heritage traditions of the different tribes of Malawi. Photo: Dag Jørund Lønning*

The projects supported by Norwegian funds at the KuNgoni centre have been clearly defined, feasible, and conducted according to schedule. The centre's endogenous approach to culture and identity is in line with existing knowledge on effective local development. It is very easy to see clear benefits for the local population of the Norwegian support. All KuNgoni projects have the aim of trying to create new opportunities for the village. The use of culture for local development is therefore very concrete at KuNgoni.

### **Conclusions**

The two cases presented above represent contrasting approaches to promoting cultural heritage. In the Norwegian-Malawian framework agreement a broad sector orientation, including the need to build institutions, is emphasised. This focus is in line with recommendations in the Norwegian strategy for the promotion of culture in development cooperation. At the same time this strategy clearly states that a precondition for support is a distinct willingness and ability to include the local population and local stakeholders in general. In this evaluation we have questioned whether this latter perspective has been enough valued in the Norwegian-Malawian cooperation. The cultural heritage sector is being developed due to Norwegian support, but real local involvement should be prioritised and secured in future support.

The second case has been presented as very successful. At the same time it is an example of "traditional" small-scale project-oriented support, a form of support that is not encouraged by the strategy. KuNgoni shows, however, the importance of the successful individual examples when it comes to cultural heritage development projects. The combinations of creativity, interest and local knowledge that make up the centre could be used as motivational and learning arenas for other projects and interested individuals/groups in the future.

## 9. Nepal Case Study - UNESCO Regional Projects

### Overview and summary

This case study looks at Norwegian support to the cultural heritage sector in Nepal. Norway has funded three regional UNESCO projects (the funding cited is for the projects as a whole, not only for activities in Nepal):<sup>31</sup>

- UNESCO: Cultural Survival and Revival in the Buddhist Sangha - a regional network including 18 sites in eight countries and focusing on monasteries. Total funding: NOK 12.5 million in the period 2004-2007 (approximately NOK 680,000 per site, a total of around NOK 1.36 million for the two sites in Nepal).
- UNESCO: Training Programme for the Restoration and Conservation of Himalayan Monastic Heritage – a regional network involving three countries. Four workshops on restoration and conservation techniques were arranged. Total funding: US\$ 190.172 in the period 2004-2007 (approximately US\$ 47.500 per workshop).
- UNESCO: Development of Cultural and Eco-Tourism in the Mountainous Region of Central Asia and the Himalayas - a network involving seven countries. The activities in Nepal were taking place in Humla. Total funding: US\$ 745.800 in the period 2004-2006 (approximately US\$ 106.500 per country).

The main focus of the case study is the activities related to the Buddhist Sangha project. For all three projects, it should be noted that the study focuses on the project activities in Nepal only, since an analysis of the regional networks as a whole would require a separate evaluation. Although the work has included a document review of all the central project documents, the description is primarily based on how the involved institutions and individuals in Nepal evaluate the UNESCO projects. The study is based on interviews in Kathmandu and Lalitpur (the evaluation budget did not allow the time it would take to make field trips to Humla and/or Mustang).

The Final Report (March 2008) of the Buddhist Sangha project states that the project was very successful, reaching its major goals. The case study reveals that in the case of Nepal, there were certain challenges. This is particularly so in terms of sustainability of the activities, local influence, and government involvement. The majority of the government representatives interviewed claimed not to

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<sup>31</sup> In addition, Norway has funded two bilateral projects with close to NOK 20 million in the period 2003-2009. Both projects have intangible cultural heritage components (documentation of traditional music and dance), but since cultural heritage is not the main focus of the two projects, and since the projects are described in detail in a recent mid-term review, they will not be dealt with here.

have heard about any of the three UNESCO projects. There is also a lack of coordination between the UNESCO bodies.

### **Cultural Heritage in Nepal**

Nepal has close to 30 million inhabitants. There are more than 20 different ethnic groups in the country, most of them hailing from India and Tibet. The majority of the population identify themselves as Hindus (80%), but there are also many Buddhists (11%), and the two religions are closely interlinked. Many Buddhists worship Hindu deities, and a number of homes display both Hindu and Buddhist religious symbols.

Nepal has eight cultural World Heritage Sites. Up to now, international support to cultural heritage has to a large degree focused on these sites, while there has been less interest in the rich intangible cultural heritage of the country.

Nepal has suffered from political conflict over the last 30 years. Multiparty democracy was introduced in 1990, but in 1996, civil war broke out between Maoist insurgents and government forces. In November 2006, a peace accord was achieved, and during spring and summer 2008, Nepal was declared a democratic federal republic, the King vacated the throne, and the first President was elected. A new constitution is due in April 2010. The political unrest has had a very negative effect on the development of the country in general, and the safeguarding of cultural heritage has been difficult. The political situation entailed a difficult working situation for the evaluated projects. At the time when the projects were implemented, Nepal was a Hindu Kingdom. NWHF emphasises that this context is atypical for the Buddhist Sangha projects.

### **Buddhism in Nepal**

There are three main forms of Buddhism in Nepal; the Newar tradition, also called Newar Vajrayana Buddhism (Thapa, 2001:42), the Theravada tradition, and the Tibetan tradition. Newar Buddhism is the traditional form of Buddhism in the Kathmandu valley. This tradition does not include temples, but sacred courtyards called *vihara* (or *bahah*). In Newar Buddhism there are no full-time monastics, but “a sacerdotal caste of married domestic and temple priests, the Vajracharyas and Shakyas” (Gellner and Le Vine 2007:141). The priests adopt the position of monks when they carry out their religious roles. There has been contact between Newar and Tibetan Buddhism for centuries.

The third form, Theravada Buddhism, is the result of a Buddhist revivalism in the Kathmandu valley in the 1920s. The goal of the movement was to reform Newar Buddhism “by reintroducing to Nepal the genuine monasticism which had metamorphosed into a caste of householder priest in the Middle Ages” (ibid. 147). Theravada quickly won popularity. Today, there are 98 Theravada monasteries in Nepal, while there were none in 1930. In the Kathmandu valley, Tibetan Buddhism is the most visible form of Buddhism, partly because it is the form that receives most funding, and it is said that this form ‘overshadows’ the other two (ibid. 167). In Mustang, where one of the projects have taken place, the people are ethnic Tibetans and follow the Sakya Buddhist sect (Saul, 1999).

### **Buddhist Sangha: Documentation, Education and Training to Revitalise Traditional Decorative Arts and Building Crafts in the Buddhist Temples of Asia**

This project was organised by the UNESCO Bangkok office and covered 18 sites in eight countries. In Nepal, the project targeted Lalitpur (also called Patan), a city that has melted together with Kathmandu, and Mustang District, which is located in the far north-west of the country, bordering Tibet. The project addressed both tangible and intangible heritage and the overall project goals were to:

- i assure the survival and continued social economic relevance of the traditional system of fine arts and building crafts apprenticeship
- ii provide economic benefits to the community through employment opportunities and supplementary income for men whose levels of formal education are generally low

In our view, the project activities in Nepal have fulfilled these goals only to some extent. Of the 386 persons who were trained, only 11 were trained in an activity that can provide employment opportunities, namely stone *chaitya* construction (sacred pyramid-like miniatures). Another 25 were trained in metal embossing, but the training was not conducted in the way it was planned, due to budget constraints. The great majority, 228 monks from Mustang, were trained for a ritual initiation, 82 persons were trained in hymn recitation, and 20 persons were trained in sand *mandala* (sacred pictures made of sand, which are destroyed immediately after the service).

There appears to have been some lack of communication between the Bangkok office and the project implementers in Nepal. For example, the implementing partner in Patan, Lotus Research Centre (LRC), had spent much energy doing a needs assessment and setting up committees for training in certain crafts (including wood-work and brick craft). According to the Final Report written by Lotus Research Center, a focus shift was made for the following reasons:

*Documents that were developed were sent to UNESCO Bangkok. Some valuable comments were made and sent back to us. The suggestion was to shift focus from the architectural side to some specific skills and arts which are more related to rituals and fast disappearing. Skills related to building construction like brick work, plastering are to be replaced by skills involving in artifacts making related to rituals. Also suggestions were made to identify only a few areas keeping in view of constraints of the Research centre (LRC 2005c:7).*

As a result it was decided to focus on stone craft and hymn recitation only – activities that are less relevant for income generation than the ones suggested by LRC. It is argued that the down-scaling was done due to budget constraints, but there is reason to question why LRC was not given enough information about the budget constraints at an early stage, and why the Bangkok office only at a late stage came to learn that LRC had indeed initiated too many activities.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> UNESCO does not agree with this presentation. In their view, it was "members of the Local Coordinating Committee" who decided to focus on construction of stone chaityas and recitation of sutras. The description in this report is based on interviews and LRC's Final Report on the project.

Similarly, the implementing partner for the project in Mustang, Lo Gyalpo Jigme Cultural Conservation Foundation, made two requests for project activities: Repair of the monasteries, and training of monks in wood carving and *thangka* paintings. The latter two activities would potentially increase the income opportunities of the trainees. Despite this, it was decided that the monks should be trained in sand *mandala* and initiation rites. Only 46 of the 386 persons trained were women, but this was foreseen in the project application. In terms of age, the persons who were trained during the project period were mostly young, while the people who were trained later were between 44 and 74.

As for sustainability, the Final Report of the Buddhist Sangha project states that *“the sites have achieved sustainability at the end of the project, and are able to continue to build on activities initiated during the project on an independent and self-supporting and self-managed basis”*. In Nepal, Lotus Research Centre replicated the hymn recitation in four monasteries at their own cost during the first year after the project period. Apart from this, no efforts have been made to replicate the project. The limited replication is said to be a result of difficulties in raising local counterpart contributions, as well as “apathy from the local government and Buddhist associations.” The involved institutions in Nepal say that they have no regular contact with the other institutions that were part of the network.

The majority of the informants in Nepal, including those who attended the regional meetings, argued that the advantages of having a big regional networking project like this did not defend the high administrative costs, and that it would have been better and more efficient to have smaller, national projects (the budget for local implementation was only between 30 and 50% of the total budget). Since this study only looks at the project from the viewpoint of Nepal and not in its totality, it is hard to judge the advantages of regional projects compared to local projects.

The project should be hailed for its efforts to document traditional crafts and skills, and to make training manuals that can be used at a later stage. In our view, the Buddhist Sangha project was relevant in relation to national priorities in Nepal because it had a major focus on intangible heritage. However, since the project was a regional project, the opportunities for Nepalese stakeholders to participate in the planning and implementation were limited. Some government officials criticized the project for being designed by a small group of people abroad who was particularly interested in Buddhism, and questioned why the Cultural Committee of the UNESCO High Commission had not been informed and involved. This last criticism was raised also against the two other regional UNESCO projects where Nepal has been involved. It should be noted that the failure to appreciate the project was perhaps due to the fact that Nepal officially is a Hindu state.

### **The Restoration and Conservation of Himalayan Monastic Heritage**

The project started in February 2004 and was completed in July 2006. Four workshops were arranged: The Restoration and Conservation of Earthen Struc-



tures, The Restoration and Conservation of Wall Paintings, The Restoration and Conservation of Timber Structures, and The Restoration and Conservation of Thangkas. Since this study focuses on activities in Nepal, only the last mentioned workshop will be discussed.

*Thangkas* are sacred scroll paintings. They are said to help people in meditation. The responsible partner for the Thangka workshop was HimalAsia Education and Culture Foundation and took place at the Tsering Art School, Shechen Monastery in Kathmandu, for two weeks in April and May 2005. The 22 participants were from Bhutan (8), India (8) and Nepal (11), and included representatives from the UNESCO Field Office, the Division of Cultural Heritage, UNESCO, museum staff, local government officials, representatives of the monastic communities, local media, and one *thangka* artist. The majority of the trainees were men, but some women also participated. Three international experts conducted the training. As part of the training, *thangka* paintings were restored. The training is well documented.

There is a risk that the sustainability and long terms effects of the project in Nepal are limited, since the government is said not to prioritise the restoration of *thangkas*. The participant whom we talked to, a professional and well known *thangka* artist, has therefore not practiced what he learned, even if he is very



Sudarshan Suwal shows rocks that are used for making colours to the thangka paintings. Photo: Siri Lange

interested in doing so. In his view, in order to be sustainable, it would be better to institutionalise such skills in educational institutions. Even if few of the Nepali participants have had a chance to practice their restoration skills, however, the training probably has had positive results in terms of knowledge about how *thangkas* should be stored and protected.

### **Development of Cultural and Ecotourism in the Mountainous Regions of Central and South Asia**

The project included partners in Bhutan, India, Iran, Kazakhstan, Pakistan and Tajikistan in addition to Nepal, and was conducted in the period 2002 to 2006. The main aim of the project was to help reduce poverty by promoting the sustainable growth of community-based tourism, in order to enable local communities to draw the maximum benefit from their region's tourism potential, while at the same time protecting the environmental and cultural heritage of the regions concerned. The project site in Nepal was Humla, which, like Mustang, is located in the north-west of Nepal, bordering Tibet. The project was implemented by Nepal Trust, a British NGO that has worked in Humla since the early 1990s. Since the team did not have the opportunity to travel to Humla, we will focus on how the project is perceived by the staff at Nepal Trust's Kathmandu office.

The main activities of the project were to train men as cooks and guides, and women (30-40% of the trainees) in village sanitation (women were said not to be interested in training as cooks and guides). Moreover, fifty solar power appliances were distributed to the villages. This helps the local population and makes the route more attractive for tourists. The project leader participated in one of the regional network meetings of the project and found this to be useful. Nepal Trust says that after the project started, tourism has increased from a few persons per year to 5-15 groups per season. Although there is still a high level of migration, there are now greater opportunities for entrepreneurs. In the organisation's view, the greatest advantage working with UNESCO was not really the funding – since this was limited – but the fact that having the UNESCO logo on the homepage attracted attention and new partners.

Due to limited information from the project beneficiaries, it is hard to judge whether the reported results are true, but the local staff of Nepal Trust appeared to be very sincere, the report from the project is detailed and convincing, the project appears to have made good use of the limited funding available, the project staff learned something from their travels abroad, and the project has the potential to reach sustainable results through increased tourism.

### **Summary and Conclusions**

Donor support to cultural heritage in Nepal has largely focused on the restoration of built/tangible heritage. The Norwegian support through UNESCO is therefore very relevant, since all the three projects target intangible cultural heritage. The main weakness of the UNESCO support is lack of coordination between the UNESCO bodies and between UNESCO and local institutions. Nepal has gone through a long period of conflict and a recent change of government. The limited sustainability of the projects is closely related to capacity problems

within the Nepalese institutions and should not be blamed on UNESCO only. Acknowledging the fact that we have seen the projects from the viewpoint of one country only, the team suggests that Norway should consider to what degree the relevance and efficiency of UNESCO's large scale regional network projects contributes to the policy objectives of the Norwegian strategy.<sup>33</sup>

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33 UNESCO and NWHF disagree strongly with the team's descriptions and conclusion. In their comments to this report, NWHF argues that one cannot make conclusions on regional projects on the basis of a very limited number of case studies, and that the limited amount of funds should be taken into consideration. It should be noted that the analysis and conclusion to this case study is the responsibility of the team only, and that all factual information is correct.

## 10. Conclusions

The preceding chapters have presented and discussed the policy background of Norwegian support to the protection of cultural heritage, pointing out that the goals and objectives underlying this support have become more ambitious and more complex with the introduction of the current strategy. Development cooperation in the field of culture is now firmly set in a rights-based perspective, where the two complementary aspects of culture, viz. culture as expression and culture as identity demands recognition in their own right as well as being considered fundamental preconditions for the evolution of a vibrant civil society and the eradication of poverty. These are subtle shifts from the policy emphases in the first strategy paper that governed cultural cooperation. The first strategy saw preservation and protection of cultural heritage as a main task (although allowing for the development of sustainable tourism), with the attendant emphasis on capacity development and institution-building for heritage protection. The current strategy promotes the much more active use of cultural heritage resources across a range of options for community development and local livelihoods. It has been pointed out above that this results in a much more complex approach to the protection of cultural heritage, where the exploitation of local economic opportunities and the scope for local participation play a far greater role than before. This outlook on cultural heritage protection by implication shifts the perspective away from site-specific investment and a focus on a technical protection agenda to a much broader perception of the role that cultural resources can play in economic development and poverty eradication.

### **Coordination**

Norwegian assistance to cultural heritage protection is organised in projects (particularly on the bilateral side) as well as networks and programmes (particularly on the multilateral side). All three forms of support can be found in the same country. It is not uncommon to find bilateral projects managed by the Norwegian embassy and projects managed by UNESCO in the same country, as well as UNESCO networks in which the country in question takes part. Conceptually it is possible to think about this in terms of comparative advantages, i.e. that projects are planned and agreed on the basis of the comparative strengths and weaknesses of the various stakeholders. But there does not seem to be much donor coordination or strategic planning at country level within the field of cultural cooperation and cultural heritage protection. The UNESCO conventions by implication offer templates for such strategic planning, but for heritage projects not (yet) recognised by the conventions the initiative and momentum seem to depend on factors like the personal interests and inclinations of embassy or

agency staff, the personal networks of interested members of staff in the national institution charged with cultural heritage protection, as well as the inclination and ability to pursue opportunities as they present themselves. The personal interest and involvement of embassy staff has been mentioned on a number of occasions; in the case studies from both Ethiopia and Malawi, but also in connection with interviews concerning projects in Mozambique and Pakistan.

The scene that emerges from the case studies is that there seem to be few opportunities at the project level to ensure coordination or timely communication between the stakeholders. This has caused delays and projects working at cross purposes. In the logic of development assistance management, such local/national coordination is obviously the responsibility of local/national authorities, who are equally responsible for policy direction and strategic planning at a national level. But there are (often well-known) weaknesses in the way responsibility for cultural heritage protection and management is organised in many countries; a considerable part of Norwegian support for cultural cooperation has been set aside for creating and supporting national institutions for this purpose. The current strategy in fact indicates that 65 % of the global cultural cooperation vote has been set aside for this end, and that institutional development/capacity building should be given even higher priority.

There are comparatively few stakeholders in Norway involved in support to cultural heritage protection. The relationship between them has changed quite significantly over the time period under consideration. Coordination as such does not seem to be a major issue, since MFA has increasingly assumed a larger role, particularly in terms of policy. The other stakeholders, on the other hand, have had their area of responsibility more tightly circumscribed. One probably unintended consequence of the policy domination of MFA is the reduction in technical capacity in the system as a whole. It is quite clear, for instance, that the primary source of technical advice (the Directorate of Cultural Heritage) is far more accomplished within specific technical fields (e.g. relating to physical preservation) within the management of cultural heritage than within more development-related fields such as capacity development and institution-building for heritage protection in developing countries, which are priority areas in the new strategy document. Norad still plays a role as technical adviser, but its capacity for project oversight and advice has been reduced. This would not be a problem, however, as long as MFA is assured of the technical proficiency and implementation capacity of other partners, in the multilateral sector or in bilateral relations at country level. Unfortunately this seems to be an area of weakness, where MFA will have to depend on other stakeholders for technical advice, particularly within the crucially important area of institution-building.

### **Institution-building**

There are cases in the Norwegian project portfolio, particularly among the bilateral projects, where institution building has received high priority and have been given a lot of attention, but so far there are few successes to report. The case study from Malawi is a case in point. The current review has not had the

opportunity to systematically assess the institutional development and capacity building efforts of Norwegian development assistance in this field and can only offer comments on the basis of a few examples. It is well known that institution building in developing countries is a time-consuming and complex field of endeavour with uncertain rewards. Training programmes suffer from high turnover of staff, investments are not protected due to lack of maintenance, policy development is slow because of poor capacity and lack of professional competence, policy initiatives fail because the subject matter of the institution is politically unimportant and the institution lacks authority to set the agenda and actually make its voice heard. Weak and poor institutions cannot afford to reject offers and suggestions, even from donors with poor track records, but tend to accept all proposals for the short-term or immediate benefits they may bring. Few donors give themselves the time and scope for the kind of institution-building that is required to help develop national institutions that have the confidence and political support required to become genuine partners to foreign donors in a field that is quite specialised, which demand a high level of professional skills to articulate national interests and develop national policy.

The Norwegian programme for support to the protection of cultural heritage does not seem to be an exception. Although institutional development/capacity building is given high priority, there is not yet the scope or sufficiently distant planning horizon to actually achieve the goals of viable, self-sustaining institutions. The question is if there are adequate models and technical skills to provide constructive contributions and sufficient commitment to see a time-consuming process run its course. The Norwegian-funded project to support the National Heritage Conservation Commission in Zambia is quite instructive in this regard: After a period of close support for 8 years (since 1998) it was decided to end the project because culture was no longer a priority area for the Embassy, even if the end review/evaluation of the programme and the Norwegian partner (the Directorate of Cultural Heritage) strongly recommended a period of consolidation and orderly exit to safeguard the sustainability of the institution. A whole range of questions about capacity building and equitable partnership may be raised in this connexion. A similar case is illustrated above, in the project to restore Fasilades' bath in Gondar in Ethiopia. Also this project was closed for reasons that had little to do with technical issues or project performance.

The current strategy announces that institution-building will be given additional attention, over and above the 65% of the budget resources it was receiving when the strategy was prepared. The evaluation team strongly supports the emphasis given to institution-building and the importance attached by the 2005 strategy paper to developing more adequate models and approaches to this field. Without strong institutions, in the full range of what this implies in terms of legislation, professional, technical and academic capacity, policy and budget support, many of the policy goals of Norwegian support to the protection of cultural heritage will quite simply be futile. National policies have to be rooted in national processes and viable partnerships depend on viable partners. The priorities set and the practical solutions supported must be the expression of some public policy in the country in question, which need viable and self-sustaining institutions.

In view of the importance attached to integrating cultural heritage management with other fields of public interest, whether this is the tourist industry, local area development or the promotion of disadvantaged groups, it is important that institutions for cultural heritage management are open to influences and dialogue. Poor nations where human capacity and economic resources are in short supply cannot afford to emulate the at times monolithic and monopolistic models for cultural heritage management found in other parts of the world. The institutions promoted must be able to relate to several different types of demands. They must be professionally competent, with staff trained in the subject matter of cultural heritage management, with alliances and networks to the national and international academic community, and technically competent within the various skills and techniques required for cultural heritage preservation. Additionally, they must be tuned in to the national development agenda, whether this concerns national programmes for tourist development or local efforts to diversify livelihoods by exploiting cultural heritage sites in economic activities. This is a tall order, but there does not seem to be many alternatives. Cultural heritage agencies have to show that they are not luxuries that poor developing countries can ill afford, but active and important participants in the development of the nation, even if the outputs and deliverables cannot be immediately measured in economic terms.

The ongoing reforms of the international aid management system is in the process of strengthening the policy influence of the developing countries and it will be up to them to actively seek support for various activities. For the time being, the cultural heritage management institutions are with a few exceptions poorly placed, both nationally and internationally, to play active advocacy roles on behalf of the heritage sites that they manage. Furthermore, there is restricted capacity in the Norwegian arrangements for support to cultural heritage protection to actually help these institutions assume the responsibilities that they must assume if the Norwegian strategy is to make a constructive contribution.

### **Goals**

The three case studies presented above give some indications of how the objectives and goals of the Norwegian strategy for cultural and sports cooperation are translated into projects and programmes at the national level. As has been pointed out at several instances above, this is not a simple exercise. Goals are expressed at a fairly general level and it seems to be up to the individual project or programme to operationalise these goals by turning them into clearly defined, concrete and measurable outputs at the project level. The case study from Malawi shows this quite clearly: the relationship between the various activities, or inputs, to the expected outputs and outcomes is quite uncertain, because the goals of the programme are difficult to define; it is difficult to measure if any change in fact has occurred, and if change is discernible, it is difficult to relate it to the programme activities. The case study goes quite far towards stating that the programme to promote a vibrant Malawi culture for national identity has given itself an impossible goal, and that any achievements must be sought at lower levels in the programme structure. Results and achievements can certainly be identified in terms of output from specific programme

components, but the issue is rather how these contribute to achieve the goals that have been defined for the programme as a whole. The case study concludes that the goal formulation has been overambitious and that programme activities have had little discernible effect in this regard.

The other case studies also contain examples of how the projects fail to link desired outputs and results to appropriate intervention inputs, e.g. expecting self-sustaining business ventures to result from training in non-marketable or non-profitable skills. Even in cases where the desired result is the preservation of cultural rather than financial capital, there has to be some consideration of the structure of rewards and disincentives if a project is to contribute to a sustainable process. The thinking underlying the 'culture economy' concept as well as the current Norwegian strategy document accept that the best way of setting realistic goals for project interventions must be to involve the active participation of local communities. Enough is known by now about the preconditions for genuine popular participation in development projects to make this a feasible approach in all cultural heritage protection projects.

### **Relevance**

The question of relevance is of course closely related to the issue of goal formulation and programme design. The fundamental criteria for relevance in the Norwegian programme are the objectives decided in the Strategy for cultural and sports cooperation. These are quite vaguely formulated and will accommodate a range of projects, from site-specific management and protection projects to exploratory policy research and formulation activities. Most of the funds allocated to cultural heritage protection have been spent through multilateral channels and UNESCO has been the main channel of multilateral support. Although UNESCO projects are not exclusively tied to the two heritage conventions, these two normative platforms are still the main justification for UNESCO operations. In these terms, Norwegian multilateral support is *ipso facto* relevant to the issues at hand.

The bilateral projects do not have the same normative support; the goals of the Strategy allow funding for a much wider selection of activities. Particularly in view of the emphasis given to the use aspect and cultural heritage as a resource for economic development, the range of projects that can be supported is quite extensive. The evaluation has not come across any cases in the project portfolio that fall outside the limits of relevant support in terms of the objectives set in the Strategy.

### **Effectiveness**

An assessment of effectiveness clearly depends on a theory of the relationship between a defined goal and the interventions organised to achieve this goal. Among the case studies presented above, the best example of lack of effectiveness is found in the Malawi case. The case study points out how the goals set for the programme were unrealistic and that there was no theory about the relationship between the project interventions and these goals. The judgement of the case study is that even if all project interventions had been fully and



perfectly implemented, the overall goal of the programme would still not have been achieved.

This utter lack of effectiveness is not a general characteristic of the Norwegian support to the protection of cultural heritage. There are many cases in the project portfolio where interventions have in fact achieved what they set out to achieve, most typically in tightly circumscribed project components where there are clear and well-tested models of how to proceed. This would be the case with many of the technical and site-specific interventions supported by Norway, such as the project in Ethiopia to support the restoration of Fasilades' bath in Gondar. But a project or a programme is usually made up of a number of components and in many cases there are few well-tested models available to guide the design of complex programmes. The 2005 strategy for cultural cooperation has clearly broadened the scope for cultural heritage protection and the expansion of the perspective from single-site interventions to institution-building does represent a challenge in terms of effectiveness. We know far too little about the interventions required to build a viable institution, and similarly, we know too little about how such institutions in turn become effective with respect to managing cultural heritage resources.

### **Efficiency**

The question of efficiency has been discussed in conjunction with some of the case studies above. In the Ethiopia case there are reports of under-budgeting, partly to do with delays in project implementation. In the bilateral project on the restoration of Fasilades' bath, implementation delays and escalating inflation have produced a major shortfall in the budget required to complete the project. The project has also chosen to use labour-intensive methods to carry out the works - to what extent this is the most efficient mode of implementation (in strictly financial terms) may be discussed. But the case study quite explicitly reports that the involvement of women's groups and local stone masons have had a number of other beneficial side effects in terms of promoting local ownership and creating local employment. This goes to show that the benefits that should be expected from projects of this nature cannot always be precisely calculated in monetary terms. Given the emphasis in the Norwegian strategy on integrating cultural heritage protection in local development, one should accept some level of additional costs at the discretion of project management to promote such local development issues.

The multilateral projects seem to present another set of challenges. The projects reviewed partly seem to lack adequate budget resources and partly to spend resources on project activities which may be seen as marginal to the main goal of the project. The situation created by these shortcomings in design and management have resulted in slow implementation of the main activities (e.g. with lack of proper supervision, in the case of Nepal). In the Ethiopia case, the development of the limestone mortar technique was intended to solve an evolving problem (expanding cracks in the churches), so delays obviously have an efficiency aspect to them. The longer it takes to develop a solution, the larger the problem at hand.

Yet another aspect of efficiency challenges is seen in large networking and partnership projects, one of which has been reviewed in the Nepal case study. There was a clear local perception that the networking model was an expensive and cumbersome mode of operation, causing delays in local planning and implementation and driving up costs. Again, there are probably non-monetary benefits to networking that need to be carefully considered against direct costs.

### **Sustainability**

The assessment of sustainability of cultural heritage protection projects seems to depend on the kind of project in question. There is a distinction between projects promoting conservation and protection and projects depending on use. When the distinction between tangible and intangible cultural heritage is introduced, the issue becomes even more complex. The distinctions may be presented as problems that are solved once and for all (for instance a site-specific conservation project, although even here there will be management and maintenance costs) and problems that have to be solved over and over again. Sustainable tourism, for instance, involves establishing particular principles and patterns of behaviour that must be upheld by sanctions and rewards, rules, regulations, management guidelines and management systems. Preservation of intangible cultural heritage depends entirely on use, i.e. that people will revive or continue to entertain particular cultural practices. Successful projects here depend on a deep understanding of the social structures and value systems that maintain these practices.

Sustainability issues are discussed in the case studies. The cultural heritage sites discussed in Ethiopia are in constant use and the question of sustainability primarily concerns interventions that will facilitate and allow their continued use in the future. The important issue to keep in mind in this case is that the local population will use these sites irrespective of the success or failure of the Norwegian-funded project. A successful project will help avoid damages (in the Lalibela case) or facilitate orderly use (in the case of Gondar). The development of tourism on the basis of these sites pose another set of issues, which partly overlap with the issues posed by local usage, but with the added aim of providing a source of income in the local economy, for the upkeep of the heritage sites as well as for household livelihoods.

The sustainability issues in the intangible heritage projects in Nepal are of a different kind. Here the project has succeeded in reviving or at least making some cultural practices more well-known, but seems to have overlooked the underlying social structures and value systems that maintain the practices on a self-supporting and continuous basis. This means that although projects have been reasonably successful from a strictly technical point of view i.e. in terms of organising course/training sessions, the activities are not sustainable, because project beneficiaries do not have the incentives to maintain the cultural practices in question on their own accord.

Sustainability issues of a different (but unfortunately more typical) kind are reported from the Chongoni rock art site in Malawi, where after an initial effort to

have the site inscribed on the World Heritage list, little has happened. The traditional site management approach seems to have been quickly abandoned by the responsible authorities and the alternative of integrating the site in an on-going local development project as a resource for the development of tourism or training had not been attempted, even if a local forestry college offering courses in eco-tourism was located close by. In this case the sustainability failure seems to refer to the sustainability of a viable institution for heritage management.

### **Impact**

In the period 2000-2008, Norway has supported a range of activities and interventions for the purpose of supporting the protection of cultural heritage in many different settings. While attention prior to the current strategy to a large extent was directed at site-specific restoration and preservation activities, under the general influence of the World Heritage Convention, the attention now has shifted to a more instrumental and dynamic view of cultural heritage resources. A major additional factor, since 2003, is the importance of intangible cultural heritage. With the new strategy, attention is on the contributions cultural heritage resources can make to cultural, social and economic activities of local communities, partly in terms of the human rights agenda, partly in terms of the Millennium Development Goals. This means that the impact of interventions to protect cultural heritage now must be detected in these other contexts, i.e. a successful cultural heritage project has contributed to safeguard local livelihoods or consolidated the right to free speech.

Very few cultural heritage projects are formulated in these terms, partly because these perspectives on cultural heritage are quite recent, but also because the relationship between the inputs and interventions, on one side, and the outcomes and impacts of project results on the other are quite tenuous. There is little experience to go by and there is little investment in new ventures and experimental designs that could help solidify knowledge. The current strategy recognises this lacuna and recommended an exploratory phase. This has not yet happened.

In the cases reviewed in connection with the current evaluation it is hard to see what impact Norwegian-funded activities have had. This is partly so because few projects have had the time to mature after the new strategy was issued. But it is also difficult to detect impact in a project preparation - project planning - project implementation framework. Impacts usually refers to what happens beyond this framework, how projects contribute to new long-term change. The detection of impact in these terms requires a different vantage point that this particular evaluation exercise does not offer.

## 11. What is a Successful Cultural Heritage Project?

The following suggestions for success criteria are based on:

- fieldwork in Norway, UNESCO Paris, Nepal, Ethiopia and Malawi
  - central priorities in the Norwegian *strategy for culture- and sports cooperation with developing countries*
  - a comprehensive review of the literature on cultural heritage and development
  - comprehensive experience in the evaluation team on heritage-based development
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- **Supporting cultural heritage can generate new socio-cultural and economic development.** People have pride in their cultural traditions. External interest increases this pride. Promoting and protecting cultural heritage can strengthen local identity and motivation for development. Collective belief in the locality and the local resources can create a better environment for development and growth.
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- **Cultural heritage symbols can constitute important ingredients in economic innovation and new development strategies.** In developing countries with a great need for new income-generating industries, cultural heritage symbols can represent valuable assets. Tourism is becoming one of the largest industries in the world, and cultural tourism is one of the branches with the fastest growth. More and more of this growth takes place in the developing world, and the potential for further growth is very large.
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- **A project's positive effects – cultural, social, economic – on a local community, should be clearly defined** to generate local interest, involvement and dedication.
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- **Local involvement is a precondition for a successful project.** The inclusion of local stakeholders and the local population in general should be stressed as vital in all projects. A sector- and institution-building orientation cannot succeed without a firm dedication to local involvement.
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- **Projects should be based on local definitions of cultural heritage.** The meanings and constitutions of cultural heritage symbols vary between cultures, peoples, countries and regions. If cultural heritage shall become an effective tool for development, projects must be based on local understandings and definitions.

- **Broad partnerships between different kinds of knowledge/expertise form the most effective cultural heritage projects in developing countries.** There is a great local demand for integrated projects where cultural heritage resources are seen as assets for development in an extended economic and socio-cultural context. To maximise the potential effects on local development, focus on restoration/conservation should be complemented with knowledge/expertise on e.g. local development, cultural tourism and the socio-cultural context.
- **The knowledge sector should be involved as central stakeholder in capacity building and sector development projects.** The inclusion of schools, universities and research institutions can increase interest for cultural heritage, improve project quality, improve recruitment, and strongly benefit dissemination of information and findings.

## 12. Recommendations

### Policy level

In 2005, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs published a new strategy for cultural cooperation, emphasising human rights, social inclusion, and the strengthening of institutions. The strategy envisages cultural heritage as a resource in sustainable development, contributing to economic development as well as helping shape identities. While the strategy itself is promising, its actual implementation and impact appears to have been somewhat limited due to limited staff resources within MFA and Norad and lack of follow-up. The following elements envisaged in the strategy have not yet been given sufficient attention:

- Mapping of the development partners' needs and wishes in terms of support to strengthen their cultural infrastructure. The strategy indicates that this was to be done in 2006.
- Establishing success criteria for cultural heritage projects. This element has been included in the present evaluation and the bench marks against which projects and project design could be evaluated have not yet been established.
- Developing knowledge on cultural heritage as a resource for development in the South.

These plans should be followed up as soon as possible. The poor attention devoted to the strategic, institutional and legal levels in the development cooperation on cultural heritage stands in stark contrast to Norwegian support to the oil sector – where these institution- and competence-building aspects have been central.

### Strategic level

In a review of the endeavours to implement the Norwegian policy, it is important to take into consideration that Norway's development partners have prioritised cultural policy very differently, have different levels of competence within this field, and different views on the potentially destabilising effects of a revival of cultural expressions and heritage sites.<sup>34</sup>

On the Norwegian side, the evaluation has found that the support to cultural heritage has depended on a very limited number of institutions - which have been responsible for policy preparation, planning inputs, reviews and quality assurance, implementation of projects, oversight, monitoring and evaluation of

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<sup>34</sup> A country like Nepal, with several World Heritage sites, has no cultural policy. Tanzania, on the other hand, has used intangible culture very consciously in its nation building efforts, and cultural expressions are seen as politically potent and something that needs to be controlled and censored.

their own and other institutions' projects. There is clearly a need for a wider scope and more functional division of labour, to safeguard against conflicts of interest and to ensure the availability of professional capacity and competence.

- There is a great need for knowledge on cultural heritage as a resource for development in the South. Research programmes and competence building efforts in collaboration with professional and academic institutions should be developed to this end.
- Norway will have to strike a balance between respecting the policy priorities of partner countries, and the importance attached by the strategy to strengthening democracy and the rights of minorities and underprivileged groups in the south.
- A greater range of Norwegian institutions should be included in the pool of stakeholders and advisors to MFA and Norad. This is particularly important when it comes to the increased focus on intangible heritage. Specific technical know-how needs to be accompanied by competence on cultural analysis and development work and vice versa.
- The virtual absence of Norwegian research and academic cooperation from the cultural heritage sector is problematic. There is great scope for increased and constructive interaction at all levels of cultural heritage protection and management between Norwegian development assistance authorities and the internationally recognised academic centre for African archaeology and cultural heritage at the University of Bergen.
- In order to get an impression of the different institutions that are active within the field, and in order to learn from past experiences, a resource mobilisation and planning seminar for relevant institutions and persons in Norway (both those that have already been involved in projects and others) should be organised. Project managers of completed and ongoing projects could be asked to share their positive and negative experiences, and suggest how projects should be organised in the future.
- Since many developing countries have a weak legal system (as opposed to formal legislation) in terms of protection of cultural heritage, part of Norwegian support should be earmarked to help improve this situation through institution- and capacity building efforts.
- World Heritage Status is central for the domestic protection of sites and intangible heritage, for mobilisation of foreign funding, and for income from tourism. Many developing countries lack the capacity and resources that are needed to ensure inscription on the lists. This is a technically and administratively demanding process and the result is that many sites of outstanding value are not listed. Norwegian funding has to some degree been spent on supporting and facilitating the inscription process. It is recommended that a greater share of Norwegian support should target the needs and bottlenecks of the inscription process, to help countries in the South be better represented on the lists.
- Two thirds of the Norwegian support to cultural heritage is channelled through UNESCO. It is recommended that MFA, in cooperation with a reference group, discuss the balance between bilateral and multilateral support, division of work between the two channels, as well as potential contact points and synergies at the country and project levels.

## Project level

The evaluation has revealed a striking correlation between the importance attached to cultural heritage projects at a particular embassy and the presence of particularly interested individuals. These dedicated individuals are very important in creating new projects and inspiring local communities to focus on their heritage. However, when these persons move on to other positions, culture and cultural heritage projects easily become marginalised or may even be removed from the activity schedules altogether. The best way to reduce this dependency on individuals, will be to create more integrated projects that also include local development and components like cultural tourism. In this way, the importance and impact of cultural heritage on other sectors and interests is highlighted. The evaluation team found a strong local preference for such a community perspective, which additionally is strongly supported in the policy outlook of the current Strategy.

- Efforts should be taken to reduce the dependence on individuals, and cultural heritage should be made relevant in a community development perspective. The connections between cultural heritage protection, expression of identity and local development should receive more attention in project design.
- To maximise positive community effects, local value and local impact should be clearly expressed in all heritage projects and local involvement strongly prioritised. A broader group of stakeholders, including NGO's and the research community, should be encouraged to take part in this concerted effort.
- More attention should be given to proper review procedures, to ensure that project proposals considered for support should be reviewed by reference groups with a strong professional background and relevant experience. The group should include both heritage protection specialists and development specialists with knowledge of the recipient country.
- A certain percentage of the project funding should be allocated to midterm reviews by an independent body. This should be the case for both bilateral and multilateral projects.
- To improve sustainability, capacity building for cultural heritage protection should to a greater degree be institutionalised in the education and research institutions in the South.
- All long term projects should attempt to broaden and consolidate their cooperation through support from other funding channels. Relevant Norad funded programmes include the Norwegian Programme for Development, Research and Education (NUFU), the Arts and Cultural Education Programme (ACE),<sup>35</sup> Norad's programme for Master Studies (NOMA),<sup>36</sup> and Fredskorpset (FK).<sup>37</sup>

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35 The programme targets cultural heritage (in addition to other cultural sectors), but so far the programme has received only a limited number of applications in this field.

36 NOMA was launched in 2006 to develop and operate master's degree programmes at universities in the South in collaboration with corresponding Norwegian institutions.

37 The cooperation between Byantikvaren i Bergen and Ilha de Mocambique had a FK component which proved to function well.



# Annexes





# Annex 1:

## Terms of Reference

June 2008

### Evaluation of Norwegian Support to Protection of Cultural Heritage

#### **1.1 Background**

Norway has a long history of cooperation with developing countries in the area of culture, and was one of the first countries to include support for culture and the arts in development assistance in the early 1980s. Support to protection of cultural heritage became part of a Strategy for environment in development cooperation (1997 – 2005). This was, however, not followed up in the Norwegian action plan for environment in development cooperation (2006). The cooperation is now based on a Strategy for cultural- and sports cooperation. The Strategy, presented in 2005, for the period 2006 – 2015, situates the cooperation within a rights based agenda and reflects new international thinking emphasising the importance of culture for development and poverty reduction. Culture cooperation shall promote the framework conditions for cultural participation, production, use and conservation in the cooperating countries. The support to cultural heritage through UNESCO is specifically focused in the Strategy. The Strategy moreover focuses the importance of creating room for trying out different types of projects and pilots, followed up by thorough reporting and evaluation. Concrete success criteria for culture in development cooperation should be established, and the Strategy calls for a mid term evaluation.

Norway's cultural cooperation with developing countries is carried out jointly by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), Norwegian embassies and Norad, through different budgets and channels. The support covers culture in a broad sense, including cultural exchange and sports activities, focusing on three main categories: cultural exchange, infrastructure and cultural heritage. The support to cultural heritage through UNESCO is channelled through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through an agreement with UNESCO and a yearly contribution of 9 mill. NOK. Norad has a frame agreement where the Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage is included, covering consultancy assistance. Other support for the protection of cultural heritage is found in other chapters of the State budget going through a wide variety of channels to various countries and cooperating partners.

In addition to MFA, the Norwegian Embassies and Norad, other institutions are important partners in the Norwegian cooperation with developing countries for support to protection of cultural heritage. The Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage, the Oslo based Nordic World Heritage Foundation, the Ministry of

Environment and the Ministry of Culture all have important roles in the cooperation. Other partners are the national government authorities and the many NGOs, both in Norway and in developing countries taking part in the cooperation. Research institutions are also involved.

Projects in the cultural cooperation have been subjected to reviews, however, until now there has not been a more substantive, thematic evaluation of Norway's support to protection of cultural heritage. On the basis of the long history of Norwegian cultural development cooperation with sizeable volume of budgets involved, and the proclaimed importance of such cooperation in a development and human rights perspective it is of interest to provide more general insight into this part of the Norwegian development cooperation. Such a thematic evaluation will also provide an opportunity to look at the coherence in the Norwegian development cooperation, comparing advantages of different channels. It will moreover represent an input for a broader look at Norway's cultural cooperation with developing countries as called for in the Strategy.

## **1.2 Purpose and objectives**

The main *purpose* of the evaluation is to provide insight into Norwegian development cooperation supporting the protection of cultural heritage with the aim of assessing the relevance, efficiency, effectiveness, results and sustainability of the present set-up and give inputs to the future direction of Norwegian cooperation and support to protection of cultural heritage in developing countries.

The evaluation will have the following *objectives*:

- Provide an overview of the various aspects of the Norwegian support to cultural heritage according to channels and partners involved, including an account of the coherence and the merits of the support through different channels and whether the goals have been adequate and realistic.
- Describe and assess the different roles of the participants, funders and implementers, including their understanding of the ideas and assumptions (program theory) behind the support.
- Assess more in depth (based on a selection of projects and agreements) to what degree the goals for the cooperation have been achieved, the relevance, efficiency, results and sustainability of Norway's support to protection of cultural heritage.
- Define and assess success criteria for Norwegian support to protection of cultural heritage.
- Point at lessons learned and give operational recommendations for the future arrangements of Norwegian development cooperation and support to cultural heritage, based on findings and conclusions.

- The following questions are moreover central to the evaluation:
- Is the cooperation and the support in accordance with national and local cultural policies and priorities?
- What is the role of local partners in the cooperation? To what extent is the cooperation based on partnerships?
- To what degree is the support building local capacity?
- To what degree is the support promoting identity, local and/or national?
- Whose history and heritage is being protected?
- How is the support affecting women and youth?
- Is there a good balance between immaterial and material projects in the overall Norwegian support in this area?
- What is the balance between protection of cultural heritage and use, for instance represented by tourism?
- How is the relationship/coordination regarding other funding parties to supported projects?
- Are the supported projects sustainable, what plans exist for the continuation, without Norwegian support, in the future?

### **1.3 Scope of the evaluation**

The evaluation will be limited to cooperation and support to protection of cultural heritage, and will not cover culture in the broad understanding of Norway's development cooperation in the area of culture. The extensive cultural exchange taking place under the Norwegian cultural umbrella will thus not be part of the evaluation. Support to cultural infrastructure will be included to the extent that this support is clearly connected to protection of cultural heritage.

The Norwegian support to protection of cultural heritage represents a complex reality, with a wide variety, in terms of types and channels of support and cooperating partners. In order for the evaluation to provide relevant learning and inputs to the future direction of the Norwegian cultural development cooperation it will be crucial to secure a representative choice of projects and agreements for specific in-depth study in the evaluation.

The evaluation covers the period from 2000 up to date, if necessary goes further back, thus enabling to situate the cooperation in a longer development perspective while trying to assess features according to the established Strategy, for instance the success criteria for Norwegian cultural support called for in the Strategy.

For the purpose of this evaluation we suggest the following delimitation of the concept:

*Cultural heritage* is the legacy of physical artifacts, buildings, sites and landscapes, and intangible products, customs and practices of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations.

#### **1.4 Approach and methodology**

The approach of study seeks to combine the need to obtain a general overview of the arrangements and to research in more depth, looking closer at separate projects and agreements. For the detailed study the evaluation will take its point of departure from a representative selection of projects and agreements for further scrutiny. In order to grasp the complexity of the Norwegian development cooperation and support of the protection of cultural heritage it is important that the selection covers the variety of types of projects, channels, relationships and cooperating agreements established. The evaluation should both look at general agreements and follow projects down at country level. The field visits/countries selected should be restricted to a maximum of three. The Norwegian Government budget for 2006 had a presentation of the new strategy where pilot programs were proposed, mentioning Malawi and Pakistan (St.prp.nr. 1 2005-2006, Box 8.8). We therefore suggest that at least one of these should be included in the choice of countries for field visits.

To secure an optimal choice of projects for in-depth study the evaluation will have a set-up where the inception report is expected to give an overview of the Norwegian support to protection of cultural heritage: various aspects and projects, channels and budgets, and cooperating partners involved. On the bases of this overview, the Consultant will present a reasoned justification for the selection of projects and field visits and set out in more detail the plans and methodology for the evaluation.

Even though the final selection will be made in the inception phase the Consultant is expected to include information in the proposal on the plans of selection, including consequences for field work to be undertaken.

The evaluation will include basic financial and descriptive data on Norwegian inputs. The team is responsible for the data collection, with support from stakeholders. The evaluation will include literature reviews, desk studies, interviews, possibly focus group discussions and other survey techniques, in addition to in-depth studies of projects in selected countries. The offer should include information on the Consultant's approach to the understanding and analysis of the program theory or logic and assumptions behind the Norwegian support to protection of cultural heritage. Field visits to a restricted number of countries should be included in the plans and budgeting, where there also should be room for validation and feed-back before departure. Guiding principles will be to triangulate and validate information, assess data quality in a transparent manner and highlight data gaps and weaknesses. The data material underlying the analysis shall be available to the Client upon request.

The evaluation should refer to the DAC criteria on evaluation of international development cooperation, the Consultant should clarify the use of the criteria. It is suggested that the evaluation, in addition to looking at relevance, effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability, should look at the results of the support to protection of cultural heritage at the outcome level. The more long-time effects on society, or impacts of the support will probably fall outside the frames of this

evaluation. The quality of the cooperation, including participatory aspects and the coherence of Norway's support with the recipient's and Norway's own policies will also be of relevance to assess. Cross-cutting issues of environment, age and gender, conflict sensitivity and corruption shall be covered by the evaluation when relevant. The evaluation should moreover have an overall view on the program theory or logic and assumptions behind the support. The reports will be assessed against DAC evaluation quality standards.

The Consultant will be responsible for developing a detailed methodological framework for the evaluation. If the Consultant leaves some of the detailed elaboration of the methodology to the inception report, the methodological design should be sufficiently developed in the tender for the Client to be able to make a proper assessment of the offer.

### **1.5 Organisation and Evaluation Team**

The evaluation will be carried out by an independent team of consultants. The contract will be issued by the Evaluation Department (Norad), according to standard procurement procedures. Evaluation management will be carried out by the Evaluation Department and the team will report to the Evaluation Department. The team is entitled to consult widely with stakeholders pertinent to the assignment. All decisions concerning ToR, inception report, draft report and other reports are subject to approval by the Evaluation Department. A group of stakeholders will be established, administered by the Evaluation Department, to advise and comment on the evaluation process and the quality of products.

The team should consist of minimum three persons, and will report to Norad through the team leader. The team should have the following qualifications:

#### Team leader

- Proven successful team leading; the team leader must document relevant experience with managing and leading evaluations.
- Advanced knowledge and experience in evaluation principles and standards in the context of international development.

#### Team as a whole

- A core team of international experts with complementary competences and expertise in the fields of anthropology/history, archaeology/architecture/town/site planning, cultural promotion and restoration of cultural sites, programme management in development cooperation, project and programme evaluation.
- The team of consultants shall be familiar with the international discourse on "Culture and development".
- The team shall have good knowledge of Norwegian development cooperation policy and instruments.
- The team should have a background of knowledge and expertise regarding the relevant countries/regions and cultural contexts.
- The core team has to be complemented by local/regional experts who are mastering relevant expertise, know-how and local languages. The tender shall

document the extent to which consultants from developing countries will be employed, and in what capacity.

- Gender balance in the team would be beneficial.
- Languages: English, Norwegian and other relevant language for possible case countries.
- The system of quality assurance shall be described and the competence for this work documented in the team/tender.

### **1.6 Budget, work plan and reporting**

*Budget:* The evaluation is budgeted with a maximum input of 40 person weeks. The tender shall present a total budget with stipulated expenses for field works planned and other expenses envisaged. There should be room in the budget for seminars, including presentation of the report in Oslo.

*Tentative work plan and deadlines:*

<b>ACTIVITY</b>	<b>DEADLINE</b>
Announcement of tender	20 June 2008
Submission of tenders	18 August 2008
Contract signature	10 September 2008
Inception report	17 October 2008
Draft report	16 January 2009
Final report	1 April 2009
Seminar for dissemination	May 2009

The Consultant shall submit the following *reports*:

- An inception report providing an overview of the Norwegian support to protection of cultural heritage and an interpretation of the assignment. This includes a detailed description of the evaluation framework, including methodological design, sampling strategies, methods of investigation, data collection, work plan and analytical approach. The inception report will be subject to discussions with stakeholders and to approval by Norad's Evaluation Department.
- A draft report presenting findings, conclusions and recommendations, with a draft executive summary. The stakeholders will be heard and feedback provided to the team by the Evaluation Department. The feedback will refer to ToR and include comments on structure, facts, content, conclusions and recommendations.
- A final report shall be submitted, within three weeks of receiving the comments on the draft report. The final report shall be prepared in accordance with the Evaluation Department's guidelines (Specifications concerning the final report) and include main findings and conclusions and clear and addressed recommendations, as well as an executive summary. Upon approval the evaluation report will be published in the series of the Evaluation Department and must be presented in a way that directly enables publication. The final report should not exceed 50 pages, excluding annexes.

All reports shall be written in English. The Consultant is responsible for editing and quality control of language.



The Consultant shall adhere to the DAC Evaluation Quality Standards.

The budget and work plan must allow sufficient time for feedback and presentations of conclusions and recommendations, including preliminary findings to relevant stakeholders in the countries visited and presentation of final report in Oslo.

## Annex 2:

### List of Institutions and Persons Consulted

#### a. List of interviews, Norway In Oslo:

- Randi Bendiksen, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Christine Hamnen, Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs
- Idun Eidheim, Ministry of Environment
- Reidun Veia, Directorate for Cultural Heritage
- Lyder Marstrander, Directorate for Cultural Heritage
- Inger A. Heldal, Directorate for Cultural Heritage
- Thore Hem, Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
- Kris Endresen, Nordic World Heritage Foundation
- Lena Plau, Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
- Synnøve Vinsrygg, Former Deputy Director, responsible for the Buddhist Sangha project. Presently a consultant to Nordic World Heritage Foundation (telephone interview).

#### In Bergen:

- Prof. Randi Håland, University of Bergen
- Dr. Tor Sætersdal, UNIFOB-Global, University of Bergen (Rock Art Project, Mozambique)
- Per Morten Ekerhovd, Hordaland County Conservation Office (Fylkeskonservator and former FK participant at the Ilha de Mocambique Project, Mozambique)

#### b. Persons interviewed/held discussions with in UNECCO, Paris:

- Akio Arata, Chief, Section for Bilateral Government Funding Sources, Division for the Cooperation with Extra-budgetary Funding Sources
- Akatsuki Takahashi, Programme Specialist, Culture Sector Headquarters (CLT), Executive Office
- Arthur Pedersen, Programme Specialist, Heritage and Sustainable Tourism, World Heritage Centre
- Mechtild Rossler, Chief, Europe and North America Section, World Heritage Centre
- Dr. Roland Lin Chih-Hung, Asia and Pacific Unit, World Heritage Centre
- Lazare Eloundou, Programme Specialist, World Heritage Centre
- Carmela Quin, Promotion, Publications and Education Unit, World Heritage Centre
- Vesna Vujicic-Lugassy, Promotion, Publications and Education Unit, World Heritage Centre
- Lazare Eloundou, Programme Specialist, World Heritage Centre
- Christian Manhart, Senior Program Specialist, Section of Museums and Cultural Objects

- Sahar Al Tabbal, Focal Point for Mali, Ethiopia and Senegal, Section of Museums and Cultural Objects
- Ulrike Koschital, Focal Point for Under Water Heritage, Section of Museums and Cultural Objects
- Suzanne Ogge, Focal point for Arab States and Georgia, Section of Museums and Cultural Objects
- Sahar Al Tabbal, Focal Point for Mali, Ethiopia and Senegal, Section of Museums and Cultural Objects
- Nao Hayashi Denis, Assistant Programme Specialist, Section of Museums and Cultural Objects
- Ulrike Koschital, Focal Point for Under Water Heritage, Section of Museums and Cultural Objects
- Fernando Brugman, Programme Specialist , Intangible Cultural Heritage
- Reiko Yoshida, Programme Specialist (East Africa), Intangible Cultural Heritage
- Frank Proschan, Programme Specialist (Asia), Division of Cultural Heritage
- An-Heleen de Greef, Focal Point, Caribbean, Intangible Cultural Heritage
- Vesna Vujicic-Lugassy, World Heritage in Young Hands
- Carmela Quin, World Heritage in Young Hands
- Nada al Hassan, Programme Specialist, Focal Point for Ethiopia, Heritage Centre,
- Culture Sector
- Patricia Ajamian Safi, Assistant Programme Specialist, Focal Point for Norwegian Trust Funds, Section for Cooperation with Bilateral Government Funding, Division of Cooperation with Extra-budgetary Funding Sources
- Roland Lin Chih-Hung, Asia and Pacific Unit, Silk Road Project
- Ole Briseid, Minister for the Norwegian Delegation, Norwegian Permanent Delegation
- Arthur Pedersen, Programme Specialist, Heritage and Sustainable Tourism

A planned interview with the focal point for the Slave Routes Project (Katerina Stenou), was cancelled due to illness. The team has tried to get in contact with Richard Engelhardt who was in charge of the Buddhist Sangha project (now retired from UNESCO Bangkok), but has not succeeded.

**c. Persons interviewed/held discussion with in Ethiopia Addis Ababa:**

- Bente Nilson, Councilor / Head, Development Cooperation, Norwegian Embassy
- Ashenafi Gizaw, Program Officer in charge of Fasiledes Bath Restoration Project, Royal Norwegian Embassy
- Aynalem Mamo, Senior Desk Officer for Nordic Countries, Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MoFED)
- Hirut Girma, Officer in charge of culture, UNESCO (Available for only a brief talk over the phone)
- Jara Haile Mariam, Director General, Authority for Research & Conservation of Cultural Heritage

**Lalibela:**

- Mezemer Abyi Civil Engineer and Restoration Expert, Member of the UNESCO Team for Restoration of the Lalibela Churches (who was also earlier involved with the Fasiledes Bath Restoration Project)
- Habtamu Tesfaw, Tourism Development and Promotion Officer, Culture and Tourism Main Office of the Lalibela Town Administration
- Belete Wodajie  
Member of the Lalibela Churches Conservation and Restoration Stakeholders' Committee, representing the Culture and Tourism Main Office of the Lalibela Town Administration
- Tesfaye Gete, Mayor of Lalibela Town, and Member of the Lalibela Churches Conservation and Restoration Stakeholders' Committee
- Belainesh Sefiew, Head of the Women's Affairs Office of the Lalibela Town Administration, and Member of the Lalibela Churches Conservation and Restoration Stakeholders' Committee
- Genanaw Wonde, Member of the Lalibela Churches Conservation and Restoration Stakeholders' Committee, representing the community/residents
- Memher Aba (Father) Gebre-Iyesus Mekonen: Head of the 11 Lalibela Church Administration, and Executive of the Lasta Woreda (District) Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Administration
- Yemane Gebreheiwot: Public Relations Officer of the youth-based NGO, Save Your Holy Land Association

Focus group meeting with of tourists from South Africa, Greece, United Kingdom, Australia and Finland. Informal talks with a group of tourist guides.

**Bahr Dar - Gondar:**

- Mamo Getahun: Architect-Restorer, Amhara Regional State Bureau of Culture and Tourism (who has been involved with the Fasiledes Bath Restoration Project from its very beginning in 2003)
- Aschalew Worku: Head of the Culture and Tourism Department, North Gondar Zone, and in charge of the Fasiledes Bath Restoration

Informal talks with tourist guides and tourists.

**d. Persons interviewed/held discussion with in Malawi:**

- Elizabeth M. Gomani Chindevu, Director of Department of Culture
- Chrissie Chiumia, Chief Historian and Acting Director – Department of Antiquities
- Issac Kamera, Deputy Principal – Chongoni College of Forestry
- Gift Kamanga Thole, Staff member at Chongoni College of Forestry
- Mangani Singileti, Group Village Head elect – Chiphazi n.b.
- Bjørn Johannesen, Norwegian Ambassador to Malawi
- Arild Skåra, Senior Adviser, Norwegian Embassy
- Augustin Chikuni, Programme Officer, Norwegian Embassy
- Groups of tourist
- Informal talks with individual Malawians on the cultural heritage of the country

**Children's Song Revival Project:**

- Mrs. Mary Mpokosa, wife to Group Village Head Kamundi
- Edda Lucias
- Josephy Mpokosa, Village Head Katola
- Francis Mkandawire
- Chifundo Mpokosa
- Focus group meeting with four men and four women

**Interview with National Archives:**

- Mr. Stanley S Gondwe, Chief Librarian

**e. Persons interviewed/held discussions with in Nepal:**

- Einar Rystad, Minister Counsellor. Deputy Head of Mission, Royal Norwegian Embassy<sup>38</sup>
- Karoline Myklebust, trainee, Royal Norwegian Embassy
- Dr. Ganesh Man Gurong, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tribuvan University
- Bhim Lal Gurung, Deputy Secretary General, UNESCO High Commission
- Suresh Man Lakhe, Gallery in charge, Patan Museum
- Mr. Manik Ratna Shakya, Documentation Leader, Lotus Research Centre
- Mukunda Bista, Assistant Director, Lotus Research Centre
- Ram Bhakta Kunwar, Excavation Officer, Ministry of Culture and Reconstruction, Department of Archeology
- Gyurmi Tsultiim, Vice Chairman, Shechen Monastery
- Rosana Reis, Volunteer and student at the Thanka Painting school
- James Donovan, Programme Director, Nepal Trust
- Jeroen van den Bergh, Ass. Director of Operations,
- Jigme Lama, Project Manager, Nepal Trust
- Bhim Prasad Nepal, Secretary (full time job is Head of the National Archives), UNESCO High Commission, Cultural Committee
- Prince Jigme Bista, Director, Lo Gyalpo Jigme Cultural Conservation Foundation, (Kathmandu office, staff from Mustang)
- Tshewang Bista, Lo Gyalpo Jigme Cultural Conservation Foundation, (Kathmandu office, staff from Mustang)
- Sudarshan Suwal, Thangka Painter, Participant at Thangka workshop
- Dr. Colin Kaiser, Head of Office & UNESCO Representative to Nepal, UNESCO Field Office
- Nepuna Shrestha, Cultural Unit, UNESCO Field Office
- Saubhagya Pradhananga, Lalitpur Sub-Municipality Office
- Group interview with the following monks/trainees:
- Pancha Raj Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee<sup>39</sup>
- Dil Maya Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar, Hymn Recitation Trainees
- Suman Raj Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee

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<sup>38</sup> The Embassy had not been involved in the UNESCO projects and had no documents related to them.

<sup>39</sup> Shakya is the second name of the second highest cast among the Newar. They are priests and traditionally gold smiths.

- Saila Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee
- Maiya Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee
- Tirtha Raj Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee
- Puni Raj Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee
- Nani Maya Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee
- Asha Maya Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee
- Budhi Maya Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee
- Prem Maya Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee
- Durga Devi Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee
- Nakkali Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee
- Dhan Shova Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee
- Basudev Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee
- Nani Beti Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee
- Dibya Prabha Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee
- Kul Bahadur Shakya, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee
- Indra Kumari, Household monk, Guiyta Tole Mahavihar Hymn Recitation Trainee

## Annex 3: Project Portfolio

Geographical location	Project	Main Partners	Support	Size NOK 000	Size US (if stated in contract)	Duration	Type
<b>Africa</b>							
<i>Networks:</i>							
African States (least developed countries)	Three sub regional capacity-building workshop to support the inscription of Africa intangible cultural heritage on the lists of the convention for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA	Multilateral	1 507	209 998	2007-2008	Capacity building: supporting the inscription of African intangible cultural heritage on the lists of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (workshops)
South Eastern Africa	Protecting cultural diversity and generating local content in South Eastern Africa: Capacity Building in the use of ICTs for Cultural Heritage	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA.	Multilateral	6 486	904 000	2003-2007	Intangible/ Tangible Capacity building and technical support: in the use of ICTs for cultural heritage documentation
Sub-Saharan Africa	Language documentation and preservation in Sub-Saharan Africa. Assessment and promotion of cooperation and capacity building (2004)/Capacity building in safeguarding African Languages and Oral Traditions and expressions in Sub-Saharan Africa	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA.	Multilateral	1 111	154 810	2004 (2005-2007)	Intangible/ capacity building: documentation of languages and the implementation of language policies in Sub-Saharan Africa, with a special regard to the preservation of endangered languages
Sub-Saharan Africa	Africa 2009	Norad/MFA, Riksan-tikvaren, ICCROM (SIDA, Finland, Italian MFA, World Monument Fund, UNESCO)	Multilateral	20 500		Phase I 1998-2001, Phase II (pilot) Phase II (Consolidation) 2002-2005, Phase III (final) 2006-2009	Tangible/Capacity building: aims to improve management and conservation of immovable cultural heritage in Africa by strengthening the capacity of national and regional institutions in following areas: a) cultural heritage legislations b) management and planning c) knowledge/awareness of the significance of cultural heritage d) documentation and registration e) networking f) policies and strategies for conservation
Ethiopia, Mali and Senegal (least developed countries)	Museum-to-Museum Partnership for the Protection of Cultural Diversity in Africa	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA	Multilateral	1 209	168 500	2006-2008	Institutional capacity building: build individual partnerships projects based upon technical cooperation to be offered by museums in Norway. Sites: 1) Ethiopia a) Orthodox Tiwahido church b) Museums of Makale and Hayq c) Treasure house of Aba Garima monastery 2) Mali archaeological heritage 3) Senegal; Senegal museum

Geographical location	Project	Main Partners	Support	Size NOK 000	Size US (if stated in contract)	Duration	Type
<i>Individual countries:</i>							
Ethiopia (least developed country)	Facilidades Bath, Gondar	Center for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage/ Norw.dir. for cultural heritage	Bilateral	4 521		2001-2007	Specific site: Restoration of Facilidades Bath.
Ethiopia (least developed country)	Traditional Music, Dance and Instruments: Enhancing Capacities for inventorying, recording, documenting and archiving	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA	Multilateral	2 467	343 886	2005-2008	Intangible: conservation of intangible cultural heritage ensured by identifying, recording analysing and publishing traditional songs, dances and instruments. Capacity building: of students and the creation of a class in Ethnomusicology at Addis Ababa University.
Ethiopia (least developed country)	Conservation Action Plan for the Rock Hewn Churches, Lalibela	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/CLT/WHC) /MFA	Multilateral	2 150	299 595	2007-2008	Tangible/Specific site: conservation of the world heritage site: Lalibela Rock Hewn Churches. Capacity building: establish community driven development initiatives and create labour opportunities in the conservation and tourism field.
Ethiopia (least developed country)	Conservation Action Plan for the Rock Hewn Churches, Lalibela phase II	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA	Multilateral	3 587	500 000	2008-2009	Specific site: conservation of the world heritage site: Lalibela Rock Hewn Churches. Capacity building: establish community driven development initiatives and create labour opportunities in the conservation and tourism field.
Lesotho (least developed country)	Safeguarding Lesotho's cultural heritage: protection and preservation of Ha Baroana Rock Art Site	UNESCO/MFA. Windhoek Cluster Office	Multilateral	1 070	149 182	2005-2007	Capacity building/specific site: involvement of local communities and training them towards empowering and capacitating them in the protection measures while deriving economic benefits (tourism) of the site existence.
Malawi (least developed country)	Promotion and Conservation of Cultural Heritage in Malawi, phase 1	Embassy/Govt Malawi	Bilateral	3 000		2002-2005	Framework agreement



Geographical location	Project	Main Partners	Support	Size NOK 000	Size US (if stated in contract)	Duration	Type
Malawi (least developed country)	Promotion and Conservation of Cultural Heritage in Malawi, phase 2	Norwegian embassy in Lilongwe, Ministry of youth, sports and culture (implementation)	Bilateral	5 100		2005-2008	Tangible: i) Livingstonia Mission National Monuments (rehabilitation), ii) Nkhokota old Boma (study), (iii) Rain shrines (research) (iv) Mangochi, Karonga (Excavations), (v) Amphitheatre (roofing and installing amities), (vi) National Archives (rehabilitation). Intangible: (i) revival of children's traditional songs, stories and games.
Malawi (least developed country)	National archives, Malawi	Govt. /National Archives	Bilateral	380		2004-2005	Support to activities at National Archives.
Malawi (least developed country)	Project support for the KuNgoni Centre of Culture & Art at the Mua mission	KuNgoni Centre of Culture & Art	Bilateral	1 250		2003-2006	Creation of a research centre on Malawi cultures. Creation of videos on local cultures.
Mali (least developed country)	Timbuktu Manuscript Project	Ahmed Baba Insitute Timbuktu and University of Oslo	Bilateral	7 878		2002-2008	Conservation of historical manuscripts, on UNESCO's list/African Literary Heritage.
Mozambique (least developed country)	Network Project Between the Municipality of Ilha de Mocambique and the Municipality of Bergen	Ilha and University of Bergen	Bilateral	8 200		2002-2007	Rehabilitation of historical island community, on UNESCO's World Heritage list from 1991.
Mozambique	Archaeological research and heritage management in Mozambique/Rock Art	Royal Norwegian Embassy, Norad, National Directorate of Cultural Heritage in cooperation with the University of Bergen	Bilateral	8 200		2003-2006	Specific site/capacity building: professional competence (archaeology/culture management), heritage management strategy, platform of basic archaeological data. Intangible: understanding of the rock art sites and to link it to relevant past socio-cultural processes.
Nigeria (low income country)	Establishment of a National System and Living Human Treasures in Nigeria	UNESCO/ MFA, The Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the National council for arts and culture	Multilateral	897	125 000	2004-2006	Intangible: Living Human Treasures' are persons who embody the skills and techniques linked to specific forms intangible heritage and are crucial for continued heritage existence Project seeks to establish a system of recognition that not only profile the creativity of these personages but ensures that their skills are perpetuated through the young hence transition knowledge.
Sudan (least developed country)	Enhancing protection of cultural diversity in Sudan	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO (Khartoum office)/MFA	Multilateral	3 427	477 692	2006- 2009	Intangible/ Tangible. Capacity building; training on mapping and inventory making in Intangible cultural heritage. Workshop on Sudan cultural heritage.

Geographical location	Project	Main Partners	Support	Size NOK 000	Size US (if stated in contract)	Duration	Type
Tanzania (least developed country)	Emergency conservation of Kilwa Kisieani and Songo Mnara Endangered Heritage sites	UNESCO (Dar es Salaam)/MFA national partners	Multilateral	1 445	201 390	2005-2007	Specific site/ Capacity building of national conservation practitioners including: a) inventory and documentation of Kilwa Kisieani and Songo Mnara heritage b) conservation plan c) conservation guidelines in material treatment d) training antiquities staff in conservation of building and sites.
Uganda (least developed country)	Cultural heritage for social development	Makerere University / University of Bergen	Bilateral	3 000		(2007-2011)	Training, research and archiving in ethnomusicology.
Zambia (least developed country)	Support Programme For the National Heritage Conservation Commission of Zambia	NORAD/ National heritage conservation commission Zambia	Bilateral	14 000		1998-2005	Capacity building of the NHCC to effectively contribute to sustainable conservation and utilisation of Zambias heritage and to improve of the attractiveness of Zambia's heritage sites resulting in increased cultural tourism (income).
Zimbabwe (low income country)	The Ancestral Landscape of Manyikaland, Zimbabwe	University of Zimbabwe/ University of Bergen	Bilateral	4 869		2002-2006	Archaeology. Education for cultural tourism.
<b>Asia</b>							
<i>Networks:</i>							
Asia: Thailand, Sri Lanka and Philippines (middle income countries)	Safeguarding the Underwater Cultural Heritage of Asia and The Pacific: Building Regional Capacities to Protect and Manage Underwater Archaeological Sites through the Establishment of a Regional "Centre of Excellence" Field Training Facility and Programme of Instruction.	Funds in trust UNESCO Bangkok Office	Multilateral	6 770	943 600	2008-2010	Capacity building /tangible heritage; assessment/survey of target wreck sites and allied underwater structures (i.e. historic harbour) leading to training curriculum to be used in the Foundation Course and the Advanced Diploma Course for the Galle Training Centre targeting archaeologists.
Asia: Bhutan, Cambodia, China, India, Laos, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal and Thailand	Cultural Revival and Survival in the Buddhist Sangha: Documentation, Education and Training to Revitalise Traditional Decorative Arts and Building Crafts in the Buddhist Temples of Asia	UNESCO (Bangkok), Norway, Nordic World Heritage Foundation (implementation)	Multilateral	12 109	1 687 662	2000 - 2003 (Phase I) 2004 - 2007 (Phase II)	Intangible/capacity building: revive the tradition of teaching temple arts and building crafts to novices to undertake and/or upgrade teaching and embed the foundations for community led management.

Geographical location	Project	Main Partners	Support	Size NOK 000	Size US (if stated in contract)	Duration	Type
Asia: India, Nepal and Bhutan (least developed countries)	Restoration and conservation of Himalayan Monastic Heritage	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA	Multilateral	1 364	190 172	2003-2005 (final report 2004-2006)	Intangible/tangible Capacity building: safeguard age old skills and knowledge for conserving and maintaining monasteries and temples using traditional materials and techniques (fours training workshops).
Asia: Bhutan, India, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, Pakistan and Tajikistan	Development of Cultural and Eco-Tourism in the Mountainous Regions of Central Asia and the Himalayas	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA National NGOS	Multilateral	8 026	1 118 700	2003-2004 (final report 2002-2006)	Tangible: preservation of cultural and natural heritage. Broad participation/capacity building: promote community based cultural and eco tourism specific focus on poverty eradication.
Central Asia: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan (low income countries)	World Heritage Serial Nominations: "Central Asian Petroglyph Sites" and "Central Asian Silk Roads"	Funds in trust: The Government of Norway/ UNESCO World Heritage Centre	Multilateral	3 468	483 414	2007-2010	Tangible/ intangible Capacity building: World Heritage Serial Nominations strategy including international and regional meetings. Intangible: meetings will include traditional craftsmen and local communities, to ensure that the maintenance of indigenous skills and knowledge are encouraged, as well as the active involvement of the local communities.
South Caucasus: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia (middle income countries)	Training Programme for Modern Museum Capacity-Building in the South Caucasus	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA and National partners.	Multilateral	789	110 002	2003-2005	Capacity building of museum professionals through training to international standards.
<i>Individual countries:</i>							
Afghanistan (least developed countries)	Emergency Campaign and Capacity Building for Safeguarding Gawhar Shad Mausoleum in Herat.	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO Kabul Office/MFA	Multilateral	2 590	361 000	2007-2009	Specific site: conservation of the Gawhar Shad Mausoleum.
Bangladesh (least developed countries)	Sustainable Cultural Heritage Management in Bangladesh: Sonargaon and Panam Nagar	Norad/Norwegian embassy UNESCO (implementation agency), NIKU (project proposal), Government of Bangladesh	Multilateral	2 200		2006-2008	Tangible heritage symbol/ specific sites: Sonargaon and Panam Nagar: preservation and restoration of monuments and residential houses. Capacity/technical training: staff and experts (digital inventory and geodata-base)

Geographical location	Project	Main Partners	Support	Size NOK 000	Size US (if stated in contract)	Duration	Type
China (lower middle income country)	Ecomuseums in the Guizhou Province	Chinese society of museums and Guisho provincial cultural bureau/Riksantikvaren	Bilateral	6 354		1999-2004	Creation of eco-museums and centres of documentation of environmental and cultural traditions.
China (lower middle income country)	The Drum Tower Muslim District Project	Norad/Norwegian embassy of Beijing, MOST ( the Ministry of science and technology), NTNU	Bilateral	5 169			Tangible/specific site: Establishment of an information centre and consultant office; Protection of traditional courtyards; Archaeological observations.
Georgia (middle income countries)	Revitalization Programme for the Betlemi Historical District, Tbilisi, Georgia: Phase I	Funds in trust agreement; World Heritage Centre/ ICOMOS National Committee	Multilateral	792	110 345	2004	Tangible sites/ capacity building: restoration, renovation and conservation.
Georgia (middle income countries)	Revitalization Programme for the Betlemi Historical District, Tbilisi, Georgia: Phase II	Funds in trust agreement; World Heritage Centre/ ICOMOS National Committee	Multilateral	932	129 837	2005	Tangible sites/Capacity building: 1) cultural heritage professionals in the field of timber restoration and conservation 2) tourism.
India	Hastwa Shipla Cultural Heritage	Hasta Shipla Trust/ MFA and Norad	Bilateral	6 150		2000-2004	Conservation of archaeological site.
Iraq (middle income country)	Supply and Installation of Electrical Generator and Air Conditioning Equipment and the National Heritage Institute in Bagdad	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA	Multilateral	519	72 301	2004-2005	Project was prepared to the urgent need of installing electric equipment.
Iraq (middle income country)	Management Enhancement and Capacity Building in Museums in Iraq	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA	Multilateral	580	80 795	2005	Capacity building and training ('modern' museum management).
Kazakhstan (middle income country)	Management, Conservation and Presentation of the Tamgaly Petroglyph Site, Almaty Region, Kazakhstan	Funds in trust agreement; World Heritage Centre and local partners Adviser: Riksantikvaren	Multilateral	766	106 703	2001-2006	Tangible/specific site/capacity building: protection, conservation and sustainable presentation of the Petroglyph Site of Tamgaly.
Kyrgyzstan (low income country)	Norwegian-Kyrgyz cooperation for inscription of cultural and natural heritage to UNESCO's World Heritage List	Funds in trust agreement; Nordic World Heritage Foundat./ MFA and national partners	Multilateral	400		2003-?	Site: The aim is to promote the inscription of the holy Suleyman-Too mountain in the city of Osj on the World Heritage list. Activities include the preparation of a progress plan, registration and documentation of the site as well as including the local community in this work.

Geographical location	Project	Main Partners	Support	Size NOK 000	Size US (if stated in contract)	Duration	Type
Laos	Cultural survival in Luang Prabang; Documentation, Education and Training to Revitalize Traditional Temple Arts and Building Crafts within the Laotian Buddhist Sangha	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/Norad	Multilateral	1 861	259 429	2000-2003	Intangible/Tangible. Capacity building: build capacity within the Buddhist Sangha to undertake and/or upgrade teaching and to embed the foundations for community-led management within the Sangha in order to preserve intangible culture at the community level by resorting specific sites.
Lebanon (upper middle income countries and territories)	Cultural Reconciliation for Lebanese Youth	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA Ministry of Culture Lebanon	Multilateral	1 517	211 389	2006-2007	Intangible: Lebanese youth workshops on shared heritage, values, history and religion.
Pakistan (low income country)	Conservation of Lahore Fort	Funds in trust agreement; Norad/UNESCO Islamabad Office and national partners.	Multilateral	7 000		2005	Tangible/specific site: conservation and preservation of Lahore Fort which is on the list of World Heritage Sites in danger through initiation of immediate conservation of Shish Mahal of the Lahore Fort vis-a vis developing a Master Plan for the conservation and preservation of the fort.
Pakistan (low income country)	Mapping of cultural assets in North West frontier of Pakistan	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO Islamabad/MFA.	Multilateral	7 175	1 000 000	2007-2010	Intangible/broad participation: involving local communities in identifying and mapping out traditional knowledge systems.
Pakistan (low income country)	Aga Khan Cultural Service Pakistan sub-project: Hadelish Sacred Rock, Central Hunza, Northern Areas, Pakistan	Norad/Norwegian embassy, Agha Han Foundation/Riksantikvaren	Bilateral	19 000		2001-2007	Intangible/site: aiming at conservation of rock carvings and to develop a management plan for the site.
Pakistan (low income country)	Lok Virsa joint Institutional Cooperation	Norad/Norwegian embassy, Government of Pakistan	Bilateral	11 500		2005-2010	Institutional capacity building/technical assistance: cultural cooperation between Norway and Pakistan (musicology, heritage, conservation, laboratory).
Palestinian Administrative areas (upper middle income countries and territories)	Museum development in Bethlehem: The Crypt Museum at Bethlehem Peace Centre	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO (office Ramallah)	Multilateral	5 193	723 851	2005-2008	Technical support: Establishment of a multimedia interactive museum that shall narrate the history of Bethlehem through Palestinian stories.
Palestinian Administrative areas (upper middle income countries and territories)	Safeguarding Historical and Environmental Resources Towards Sustainable Development in the Bethlehem Governorate	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO (office Ramallah)	Multilateral	825	115 000	2007-2009	Intangible: document and safeguard the intangible elements of Olive cultural landscape in the village of Battir in Bethlehem Governorate. Training of six young professional focusing on focusing on landscape conservation and management as well as community participation.

Geographical location	Project	Main Partners	Support	Size NOK 000	Size US (if stated in contract)	Duration	Type
Ukraine (upper middle income countries and territories)	The Safeguarding and promotion of ethnographic collections of the Chernobyl disaster zone in Ukraine Polissya.	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA.	Multilateral	5 022	700 000	24 months, specific years not stated	Tangible and intangible: safeguarding and promotion of endangered cultural heritage, both in the Polissya region particular focus on collections and documentation of cultural objects located in unattended museums in the disaster zone.
Vietnam (low income country)	Cua Van Floating Cultural Centre Project, Ha Long Bay Ecomuseum,	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA.	Multilateral	3 724	518 979	2003 – 2006	i) To research and interpret the intangible and tangible heritage of Cua Van and other villages. ii) To build a floating cultural interpretation center adjacent to Cua Van fishing village providing an important interface between the fishing heritage of Ha Long Bay and the visitors to the World heritage Area. iii) To develop and promote a programme of traditional customs, festivals and folk songs of the Giang Yong and Truc Vong fishing people to give visitors authentic experiences of the culture of the fishing communities.
Vietnam (low income country)	Action Plan for Safeguarding the Space of Gong Culture in Dak Nong Province, Vietnam	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO (Hanoi office), MFA	Multilateral	659	91 869	2007- 2010	Intangible/capacity building: establishment of Gong clubs with aim to strengthen their capacity to enhance transmitting of gong knowledge, preserve local culture, revitalise gong performance and promote gong culture.
<b>International</b>							
International	Course on Wood Conservation	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA NIKU in cooperation with Riksantikvaren and NTNU	Multilateral	215	30 000	2004 (6 weeks)	Capacity building: education for mid-career professionals working within the field of cultural heritage made of wood/promote theoretical and practical knowledge for diagnosing causes of deterioration methods and wood conservation and restoration.
International	Production and Diffusion for World Heritage Education Kits for the youth as a Contribution to the UN year of Cultural Heritage in 2002	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA	Multilateral	2 999	418 000	2002-2003	Broad participation; expanding education resource material and supporting World Heritage conservation by translations and adaptations of materials and including intangible heritage sections.

Geographical location	Project	Main Partners	Support	Size NOK 000	Size US (if stated in contract)	Duration	Type
International	Young peoples participation in world heritage preservation and promotion	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA	Multilateral	969	135 000	2004-2005	Broad participation; improve awareness on world heritage among teachers trainers leading to a mainstreaming of WH education in school curricula and encouraging policies on national levels leading to the integration of the education.
International	Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger of Disappearing: print edition and interactive online resource	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA	Multilateral	2 447	341 034	2008-2011	Broad participation global-scale awareness-raising, sensitization, data collection and information of decision-makers, the general public, communications media and speaker communities regarding endangered languages.
International	Transatlantic Slave Trade Education Project	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA/Norad	Multilateral	9 957	1 387 819	Phase 1: 1998-2003. Phase 2: 2004	Intangible/broad participation: enable young people to comprehend the past, understand the present. Research, documentations of sites and 'cultural dialogue meetings.
International	Artists in Development Creativity Workshops Programme Phase 1 (1999-2003)	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA/Norad	Multilateral	19 979	1 356 000	1999-2003	Intangible: increase skills of local artists. Capacity building: increase capacity to create revenues.
International	Artists in Development Creativity Workshops Programme Phase 2 (2003-2005): Capacity Building for Cultural Enterprises in Developing Countries	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA	Multilateral	7 321	1 020 390	2003-2005 (final report 2004-2007)	Institutional/cultural enterprise capacity building.
<b>Other</b>							
Jamaica (middle income country)	Safeguarding the Maroon Heritage of Moore Town	Funds in trust agreement; UNESCO/MFA	Multilateral	1 289	179 670	2005-2007	Intangible/broad participation: a) centre for culture transmitting (education material, performances) b) documentation by locals: oral history and arts c) research.
Pacific	Evaluation of the Festival of Pacific Arts and developing its relation to the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage	Funds in trust; UNESCO/MFA	Multilateral	754	105 090	12 months	Intangible: activities leading to the promotion, ratification and implementation of the Convention.

## Annex 4:

# Norwegian Stakeholders on Cultural Heritage in Developing Countries

The main Norwegian stakeholders in protection of cultural heritage in developing countries are:

- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA)
- The Ministry of Environment (ME)
- The Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs (MCCA)
- Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad)
- The Directorate for Cultural Heritage (DCH)
- Norwegian embassies
- Nordic World Heritage Foundation

### **The Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

In 2001, the Department for Culture, Public Diplomacy and Protocol in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that they intended to assume responsibility for parts of the cultural portfolio under program area 3 – development cooperation. Up to then, the Ministry had primarily been responsible for culture under program area 2 – foreign policy, including the promotion of Norwegian arts and culture abroad. A process aiming towards a division of responsibility between MFA and Norad within this sector was started. The same year – 2001 – MFA took over short term exchange projects, including support to festivals in Norway and bilateral agreements with Egypt, India and China. At this point, it was also decided that MFA gradually would take over the responsibility of the cooperation with UNESCO, i.e. after the existing agreements between Norad and UNESCO expired.

In 2004, this process was brought further, when the Ministry assumed responsibility for the whole cultural sector, including cultural heritage as a part of development cooperation. The Strategy for Culture and Sports Cooperation with Countries in the South was prepared, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs took charge of the cultural cooperation with development countries. This meant that MFA assumed the main responsibility for the field of culture.

The Strategy for Culture and Sports Cooperation with Countries in the South was launched by the Minister of International Development in August 2005. The strategy covers artistic and intellectual activity, cultural heritage, media development and sports. Five thematic areas are given priority, and protection and promotion of the cultural heritage is among these<sup>40</sup>. One of the main objectives for Norway's cultural co-operation with countries in the South is to:

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<sup>40</sup> The other priority areas are: cultural rights, freedom of expression and intellectual property rights, cultural and peacemaking activities, culture and diversity in inter-cultural dialogue, culture and enterprise development/development of cultural industries and culture and media development.



*“Encourage the use of 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<sup>41</sup>”*

Three main approaches characterize the Norwegian support for cultural co-operation with developing countries: Establishing and strengthening cultural infrastructure, promoting exchanges between cultural actors, and supporting culture through multilateral channels. UNESCO, as the only UN organisation with culture as part of its mandate, is an important partner to Norway’s strategy for culture and sports co-operation with countries in the South. A two year program agreement on cooperation between Norway and UNESCO was established in 2003, and has been renewed every second year since then.

For 2008-2009, main line of action in the cultural field is expressed as:

*Promoting cultural diversity through the safeguarding of heritage in its various dimensions and the enhancement of cultural expressions.<sup>42</sup>*

This main line of action will be implemented through the following specific objectives:

- 1. Protecting and conserving immovable cultural and natural properties, in particular through the implementation of the World Heritage Convention (1972)*
- 2. Safeguarding living heritage, particularly through the promotion and the implementation of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention (2003)*

The thematic priorities specified in Norway’s Strategy correspond with the program agreement between Norway and UNESCO in the cultural field. For the 2008-2009 period, a grant of NOK 9 million for each of the two years will be made available. The agreement further mentions main co-operation partners among national organisations and institutions, such as: specialist bodies, cultural institutions and international festivals, public bodies, e.g. the Directorate for Cultural Heritage and Norwegian/Nordic Offices of foundations and multi-lateral organisations., e.g. Nordic World Heritage Foundation.

### **The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad)**

Since the early 1980’s, support for culture and the arts have been included in development cooperation, as a part of Norad’s general efforts towards lasting improvements in economic, social and political conditions for the populations of developing countries. Culture and arts have been seen as an aspect of fundamental human rights and crucial for human well-being, identity and pride, as well as instruments to achieve other development policy goals. Norad played an important role in Norwegian cultural cooperation with developing countries since 1981 up to 2004.

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41 The Strategy for Culture and Sports cooperation with countries in the South, p. 19.

42 Draft Program Cooperation Agreement Norway/UNESCO 2008-2009.

Culture was seen as living culture, as well as physical and non-physical cultural heritage, but the strategies for culture in Norad did not stress cultural heritage as a project area. Cultural heritage was part of Norad's strategy for environment in development cooperation, and a framework agreement in 1999 with the Directorate for Cultural Heritage gave the Directorate a responsibility to define and initiate projects in the field of cultural heritage. During this period, Norad had a department of culture with 6 employees, and a budget which expanded from NOK 8 million to NOK 80 million.

In 2001, there was a major internal reorganizing of responsibilities within Norad. In the same year, MFA assumed responsibility for parts of the cultural portfolio. Norad remained responsibility mainly for long term capacity and institutional development, support to cultural development projects in the South, and for cooperation ventures that included a Norwegian partner.<sup>43</sup>

As part of the change, the department of culture was decentralized. The reorganization led to a new model, where one technical adviser was assigned responsibility for the technical follow-up towards the embassies and the Ministry. In addition, each regional department in Norad appointed one officer with thematic responsibility for culture and follow-up in their respective regions. Norad's Department for Civil Society was in charge of the management of funding<sup>44</sup> and administration of the home-based agreements that were not transferred to the embassies or MFA. The portfolio of agreements handled by the Department of Civil Society consisted mostly of long term agreements with a Norwegian partner, where the embassies argued that the partner in the South was not yet ready to assume full responsibility. In this period, a cultural network was formed and met on a regular basis. A major topic was "mainstreaming culture", understood as discussions about how to make sure that cultural issues and support to culture was introduced to the forums and agendas where policy was discussed and decisions made. A check-list for culture in Norad's cooperation was prepared<sup>45</sup>, with a special relevance for the embassies. The list states that culture should be a visible part of the embassies' annual activity plans, and special attention is directed towards culture as a tool, i.e. the country's cultural life and culture should be seen as a resource in country programs and private sector development. With reference to Norad's cultural grant, this document makes clear the importance of separating the overall concept of culture from a more operational and concrete concept of culture. The cultural grant is used to support *cultural expressions and activities*. This document furthermore states that preservation of tangible and intangible cultural heritage is a part of the environmental development cooperation, with reference to Strategy for Environmental Development Co-operation issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1997.

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43 Norad had the main responsibility only when the exchange activities took place as a project component, and where the main activities took place in the South, and the long term goal clearly benefited the South institution.

44 Special allocation for culture.

45 Check-list for culture in NORADs cooperation – are we aware enough?, Norwegian Agency for development cooperation, 30.march 2002.

In 2004, a major shift of responsibilities took place between MFA and Norad. At this point, the Ministry assumed responsibility for the cultural sector as a whole, including culture in development cooperation.

This resulted in a different role for Norad. The Strategy for Norway's Culture and Sports Cooperation with Countries in the South points out that Norad's main brief is to highlight and promote culture along the same lines as other priority areas for development efforts, in addition to providing technical assistance on development issues to the Foreign Ministry and foreign service missions. Norad is still responsible for providing support for cultural activities through friendship links and NGO's. In the administration of support schemes, Norad emphasizes the importance of socio-cultural issues, to ensure that existing culture and value systems are integrated in development processes.

From 2004, and with the implementation of the Strategy for Culture and Sports Cooperation, the staffing level in Norad was reduced to one adviser and a half. The remaining agreements on culture administered by Norad, were transferred to MFA by the end of 2006. From 2007, Norad concentrates on professional tasks, with one adviser on culture, placed in Norad's technical department for peace, gender and democracy.

Norad's advisory services are focused on issues pertaining to cultural infrastructure, with reference to the Strategy. This means an emphasis on strengthening institutions in the South, the importance of a strong cultural identity, providing advice on the strategic role of culture at country level, and the importance of art and culture in democratic processes and in nation-building as a whole.

The advice given by Norad is usually based on requests, from the embassies in particular, and includes appraisals, preparing comments on processes and documents, preparing and carrying out reviews or administering reviews carried out by external consultants, identified by Norad. Advice is given both on project/programme basis or on the strategic direction of the whole portfolio, relating to changes in that particular country.

In addition to the main task of providing advice and quality assurance, Norad also finances a programme for arts and culture education (ACE) under the allocation for research and higher education, administered by SIU on behalf of Norad. The programme comprises 7 institutional cooperation agreements.

### **The Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs**

As an institutional field, protection of cultural heritage is divided between the Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs and the Department of Cultural Heritage in the Ministry of Environment. The Ministry of Culture is in charge of art and other moveable objects, while the Ministry of the Environment is responsible for monuments and sites. Additionally, the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have shared responsibility for the cultural field in relation to international cultural cooperation. The Ministry of Culture is thus only responsible for Nordic and multilateral cultural cooperation and the dissemination of foreign culture in Norway.

In 2008, the Ministry of Culture was for the first time invited to take part in the project evaluations under the framework agreement between the MFA and UNESCO. The Ministry of Culture in the future also expects the Norwegian Archive, Library and Museum Authority (ABM-utvikling) to be given the same role in these discussions as the Directorate for Cultural Heritage.

In 2007, Norway ratified the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage.<sup>46</sup> The purposes of the Convention are safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage, ensuring respect for intangible heritage of communities, groups and individuals, and raise awareness of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage. The Convention defines intangible cultural heritage as:

*“the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge’s, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and in some cases, individuals recognize as a part of their cultural heritage.”<sup>47</sup>*

Seen from the Ministry of Culture’s point of view, the ratification of the Convention could be regarded as an act of international solidarity. Protection of intangible cultural heritage is vital for countries in the South, and the Ministry points out that the focus on tangible cultural heritage represents a western perspective. In addition, the ratification of the Convention is regarded as important for minorities living in Norway.

The Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs is responsible for following up the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.<sup>48</sup> As from 2009, the Norwegian Archive, Library and Museum Authority is partly responsible for the domestic management of the convention<sup>49</sup>. The Intangible Cultural Heritage convention implies an obligatory contribution to a Fund for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage,<sup>50</sup> equivalent to 1% of the member State’s contribution to the regular budget of UNESCO. An intergovernmental committee elected by the General Assembly of the Convention (the State Parties) is in charge of the Fund. For the time being, Norway is not represented in this committee.

### **The Ministry of the Environment**

The Ministry of the Environment is responsible for cultural heritage nationally and internationally. The main responsibility is placed within the Department of Cultural Heritage, co-operating with the Department for International Cooperation in relation to international aspects of cultural heritage. During the 1990s, the Ministry was mainly involved in establishing the policy frames of reference, developing policies and administrative procedures within the Norwegian

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46 St.prp. nr 73 (2005-2006): Om samtykke til ratifikasjon av UNESCOs konvensjon av 17.oktober 2003 om vern av den immaterielle kulturarven.

47 Article 2 in the Convention.

48 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris, 17. October 2003.

49 Cf. St.prp nr 1 (2008-2009) for the Ministry of Culture, p 61.

50 The Fund consists of funds-in trust established in accordance with the Financial Regulations of UNESCO, and the resources of the fund consists of contributions made by State Parties, funds appropriated for this purpose by the General Conference of UNESCO and other contributions or gifts.

Environmental Administration for integration of cultural heritage management in Norwegian development aid, *inter alia* through an agreement with Norad.<sup>51</sup> As such, the Ministry has been mainly involved in preparing the policy framework. The Department of Cultural Heritage, has been involved to some extent, in initiating and planning concrete projects.

The Ministry played an active role in the founding of Nordic World Heritage Office in 1996, and still has the main responsibility for financing the present Nordic World Heritage Foundation.

### **The Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage**

The Directorate for Cultural Heritage in Norway is responsible for the practical implementation of the Norwegian Culture Act and objectives laid down by the Ministry of Environment. Cultural heritage covers buildings, burial mounds, man-made objects, cultural environments and features of the landscape. Every year, about 1 per cent of Norway's cultural heritage is irreplaceably lost. A target is to minimize annual losses of cultural monuments, sites and environments, and ensure that a representative selection is permanently protected.

One of six strategies defined in the Strategic Plan of Action for the Directorate is *to work in an international perspective*. The approach to international cooperation on cultural heritage conservation is based on "*a desire for mutual exchange of knowledge, sensitivity to the political significance of the cultural heritage and the cultural understanding of the cooperation*"<sup>52</sup> A working document under the strategic plan expresses the strategy for international activities which includes international cooperation, collaboration with neighbouring countries, the EU-EEA Area and international development cooperation. The Nordic cultural heritage institutions have a continuous technical cooperation, and The Nordic Council of Ministers is the formal forum for cooperation between the governments. On the EU-EEA (European Economic Area)-area, the Directorate is a coordinating body which provides information about programs and financial mechanisms, take part in EU programs linked to management and protection of cultural heritage, and works to secure a legal framework favourable to cultural heritage.

In international development cooperation, the Directorate emphasizes that cultural heritage management based on respect and dignity is a resource for a sustainable development of societies. Involvement of local communities in planning and protection of heritage resources is crucial. In this perspective, cultural heritage represents potential opportunities for economic development, mainly through tourism.

The Directorate serves as a centre of competence on cultural heritage issues for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Norwegian Agency for Development, regulated in a general agreement. As a centre of competence, the Directorate offers assistance on areas such as: conservation, management and presentation of rock art landscapes, technical assistance in wood conservation, tradi-

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51 Fagsenteravtale

52 Working Document; Directorate for cultural heritage in an international perspective.

tional building techniques and adapted technology, use and development of historic cities and areas, capacity building through institutional cooperation and integrated environmental approaches. As a centre of competence on cultural heritage issues, the Directorate has been involved as technical advisors in different projects, and has been given responsibility for quality assurance of applications. Different forms of reviews of ongoing projects, i.e. midterm reviews and assessments, have been a field of work for the Directorate. Technical advice and network building represents the main role of the Directorate in the implementation of the Strategy for Norway's Culture and Sports Co-operation with Countries in the South.

As far as development cooperation is concerned, the Directorate has been involved in several bilateral projects, e.g. with The National Heritage Conservation Commission in Zambia, in order to strengthen institutional capacity. The funding for this project has been provided through the Embassy in Lusaka.<sup>53</sup> Economic support from the Embassy, combined with professional assistance from the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, the Archeological Museum in Stavanger and the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, has made it possible to complete several projects on documentation, management plans and conservation. The National Heritage Conservation Commission has been the main Zambian cooperation partner. The institutional cooperation between Norway and Zambia was evaluated in 2006,<sup>54</sup> and one of the conclusions is:

*"It is clear that the synergy between the financial support from Norad (through the Embassy in Lusaka) and capacity development through Africa 2009 has been very positive. It is noted that the Norwegian funding to the NHCC<sup>55</sup> has made the implementation of activities and decentralization of heritage management possible while the capacity development through Africa 2009 has provided NHCC staff with skills and competence needed to achieve results(...) NHCC also plays significant part in Africa 2009 by providing resource personnel. This relationship should be developed further, especially in capacity building".*

Another example of bilateral projects is capacity building through the Aga Khan Cultural Service in Pakistan. The Directorate for Cultural Heritage has been involved in different projects from 2002, mostly concerning documentation, protection and management of heritage sites. One of these is Haldeikish Sacred Rock, where the Directorate and Aga Khan Cultural Service have established a project for the protection of the site, which includes the development of a management plan for the site. This includes documentation of the images and damages, and suggestions for certain standards for the documentation and damage recording. The Rock Art project is financed by Norad as a sub-project under the contract between the Aga Khan Cultural Service and Norad. The contract stipulates an economic frame of approx. NOK 545.000. *"The community based integrated development model"* which is used by the Aga Khan Cultural Service in their restoration work, is assessed as an excellent way of

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53 The financial support from Norad was channeled through the Embassy.

54 Evaluation of the Norad Support Program for the National Heritage Conservation Commission of Zambia, by George H.O. Abungu, PhD, FCCS, Kenya February 2006.

55 National Heritage Conservation Commission

working by the Directorate, and the model has been mentioned in meetings with other institutions on cultural development, and has created considerable interest.

The Directorate`s international commitments could be summarized in this way:

- Professional advisor for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the embassies
- Institutional cooperation
- Continuous monitoring of international conventions
- Technical assistance and knowledge
- Networking
- Information

Geographically, the international work takes place regionally, in the Nordic countries, the Barents-cooperation, Russia and the Eastern Sea-cooperation. The European Economic Area Funds involves the Baltic countries, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia and Hungary, as well as Romania, Bulgaria, Spain, Portugal and Greece. Development cooperation is mostly concentrated to the African countries Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, Ethiopia and South Africa. In the last year, the ECCA-countries Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan have become a part of the Directorate`s international work.

In 2003, a preliminary study on culture and development<sup>56</sup> was carried out by the Directorate for Cultural Heritage and the Norwegian Archive, Library and Museum Authority. The aim of the study was to present a basis for further discussions on cultural heritage and tourism/business development. The conclusions from the study are that there has been a strong focus on cultural heritage and tourism, and that there is a need to broaden this perspective. Tourism based on cultural heritage resources could be an important contribution to poverty reduction.

### **The Nordic World Heritage Foundation**

A Nordic World Heritage Office was established in 1996, as a pilot project, by the Norwegian Government (the Ministry of the Environment), in cooperation with other Nordic Countries and UNESCO. In 2002, the office was established as an independent foundation (Nordic World Heritage Foundation) by the Ministry of the Environment, due to UNESCOs requirements for institutes and centres which seek to work under the auspices of UNESCO. In 2003, UNESCOs Executive Board recommended granting the Nordic World Heritage Foundation status as a category 2 centre/institute under the auspices of UNESCO, and this was approved by UNESCOs General Conference at its 32<sup>nd</sup> session in 2003. The approval was followed by an agreement for cooperation signed for the period 2004-2008. In 2007, NWHF was evaluated by UNESCO and the status as a category 2 centre/institute working under the auspices of UNESCO was re-granted by UNESCOs General Conference during its 34<sup>th</sup> session in 2007, for a new six year period. The new six year agreement was signed by UNESCO and the Ministry for the Environment in late 2008.

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56 Forstudie KULTUR OG UTVIKLING – Videreføring av NORADs og andres arbeid med temaet, Riksantikvaren og ABM-utvikling. Oslo desember 2003.

All NWHF initiatives are approved by its board and coordinated with the UNESCO secretariat (the World Heritage Centre). In the UNESCO system, there is a fast-growing number of category 2-centres/institutes. Some are linked to the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, such as the Nordic Foundation.

The Norwegian Ministry of the Environment/Department for Cultural Heritage Management nominates the Governing Board of NWHF, with representation from the Nordic Countries, UNESCO and the private sector. Furthermore, the Department for Cultural Heritage Management in the Ministry<sup>57</sup> has bi-annual meetings with NWHF to discuss activities and programs. According to the new agreement signed 2008, the Ministry sits as an observer on the Board, and the biannual meetings have been terminated.

The Nordic World Heritage Foundation receives annual core funding of NOK 3.5million<sup>58</sup> from the Norwegian Ministry of Environment. In addition to this, the Foundation has mobilized NOK 17.459.000<sup>59</sup> for projects and activities. A major share of this amount comes from UNESCO funds.

The Agreement signed between UNESCO and NWHF (2004-2008) defines the policy context for NWHFs support. Article 1 specifies the role of the Foundation:

*1.1. The Foundation shall contribute to the medium-term strategies of UNESCO, in particular the implementation of the standard-setting instruments in the field of culture and enhancing linkages between culture, capacity-building and sharing of knowledge.*

*1.2. The Foundation shall support UNESCO's World Heritage Centre in the implementation of the Convention.*

*1.3. In order to realize this purpose, the Foundation shall focus its activities in the following main areas:*

*1.3.1. Act as a focal point bringing Nordic countries together in their collective attempt to fulfil the requirements of the Convention and its implementation*

*1.3.2. Support UNESCO's World Heritage Centre by facilitating technical expertise, disseminating information and contributing to innovative projects, all in support of the Convention and the World Heritage Committees Global Strategy*

*1.3.3. Mobilise funds from bi- and multilateral sources in a coordinated and transparent way and facilitate assistance for natural and cultural World Heritage conservation efforts in developing countries in support of the Convention.*

NWHF's role with regard to World Heritage protection in developing countries is defined in the Agreement between NWHF and UNESCO. NWHF's support to World Heritage in developing countries can be separated in two types:

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<sup>57</sup> An evaluation carried out by UNESCO in February 2008, recommends that NWHF would benefit from having the Department of International Cooperation as nodal department in the Ministry of Environment.

<sup>58</sup> 2008

<sup>59</sup> Total amount 2001-2007.



1) Activities based on NWHF core funding includes projects such as: Africa 2009, initiating co-operation on sustainable tourism between the Asian Development Bank and UNESCO/Bangkok<sup>60</sup>, and cooperation on establishing a World Heritage Training and Research Institute for Asia and the Pacific Region

2) Activities with external funding includes the following projects: Buddhist Sangha: capacity building in heritage conservation, which includes 18 sites in 10 Asian countries, Cultural Heritage and Tourism: models for cooperation among stakeholders in 8 World Heritage towns in the Asia Pacific Region, World Heritage nominations for Samarra Archaeological Site, Iraq and Suleyman-Too, Kyrgyzstan; capacity building for natural World Heritage Sites for the Great Rift Valley in Africa and support to meetings in the Pacific Region, and support to representatives from developing countries to participate in World Heritage meetings

In 2007, Nordic World Heritage Foundation was evaluated (Baig et.al 2008). The purpose of the evaluation was to assess key issues relating to the Foundation's role as a regional and international centre, supporting the Global Strategy for a representative and balanced World Heritage List and look into the coordination with the UNESCO/World Heritage Centre. The following recommendations were made on NWHF work for developing countries<sup>61</sup>:

- *“In their strategy and planning, NWHR must strive towards a balanced portfolio of projects for regional representation, natural and cultural world heritage sites in underrepresented developing countries and also balance its fund allocation”.*
- *“NWHF should follow-up and consolidate its initiatives in the African Region in the Great Rift Valley and the Pacific Region and steer these two programs towards the development of the nomination dossiers. Both are transnational projects and the Foundation is well positioned as a facilitator in this process”.*

The work in Great Rift Valley started in 2007, as cooperation between UNESCO World Heritage Centre and Nordic World Heritage Foundation, to conduct a regional project for nominations for World Heritage listing. The Great Rift Valley is a natural heritage site in Eastern and Southern Africa, extending over 7000 kilometres, through more than 20 states, and constitutes the longest rift valley on earth. The aim of the initiative is to encourage the African States to nominate sites under the framework of the Great Rift Valley and to strengthen the conservation and integrity of existing World Heritage sites in the region. A scientific workshop held in Kenya has initiated the project towards developing serial trans-boundary nominations from the Great Rift Valley. The project will last for 3 years, and is financed by the Norwegian Ministry of Environment and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As a stakeholder, NWHF is co-operating with Norwegian authorities, but has no formal role in Norwegian cultural heritage policy. As a multilateral organization,

NWHF plays an important role in development policy.

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<sup>60</sup> This includes two films on sustainable tourism.

<sup>61</sup> Nordic World Heritage Foundation, Annual Report 2007.

## Annex 5: The Norwegian-UNESCO Cooperation on Cultural Heritage in Developing Countries

UNESCO is the only UN organisation working in the field of culture. It is particularly well known for its World Heritage List. The work with this list – formulation of guidelines and inscription processes etc. – is part of UNESCO’s traditional mandate and funded over the mandatory budget (Membership states assessed contributions – USD 17 million). Project cooperation with Norway, on the other hand, is part of what UNESCO calls its “extra-budgetary activities”. This USD 307,8 million budget<sup>62</sup> consists of voluntary contributions by individual states, and Norway is here one of UNESCO’s most important donors. Since 2003 this cooperation has been governed by a bi-annual programme agreement, providing a set of guidelines for how Norway would like to frame the support. The total Norwegian funding is about 33 million NOK annually, with 9 million going to the culture sector.

Each year UNESCO suggests a set of projects that they see as suitable for the cooperation with Norway (“Norway FIT”). The suggestions are forwarded to the UN-desk of the MFA, and from there sent to Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Nordic World Heritage Foundation for comments. The final list is agreed upon in a meeting between Norway and UNESCO each autumn.

Allegedly, in only two cases has Norway decided not to support the suggestions from UNESCO. And as many people from the secretariat emphasised in discussions with us, there appears to be compatibility and congruence between UNESCO policies and Norwegian strategies. UNESCO, we were told, has focused on culture as a motor for development for quite some time, but Norway is still seen as a pilot country on this issue among the organisation’s member states. Also, there were many positive words about Norway’s “flexibility” in dealings with UNESCO. The term refers to a general lack of interference both in internal matters as well as in project identification, development and implementation. Japan, another main contributor, was used as an example of a very different approach, where focus is often on single projects and “monuments”, and with strict guidelines from the donor.

UNESCO staff emphasised that Norwegian guidelines have in some cases been very useful pressure tools for UNESCO when it comes to project planning and implementation. For example, UNESCO had in one case turned down an application because it did not involve local communities. A different project from the same country was selected – a project that was more in line with the priorities of

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<sup>62</sup> This figure was given by Akio Arata, UNESCO, in a letter 03.03.09.

UNESCO as well as Norway. Also Norway's emphasis on the contribution of women was said to influence UNESCO's work and the choice of projects.

A challenge relating to UNESCO as a partner in using cultural heritage as motor for development, is the organisation's overall focus and dependence on its conventions. In the field of tangible culture, most projects link up to the world heritage sites. With, first, developing countries being seriously underrepresented on the WH-list, and, second, only a *very* tiny proportion of the world's cultural heritage represented, it is clear that there is a limit to the role UNESCO can play in fulfilling the Norwegian strategy. Several of the staff we met in UNESCO also admitted that the organisation is not necessarily the best implementer on the ground. Staff members emphasised that UNESCO projects are first of all "show cases" or "demonstration sites" meant to inspire other stake holders to do similar work in other areas. With the great majority of staff located at the headquarters and very limited resources for local offices or travels, UNESCO cannot be a central actor on the ground.

**a. UNESCO's work with intangible cultural heritage.**

Two major considerations were presented as forming important historical backgrounds for UNESCO's 2003 convention on the world's intangible cultural heritage. First, the under-representation of many developing countries on the tangible list, and the fact that much of these countries' heritage is intangible. Second, a general notion that the world is changing extremely fast, and many valuable and important cultural traditions are threatened by these changes. According to UNESCO staff, a major difference between the tangible and intangible conventions is that sites on the former shall qualify as having an "outstanding value", while in the latter there is no "notion of hierarchy, no culture shall be valued higher than others, there is no competition".

The new convention is open for inscription. The concept of "safeguarding" is being used for this purpose. At the same time, UNESCO officials clearly emphasised to us that the main point is to focus on "living heritage" – i.e. cultural traditions and expressions which are being actively used today. Upon our question as to whether "living heritage" actually needs "safeguarding", we were told that the latter concept has been translated as "continuous recreation" and/or "ensuring viability". Both inscription on the intangible list, as well as UNESCO's development projects linked to the convention have this focus; supporting and aiding in recreating contemporary cultural expressions.

Although UNESCO officials are very quick to emphasise that all conventions are for all states, the first of the two mentioned historical backgrounds makes the intangible convention very interesting in relation to Norwegian development support for cultural heritage. The fact that nomination processes are far less bureaucratic and costly, adds weight to this argument. Furthermore, the focus on existing and established cultural expressions means the direct and natural involvement of the local community, thus potentially saving resources on project development and implementation.

Norwegian involvement in “intangible projects” has just started, and has up to now been limited. UNESCO staff working on intangible cultural heritage still had the same general positive attitude to Norway as a partner. There was a clear notion that Norwegian interests and the convention for intangible heritage are very congruent. The Norwegian strategy of using culture as a tool for development appears very compatible with the UNESCO intangible convention’s focus on the process (active use) as more important than the product. One of the leaders of the division still emphasised that some clearer guidelines and instructions from Norway could be positive. The potential as well as resource base is huge, and it would be helpful with somewhat clearer input as to future focus and direction.

In general, the UNESCO staff on intangible heritage appeared both very enthusiastic, knowledgeable and able to follow up on the many development potentials that the intangible convention could open up. In terms of Norwegian strategies and interests, an increased cooperation with UNESCO on intangible cultural heritage seems both natural and relevant.

#### **b. Use of cultural heritage as resources for development**

The evaluation project has a clear focus on cultural heritage – tangible and intangible – as resources for social, cultural and economic development. Many of our questions during fieldwork in UNESCO were related to this issue. Economic issues/human development are not mentioned in the 1972 Convention but staff members said that after the introduction of the MDG goals, most UNESCO projects have some connection to poverty reduction. Nevertheless, a general impression from the conversations would be that this is not where UNESCO has its core competence. Whilst being a very important aspect of many projects, experiences as well as competence seem somewhat scattered and under-developed in the staff. For instance, only two people within the large culture sector work on tourism, a point showing that issues relating to use are not really prioritised within the organisation.

Questions relating to how experiences from the development of World Heritage sites – i.e. involving heritage objects of “universal value” – could be transferred and/or translated into models for utilising the potential in cultural heritage resources that are “only” national, regional or local were answered evasively. There are some theories on what such strategies could look like, but these have not been tried out in practice.

A consequence could be that stakeholders with more knowledge on local development and innovation should be involved in local projects. UNESCO appears to be open for this, especially through its involvement in the Spanish culture for development programme. A further promising development relates to the evolving focus on intangible heritage, where focus on “heritage in use” is a central modus operandi.

Since there is no official strategy or database of experiences, the real success rate of UNESCO/Norwegian culture for development projects need to be evalu-

ated through in-depth on site project evaluation. A couple of studies have been done already, claiming that the results have not been too impressive, and for the purpose of this evaluation, a clear focus should be on how heritage resources can be used most effectively to benefit local communities.

### **c. UNESCO's cooperation with local stakeholders**

The staff had a clear opinion that involvement of local stakeholders, and women in particular, is important for Norway. However, it was difficult to get a clear picture as to how UNESCO involves local stakeholders such as government authorities and NGOs in their local development projects. Some UNESCO officials emphasised that UNESCO always “deal with governments” and that “certain projects will never see the light because the government is not interested”. Other officials said that cultural heritage projects “always are done through NGOs” and that the governments sometimes did not accept the NGOs that UNESCO had chosen. In the team’s view, there appeared to be a certain level of inexperience among the staff concerning involvement of local communities. When the team attempted to raise a discussion as to *who* in fact represents local communities in the various projects, how they are chosen and the power struggles that can arise in situations where donor projects are introduced, the majority of the staff appeared not to have given much thought so such issues. Answers like “for school projects, the communities are the villages around the school” or “the indigenous people living around the site” reflect a way of thinking where local communities are bounded entities with a clear representation. One project was presented as being particularly successful in terms of involvement of local communities. When probed about the role of women, the officer said that so far, no women had participated in the community meetings . Exclusion based on gender and class was mentioned as a challenge by several officials.

One officer, who appeared to have more field experience than the others, emphasized that local communities in most cases have some kind of organisation and that any project needs to negotiate with these bodies before implementation can start. This officer emphasised that he appreciated the cooperation with Directorate of Cultural Heritage very much because the RA representative had long term experience from Africa and therefore understood that an excavation in a ritual place in Africa necessarily would involve conducting a ritual, and that this could be costly – and could result in delays. Some of the other partners, it was argued, lack this kind of knowledge and therefore question delays and expenses that are not normally on the budget when excavations are done in the North. The same officer, somehow surprisingly, did not see any differences between working on conservation of indigenous heritage on the one hand, and colonial heritage projects on the other. The difference was interpreted as a technical one (different materials), not as an issue that can potentially effect community involvement and ownership.

One of the Norwegian funded projects in Ethiopia has come to a halt due to what was labelled “communication problems” between the local UNESCO representative and the local authorities. The latter were said to insist on having their own relatives benefit from job creation through the project. The project officer has

now been transferred and the project is not completed. The conflict is interpreted by UNESCO as partly cultural. The officer happened to be a Japanese woman, and there are few women in the Ethiopian state administration.

It is difficult to get a clear picture of how UNESCO involves local stakeholders and NGOs in their local development projects. UNESCO is fully aware of the importance of working with local stakeholders and local communities, but the people we met also admitted, more or less openly, that this is a great challenge for the organisation in a time where more and more focus is on the “extra-budgetary activities”. The field visits conducted for this evaluation have confirmed that these challenges exist. A possible solution might be broader development cooperation frameworks where UNESCO’s role is more concentrated to its core competence.

There are, however, UNESCO/Norway projects that, at least *a priori*, look very interesting when it comes to translating the culture and development strategy into practice. Projects that seek to develop so-called *community centres* have local participation as an independent goal, and are not based on *a priori* and imposed ideas of what heritage is or how to use it. Community centres are arenas for local utilization and consumption of *local* heritage, and could potentially become starting points for processes of innovation and cultural creativity.

## Annex 6: Ethiopia: Realising a Unique Potential

By : Dag Jørund Lønning and Yeraswork Admassie

### a. Overview and summary

Norwegian support to cultural heritage in Ethiopia has been channelled through:

- Bilateral support for the restoration of king Fasiledes' bath in Gonder. 2001 – 2007: NOK 4 521 000.(This project has been terminated, and there is now no bilateral Norwegian support for cultural heritage projects in Ethiopia.)
- Support through UNESCO for the rock hew churches of Lalibela:  
Phase I: The development of a limestone mortar technique for restoration of the rock hewn churches in Lalibela. 2007 – 2008: US \$ 299,959  
Phase II: Strengthening the management system of the site through technical assistance, participatory planning and capacity building. Focus on sustainable tourism. 2009 – 2010: US \$ 439,636
- Support through UNESCO for a study of traditional music in Ethiopia (intangible heritage) 2005 – 2008: US\$ 343,886.

The evaluation has focused on the first two projects, as it turned out to be impossible to get information about the intangible project. Although data had been collected in Ethiopia, the project was apparently managed from the regional UNESCO office in Kenya. The UNESCO office in Addis Abeba held no data about or results from the project, and the responsible project officer at UNESCO's office in Nairobi, Kenya, did not respond to our request for additional project information.

The team has done in-depth field studies of the two major Norwegian cultural heritage projects in Ethiopia, as well as studied relevant documents related to these projects. When it comes to the project support through UNESCO, only phase I has started. There was no local (in Lalibela or Addis Ababa) knowledge about phase II. Background information about Ethiopia and its cultural policies have also been important sources of data.

The evaluation confirmed that there is a great potential for using cultural heritage resources for local socio-cultural and economic development in Ethiopia in general and in Gonder and Lalibela in particular. First, there is a strong local historical awareness and pride, and the resources are in active local use. Second, the resources are of a unique international value. Even though there are still relatively few cultural tourists in Ethiopia (the development of tourism as a whole has received comparatively little attention), the numbers have more than tripled over the last 6 – 7 years. Third, there is a strong local interest in using these resources more effectively for local development in the future. Fourth, cultural heritage protection and development is gradually becoming a development priority within Ethiopia's federal regime.

However, the same federalist system has thus far proved to be a challenge when it comes to project implementation. The restoration project in Gonder has not been finished, and a substantial amount of funds remain undisbursed due to major delays in project implementation and reporting. From persons involved in both projects supported by Norway, however, the project in Gonder was described as a relative success, whilst the work in Lalibela in comparison was defined as seriously biased towards international experts with limited focus on involving local experts or the local population. Our interviewees all expressed a clear preference for bilateral support as the most effective when it comes to creating concrete results. From all four levels of government we got very critical comments when it came to the UNESCO project in Lalibela. UNESCO's own consultant in Lalibela confirmed this critique. We were told that little has happened on the ground thus far and a major part of the budget has been used for international and external experts. This is not in line with project justifications and goals. The project is run from Paris with little local involvement, local stakeholders in Lalibela told us. UNESCO Ethiopia is neither involved in nor updated about the project. In the project documents for phase II, which has not yet started in Lalibela, the importance of local involvement is strongly emphasised. It is very important that this intention is followed up in practice.

Finally, a further challenge in relation to both projects, is that knowledge and experience relating to local development/mobilisation and cultural tourism have not been included in the projects. Use of cultural heritage resources for local development/innovation has not been a major consideration in any of the projects supported by Norway, despite this issue being of the utmost importance for the most important local stakeholders in Gonder and Lalibela.

In all future support for cultural heritage development in Ethiopia, local development should be an integrated part. Using heritage resources to create funds both for development in the present as well as for future maintenance of heritage objects, has high priority for the current Ethiopian regime. It is somewhat reassuring to see that these aspects are given considerable attention in the plans for phase II of the UNESCO project. At the present, however, the regional government's heritage funds for Gonder and Lalibela are empty, and there is a need to develop models of sustainability that would allow for the possibility of preserving and further developing the resources for the future.

## **b. Cultural heritage and local development in Ethiopia**

As Nietzsche (2004) so clearly showed, and as the two African cases described in this report have confirmed, history telling is to a very large extent an act of cultural construction, an exercise of selection where isolated elements are put together in new fashions to give meaning to the present.<sup>63</sup> The past can be viewed as a time of glory in contrast to a more gloomy present, or it can be viewed as the totally opposite. Ethiopia and Malawi here represent contrasting cases. In stark contrast to a present where Ethiopia is classified among the poorest countries of the whole world, contemporary Ethiopians cherish the

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63 For a discussion of the Nietzschean perspective on historical construction, see Lønning 2007.



memories of a past when this country was the home of kingdoms and leaders who played major roles in the development of its monotheistic religion, and was known of and cherished in Europe as the mythical and legendary land of Prester John even long before the first Europeans came to Africa.

With some short-term and unsuccessful Italian attempts being the exceptions, Ethiopia has never been a European colony. This has at least two influential effects when it comes to cultural heritage: First, there is a great pride in the country's history as being unique in Africa. If this pride in the past can be transformed into innovative action in the present, heritage objects could become very important local development resources. Second, there is an abundance of tangible cultural heritage<sup>64</sup> linking the present with the many narratives of a glorious past that include both the Ark of the Covenant (said to be stored in a church in Aksum), the Queen of Sheba (and the stories of this mythical queen's meetings with king Salomon resulting in a son and the Ark of the Covenant coming to Ethiopia), the new Jerusalem (Lalibela), as well as a great number of powerful and influential kings, queens and emperors.<sup>65</sup>

In the north, the importance of the country's and region's cultural heritage was emphasised by more or less everybody we spoke to. The churches of Lalibela are in daily use by the local population, and have been so since they were built. The royal enclosures in Gonder is used by the local population as recreation area, schools and students are using them for historical studies and learning, and Fasiledes' bath is still being used by the population for the important religious Epiphany ceremony in January. Many people also emphasised the effect that the increasing numbers of cultural tourists have on their own identity. "The fact that people come from all over the world to see our culture, makes us very proud of what we've got", was a common phrase.

Instead of being a threat, tourism – apart from being a source of income – here becomes conducive to local identity development.<sup>66</sup> This shows very clearly that heritage symbols acquire local meaning and cultural relevance both through being used locally as well as through becoming the object of interest of others. A representative from the tourist authority in Gonder told the team that people have more hopes for the future now, as people from the outside have started discovering the castle. At the same time, this increase in external interest has led to the castle becoming more popular as recreational arena also for the local population. More schools have also arrived. Everybody hope that this positive trend will continue, he argues. This will also provide funds for future restoration.

As a tourist in these areas, it would probably be difficult *not* to become both fascinated and enthusiastic. More or less all the tourists we spoke to expressed

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64 In Southern Ethiopia intangible cultural heritage resources are very important part of identities and cultures. There are no Norwegian supported heritage projects in this region, however.

65 A more thorough discussion of the cultural heritage of Ethiopia would have to take into account that over a third of the population in the country are Muslims. A global climate of religious and sectarian conflict has also reached Ethiopia, with religious revivalism on the increase within both Christian as well as Muslim communities. The country's history represents an important set of symbols that are very often used and manipulate actively in such processes (see theoretical part of the report).

66 This interrelation between the local and the extra-local is an important part of successful culture economies (Lønning, 2003, 2007, Ray, 1998, 1999). When local people experience that people from the outside, newcomers to the area or tourists, show interest in local knowledge and culture, this has a very positive effect on local identity and innovation using local symbols (ibid.).

this fascination. Visiting the castles in Gonder and the rock hewn churches in Lalibela provide for some of the most spectacular cultural heritage experiences in the world. And yet these tangible attractions only represent a fraction of what this huge and ancient country can offer the cultural traveller. On the African continent, probably only Egypt can compete.<sup>67</sup> With cultural tourism being the branch of international tourism experiencing the fastest growth (Nordin, 2005), there should therefore be a great potential for Ethiopia. These tourists are searching deeper encounters with local knowledge and culture. Ethiopia is in the lucky position to be able to offer both; cultural heritage of international quality and yet the opportunity to visit these sites and objects as they are actively used by vibrant local communities. This opportunity adds to the uniqueness of Ethiopia in comparison with for example Egypt; the fact that the objects are more than remnants of a past but in active use, creates a double attraction. The tourists we spoke to all mentioned this linkage as adding value to the experience.

In Gonder, the number of tourists visiting the royal enclosures has risen by between 10 – 20 000 each year from 36 000 in 2004 to an expected 106 000 in 2008.<sup>68</sup> Although the figures are still relatively small, the increase is considerable. This increase has also come almost without any form of promotional advertising abroad, and with very limited organisation around the local tourist industry. The potential is very large, particularly as modern airports have been built in both Gonder and Lalibela, but a realisation of this potential is dependent upon a more coherent focus and effort when it comes to product development (the heritage sites, as well as other attractions in the area) and further developing the linkages between tourists and the local communities.

There is a great interest at all levels of government in Ethiopia to further develop sustainable cultural tourism in Lalibela and Gonder, and tourism has for the first time appeared as a separate issue in the government's development plan ("PASDEP"). The ambitious aim is to become one of the 10 largest tourist economies of Africa before 2018. The government has invested a lot in the new or renovated airports of Bahar Dar, Gonder and Lalibela, facilities that will greatly improve the conditions for the tourism industry. The regional government of Amhara has, on its part, invested in improving the roads in Lalibela, and has also set aside 17,5 million Birr for the resettling of 300 poor families who have squatted illegally around the rock hewn churches. The regional authorities also collaborate with the town of Lalibela in offering a learning programme for poor children who have been begging from and sometimes even physically bothering tourists.

Representatives of the authorities also argued that cultural heritage projects in the future should focus more on the aspects of local development and income generation through tourism. The local stakeholders of the UNESCO project in

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67 I, Lønning, have worked with cultural tourism and cultural heritage projects for more than 10 years now both in Norway as well as internationally, but I have not visited any country that can compare with Ethiopia when it comes to the quality and uniqueness of the resources. There is, however, a lot of work to do on product development and site management.

68 The figures are from the tourist office in Gonder. We did not obtain the exact figures for Lalibela, but as the rock hewn churches are considered the number one cultural tourist attraction in Ethiopia and described by tourists guides as the one thing you cannot miss (Briggs, 2006), the numbers are definitely higher. Tourist officials described a somewhat similar increase as the one for Gonder.

Lalibela, including the town's political leadership, representatives of the women's union, as well as the official head of the church, all emphasised this perspective; future projects should focus more on local job creation within the tourism industry and on including the local community in general.

It is interesting that despite the view that protecting the churches in Lalibela against "the negative effects of tourism" was described as very important by UNESCO's responsible project officer in Paris, we did not meet any single person either in Lalibela or Gonder who had had any negative experiences with tourists or who thought that increased tourism would harm the local community or damage the sites. On the contrary, increase in tourism is probably one of the most promising ways to increased standards of living in these areas, as well as to obtaining funding for the preservation of the sites in the future. In fact, we had a long conversation with the regional head of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the institution which owns the churches in Lalibela. He told us that through all the years that tourists had come to Lalibela, he had not heard of a single incident of misbehaviour or rudeness, not even of someone forgetting to take their shoes off before entering a church. He was grateful that the outside world was interested in helping preserve the churches in Lalibela, but had failed to see any concrete results thus far from the UNESCO project when it comes to the most important challenge; obtaining funds for preserving the churches for the future. He referred to a stakeholder analysis done by UNESCO itself, showing that the Church, the owner of the site, was the stakeholder that got the least income from tourism. The Church still had to deal with the major questions relating to restoration and developments on its own, and had now employed many people from the village to clean all the church enclosures. Funds are also being used to build toilets for tourists on the premises. Likewise, the Church had used 700 000 Birr of their own funds to shelter many of the beggars that used to gather around tourists in Lalibela. The beggars are now housed and fed in a separate building within the compound, and begging was hardly noticeable in Lalibela in 2008. However, when the Church takes on these responsibilities its funds are rapidly depleted. The entrance fees to the churches (Birr 200) are all tied up in providing livelihood for the more than 700 priests who live in and use the churches of Lalibela. Neither has it been possible to obtain external funding. The only possibility is to get more directly into tourism. The church has therefore decided to open its own guesthouse to be able to benefit directly from the increasing numbers of tourists. "Bete Abraham" opens in late 2008, and is ready to house visitors for the Ethiopian Christmas celebrations in Lalibela in January.

Models for sustainable tourism that allows for the use of the heritage resources to generate local livelihoods as well to provide means for future preservation loomed large on the local agenda both in Lalibela and Gonder. Particularly regarding the project in Lalibela, there was substantial criticism directed at the lack of focus on local community development. In Gonder this was more a need for the future. Large sums are being used to renovate the royal enclosures; Norwegian funding for the restoration of the Fasiledes' bath, and World Bank funding for the restoration of the palaces themselves. Norway has decided to

stop funding the restoration project before the work is finished (due to serious delays on the Ethiopian side), and there is no local money available to finish the work. Neither are there any available funds for future restoration and preservation.

The central point remains that increasing tourism – through its potentially positive effects on local development – is regarded the most important and promising driving force when it comes to the ability to preserve Ethiopia's unique cultural heritage resources for the future. Tourism is still a limited phenomenon in Ethiopia, and negative effects of "mass tourism" are difficult to see in the foreseeable future. In fact it could be argued that now is the best time to start developing sustainable tourism practices, to better be able to control and direct tourism into socially and culturally benefiting forms. This also appeared to be the official Ethiopian view, and the country's cultural heritage is seen as a major asset in developing this vision. Future cultural heritage support from Norway should take these inter-linkages into consideration.

In this report we have pointed to the importance of reconciling the forces of sustainable cultural tourism and cultural heritage management (CHM). Ethiopia is an example of a country where this is both officially wanted as well as practically feasible. Cultural heritage resources are strongly integrated into local communities, opening for comprehensive and attractive cultural experiences. Everybody we talked to expressed a wish for more tourists coming to the area, both for increased income potentials as well as for the opportunities to meet interesting people from other parts of the world. A characteristic trait of the individual cultural tourists is his/her interest in getting closer to the communities he/she visits. Interesting models and practices of cultural tourism could potentially be developed along these lines of mutual interest and benefits (between the local and the extra-local).

UNESCO has over the last ten years started working on themes related to cultural tourism. The evaluation team's interviews in the headquarters in Paris, nevertheless revealed that the number of people working on this theme is very limited. We also got several comments from project officers indicating that the view on tourism as a potentially dangerous force in relation to cultural heritage is perhaps still dominant. Regarding Lalibela, UNESCO's director for culture has suggested developing the area into a showcase for cultural tourism. The idea was launched during a visit to Lalibela. This is a very interesting idea, also perhaps in relation to Norwegian support. Thus far nothing has happened in Lalibela, however, and the local stakeholders had not heard any more about the initiative.

This evaluation has confirmed that an "orientalist" (Said, 1994) view on global tourism – seeing this industry as a force that is undermining the so-called "authentic, original and pure" – hardly is conducive to finding the best, most effective as well as sustainable ways of using cultural heritage resources to promote

local development.<sup>69</sup> In a poor country like Ethiopia, protection through use – religious, cultural and/or economic – is probably the only sustainable solution to cultural heritage protection in the long run. It is therefore easy to agree with Ethiopian officials when they argue that this perspective should be integrated into all projects from day one.

### **c. The rock hewn churches of Lalibela; the unknown wonder of the world**

Very few people in the world have ever heard about the churches in Lalibela. Furthermore, among the limited number of foreigners who travel to visit them, few have a real idea about the magnitude of the experience that awaits them. Here, in the midst of this small and very distant rural village in the northern Ethiopian highlands, is a congregation of buildings that are no less amazing than the pyramids of Egypt or India's Taj Mahal. Neither words nor pictures can give real justice to these eleven totally unique (at least outside Ethiopia) buildings that are carved directly into the rocks. They are many, they are huge, they are fantastically decorated, united by an amazing system of tunnels, walls and aqueducts, and, perhaps the most surprising fact, they are under ground. The latter fact differentiates Ethiopia's rock hewn churches from most rock carvings elsewhere. These churches have been carved from the top down, meaning that some of the structures go as deep as 20 meters below the face of the earth. The three enclosures – in the first there are four churches, in the next one, and in the third six – holding the eleven churches are therefore virtually situated *under* the village of Lalibela. The constructions are meant to evoke Jerusalem with the graves of the most important prophets, the Golgata, and even the river of Jordan. The two large enclosures are said to be the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem.

Science and legend agree about one very important thing regarding the churches of Lalibela; they were erected under the supervision of the 12<sup>th</sup> century King Lalibela, the most famous ruler of the Zagwe dynasty (a dynasty of kings which for a few generations broke the rule of the more famous Solomonic dynasty, which according to Ethiopian mythology started with the Queen of Sheba and ended with Emperor Haile Selassie, the 237<sup>th</sup> Solomonic emperor). When it comes to how they were made, there – as is the case with the pyramids of Egypt – appears to be no scientific consensus, but it seems clear that ingenuity in planning and leadership as well as a massive and educated workforce must have been a major part of it. This vacuum – left by the lack of any definite scientific conclusion – has been usurped by religious mythologists inserting the divine hand as King Lalibela's co-constructionist.<sup>70</sup>

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69 In his classic and seminal work, Edward Said (1994) describes a certain particularly Western way of portraying the other using a language built around concepts and ideas of exoticism and essential difference. For a long time the discourse on tourism has been part of this same semantic field, with the most "pristine" peoples, areas and places being defined as the most attractive. In practice, areas are here sold to tourists for their quality of not being affected by tourism. From a slightly different angle, but still within the same paradigm, tourism, the activity that is the background for the whole discourse, gets to be depicted as a potentially dangerous force that could destroy this same exotic difference. Tourism is here described as a Western phenomenon that should be prevented from spreading its negative cultural colonialism to the areas of the world that are still "pure". The consequence of this view, of course, is that other people are denied the same opportunities and goods that the West cherishes. Here, then, is the hegemonic aspect of orientalism. A description of tourism as a force that could undermine the "authenticity and genuineness" of cultural heritage resources could be experienced as orientalist if it has this effect of preventing the development of local use value.

70 In fact, in my guidebook to Ethiopia, the author writes that nowhere is it easier to believe in divine building intervention than in Lalibela (Briggs, 2006), a statement that first and foremost bears witness to the perceived difficulties as well as quality of the construction work done 1000 years ago.

Here is how my local guide to the church area told the story. With small variations it was confirmed by other locals I talked to:

*During the reign of King Lalibela, the people from Ethiopia used to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Lalibela himself went several times. The journey could take months and months, often years, and many lives were lost to accidents, hunger, fatigue and even violence. This fact saddened the king who was a righteous man who wanted the best for his people. But he did not know what to do about it, as he was also a deeply religious man with a deep belief in the need to visit Christ's birthplace. One night, an angel came to King Lalibela, saying: "This cannot go on. Your people are dying in numbers on this long journey. Therefore you shall build a new Jerusalem here in the Ethiopian mountains closely resembling the holy city". So when the researchers are unable to explain how the churches of Lalibela were built, it is because they were done by angels. Over there you see the praying place of King Lalibela [pointing to a place in the wall]. He worked on the churches during daytime. All the night he was praying, and the angels continued working on the churches.*

*You know, King Lalibela has become almost like a saint for us. We celebrate Christmas on the 7th of January, which is also King Lalibela's birthday. Thousands and thousands of people from all over Ethiopia come here for the celebrations. Today we thank him because more and more tourists are coming to our village, providing us with livelihood and new optimism for the future.*

Questions of historical accuracy apart, this narrative perhaps first and foremost demonstrates the "real attraction" of the churches in Lalibela; the way that these 1000 years old constructions are still the centre of both social, cultural as well as economic life of the village and area. Where cultural heritage is often popularly understood as the remnants or remembrance of something that *was*, the churches in Lalibela represent what *is*; living heritage as part of the present. Through our tour around the premises, my guide's devotion to the churches was regularly demonstrated. He kissed the crosses of the priests, he kissed the churches before entering, and he told me all the stories of the people who came to here to be healed, and about how he himself was healed from serious illness during childhood due to his mother taking him to the church daily to drink holy water coming from one of the enclosure's wells.

In an existentialist vocabulary, *authenticity* is a product of living and acting in accordance with one's own beliefs and ideals (Lønning, 2007, Sartre, 2004, Østerberg, 2005). In this meaning of the term, experiencing the churches in Lalibela feels strongly authentic. None of the stories one is told are fabricated for the tourist, and the stories are told by people who believe in them and use them as guides for their own daily lives.

This deep and holistic integration between valuable cultural heritage and the local community is rare, and makes visiting the area a unique experience. It is also into this integration that Lalibela wants to invite the visitors. The local stakeholders we talked to all emphasised the need to see the churches in a wider context, including the needs of the village and the surroundings, and

argued that future projects should seek to strengthen these relations and focus more on collective benefits. The churches are so important to people that the best way to secure them for the future might go through integrated local development projects. The team had a focus group meeting with the stakeholders' committee, and the different representatives all emphasised the need to include more of the village and more of the village activity in the future. Focus on local food, local handicrafts, local music, etc. may provide new development opportunities for locals, and give the visitor an even closer encounter with Lalibela. In the long run, this will create more income for the area and therefore also help securing the churches.

This is an anti-dualistic approach to cultural heritage based local development, focusing on preserving and strengthening the links between the heritage objects and the socio-cultural surroundings, thereby securing future protection through use as well as seeking to maximise local economic use value. Sustainable cultural tourism is here seen as both a wanted and a necessary tool, perhaps even driving force, to further develop and sustain these generative processes.

These visions can only be realised through projects that are similarly integrative and anti-dualistic. This, however, is unfortunately not the situation in Lalibela today. There are at the present two major internationally supported projects focused on restoration of the churches:

A: The by far largest, and a project that has created a lot of debate in Ethiopia as well as in international cultural heritage fora, is the EU-supported project to erect shelters to cover the churches and protect them from rain and erosion. The need for sheltering has not been disputed, as erosion and cracks are becoming major problems at some of the churches. It is therefore necessary to cover the churches until an effective sealing technology has been developed. And there have actually been shelters in Lalibela for quite a few years. The old shelters, however, were made locally by light materials, and were also easily removable. The new 9 million Euro shelters are of a completely different nature. Visually they bear no resemblance to anything in Lalibela, a village which is still dominated by the traditional *tukul* (the round straw thatched Ethiopian house). They are also much heavier (only the foot of each pillar weighs 5,2 tons). The shelters are fastened within the enclosures, and the effects on the rock and ground, the local UNESCO consultant told us, have not been determined. The tourists we talked to all reacted negatively, and felt that the shelters were destroying some of the atmosphere. During a focus group meeting with a group of 10 tourists from Africa, Europe and Australia, the shelters were mentioned as the only really negative experience in Lalibela. The head of the Church, told us that their offices were regularly visited by tourists who asked "why there are gas station roofs over the churches".

The head of the Church told us the story of the process leading up to the finished shelters. In this process, he said, the owner and major stakeholder, the Church, had more or less been left out. The Church was also seriously displeased with the finished results. Even more serious was the building process

itself where employees of the Italian construction company responsible for erecting them several times had broken all rules when it comes to proper behaviour in and around the churches. He reiterated that he had never heard of a tourist going into the churches without taking the shoes off, but this had happened several times during the construction process. Upon tearing down one of the old shelters, one of the windows at one church had been broken. Instead of telling the church administration about this, however, the company had tried to hide the pieces. When this was known, many people from the village assembled outside to protest. It ended in violent conflict, with 8 of the church guards being physically assaulted by the foreign workers of the construction company. The police had to fire warning shots to calm down the situation.

It was somewhat difficult to get a clear idea of how the local community at large looks at the new shelters, but representatives of both the Church and the local government told us that the works had had no positive effects on local employment. Materials, technology and the work force had come in from the outside, and hardly any locals had been involved in the construction process.

B: The situation with the shelters adds importance to the UNESCO project supported by Norway. The sooner the limestone mortar technology is ready and sufficiently tested, a process of restoration and sealing can begin that one day might make the shelters unnecessary. In our discussion with the project officer for the Lalibela project in the UNESCO headquarters in Paris, the need to remove the new EU-funded shelters as soon as possible was emphasised and defined as a major priority in a new phase of UNESCO activity in Lalibela. Norway will be asked to fund this future project. UNESCO has been very critical to the new shelters, and at one time even argued that the structures might threaten the World Heritage status of the churches. Radical amendments therefore had to be done to the original plans before the building was reluctantly approved by UNESCO.<sup>71</sup>

As the UN's voice on culture, UNESCO has been strongly heard and noticed in the issue of the shelters. This was appreciated in Lalibela. When it comes to implementation of the organisation's own project, however, attitudes were different. The aim of phase I of the project – developing a functioning lime mortar technique for the sealing of roofs and cracks in the limestone churches – was seen as very positive. Trying to seal the cracks with cement has only made things worse, as the cement reacts negatively with the volcanic tuff. Today, there are no alternative sealing techniques available. Thus, if the project succeeds, it will mean a lot for the future of Lalibela.

In contrast to the process leading to the erection of the shelters, UNESCO, through the local consultant, has emphasised building a local stakeholder committee as well as having an ongoing dialogue with the church administration. Unfortunately, the UNESCO consultant told us, the local influence has remained very limited, as the major part of the project budget has been used for a group of

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<sup>71</sup> In fact, the head of the Church told us that the building company had not paid any particular notice to the UNESCO demands for amendments, but built according to the original plan. As we have not seen the plans, however, this is difficult to verify.



Italian experts who have spent very limited time in Ethiopia. Out of a total budget of approx. 300 000 USD, only 45 000 is spent in Lalibela, he argued. Much of the external experts' work has also focused on the historical dimension, he said, whilst he himself has built a group of 25 local artisans who have been given some training through local workshops and a study trip to Gonder. This group has been given the responsibility to develop the limestone mortar technique itself. This work is now underway, and a test site has been built. Lack of funding for the local part of the project is seriously delaying progress, though. He was himself waiting for his own salary which was long overdue. He had received salary for the first five months, but was still waiting for the money for the last six. At present he was working at a per diem rate of 25USD only (for food and accommodation) but without a salary. Communication with the organisation had been slow and bureaucratic, he continued, as UNESCO Ethiopia is not really involved and there is no regular UNESCO representation in Lalibela (his own office is in Bar Dahar – and he can only stay in Lalibela for shorter periods). He also questioned the relevance and competence of several of the international experts, arguing that concrete knowledge of the limestone mortar technique as well as local development was missing in the team. UNESCO's rationale for selecting only Italian nationals was also questioned.<sup>72</sup> As the expert team only had visited Lalibela for shorter periods, he also questioned if they really knew enough about the local conditions (cultural, biological, geographical, seismological, etc.). The UNESCO consultant as well as several other members of the stakeholder committee emphasised the importance of being careful when applying the new technique. Actions should also be reversible. Therefore, intensive research with the team staying in Lalibela for a prolonged period should ideally have been prioritised, we were told.

An even stronger critique against UNESCO's project role was presented by the head of Ethiopia's federal Cultural Heritage Department. He questioned the whole selection process when it comes to international experts and consultants in UNESCO, arguing that "often it looks like they pick their own friends". He argued that many more Ethiopians should be involved. Also, he said, the organisation interferes far too much in Ethiopia's own cultural heritage policies in Lalibela, "and even needs to employ international experts to create local management plans for Lalibela". "Experts come from abroad with little interest in hearing what our own priorities are", he continued.

This is a strong critique which seriously questions UNESCO's ability to deliver on central issues important to Norway like local involvement and long term sustainability. The stories we were told by the people of Lalibela are very different from the story we were told in Paris, where focus was on a very well run project with a radical focus on local involvement. In Lalibela we were told that UNESCO, despite the organisation's long term involvement in the town, had made no attempt to involve the local population in developing a sustainable funding system for the future. It is difficult to see how sustainability can be created without such a

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<sup>72</sup> An Italian company erected the shelters, and the whole UNESCO team consisted of Italian experts, we were told. In Gonder, many of the royal buildings had been seriously damaged by Italian use of cement during the occupation. In the restoration, new teams of Italians had arrived. There was a lot of debate about this in Gonder and Lalibela, and we were asked if we could contribute to bringing in more Ethiopian experts as well as experts from other countries in future projects.

system. There is of today no local/regional fund for long term preservation. Neither the municipality, the zone nor the region have available funds. There is no system in place to channel income from cultural tourism into heritage preservation. The local tourist office has thus far hardly received any aid in presenting and telling the stories of the churches. The local tourist office had one brochure at hand, which was well used and not to be given away! There are very few, if any, signs or information posters around the churches.

Many of the challenges described here are in fact known to UNESCO, and phase II of the project supported by Norway is going to deal more broadly with developing local site management capacity and developing sustainable tourism that will benefit the poor community of Lalibela. As phase I is somewhat delayed, the second phase has not yet started in Lalibela and can therefore not be evaluated. At least there was no knowledge about this phase II among the stakeholders we spoke to locally.

However, many issues that were central to people in Lalibela are addressed in the project plans for phase II. If UNESCO puts more emphasis on including the local population in the future, this second phase will probably have a better chance of succeeding.

#### **d. The castles of Gonder; heritage of the great kings of old**

The large royal complexes and enclosures (“Fasil Ghebbi”) of the city of Gonder is also a World Heritage site, and represent other examples of Ethiopia’s marvelous heritage resources. Like the churches in Lalibela, the royal enclosures represent the main attraction and tourism related development resource in Gonder. In contrast to Lalibela, however, no divine hand is said to have been active here. The many buildings that make up the royal enclosures, represent work ordered by 6 consecutive Ethiopian emperors and queens of the Solomonic dynasty, starting with Fasiledes (1635-1667) and ending with Iyasu II (1730-1755).<sup>73</sup> Each of the rulers have made their marks on the area, and the main enclosure covers an area of 7 hectares, holding 6 castles as well as a number of other buildings for a wide range of different purposes ranging from bath houses to huge royal stables to lion cages (in fact lions were kept here until 1991).

Many of the buildings are in very good conditions, also due to a major restoration programme supported first by UNESCO and later by the World Bank. Attempts at restoration with cement during the Italian occupation (1936 – 1941) did more harm than good, but many of these failed repairs have now been fixed. Work still remains at the main enclosure, but the area is now open to tourists. The number of visitors have also increased rapidly over the last decade (see above). An entrance fee of 50 Birr (NOK 35) gives the tourist access to a huge area full of fascinating buildings, each with its own unique history. All tourists I spoke to at the premises expressed both fascination and awe at the meeting with this very important place in the history of Ethiopia.

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<sup>73</sup> The last emperor of Gonder is said to have been more interested in arts than in governing Ethiopia, and therefore under the control of his mother Mentewab for long periods of his reign. The castle erected during this period is today called «Mentewab’s Castle».

The ticket to the main enclosure includes the opportunity to visit the bath of the first of the Gonder kings; Fasiledes. He is considered to be the founder of the city of Gonder as the country's capital (in 1635)<sup>74</sup>, and many of the buildings in the enclosures were erected under his rule. The so called "Fasiledes' bath" lies at the outskirts of the city centre. This enclosure includes walls with guard rooms, royal stables, a healing house and main rest house, and a large pool. The enclosure covers an area of around one hectare. Large parts of this enclosure have been renovated and restored by the support from the Norwegian embassy in Addis Ababa. The goal of the project has been to enable Fasiledes Bath to continue to provide its traditional religious services for the future in an authentic shape. This goal has been achieved. After the restoration, the bath complex could again be used for the mass baptism during the very important religious Epiphany festival in January.<sup>75</sup>

We spoke to representatives from all four levels of Ethiopia's federalist system of government, and did not get one negative comment regarding Norway as a donor in general, and the concrete restoration project in particular. The contrast to how the UNESCO project in Lalibela was described was striking. People who were involved in both projects, argued that the Gonder project was much more effective in every respect due to less bureaucracy, a lot more local influence, and the real opportunity the project gave for local competence building. In Gonder, a central project officer told us, 95% of the funds have been used on site, whilst only a smaller part of the project in Lalibela has been used locally.

During the Epiphany ceremony in 2008, the Norwegian Embassy was awarded an attractive prize for its role in the restoration project. Upon hearing that Norway was represented in the audience, people rose spontaneously and cheered. This story was told by the zonal project representative, as an illustration of people's appreciation of the Norwegian support. Norway was also praised as cultural heritage donor by the head of the Ethiopian Cultural Heritage Department, who said the Norwegian policy was not to interfere too much, but give praise for successes. This is an admirable approach, and should be followed by others, he said (alluding to UNESCO – which was the other project we discussed).

The project has also given employment opportunities for many local artisans. Whilst only 25 – 30 people were trained in Lalibela, the Gonder project has provided education for 50 local experts. Between 200 and 300 people have received special training in restoration work. 1200 workers have been employed at the site, and 700 of these have been poor women. This is a strong priority, and the government also wants to give as many people as possible the feeling of ownership to the sites. Among the workers present during our visit, the large majority were women. Women's unions have been included as stakeholders along with a range of local NGO's.

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74 Gonder remained Ethiopia's capital for 250 years.

75 Epiphany is the commemoration of Christ's baptism by St. John, a celebration that follows the twelve days of Christmas. In the Julian calendar, Epiphany falls on 19<sup>th</sup> of January. Mass baptisms take place all over Christian Ethiopia on this day. The day after, the 20<sup>th</sup>, is the feast of St. Michael, the Archangel.

And yet, there have been serious challenges relating to this project. 2,2 million Birr of an original budget of 6,3 million have not been paid. According to the embassy, it is also very unlikely that the remaining sum *will* be paid. From the embassy's side, the project is considered to be finished. Due to diplomatic problems between Norway and Ethiopia in 2007, the number of employees at the Norwegian Embassy had to be reduced. 14 ongoing project agreements were also terminated, including the support to Fasiledes' bath. The main reason for the project problems, however, is repeated delays when it comes to reporting and project implementation. Quite a few reminders have been issued from the embassy, some of them very clear on the negative consequences of continued delays. The embassy even offered a special budget for the closing of the project, but got no reply within the three months that the offer was open. The problems still remain. The embassy told us that a final report and audited accounts had not been received. When we met with the person in charge of contact with the Scandinavian donors in Ethiopia's Ministry of Finance and Development (MoFED), she showed us the final report, however. It had been written and sent to the Ministry nearly half a year before, and she was surprised that the Embassy had not received it. It was the responsibility of the regional administration in Bahar Dar to issue the report, she said.

The statement is very symptomatic of what appears to be a general challenge in contemporary Ethiopia. The federalist system of government is still very young, and all the different branches we spoke to were blaming each other for the delays. There was also a lot of disagreement between the different levels on what would be the ideal model for distribution of powers and responsibilities. The restoration project in Gonder has been one of many that has seen a change in distribution of responsibilities during the project period. As responsibilities have fluctuated between the different levels, reporting and to a certain extent project implementation has suffered.

The head of the Ethiopian Cultural Heritage Department argued that finding the ideal system takes time, and that it is regrettable that reporting has not been done according to the contract. He also stated, however, that lack of national experts adds to the problem. The experts are needed to approve of the different work parts, but they are often called out on emergencies elsewhere. He felt that European donors only to a very limited extent recognise these challenges.

Our visit to the project site confirmed that even if a lot has been done, there is considerable work left before the restoration can be said to be finished. Both on the walls, the horse stables, the main house at the complex as well as on the drainage system there are many unfinished jobs. The city council is using 50 000 Birr of its own budget to finish the main entrance, but this is all it has available. 200 000 is needed only for the wall. Whilst the original project budget would have covered the whole sum at the time it was approved, today – due to serious inflation – an estimated 5 million Birr is needed to finish the work at the complex. When Norway cut the funding, the project stopped. There is no alternative donor, and there are no available funds in any of the four involved levels of government.

From everyone we spoke to we were asked to forward a strong wish for Norway to contribute with the sums needed to finish Fasiledes' bath. At present, the unfinished works attract a lot of attention from the visitors; tourist and local alike. The local community strongly hopes that the work can be finished.

A positive factor is that nobody denied or tried to hide the administrative problems created by the new federalist system for distribution of responsibilities and power. No one blamed Norway as donor, but said that the whole responsibility for the delays was on the Ethiopian side. There appeared to be a strong interest in improving the system for the future. On the other hand, Ethiopian federalism appears to be an effective strategy for local involvement. There are many local stakeholders, and there is a willingness to include traditionally marginalised groups in project development and implementation.

#### **e. Conclusions**

Despite the problems described, we still have the impression that there is a strong willingness to utilise Ethiopia's spectacular heritage resources in ways that will benefit both local communities as well as marginalised groups. To this very poor country, its unique history represents a reservoir of promising development resources in an age where cultural tourism is growing rapidly as a global phenomenon. Due to renewed interest for distinctive locality in an era of global standardisation ("glocalisation"), cultural heritage furthermore represents a source of new identity and pride. Extra-local search for the uniquely local can lead to increased community focus and interest in its own history as an economic and socio-cultural pillar for future development. This process is underway in both Lalibela (in fact, the mayor told us that as many as 85% of the population of Lalibela have work in relation to the tourism industry) and Gonder, and should be aided and strongly supported in future projects in these areas. Future projects should to a larger extent focus on linkages between heritage objects, cultural tourism and local development. The only sustainable preservation strategy is local empowerment and the creation of interest in the possibilities heritage resources represent for the future of Ethiopia.

On the donor side, people at the Norwegian embassy told us that few if any international donors to Ethiopia were interested in culture. Also at the Norwegian embassy the culture strategy was seen to have little legitimacy and be of little relevance to ongoing work and projects. The person who had been particularly interested in culture, had also moved to another station. By the creation of more direct and focused links between culture, local development and innovation in future projects, however, the culture strategy could perhaps be made more relevant and useful for a wider set of purposes.

## Annex 7: Malawi: Cultural Heritage as National Identity?

By: Dag Jørund Lønning and Peter Mvula

Norwegian support to cultural heritage in Malawi has been channelled through

- A general programme agreement between the Norwegian Embassy in Lilongwe and the Government of Malawi with the aim of producing a strong Malawian national identity, now at the end of its second phase
- Support to the National Archives (integrated in the study of the above project)
- Project oriented support for the KuNgoni Centre of Culture & Art at Mua Mission

As a programme agreement is more or less unique in Norwegian cultural heritage support for developing countries, this presentation will have a main focus on the results of using this tool. An important conclusion is that programme goals have been overambitious, and the link between chosen cultural heritage activities and these same goals remain unclear. Even though most defined activities have been accomplished according to plan, limited progress has been made on the overarching aim of the agreement; promoting national identity. The support for the KuNgoni Centre of Culture & Art has been concrete, project oriented, and the funding has made a positive impact in further developing this important cultural institution in Malawi.

This evaluation is based on 1,5 weeks of fieldwork in Malawi, including interviews with central stakeholders and participants and in-depth project studies. Central project documents regarding Norwegian support have been scrutinised.

### **a. The Norwegian-Malawian framework agreement on cultural heritage**

The main Norwegian support for cultural heritage in Malawi takes the form of a general framework agreement. The Norwegian support is by far the largest within the government cultural heritage sector in Malawi. The first phase of the agreement lasted from 2002 - 2005. A mid-term review in 2004 recommended a phase II, which has run from 2005 - 2008. The evaluation team mainly focused on the ongoing phase II, but also asked major participants to reflect on developments from phase I till phase II.

The Norwegian embassy in Lilongwe told us that there have been few problems with the cooperation thus far. Most reports have arrived on schedule, and the relations between the embassy and the government of Malawi on cultural heritage are considered both good and direct.

From the project officer in the Government of Malawi, the Director of the Department of Culture, we were told that there have been some delays on the Malawian side, and that the Department will not be able to finish the work on

schedule (December 2008). The authorities will therefore have to ask Norway for a prolongation of phase II.

Phase II has had the following goal:

*The overall goal of the support is to have and protect vibrant Malawi culture for national identity, unity in diversity and sustainable economic development.*

The Objectives of the Programme are:

- To study, conserve, preserve, interpret and promote Malawi's cultural and natural heritage including monuments and relics
- To promote and uphold Malawi's socio-cultural values through the collection, publication and presentation of anthropological data and the arts
- To manage and modernise the preservation of collections and important public records.

The programme supported the following activities:

- Rehabilitation of Livingstonia Mission National monuments
- Study of Nkhotakota Old Boma
- Research on rain shrines
- Excavations of historical sites in Mangochi and Karonga districts
- Revival of Malawian children's traditional songs, stories and games
- Documentation of traditional architectural designs and technologies
- Documentation and storage of Malawi antiquities collections and monuments
- Rehabilitation of National Archives of Malawi
- Procurement of vehicles and equipment
- Training, marketing and publicity
- Roofing amphitheatre and installing amenities
- Monitoring and evaluation of the programme.

In addition, developing the Chongongi Rock Paintings in Dedza was included as an extra activity in phase I. This activity has continued through phase II, and all funding has not yet been disbursed (due to delayed reporting from the Department of Culture to the Norwegian Embassy).

Our evaluation of this NOK 8 million programme – 3 million for phase I and 5 million for phase II – shows that whilst some steps have been taken in the direction of economic development, no measurable results have been achieved when it comes to promoting national identity. It is also very difficult to see how the programme has contributed to “unity in diversity”. In the appropriation document for phase I of the agreement, “a strong national identity” was even defined as “an expected outcome”, clearly showing the original optimism created around the agreement. This expectation has been removed in phase II.

On the other hand, phase I of the agreement defined the overall programme goal in more realistic terms of public participation, poverty reduction and creativity.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> “The Goal of the Project is to contribute to poverty reduction by promoting participation in democratic processes and creating jobs for artists thereby contributing towards poverty reduction. This shall be achieved through the preservation of national cultural heritage, promotion of broader participation in cultural life, enhancement of the development of talent and creativity.” Appropriation document, approval date 21.12.2001.

In phase II the goal formulation suddenly appears as identical to the one used in the official National Cultural Policy of Malawi.<sup>77</sup> The national policy on culture, however, covers the whole cultural sector, and therefore includes measures and instruments that go far beyond cultural heritage. When the same goals are used for the far more modest Norway-Malawi cultural heritage agreement, however, it could be argued that a discrepancy between ambitions and feasibility is built into the programme from day one.

This change has also made it nearly impossible to use the overall goal as a background for the evaluation of the programme. It is difficult to see how the activities chosen in any way could translate into “national identity” and/or “unity in diversity”. Neither the links between activities and goals nor the overall connection between the defined heritage objects and national identity, appear to have been thoroughly discussed.

### **b. Discourses on identity and cultural heritage**

High-ranking officials in the Malawian cultural heritage sector admitted in our interviews that it is difficult to say that Malawi is any closer to a strong national identity today than before the programme started, and we found no indication that the link between cultural heritage and national identity has been properly operationalised.

There is a large literature on the complexity of identity formation within the social sciences, and it is surprising that – taking the ambitious aims of the Norwegian-Malawian programme into account – this discussion has hardly been reflected in project planning. A short review of this literature would show that the promotion of cultural heritage symbols might be both highly difficult as well as a controversial means of constructing a collective national identity.

Probably more now than ever before has “national identity”, symbolised by the *metonymical* flag, become a situational celebration of collective identity in the meeting with the external world. The international scene of music, film and/or sports, represent arenas where our national identities are expressed, for Malawians as well as for Norwegians.<sup>78</sup> This situational character of contemporary national identity could be seen as a safety valve that prevents potential hostility to transgress into more permanent forms. An example would be two people – wearing their national uniforms and flags – who meet as adversaries and even seeming enemies one day. When they meet the next day, however, in other contexts calling for other forms of symbolism and uniforms, the situational hostilities from yesterday become irrelevant and, therefore, do not spill over.

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<sup>77</sup> Republic of Malawi, Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture: *National Cultural Policy*.

<sup>78</sup> The following fieldwork excerpt provides an example of situational national identity formation in Malawi:  
*In the evening – after a long day of trying to understand if there is actually something called a national Malawian identity – I (Lønning) switch on my television set. I turn to the Malawian channel, for the seven o'clock news. In this small country surrounded by violent ethnic and social conflicts, the top story is about a girl from Malawi who has become second in the final of the TV-programme “Big Brother Africa”. This “breaking news” takes most of the programme time, and outbreaks of cholera in Zimbabwe and rapid escalation of the conflict in the Congo are just briefly mentioned in the end. A couple of nights later, I am walking in Lilongwe when the streets suddenly explode with Malawian flags, lots of people cheering, and a long envoy of honking cars. On the roof of the first car in the convoy, holding a large Malawian flag, is a young girl. People around me, seeing a somewhat bewildered foreigner, tell me that this is the girl in question. She has returned to Malawi “after representing us brilliantly and giving us a lot of pride abroad” as my helpful bystander explains. He goes on to say that this is one of the most positive things that has ever happened to Malawi, and that “she has made us proud of being Malawians”. “This is something every Malawian, no matter what tribe he or she belongs to, can rejoice in”, says another man nearby.*



When “national identity” is said to relate to *essence*, though, the picture becomes far more complex, challenging and confusing. Building identities around fixed objects and/or essences, no longer has this situational character. Strategy has shifted into attempts to construct lasting and unchanging difference.

Whilst situational identity to a large extent relates to performing the culture of the present – mastering symbols and expressions that appeal to the contemporary many – the cultural heritage sector traditionally draws its resources from the (most often material) culture(s) of the past. To be effective means of collective construction, however, both stories need to incorporate change. A surviving tradition is recognised by its ability to change (Lønning, 2007). To the extent that we can talk about collective identity as an identifiable expression of a culture and/or society, we are talking about expressions that are always under construction, used because they are perceived as meaningful for the effective mastering of the present. If cultural heritage is to become an integral part of contemporary identity – i.e. expand beyond a certain specialised sector of society – it has to relate to these same variables; meaningfulness and use-value in the present (ibid).

In the theoretical part of this report, we have discussed postmodern identity making and the search for local distinctiveness characteristic of the era of globalisation. These forms of identity constructions are no longer exogenous and national, but endogenous and regional, local and even individual. As this discussion showed, the revival of traditional food e.g. – a process that partly due to the growth of tourism is very visible also in developing countries – has less to do with reverence for the gastronomic knowledge of our great grandmothers than with our search for identity and distinctiveness in the present. This is an ever evolving bottom-up process. As a consequence, efforts to define and construct a national identity from the top, are very likely to fail. For cultural heritage to become part of contemporary identity, the symbols and expressions must be felt to be meaningful and relevant for the individual.

### **c. Cultural heritage in Malawi**

The fact that Malawi is a postcolonial state with a long pre-colonial history of inter-group turbulence and conflict, adds to the general difficulty of using cultural heritage as a means to promote national identity. To understand the context of the Norwegian-Malawian cooperation on cultural heritage, a brief historical background is needed. The following periodisation summarises some of the most important historical developments of the last 200 years of Nyasaland/Malawi:

*Pre-colonial*: ethnic politics, including serious inter-ethnic warfare and involvement in the slave trade.

*Colonial*: typical example of British colonial indirect rule with a strengthening of the power of local chiefs and headmen.

*Post-colonial dictatorship (1964 – 1993)*: One-man rule. Hastings Banda declared himself life-president, and also controlled cultural development.

*Post-dictatorship (1994 - )*: Multi-party democracy, but with a tendency to the return of ethnic politics (parties are strongly affiliated with ethnic groups and

tribes). The local chiefs and headmen are still powerful (“traditional authority”), and most contact between government and local population involves them.

This is a history of little national unity and much actual and potential division. Like so many other countries in Africa, the borders of Malawi are the product of colonialism. The implications of this, in the context of cultural heritage, are potentially huge. In a country with a large number of ethnic groups and tribes, some of them sharing a history of inter-group fighting, slave trade and outright massacre, tangible and intangible memories of the past might carry widely different meanings depending on belonging and background. As discussed in the theoretical section above, in situations like this, discourses of cultural heritage can even become deeply politicised and be transformed into cultural, social or outright territorial conflicts in the present.

This has not happened in Malawi. Unlike many of its neighbours, the post-colonial 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 [alluding to the work I've told him I'm doing]! 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. But the example that is used relates to intangible cultural practices that are in active temporary use. The motive is here not necessarily national but local and/or regional identity.

This latter statement was echoed by the large majority of non-Government affiliated people we talked to during fieldwork in Malawi. As *the model of continuity with the past* – the dominant Western discourse on cultural heritage – hardly appears to be ideally suited to post-colonial Malawi, we decided to use the first part of fieldwork to get a better understanding of how everyday Malawians understand their own culture and heritage. And the message we got was very clear: Intangible culture like dance and song appear to be on top of the list of what expressions people value the highest, and which therefore also might have the most emotive potential. Whilst Malawi hardly has monuments or monumental buildings comparable to the ones found in Ethiopia and Nepal, a large number of intangible traditions are integral parts of contemporary lives and cultures. Many people mentioned the famous dance *gule wamkulu* – performed by initiated dancers to appease the spirits at important life transition rituals.

No one we talked to outside the government cultural heritage sector had heard about the programme sponsored by Norway. Upon hearing the list of activities included in the programme, there were definite preferences for the intangible activities, along with the focus on rain shrines monuments. These activities should have been the main focus of the programme, people argued. Nobody we talked to appeared to identify with the colonial buildings chosen for restoration in the programme. Some were even outright hostile to this part of the cooperation, and argued that Malawi should not promote colonial remnants as tourist attractions but rather focus on celebrating the anti-colonial struggle.

#### **d. In-depth evaluation of programme activities**

As argued above, a major problem of the Norway-Malawi cultural heritage programme is the lack of clear and defined connections between chosen programme activities and overall programme goals (particularly in phase II). Government officials argued in interviews with us that the creation of a common national identity and a set of cultural symbols that could be used to communicate this identity, are prioritised aims of Malawian cultural policies. A set of common cultural symbols would be useful in the marketing of Malawi as a united nation state abroad. It is easy to understand this argument. But, at the same time, we have found no clear strategy describing how these *national* symbols will be created as part of the programme. A Senior official in the Department of Culture, indicated that the Norwegian-funded programme had not succeeded in creating these common symbols, and that the programme is no closer to developing these expressions after phase II than it was at the outset.

In order to be able to assess actual development on the ground, then, we therefore decided to evaluate activities more or less independently of overall programme goals, but still with a clear focus on the socio-cultural and historical context of Malawi, socio-economic development, as well as to whether popular involvement has been a prioritised aim of the programme.

In accordance with the general orientation of this evaluation – the focus on cultural heritage as a resource for development – we chose to make popular

involvement and participation a major focus in our work: To what extent are local people listened to and involved, and to what extent is the development of a model for cultural heritage, adapted to the special conditions of Malawi, articulated as an independent aim of the program?

Interviews with officials in the cultural heritage sector of Malawi, confirmed that most activities involving physical restoration have been accomplished according to schedule. Progress was also reported already in the mid-term evaluation of phase I.<sup>79</sup> The works that were not completely finished by then, have all been completed by late 2008, said an official from the Department of Culture.

Finished restoration works supported by Norwegian funds include:

- Livingstonia Mission
- Blantyre Old Boma (Blantyre District Court)
- National Archives in Zomba
- Top Mandela Museum Building
- Lilongwe Amphitheatre

Most of the restored buildings will be in active use in the future. The amphitheatre and the National Archives can be said to have a direct and positive impact on the culture and knowledge sector of Malawi. The team made a short visit to the National Archives in Zomba and talked to the librarian, who confirmed this positive view. Academics use the premises for research. The general public can use them to learn about the past and contemporary Malawian culture. As far as government functioning and policy, the National Archives' records can be used to measure potential progress in development.

On their part, the restored colonial monuments (Livingstonia and Blantyre Old Boma) do not necessarily have the highest identity value for the average Malawian, but could still prove valuable for tourism.

However, based on the comments we got from ordinary Malawians, who were pointing out song and dance as the most important cultural heritage of the country, as well as our general focus on local involvement and cultural heritage as resources for socio-economic development, we chose two activities for field trips and further study. These were:

- revival of children's games
- further development of the Chongoni rock art site

#### **e. Revival of children's traditional songs, stories and games**

This is the only defined activity within the programme agreement that focuses on intangible cultural heritage.<sup>80</sup> It takes place in two different areas of the Lilongwe district. The team met with the main person responsible for the project in one of these areas. She was the wife of a village headman, and the Department of Culture's primary contact person. Present at the meeting, which was organised as a focus group interview, was also a group of four men and four women from

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<sup>79</sup> Heldal, Inger, Charles Mkandawire, Hogne Langst, 2004: *Draft Report on the Mid-Term Review of the support to cultural promotion in Malawi project.*

<sup>80</sup> In our conversations the representatives of the cultural heritage authorities expressed that intangible heritage is important to Malawi and should be prioritised in the future.

the village. 10 young children from the compound also came to show us – with great enthusiasm and dedication – some of the songs they had learned through the programme.

The authority's main local cooperation partners are the village headmen. They send the children to the practice. The schools are not involved. Approximately two times every month, the children from several villages in the area meet to learn and practice a repertoire of traditional songs and dances known to village elders and other individuals in the area interested in the project. Some of these games are competitions, and these have been particularly popular among the children. Here the different compounds and villages can compete, and even if there are no physical prizes it is considered honourable to win. More and more children have participated, and the activity seems to have created a momentum of its own in the area. The people we talked to spoke with enthusiasm about the importance of transferring this old knowledge to the new generation. The project had made people, the old as well as the young, more interested in the traditional and local customs.

Many of the grown ups have also been present at these happenings, for entertainment but also because they want to support the idea of bringing the knowledge to the new generation. Few people have been opposed to the activity, but some villagers have argued that the energy should be used on food production instead.

The Ministry's work thus far, has consisted in documenting the lyrics of a range of different children's games. One officer had come from the Department of Culture to do the survey and documentation. The work has resulted in a brief report presenting the lyrics and a short interpretation of a range of children's songs. No step has been taken to use this material in active promotion and/or revival campaigns. The report concludes that extra funding is needed if the findings are to be used as learning material. Thus, at present, there appears to be no available funds for the active use of the gathered data.

Apart from this, the Ministry's direct involvement in the village has been limited. Only very small funds have been made available for the locals. The local organiser has received K3000 (NOK 140,-) for every gathering. Apart from this, a total sum of K2000 (NOK 95,-) has been made available for the participating children for every gathering to buy small pieces of soap for washing after the practice. As the number of children has increased, however, the amount has not been raised, meaning that many of the participating children will not receive the soaps they originally were promised. The activities take place on a dirt yard, and the children can get very dirty during the practice.

The village lies less than 45 minutes driving from Lilongwe, and the opportunity to see traditional dancing in the vicinity of the city would probably be welcomed by many tourists staying in the capital. The possibility of attracting tourists to the village to watch the performance of traditional dancing and singing was also mentioned by the representative of the Ministry at her first visit, but no further steps had been taken in this direction. No one from the Ministry had raised the

possibility of obtaining traditional costumes through the project. Without external support, the villagers would have no funds to buy these costumes.

The aspect of poverty and poverty alleviation was raised as very important by the villagers we spoke to. They clearly emphasised that the project, if it was to continue, should place more emphasis on some gains for the village. This would encourage more people to participate, and the negative voices would be silenced.

#### **f. Chongoni rock art site**

The team chose to look at this project as an example of a pre-colonial heritage that could perhaps be used as a common symbol, particularly as the people responsible for making the rock art, the Batwa, predate all existing ethnic groups in Malawi. The potential for tourism should also be present, as the sites lie in the beautiful Chongoni forest reserve, a place of considerable botanical interest. There are many attractive walking routes in the area, involving experiences of high natural and cultural value.

More than 200 rock art sites have been discovered in the forest, making the area unique in the region. The paintings are believed to have been made by the Batwa, a people of hunters and gatherers coming in from present day Congo almost 3000 years back. The Batwa were later evicted by the invading Bantus, but small groups of these people are said to have survived in remoter areas of Malawi (Mount Mulanje) until colonial times.

In 2006 the Chongoni rock art was inscribed on the UNESCO's World Heritage List. Funding from the Norwegian-Malawian cultural heritage programme has been central in the nomination and inscription process.

The area of Dedza is approximately 100 kilometres south of Lilongwe. There is no real organised tourism at the site. Visitors are either individuals coming on their own initiative or small groups coming with a guide from Lilongwe. In the vicinity of the rock art sites there is a Forestry College, with ecotourism and forestry tourism on its curriculum, and 10 villages with as many as 20 000 people altogether. There are therefore many potential local stakeholders. However, the large number of people living close to the site also bring challenges. Some of the sites in Chongoni have been heavily tagged down by graffiti. Sites that are close to the road, and therefore also have the highest tourism potential, have been particularly exposed. We visited two of these sites, and, unfortunately, the graffiti turned out to be a more dominant part of the rock inscriptions than the rock art itself. No attempt seemed to have been made to renovate the site and remove the graffiti. Our local guide told us that tourists have been at least as eager to put their initials on the stone as the locals. The problem, he said, is that there are no signs describing what the place actually is. We can testify to this. There was not a single piece of information provided explaining what the rock paintings are, what the UNESCO status implies, or why protecting the paintings is important. There was not even information sign saying that painting and drawing on the rock is illegal. This being the case, graffiti and "vandalism" (some of it paintings and lyrics) is hardly very surprising.

The Ministry had once put up a fence around one site, the guide told us, but not given any explanation to the locals why the fence was put up. Local children did not understand why they suddenly had been shut out from one of their favourite playing grounds, and they therefore tore the fence down. After this, nothing had happened; no information had been given from the Department of Antiquities to the locals, the guide told us. He himself had learned about the rock art and the people who made it at school when he was younger.

From the acting Director for the Department of Antiquities, we learnt that cooperation with locals was considered very important to the authorities. Including the locals as stakeholders could be an effective way of protecting the sites, and tourism would also bring money into the local communities. An information centre will therefore be built in the area. Norwegian funding will be used to put up this structure, but this funding is somewhat delayed (as we understood because of delayed reporting from the Department of Antiquities). A sensitisation and attitude formation campaign was being undertaken in the local villages, she said. When we asked for names of local collaboration partners, we were told that the Department had chosen to work through the local chiefs. We were not given any individual names. The accuracy of the information was therefore difficult to control. During our visit to the area, the villagers we talked to all denied having any knowledge of the Department of Antiquity's project. No one had informed them of the activity, and no one had asked them to join. Our informant told us that the villagers definitely would like to be involved. Many locals took pride in the rock paintings, particularly when tourists had started coming in from the outside to see them. If the locals were involved, they would be able to take care of the sites, and even function as guides. In this area, though, no one had been asked thus far.

The only information that had been given to the villagers had come from the Department of Forestry as part of broader information meetings about forestry and forest conservation. We asked local representatives from the forestry services, and they confirmed this. They told us that they were informing the public around the forest about forestry practices in general, and the rock paintings were part of the forest. They had had no relation to the cultural heritage authorities, and only knew of one site that had been renovated by these authorities.

From the Department of Culture, we were given the name of the Deputy Principal of the Forestry College as a local stakeholder. When we talked to him, however, he denied any knowledge of the project. The only relation they had had with the Department of Antiquities was an application to provide them with space for the information centre. There had been no interest in the competence and educational curriculum of the college, despite ecotourism being taught. The college also has a large number of beds that are vacant outside of the educational year. These would have been ideal for tourists, but no enquiry has been made in this direction. The Forestry College expressed a strong wish to be involved in the future, and stated that they would even be willing to adapt the curriculum to future development needs.

Unfortunately, then, we could find no evidence that local people were being included in project preparations. The activity appears to have been highly centralised to this point. Both the villagers as well as the Forestry College are ideally positioned to become central partners in the project, we failed to see that they have been included thus far. There is also a long way to go – with a lot of renovation, information, sign posting and road renovation – before the sites can be presented for tourists on a larger scale, and it is difficult to see how this could be done without involvement of local people. The Department of Forestry itself had not been involved – at least the local representatives – and this is equally surprising as they are the guardians of the forest.

#### **g. Competence and capacity building**

In both these activities, little effort has been made in practical terms by the cultural heritage authorities of Malawi to include local stakeholders. This is not conducive to poverty alleviation or socio-economic development. It is also difficult to see how such practices could benefit identity building. Acting director of the Department of Antiquities argued that the Ministry will be highly dependent on cooperating with the local population in the Chongoni project. This intention is positive, and should be followed up in practice.

The actions that we looked at had been conducted by people from the Ministry in Lilongwe. We failed to see any focus on competence building on the local level. Neither have investments thus far benefited the local villagers to any noticeable extent. In the children project, local spending has been minimal. In the Chongoni, we did not come across any villager who had been informed about the project.

When it comes to competence building in general, this has taken place in the Ministry itself. As indicated above, Norway has been Malawi's most important donor on cultural heritage. A masters programme for a Ministry employee has been financed by the use of Norwegian funds (at the University of Western Cape, South Africa). The student had not completed the programme by the time of writing. Most of the funding for capacity building has been used for office equipment and transport (cars) within the Ministry.

It was somewhat surprising to register that no effort has been made to include the academic and educational system of Malawi in the project. Neither the University of Malawi nor the Forestry College have been included as stakeholders. Director of the Department of Culture argued that the authorities could not afford using the universities for consultancies, but this argument would hardly apply to the development of university programmes within this field. As competence and identity building are important goals of the agreement, the educational institutions would probably be able to contribute, and should definitely be involved in the future.

In Chongoni, a cultural landscape park (Lønning, 2007), consisting of both natural and cultural elements and including the surrounding villages, could be an interesting option for the future. The main "attraction" here is *the cultured landscape* (ibid.), the interconnections between nature, culture and people. For



the locals, the feeling of being included and appreciated could lead to greater motivation and involvement in the preservation and development of the area. Rich experiences from countries like France and Italy, as well as recently from Norway (Aurland and Valdres), could in that case be used as reference material.

#### **h. A phase III?**

The people we talked to from the cultural heritage authorities of Malawi expressed a strong interest in renewing the agreement for a third phase. The relation to Norway as a donor was described as very positive, and no other donor had expressed a similar interest in culture. It was also described as positive that Norway did not interfere directly in the running of the programme, but disbursed the agreed funds if reports were delivered according to schedule.

A third phase is currently being discussed at the embassy in Lilongwe, and the results of this evaluation will be studied before a decision is made. Our findings regarding the Norway-Malawi agreement showed that whilst concrete tasks of restoration of buildings have been achieved, it is difficult to see concrete results when it comes to the programme's overall aims on national identity building and socio-economic development. Above we have pointed to some possible reasons:

- a) the goals are overambitious, and the linkage between cultural heritage and national identity has not been properly discussed and explored
- b) the links between programme goals and programme activities are unclear
- c) intangible cultural heritage has not been given enough value and attention
- d) the programme has been too centralised with limited involvement of local population (thereby limiting both socio-economic impact as well as popular motivation)
- e) lack of involvement of civil society and the educational/academic sector

These shortcomings should be addressed in a possible third phase. This could be done in one of the two following ways:

1. Change from programme to project focus and define a limited set of activities/projects with aims that are possible to realise within a limited time frame.
2. If the more general framework agreement is to be extended into a third period, the points stressed above should all be included in the goals. Involvement and cooperation with local people, the civil society and the educational sector should be safeguarded through the inclusion of a wider set of stakeholders.

#### **i. Support to the KuNgoni Centre of Culture & Art at the Mua mission**

##### **Norwegian funding:**

*NOK 150 000 for 2003: Electricity generator and air-conditioning for research library.*

*NOK 1,1 million between 2003 – 2006: KuNgoni Art and Craft Centre Expansion of Outreach programmes*

The goal of the largest of the two projects has been to aid Malawians in gaining

a deeper understanding and pride of their own country's cultural identity. Project beneficiaries are Malawians who come to Mua, members of the local community of Mua, and overseas students who come to Mua to study Malawian culture.

The activities of the programme have been:

- Completion of accommodation facilities at Mua
- Creation of videos on local cultures and cultural events
- Allowing for use of KuNgoni's cultural programmes outside the centre
- Safeguarding KuNgoni collections
- Creating a research centre on Malawi cultures

#### **j. Short presentation of the centre**

Whilst natural resorts and Lake Malawi are considered the main tourist attractions in the country, there are also some attractive cultural sites. The KuNgoni Centre of Culture & Art at the Catholic mission in the village of Mua, is definitely one of them. A visit to this centre allows for a both interesting and educational introduction to the different cultures of tribal Malawi, with a special focus on dance.

The centre has been developed by Father Claude Bouchet over a period of more than 30 years, and today includes a cultural museum depicting important cultural traditions of all major Malawian tribes, a crafts workshop for wood carving and embroidery, providing 150 local families with income, a shop selling locally produced art, an outdoor stage where traditional dances are performed, a small zoo, a guest house and a library with research facilities and a large collection of ethnographic material on Malawian tribal culture (opened by HRH princess Märtha Louise in 2003). An exhibition centre for Malawian arts made at the site is under development.

The centre is popular with tourists, but is widely used by Malawians as well. The annual traditional dance festival has gained in popularity with dance groups coming from all over the country (unique in Malawi), and school classes also regularly use the premises. The wood carvings made at Mua are famous, and some of them are on display in the Vatican museum. The KuNgoni centre arranges educational courses as well as supply tools for local craftsmen, and the shop at the centre sells the locally made products. All items are marked with the name of the craftsman, and when an item is sold this person gets his payment immediately (less a small administrative fee that goes to running the shop itself). There is a good turnover at the shop, and the arrangement thereby represents a good and reasonably stable income for the local population. The centre can also arrange with performances of Malawian dance and song for groups of visitors, with the income going to the regular group of 40 local performers.

#### **k. The Norwegian support**

The projects supported by Norwegian funds at the KuNgoni centre have been clearly defined, feasible, and conducted according to schedule. The programme (and the centre) has a clear focus on the variation and richness of Malawian cultures, but

approaches the theme in a descriptive and exploratory way without normatively superimposing a “national identity”. This endogenous approach to culture and identity is in line with existing knowledge on effective local development.

Self-sufficiency is a central idea of the KuNgoni centre, meaning that ideally no external funding shall be needed for the daily running of the facilities. However, when new projects and schemes are being introduced, funders are sought for the first phase of implementation. The Norwegian funding has been used to expand on the centre’s outreach and communication programmes and facilities.

In an internal evaluation of the first project support in 2003, Givah Hendrinah, formerly responsible for cultural projects at the Norwegian embassy in Lilongwe, writes that the support has been small but that it still has made a huge impact. This effective use of funds at KuNgoni, opened up for the larger cooperation between 2003 - 2006. The Director of the centre also told us that the cooperation with Norway had been very positive. He looked upon Norway as a dedicated and committed partner on cultural development, and particularly emphasised the interest of former Norwegian ambassador to Malawi,<sup>81</sup>

It is also very easy to see clear benefits for the local population of the Norwegian support. All KuNgoni projects have the aim of trying to create new opportunities for the village. The Director emphasised in our conversation that clear and concrete benefits for local people are very important when developing the cultural sector in a poor country like Malawi. Survival needs to come first, also when it comes to cultural heritage, he argued. The use of culture for local development is therefore very concrete at KuNgoni.

In general the centre appears to be well run, and will probably continue to be one of the most important arenas for the learning and promotion of traditional culture in Malawi. The concrete links between culture and development could be a model for others to follow. It would therefore be our view that Norway should look favourably on potential future applications for support, as long as these have the same focus on creating new local development opportunities.

The Norwegian support for the KuNgoni Arts and Crafts Centre is of a very different nature than the general framework agreement between Norway and Malawi, and the two programmes are difficult to compare directly. It is still somewhat surprising that the resources and knowledge gathered over so many years at the KuNgoni, have not been called upon in relation to the Norway-Malawi cooperation. In future cultural heritage support to Malawi, the KuNgoni centre should be included as a stakeholder. This will probably benefit both the agreement as well as KuNgoni.

## **I. Conclusions**

The two cases presented above represent contrasting approaches to promoting

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81 Malawian government officials made the same remark: Norway’s interest in culture had been stronger under the former ambassador.

cultural heritage. In the Norwegian-Malawian framework agreement a broad sector orientation, including the need to build institutions, is emphasised. This focus is in line with recommendations in the Norwegian strategy for the promotion of culture in development cooperation. At the same time the strategy clearly states that a precondition for support is a distinct willingness and ability to include the local population and local stakeholders in general. In this evaluation we have questioned whether this latter perspective has been enough valued in the Norwegian-Malawian cooperation. The cultural heritage sector is being developed due to Norwegian support, but real local involvement should be prioritised and secured in future support.

The second case has been presented as very successful. At the same time it is an example of “traditional” small-scale project-oriented support, a form of support that is not encouraged by the strategy. However, KuNgoni shows the importance of the successful individual examples when it comes to cultural heritage development projects. The combinations of creativity, interest and local knowledge that make up the centre could be used as motivational and learning arenas for other projects and interested individuals/groups in the future.

## Annex 8: Nepal: UNESCO Regional Networks

By: Siri Lange, Dixeta Silwal, and Srijana Pun

### a. Overview of Norwegian support to cultural heritage in Nepal

This case study looks at Norwegian support to the cultural heritage sector in Nepal.<sup>82</sup> The main focus is a UNESCO project conducted in cooperation with Nordic World Heritage Foundation: *Cultural Survival and Revival in the Buddhist Sangha* - a regional network including eighteen sites. The activities in Nepal were taking place in Lalitpur<sup>83</sup> (training in hymn recitation) and Kathmandu (ritual initiation and training in Sand *mandala* for monks from Mustang) in the period 2004-2007. The project took place in eight countries, but the study will cover activities in Nepal only.

In addition to the Buddhist Sangha project, the study will briefly refer to two other regional UNESCO projects that have included Nepal:

- *Training Programme for the Restoration and Conservation of Himalayan Monastic Heritage* – a regional network involving three countries in the period 2004-2006.
- *Development of Cultural and Eco-Tourism in the Mountainous Region of Central Asia and the Himalayas* - a network involving seven countries. The activities in Nepal were taking place in Humla in the period 2002-2006.

### b. Cultural Heritage in Nepal

Nepal has a population close to 30 million and there are more than 20 different ethnic groups in the country, most of them hailing from India and Tibet. More than 80 per cent of the population identify themselves as Hindus, and Nepal is the only official Hindu state in the world. Buddhists make up around 10.7 per cent. The two religions are closely interlinked; many Buddhists worship Hindu deities, and a number of homes display both Hindu and Buddhist religious symbols. Around four per cent of the population are Muslim. Religious activities and festivals are very distinct features of Nepalese society.

Nepal has eight cultural World Heritage Sites. Up to now, international support to cultural heritage has to a large degree focused on these sites, while there has been less interest in the rich intangible cultural heritage of the country. Nepal has suffered from political conflict over the last 30 years. Multiparty democracy was introduced in 1990, but in 1996, civil war broke out between Maoist insurgents and government forces. In November 2006, a peace accord was achieved, and

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<sup>82</sup> Norway has supported the cultural sector in Nepal bilaterally in the period 2003-2009. The two projects have intangible cultural heritage components, like documenting traditional music and dance, but cultural heritage is not the main focus of the two projects. They will therefore not be included here.

<sup>83</sup> Lalitpur is also called Patan.

during spring and summer 2008, Nepal was declared a democratic federal republic, the King vacated the throne, and the first President was elected.<sup>84</sup> The political unrest has had a very negative effect on the development of the country in general, and the safeguarding of cultural heritage has been difficult. The political situation has no doubt entailed a difficult working situation for the evaluated projects.

### *Buddhism in Nepal*

There are three main forms of Buddhism in Nepal; the Newar tradition, also called Newar Vajrayana Buddhism (Thapa, 2001:42), the Theravada tradition, and the Tibetan tradition. Newar Buddhism is the traditional form of Buddhism in the Kathmandu valley. This tradition does not include temples, but sacred courtyards called *vihara* (or *bahah*). In Newar Buddhism there are no full-time monastics, but “a sacerdotal caste of married domestic and temple priests, the Vajracharyas and Shakyas” (Gellner and Le Vine 2007:141). The priests adopt the position of monks when they carry out their religious roles. There has been contact between Newar and Tibetan Buddhism for centuries. The third form, Theravada Buddhism, is the result of a Buddhist revivalism in the Kathmandu valley in the 1920s. The goal of the movement was to reform Newar Buddhism “by reintroducing to Nepal the genuine monasticism which had metamorphosed into a caste of householder priest in the Middle Ages” (ibid. 147). Theravada quickly won popularity. Today, there are 98 Theravada monasteries in Nepal, while there were none in 1930. In the Kathmandu valley, Tibetan Buddhism is the most visible form of Buddhism, partly because it is the form that receives most funding, and it is said that this form ‘overshadows’ the other two (ibid. 167). In Mustang, where one of the projects have taken place, the people are ethnic Tibetans and follow the Sakya Buddhist sect (Saul, 1999).

### ***The different administrative actors within the cultural field***

#### *Ministry of Culture and Reconstruction*

Cultural heritage is located under the newly formed Ministry of Culture and Reconstruction. Due to the recent conflict and the political and administrative challenges of the country the emphasis of the Ministry is on reconstruction. Moreover, cultural heritage is located under Department of Archaeology. There is no institution that is directly responsible for intangible heritage. With the new regime, the knowledge of English in the Ministry is said to be much poorer than it used to be. This can have a negative effect on the cooperation with donors.

#### *Municipalities*

Planning and implementing of heritage conservation in Nepal is the responsibility of the municipalities, and public private partnership is often employed in the conservation efforts.<sup>85</sup>

Listed World Heritage Sites are an exception to this rule – they are the responsibility of the Culture and Heritage Department.

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<sup>84</sup> A new constitution is due in April 2010. One model that is considered is a federal state, based on ethnicity. This solution will represent enormous challenges in terms of language issues, and the idea of national culture.

<sup>85</sup> Interview with Saubhagya Pradhanaga, Culture and Archaeology Officer, Lalitpur Municipality, 31.12.08.

### *UNESCO High Commission*

The UNESCO National Commission is directly connected to the Ministry of Education and has 14 staff members. The work is organised through five committees, the Cultural Committee being one of them. The Cultural Committee concentrates its work on the Kathmandu Valley (world heritage site), but is increasingly aware of the importance of intangible culture, and has recently contributed to a UNESCO report on intangible cultural heritage in Nepal.

### *UNESCO Field Office*

The Field Office has twenty 20 staff members, but only the Head of the office fulfils the UN standards for professional staff members. Only one staff member works on cultural issues. In terms of culture, the field office focuses on Lumbini, the birth place of the Lord Buddha. The UNESCO field office provides the technical support required in connection with the World Heritage sites, but apart from this, it does not influence the planning and implementing of heritage conservation in Nepal.<sup>86</sup>

### *Coordination between the stake holders*

The cooperation between the UNESCO High Commission and the UNESCO Field Office is limited. For example, the Field Office is not asked to comment on project proposals written by the High Commission and sent to the UNESCO headquarters. In the case where the High Commission communicates with the Field Office, it is at a later stage. This is the way that the UN system is organised, and is not unique to Nepal. The Deputy Secretary of the High Commission claimed not to have heard about the three regional UNESCO projects in question.

The Field Office elaborates its own projects, and deals with the government and local authorities, the Department of Archaeology at the Ministry in particular. In the case of the Buddhist Sangha project, the Field Office paid some visits to observe the training sessions, but apart from that, there was little coordination. As pointed out by the Culture Unit officer at the Field Office: "We get our budget from the headquarters to do our regular activities. When a project like this (Buddhist Sangha) comes over the extra-budgetary funds and on a cross-cutting theme, we have low stake in it". The coordination and cooperation between the Kathmandu Field Office, the UNESCO office in Bangkok, and the cluster office in India was also reported to be poor.

## ***National priorities – intangible versus tangible culture***

### *Intangible culture*

Nepal is in the process of ratifying the UNESCO convention on intangible culture. According to the UNESCO high Commission, there has been little awareness about the value of intangible culture up to now. Funding for this sector has been almost non-existent, compared to donor funding for the many historical monuments in the country. The Cultural Committee of the High Commission now prioritises intangible culture in their project priorities, but the Nepali government as such does not support this, partly because the country is in a transitional

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<sup>86</sup> Interview with Ms. Neepuna Shrestha, Officer of Culture Unit, UNESCO, 30.12.08.

period, partly because it is hard to achieve direct results in the field of intangible culture. The cultural committee see it as a challenge that few people understand what intangible culture is about, and the convention is little known. One way to redress this situation, in this informant's view, would be to target school children. The challenge is that one must have knowledge to teach about cultural heritage – a knowledge the teachers don't have at this point in time.

#### *Heritage and economic benefit through tourism*

Up to now, it is mainly the natural heritage like mountains and river that have been in focus in promoting the tourism sector. The Municipality of Lalitpur aims to portray Lalitpur city as a Cultural city, and the cultural department is prioritised when it comes to planning/budgeting. According to the informants, economic constraints mean that even if a monument is renovated, there is a danger that after five or six years it may go back to same state because of lack of maintenance. Those who have been trained through projects like the Buddhist Sangha can pass their knowledge on, but they need resources which most of them lack.

### **c. Project evaluation**

#### ***Buddhist Sangha***

The full title of the Buddhist Sangha project is: Buddhist Sangha: Cultural Revival and Survival in the Buddhist Sangha: Documentation, Education and Training to Revitalise Traditional Decorative Arts and Building Crafts in the Buddhist Temples of Asia. Buddhist Sangha means the monastic body, and the project was specifically targeting the monks.

The Norwegian Foreign Ministry funded the project with NOK 12.5 million (approximately US\$ 1.7 million) in the period 2004 to 2007. This funding covered eighteen sites in eight countries, so that the project costs per site were less than NOK 690 000. Later, the project received supplementary funding from the Government of New Zealand.

The project was a continuation of a project implemented in Luang Prabang, Laos PDR, where a training centre was established as part of the project. In addition to Nepal (Lalitpur and Mustang), the following countries and sites were included in Phase Two: Cambodia (Phnom Penh and Siem Riep), China (Yuannan and Sichuan), India (Ladakh, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh), Laos PDR (Luang Prabang, Bokea, Champasak, Savanakheth), Mongolia (Erdene Zuu), Sri Lanka (Kandy), Thailand (Nan and Nakhon Si Thammarat). Part of the motivation for the project was to establish contact between the Theravada school of Buddhism and the Vajrayana School (Tibet tradition). Nepal Buddhism belongs to the latter tradition. The present case study looks at the results of the project activities in Nepal only.

The project addressed both tangible and intangible heritage. The overall project goals were to:

- assure the survival and continued social and economic relevance of the traditional system of fine arts and building craft apprenticeship
- provide economic benefits to the community through employment opportuni-



ties and supplementary income for men whose levels of formal education are generally low

The project was organised by the Bangkok office. The Norwegian funding included a total sum of 350.000 to NWHF.<sup>87</sup>

#### **d. Project activities in Nepal**

The activities in Nepal took place in Lalitpur, Kathmandu and Mustang in the period 2004-2007.

##### ***How Nepal got involved in the project***

The proposal for the project component in Nepal was written by a local consultant who earlier had been involved in another UNESCO project, called Urban Management and Economic Diversification. The project was considered a success and the consultant was asked to write a proposal for the Buddhist Sangha project in Nepal, where he explained how Buddhism is practiced in Lalitpur. Buddhism in Lalitpur is characterised by household monks who are common, married men, but who have their own hierarchy for religious training. A major issue in the proposal was to explain that the household monks are just as important as the other monks. The consultant did this in cooperation with other people, among them the Deputy Mayor, and the cultural officer of the Municipality. One and a half year later, the project was approved, and the consultant was asked to take part in the local coordination committee, while Lotus Research Centre and the Gyalpo Jigme Cultural Conservation Foundation were asked to be the local implementing partners.

##### ***Lalitpur/Patan: Hymn recitation and Chaitya construction***

Lalitpur is also called Patan. In our view, the description of the project in the Final Report of the Buddhist Sangha project gives a somewhat romantic description of the project area:

Lalitpur, composed of a cluster of monastic communities, is culturally significant in terms of its built and living heritage, and religious traditions. Inhabitants are mostly the Vajracharyas (Buddhist priests) and Shakyas (semi-priests). Hymn recitation is part of daily life. Local inhabitants are mostly artisans engaged in various art-craft traditions of stone, metal and wood (Final Report, 2008).

This description was perhaps true forty years ago, but today Lalitpur is one of the four largest cities in Nepal, officially called Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan City (melted together with Kathmandu). It is a popular tourist destination because of Lalitpur Durbar Square (part of the World Heritage site Kathmandu Valley). The population numbers around 200 000.

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<sup>87</sup> NOK 50.000, 100.000 and 200.000 in each year respectively. Main tasks: advice and communication of results.

### **Implementing partner: Lotus Research Centre**

The project was implemented by the Lotus Research Centre, an NGO founded in 1988. LRC had five staff members when the project was initiated. The objective of the centre is to preserve and promote the Buddhist culture of Nepal Mandal. This is done through research, translation and publishing of Buddhist Sanskrit scriptures, support to the “weaker section of the Nepalese society in their efforts to acquire knowledge and skills”, and through the promotion of cultural exchange programmes. The centre runs a college for Buddhist training, affiliated to the public Tribuvan University. LRC does not have any regular donor support, but asks for donations from different organisations.

### **Activities**

The project activities started in February 2005. First, a general appeal was distributed in all the *vihars* (religious centers) of Lalitpur and other places of the Buddhist community and a questionnaire was distributed to authorities of Mahaviars of Lalitpur to identify the needs (LRC 2005a). In early March, a one-day introductory and discussion program was arranged for 150 participants. The program was inaugurated by the Minister of Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation (LRC 2005b). Participants were representatives of 32 mahavihars, stakeholders, local Buddhist scholars, distinguished persons of the Buddhist communities, skilled artisans, craft persons and traditional masters. Experts on wood and brick work gave lectures.

Three committees were set up: Local Coordination Committee (10 members, to meet every Sunday), National Supervisory Committee (9 members), and Task Force Committee (9 members). A representative of Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan city office and a representative of NCC-NFE, were members of all the three committees.

According to the first progress report (February –March 2005) the Task Force was given the task to make a need assessment for the skill training programme. The group came up with the following areas: wood craft, stone craft, and brick craft. Resource persons were identified for each of them. The first progress report states that recourse persons would also be identified for lime plaster, paintings, and *charya* music. In the second progress report (March-May 2005), the tradition of hymn recitation has been added. On the basis of the documented information, a curriculum and guidebook were prepared. The material was prepared after consultation with a number of relevant offices and institutions.

At this point, an officer from the Bangkok office made a visit to the project. The second progress report says that some changes were made “after suggestions received from UNESCO office for shifting project focus into the revival of crafts linked to the ritual of worship.” It was decided to focus on stone craft and hymn recitation only.

### **Recitation of stotra (hymns)**

*Stotra* are memorized prayers which contain the basic teachings of Buddha. They are recited in a group in a melodious way. According to project document, *stotras*

are recited early in the morning and in the evening in the Buddhist *vihar* or *bahi*. LRC informed the team that these days it is only done in the morning.<sup>88</sup> The recitation of *stotras* has for some years been conducted by aged people only. A motivation for the project was therefore to revive the *stotras* to “attract the youth” (LRC 2005a).

#### *Training at Gunalaxmivarna Mahivar, Dhumbahal*

- Management Committee formed (9 members).
- Training for three months from mid November 2006 (evening classes, 1.5 hours) for 38 persons. 36 completed, 17 males and 19 females
- All the members of the committee, all the trainers and all the participants were Bajarcharya,<sup>89</sup> except two women who were Shakya<sup>90</sup>
- Trainers: ven. Purna Raj Bajaracharya, Chakreshwor Aaju and ven Sapta Raj Bajaracharya.

#### *Training at Rakshewor Mahvivar, Pulchok*

- Management Committee formed (7 members).
- Training for three months from 23. November 2006 (evening, 1.5 hours).
- 45 persons enrolled and all completed. 16 males and 29 females received certificates.
- All the members of the committee are Shakya, two of the trainers, and all the trainees.

#### **Stone craft – Chaitya construction**

The *chaitya* is a miniature of the Swoyambhu *chaitya* (sacred land) used in worship. It resembles a pyramid, but it is round. They are considered holy and are very popular in the Kathmandu valley. The proper methods of *chaitya* construction were declining at the time when the project was initiated.

#### *Training at Mayurvarna Mahavihar*

- Management Committee formed (13 members)<sup>91</sup>
- The training was a advanced level training on stone craft for trainees trained in the second phase of the project.
- Daily from 7-10.
- 11 former trainees enrolled, 10 males and one female, and all completed. They constructed one stone chaitya each.
- All the trainees, save one Shakya were Bajaracharya
- Trainers: Mr. Lok Raj Bajaracharya and Mr. Rajendra Bajaracharya (assistant).
- Documentation in written, photographic and audio video medium.

According to the final report for the Buddhist Sangha project, training in metal work was done, but LRC informed the team that the training was not done in the way that it was planned because of budget constraints. The aim was to train people in producing big statues. LRC explained that metal is an expensive material, and the process is very complicated and time consuming. The list on

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<sup>88</sup> Interview with Manik Ratna Shakya, 01.12.08.

<sup>89</sup> Bajracharya is the second name of the highest ranking of the Newar castes that are born Buddhist.

<sup>90</sup> Shakya is the second name of the second highest cast among the Newar. They are priests and traditionally gold smiths.

<sup>91</sup> There were more committee members than the number of people to be trained.

project documentation output in the final report lists documentation on Stone Chaitya Construction, Hymn Recitation, Initiation rites, and Sand Mandala, but nothing on Metal work (UNESCO 2008:37).

#### **e. Mustang: Initiation and sand mandala**

Mustang District is located in the far north-west of the country, bordering Tibet. The district is accessible only by foot (3-4 days walk) or by helicopter. Historically, Mustang was central in the trade route for salt from Tibet.

#### **Implementing partner: Mustang: Lo Gyalpo Jigme Cultural Conservation Foundation**

Lo Gyalpo Jigme Cultural Conservation Foundation is an NGO established by the former Royal family of Mustang. The foundation focuses on the education sector and the preservation of cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible.<sup>92</sup> Prince Jigme attended the Buddhist Sangha meeting in Sikkim, India, while his cousin, represented the Foundation in later meetings. At the beginning of the project a task group went to different monasteries in Mustang to do a need assessment. Prince Jigme told the team that he made two requests for project activities in Mustang at the meeting in Sikkim, India: Repair of the monasteries, and training of monks in wood carving and *thangka* paintings. During the project period, LRC went to Mustang to train the Mustang project team in documentation techniques. This part of the project involved cross mentoring for two years.

#### **Sand mandala**

Sand *mandala* are ritual, graphic designs made of coloured sand. The sand *mandalas* are required in ritual worship. To make sand *mandala*, one has to grind the stones, and colour the sand in many different colours. The colours are imported from Kathmandu. The sand *mandala* are made in the Monastery, in the main praying room. Visitors are allowed to see it during the prayer. Immediately after the service is over, it is removed, and the local farmers use the sand in their fields – it is believed that it helps keep away bugs etc. Somewhere between fourteen and twenty young monks (16-21 years old)<sup>93</sup> from different monasteries in upper Mustang were selected for five weeks training at the premises of Lo Gyalpo Jigme Cultural Conservation Foundation in Kathmandu.

#### **Initiation to Wong**

The ritual initiation of Wong, Lung and Thee are required for lamas to enable them to perform advanced religious rituals. Previously, the monasteries had close ties with Tibet, and head monks from Tibet used to come to Mustang to help conduct the initiation rites. After Tibet was occupied by China, this has become very difficult. The remoteness of Upper Mustang has prevented elderly monks/masters from lowland Nepal to visit the site to conduct the training. It has therefore been a big problem for the Mustang monasteries to preserve their heritage.

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92 Interview with Tsewang Bista.

93 Informants give different numbers. Tsewang Bista says 14 monks were trained, while LRC says 20.

When asked why the elder monks in Mustang could not train the younger, the documentation leader of LRC answered that “senior monks would only give training to the junior monks if they requested it, and if the junior did not ask, the old ones would take it with them in their death.” Another challenge, he added, is the strict rules. “Monks from one monastery can not be trained by monks from another monastery in Mustang due to rules of hierarchy”. The project therefore had to hire a high ranking monk from India to train the 228 monks.<sup>94</sup>

### **Number of participants and gender balance**

The majority of the persons who have been involved in the project in Nepal are men. The project application was transparent about this, saying that the training will not include women, because “the training in these traditional skills is the responsibility of novices, monks and former monks” (UNESCO 2008:11). It is added that women will benefit from the project both socially and culturally, including “improved economic activity associated with increased visits to the temples”. However, women were encouraged to participate in the training programs (LRC 2007), and 45 of the trained persons in Nepal were women. At the committee level, however, there was only one woman - the representative of the Municipality.

### **Trainees and committee members**

	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Committees</b>			
National Supervision Committee	9	1	10
The Task Force committee	6	0	6
Advisory committee	4	0	4
<b>Trainees Lalitpur</b>			
Trainees of hymn recitation at Gunalaxmivarna	23	15	38
Trainees of hymn recitation at Raksheswor Mahavihar	15	29	44
Trainees of stone chaitya construction at Mayurvarna Mahavihar	10	1	11
Metal embossing	25		25
Training in Sand Mandala	20	0	20
Trainees in Mustang			
Ritual initiation	228	0	228
<b>Total number of trainees, Nepal</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>361</b>

It should be noted that the different people who have been interviewed, and the different reports, give different numbers as to how many people have been

<sup>94</sup> According to LRC, the monks were not trained in the Monastery of Mustang, but in Bugda, Kathmandu, since the high ranking monk from India was not allowed to go to Mustang for political reason (too close to Tibet). This information is contradicted by the Lo Gyalpo Jigme Cultural Conservation Foundation which says that “we brought teachers from India to Mustang to train the young monks there”.

trained. As for Lalitpur, the figure above is based on the numbers presented in the project reports produced at the local level by LRC. The Final Report of the Buddhist Sangha project cites higher numbers (UNESCO 2008:40).

#### **f. Relevance**

##### ***Relevance in relation to national priorities***

Government officials had different views as to the relevance of the project. One of them was very sceptical towards the project – and questioned whether it was necessary and useful to the people of Nepal. He argued that a mapping of the needs in Nepal should have been done before it was decided that the Buddhist Sangha should be implemented. Two informants criticized the project for being designed by a small group of people abroad who were particularly interested in Buddhism. It should be noted that the failure to appreciate the project may perhaps be due to the fact that Nepal is a Hindu state.

The team expected that the focus on one religion would perhaps be controversial in a country that is extremely diverse, among the poorest in the world, and in a transition period after a conflict where Maoists were one of the parties. This worry was countered by the Culture and Archaeology Officer of the Municipality who was involved in the project:

*We need to focus on religious group because different religions have different heritages. Without collaborating with religious groups, we can not run any project because they have the knowledge about their religion - we as a technical people do not have such knowledge. They have both experience and ideas about conservation<sup>95</sup>*

The same informant praised the project for working on heritage that was not connected to one of the World Heritage sites – since the latter tend to get all the attention from foreign donors. In our view, the Buddhist Sangha was relevant in terms of national priorities in Nepal because it had a major focus on intangible heritage. However, since the project was a regional project, the possibilities for Nepalese stake-holders to participate in the planning and implementation were limited.

##### ***Relevance in relation to local priorities***

Need assessments were done in all the involved communities, but the project managers in Bangkok in several cases disregarded these priorities. First, LCR told the team that the needs assessment identified the traditional way of painting the house with stone paint (outside and inside) as the most important skill to revive in Lalitpur. As far as LRC is informed, there are now only four people in Lalitpur who know how to do this. UNESCO Bangkok told LRC to focus on hymn citation, initiation and sand *mandala* instead.<sup>96</sup> Also in the case of Mustang, the training was for other skills than those initially requested by the local stakeholders.

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<sup>95</sup> The answer was a response to the question "In your personal view, when foreign donors are giving support to the cultural heritage sector in Nepal, is it fine to focus on one religious group (like in the Buddhist Sangha project), or should projects be more general?"

<sup>96</sup> Interview with Manik Ratna Shakya, 01.12.08.

### **Relevance in relation to Norwegian priorities**

The Norwegian strategy emphasises the economic potential of culture. In Nepal, the idea that heritage can be economically beneficial is still in its infancy. In the words of the Culture and Archaeology Officer of Lalitpur Municipality:

*Since we are religious people, we don't see the economic aspect. People feel that if we preserve our heritage, then it is religiously good for us. But I think the economic aspect is coming up. (...) Only if we earn income from our heritage we will have money to conserve it. What we need to keep in mind that economic aspect does not mean commercialisation where the authenticity of the heritages might get distorted.*

We asked LRC in what ways the hymns help the community, and if there were any economic benefits, and got the following response:

*It is basically to keep the tradition intact. There is no economical benefit at all. The whole training – the three parts – was not intended for economic effect. If we could have completed the metal training - perhaps there would have been economical benefits. Our aim was to train people to make the big statues, but we weren't able. The scope of the economic benefits lies in that. And they did not try to market what they learned. They basically kept it to themselves...*

The informant emphasised that the demand for training on metal repose was still there, and explained that while hymns recitation is relevant for monks first of all, metal work is relevant and attractive for a much larger group of people, and many wanted to be part of it. It should be noted that LRC's emphasis on this need could be motivated by a wish to secure new funding.

### **g. Effectiveness**

Compared to the ambitious ideas for the Buddhist Sangha project in Nepal, the effectiveness of the project has been somehow limited. There appears to have been lack of communication between the Bangkok office and the project implementers in Nepal. The first project report envisages training in a number of fields, and local persons who were willing to provide the training had been identified. The training fields were to be wood craft, metal craft, stone craft, wall painting, and Charya dance. The Final Report for phase one says that after the documents had been developed and sent to UNESCO Bangkok, "some valuable comments were made and sent back to us":

*The suggestion was to shift focus from the architectural side to some specific skills and arts which are more related to rituals and fast disappearing. Skills related to building construction like brick work, plastering are to be replaced by skills involving artefacts related to rituals. Also suggestions were made to identify only a few arenas keeping in view of constraints of the Research Centre (LRC 2005:7).*

We find this shift in focus – after a lot of work had already been done – very unfortunate. The Bangkok office should have made the financial limits clear to the partners in Nepal for the very start to avoid a situation where totally unrealistic plans were set.

The participants who took part in the training in hymn recitation say that they practice hymn recitation once a week, for one hour in the late afternoon. One of the participants had this to say about the role of hymn citation in their local community:

*It is very important for us. We recite them when we pray to God every morning in our homes and also when we visit temple sand vihars. When someone gets sick, we go and recite the hymn so that person gets well soon. In every important occasion whether bad or good, we recite the hymn, so it has a very important role in our lives as well as in our community. Since the trainees have formed a group, this has brought us together and hence we are bonded. Some even invite us in their home to recite the hymn as they might be having special occasion like new birth, birthday, travelling abroad etc.*

According to the final report, one of the project objectives that have been met is improved economic opportunities (UNESCO, 2008:7). In the case of Nepal, this does not appear to be the case.

#### **h. Efficiency**

A relatively high percentage of the total project funds were spent on UNESCO monitoring, overhead, international workshops etc. In year two, only around 50% of the total budget went to local implementation (NOK 360,000 out of 714,785). The budget for each site was US\$ 20,000 per year. In year three, the budgeted amount for the local institutions was even less, US\$12.000 per site, and only around one third of the total budget.

The majority of the local stakeholders who were asked about this policy unanimously agreed that the advantages of big regional projects like Buddhist Sangha were too few to defend this way of organising heritage projects. Their impression was that far more activities could have been implemented if the same amount of money had been spent on local projects. This attitude was particularly strong in the case of Lalitpur, where the project had envisaged training in a much higher number of fields.

The representative of LRC, who went for the evaluation workshop abroad, had this to say: "It is better to use the funds for training locally – like the metal training that we didn't do. It is good to meet, but better if the money had been spent locally." The project leader who also took part in several of the international seminars, agreed:

*It wasn't effective to include so many sites. The training that was done here was more important than the meetings abroad. The workshops abroad – people have different problems - we did cross mentoring, and we participated very actively. There were many interesting things that we wanted to learn from the other countries, but there was not enough money. All in all, it would have been more effective to spend the money locally – to use it at grass root level.*



A representative of the Mustang NGO emphasised that it was hard conducting the activities on the available budget:

*Our impression of working with UNESCO is that we had to do lot of paper work for a small amount. The funds provided were not sufficient, we faced a hard time organising the training with that amount. Smaller projects are more efficient because we can manage them easily and the impact can be seen quickly.*

The representative of the local authorities on the other hand, was far more positive towards the idea of regional projects:

*I got to participate in the workshop outside country. I got to know how things are done outside country. So, it would be good if the trainers are taken for exposure visits to such countries which are famous in conservation of heritages. This visit should be done before the project implementation. This would help the trainers transfer their knowledge to the trainees here.*

The evaluation team finds it hard to judge the value of regional projects compared to local projects on the basis of these comments and the project reports. A closer involvement of the Field Offices would no doubt have ensured more communication and closer follow up.

#### **i. Sustainability**

The project proposal for the Buddhist Sangha project envisaged that the second phase of the project would provide “the foundations for local ownership, functional independence and self-sustainability throughout the region by the end of phases III and IV, when the project is completed” (UNESCO, 2003). Similarly, the Final Report states:

*The project has required each project site to identify increasing amounts of local funding during the four years. This has led to the end result that the sites have achieved sustainability at the end of the project, and are able to continue to build on activities initiated during the project on an independent and self-supporting and self-managed basis (UNESCO 2008:10).*

In Nepal, this has happened only to a limited degree. LRC replicated the hymn recitation component in four other monasteries at their own cost. This took place during the first year after the initial project.<sup>97</sup> At the Orientation and Discussion Programme arranged at the beginning of the project period in Lalitpur, it was announced by the project leader that the project would be “extended nation wise” (LRC 2005a). The limited replication is said to be a result of difficulties in raising local counterpart contributions, as well as “apathy from the local government and Buddhist associations” (LRC 2007).

The Final Report of the Buddhist Sangha project also states that “at the end of the project, many project activities have been mainstreamed into provincial and

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<sup>97</sup> Interview with Manik Ratna Shakya, 01.12.08 and Mukunda Bista 02.12.08.

national policies of both governments and Buddhist Sanghas, thereby ensuring continuity of project results” (UNESCO 2008:11). While this is no doubt true for some of the project locations, it did not happen in Nepal. The Final Report emphasises that “the continued success of the project will depend on the close cooperation of both Theravada sites and Vjrayana sites” (UNESCO 2008:49). Again, in the case of Nepal there hasn’t been any cooperation with the other institutions that were involved in the project – neither domestically nor internationally. The contact between the implementing organisations and the trainees/monasteries also appear to be limited. For example, when we asked LRC to help us get in contact with the trainees, this proved difficult. Moreover, due to staff change, the UNESCO Field Office had limited knowledge about the project, and no project material to share.

It is important to emphasise that this case study only looks into the Nepali case. NWHF has given the team concrete examples of sites where the training activities have been continued and mainstreamed. The Final Report also documents that some of the training material has been used by educational institutions. Since the training material and documentation is there, there is also the chance that the stakeholders in Nepal will use it in the future. At the moment, however, the material does not appear to be easily available to interested parties. When the team visited the resource centre of LRC and asked to have a look at pictures, video shootings, and the curriculum/manuals that had been produced as part of the project, we were told that we would get the reports and manuals per email and that we could come back another day to see the pictures. We did eventually get all the material we asked for, but we find it peculiar that the resource centre could not show us some of the project documentation right away. In order for the project documentation and manuals to be really valuable, they should be easily accessible to anyone interested in Buddhism in Nepal, even if they have not heard about the Buddhist Sangha project as such. Project documentation therefore, should preferably have been available at all the participating institutions’ websites, not only at UNESCOs.

The poor sustainability of the project in Nepal is partly related to the poor economy of the monasteries and the implementing organisations. The project should therefore perhaps have had a greater focus on income generating activities. For example, the local priority in Lalitpur, training in metal repose, would have given the participants an income, and part of it could have been canalized to LRC or the monastery for further training activity (it is a traditional custom in Nepal to pay one’s teacher/guru).

In Mustang, sand mandala does not play a direct role for tourism or for the economy. In some of the monasteries in Kathmandu, on the other hand, the monks make sand mandalas and invite tourists to come and see them, and the tourists contribute economically through donations. The Mustang monks who were trained in sand mandala through the project were not encouraged to do the same. In Japan, as a way of attracting tourists, some monasteries preserve the sand *mandalas* (by spraying and sealing with glass).

## **j. Himalayan Monastic Heritage**

The title of this UNESCO project is Restoration and conservation of Himalayan Monastic Heritage. The project started in February 2004 and was completed in July 2006. The total funding was US\$ 190.172. The project was a regional network involving three countries: Bhutan, Nepal, and India (Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim).

The main objectives of the project were:

- To provide international expert training in high-quality restoration and conservation techniques and practices to regional participants, including national heritage professionals (including architects, engineers and artisans) as well as monks, lamas, and other religious practitioners concerned with safeguarding monastic heritage.
- To identify appropriate ways to integrate new restoration and conservation techniques and practices with traditional approaches.
- To raise awareness among monastery representatives and government authorities (local, regional and national) of the need to safeguard the monastic heritage, and to ensure the transmission of the skills and knowledge necessary for its preservation to younger generations.

Four workshops were arranged, for the restoration and conservation of i) earthen structures, ii) wall paintings, iii) timber structures, and iv) thangkas. Since this report focuses on activities in Nepal, only the last mentioned workshop will be discussed. Thangkas are sacred scroll paintings. They are said to help people in meditation. The responsible partner for the thangka workshop was HimalAsia Education and Culture Foundation.<sup>98</sup>

The workshop on restoration of thangkas took place at the Tsering Art School, Shechen Monastery in Kathmandu, for two weeks in April/May 2005. The 22 participants were from Bhutan (8), India (8) and Nepal (11), and included representatives from the UNESCO Field Office, the Division of Cultural Heritage, UNESCO, museum staff, local government officials, representatives of the monastic communities, local media, and one thangka artist. The majority of the trainees were men, but some women also participated. Three international experts conducted the training.<sup>99</sup> It proved very hard for the team to get in contact with the people who participated in the workshop, and to get the project documents from UNESCO.<sup>100</sup> Dr. Susanne von der Heide was not in the country during our visit to Nepal. This study is therefore based on interviews with the staff at the Tsering Art School and one of the participants at the workshop, the well known thangka painter Sudarshan Suwal. Suwal sells his thangka art work to monasteries as well as expatriates.

Suwal is third generation thangka painter and started painting thangkas when he was eleven years old. He says that the most important thing he learned at the

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98 <http://www.himalasia.org> The organisation has its headquarter in the Federal Republic of Germany. The aim of the foundation is to raise the socio-economic status of the destitute through health, education and income-generating programmes. In addition, the foundation is concerned with the protection and revival of cultural heritage.

99 Sabine Cotte (French), Sanjay Dhar (India), Teresa Heady.

100 The Final Report of the regional project was readily available from the UNESCO headquarter, but we were told that only one staff member could send us the report from the Thangka workshop, and this staff member was out of office.

workshop was how to repair *thangka* paintings, and how to store them to protect them from ultra violet light. Suwal's English is not very advanced, and there was no translation during the course. In our view, this was a limitation to the project. As for income, the project did not have any effect for Suwal, since he is producing new *thangka*. According to the Final report (2006), the main results of the regional project are the following:

- Comprehensive training was given to over 70 participants, taking into account both traditional approaches to the restoration and conservation of monastic heritage, and culturally sensitive ways of introducing new techniques where appropriate.
- Awareness was raised, among both the local authorities and representatives of monastic communities, of the urgent need to improve restoration and conservation practices, to counter the rapidly deteriorating state of monasteries.
- Highly practical and well planned training was provided, given by leading international experts, and ensuring that the skills and techniques acquired could be readily applied in the participants' own contexts following the workshop.
- Regional capacity for safeguarding monastic heritage was built, as were regional professional networks among the participants.

As for the sustainability and long terms effects of the project in Nepal, they appear to be limited, since the government, according to Suwal, does not prioritise the restoration of *thangkas* in government buildings. He has therefore not practiced what he learned, even if he is very interested in doing so. The team is not in a position to say whether other participants have had the opportunity to practise what they learned. In Suwal's view, art should be preserved through education in order to be sustainable.

#### **k. Eco-tourism in Humla**

The title of this regional project organised by the World Heritage Centre of UNESCO is Development of Cultural and Ecotourism in the Mountainous Regions of Central and South Asia. The project included partners in Bhutan, India, Iran, Kazakhstan, Pakistan and Tajikistan in addition to Nepal. The total project budget was US\$ 745,800 for the project period 2002 to 2006. The project was administered locally by the Field Office. The main aim of the project was to help reduce poverty by promoting the sustainable growth of community-based tourism, in order to enable local communities to draw the maximum benefit from their region's tourism potential, while at the same time protecting the environmental and cultural heritage of the regions concerned.

Humla, like Mustang, is located in the north-west of Nepal, bordering Tibet. The region's main town is reachable only by foot or by plane in the summer season, and is under snow for six months a year. After the occupation of Tibet the traditional trade across the border is dying out. There is therefore a need for alternative income, and the only option in those highland areas is tourism.<sup>101</sup> There is no Nepali government representative present in Humla.

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<sup>101</sup> In order to protect "unspoilt" nature and heritage, Humla has been defined by the Nepali government as a "restricted area," and tourists need a special permit at US\$ 90 per day to visit the district.

The project was implemented by Nepal Trust, a British NGO that has worked in Humla since the early 1990s. Since the team did not have the opportunity to travel to Humla, this section will focus on how the project is perceived by the staff at Nepal Trust's Kathmandu office, including the project manager, who grew up in Humla.

Main goals of the project:

- To promote social development (including hygiene), infra structure, and eco-tourism.
- To promote and develop the upper Humla trail through capacity.
- Tourism committees set up in the villages.
- Reduce urban migration.
- Promote sites of cultural significance at the local and national level.
- Help protect monasteries (i.e. reduce use of wax lights which harm the walls and thangkas).
- Develop the Limi trail – a popular trail for people who are going to visit Tibet. The project aimed to make this valley an attraction.

Main activities of the project:

- Men trained as cooks and guides.
- Women (30-40% of the trainees) trained in village sanitation (said not to be interested in training as cooks and guides).
- The governmental Monastery Conservation Committee visited the Limi Monastery after they heard about the project.
- 50 solar power appliances distributed to the villages – helps the local population and makes the route more attractive for tourists.

The project leader participated in one of the regional network meetings of the project and found this to be useful. He saw how tourism has developed in other places and participated in training on eco-tourism. He emphasises that a visit to tourist information centres in Bhutan was interesting and he sees networking as an important aspect of the cooperation. Nepal Trust says that after the project started, tourism has increased from a few persons per year to 5-15 groups per season. Although there is still a high level of migration, there are now greater opportunities for entrepreneurs. Some of the tourists work on development projects, facilitated by Nepal Trust.

In the organisations view, the greatest advantage working with UNESCO was not the funding as such, since it was limited to US\$ 10 000 dollar for project activities and administration per year,<sup>102</sup> but the fact that having the UNESCO logo on the homepage attracted attention and new partners, like the Norwegian organisation The Development Fund, German trekking groups, and SNV (the Dutch development organisation).

The Final Report (2007) of the regional project states that the following results were achieved:

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<sup>102</sup> Later increased to US\$ 15 000 per year, and then US\$ 22 000.

- The organization of local cultural and other festivals, the production of high-quality information, setting up additional community-run home stay accommodations, and developing ties with local and regional tour agencies.
- The project has had concrete and substantial effects on rural poverty reduction. These include the creation of local employment and entrepreneurial activities, protection and revitalization of the cultural and natural heritage as the key element in any future efforts at achieving sustainable development, and greatly increased community participation in the development of sustainable cultural and ecotourism.

Due to limited information from the project beneficiaries, it is hard to judge whether the above results are true for Humla, but the local staff of Nepal Trust appeared to be very sincere, the report from the project is detailed and convincing, (Nepal Trust 2007), the project appears to have made good use of the limited funding available, the project staff learned something from their travels abroad, and the project has the potential to have sustainable results through increased tourism.

## **I. Conclusions**

Donor support to cultural heritage in Nepal has largely focused on the restoration of built heritage – the world heritage site Kathmandu Valley in particular. The Norwegian support through UNESCO is therefore very relevant, since all the three projects are directed at intangible cultural heritage. Another positive aspect of the support is that two of the UNESCO projects target very remote mountain areas – Humla and Mustang. UNESCO did this through existing and well-functioning NGOs.

The three projects are regional UNESCO projects where Nepal is one of many participating countries. A central finding of this study is the lack of government involvement in the projects (the only exception is the role of the municipal authorities in the Buddhist Sangha project). One reason for the limited cooperation with government institutions in these UNESCO projects, may be the turbulence that has characterised Nepali politics for many years, and the last ten years in particular. Moreover, there is no government institution in Nepal that is directly responsible for intangible heritage.

Government representatives were very negative to the way that projects were planned and implemented without their knowledge. This was particularly true for the Cultural Commission of the UNESCO High Commission, which had heard about the Buddhist Sangha project (and were negative to its results), but neither the Eco-Tourism project nor the Monastic heritage project. The lack of coordination and information sharing within the country is also illustrated by the fact that the project manager of the Buddhist Sangha project had not heard about the two other UNESCO funded projects, even though they were implemented in the same time period. The institutional memory in the UNESCO Field Office was surprisingly low. This means that the follow-up after project completion has been minimal. One reason may be that the Field Office was not involved in the regional projects that were organised by the UNESCO Bangkok office/UNESCO Headquar-

ters. Another reason was change of staff. None the less, the team was surprised by the fact that there was no knowledge about the projects at the field office only one to two years after their completion.

The review has shown that a high percentage of the funding for the regional projects goes to the organising bodies for administration and monitoring. A greater involvement of local actors could have ensured better sustainability – a weak point in the reviewed UNESCO projects. Nepal has gone through a long period of conflict and a recent change of government. The limited sustainability of the projects is closely related to capacity problems within the Nepalese institutions and should not be blamed on UNESCO only. Acknowledging the fact that we have seen the projects from the viewpoint of one country only, the team still questions the relevance and efficiency of UNESCO's large scale regional networking projects compared to other forms of support.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> UNESCO and NWHF disagree strongly with the team's descriptions and conclusion. In their comments to this report, NWHF argues that one cannot make conclusions on regional projects on the basis of a very limited number of case studies, and that the limited amount of funds should be taken into consideration. It should be noted that the analysis and conclusion to this case study is the responsibility of the team only, and that all factual information is correct.

## Annex 9: Challenges Relating to Cultural Heritage Projects in Developing Countries: A Review of the Literature

### a. A need for knowledge

In a somewhat optimistic article, Loulanski (2006) argues that an understanding of cultural heritage as a tool for socio-cultural development is quickly becoming a dominant paradigm all over the world. This is definitely the case in the West, she argues, but is also visible, albeit to a lesser degree, in the developing world. A major driving force is a stronger focus on the *human* construction and reconstruction of heritage symbols; a form of “de-objectification” of cultural heritage objects with increased emphasis on social and cultural contexts.

These perceptual changes, she continues, coincide with changes in the understanding of the process of development itself with increased emphasis on the *totality* of the human dimension.

Loulanski goes on to argue that:

*cultural heritage not only could, but should, be integrated in the real life of people and ... policy needs to be rethought to be more accepting of the practical dimensions of heritage. ... [T]he sensitive integration of cultural heritage within development strategies and initiatives aimed at simultaneously addressing interconnected economic, environmental, social and community objectives and challenges could be a good way to provide diverse and wise use of heritage, as well as encourage realization of its significant multi-functional potential (ibid).*

Loulanski here provides a reinterpretation of cultural heritage, an interpretation that is fundamentally at odds with a view of “conservation” as a reactionary activity based on somewhat idealised notions of “the idyllic past”. In the new paradigm, cultural heritage becomes a tool and a set of potent resources for future human development.

The article ends, however, by pointing out that although cultural heritage’s potential is being realised in a wide range of economically motivated projects and development policies around the globe:

*cultural heritage within development remains a vastly unexplored theme in both theoretical and practical terms. Although it tends to look like a solid, trustworthy and multipurpose formula for both heritage and development, it lacks – to a large extent – the clarity and specificity that is required for it to become a working formula as well. ... [I]t appears that no attempts have been made to systematically study the integration of [cultural heritage and development] (ibid.).*



A survey of the literature on the use of cultural heritage as a development resource, shows that there is some truth to Loulanski's claim. The assertion is strongly supported by McKercher and du Cros (2002), who, in a comprehensive work on cultural heritage tourism, argue that the sector is dominated throughout by a lack of cooperation between stakeholders within cultural heritage on one side and tourism on the other.

The two authors introduce a set of formalised models and techniques for how the cooperation can be improved. A fundamental aspect of the suggested cooperative models is the incorporation of the other side's needs into one's own planning and activities.

#### **b. Is conflict unavoidable?**

McKercher and du Cros, however, are not able to escape from a position that appears to be more or less endemic within research on heritage tourism; an understanding of tourism as somewhat intrusive and therefore partially "dangerous" and/or detrimental to local communities and cultures. McKercher and du Bos' otherwise interesting volume is permeated by the idea that tourism and cultural heritage management interests are, if no intervention is undertaken, bound to be in conflict. This position is replicated by Li, Wu and Cai (2008), who provide the reader with the following statement: "*It is recognised that a conflict exists between heritage protection and tourism development, a conflict pronounced in developing countries*" (ibid: 308). In a conference report from the World Tourism Organization (2001), the following statement is part of the introduction, and therefore a premise for the conference:

*Aware of the wealth and diversity of culture to be found in Asia, and realising that Asia would become a leading tourism destination in the near future, tourism planners and tourists alike are learning to beware of mass and unplanned tourism and strive for sustainable tourism development. Cultural heritage attractions are, by nature, unique and fragile. Therefore, it is fundamental that tourism authorities study how best to develop these cultural heritage sites while protecting and preserving them for the long-term. If not, irreparable and irreversible damage can be done to the very heart of Asia's cultural identity (ibid: 1).*

These are strong "warnings", indeed. A similar conflict-perspective is utilised by Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher (2005) in their study of a UNESCO/Norwegian-supported tourism development project in Laos, as well as by Lloyd and Morgan (2008) in their exploration of tourism development in Vietnam's Halang Bay.

Whilst apparently still dominating in research on cultural heritage tourism, the conflict perspective has been increasingly challenged in the more general discussion of tourism and local development over the last few years (Lønning 2002a, 2002b). And with the emergence of *geotourism*<sup>104</sup> – a form of cultural tourism where the primary resource is a vibrant local cultural community where both

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104 For a summary of the principles of geotourism: <http://www.tia.org/Pubs/GeotourismPhaseFinal.PDF>  
For information about Norway's pioneering work on geotourism, see:  
<http://www.innovasjon Norge.no/Satsinger/Reiseliv/Geoturisme/>

natural and cultural heritage resources are conceptualised and utilised locally – a completely opposite principle has been introduced. Here the point of departure is what unites the tourist and the local. In other words, what the geotourist is seeking is the ability to meet local people in their daily lives. Nordin (2005) argues that this form of cultural tourism is also the fastest growing form.

If this latter assertion is correct, it would appear that a continuing insistence on tourism as a force that needs to be strongly managed and controlled might be rather counterproductive to local development. Ideally, in geotourism the constructed and structuralised stages where locals and tourists used to meet, are replaced by human encounters between some who happen to live at the place and others who happen to live somewhere else.

Taking differences in power and wealth into account, some will probably claim that this “equal” meeting will remain a vision, at least when we are talking about tourism in developing countries. However, the point remains; if more and more tourists seek “genuine” and “different” cultural encounters, why continue to define tourism as something that needs to be kept on controlled and separate arenas?

### **c. The predominance of World Heritage**

A probable explanation for the continuing conflict-oriented focus within cultural heritage tourism research, could be that many studies are based upon the management of World Heritage Sites. With the partial exception of McKercher and du Cros, all studies mentioned above have WHS as empirical background. Many WHS are known tourist magnets, and problems related to tourism are well known from quite a few of these sites around the world.<sup>105</sup> The problem is, of course, that these sites of “universal value” represent only a tiny minority of the world’s cultural heritage. It is therefore potentially problematic, and even misleading, when lessons learned from WHS’ are generalised to become “true” statements about relations between cultural heritage and tourism.

For the majority of the world’s heritage and the many people around the world who seek to utilise these resources for place-and economic development, there is all the reason to believe that the challenge they are facing is not too much but too *little* tourism (McKercher and du Cros 2002). In terms of both development projects as well as research, there is a clear need to focus more on local heritage if the positive vision presented by Loulanski (see above) is to become reality. We therefore need to develop strategies for identifying and mapping potential resources, and models for how to utilise them creatively (Lønning, 2003, 2007).

In most ways, the development and management of these local resources follow trajectories that are opposite to the management of large and famous monuments and sites. Whilst places like Angkor Vat and Macchu Picchu can potentially be seriously damaged by overuse, much of what we can call local cultural

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<sup>105</sup> Cultural tourism can also represent a positive driving force for the protection and development of a WHS, as this evaluation of Norwegian heritage support to Ethiopia has shown.

heritage only becomes relevant and valuable *through* use. A potential further problem lies in the WHS becoming the standing definition or cultural understanding of what constitutes the ultimate example or prototype of cultural heritage. As most countries in the developing world are underrepresented on the WH list, such an understanding would not be conducive to utilising cultural heritage resources as motors for development on a larger scale in these parts of the world.

#### **d. Local conceptions of heritage**

Grimwade and Carter (2000) come up with a similar warning in their study of the management of local heritage sites. What is the point in protecting cultural heritage if local people are not allowed to integrate these symbols in their daily lives, they ask. The authors go on to question what they call the continuing emphasis on “grandeur” and the prehistoric in the cultural heritage discourse, and argue that without a change of focus, cultural heritage will never become a truly popular concern: “*Costly and lengthy conservation projects will be criticised if they do not provide the community with any immediate and tangible benefits – a fundamental principle of community development*” (ibid. 36). And, “*fundamental to the conservation of heritage sites is giving them meaning to the community, both local and visiting*” (ibid: 48).

The same kind of sentiments are expressed by Smith, Morgan and van der Meer (2003) in an article presenting the results of a community driven heritage project among women from the Waanyi tribe in Australia. The tribe lives in an area designated as a natural WHS, and governed by principles designed to protect its “universal value”. The cultural values of the locals are not part of this regime, and, argue the authors, reflecting on the WH status, “*it seems that it is local value that is the most fragile, the more easily overlooked or dismissed*” (ibid: 78). Striving for World Heritage status, they continue, must not be allowed to divert attention from local value, and particularly so in a time with increased focus on the locally specific.

In an attempt to understand the local population’s conception of heritage, the authors – being archaeologists trained in the West – enter into a completely unknown terrain. The traditional Western heritage concept fails to shed meaning on an aboriginal lifeworld where the act of *being in and therefore actively experiencing* the ancestral area become acts of cultural heritage management (CHM<sup>106</sup>) in their own right. To the Waanyi, cultural heritage hardly exists outside the realm of *doing*, a conception which seriously questions the traditional objectified Western understanding:

*[T]he traditional emphasis on the material nature of heritage may obscure the cultural and social processes that give context and meaning to heritage objects. The significance of heritage does not lie in its materiality or its fabric, but in the cultural and historical processes that give it meaning. ... [H]eritage may also be identified as an experience (ibid: 75).*

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106 “[A] technical process in which experts such as archaeologists, anthropologists, historians and/or conservation architects assess the meaning and value of heritage places and develop and implement management policies and strategies” (Smith, Morgan and van der Meer, 2003:67)

Arriving at this understanding, a natural implication becomes a critical reflection on the traditional role of the external expert in cultural heritage projects. If the goal is to motivate on the basis of local heritage, local people must be given room to define project aims and, in fact, take charge of the entire running of the project. The “expert” should ideally look upon herself more as a facilitator and helper in achieving locally defined aims.

Albeit not necessarily to this radical extent, the need to involve the local community appears to be a viewpoint shared by most contemporary writers on cultural heritage and development (Lloyd and Morgan 2008). Even if Tosun (2000) comes up with a wide range of challenges that a participatory tourism development (PTD) approach is bound to face in many developing countries – challenges related to e.g. poverty and apathy, centralisation, bureaucracy and corruption – he is still unable to present a better model. The task rather becomes to keep on trying, and refine models along the way (ibid).

The challenges related to involving local stakeholders, is further discussed by Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher (2005) in a study of the UNESCO-Norwegian supported project “*Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism: Models for Cooperation among Stakeholders*” at the World Heritage site Luang Prabang in Laos.

The aim of the project “*was to develop test models for the preservation of heritage and the development of tourism as a local resource through stakeholder collaboration. ... [T]he fundamental approach of the project was to establish channels of communication between heritage and tourism, to generate income for conservation, and to involve the local community in decision-making and tourism activity*” (ibid: 37).

The findings of the research projects showed, however, that none of the aims had been reached. Communication between the tourist and heritage sector had not improved, the only revenue generating system for heritage protection that was established was the result of a private initiative from the tourist sector. It was not in any way linked to project results. Furthermore, “*neither the community nor the stakeholder groups in Luang Prabang truly participated in the decision making process*” (ibid. 41), and “*the project had no strategy for recruiting, educating, or training people for the tourism industry*” (ibid: 42).

The authors are less conclusive, however, when it comes to identifying the causes for what they deem the failure of the project. A possible explanation could be that “*[t]he Western model and definition of stakeholder collaboration may not be appropriate for Luang Prabang*” (ibid: 42), and that “*many of the failures of the project may not be because of fundamental flaws in the initiative itself but in its application within the specific environment, exacerbated by the wider problems of developing countries*” (ibid: 44).

Findings like these are important to keep in mind in future development projects: Can we arrive at a working definition of cultural heritage that is open enough to incorporate and engage local understandings? And can we arrive

at a model that is less based on an *a priori* idea of what cultural heritage consists of?

A very promising initiative is presented by Lloyd and Morgan (2008). This is another Norwegian-UNESCO project, but this time defined as very successful. In the WHS Halang Bay in Vietnam, an area characterised by rapid industrial development and mass tourism, a small *eco-museum* is being developed. In the eco-museum “*the impetus of conserving the natural and cultural landscape is [placed] in the hands of the [local] community*” (ibid: 11). Here, then, the whole project formulation as well as the definition of value, is localised. And, “[a]t its core is the objective to bring together stakeholder groups into a participation framework that is facilitated as a meeting ground between two non-negotiables: economic development and cultural and environmental heritage conservation of Ha Long Bay” (ibid: 12).

The authors describe the initiative as a success in an area dominated by conflict between interests following economic profit and interests focusing on conservation. The Halang Bay Eco-museum, they argue, could perhaps become a model for others in the future.

The idea of the eco-museum puts the emphasis on people and their values and interpretations, more than on objects and monuments. This allows for the genuine human encounter, and a heritage site (at least if its local) can hardly succeed as a tourist attraction without such openings, argue Jamal and Hill (2004):

*Cultural and heritage areas come into being through the meaning-making activities of people interacting with objects, events and activities within historically, politically and culturally defined destination areas. This interactive experience includes residents and visitors engaging with the place and with each other through temporally and spatially influenced narratives (ibid: 368).*

Here, in introducing issues of fluidity, time and space, we arrive at another fundamental problem related to traditional objectified ideas of cultural heritage: To succeed as a tourist attraction a heritage site needs to free itself from fixed and objectified meanings, and open up for new creativity and possibilities for reinterpretation, says Nuryanti (1996). He goes on to argue that “[c]reative interpreters of heritage encourage visitors to create their own mental space by travelling to the past to complete the heritage reconstruction” (ibid: 253).

Openness as well as willingness to change is therefore a prerequisite for success, and the concept of tradition thereby gets a new meaning:

*Paradoxically, the continuity of traditional values in heritage tourism will require that it demonstrate an enhanced ability to change. The more that heritage enables one to anticipate and adapt to changes, the more powerful that heritage becomes (ibid: 258).*

Only by replacing “expert models” of what constitutes cultural heritage with open-ended concepts can such a vision be realised. Experiences from Western Europe show that cultural heritage, thus used, can be a powerful creative tool: a creative reinterpretation of the past is central to the formidable success of the tourism sector in the Scottish Highlands as well as in Iceland, (Lønning 2004). A liberation from all fixed concepts was the prerequisite.

It does not follow that so-called “traditional conservation practices” (Joffroy, 2005) should be less prioritised. For cultural heritage to become an even more valuable development and mobilisation tool, however, they need to be given relevance and use-value (socio-cultural and/or economic) in the present through processes of cultural creativity and (re)construction (Hallam and Ingold, 2007).

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