The Future of the Cultural Heritage[1]

Kültürel Mirasın Geleceği

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Abstract

Everything we do, create and produce such as intellectual and artistic works, performances, etc. can be defined as culture. We own a very rich cultural heritage of the past. Yet, the common cultural heritage that belongs to the humanity continues to be looted and destroyed due to negligence, armed conflicts and wars. Even though destroying cultural heritage is a crime according to international law, common cultural heritage has been harmed to a great extent during the 20th century. The main reason for this has been the ongoing process of building "nation-states" taking place around the world since the beginning of the last century. The cultural heritage of the "other" gets neglected, to say the least, during the building stages of nation-states. But the destruction of cultural heritage that belongs to the "other" is not, if we are to use the concepts of game theory, a "zero-sum game" in which one party wins while the other loses. In fact, it is not even a lose-lose game in which both parties lose. In such conflicts the humanity loses part of its very precious and irreplaceable common cultural heritage forever. In this paper the causes of the destruction of cultural heritage and the question of to whom the neglected cultural heritage belongs are discussed and the economic and social values of cultural heritage are examined by means of the game theory. It is stressed that the future of cultural heritage along with its preservation, sharing and transmission to next generations is the common concern and responsibility of all countries and humanity.

Özet

Yaptığımız, yarattığımız, ürettiğimiz her şey (örneğin, entellektüel ve sanatsal eserler, performanslar, vd.) kültür olarak tanımlanabilir. Geçmişten gelen çok zengin bir kültürel mirasa sahibiz. Ama tüm insanlığa ait olan bu ortak kültürel miras çatışmalar, savaşlar ve ihmaller nedeniyle yağmalanmaya ve yok olmaya devam etmektedir. Uluslararası yasalara göre suç olmasına karşın 20. yüzyılda ortak kültürel mirasa büyük zarar verilmiştir. Bunun başlıca nedenlerinden biri geçen yüzyıl başında yaşanan ve günümüzde de devam eden "ulus-devlet"lerin kuruluş sürecidir. Ulus-devletlerin kuruluş aşamasında "öteki"lerin kültürel mirası en hafif deyişle ihmal edilmiştir. Oysa "öteki"lere ait bile olsa kültürel mirasın yok edilmesi, oyun kuramının kavramlarıyla ifade edecek olursak, bir tarafın kazandığı, diğer tarafın ise kaybettiği "toplamı sıfır olan bir oyun" değildir. Hatta kültürel mirasın yok edilmesi iki tarafın da kaybettiği bir oyun da değildir. Bu tür çatışmalarda tüm insanlık çok değerli ve bir daha yerine konulamayacak ortak kültürel mirasının bir kısmını yitirmektedir. Bu çalışmada kültürel mirasın ihmal edilmesinin nedenleri ile ihmal edilen kültürün kimin kültürü olduğu sorusu tartışılmakta,

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[1] This is the translation of a slightly revised text of the keynote paper delivered (in Turkish) at the International Congress on the Management of Cultural Heritage and Cultural Memory Institutions (URLA 2014, September 17-20, Istanbul, Turkey, http://unak2014.unak.org.tr/en/program). For its original version, see http://yunus.hacettepe.edu.tr/~tonta/yayinlar/tonta-kulturel-mirasin-gelecegi-20-ocak-2015.pdf . The original version in Turkish will appear in the proceedings book to be published in 2015. Somewhat shorter versions of the talk were delivered at the TEDx event of Gediz University in İzmir, Turkey, on May 21, 2014 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WM4hob1HCas), and at the Vehbi Koç and Ankara Research Center in Ankara, Turkey, on December 5, 2014.

kültürel mirasın ekonomik değeri ve toplumsal yararları oyun kuramı aracılığıyla incelenmektedir. Kültürel mirasın geleceği, bu mirasın korunması, paylaşılması ve gelecek kuşaklara aktarılmasının bütün ülkelerin ve insanlığın ortak sorunu ve sorumluluğu olduğu vurgulanmaktadır.

Introduction

I am a son of a family of Turkish origin who migrated from the Balkans to Turkey. My father was born in Silistra, which then belonged to Romania, and my mother in a small village of Silistra (Rahmanaşıklar), now called Okorsh in Bulgarian. But their fertile lands were confiscated by the Romanian government; they were coerced to forced labour and live together with Macedonian Vlachs; and eventually lost the security of their lives and property (Duman, 2008, pp. 26-28). Consequently, as children they had to migrate to Turkey with their families during the winter of 1937/1938. First, they travelled to Constanta from Silistra by foot and by horse carriages with whatever belongings they could carry. After a long wait in the poor conditions of the Constanta Harbour in Romania, they were brought to İstanbul by ship. They were kept in quarantine in İstanbul for a short period of time and then settled temporarily in a small village (Selimpasha) close to İstanbul. As they left their property to the Romanian government without any compensation, they waited for three years for the Turkish government to assign them property. They were then given some land along with a few sheep and a pair of oxen and settled permanently in a nearby village (Kavaklı). They lived in great poverty during and after the World War II. Unfortunately, their education was cut short because of the migration.

When the "homeland" was mentioned in our house, it was always understood as the land where my late mother and father lived their childhood that was cut short. The "homeland" had never changed for them till they died. The "homeland" for my father was the banks of the Danube River in Silistra in whose waters he used to bathe as a small child. The "homeland" for my mother was her village located in the fertile lands of the Dobrogea Plain. Yet, these happy childhood years did not last long. My mother used to reminisce those years with a great longing, mention her incomplete school years, recite with excitement some Romanian words which she had learned at school and still remembered, and relive those good old days..

Years later, I visited their birth places, the town of Silistra on the banks of the Danube River where my father used to spend his childhood till he was 9 years old, and my mother's village. Along the route to the city center from the intercity bus station, a mosque caught my attention with locked doors, unkempt vegetation and debris around it. It was obvious that the mosque had not been maintained and used for some time. As the dwindled population of Turks after the migrations seemed to be "otherized," first by Romanians and then the Bulgarians, the value attributed to their cultural heritage was obviously diminished, too. As a matter of fact, the same was also the case for the cultural heritage of Greeks who were forced to migrate to Greece from Turkey during the "population exchange" in 1923-1924. For example, the St. Dimitrios Church, the first class historical monument built in 1831 in a Greek village (Ortaköy) nearby Silivri (Selymbria) before the population exchange, had been used for different purposes (e.g., depot, mosque, among others) for some time and finally abandoned. This deteriorating church that I would take the pictures of whenever I visited

the village has recently been restored by the İstanbul Municipality and converted to a mosque.[2] The "mihrab" of the mosque has been cross-situated in the altar of the church facing east in a way to face the "qibla" (southeast) and the carpet in it was laid accordingly so that the prayers would face the direction of Mecca.

Cultural Heritage

"Cultural heritage is the legacy of physical artifacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations".[3] According to the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage signed by more than 190 countries, the following things with outstanding historical, artistic, scientific, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological universal values are all considered as "cultural heritage": (1) **monuments** such as architectural works, sculptures, or inscriptions; (2) **groups of buildings** either separate or connected with the landscape; and (3) **sites** including archaeological as well as natural ones.[4]

We now have what is called the "Heritage science", an interdisciplinary field of research comprising chemistry, physics, mathematics, biology, archaeology, philosophy, ethics, history, history of art, economics, sociology, computer science and engineering, among others. It is defined as the "science for access to cultural heritage and for its conservation, interpretation and management".[5] Some universities offer graduate degrees in Heritage science[6] and scholarly journals of Heritage science are being published.[7] Despite these positive developments, unfortunately cultural heritage does not get the attention it deserves, is neglected, and not protected as required.

Reasons Why Cultural Heritage is Neglected

Why is the cultural heritage neglected? The most important cause of this neglect has been the onset of the building of "nation-states" since the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. The definition of "citizenship" in this process has not been comprehensive enough. Most of the time people sharing the same religion, language or ethnic background have been defined as citizens, and the rest were excluded and forced to leave the country as a result of "otherization". The cultural heritage objects that belonged to the "other" were destroyed as part of the "ethnic cleansing" (Mac

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[2] See the news item entitled "The mosque 'initiative' to an historical church" by Şenol Demirci in the daily Milliyet (dated August 25, 2009) and the related video shootage (in Turkish): http://www.milliyet.com.tr/Siyaset/HaberDetay.aspx?aType=HaberDetay&ArticleID=1131868&Date=26.08.2009&Kategori=siyaset&b=Belediye,%20acilimdan%20cami%20acmayi%20anladi; http://www.cnnturk.com/2009/turkiye/08/25/tarihi.kiliseye.cami.acilimi/540575.0/index.html.

[3] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural_heritage.

[4] For the full-text of the Convention, see http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/; for the signatory countries, see http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/.

[5] See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heritage_science.

[6] See Queen's University of Belfast, http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/gap/StudyattheSchool/PostgraduateStudies/GraduateStudiesTaught/HeritageScience/, and the University College London, http://www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/heritage/programmes/mres-msc.

[7] E.g., the *Heritage Science* journal (Springer), http://www.heritagesciencejournal.com/; *Journal of Cultural Heritage* (Elsevier), http://www.journals.elsevier.com/journal-of-cultural-heritage/; and *Journal on Computing and Cultural Heritage* (ACM), http://jocch.acm.org/.

an Airchinnigh, Sotirova & Tonta, 2006, p. 32). There appears to be a relationship between "identity-bound" modern wars and the wilful destruction of cultural property. These new wars are related with the "new nationalism". Nations are defined as "communities of memory" and they educate their citizens "in what to remember and what to forget. . . . Intentional collective amnesia or denial contributes to nation-building efforts" (Van der Auwera, 2012, pp. 53-55). As a matter of fact, the citizenship that is defined by the religion or ethnic background that a person belongs to brought about incurable wounds in such nations. For example, the Turkish Orthodox Christians who used to live in the Cappadocia Region of Turkey but were forced to migrate to Greece during the population exchange did not speak the Greek language at all (Balta, 2003, 2012). Similarly, the great majority of the muslim population of the Greek-speaking Western Thrace region who were forced to move to Turkey did not speak any Turkish, either. Mihri Belli, who was born and brought up in Silivri (Selymbria) wherein my family settled, mentions in his master's thesis (1940) that it was mandatory to speak in Greek during the local election campaigns in those days to address the newly migrated muslim population who were not able to comprehend Turkish at that time (Belli, 2006, p. 29; Belli, 1940).

The people who experienced great agonies and who were strangers both in their homelands because of their religion and in their new countries because of their language was described by Professor Ayşe Lahur Kırtunç (who herself is a daughter of a family that was forced to leave Crete, Greece) in her poem entitled "Twice a Stranger" thus (Clark, 2006):[8]

> *Birth in one place,*
> *growing old in another place.*
> *And feeling a stranger in two places.*

Unfortunately, the building of nation-states based on the same exclusionary definition of citizenship still continues today. Furthermore, the language, religion and cultural heritage of the "others" are generally ignored and neglected. The cultural heritage that was lost in the first half of 1990s due to conflicts in the Balkan countries can be given as an example. The National and University Library in Sarajevo was set on fire in 1992. Some 1.5 million books, 4,000 rare books, 478 bound manuscripts and the 100-year old collection of Bosnian newspapers were destroyed. With great efforts, a mere 10 percent of the whole library collection was saved (Tonta, 2009, p. 425). This incidence is the biggest intentional book burning in the modern history (Riedlmayer, 2007, p. 110). The 600-year-old manuscript of the Sarajevo Haggadah was saved by being hidden in several different places during the war. Fortunately, the Library, which is one of the best examples of the pseudo-Moorish architecture, was re-opened in May 9, 2014, after a long restoration period (Sarajevo, 2014). The National Museum of Bosnia Herzegovina was also bombed and damaged in the same years (sadly, the Museum was closed down altogether in 2012). Lastly, the Archives of Bosnia Herzegovina was set on fire at the beginning of 2014. The archival documents in the collection belonging to the period of 1878-1918 along with those of the WWII War Crimes Commission were damaged. Unfortunately, the cultural property, books and archival material of great historical importance for not only Bosnia Herzegovina but also for the central European countries in the region were irretrievably lost in these conflicts and fires   (Riedlmayer, 1995a, 1995b). In the same period, 92 percent (or 255) of the

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[8] Bruce Clark who wrote a book on mass expulsion between Turkey and Greece used this poem at the beginning of his book and entitled its book "Twice a Stranger" (Clark, 2006).

mosques surveyed in Bosnia Herzegovina were either almost completely destroyed (136) or heavily damaged (119) (Riedlmayer, 2002, p. 10). The Ferhadija Mosque in Banja Luka that was commissioned by the Bosnian Sanjak Bey Ferhat Pasha and built in 1579 was among them.

In fact, the destruction of cultural works, places of worship, and memory institutions of libraries, archives and museums in wars and armed conflicts is a war crime. According to the Article 53 of the *Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949* (2010, p. 39), "it is prohibited:

> a)   to commit any acts of hostility directed against the historic monuments, works of art or places of worship which constitute the cultural or spiritual heritage of peoples;
>
> b)   to use such objects in support of the military effort;
>
> c)   to make such objects the object of reprisals".

Similarly, the Hague *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* (1954) stipulates the protection and safeguarding of the cultural property and imposes penal or disciplinary sanctions for offenders. Moreover, the protection of cultural and natural heritage, the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, and the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions are supported by the international community through conventions adopted in 1972, 2003 and 2005, respectively.[9] Yet, the looting and destruction of the cultural heritage still continues.

It is interesting to note that the war crimes committed against the cultural property mentioned above were committed by perpetrators who destroyed their own cultural heritage! This is because the institutions selected as "the target of the enemy" housed the historical and cultural heritage of Muslims, Serbians, Croats, Jews and all the other nations who lived or continue to live in Bosnia Herzegovina. However, destroying one's own cultural heritage means committing cultural suicide because culture is not an isolated entity. By destroying the cultural heritage of other nations, one destroys at the same time their own culture, as all cultures are intertwined and interdependent to each other (Zgonjanin, 2005, pp. 136-137).

The British author Louis de Bernières mentions in his novel, *A Partisan's Daughter*, a Serbian woman named Roza who hates Turks, Croats, Albanians and almost everyone, and he jokingly characterizes her as someone who has "the Balkan Alzheimer's disease" which makes one "forget everything but a grudge" (De Bernières, 2008, p. 51). Perhaps the Balkan Alzheimer's disease prevents us from remembering the contributions of the "others" to our very own culture! (Tonta, 2009, p. 426).

In fact, the word "balkan" means a range of wooded mountains in Turkish and it was first used for the Balkan Mountains in Bulgaria. Later in the 19th century the word was used to describe the geographical region of the Balkan Peninsula in the Southeast Europe bordering the Adriatic Sea in the west, the Mediterranean Sea in the south, and the Black Sea in the east (Pavic, 2000). This region was part of the Ottoman Empire for a long time where great conflicts and human tragedies were experienced among the people of different languages, religions and ethnic backgrounds during the last quarter of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries as well as in the First and Second

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[9] See http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/; http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/convention; and http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=31038&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

World Wars. The building of nation-states in the Balkans continued at the end of 20th and the beginning of 21st centuries, as well.

The word "balkan" gained an undeserved negative connotation due to unrest, conflicts and wars taking place in various regions of the Balkans within the last two centuries. The words "balkan", "balkanization" and "balkanism" are being used to describe the regions that are in conflict, divided, and dangerous to live (Pavic, 2000; Tonta, 2009, p. 420). Perhaps it is not a coincidence that the Balkan Alzheimer's disease strikes the Balkans first as a geographic region! This might be the reason why Slovenia refused to be characterized as a "Balkan country" after it got separated from Yugoslavia in 1992. Today, countries in this region (Slovenia and Croatia) call themselves Southeast European or Central European countries. The Balkans are also generally known by most people in Turkey, too, as the geographic region from where we get cold spells of weather during the winter..

The Neglected Culture. Whose is it?

Let's go back to the issue of neglected culture. How is it that we fail to realize the fact that we destroy our very own culture along with the common culture of the humanity when we destroy the culture of the others? Why are we approaching the question of "whose culture" with a relatively narrow viewpoint? Why are we failing to perceive the continuity of the culture? Why are we behaving "selectively" when it comes to adopting the ancient cultures? Let's try to shed some light on these questions with a few examples of the cultures of ancient Anatolia.

The region named "the Fertile Crescent" of the Middle East played an important role in the development of the culture and civilization of the humankind and includes the current southeastern part of Anatolia, Turkey, with the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers and the Harran Plain. Monumental sanctuaries dating back to 10,000 BC- 8000 BC were unearthed at Göbekli Tepe, an archaeological site in this region providing important findings with regards to the capabilities of the humans in the Stone Age along with the transition from the then dominant culture of hunter-gatherer communities to the sedentary ones who for the first time cultivated grains and domesticated the animals. It is believed that complex rituals were carried out in these sanctuaries. Sanctuaries were very well preserved as the archaeological site was covered with dirt after abandonment. The history of the humanity transitioning from the hunting-gathering culture to the sedentary one is being rewritten because of the Göbekli Tepe findings (Schmidt, 2012, 2010, 2006, 2007).

Let's give some examples from the more recent past. Anatolia, the cradle of civilizations where current day Turkey is located, became home to many cultures starting from 3000 BC including the Trojans, Hattis, Hittites, Lycians, Phyrigans, Lydians, Persians, Macedonians, Galatians, Romans, Byziantians, Seljuks and Ottomans. Not that many people would know that Galatians (Kelts) lived in Anatolia once upon a time but almost all of us may have heard of Hittites. Many settlement names inherited from the Hittites period in Anatolia such as *Anzilia* (Zile), *Adaniia* (Adana), *Parha* (Perge) are still in use today in Turkey (Alp, 2005, p. 63). The Hittites also signed the very first peace treaty in history. Carved on to a clay tablet (in two pieces) in the Hittite language (an Indo-European language), the original of the Kadesh Peace Treaty signed between the Egyptians and the Hittites in 1250 BC is exhibited at the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul and a reproduction thereof is hung in the building of the United Nations Headquarters.

Some of you may have seen "the Hittites Sun" displayed at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara. This 24-cm. bronze ceremonial standard, which in fact belongs to the Hattian period before the Hittites, was found at the royal tombs in the archaeological site of Alacahöyük nearby Çorum, Turkey (Alp, 2005, pp. 35-40; Akurgal, 2001). The sculpture built by Professor Nusret Suman in 1978 and placed at the Sıhhiye Square in Ankara is the replica of "the Hittites Sun" and was once used as the official emblem of the Ankara Municipality. The sculpture of "the Hittites Sun" has been controversial since then. Some think that it does not represent the Islamic heritage of Turkey. According to some others who see themselves as the descendants of people coming from the steppes of Central Asia, this sculpture is not "Turkish" enough. Moreover, there has been some discussion in the literature in the past about whether the Hittites were of Turkish origin (Alp, 2005, pp. 62-67).

However, the genetic legacy of Anatolia has not been fully revealed yet. Genetic studies show that the Turkish people who currently live in Anatolia have less than 9 percent of their genes (Y-chromosome) inherited from the Turkic speaking people of Central Asia who migrated to Anatolia. The percentage is relatively small because the population of Anatolia increased during the Bronze Age and reached 12 million during the late Roman Period. It is believed that "[s]uch a large pre-existing Anatolian population would have reduced the impact by the subsequent arrival of Turkic speaking Seljuk and Osmanlı [Ottoman] groups from Central Asia". In other words, findings "demonstrate Anatolia's role as a buffer between culturally and genetically distinct populations, being both an important source and recipient of gene flow" (Cinnioğlu et al., 2004, p. 135), which explains to some extent the genetic diversity in Turkey. It appears that the people of Turkey carry the genes of various nations who once lived in Anatolia thousands of years ago. This genetic legacy cannot be rejected (in part or as a whole). It is perfectly natural that the genetic legacy of the Anatolian peoples of the past is reflected in their cultural heritage, too. It is not possible to precisely answer the question of whose genes we are carrying in retrospect. Nor is it possible to satisfactorily answer the question of "whose culture" without fully embracing the heritage of all the cultures who once lived or continue to live in Anatolia. That is to say that we cannot (and should not) be "selective" about our cultural heritage just as we cannot be "selective" about our genetic legacy. We cannot own the cultural heritages of some nations and preserve them while rejecting others' and letting them to disappear.

Think about the richness of the cultural heritage of various civilizations who once lived in Anatolia (Fig. 1). To disregard the large part of this cultural heritage by "otherizing" it will make both the people who currently live in Anatolia and the next generations much poorer. Suppose that we owned and preserved the cultural heritage of only one civilization who lived in Anatolia in the past as depicted in Fig. 1 and neglected the rest, which are much richer in total. Let's think for a moment about museums in Turkey not having any cultural property inherited from the Hittites, Lycians, Romans, and Byzantines. The Turkish cultural heritage would have been much poorer then. The same holds true for the cultural heritage of other nations, too. Their cultural heritage would also be very incomplete if their attitude is exclusionary, as all the countries in a region are nourished by the cultural heritage of others who once lived in the same geography. An interdependence will be formed among different cultures. It would be impossible to understand one without the other. In other words, each nation can make its cultural heritage meaningful only by preserving the cultural heritage of others.
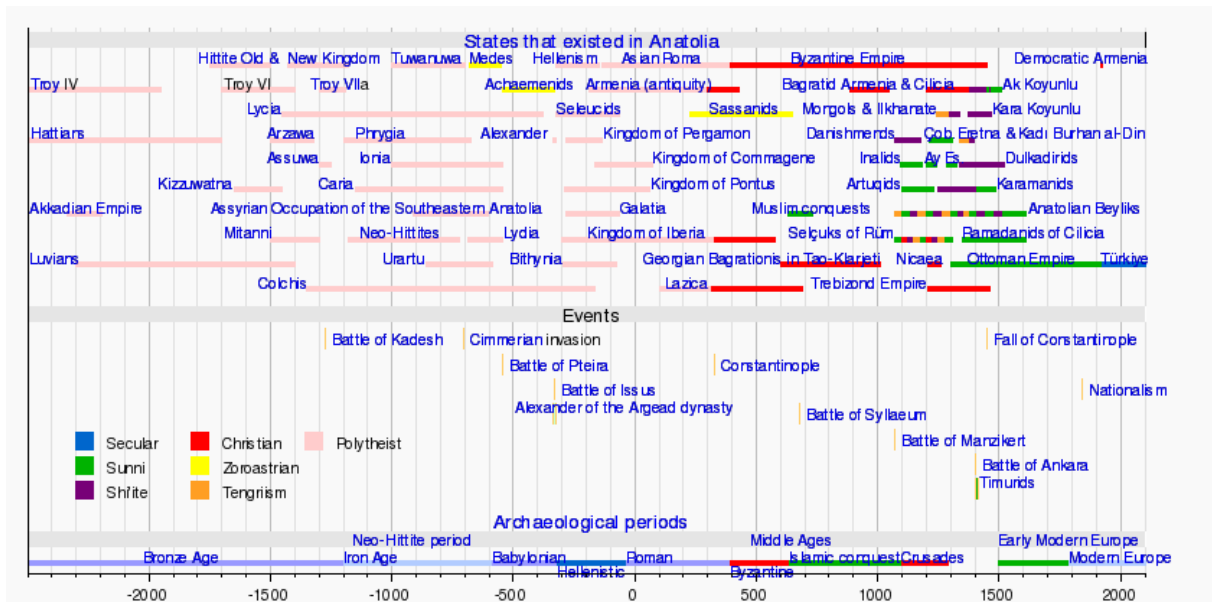
Figure 1. The states and civilizations that existed in Anatolia (Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Galatia)

The Economic Value of the Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage is a public good. The economic value of the cultural heritage is measured by its societal benefit. Cultural heritage has both a direct effect on economy by creating employment and providing income and an indirect effect by promoting tourism and hospitality sectors. In a recent study, the sectoral output multiplier of the cultural activities in Turkey was calculated as 1.72 using the input-output analysis method (Ekşioğlu, 2012, p. 123). This is to say that one unit of increase in the production of cultural activities causes 1.72 units of increase in other sectors. This is smaller than those of the textile and construction sectors but higher than those of agriculture, educational services and mining (Ekşioğlu, 2012, p. 128).

Different methods are used to measure the economic value of culture and cultural heritage (O'Brien, 2010; Navrud & Ready, 2002).[10] For instance, using the the contingent valuation method some 967 subjects (both locals and foreigners, visitors and non-visitors) were asked how much entrance fee they were willing to pay to visit a temple (Mỹ Sơn) in Vietnam listed in the UNESCO's Registry of World Heritage. The net current value of the temple was calculated as between the range of 0.9 million and 16.2 million US dollars depending on the amount of entrance fee chosen. The cost-benefit ratio varied between 1.07 and 2.26 (Tuana & Navrud, 2008).

Using the same method, 252 subjects were asked if the Pirate's Tower, the cultural heritage from the Arabs period in the Valencia region of Spain that was toppled down due to negligence, should be restored and, if they said "yes", how much they were willing to pay to do so. The societal benefit of restoring the tower was calculated as at least 396,000 euro whereas the total cost of the restoration

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[10] E.g., contingent valuation, the discounted cash flow, and the hedonic pricing methods. For more general studies to measure the economic value of cultural activities, see Ekşioğlu (2012, Table 18, pp. 111-115).

was 120,000 euro (Salazar & Marques, 2005). In other words, residents were willing to pay three times more than the actual cost of restoration.

The United Kingdom spent some 15.7 million sterling pounds (GBP) in 2012 to maintain the status quo of its 28 pieces of cultural property listed in the UNESCO's World Heritage Registry along with the application fees and operational expenses. The total benefit to the country was estimated to be 76.9 million GBP, a cost-benefit ratio of about 5.0 (Wider value, 2013, p. 59).

The findings of a cost-benefit analysis study carried out in Turkey showed that "the monetary and non-monetary benefits of museums are higher than their total costs" (Ekşioğlu, 2012, p. 141).

The Protection of Cultural Heritage and Game Theory

The examples given above demonstrate that the societal benefits of preserving cultural heritage is much higher than its cost. By taking the average of the cost-benefit ratios given above (about 3), we will now explore the issue of whether the two countries should cooperate in preserving their shared cultural heritage using the game-theoretical approach.[11]

Let's define the rules of the game first:

1. The efforts of preserving the cultural heritage will not succeed when both countries (players) do not set aside budget for this.
2. The efforts will be partially successful if only one country sets aside budget to preserve not only its own cultural heritage but also the heritage of the other country that happened to be within its territory. But this is not considered to be an acceptable option by both countries.
3. Both countries will set aside budget to preserve both their own cultural heritage and that of the other in their respective territories.

We assumed earlier that the average return on investment (ROI) for the preservation of cultural heritage was three. That is to say that one-unit of expenditure to preserve the cultural heritage returns as a three-unit direct or indirect economic value to that country (net two units). According to the game theory, the payoff matrix of possible strategies for each country is given in Table 1.

Table 1. The payoff matrix of possible strategies

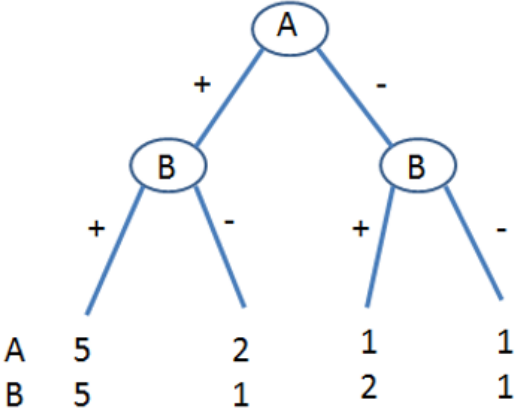|		Country B			
		Preserves		Does not preserve	
Country A	Preserves	5	5	2	1
	Does not preserve	1	2	1	1

The choice that both countries do not spend any money to preserve their cultural heritage is given at the bottom right-hand corner (1, 1) of Table 1. As they will not bear the cost of the preservation, they will each make one unit of "profit" but will, in time, lose not only their own cultural heritage but also that of the other country within their territories. On the other hand, if one country spends

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[11] For a popular (albeit dated) work on game theory, see Poundstone (1992).

money while the other does not, the one preserving the cultural heritage will get two units of ROI while the other will make one unit of "profit" (the choices of 2, 1 and 1, 2 in the top right- and bottom left-hand corners, respectively). However, the one that makes one unit of "profit" will, eventually, not only lose its own cultural heritage, but also that of the other country within its borders. But, according to the rules of the game, these two choices cannot be accepted by either parties. The choice that both countries spend money to preserve their cultural heritage is given on the top left-hand corner (5, 5). Each country will get a total of 5 units of economic value with this strategy. Considering that the economic value also includes the societal benefits, each country will make two units out of five by preserving its own cultural heritage as well as that of the other country in territories under their jurisdictions. Moreover, without spending any money to preserve its cultural heritage outside its borders, each country will enjoy an additional three units of gain as a result of the investment made by the other country to preserve all the cultural heritage within its borders.[12] (See Fig. 2 for the game tree of the possible strategies.)

Clearly, if both countries invest in preserving the cultural heritage, a total of 10 units of economic value can be gained. As a matter of fact, the societal value would be much higher as the whole humanity will benefit from the preservation and safeguarding of the cultural heritage.

Of course, one of the first things that comes to mind is whether such a scenario based on game theory would work in the real life as the discrete games consist of finite players, moves, events and payoffs. There are intimate and complex relations between different cultures. Cultural heritage objects are scattered in different places and time periods. Countries tend to differ in their priorities to preserve the cultural heritage. The historical, economic and touristic values attributed to cultural heritage objects are different. It is hard to resolve the conflicts of cultural heritage and come to agreement between the countries (Tonta, 2013).

"+" preserves, "-" does not preserve

Figure 2. The game tree

On the other hand, "In most countries, 'culture' is still considered a 'national affair'" and a country hosting the world cultural heritage "will pay only to preserve up to the point where the marginal *national* benefit equal marginal cost" (Frey & Pamini, 2009, p. 1, 6; original italics).   Frey and Pamini

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[12] For a similar scenario developed to save the endangered species see Colyvan, Justus and Regan (2011).

(2009) stated that the World Heritage is a global public good and cannot be preserved on a national level only. They emphasized that the world heritage should be commonly preserved similar to the NATO that functions as a common defence system for all member countries. The Culture Certificate Scheme they proposed consists of the following steps: "(1) Determining what belongs to World Heritage; (2) Agreeing on the financial obligations of individual countries; (3) Assigning Heritage Certificates; and (4) Trading World Heritage Certificates." (p. 3) As the number of World Heritage sites is high, it is believed that the suggested certificate system would work better than the environmental protection system based on the tradable carbon emission permits as envisaged by the UN's Framework Convention on Climate Change (the Kyoto Protocol).[13] Indeed, it is imperative that all countries should, just as they do in initiatives of defense and environment, act jointly to preserve the ever dwindling, disappearing world cultural heritage, and to pass it on to next generations. UNESCO's efforts in this respect are of great importance. Yet, these efforts are not enough as the onus of preserving the cultural heritage is on individual countries.

Destroying cultural heritage is not a "zero-sum game" in which one party wins while the other loses. In fact, it is not a "lose-lose game" either. Regardless of its origin, the humanity loses its common cultural heritage forever when it gets destroyed. Despite this, it is very painful to see the destructive process still continuing in the 21st century.

Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society

The Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society of the Council of Europe that was opened to signatories in 2005 and entered into force on June 1, 2011, is one of the important initiatives.[14] It is based on the idea that "rights relating to cultural heritage are inherent in the right to participate in cultural life, as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights". The first article of the Framework Convention recognizes cultural heritage as both a source for human development, promoting cultural diversity and the development of intercultural dialogue, and as part of an economic development model based on the principles of sustainable use of resources. The Articles 4 and 5 of the Convention emphasize that "everyone, alone or collectively, has the responsibility to respect the cultural heritage of others as much as their own heritage, and consequently the common heritage of Europe" and that they "recognise the value of cultural heritage situated on territories under their jurisdiction, regardless of its origin".[15] Signed by 22 countries and entered into force in 16 countries, the European Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society should be supplemented with legal foundations to finance and sustain the preservation of common cultural heritage.

Conclusion

As emphasized in the Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts . . . and its benefits".[16] In order to participate in the cultural life, we have to have a common cultural heritage.

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[13] For views on buying the "right to pollute" the environment through tradable international carbon emission permits and if this is ethical or not, see Chatuverdi (2013) and Sandel (1997).

[14] See http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous.asp?CL=ENG&CM=8&NT=199.

[15] See http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/199.htm.

[16] See http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR_Translations/eng.pdf.

The preservation of the common cultural heritage and its tranfer to the next generations is as important an issue as that of the common defence and the protection of the nature, environment and the endangered species. If we do not act together to preserve the common cultural heritage of the world, and create the needed resources for this, we will be hindering the rights of both the existing generation and the ones to follow to participate in the cultural life. We all are responsible to transfer the world's cultural heritage in all forms to the next generations. In order to fulfil our responsibilities, first we, as individuals, ought not to catch "the Balkan Alzheimer's disease" that causes one to "forget" the contribution of other cultures to the world's cultural heritage. As individual countries, we have to both preserve our own cultural heritage, and respect and safeguard the heritages of other cultures within the territories under our jurisdictions, too. If we see the preservation of the cultural heritage from a conjunctural point of view and develop preservation policies on the basis of the dominant political views or of the era in which we live, this will neither benefit our own culture nor those of the others in the long run. In the near future all countries should agree on a common strategy to preserve the common cultural heritage that enables us to participate in cultural life in a more organized manner and implement it. It is our right as "Homo Culturalis" who create, learn and teach culture (Güvenç, 1995, p. 196) to demand this.

Acknowledgements

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