ANOUK FIENIEG, ROBERT PARTHESIUS, BRITTANY GROOT,
RIVKE JAFFE, SJOERD VAN DER LINDE AND
PAULINE VAN ROOSMALEN*

Heritage trails
International cultural heritage policies in a European perspective

Almost a hundred years ago, in 1911, Jacob Cornelis van Overvoorde, an influential Dutch advocate of the preservation of old buildings, made a trip around the world to investigate the material remains of the glorious Dutch past overseas. Alarmed by the lack of awareness surrounding the material legacy of what he considered an extremely important period in Dutch history, Van Overvoorde issued an emergency call for the preservation of overseas monuments representing this period. Although these stone remains were unlike the monuments one finds in contemporary Europe, they were considered important because of their influence on indigenous art forms. Van Overvoorde (1910) was appalled by the lack of an inventory of overseas monuments, let alone an active preservation policy. According to him, the Dutch should follow the example of the British, who maintained the Dutch monuments in British India with more care than the Netherlands did its own in the Dutch East Indies.

A century later, managing the remains of the past is still a topical theme. In 2002 the Netherlands celebrated the 400th anniversary of the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC, East Indies Company). Various Asian coun-

tries considered this decision unfortunate as, from their perspective, the anniversary should be commemorated rather than celebrated. From an Indonesian point of view, colonial oppression by the Dutch began in the seventeenth century, with the VOC, not with Dutch colonial administration in the nineteenth century. While for Indonesia this historic occasion was thus not an event to celebrate, for many in the Netherlands the VOC period represents the most successful century in national history.

The history of Dutch expansion is a story of wealth and power as well as war and repression. The resulting mix of pride and shame in discussing the colonial past is a recurrent theme, which is also evident in Dutch policies relating to colonial heritage, whether in the realm of the former VOC or in the Atlantic sphere once covered by the Dutch West-Indische Compagnie (WIC, West Indies Company). Since the mid-1990s, the Dutch government has created a political infrastructure intended to encourage and ensure funding for projects aimed at the preservation of Dutch colonial heritage overseas. For every partner country the Netherlands works with, different challenges and perspectives present themselves regarding colonial heritage and its management in the present.

The Dutch policy, which will be broadly discussed in this chapter, focuses on the concept of a *common* cultural heritage. Its purpose, as formulated by the government, is the joint conservation of this common cultural heritage. Cooperative efforts of this kind are utterly dependent on political goodwill and the commitment of all parties concerned. Within the policy framework, common cultural heritage is defined as overseas cultural heritage relating to the periods of the VOC, WIC and subsequent colonial rule.

This chapter aims to compare the Netherlands' active international cultural heritage policy with the policies of a selection of (former) European colonizing countries, thus providing a historical context, outlining when and how the concept of heritage was introduced and what the consequences are for the development, awareness and incorporation of heritage policies. It gives an initial overview of European international heritage policies, in an attempt to stimulate and contextualize the rethinking of Dutch heritage policy. Given the wide scope of this research, it is difficult to draw strong conclusions from this inventory. Therefore, it is presented as the first step towards further research on and awareness of this important topic. An introduction to Dutch common cultural heritage policy is followed by a discussion on the theoretical aspects of the concept of heritage, the roots of heritage management and the force field of heritage policy design, thus setting the stage for a European comparison.

Dutch common cultural heritage policy[1]

As a starting point for its Common Cultural Heritage Policy – one of the priorities within Dutch international cultural policy – the Netherlands chose the mutuality of colonial heritage.[2] In the definition used by the government, common cultural heritage refers to both the tangible and intangible remains of the former Dutch presence. This heritage dates back to an era when the Dutch sailed the seas as explorers or merchants and held control as rulers or colonial administrators. The policy framework divides common heritage into three categories:

1. Overseas cultural heritage: a collective term generally used for cultural heritage outside Europe, relating to the periods of the VOC, WIC and colonial rule.
2. Objects (including archives) the Dutch constructed in or transported to other countries, commissioned by third parties, for which they had no subsequent responsibility.
3. Objects currently in the Netherlands but originating in countries with which it once had a relationship of reciprocal cultural influence.

Generally, the deciding factor as to whether something is indicated as common cultural heritage is whether it is perceived as such in the country concerned. The priority countries for this policy as determined by the Dutch government are Russia, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, Ghana, South Africa, Suriname and Brazil.[3] With the exception of Russia, all of these have had some kind of colonial relationship with the Netherlands. However, not all countries once linked to the Netherlands by colonialism are included on the priority list, nor are the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, former Caribbean colonies still forming part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Although Brazil was later added to the list, it has not been included in this overview because activities under the common heritage policy began only recently, making an analysis premature.

Since 1997 the concept of common cultural heritage has attracted political interest in the Netherlands and several projects were initiated under this policy, mostly financed by the Dutch Cultural Fund (Homogene Groep Internationale Samenwerking (HGIS) – Cultuur).[4] Political interest was ini-

---

[1]   This section is an abstract of Fienieg 2006.
[2]   Currently, the Netherlands uses the term 'common' for its cultural heritage overseas. During the past ten years the terms 'shared heritage', 'mutual heritage' and 'heritage overseas' were also frequently used in policy frameworks.
[3]   *Raamwerk gemeenschappelijk cultureel erfgoed*. Kamerstuk 27.032, no. 2, 26 April 2000.
[4]   This source of funding ended in 2007.

tiated by an appeal from the Dutch Member of Parliament Eimert van Middelkoop, who thought colonial history and its remains were increasingly regarded as nothing but a dark page in Dutch history. Feelings of guilt and shame predominated. With the new policy, this heritage began to be reinterpreted as a valuable tool for critical reflection on Dutch colonial history, while simultaneously serving as a method to strengthen bilateral relations with former colonies.[5] The policy aims to preserve common cultural heritage and utilize it as an instrument for sharing expertise, building capacity for the cultural field in the partner country, creating public awareness and increasing knowledge of this heritage.

The partner country's political commitment is an important condition for funding. Another condition is that the partner country must define a selected heritage site as *common* heritage. However, a 2004 evaluation of the policy and related projects revealed that in most cases the Dutch government saw the concerned heritage as common, while the partner countries did not. Often, their interest has been rather limited.[6] Policymakers may have overlooked the fact that the role of the Netherlands in the history of most of its partner countries is a minor one. As was also argued in the previous chapter by Gert Oostindie, Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles are an exception in this respect, as the roots of the majority of their populations are connected to the Dutch colonial history of slavery and indentured labour.

The concept of common cultural heritage is complex. The mutuality in this definition assumes a shared view of the concerned heritage on the part of the Dutch and the partner country. Heritage, the 'silent' remains of history, resonates with the echo of many voices in the contemporary interpretation and presentation of a site. The stories selected in this process determine the site's character and consequently its meaning for society. However, such stories differ depending on the storyteller. A quick scan of the partner countries demonstrates that their perspectives can differ from the Dutch interpretation of a common heritage site. The tension between pride and shame and the conflicting interpretations of history through heritage are clearly visible.

The overview presented here demonstrates that different countries have their own way of dealing with this type of heritage and that as a result of this diversity Dutch policy practices have become very pragmatic. Naturally, there is not one perspective on heritage and history within the nation state, given that national populations are not homogeneous entities and may be divided, for instance along ethnic lines. This multivocality and the pluralism of interpretation are well illustrated in the following case studies, which

[5]   *Verstrooid verleden*. Kamerstukken 1996-1997, no. 25.320, Den Haag, April 1997.
[6]   *Verslag consultatie internationaal cultuurbeleid; De plaats van cultureel erfgoed binnen het internationaal cultuurbeleid*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Den Haag, 28 May 2004.

briefly describe the reality of cultural heritage policy and its implementation and development between the Netherlands and six of the related priority countries.

Since interpretations of common heritage differ from country to country, we also see that the Dutch and the partner country's interpretations may be at odds. Sometimes this is due to societal changes or to differences in the dominant perspectives on a heritage site. In some cases sites were not even designated as monuments prior to Dutch involvement. In countries such as Suriname the shared history is obvious, while in others, such as Indonesia and Sri Lanka, it may be more appropriate to speak of a synchronous history as the local and colonial populations shared a geographical location but their descendants have very different views on the history of these sites.

Asia

Indonesia

Indonesia, the former Dutch East Indies – originally the central point of the VOC emporium – became the Netherlands' most important overseas possession in the nineteenth and twentieth century. From a Dutch point of view Indonesia plays a major role in its national history. In Indonesia, concern for the colonial heritage is slowly developing. This heritage is appreciated more as an economic resource in processes of urban revitalization than as a cultural resource or part of national history.

In the first decades following Indonesia's independence in 1945 most Indonesians did not consider Dutch heritage important. Amongst younger generations, however, a small group is currently demonstrating a growing awareness. While it labels heritage from the Dutch colonial period as Indonesian, and not as Dutch or common, this group feels that it is important to preserve it. Sometimes heritage marked as common by the Dutch government is not considered heritage at all by this new generation; at other times it no longer regards this as the heritage of the oppressor, but as Indonesian. The growing historical distance might explain these differences.

The increased interest in colonial heritage is also functional, given the financial possibilities of designating monuments as common heritage. Despite the new awareness, remaining administrative problems have precluded the signing of a joint policy framework for common heritage collaboration with Indonesia.

Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka, formerly Ceylon, was an important VOC trading post. Dutch influences are still visible in many coastal towns, especially in the city of Galle, a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The Dutch period has received much attention on Sri Lanka, accompanied by political commitment to the preservation of its heritage. The Dutch occupy a relatively safe position in Sri Lankan history, being neither the first European conquerors nor the last colonial rulers.

The Dutch and Sri Lankan narratives of the heritage sites have much in common. They recount the same histories, both of which focus on the Dutch population in Ceylon and not on influences on and consequences for the local population. In this, the mutuality of this shared history is open to challenge: although formal interpretations do not disagree, the absence of a local Sri Lankan voice and perspective is evidence of exclusionary historiography and historical practice.

India

With only a few exceptions, Dutch heritage is not defined as heritage at all in India. The Indian agency responsible for monuments, the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), originates from the period of British rule, when a number of Dutch-period monuments were listed as such, albeit with limited concern or attention. There is a lack of public awareness and almost no political commitment to further Dutch-Indian collaboration on these common heritage sites; and it is impossible to develop a policy of common heritage without recognition by the partner country. Yet several sites are closely linked to the Dutch period, especially in the south, where the VOC established many trading posts.

A few projects have recently begun in this region, upon the insistence of the Dutch. India has many monuments with a more obvious – often religious – relation to present-day society and the Dutch presence has almost completely been forgotten. Although India is a priority country for the Netherlands, it would appear that there is no common heritage to preserve. In this case, the development of a Dutch common heritage policy takes a back seat with regard to themes and priorities concerning the more recent British colonial influence and ongoing debates about religious heritage.

Africa

Ghana

The most important common material heritage shared by Ghana and the Netherlands are the castles and forts along Africa's Gold Coast, a primary hub of the Atlantic slave trade. Nowadays, as heritage sites, these fortifications form a major tourist attraction for African Americans and other members of the African diaspora in search of the consolidation of their identity and the symbolic affirmation of a territorial location for a common past. In this regard, the castles are extremely important to Ghana. They are registered as architectural monuments and thus are government-owned rather than local collective property. The local community of Elmina (the former Dutch headquarters on the Gold Coast) is not involved in the management of this heritage and receives limited benefits from the tourist flow to the castle.

But the Dutch period also has positive connotations. Dutch surnames engender pride and every January Elmina celebrates the Dutch Christmas. This is perhaps less surprising when taking into account that Elmina flourished in the Dutch period, but suffered poverty and destruction during British rule (Doortmont 2005:36-7). The common heritage of Ghana and the Netherlands may have a future because of the positive economic spin-off, although as yet there is no sense of common heritage as such.

South Africa

South Africa and the Netherlands share a history dating back to the first settlement established by the VOC in 1652 and continuing to the present day. Much of it and the resulting common heritage now have contested meanings. An example is Cape Castle in Cape Town, a monument reflecting Dutch rule over the region. The castle served as the starting point of South Africa's colonization but is also a landmark for the apartheid period. Substantial Dutch financial support was available for this monument, but ultimately the South Africans rejected the funding. Debates surrounding the castle's use and its ownership by the Ministry of Defence resulted in the project being cancelled.

For the Netherlands, Cape Castle is a perfect example of common heritage. The building originates from the VOC period and was established by the entrepreneurial maritime merchant Jan van Riebeeck. South Africans, however, do not only associate the castle with the Dutch period, but also with apartheid. It was a symbol of repression; its silhouette was even used as an emblem on military uniforms.

In contrast to other VOC countries, the Dutch-descendant population in

Tomb of Sheikh Yusuf, Islamic mystic from Makassar, and four followers at Cape of Good Hope

South Africa (Boers and later Afrikaners) remained in power long after the departure of the Dutch colonial authorities, through the repressive white supremacist system of apartheid that lasted until the 1990s. The Dutch common heritage factor plays a minor role in Cape Castle's image, compared with interpretations of the castle as a symbolic reminder of apartheid, the most salient period in contemporary South Africa.

The rewriting of history and its presentation to the public are important themes in most societies; this is particularly true with regard to the current rendering of the past in South Africa. The nation is engaged in a transition process of identifying and rewriting its collective memory. Its heritage policy increasingly recognizes the importance of intangible heritage in this process, including oral traditions. However, it may be too early for South Africa to embrace the concept of common cultural heritage. The close association of 'white' heritage from the Dutch colonial period with the recent history of apartheid makes the management of such monuments an extremely sensitive process.

South America

Suriname

In Suriname the temporal proximity of colonial history and historical memory poses a similar challenge to the concept of common heritage and the development of a policy in this field. Suriname became an independent republic in 1975, but remains strongly connected with the Netherlands. Does this mean that Suriname considers its heritage to be common with the Netherlands? Strong transnational ties make it difficult to differentiate between Dutch and Surinamese visions on common heritage. There are almost as many Surinamese living in the Netherlands as in Suriname. And, except for the small indigenous population, the majority of Surinamese have roots in the shared history of both countries: the Surinamese population is formed mainly by the descendants of African slaves and British Indian or Javanese indentured labourers.

Since this interrelated history and recent migration flows make it difficult to define two distinct visions on heritage, speaking of common heritage seems reasonable. From this perspective, almost everything originating before 1975 can be designated as common heritage of Suriname and the Netherlands. But, as Gert Oostindie will argue in the next chapter, there are contrasting interpretations and valuations of this past and its heritage. Suriname's HGIS projects have therefore been formulated with great care and contain almost no references to slavery or colonialism.

The Dutch government has financed projects such as the establishment of

an art school in Fort Zeelandia, the transformation of Plantage Frederiksdorp into a hotel and collective management training for the Surinaams Museum. After the application for funding no reference was made to common heritage; common interpretations are hardly ever provided. In other words, the explicit implementation of a common heritage policy has found a politically more acceptable channel through implicit projects and contributions between both countries.

The historical context of cultural heritage management

The different perspectives on heritage sites and the tension between conflicting feelings of pride and guilt in the Netherlands where colonial heritage is concerned, are not surprising, particularly when considering the definitions and interpretations of heritage itself. Researching heritage policies first of all requires a working definition of heritage, or at least the awareness that 'heritage' is a complex term used for a wide spectrum of objects, monuments and traditions, tangible as well as intangible, moveable and immovable. It is important to realize that heritage does not just consist of static relics from the past; rather, it exists in the present and is shaped by continuous interpretation.

Old stones are not heritage – a building marked as an important example of medieval architecture is. Heritage, then, is always created. Yet it is not the same as history. Researching heritage involves asking questions such as: Who decides what is heritage and what is not? Whose heritage is it, who is included? Interpretation of any sort always leads to exclusion and as a result, heritage is always contested. Conflicting interpretations and the associated feelings of exclusion can lead to what is termed 'dissonant heritage' (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996:21). In the context of a policy on colonial heritage, a significant issue is thus who is involved in the interpretation process. Marking heritage as colonial can be seen as a form of interpretation that directs, precludes and redirects subsequent interpretations.

The dissonant nature of heritage interpretation and the power relationships inherent in this are fundamental challenges in present intercultural heritage management collaboration. This is increasingly reflected in European attempts to deal with critiques of a perceived Western hegemony in heritage practices and policies. Understanding this, requires a more detailed look at the historical roots of heritage management in Europe itself. As this management is rooted in early attempts to study and preserve material remains as markers of the past, it is important to focus on the development of archaeological heritage management in particular, which can be traced back to the emergence of archaeology and its advancement as a discipline.

The roots of archaeological thought and concerns about how to deal

with cultural remains have been traced back to the ideals of European Enlightenment in general and to the concept of 'cultural continuity' in particular (Cleere 1989b). However, archaeology as a discipline in the modern sense only developed in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the organization of archaeological societies and the institutionalization of archaeology through universities and museums. It was in this same period that it came to be exported globally as part of colonialism, either directly or indirectly through the favourable climate created by administrative and military contexts.[7]

The preservation of and research into archaeological remains during this period can be linked to concerns regarding (re-)establishing national identities in post-Napoleonic Europe (Willems 2002). They can also be connected to a colonial project that sought to explain – and justify – European dominance on the world stage in terms of an ongoing process of 'cultural evolution'. In these models Europe was commonly depicted as being at the 'civilized' pinnacle, whereas the 'savage' or 'barbarian' colonized peoples were usually seen through a culture-historical lens which interpreted their cultural innovations as a result of external diffusion rather than the product of indigenous development and initiation (Ucko 1995; Trigger 2006).

The first laws relating to the care of what is now termed 'archaeological heritage' appeared at roughly the same time as the archaeological discipline developed in Europe. Concerns relating to the preservation of material remains of the past were often developed within nationalist frameworks of collection and documentation for educational, ideological, financial or religious purposes (Díaz-Andreu 2007; Eickhoff 2007). From the late nineteenth century onwards, concerns about the destruction of historical landscapes and the survival of scientific data played an additional role.

Interestingly, heritage laws dealing with archaeological remains sometimes emerged earlier in overseas contexts than in the colonial metropole itself, as was the case in the Dutch East Indies with the passing of a Monuments Preservation Act in the early twentieth century, a direct reaction to the British example in Indo-China and India (Soejono 1984; Toebosch 2003). By and large, such efforts were aimed at selecting and interpreting indigenous heritage within 'Western' frameworks of understanding and categorization (Tanudirjo 1995; Ucko 1995). Moreover, they focused mostly on preserving or restoring monuments for the educational or scientific benefit of a public at home in Europe,[8] with little regard for the monuments' real and potential local significance.

---

[7]   Byrne 1991; Trigger 2006. Some authors have in this sense even spoken of imperialist archaeology (see Trigger 2006).
[8]   At this time, the first cautious calls for managing former Dutch colonial heritage in Indonesia could also be heard (see Van Overvoorde 1919).

The above outlines the start of heritage management in Europe, which became institutionalized in political discourses and legal frameworks in the second half of the twentieth century. Gaining impetus within the environmental debates in the 1960s and 1970s, followed by the emerging awareness in the 1980s and 1990s that destruction must be prevented through interdisciplinary, integrated and proactive regulated systems, heritage management developed as a profession in its own right. But while 'academic' archaeology increasingly incorporated self-reflexive critiques of its socio-political implications for 'non-Western' contexts and communities, this was arguably less the case for the field of heritage management. Practical and financial constraints played a role in this, as did positivist beliefs in terms of dealing with heritage concerns and political demands. The result was that by the end of the 1980s, there was a mounting critique of the 'remarkably coherent style of archaeological heritage management practiced throughout the world with almost no discussion of how it came about' (Byrne 1991:272).

Such discussions did appear soon after, with the rise of indigenous movements and postmodern theoretical critiques, as was reflected in international conferences such as the World Archaeological Congress in Southampton in 1989. This greater attention to regionally distinctive variations of archaeological research and approaches to heritage management led to international criticism of the unquestioned conservation ethic that was apparent in 'Western' heritage management discourses and embedded within international heritage policies and institutions (Ucko 1995; Cleere 1989a; Trigger 1989). In short, these dominant approaches linked a conservation ethic to state agencies and policies, and were based upon what were seen as objective valuations, selections and surveys of 'heritage' sites deemed worthy of preservation, to save them through integrated planning, salvage excavations, restoration and/or public education programmes (Byrne 1991:271).

While most professionals agreed that material markers of the past were non-renewable and under threat of disappearing globally, they did not agree on the obvious 'need' to preserve them.[9] Such a need, so apparent in 'Western' societies, was questioned increasingly as it became clear that not all societies and cultures recognized this as a problem nor would they approach its management in the same way. Indeed, there appeared to be many different opinions about what constituted 'heritage' in the first place.

From the 1980s onwards it became increasingly clear that the idea of 'cultural continuity', central to the conservation ethic regarding material markers of the past, sometimes contrasted sharply with the notion of 'spiritual continuity' apparent in many contexts across the world (Cleere 1989b). In

---

[9]   More recently, the idea of the past as a non-renewable resource has been criticized as well, see for example Holtorf 2002.

these contexts, heritage tended to be valuated in connection with the 'spirit of place' and social or religious meanings, while the preservation of the actual material remains was not necessarily considered a priority. Still, in many post-colonial states European forms of heritage legislation had meanwhile been adopted, while the legacy of culture-historical approaches to interpreting the past was often evident as well. In many cases this led to the preservation of pre-colonial as well as colonial cultural heritage within frameworks of post-colonial national identity (Byrne 1991; Ucko 1995).

Given that these forms of heritage legislation and theoretical backgrounds to disciplines were adopted in an unchanged form by post-colonial states, it was recognized that 'Western' approaches to heritage preservation might not have been directly imposed following decolonization. Rather, they could be seen as the result of what some development theorists have termed 'inappropriate ideology transfer' through subsequent political, scientific and financial international frameworks (Byrne 1991:274).

In these contexts discrepancies between 'Western' concepts of heritage management and endogenous socio-cultural systems and values presumably contributed to conflicts regarding heritage preservation, ownership and development. Added to this, was the awareness that governments had used archaeological interpretations and heritage legislation to establish policies that delineated and mobilized specific histories and identity groups (Smith 2004) and that this tended to disempower indigenous communities in particular. It was recognized, then, that heritage management was ultimately not only about archaeological and architectural remains, but even more so about the values attributed to them.

According to this new awareness, an exclusive focus on heritage preservation of material remains is often inappropriate when taking into account local views on cultural heritage related to, for instance, intangible values, traditions, ethnicity, livelihoods and/or the need for development and poverty reduction (Lopes Bastos and Kanan 2003; Pwiti 1996; Seif 2006). Coupled with concerns about expanding cultural tourism and globalization, declining cultural diversity and the impact of short-term economic strategies, attempts to accommodate different approaches to heritage management took shape in the 1990s with the adoption of international guidelines such as the Nara Declaration on Authenticity in 1994 of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), which explicitly recognized the existence of cultural and heritage diversity. Besides this, the idea of implementing integrated and holistic heritage management approaches became popular (Mason and Avrami 2002).

Of these approaches, the model that emerged through the Australian Burra Charter (1998) has gained widest currency, mainly because of its emphasis on community participation and the ideological concept of valuing the resource. This model does not see the preservation of the material remains of a heritage

site as the fundamental objective, but rather argues for managing its 'cultural significance', which is seen as the multitude of sometimes conflicting 'values' (including aesthetic, economic, social, religious and historical values) that can be ascribed to the site by a range of stakeholders. Although international organizations and policymakers such as ICOMOS and UNESCO have adopted these value-based approaches in recent years, and although such models call for more community participation in decision making, the question remains which values receive priority in policymaking or, in other words, which stakeholders actually perform the 'valuing' of the heritage resource.

The policy context

In addition to taking into account critiques of ethnocentric views on heritage management, it is important to understand that policy is not created in a social vacuum. Policies in general, and heritage policies in this specific context, are formulated within a broader force field. These forces can manifest themselves within the bureaucratic policymaking body, but they can also be external, either in the form of local and national lobby groups or as national and international 'epistemological communities'.

National cultural policy, and heritage policy as a subcategory, is subject to the efforts of lobby groups. Recent years have seen the emergence of post-colonial migrant groups making an impact on the heritage scene. The recent focus on diversity in European cultural policy emphasizes the multicultural nature of heritage and the role of migrant or minority organizations in formulating and executing national or municipal heritage policy. Examples are the Mayor's Commission on African and Asian Heritage in London (MCAAH 2005) which recommended, among other things, the infrastructure development of African and Asian community-based organizations engaged in heritage work.

Such a lobby-driven focus on diversity and inclusion within European nations[10] reflects discourses of multiculturalism present at national and international levels of epistemological communities of heritage experts. These communities are knowledge-based networks whose members are linked by specific technical expertise (on culture heritage), but who will also share a set of normative and principled beliefs, causal beliefs, discursive practices and a 'policy project'. They influence local, national and international policy through the diffusion of technical knowledge and related norms, values and specific terminology (Haas 1992). In the Netherlands, heritage professionals

---

[10]   Van Gorp and Renes 2007. This national-level trend towards 'shared' or 'mutual' heritage initiatives is balanced by the search for a shared European cultural heritage, emphasizing convergence rather than diversity at the level of the continent.

within governmental and non-governmental organizations may themselves be part of such heritage-based epistemic communities, or at least be influenced by the values, attitudes, discourse and policy strategies they disseminate nationally and internationally.

In the case of cultural heritage policy such communities might consist of, at a national level, actors in academia and the museum world, including archaeologists, anthropologists and museum studies specialists. International bodies concerned with cultural heritage represent these communities at the international level. These could include 'global governance institutions' such as UNESCO and other United Nations (UN) institutions, along with international non-governmental organizations and professional networks such as ICOMOS and the International Council on Museums (ICOM). It is within this 'global public sphere' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006), through these networks and the discourses circulating within them, that concepts such as 'mutual' and 'shared' heritage are introduced and can come to gain policy salience.

Since 1997 the Netherlands has adopted an approach to cultural heritage reflecting a concern for both the colonial past and contemporary multiculturalism. This approach is evident in many Dutch policy documents.[11] It reflects the influence of specific interest groups and broader expert networks on negotiations, within heritage policy, regarding colonialism and diversity. Similar negotiations have been taking place within other European countries, with a wide range of policy outcomes.

Dutch common cultural heritage policy in a European perspective

So far we have discussed the concept of common cultural heritage and the global-historical trends and regulatory guidelines – local, national and international, public and private – which have directed the development of heritage management in general and policy implementation and implications in particular. As our focus on the Netherlands and its partner countries has illustrated, heritage is something that is created. The practical realization of any cultural heritage policy thus involves the ethical issue of finding a balance between different interpretations by different actors, who often have different goals and whose operations are shaped by changing socio-historical realities and geopolitical agendas.

'Colonial' heritage and the presentation of the period of European expansion and colonization remain the subject of continuous negotiations and potential dissonance within many countries. In the Netherlands, these issues have been

---

[11]   See *Raamwerk gemeenschappelijk cultureel erfgoed* (2000), *Ruim baan voor culturele diversiteit* (1999), *Koers kiezen; Meer samenhang in het internationaal cultuurbeleid* (2006).

approached in part through the development of an official policy of 'Common Cultural Heritage'. However, as was demonstrated in the case studies above, this issue is relevant beyond the specific Dutch context. This raises the question of how other European countries are dealing with similar issues.

The following section will give an overview of the international cultural heritage policies of European countries that were selected due to their former involvement in colonialism. The comparative perspective this inventory adopts aims to stimulate the active rethinking of Dutch heritage policy. While colonization worldwide has not been restricted to European expansion, it is this period and its influences on European policy with which this chapter is concerned. Accordingly, this overview limits itself to a comparison between the Netherlands and the following European countries: Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy and Belgium. This examination of cultural heritage policy in relation to former colonies is concerned specifically with 'official' aspects; that is, policy development and the awareness of it in the respective European governments as is evident from official policy and state-led projects. There is only brief consideration of the implementation of these policies and their reception within the former colonies.

As stated above, the 'commonality' of heritage is often open to debate. With the previous themes as a theoretical framework, a questionnaire was formulated for the seven aforementioned European countries. Policymakers, heritage experts and scientists from these countries were asked to introduce and comment upon their policies concerning colonial heritage. Interviews and further discussions with other stakeholders as well as a review of secondary literature complemented the results of this questionnaire,[12] resulting in a preliminary overview of European colonial heritage policy. The first question posed within this comparative research was whether a concept of common heritage, similar to that in the Netherlands, exists in the selected countries and whether specific policies have been developed to facilitate cooperative efforts towards conserving this heritage.

The following is a brief outline of different state and non-state organizations and administrative bodies involved in the development and concerns of international cultural heritage policy and associated projects. These cases are all framed through a comparative lens that is also looking at the theoretical and practical realities of policies that offer an alternative or complementary approach to the Dutch framework of 'common heritage'. The order in which they are presented reflects the level of similarity to Dutch policy.

---

[12]   Much of the general data in the cases presented here is derived from the following sources: The Council of Europe/ERI Carts 'Compendium of cultural policies and trends in Europe', ninth edition, 2008 (http://culturalpolicies.net/web/index.php; European Heritage Network: National heritage policies (http://european-heritage.net/sdx/herein/national_heritage

Portugal

Of the researched countries, Portuguese policy regarding the heritage of European expansion is most comparable with the Dutch common heritage policy. Like the Netherlands, Portugal emphasizes the European features of its heritage in the former colonies and its policy started with a focus on common language and common history. While it appears to refer more explicitly to the colonial past than Dutch policy, in both cases, whether the term 'colonial heritage' or 'common heritage' is used, the former colonizing country is still claiming some form of ownership of the heritage concerned.

In addition to official institutions, a number of private foundations are engaged in intercultural programmes. The two primary public actors are the International Cultural Relations Office of the Ministry of Culture and the Institute Camões, now under the authority of the Ministries of Culture and of Foreign Affairs. The main private actors are the Fundação Oriente (Orient Foundation) and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

Within Portuguese national heritage legislation cultural heritage incorporates all assets that merit special protection and enhancement, to the extent that they reflect relevant cultural interest or bear witness to a social or cultural value. The Portuguese language is seen as the basis of the country's sovereignty and as an essential constituent of Portuguese cultural heritage. Interestingly, this element is almost completely absent in Dutch policy.

Within the framework of bilateral and multilateral relations with Portuguese-speaking (lusophone) nations, for instance through the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), Portugal contributes to the preservation and enhancement of cultural heritage that is testimony to chapters of its common history, located within or outside the national territory. Its policy includes strong cultural agreements, for instance with the African Countries of Portuguese Official Language (PALOP countries), including the former colonies of Angola, Cabo Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe. These cooperative efforts are concerned with safeguarding material and non-material heritage, referring especially to common language but also specifying support for initiatives from the PALOP countries relating to built heritage, the Portuguese language, books, libraries and the safeguarding of joint archives and intellectual property. One of the most important aspects is the training of local technical experts in these fields.[13]

The Portuguese state also contributes to the preservation and protection of any cultural heritage located beyond the Portuguese-speaking sphere, provided that it bears special relevance to Portuguese 'civilization and culture'. Cultural heritage policy is specifically aimed at the conservation and protec-

---

[13]   www.gpeari.pt/english/acordos.asp?zona=relacoes_bilaterais

GEZIGT OP SURATTE.
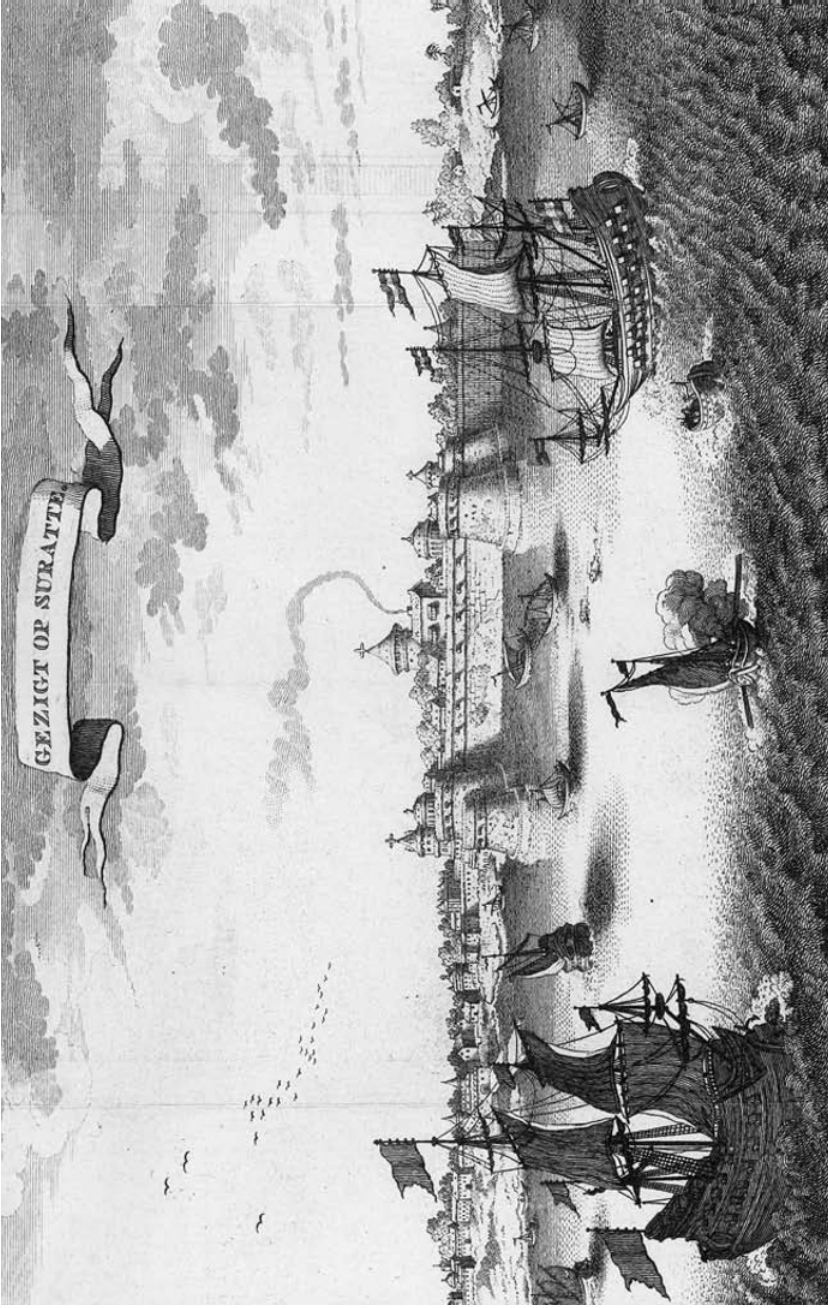
View of Surat

tion of first, cultural heritage of European importance and second, cultural heritage with an outstanding universal value, particularly regarding cultural assets incorporating or showing significant connections with Portuguese cultural heritage.[14]

In addition to national policy frameworks, Portugal has, since 2006, supported significant projects through UNESCO and ICOMOS with regard to World Heritage of Portuguese Origin (WHPO). The first international meeting on this subject was held in April 2006 in Coimbra, Portugal. Its main purpose was to pave the way towards the creation of an international cooperation network of experts from all countries containing heritage of Portuguese origin.[15] This network will be charged with developing identification systems and tools, gathering knowledge, safeguarding and fostering each country's heritage and providing technical support for the preparation of the corresponding Tentative Lists. This will involve, specifically, drawing-up applications for serial nominations of World Heritage Sites of Portuguese Origin.[16] In accordance with the overall UNESCO strategy to promote less well-represented categories and improve the geographical distribution of World Heritage Sites, Portugal and countries identified as possessing cultural heritage of Portuguese origin,[17] have pledged to work towards these goals.

Portugal also coordinates meetings and publications relating to the UNESCO Slave Route Project as part of 2008 European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. In addition, in March 2006, Angola, Brazil, Mozambique and Portugal participated in a joint conference on world heritage and the Portuguese language.[18] In April 2008 the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs announced, during a visit to the Sultanate of Oman, that Portugal would launch a programme for the international inventory, conservation and rehabilitation of heritage of Portuguese origin. He also presented the nomination of World Heritage Sites of Portuguese Origin dispersed throughout the world as contributing towards improving the balance of World Heritage Sites with positive developmental and equitable consequences.

In addition, important international cooperation takes place privately through the Fundação Oriente, with headquarters in Lisbon and delegations in Macao, India and East Timor. This foundation pursues activities of a cul-

---

[14] Fundamental Law of the Portuguese Cultural Heritage (English translation), 8-9-2001, no. 209/01 Series I-A, Statue/Act Law no. 107.01, pp. 5808-29.
[15] See UNESCO Cultural Heritage Laws database (http://www1.ci.uc.pt/whpo/home.html, for 'World heritage of Portuguese origin') and news report at http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/282/
[16] WHPO conclusions Coimbra, 29-4-2006, at http://www1.ci.uc.pt/whpo/home_en.html
[17] These are: Angola, Bahrain, Benin, Brazil, Cabo Verde, East Timor, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, India, Kenya, Morocco, Mozambique, Nigeria, Paraguay, São Tomé and Príncipe, Tanzania, Uruguay and the Administrative Region of Macao (China).
[18] http://whc.unesco.org/fr/actualites/239

tural, educational, artistic, scientific, social and philanthropic nature, mainly in Portugal and Macao, aimed at developing and continuing historical and cultural ties between Portugal and the Far East, specifically China, and at cooperation with the migrant Macanese community worldwide. Although main exchanges relate to the arts and music, the foundation also emphasizes its work in the recovery of architectural and cultural heritage, with a geographical concentration in Macao, India and Portugal and a thematic focus on 'state monuments'.[19]

The International Department of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation supports restoration work on Portuguese-built heritage across the world, with projects submitted by the authorities in the relevant countries. Part of the costs must be met locally, while the foundation may send technical experts and other specialists for an *in situ* study of the condition of the heritage proposed for restoration. It may also intervene directly in these projects and in the definition of guidelines for project execution.[20]

As these few examples demonstrate, Portugal is an active player in the international heritage field, contributing through official state directives which are complemented with private projects and initiatives. Common language and common history form the basis of its heritage policy. There is a wide range of activities but it is not clear how, for instance, PALOP countries are involved in decisions regarding which project to finance, or how they value the monuments of the common past without Portuguese intervention.

United Kingdom

In contrast to Portugal and the Netherlands, the United Kingdom's (UK) cultural heritage projects relating to former colonies focus on development issues and cultural diversity rather than on common heritage and common history.[21] However, the heritage activities funded by the British government are quite similar to those initiated by Portugal and the Netherlands.

The Commonwealth is a key institution for the United Kingdom, connecting 53 nations formerly part of the British Empire, much larger but somewhat similar to the Portuguese CPLP. The projects and aims of international cultural cooperation focus on sustainable economic and humanitarian development

---

[19] Fundação Oriente annual report 2006:29 (a full list of activities by the Fundação Oriente can be downloaded from http://www.foriente.pt/159/activity-report.htm)

[20] http://www.gulbenkian.org/english/serv_internacional_1.asp

[21] Sources for this policy summary include: http://www.thecommonwealth.org/; http://www.britishcouncil.org/; http://www.culture.gov.uk/; http://www.lottery.culture.gov.uk/; http://ctc.britishcouncil.org.cn/welcome.html; *DCMS International Strategy* 2006, downloaded from http://www.culture.gov.uk/NR/rdonlyres/F26AE9B0-90D0-472B-8E43-8AC92F534549/0/internatonal_strategy_revisedOct06.pdf

as well as environmental issues. At first glance the United Kingdom does not appear to have a specific policy regarding heritage in its former colonies. However, awareness and funding of international cultural heritage is evident in various national governmental bodies, such as English Heritage, the British Council, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and the Building Monuments and Sites Division of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS).

Many of these official bodies are regulated by policy that is concerned with various elements of heritage protection within the United Kingdom, thus not on an international level. For example, DCMS handles national heritage issues while the Secretary of State is responsible, with advice from English Heritage, for the scheduling of ancient monuments, the determining of applications for scheduled monument consent and the listing of buildings of special architectural or historic interest within England.[22]

But DCMS's international cultural policy also includes building and reinforcing relationships between British and overseas cultural organizations, thus improving the international position of the British cultural sector and its influence on public diplomacy. The United Kingdom's international strategy is aligned with goals presented by the FCO and often administered and cosupported by the British Council. In this regard it appears that international policy objectives are designed with an eye to international promotion and multilateral support of global developmental goals, rather than pursuing specific bilateral heritage partnerships.

English Heritage, established through the National Heritage Act of 1983, is active as both DCMS's and the government's statutory adviser on all matters concerning the conservation of the United Kingdom's built historic environment; similar to the DCMS it has a national focus.

The British Council, partly funded by the FCO, facilitates many international projects focused on sustainable development and culture for development initiated by individuals and independent organizations through business exchanges and networks. It has offices in 110 countries worldwide and is especially involved in arts and cultural initiatives for education and capacity building towards economic development. Its Creative Industries Unit promotes the United Kingdom's cultural heritage sector internationally through seminars and missions overseas.

Most state heritage policies focus on the built historic environment but are expanding towards cultural heritage institutions, including museums. International programmes through DCMS in cooperation with the British Council include 'Connections through Culture', a project relating to crosscultural United Kingdom-China-Hong Kong partnerships in cultural devel-

---

22   http://www.european-heritage.net (UK section 2.1.1).

opment.[23] Initiatives focus on art, theatre, dance, music and offer small-scale funding for travel, training and so forth, but also accommodate proposals relating to built heritage and funding, such as a photo exhibition of British architecture in Nanjing.

The majority of international heritage policies related to the British colonial expansion are framed in terms of cultural diversity or development cooperation. References to common, shared or colonial history appear to be absent in such strategies. An important goal of DCMS's international strategy, for instance, is sustainability, with international funding going to training and cultural heritage protection for priority regions with no specific or explicit historical connection to the United Kingdom. Another goal is diversity and within this strategy, key countries are those with a UK resident or descended population (for example Bangladesh, India, the West Indies and anglophone Africa). National educational and awareness-raising programmes within this focus may refer to the historical relations between the United Kingdom and these priority countries.

One such project is the recent opening of the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool marking the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade (1807-2007). Another initiative was the British Museum Africa Programme, a joint British-African exchange and capacity building cooperative (2003-2006) aimed at including culture in development work in Africa and involving high-profile exchanges of staff, training initiatives and collection loans between the British Museum and partners across the continent. Any explicit references to historical colonial relations with the United Kingdom seemed to be absent in this programme.

These various priorities imply that while the United Kingdom may well be concerned with colonial heritage and its ongoing protection, international relationships in this regard are nurtured through broader (multiplayer) collaboration and projects initiated and implemented at the local rather than the state level. The explicit focus of official international cultural heritage policy is, in contrast to Portugal and the Netherlands, almost exclusively on development issues and cultural diversity, rather than on common heritage or shared history. This policy offers assistance and funding in relation to heritage in the former British colonies but does not claim ownership of this heritage by defining it as colonial or common.

Spain

Positioned more or less between the common heritage approach of Portugal and the Netherlands and the United Kingdom's emphasis on culture for

----

[23]   http://ctc.britishcouncil.org.cn/welcome.html

development and cultural diversity, Spain employs all these concepts in the management of its common Ibero-American heritage.[24] The Spanish state funds a range of related activities, mostly through the Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos (OEI, Organization of Ibero-American States for Education, Science and Culture). It provides international assistance regarding heritage through its contributions to UNESCO's World Heritage Fund, through financing foreign excavations by the Institute of Spanish Historical Heritage and through its convention with the World Heritage Centre for technical assistance in foreign countries. In addition, several training courses related to heritage have been carried out abroad.[25] Voluntary organizations focusing on culture and development also collaborate with UNESCO and Ibero-American associations.

Spain has been a member of the OEI since 1949 through the Directorate General of Cultural Cooperation and Communication, which coordinates the participation of the Ministry of Culture at the Ibero-American Conferences. The XV Ibero-American Summit in 2005 stressed the need to 'promote and protect the cultural diversity that underpins the Ibero-American Community of Nations, and to search for new mechanisms of cultural cooperation between Ibero-American countries able to strengthen the identities and the wealth of their cultural diversity and promote intercultural dialogue'.[26] At the same meeting, the heads of state and government were urged to work together on the production of a Cultural Charter for Ibero-America to reinforce the common cultural space that defines all Ibero-American countries. This document specifically recognizes a common culture and Spain's inclusion is evidence of a common heritage policy recognizing both the mutual aspects and diversity of the Ibero-American heritage.

In 1982 Spain signed the intergovernmental Andrés Bello Agreement promoting educational, scientific and cultural integration with the partner countries (Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Panama, Peru, Spain and Venezuela). The Andrés Bello Convention includes many Ibero-American cultural initiatives, notably 'Somos Patrimonio' (We are Heritage) with Spain and twelve Latin American countries as members. It offers a virtual space for

[24]   Sources for this policy summary include: The Council of Europe/ERI Carts 'Compendium of cultural policies and trends in Europe', ninth edition, 2008 (http://culturalpolicies.net/ especially section 2.4.3-2.4.6 on European and international cooperation and other relevant issues). The Council of Europe National Heritage Policies (http://www.european-heritage.net/, especially section 9.4 on international cooperation); http://www.convenioandresbello.org; http://www.aecid.es; http://www.aecid.es/03coop/4program_coop/Patrimonio/index.htm; Ministry of Culture at http://www.mcu.es/index.html; 'Somos Patrimonio'; http://www.micrositios.net/cab/index.php?idcategoria=1247

[25]   Source: http://european-heritage.net/

[26]   According to the summary in the Council of Europe/ERI Carts Spain section 2.4.3., http://culturalpolicies.net/

the development, sharing and discussion of cultural heritage and its management and use within sustainable development.

This emphasis on heritage for development is also furthered through the Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarollo (AECID, Spanish Agency for International Cooperation for Development), an autonomous body affiliated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation through the Secretary of State for International Cooperation. This agency is responsible for the design, execution and management of cooperative projects and programmes for development, either directly, using its own resources, or via cooperation with other domestic or international bodies and non-governmental development organizations.

Among the agency's key cooperation programmes is Patrimonio para el Desarrollo (Heritage for Development), the successor to the 1985-2005 Programa de Patrimonio de Cooperación Español (Heritage Programme of Spanish Cooperation). Heritage for Development focuses on Ibero-America, with projects involving the revitalization of historic centres, the restoration of monuments and the development of workshops in sites such as Cartagena (Colombia), Tikal (Guatemala) and Cuzco (Peru). The AECID supports this initiative technically and financially, by assisting local institutions in the development and execution of plans. The programme intends to contribute to the protection of identity, heritage and collective memory, improve the conditions of the urban liveability, generate economic activity and employment, and enhance governance aspects.

The Spanish heritage policy infrastructure, the OEI, is similar to the Portuguese CPLP and the British Commonwealth. All three countries are involved in heritage management in their former colonies, with each employing a different strategy. The major difference between the common heritage approach of Portugal and the Netherlands and the culture and development approach of the United Kingdom and Spain lies in the emphasis on development issues and the diversity of the heritage in the latter two countries.

Germany

Germany's Federal Foreign Office supports a programme promoting German cultural heritage abroad and the preservation of cultural heritage in developing countries.[27] Since its launch in 1981, 1,300 projects in 132 countries

---

[27]   Sources for this policy summary include country case studies and comparisons in Maass 2005 and the Council of Europe/ERI Carts 'Compendium of cultural policies and trends in Europe', ninth edition, 2008 (http://culturalpolicies.net/ especially section 2.4.3-2.4.6). For European and international cooperation and other relevant issues, see; http://www.european-heritage.net/sdx/herein; http://cms.ifa.de, www.windhuk.diplo.de, http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/diplo/en/Aussenpolitik/Kulturpolitik/Kulturerhalt.html

have been facilitated. Its budget is to be used worldwide and is thus not solely restricted to priority countries. Currently, however, priority lies with projects relating to cultural dialogue between Europe and the Islamic world, in particular Afghanistan, including restoration and training programmes for moveable and immovable, tangible and intangible heritage.

A major recipient of funds within this cultural preservation programme is Namibia, a German colony between 1884 and 1915, for which, since 1985, circa € 900,000 have been made available for heritage projects. Bilateral cultural relations between Namibia and Germany are, according to the German embassy in Windhoek, rooted in their mutual history. In November 2007 the exhibition 'Namibia and Germany; A special relationship' opened in Swakopmund, after having been on show at the Goethe Centre in Windhoek. Activities similar in scope to those instigated under the Dutch cultural policy are 'Cultural preservation; Collection of oral history' and the 'Warmbad project', named after a town in the south of Namibia well known for its historic buildings dating back to the early twentieth century, including a German fort, officers' houses and a church. Funding was made available for the restoration of these buildings. The oral history project studied how different ethnic groups view the German colonial period, particularly the 1903-1908 colonial wars. This study resulted in the publication *What the elders used to say; Namibian perspectives on the last decade of German colonial rule* (2008).

International cultural policy is considered the third pillar of Germany's foreign affairs. In 2006 and 2007 major conferences were held to highlight the new political importance accorded to foreign cultural policies and to discuss future developments. The growing importance of these policies on the political agenda was underlined by changes in the federal budget. Counter to former trends, funding was increased in 2007 and 2008.

Primary areas of foreign cultural policies are cross-border cooperation in education and science, international cultural dialogue, promotion of the German language abroad and exchanges in the fields of art, music and literature. For the most part, these policies are implemented by intermediary organizations funded by the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, such as the Goethe Institute, the German Academic Exchange Service, the Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations, the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and the German UNESCO Commission. An important actor in transnational intercultural dialogue is the Federal Cultural Foundation (Bundeskulturstiftung).

Relevant bodies of the *Länder* (the states within the German Federation) cooperate closely with the Federal Government in the field of foreign cultural policy. Municipalities and civil society groups are also actively involved in cultural work abroad. One of the central cultural policy mandates is the protection and preservation of the built heritage: cultural monuments and man-made landscapes, including architectural, archaeological and paleontological

monuments as well as parks.

The United Kingdom, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands and (to a certain extent) Germany are the main actors in the field of European expansion heritage policy, but many other European countries are also concerned with this type of heritage without a specific national policy. France, Belgium and Italy support international cooperation at the project level through their embassies and international cultural institutions.

France

France does not have one policy framework but rather uses a system of various decentralized structures for international cultural heritage.[28] A major platform for international cultural cooperation is the Francophonie, a body that is comparable to the CPLP and the OEI, although it does not appear to be involved in (colonial) heritage programmes. France's central policy in international cultural cooperation is aimed at exporting expertise in the field of heritage and at achieving a balance between heritage and development so that the countries concerned will eventually become self-sufficient in this field. There is an emphasis on cultural diversity and on the promotion of French culture and language abroad.

Within the French Ministry of Culture and Communication, the Department of Architecture and Heritage has no explicit official policy regarding colonial heritage. However, in recent years a series of activities has taken place to identify, study and enhance this heritage, which for a long time was not considered interesting. Colonial heritage was, for instance, beyond the scope and attention of heritage activities funded by France in Vietnam or Algeria. However, a conference organized by l'Institut National du Patrimoine (National Heritage Institute) in 2006 followed a strategy of raising awareness and inventorying and sharing studies in former colonies and overseas territories.

Similar to many members of the European Union (EU), France is interested in representing cultural diversity or pluralism within its own multicultural society, influenced for instance by the EU. The worldwide promotion of the French language and culture is seen as a contribution towards this goal and official policy centres on the *rayonnement de la France*, the glorification of

[28]   Sources for this policy summary include country case studies and comparisons from Dodd, Lyklema and Dittrich-van Weringh 2006 and the following sites: the Council of Europe/ERI Carts 'Compendium of cultural policies and trends in Europe', ninth edition, 2008 (http://cultural-policies.net/web/index.php);The Council of Europe; National Heritage Policies, http://www.european-heritage.net/sdx/herein; http://www.culture.gouv.fr; http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr (Personal contact from UNESCO, Marie Noel Tournoux); http://www.culture.gouv.fr/culture/min/organigramme/index-organigrammes.htm; *Code patrimoine*, http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichCode.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000006074236&dateTexte=20080515

France. The principal objective of the Ministry of Culture and Communication is to link culture and new information technologies, to reach a greater number of French citizens, other Europeans and people throughout the world.

Italy

Italian awareness of the political and socio-economic relevance of international cultural cooperation has been growing since the early 2000s, along with the conviction that enhancing the international image of Italian culture would represent a valuable foreign policy tool.[29] There is acknowledgement of the need to rationalize the focus, by shifting the balance in foreign relations from Europe to other areas, such as the Middle East and Asia Pacific. Close cooperation in the conservation and re-appropriation of these countries' heritage is seen as the Italian way to contribute to the improvement of mutual understanding. Programmes have been developed with Latin America, Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq and China, but no reference is made to colonial cultural or common heritage in Italy's cultural policy.

The main institutional actor in this field is the Directorate General for Cultural Promotion and Cooperation (DGCPC) within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Together with the Directorate General for Cooperation and Development and with the technical and scientific assistance of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities, the DGCPC engages in cross-border cooperation in technical assistance and managerial and manpower training in the heritage field.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also includes various regional Directorates General (DGs), which in turn are responsible for Institutes such as the Instituto Latino-Americano and the Istituto per l'Africa e l'Oriente. Within the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities there is no specific DG in charge of foreign relations. These are dealt with by the cabinet's Diplomatic Attaché and the heads of the various DGs involved, depending on the issue. Despite the lack of a specific DG for foreign relations, since 2000 the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities has upgraded its role in terms of foreign cultural policy. The Ministry's strengthened international emphasis may be ascribed in part to the expansion of Italy's involvement in providing technical and financial support for heritage activities in developing countries.

Bilateral cultural cooperation is carried out through the Italian Cultural Institutes abroad, through bilateral cultural agreements and the joint organization of annual cultural events. The mission of the Institutes is the promotion

---

[29]   Sources for this policy summary include country case studies and comparisons in the Council of Europe/ERI Carts 'Compendium of cultural policies and trends in Europe', ninth edition, 2008 (http://culturalpolicies.net/), Instituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente: www.isiao.it
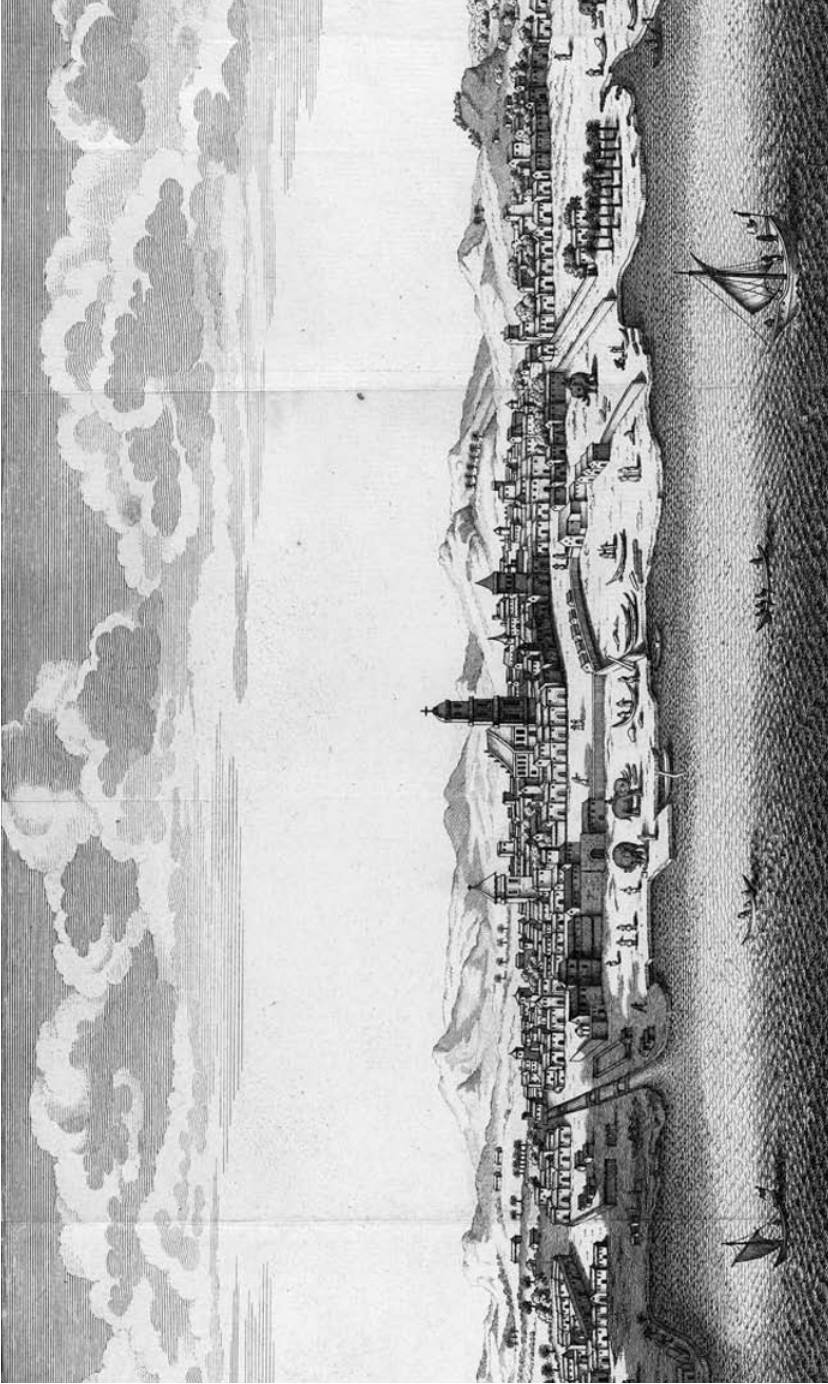
View of Goa

of Italian culture internationally. There are some Italian archaeological exca-
vations taking place in former colonies (for example, Italian archaeologists
are involved in research in Leptis Magna, Libya), but there are few activities
with regard to Italian colonial architecture.

Recently, the Italian state has passed legislation pertaining to cultural
heritage and landscapes that includes references to the new interpretation
of heritage issues at the international level. For the first time, 'contemporary
architecture' has been marked as an important heritage category. This could
be an opportunity for colonial heritage cooperation, as most Italian colonial
heritage consists of modern architecture.

Belgium

Finally, cultural policy in Belgium – a federal state divided into three regions
(French-, Flemish- and German-speaking) – tends to be regionally focused.
Since 1993 the three regions have enjoyed self-government, allowing them
to enter into agreements not only with foreign states but also with foreign
regions or provinces. Belgian international cultural cooperation has been
transferred to the regional governments, which rotate in their participation
in international bodies. Cultural policies are governed by the subsidiary
principle, which means that in principle the state does not intervene directly
in cultural matters other than through general regulations and the awarding
of grants.

International cooperation for development is carried out by the Directorate
General for Development Cooperation under the supervision of the Federal
Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Commerce and Cooperation for Development.
A specific policy on international heritage cooperation or colonial heritage is
lacking but there are projects related to these topics that are funded by the
Belgian state. While there is no structural policy, at the level of projects and
within academia these matters do receive attention.

For instance, the francophone community has a cultural centre, Le Centre
Wallonie-Bruxelles, in Kinshasa, the capital of the Democratic Republic of
Congo (DRC), which finances projects relating to colonial heritage.[30] The
Flemish Minister of Culture has developed similar programmes, includ-
ing a Flemish cultural centre in the DRC.[31] The Belgium-Africa connec-
tion finds strong support through many other channels, most significantly
through museums and university-based research collaborations, workshops
and foundations. For example, the Flemish Interuniversity Council's pro-
gramme includes a special Congo project and cultural heritage initiatives

[30]   www.wbri.be/cgi/bin3/render.cgi?id=0050484_matrice&ln=ln1&userid=&rubr=afrique
[31]   www.kvs.be/index2.php?page=news

that fall within its development aid agenda.[32] In 2005 the Royal Flemish Theatre in Brussels organized a major convention on colonial heritage in Belgium and Central Africa. The initiative for this bilingual (Dutch-French) event was taken by the Africa Museum in Tervuren and Ghent University.[33] Additionally, in 2007 the Ghent Africa Platform within Ghent University organized an international conference on heritage in Africa entitled 'Heritage and/as reproduction in Africa; Outcomes and limits'.

Other university-based projects in Belgium include Avrug, a foundation established within Ghent University organizing regular events pertaining to colonial heritage and devoting special attention to the contestation of colonial monuments in the public domain.[34] In addition, projects and workshops that originally emphasized (the francophone) language have been expanded to include attention to colonial monuments. The Flemish administration has been working towards parallel initiatives and in 2007 the Vlaamse Vereniging voor Bibliotheek-, Archief- en Documentatiewezen (VVBAD, Flemish Society for Libraries, Archives and Documentation) organized the workshop 'Flemish Heritage Abroad'.[35]

The largest research centre in Belgium focusing on Central Africa is the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren, which in its master plan highlights the Congolese diaspora. Within the museum an advisory board is made up of representatives of African associations in Belgium.[36] It was founded as a colonial museum following the World Exhibition in 1897 and houses important colonial collections, both material and immaterial.[37]

The Belgian project-based approach backed up by funding, results in increased awareness on the subject of colonial heritage, but such activities take place without a comprehensive theoretical aim or policy framework.

Conclusion

From the results of the research described above it can be concluded that all of the European countries surveyed are in some way concerned with the cultural heritage of the European expansion and colonization. They do have very different policies, practices and principles with regard to how this herit-

[32]   www.vliruos.be/index.php?navid=499&direct_to=Congoprogramma
[33]   http://cas1.elis.rug.ac.be/avrug/forum/bake.htm
[34]   http://cas1.elis.rug.ac.be/avrug/document.htm#gke
[35]   http://www.vvbad.be/node/1293/print
[36]   www.africamuseum.be/museum/about/comraf
[37]   http://cultuurweb.be/CNETPortal/DetailDossiers.aspx?id_dossiers=2C1A535F-C312-FED9-FEBFC34746C17027&language=nl&locale=nl-NL

age should be defined, supported and approached. It is possible to make a distinction between those countries that focus on the colonial or common dimension of heritage and those that prioritize the development aspects of heritage cooperation.

Each country's policy has different levels, emphasizes different approaches, is based on a different infrastructure, starts from different premises and moves towards different aims. Broadly, we can distinguish between activities based on the notion of 'common heritage', preferred by Portugal and the Netherlands, and those focusing on cultural diversity, as favoured by the United Kingdom and Spain. For some countries, most activities are directed by an official policy or by policy guidelines, while others, such as Belgium and France, provide funding for projects outside a specific policy, working towards related or overlapping agendas that include heritage concerns. Sometimes the preservation of heritage is seen as the primary aim of an activity, in other cases it is rather a tool for development.

It is worth noting that the differences in policy directives and the comprehensiveness of policies are related to the different governmental structures, including forms of regional autonomy that result in different representative communities within a European country. For example, in Belgium the separation into three different linguistic regions complicates any all-encompassing policy. The individual linguistic and cultural concerns for each representative community are likely to emerge within the development of heritage projects both internally and in relation to the former colonial context.

Similarly, Germany is organized through a system of sixteen semi-autonomous federal states, an infrastructure which may partially be responsible for the absence of any federal policy in this field. In Spain a system of autonomous regions similarly reflects and articulates regional differences. In addition to such variations in government structure, it is important to note that the colonial history of some countries is very recent, as seen for example in the case of Macau, which only gained independence from the Portuguese in 1991.

Returning to this chapter's initial focus on the Netherlands, it is worth considering some of the implications of and potential tensions within Dutch (and Portuguese) appeals to 'commonality' through the concept of a common cultural heritage. This policy departs from the principle of similarity rather than cultural diversity. In the Dutch context, it can be argued that this has sometimes resulted in a practice of dissonant heritage, in which the perspectives of the Netherlands and its partner countries do not always match. In other words, the 'commonality' of common cultural heritage, by definition, will require a relationship of balance, which is never a given. Can a fortification in Indonesia be Indonesian and Dutch heritage simultaneously, and does this amount to common heritage? Does labelling a site as common entail the

risk of silencing the voices of different communities and alternative interpretations?

Studying relations with the Dutch partner countries reveals that there is always some dissonance between the Dutch vision and the dominant interpretation held or presented by the partner country. Dutch policy does claim that common cultural heritage is not only part of Dutch history and identity, but of that of the partner country as well. This assertion has many ambiguous premises that remain unclear within the Dutch administration. Starting with definitions of heritage, it is necessary to underline that not all sites were considered 'common heritage' or even 'heritage' at all prior to Dutch involvement.

Heritage is always socially constructed and the concept of heritage – what it is and what it should be – has been biased towards the Dutch perspective, particularly when the recognition of a site as part of national cultural heritage occurred predominantly due to Dutch efforts. For example, although officially all projects must be initiated by the partner country, this initiative is often the direct product of preceding appeals by the Dutch partner, who will have created enthusiasm for a project and made the necessary appeals for funding, local partners and necessary political commitment. Old buildings, shipwrecks and cemeteries are thus transformed into cultural heritage by interpreting and 'musealizing' them. This process itself can, however, create dissonance, as it removes sites from their predominantly local context and opens them up to the needs and demands of a much broader circle of stakeholders. The associated extension of the consumer base is likely to be a cause of additional tension as heritage managers struggle to appeal to the various consumers and their often contradictory demands and perspectives.

Common heritage, then, is created at the very start of a project. But labelling it as such does not automatically mean that the site forms part of the identity and history of either or both countries. Our view of the past is always dictated by the present and our independent understanding of the past dictates our interpretations and what we see. For the Dutch government, the common heritage sites are part of national identity and history, even if they are located beyond the national borders. It regards the monuments built by the Dutch or during Dutch periods of administration in any partner country as common heritage. But for the partner country, this need not be the dominant way of seeing, interpreting or presenting these remains. After the Dutch period these sites remained; they received new functions and interpretations, or they received no interpretation at all and were left to slowly collapse.

The passage of time marks both man and monument and the relationship between them. A monument could be a prominent part of the partner country's history and identity, functioning as a symbol of colonial heritage and commemorated or celebrated as such. Alternatively, the colonial nature

of a monument may be superimposed by events before or after the colonial period, so that the main narrative of a site can be different or even completely divorced from the Dutch one. Likewise, a site or monument can be part of the identity of a country due to its status or function but not as a historical monument. The Dutch state has to become aware of its role as a creator of heritage and the claims that labelling historical objects, first, as heritage and, second, as common heritage entails. This policy implies not only a change of use but also a change of perspective regarding the involved object.

From this examination of the practice of Dutch policy it is clear that the Netherlands works quite pragmatically within its policy framework, adjusting to the various socio-political agendas and local attitudes. If a partner country's enthusiasm for its Dutch history is apparent, Dutch heritage is highlighted with pride and presented as a primary objective of the heritage and development agenda. But if the Dutch period is associated with colonial guilt or historical shame, its heritage is likely to take a secondary role.

While Portugal appears to employ a similar policy, it was not possible to study the actual execution of its projects and take into account the perspectives of its partner countries. Portuguese and Dutch heritage policies may depart from the same common heritage premise, but the major difference is the binding factor of the Portuguese language and the CPLP union associated with this. It would be very interesting to study how other CPLP countries react to the common heritage policy, whether Portugal is as dominant as the Netherlands in the selection of projects and whether it has found a way of balancing pride in its former empire with feelings of colonial guilt and embarrassment.

The United Kingdom and Spain appear to focus primarily on development in their international heritage policies. This 'culture and development' approach is practiced through institutions with a colonial background, such as the Commonwealth for the United Kingdom and the OEI for Spain. Such organizations can easily incorporate development issues and cultural diversity functions as a starting point.

Most international heritage policies could still be criticized for advocating preservation – sustaining the resource for future generations – as their core activity, with less attention to meeting the demands of contemporary populations. This primacy of preservation results not only from the dominant paradigm, in which a conservation ethic and Eurocentric definitions of heritage are central, but also from the dominant techno-scientific discourse, privileging positivism and processual science that continues to frame the discipline (Williams and Van der Linde 2006; Duineveld 2006). In addition, most international heritage policies and organizations work with a system of selecting and preserving cultural heritage on the basis of 'universal' values and for the global benefit of all humanity (for example the notion of 'outstanding univer-

sal value' underlying UNESCO policies; Skeates 2000:12).

This approach implies that, for all of humanity, preservation of the material markers of the past is the underlying vision when dealing with the past. Such ideas of 'universal' value assume that people across the globe prioritize the same aspects of heritage and that a positivist framework for selecting and valuating heritage sites is possible. Some authors even speak of the 'dangers of a fundamentalist ideology apparent in heritage preservationism' (Holtorf 2006), considering the globalizing heritage agencies and the heritage strategies of some Western countries as neocolonial. Although such accusations may be overstated, it is clear that an understanding of the historical and socio-political frameworks and of the concepts underlying Western heritage policies, is crucial for developing more sustainable and ethical forms of interaction.

In a post-colonial world, heritage policies and international collaboration will succeed only as long as they work explicitly from the basis that valorizations and concepts of heritage are subjective, contested and multiple, and that different cultural philosophies and approaches towards heritage management are equally valid. Possible ways to achieve this have been suggested, for instance through dealing with notions of 'dissonant heritage', or with a notion of heritage that encompasses 'care' rather than being based upon 'curation'. It has been argued that this could include care for personal lives, in which development issues and poverty reduction could be more easily incorporated (Rowlands and Butler 2007).

Another possible way forward could be the adoption of heritage approaches and policies based upon a notion of 'human development' as opposed to one of 'preservation' (Van der Linde 2004; Galla 2002). In such models, the function of cultural heritage is seen primarily as a path towards development and progress, endorsed by principles such as empowerment, education, capacity building, knowledge exchange and public involvement.

The fundamental challenge for the heritage management field will be the translation of these postmodern and post-colonial critiques and concepts into workable policy guidelines and financial frameworks. A comparative analysis of how different European countries deal with the legacy of their heritage overseas and with that of their heritage policies, seems crucial.

The overview presented in this chapter is far from complete. More research is needed on the implementation of heritage policies and on the interpretations of related activities in the partner countries. These policies, and the Dutch policy in particular, demonstrate the tension between the desire of the former colonizing countries to engage in what they consider to be heritage of the European expansion and the needs of the former colonies and their priorities in heritage preservation and, indeed, in coming to terms with the past.

It is difficult to overcome this tension, as it is still predominantly the

European countries that fund the training, restoration and so on. But the demands of the partner countries should always be central to these policies, entailing intensive cultural cooperation between the countries where the heritage is located and those with the budget. While European countries may sometimes succeed in stimulating public awareness of heritage, it is important to respect the demands and priorities of the partner countries.

At the moment of writing, the Netherlands is rethinking and rewriting its common cultural heritage policy and the possibilities for cultural cooperation. This process includes a debate on the use of 'common heritage' as a label for the heritage involved. It is evident that friction will remain between generalized notions of commonality and feelings of resentment, pride and embarrassment relating to the colonial past, just as the discussion of the ways to commemorate or celebrate this past will persist. Similarly, the practical implications of a common policy that is mainly financed and controlled by the former colonizing power remain complex. Joint policy frameworks and project proposals have been formulated and projects have been executed in close collaboration.

Evaluating these activities will help to improve the policy field and hopefully also bilateral relations between the Netherlands and its former colonies. Notwithstanding the critical perspective presented in this chapter, the Netherlands does appear to be engaged in an open-minded attempt to deal with its overseas heritage along with its designated partner countries. Common cultural heritage policy thus remains an intriguing, and ongoing, experiment in exploring new avenues for cultural cooperation.

Bibliography

Digital sources

http://culturalpolicies.net/web/index.php
   The Council of Europe/ERI Carts 'Compendium of cultural policies and trends in Europe', ninth edition, 2008.
http://european-heritage.net/
   The European Heritage Network is a permanent system gathering information on governmental services in charge of heritage protection within the Council of Europe.
www.gpeari.pt/english/acordos.asp?zona=relacoes_bilaterais
   Portugal, Ministry of Culture: planning, strategy, evaluation and international relations.
http://www.unesco.org/culture/natlaws/
   UNESCO, Cultural heritage laws database.
http://www1.ci.uc.pt/whpo/home.html
   Website for 'World heritage of Portuguese origin'.

http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/282/
  UNESCO, News item 'World heritage of Portuguese origin'.
http://whc.unesco.org/fr/actualites/239
  UNESCO, News item 'World heritage and Portuguese language'.
http://www.foriente.pt/159/activity-report.htm
  Full list of activities by the Fundação Oriente.
http://www.gulbenkian.org
  Portuguese private institution of public utility whose statutory aims are in the fields of arts, charity, education and science.
http://www.thecommonwealth.org
  The Commonwealth is an association of sovereign nations that support each other and work together towards international goals.
http://www.britishcouncil.org
  The British Council connects people with learning opportunities and creative ideas from the United Kingdom to build lasting relationships around the world.
http://www.culture.gov.uk/
  United Kingdom, Department for Culture, Media and Sport.
http://www.lottery.culture.gov.uk
  National Lottery of the United Kingdom's Department for Culture, Media and Sport.
http://www.convenioandresbello.org
  International and intergovernmental organization for education, culture and science. (Members: Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Spain and Venezuela.)
http://www.aecid.es
  Spain, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
http://www.aecid.es/03coop/4program_coop/Patrimonio/index.htm
  Spain, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Program for Culture and Development.
http://www.mcu.es/index.html
  Spain, Ministry of Culture.
http://cms.ifa.de
  Germany, Institute for Foreign Relations, fostering worldwide art exchange and cultural dialogue.
www.windhuk.diplo.de
  German Embassy Windhuk.
http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/diplo/en/Aussenpolitik/Kulturpolitik/Kulturerhalt.html
  The German Federal Foreign Office's Cultural Preservation Programme.
http://www.culture.gouv.fr
  France, Ministry of Culture.
http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr
  France, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichCode.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000006074236&dateTexte=20080515
  France, Code Patrimoine.
www.isiao.it
  Italian Institute for Africa and the Orient.

www.wbri.be
  International relations of the French community of Wallony and Brussels.
www.kvs.be/index2.php?page=news
  News item concert 'Verscheur de stilte' at the Royal Flemish Theatre website.
www.vliruos.be/index.php?navid=499&direct_to=Congoprogramma
  VLIR-UOS is for the Belgian government the responsible actor for all university
  cooperation regarding development between the universities and university col-
  leges in Flanders, Belgium, and their partner universities in the South.
http://cas1.elis.rug.ac.be/avrug
  Africa Community of Ghent University.
http://www.vvbad.be/node/1293/print
  Bruno Vermeeren, 2007 'Day report Vlaams erfgoed in den vreemde'.
www.africamuseum.be/museum/about/comraf
  African Associations Committee of the Royal Museum for Central Africa.
http://cultuurweb.be/CNETPortal/DetailDossiers.aspx?id_dossiers=2C1A535F-C312-
  FED9-FEBFC34746C17027&language=nl&locale=nl-NL
  Congo section of the Belgium culture portal.

Printed sources

Byrne, Denis
1991   'Western hegemony in archaeological heritage management', *History
               and Archaeology* 5:269-76.
Cleere, Henry
1989a   (ed.) *Archaeological heritage management in the modern world*. London:
               Unwin Hyman.
1989b   'Introduction; The rationale of archaeological heritage management',
               in: Henry Cleere (ed.), *Archaeological heritage management in the modern
               world*, pp. 1-19. London: Unwin Hyman.
Díaz-Andreu, Margarita
2007   *The world history of nineteenth-century archaeology; Nationalism, colonial-
               ism and the past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Dodd, Diana, Melle Lyklema and Kathinka Dittrich-van Weringh
2006   *A cultural component as an integral part of the EU's foreign policy?* Amster-
               dam: Boekmanstudies.
Doortmont, Michael R.
2005   'Cultural heritage, tourism and urban development; The case of Elmi-
               na, Ghana', in: Leo G.W. Verhoef and Ron van Oers, *Proceedings of the
               second international symposium on restoration; Dutch involvement in the
               conservation of heritage overseas*, pp. 33-54. Delft: Delft University Press.
Duineveld, Martijn
2006   *Van oude dingen, de mensen die voorbij gaan...; Over de voorwaarden meer
               recht te kunnen doen aan de door burgers gewaardeerde cultuurhistories*.
               Delft: Eburon.

Eickhoff, Martijn
2007   'Archeologisch erfgoed; Een onbeheersbaar concept', in: Frans Grijzen-
              hout (ed.). *Erfgoed; De geschiedenis van een begrip*, pp. 231-65. Amster-
              dam: Amsterdam University Press.
Fienieg, Anouk
2006   'Gemeenschappelijk erfgoed, gedeeld erfgoed?; Een onderzoek naar
              dissonantie bij gemeenschappelijk cultureel erfgoed in zes landen'. MA
              thesis University of Amsterdam.
Galla, Amareswar
2002   'Culture and heritage in development', *Humanities Research* 9-1:63-79.
Gorp, Bouke van and Hans Renes
2007   'A European cultural identity?; Heritage and shared histories in the
              European Union', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 98:407-
              15.
Haas, Peter M.
1992   'Introduction; Epistemic communities and international policy coordi-
              nation', *International Organization* 46-1:1-35.
Holtorf, Cornelius J.
2002   'Is the past a non-renewable resource?', in: Robert Layton, Peter G.
              Stone and Julian Thomas (eds), *Destruction and conservation of cultural
              property*, pp. 286-97. New York: Routledge.
2006   'Can less be more?; Heritage in the age of terrorism', *Public Archaeology*
              5:101-9.
Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara
2006   'World heritage and cultural economics', in: Ivan Karp (ed.), *Museum
              frictions; Public cultures/global transformations*, pp. 1-32. Durham: Duke
              University Press.
Linde, S. van der
2004   'Dealing with conflicts in the management of archaeological sites;
              Balancing immediate activities, sustainable development and ideal
              management planning'. MA thesis University of London.
Lopes Bastos, R. and M. Kanan
2003   Collaborative attitudes in the context of archaeological conservation in
              Brazil; The case study of Campeche Island and Middens Shells in Santa
              Catarina State. Paper submitted at the Fifth World Archaeological Con-
              gress. [http://godot.unisa.edu.au/wac/pdfs/21.pdf, accessed 1-8-2006.]
Maass, Kurt-Jürgen (ed.)
2005   *Kultur und Aussenpolitik; Handbuch für Studium und Praxis*. Baden-
              Baden: Nomos.
Mason, Randall and Erica Avrami
2002   'Heritage values and challenges of conservation planning', in: Jeanne
              Marie Teutonico and Gaetano Palumbo (eds), *Management planning
              for archaeological sites; An international workshop organized by the Getty
              Conservation Institute and Loyola Marymount University, 19-22 May 2000,
              Corinth, Greece*, pp. 13-26. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.

MCAAH, The Mayor's Commission on African and Asian Heritage
2005   *Delivering shared heritage*. London: Mayor of London.
Overvoorde, J.C. van
1910   'Monumenten van Nederlandschen oorsprong in de vroegere neder-
                zettingen buiten Europa', *Neerlandia* 14:204-5.
1919   'Oudheden (Hollandsche)', in: *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*,
                Deel 3, pp. 205-15. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, Leiden: Brill.
Pwiti, Gilbert
1996   'Let the ancestors rest in peace?; New challenges for cultural heritage
                management in Zimbabwe', *Conservation and Management of Archaeo-
                logical Sites* 1-3:151-60.
Rowlands, Mike and Beverley Butler
2007   'Conflict and heritage care', *Anthropology Today* 23-1:1-3.
Seif, Assaad
2006   'Lebanon', *Current World Archaeology* 2.7(19):47-8.
Skeates, Robin
2000   *Debating the archaeological heritage*. London: Duckworth.
Smith, Laurajane
2004   *Archaeological theory and the politics of cultural heritage*. London:
                Routledge.
Soejono, R.P.
1984   'On the conditions and scope of the development of archaeology in
                Indonesia', in: Pieter van de Velde (ed.), *Prehistoric Indonesia; A reader*,
                pp. 15-28. Dordrecht: Foris. [KITLV, Verhandelingen 104.]
Tanudirjo, Daud Aris
1995   'Theoretical trends in Indonesian archaeology', in: Peter J. Ucko (ed.),
                Theory in archaeology; A world perspective, pp. 61-76. London/New York:
                Routledge.
Toebosch, Theo
2003   *Grondwerk; 200 jaar archeologie in Nederland*. Amsterdam: SUN.
Trigger, Bruce G.
1989   *A history of archaeological thought*. New York: Cambridge University
                Press.
2006   *A history of archaeological thought*. Second edition. New York: Cam-
                bridge University Press.
Tunbridge, J.E. and G.J. Ashworth
1996   *Dissonant heritage; Management of the past as a resource in conflict*. Chich-
                ester: Wiley.
Ucko, Peter J. (ed.)
1995   *Theory in archaeology; A world perspective*. London/New York:
                Routledge.
Willems, Willem J.H.
2002   'The role of archaeological societies in preserving cultural memorials'
                in: *Encyclopedia of life support systems*. Oxford: UNESCO/EOLSS Pub-
                lishers. [On-line publication.]

Williams, T. and S. van der Linde

2006   'Archaeological site management; Theory, strategies and implementa-
                       tion for the archaeological landscapes of Jericho', in: Lorenzo Nigro
                       and Hamdan Taha (eds), *Tell es-Sultan/Jericho in the context of the Jordan
                       Valley; Site management, conservation and sustainable development*; *Proceed-
                       ings of the International Workshop held in Ariha 7th-11th February 2005 by
                       the Department of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Tourism
                       and Antiquities UNESCO office, Ramallah, Rome 'La Sapienza' University*,
                       pp. 111-44. Roma: Università di Roma 'La Sapienza'.

Policy documents

Verstrooid verleden. Kamerstukken 1996-1997, no. 25.320, Den Haag, April 1997.

Ruim baan voor culturele diversiteit. Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap-
pen, Den Haag, 1999.

Raamwerk gemeenschappelijk cultureel erfgoed. Kamerstuk 27.032, no. 2, Den Haag, 26
April 2000.

*Verslag consultatie internationaal cultuurbeleid; De plaats van cultureel erfgoed binnen het
internationaal cultuurbeleid*. Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, Den Haag, 28 May
2004.

Koers kiezen; Meer samenhang in het internationaal cultuurbeleid; *Brief internationaal cul-
tuurbeleid).* Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen en Ministerie van
Buitenlandse Zaken, Den Haag, 10 May 2006.

International strategy. Department for Culture, Media and Sport, London, 2006.

View publication stats