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Who's Heritage?

A study of the perceptions of cultural heritage in south-western Sweden among immigrants and Swedes with a foreign background



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Abstract

This essay has investigated immigrants and Swedes with foreign background's perception of cultural heritage as it has been specified by UNESCO. The approach to focus on this particular sample population was born out of the realisation that the EU, nationalist parties and far-right extremists all point to a common heritage. What has not been studied however is the effect of immigration on national heritages and the effect this would have on a perceived Swedish heritage and a common European heritage and identity. Through the dissemination of a self-administered online survey, immigrants and Swedes with a foreign background were asked to consider what belongs to culture, their family's traditions, and potential cultural influences among other. The developments of the term heritage in official UNESCO documents is briefly mapped and explained before focusing on heritage in the academic field. Through the connection of heritage to cultural nationalism, religion in Europe and identity the term heritage is put into context and put forth as a concept that is never static and is bound to change with every generational shift as described by the theory of cultural nationalism. The results from the survey showed that those who grow up with their parents offering culture from several cultures were more likely to perceive their cultural influences as mixed and identify with more cultures than just one. The notion of a common national or European culture and identity should not be entirely accepted at face value. While there are aspects of heritage that resonate with many people a uniform heritage cannot resonate with everyone. It depends on if they feel they have mixed or specific cultural influences or even their gender. This makes a common cultural heritage an impossibility to its fullest extent since it has to compete with local and regional heritage as well. This does not mean there cannot be a common Swedish cultural heritage or a common European heritage in the future but it will never be uniform in the way it is presented in official heritage discourses.

Key words: heritage, cultural nationalism, European culture, Sweden, UNESCO

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Introduction

In the wake of the economic crisis that hit the global economy in the beginning of the twenty-first century, Europeans look on as right-wing extremist movements gain momentum in national politics; in Sweden the right-wing party Sweden Democrats were elected into national parliament, in Greece the Nazi-party Golden Dawn advances, in Finland the nationalist party the True Finns gained influence in parliament and the examples can go on. The beginning of the twenty-first century has meant the resurgence of opinions and values that Europe has fought hard to bury, healing the wounds from the atrocities during the Second World War. To this date, most research in European Studies has focused on governance, integration theories or the identity of Europe to name a few. The questions “what is Europe” and “who are the Europeans” are repeated as an academic mantra. In light of this, I wanted to look at the cultural heritage in relation to European studies. It is important not only for the field of study but also for Europe and the European Union to understand the dynamics and the complexity behind the nationalist claims of a national cultural heritage as well as it is of importance to understand the function of the EUs claims to a common heritage. Even more so when seeking to understand European integration.

Heritage studies have gained momentum the past decades due to its close connections with other academic disciplines such as nationalism, identity, memory studies etc. Indeed it is an important area to study since it can help us understand and explain social dynamics of change, conflict and how different people approach the same problems due to their cultural and social background. By investigating an everyday understanding of cultural heritage among immigrants and people of foreign background in the south-west region of Scania (Skåne) it is possible to find proof that cultural heritage is never static nor can a whole nation much less a continent lay claim to an overall common heritage. By connecting cultural heritage and the theory of cultural heritage, it is easier to see how cultural heritage is never static and how the perception changes with every generational shift.

1. Research aim & method

1.1 Aim

This study seeks to understand how immigrants and people of foreign background in the south-west region of Scania in Sweden understand their heritage and what implications this has for a potential national Swedish heritage. Heritage as a term was specified through the definitions put forth by UNESCO and academic literature. The choice to focus on this specific population is rooted in the idea that nations are presented as having a uniform, historical culture which is most often related to some ancient heritage. This argument seems to be most common in times when nationalist movements increase in number and popularity. This is what, according to many nationalists, creates the current problems of cultural conflict and need for assimilation. Moreover, in European Studies heritage studies is not, though it should be, a prominent feature which is problematic when considering the impact on social life that the EU has had on the European countries with free movement of people and programs such as Erasmus.¹

However, as I argue, when culture is attached to a national or other heritage, it is important to understand heritage. Heritage and culture are closely intertwined and exceptionally value-laden, making claims of a uniform heritage and thus culture a contradiction of terms. By focusing specifically on how immigrants and people of foreign background understand their relations to heritage and more specifically their own heritage I believe it is possible to illuminate the fallacy of using or viewing national cultures and common heritage as something with an absolute and essential definition. This particular sample brings to the table a previous experience of a common heritage and to some extent a mixed experience depending on where they grew up and what their families have emphasised as important. Furthermore, by looking at the theory of cultural nationalism it is easier to put heritage into a social context. Cultural nationalism, as will be explained in detail further on in the next chapter, deals with the moral-based revitalisation and mobilisation of traditions, values and institutional formations to regenerate as something new and modern, until it ossifies and the process starts over with new generations. Connecting heritage and cultural nationalism makes it easier to highlight the dynamics of heritage's role in social conflict, change and reinvention. The theory of modernisation will also be touched upon in the next chapter but

¹ Elizabeth Bomberg, John Peterson, and Richard Corbett, *The European Union - How Does It Work?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, 2012). Pp.106

should not be considered to be of any major importance to this work but rather some of its premises are shared and so it will not be described or explained in any detail.

This study should be seen as an initial probe of a collective, Swedish heritage and heritage dynamics in general. Particularly Swedish heritage has not been studied in any greater length or detail from the vantage point of Europeanisation and compliance with European integration envisioned by official actors. Talking about Swedish heritage I believe it is easy to overlook the actual intricacies of cultural exchange in a globalised world.

The terms 'immigrant' and 'persons of foreign background' are taken from a Swedish governmental report on how these two terms are and should be used in governmental communications.² The term 'immigrant' refers to those who themselves have migrated to Sweden from another country, Sweden not being their country of birth, whereas 'persons of foreign background' includes both people who have been born in another country and those who have been born in Sweden but where one or both of the parents have migrated to Sweden.³ I have not followed the reports definition word for word but I have chosen to extract the essence of the working group's specifications without any greater deviations from the original. I found it is better to use the official terms and definitions although I recognise that there might be some objections to the terms themselves. What I wanted most of all with the use of these definitions was to avoid labelling any individuals as first, second or third generation immigrants since this would bring up a lengthy discussion on when you are actually considered to be Swedish which is in a way off-topic.

The question I then sought to answer in this thesis was: *Swedish cultural heritage – is there a common, national heritage?* This question is operationalised through the following sub-questions;

How do immigrants in the south-west region of Scania perceive their cultural heritage? Do the perceptions of their heritage align with UNESCOs definitions? What implications does this hold for Swedish heritage? Does this affect the outlook of a European identity?

² It should be noted that the survey stated that the definitions were taken from the Migration Board. This is true but their definition of immigrant and person of foreign background is traced back to the governmental report used for the writing of the thesis.

³ Annika Friberg and Gunnar Hermanson, "Begreppet Invandrare - Användningen I Myndigheters Verksamhet," ed. Department of Culture (Stockholm: Fritzes Offentliga Publikationer, 2000).

1.2 Method

The repeated referral to UNESCO charters in this document is due to the fact that nearly all academic writings on heritage at one point or another reference them or acknowledge their importance. As I will later discuss, the alternative of using EU policies would make any discussion or effort to pin-point what is cultural heritage futile since the EU has left it open with the reasoning that it is not possible for an institution to define what culture is.⁴

The UNESCO charters serve as a guide to specify what heritage entails because it is a framework that is used by official and public actors, researchers and media among others and is in a sense taken for granted. The use of the UNESCO definitions of heritage also serves the purpose of setting a framework for what an official, or national, heritage includes allowing me to focus less on the identification of a Swedish cultural heritage and more on what the perception among the population is.

To investigate the attitudes toward heritage among immigrants and persons of foreign background I chose to do a web-based survey through the survey service Google Docs which is provided by Google. Formulated in Swedish, the survey can in some cases have excluded those who do not possess sufficient knowledge in the Swedish language to answer, even though the questions were formulated as basic as was possible. Furthermore, the survey may have excluded people who do not possess sufficient computer skills to take part in the test or they may have problems with eye-sight and would benefit from having an interviewer conduct the survey with them.⁵ However, conducting an interview would have, as I write below, presented other challenges to the research project that were outweighed by the benefits of an online survey.

The majority of the questions were closed-ended providing the respondents with preformatted responses to ensure that the respondents' answers were useful for analysis. Some questions were open-ended but only in order for the respondents to be able to provide, voluntarily, specific information in relation to the previously asked question. For instance, respondents with children were asked to answer if they spoke in Swedish with their children and were given the options *yes*, *no*, *I mix the languages* and *it depends on the*

⁴ Monica Sassatelli, "Imagined Europe: The Shaping of a European Cultural Identity through Eu Cultural Policy," *European Journal of Social Theory* 5, no. 4 (2002). Pp.440

⁵ Floyd J. Jr. Fowler, *Survey Research Methods* (4th Ed.). Survey Research Methods (4th Ed.). Sage Publications, Inc, (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2009), <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781452230184>. February 12, 2014. doi:10.4135/9781452230184. Pp.71

situation. Those who chose the fourth option were then asked to freely describe a situation when they do speak Swedish with their children. The data collected from these specific questions are on their own not aimed at providing any grounds for generalisations. Rather they are to be seen as filling or just anecdotal material⁶ since there is no effective way of ensuring useful answers from open-ended questions in self-administered questionnaires due to the limitation of exploring the background of these answers by the researcher.⁷⁸ Even so, it has produced indications to what immigrants think and feel when it comes to their heritage and as such also indications toward cultural heritage dynamics.

Furthermore, some of the questions regarding family traditions, descent or identification with a certain nationality might be perceived as sensitive information. As the alternative to investigating attitudes among the sample population would be interviews, which are often both costly and lengthy procedures, the self-administered internet survey offers the possibility of complete anonymity, no costs as well as limited time waiting for submissions. This approach also lets the respondents take the survey when they feel they have time for it and therefore decreasing the chances of non-participation.⁹ However, by using a snowball sampling method the chances of follow-up have been limited. The respondents were instead asked to forward the link to the survey to friends and family members who might be interested in participating in the study. In addition to this, I addressed different organisations as well as educational institutions to post the study with a link to the survey on their message boards or in group emails calling for participation. I've set no age limits for the age group that has been asked to participate yet the majority of the channels pursued in disseminating the questionnaire has mainly attracted the attention of people in the ages between eighteen and thirty-five which is why this age group constitutes approximately seventy percent of the sample population. I do not see this as a limitation of the study since sufficient data has been produced to answer the research questions. Instead it has opened for possibilities to identify other areas of research that are key to mapping the complexities of heritage.

The survey in itself, as already stated, consisted of a majority of closed-ended questions with the open-ended questions only used as follow-up questions for providing the context

⁶ Ibid. Pp.72

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Paul S. Gray et al., *The Research Imagination : An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Methods* (New York : Cambridge University Press, 2007, 2007), Non-fiction. Pp.134

⁹ Fowler, *Survey Research Methods (4th Ed.)*. *Survey Research Methods (4th Ed.)*. Sage Publications, Inc. Pp.72

in a basic form. In the first part of the survey, termed *Culture and Language* (in Swedish *Kultur och språk*), the participants were asked to answer whether or not their families are traditional in the sense that they partake in or celebrate national or religious holidays, if the traditions were from specific culture or if it was mixed. Participants were given examples of the religious holidays such as Christmas, Eid al-Fitr and Chanukka to make clear what was considered a holiday.

The participants were then asked to consider and choose from a list of twenty-four different alternatives of what belongs within the term culture and furthermore which of these represents their own culture as perceived by themselves. The different alternatives were taken from the definition of what cultural heritage entails as found in the UNESCO charters as well as a few alternatives of popular culture. Since the questionnaire contains sixty-six questions in total it will not be possible to go through them all one by one so for the full questionnaire please see Appendix 1 (for English see Appendix 2).

The questionnaire asked the participants to consider the importance of learning new languages when moving to a new country, the importance of religion to fathers and mothers, to themselves and whether or not they thought that some religions were more or less accepted in both Sweden and in Europe. Moreover, the questions posed were aimed at mapping not only attitudes toward heritage but also to make visible some of the dynamics behind their perception of heritage. For instance, all participants were asked if they identify or ever had identified with a monument or a certain place that they felt was of great importance to them. Those who said *yes* were asked to specify what this monument or place was. Those who answered *no* were asked whether or not there had ever been such a monument or place and if answering *yes* the subsequent question that was asked of them was what happened for it to lose its importance. These open-ended questions did in many cases result in brief answers that made visible the complex dynamics of heritage and the invested values but would still need a form of more interactive prodding through interviewing to further investigate the underlying meanings and reasons for their answers.

Furthermore the questions were formulated in a simple way to avoid becoming too technical and diffuse. On the other hand the questions were sufficient in quantity and elaborate enough to cover the areas of heritage as well as extract the general attitudes toward heritage from the population. While I do recognize that in some parts of the survey there was a lack of instructions for the skip-pattern, the phrasing and the sequencing of the

questions was simple enough to deduce which follow-up questions were to be answered by the individual participant. Furthermore, the online-survey programme allowed me to easily identify any respondents answering questions that they should not have answered. This has allowed for me to identify data that needs cleaning or that can simply be deleted; data that has been erroneously entered such as when male respondents answer questions about them being pregnant.¹⁰¹¹ There are no parts in this survey where the questions have led to erroneous data of the type where male respondents answer pregnancy questions as specified above yet there are parts that have produced unlikely data.¹² For instance, some respondents have answered that they would not identify with a religion and then continued to answer the following question which is phrased *if yes, how important is your religion to you*. In the survey, twenty-one people answered yes but there were twenty-six people who answered the follow-up question. This might mean that there is ambiguity in the questions or perhaps an ambiguity in the perception of one's own religious belief and belonging. Consider that I might be a Christian although I do not identify with the religion in itself or believe in god. Religion then is of little or no importance at all to me. It of course depends on which of the answers the respondent chose.

Working with heritage in any form is extremely hard since it encompasses so many areas of study and could more or less include everything in society. By using a survey I was able to narrow this area down but with the subsequent risk of steering respondents in a desired direction. Precisely because heritage is such a vast area the need for narrowing the options and possibilities is important since otherwise the data collected might be far too varied to enable the researcher to boil it all down to an essence. This is also why this area of study is getting more and more focus in academic circles - because of the malleable nature of the subject heritage. Due to its malleability it has long been used in politics and the lack of study of heritage in relation to this should be seen as a major weakness in many academic disciplines.

¹⁰ Gray et al., *The Research Imagination : An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Methods*. Pp.143

¹¹ Valerie M. Sue and Lois A. Ritter, *Conducting Online Surveys*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2007), <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412983754>. March 14, 2014. doi:10.4135/9781412983754. Pp.106

¹² *Ibid.* Pp.107

1.3 Reliability and validity

Using the questionnaire on a sample population similar to or different from the one in this survey would produce the same results albeit to the point where answers are equal in that they differ from each other.¹³¹⁴ I have sought to get answers without regard to any specific background of the respondents other than their status as immigrant or person of foreign background. I believe this would allow for more varied answers as well as reduce the risk of presenting an official heritage instead of unofficial heritage. The entire sample population consists of nineteen women and fifteen men. Out of these, three respondents, one male and two female, did not fulfil the criteria of being either of foreign background or an immigrant and their responses have solely been used as a comparative element to the answers of the respondents that did fit the criteria.

Each person will have a different point of view of their heritage while still sharing some aspects with other. This would be because the principle of value investment in heritage is the same across any group whereas the values themselves are different in some cases and similar in others. Similarities could be due to cultural exchanges from immigrants adapting to their new culture or since respondents have grown up with two or more cultural influences. There is however no easy way to assure that respondents would give the same answers a second time since, as will be discussed further on, values are not static. Somewhat against the logic of reliability the survey will produce similar results but different answers in different samples. However, it could be discussed if results might actually be reproduced from the aspect that in nations where nationalism has consolidated a strong state and an ethnic population answers might be similar. Studying ethnic Swedes might in fact enhance reliability since the group can be considered homogenous depending on which age-group is investigated. There might be different opinions between the different age-groups; a person in their twenties may have a different take on if it is possible to speak of a typical or common Swedish culture than someone in their sixties. There's no telling for sure unless the study is conducted but it is possible to say for certain that even within and between the samples there will be differences and similarities on account of living in the same society.

¹³ Fowler, *Survey Research Methods (4th Ed.)*. Sage Publications, Inc. Pp.88

¹⁴ Gray et al., *The Research Imagination : An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Methods*. Pp.11

2. A brief history of heritage

In this chapter I will present the background to heritage in international policies and explore cultural heritage and cultural nationalism.

As long as there have been people on earth, I would argue, we have also inherited knowledge about life, nature, place and space. It is how we have evolved. Nature, when not intervened in by man, was at one point considered distasteful and intentionally left unfinished by God for man to perfect.¹⁵ Natural heritage and its protection started during the 19th century Romantic period when some felt that nature was a treasure that mankind had inherited and needed to cherish. Yellowstone national park was the world's first national park and was established in 1872.¹⁶ Heritage as an academic term and field, however, is generally considered to be relatively new. Even in politics it has not been with us for very long. Natural heritage has been considered worth protecting for a longer period of time but the main focus of the discussion here will be on *cultural heritage*. However it will not be possible to separate the two completely as we will see from the historical development of heritage and its international use in different charters.

The first mention of cultural heritage in international law was in 1907 and then reappearing in texts and international treaties developed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and other international organisations.¹⁷ One of the earliest of the texts from the 1950's was the 1954 Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. It was developed in relation to the extensive destruction of monuments and pillaging of art during the Second World War.¹⁸

However, it was not until the 1960s that significant progress was made in international attempts at protecting heritage sites. Ten years after the 1954 convention, the most significant guidelines were created by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) with the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, commonly known as the Venice Charter 1964. The Venice Charter

¹⁵ David Lowenthal, "Natural and Cultural Heritage," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11, no. 1 (2005) January 8, 2014. doi:10.1080/13527250500037088, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13527250500037088>. Pp.83

¹⁶ Elin Lerum Boasson, Steinar Andresen, and Geir Hønneland, "Framveksten Av Internasjonal Miljøpolitikk," in *Internasjonal Miljøpolitikk*, ed. Elin Lerum Boasson, Steinar Andresen, and Geir Hønneland (Bergen: Fagbokforl., 2008). Pp.22.

¹⁷ Janet Blake, "On Defining the Cultural Heritage," *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (2000) February 27, 2014. doi:10.2307/761578, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/761578>. Pp.61

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Pp.61

has facilitated international coordination, the broadening of the concept of historical buildings but most important it has established principles for the protection of architectural heritage and heritage sites.¹⁹

One of the main concerns of the Venice Charter and its guidelines was to establish what heritage includes along with common definitions thereof.²⁰ Article 1 of the Venice Charter specifies that cultural monuments are now not the only things that are important but also the setting in which they are found.²¹ The rules apply ‘not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time.’²² As we can see this is quite a large shift and heritage itself has been imbued with a very wide definition. The wording is not unproblematic. Consider for instance the choice of “great works of art” – who is to decide such a thing for everyone? Is there such a thing as a universal measurement of what can be considered great art work? To whom has it gained cultural significance? Can cultural significance be universalised?

In 1972 UNESCO decided to drop the definition from the 1954 convention of ‘movable and immovable cultural property’²³ in favour of cultural heritage since it was believed that this spanned both cultural and natural heritage. However, the focus still lay on the physical expressions in the form of buildings and monuments.²⁴ The 1972 convention elaborated cultural heritage to include the works of man and nature combined. Natural heritage was in turn identified to be natural features, geological and physiological formations constituting the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants and thirdly natural sites.²⁵ What is striking are the recurring references to concepts that are a matter of taste and judgement e.g. the standard saying of beauty is in the eye of the beholder.

In 1975 the EU adopted the European Charter of Architectural Heritage and the Amsterdam Treaty leading other developed nations to adopt their own frameworks. Notably the most influential of these was the Australian ICOMOS charter of 1979, known

¹⁹ Yahaya Ahmad, "The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, no. 3 (2006) January 28, 2014. doi:10.1080/13527250600604639, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13527250600604639>. Pp.292

²⁰ Ibid. Pp.293-294

²¹ ICOMOS, *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (the Venice Charter 1964)* (1965). Pp.2

²² Ibid. Pp.2

²³ UNESCO, "Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict," (1954). p.8

²⁴ Ahmad, "The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible". Pp.295

²⁵ UNESCO, "Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage," (1972).

mainly as the Burra Charter.²⁶ The Burra Charter more or less held the same articles and guidelines as the EU charter with some notable exceptions. The Burra Charter introduced three new terms; *place*, *cultural significance* and *fabric*. *Place* referred to site, area, building or other work, groups of buildings or other work with its contents and surroundings, *cultural significance* referred to the aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value and *fabric* dealing with all the physical material of the place.²⁷²⁸ It was later amended to include the conservation of intangible heritage.²⁹

It took UNESCO until 2003 to put emphasis on the importance of intangible cultural heritage as a part of heritage when it adopted a convention designed to protect intangible cultural heritage. The attention garnered by cultural heritage was a reaction to a fear among cultural workers and aficionados that local, regional and national heritage was becoming endangered or devalued by a global mass culture.³⁰ The risk of losing the rich traditions that could be found around the world prompted UNESCO to take formal action in a process that had been developing since the 1970s. The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage defined intangible cultural heritage to include knowledge, expressions, skills and practices among other things that were passed on from generation to generation. These were to be considered valuable for their interaction with history and environment as well as their importance to the communities or groups.³¹

This definition is manifested, among other, through oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge concerning nature and the universe and traditional craftsmanship. Language, it is specified, is a “vehicle of intangible cultural heritage”.³² This leaves the concept of cultural heritage very open and general, more or less everything and anything can be considered heritage. The difference between the EU and UNESCOs approach to heritage however is that the EU stated that the changing nature of the concept heritage as well as the changes in society should be

²⁶ Ahmad, "The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible". Pp.296-297

²⁷ Ibid. Pp.297

²⁸ ICOMOS, "International Charters for Conservation and Restoration = Chartes Internationales Sur La Conservation Et La Restauration = Cartas Internacionales Sobre La Conservación Y La Restauración," in *Monuments & Sites*, ed. Michael Petzet and John Ziesemer (München2004). Pp.63

²⁹ Ahmad, "The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible". Pp.297

³⁰ Richard Kurin, "Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 Unesco Convention: A Critical Appraisal," Article, *Museum International* 56, no. 1/2 (2004) May 14, 2014. doi:10.1111/j.1350-0775.2004.00459.x,

<http://ludwig.lub.lu.se/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aai&AN=505078723&site=eds-live&scope=site>. Pp.68

³¹ UNESCO, "Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage," (2003). Pp.2

³² Ibid. Pp.2

considered.³³ The selection process in this sense should change with society and the concept of heritage.

Does this mean that everything is to be protected as intangible cultural heritage or just a few select items? Should, according to the EU, some items stop being protected at some point when society or the concept of heritage changes? Moreover, who defines what is to be considered heritage? A national heritage is usually a politically decided heritage that is considered an official heritage, a strict top-down approach to heritage that is usually protected by national legislation and decided by experts.³⁴ Official heritage is selected items from history within current national borders that is considered as relevant in relation to a grand narrative of the nation-state.³⁵ Within the EU cultural policy, the problem is of a similar nature. There is little or no specification of what the common cultural heritage entails, how it is important to everyone in Europe or how it has evolved. It is seemingly unbound to a specific group and static; a unified whole with no content.³⁶ The same problem that we encountered with the Venice Charter of who decides what constitutes a “great work of art” or even what constitutes cultural significance is still present almost fifty years later.

2.1 Heritage, cultural property, cultural heritage, tangible and intangible heritage – Are we splitting hairs?

Heritage is by no means an easy term to explore and make sense of. In part because of its intricate relationship with identities, politics, nationalism and history – all of which in themselves are vast subjects. What I have written here has surely left important aspects out that should be considered but to cover everything in heritage in one piece of work would be a lifetime achievement. What makes heritage hard to pin down is that it is positioned as a canopy over other academic fields, it seems to be an area of support for subjects such as identity or nationalism. I would suggest that this is so because heritage has not yet been

³³ Peter Bugge, Book "A European Cultural Heritage? Reflections on a Concept and a Programme," ed. Robert Shannan Peckham, *Rethinking Heritage : Cultures and Politics in Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), <http://ludwig.lub.lu.se/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=111475&site=eds-live&scope=site>. Pp.62

³⁴ Rodney Harrison, *Heritage : Critical Approaches / Rodney Harrison*, Heritage Studies (Milton Park, Abingdon ; New York : Routledge, 2013, 2013), Bibliographies Non-fiction.. Pp.14-15

³⁵ Feras Hammami, "Conservation under Occupation: Conflictual Powers and Cultural Heritage Meanings," *Planning Theory & Practice* 13, no. 2 (2012) January 8, 2014. doi:10.1080/14649357.2012.669977, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14649357.2012.669977..> Pp.241

³⁶ Sassatelli, "Imagined Europe: The Shaping of a European Cultural Identity through Eu Cultural Policy."

able to crystalize into a coherent theory so in a way heritage is a new concept but only in regard to other fields of research. Nevertheless, in this chapter I would like to focus on issues such as nationalism, specifically cultural nationalism, the nature of the concept heritage, religion and heritage in relation to identity.

If we consider identity, whether national or other, through heritage, it should be understood as more about the process of becoming through the use of a specific history, language and culture. The purpose of identity thus becomes the process of deciding not who we are or where we came from but rather who we might become, how we have been represented and how our current and our future selves can be represented.³⁷ Cultural nationalism does not deal with what we are or who we have been in the way that heritage usually is considered to do. Rather it is more focused on the part of becoming in regards to society as a whole. Cultural nationalism seeks to explain society and culture as something that is only temporarily static until the new breaks with the old. Much like the inheritance from generation to generation in culture, society takes on new as well as familiar forms. Cultural nationalism is then closely tied to cultural heritage and will be a prominent feature throughout this thesis.

Here I think it is important to make a distinction concerning heritage. Heritage as a term is far too broad and encompassing and there is a risk of the discussion becoming abstract and the essence of what is considered will be hard to pin down if used at face value. Peter Aronsson and Lizette Gradén discuss the notion of heritage in their book *Performing Nordic Heritage: everyday practices and institutional culture* and reach the conclusion that heritage is made in the present but has recourse to the past.³⁸ According to Aronsson & Gradén heritage is more than just remnants and a conscious use of a specific past but should rather be approached “as a particular cultural practice about cultural practice.”³⁹ Heritage according to them should be seen as a meta-culture that encompasses tangible and intangible heritage and is created in the present with recourse to the past.⁴⁰ This,

³⁷ Stuart Hall, Periodical

Dictionaries "Introduction - Who Needs 'Identity'?", *Questions of Cultural Identity [electronic resource] / edited by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay* (London: SAGE Publisher Ltd., 2011), <http://ludwig.lub.lu.se/login?url=http://linksource.ebsco.com/lc.1b680939-18f1-48b7-bf8d-364c6e51a3d2.true/linking.aspx?sid=MARC&title=Questions%20of%20Cultural%20Identity&issn=>. Pp.4

³⁸Peter Aronsson and Lizette Gradén, "Introduction: Performing Nordic Heritage - Institutional Preservation & Popular Practices," in *Performing Nordic Heritage : Everyday Practices and Institutional Culture / Edited by Peter Aronsson, Lizette Gradén* (Farnham : Ashgate, 2013., 2013). Pp.9-10

³⁹ Ibid. Pp.4

⁴⁰ Ibid. Pp.18-19

paradoxically to the term “meta”, narrows it down considerably; we are dealing with a meta-framework of cultural production and reproduction. It is important here to note the danger of going along with this depiction of cultural heritage without questioning it. This approach holds that cultural heritage is perceived in the same way across all cultures and does not take into account any cultural differences in the approach to cultural heritage or culture as such.

Within this meta-framework we thus place cultural property and cultural heritage which in turn is divided into the sub-categories of tangible and intangible heritage. This division created the shifts in focus in the different legal frameworks and guidelines from ICOMOS and UNESCO. Firstly, cultural property has been the subject of extensive criticism for only focusing on the material and economic aspect of heritage. One of the strongest arguments against its use has been that “property” is too limited and would exclude heritage that is considered to be of great importance yet impossible to move, such as monuments or buildings.⁴¹ Cultural property has also been a term belonging to art applied in international law to denote the subject of protection. Consider for instance the 1954 Convention which regulated the trading and smuggling of cultural items; it treats heritage as a straightforward material commodity adhering to a market value.⁴²

The decision to drop not only the use of cultural property in the 1970s charters but also the movable and immovable aspect of it and instead adopt cultural heritage should be considered a step in the right direction. Still, even cultural heritage does not come without question marks. If heritage is a cultural practice about cultural practice and thus a meta-framework where does this leave cultural heritage? Heritage as a meta-framework that encompasses tangible and intangible heritage should reasonably include cultural heritage, which to me, is possible in itself to break into tangible and intangible heritage. Does this mean that heritage and cultural heritage are just two sides to the same coin? Herein lies the fallacy of heritage. For the sake of argument, let us distinguish between heritage and cultural heritage by terming heritage as meta-heritage according to Aronsson’s & Gradén’s specifications. Meta-heritage encompasses both cultural property and cultural heritage; cultural heritage is itself to be broken down into tangible and intangible heritage. Cultural property was found to be too narrow and exclusive of intangible heritage whereas cultural heritage includes cultural property under its tangible heritage division. Cultural heritage, as

⁴¹ Blake, "On Defining the Cultural Heritage". Pp.66

⁴² Ibid. Pp.65

such, is meta-heritage. For the purpose of this thesis I will use cultural heritage and heritage interchangeably with the specification of tangible and intangible heritage when needed.

Janet Blake offered the suggestion that rather than simply allowing cultural heritage to include “everything in society”, the understanding of the term, at least in her research, should “be gained by understanding the relationship between cultural heritage and culture itself. It is the symbolic relationship of the cultural heritage to culture in its widest sense (culture-as-society)⁴³ which is central to understanding the nature of cultural heritage.”⁴⁴ The implications of using culture-as-society in relation to the understanding of cultural heritage are of great importance to the discussion on heritage. This is where the debate on cultural heritage gets complicated.

Few question the dating framework of heritage to the latter half of the twentieth century, it is merely accepted.⁴⁵ Heritage is by many considered as new and modern.^{46,47,48} The notion of modernity also carries with it baggage, it is suggested to be the experience of rapid progress, novelty and a break with past traditions. Modernity is in contrast to everything that came before it⁴⁹ and obsolescence is inevitable;⁵⁰ heritage is thus under threat of being lost forever making it an object in need of protection. According to David Harvey, limiting heritage to this time-period, the situation is further complicated by heritage consequently being subject to post-modern conditions and economy. Relating heritage to economy is simplistic because it implies that heritage is one-dimensional and subjugated to commercialism.⁵¹ Does this mean that people cherish monuments, practices or other cultural expressions only for its economic value? Possibly; we can note the fact that

⁴³ For a great review on culture and how it is understood see Meyerson & Martin 1987.

⁴⁴ Blake, "On Defining the Cultural Heritage". Pp.68

⁴⁵ David C. Harvey, "Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7, no. 4 (2001) January 6, 2014. doi:10.1080/13581650120105534, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13581650120105534>. Pp.321

⁴⁶ Susan Pearce, "The Construction and Analysis of the Cultural Heritage: Some Thoughts," *ibid.* 4, no. 1 (1998) January 8, 2014. doi:10.1080/13527259808722215, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13527259808722215>; Harrison, *Heritage : Critical Approaches / Rodney Harrison*. Pp.3

⁴⁷ *Heritage : Critical Approaches / Rodney Harrison*; Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture : Tourism, Museums, and Heritage / Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett* (Berkeley : Univ. of California Press, cop. 1998, 1998), Non-fiction. Pp.23

⁴⁸ *Destination Culture : Tourism, Museums, and Heritage / Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett*. Pp.7

⁴⁹ Harrison, *Heritage : Critical Approaches / Rodney Harrison*. Pp.24

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* Pp.26

⁵¹ Harvey, "Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies". Pp.323-324

environment is a huge tourism industry in the world, as is culture in the form of food, drinks or theatre among other. Would the Colosseum in Rome mean less to Italy if ticket sales were abandoned altogether? Most likely it would not matter, people who are interested in history will be fascinated by the structure and it is doubtful that the Colosseum would mean less to the Italians who value it as their heritage.

Furthermore, trying to explain heritage by relating it to economic changes in the 1970s presents economics as beginning in the 1970s disregarding the preceding decades of development and crisis. Economy shouldn't be considered this way nor should heritage.⁵² Harvey sees this as drawing a "line of temporal closure" and with this comes the implication that there exists a correct historical narrative that until recently was more accurate and authentic.⁵³

This raises a valid point in my opinion. If we do not consider economy, history or politics to be a new phenomenon why should heritage be any different?

2.1.1 Heritage and cultural nationalism

As stated in the beginning of this chapter, heritage is often seen as closely connected to modernity and the rise of nation-states. It is not only due to the close relationship between these but also in relation to the consideration of cultural heritage as being of importance for mankind; an outstanding universal value as it is referred to in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention of 1972.⁵⁴ Why are the heritage conventions so important and why is it that what is valued in Sweden should also be considered as valuable in Chile or South Africa? Furthermore, who decides what is important to preserve for a nation and by extension the rest of the world? As I wrote earlier, the heritage that is put forth as a national heritage is chosen by experts. They are knowledgeable in different fields but most importantly they are usually the result of heritage experts in linkage with each other who conserve, present and from their knowledge interpret the material. It is their opinion that creates heritage.⁵⁵ Of course, this is the official heritage that the state has an interest in. On

⁵² Ibid. Pp.324

⁵³ Ibid. Pp.325

⁵⁴ UNESCO, "Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage." Pp.135.

⁵⁵ Hammami, "Conservation under Occupation: Conflictual Powers and Cultural Heritage Meanings". Pp.241

the other hand we find the heritage that the state does not concern itself with, the unofficial heritage that forms the bonds of communities on a local and regional level.⁵⁶

If we look at how nation-states have been consolidated during the past two hundred years we will get a wide variety of suggestions. Nationalism has been accredited as filling a major function in this state consolidation with its claims to the primordial nature of states and the ethnicities natural constitution.

Three suggestions could be seen to be offered by the nationalist discourse and those are that the nation is the way in which humanity is naturally categorised, that these nations have certain characteristics which can be clearly discerned and that the self-government of the nation is the only true form of government, as described by Kedourie in Craig Calhoun's *Nationalism and Ethnicity*.⁵⁷ Nationalism then is the view that nations are based on ethnicity which to some extent are ancient or perhaps even natural but overall preceding political mobilisations in the pursuit of power.⁵⁸ Although there are major differences in the approach as to how or if an ethnicity is created and belongs to a distinct natural state they all have in common that they are a top-down approach.⁵⁹ However, nationalism in itself is not a concept that is uniform. It can be divided into two strands that have similarities but are distinctly different; political nationalism, which is the one that is most commonly dealt with, and cultural nationalism. They both have in common a strong aversion to the bureaucratic state and see the nation as natural and historic entities but the political nationalists rejects the bureaucratic state in the form of its political and traditionalist allegiances.⁶⁰ Political nationalists suggest that the state is created along ethnic lines and seek their legitimisation in common languages among other things to create national identities.⁶¹⁶² Cultural nationalism on the other hand sees the state as an accidental, only the nation in itself is natural and unique in its history, culture and natural

⁵⁶ Harrison, *Heritage : Critical Approaches / Rodney Harrison*. Pp.14-15

⁵⁷ Craig Calhoun, "Nationalism and Ethnicity," *Annual Review of Sociology* 19 (1993) April 14, 2013. doi:10.2307/2083387, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2083387>. Pp.213

⁵⁸ Ibid. Pp.214

⁵⁹ Suggested reading for a quick overview on nationalism see Fligstein 2010 or Billig 2010.

⁶⁰ John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism : The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State / John Hutchinson* (London : Allen & Unwin, 1987, 1987), Book. Pp.12

⁶¹ Neil Fligstein, *Euroclash [Elektronisk Resurs] : The Eu, European Identity, and the Future of Europe / Neil Fligstein* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2010., 2010), Dictionaries Non-fiction.

⁶² Calhoun, "Nationalism and Ethnicity". Pp.266

heritage.⁶³ According to Hutchinson, the state only exists as a complex of individualities with equal worth and equal civil rights in and to the community.⁶⁴ Cultural nationalism is thus not aiming to create a state but rather it is a force that surfaces in times of crisis to rejuvenate the historical identity of the nation among the people at a grass-roots level.⁶⁵ Hutchinson claims that cultural nationalism should be seen as a mediator between conflicting groups as to which is the correct historical narrative for the nation. The theory holds that conflict in itself is not the problem, it is the rule rather than the exception. Cultural nationalism as such is the process of the young and educated renouncing the old and traditional by renovating it to fit with the generational demands.⁶⁶

How does this fit in with heritage other than the fact that they both relate to culture? Hutchinson describes it as a movement of a community where, when given media attention from ‘crusading journalists’, schools, language societies, publishing houses or dramatic groups are formed and is adopted by young intelligentsia.⁶⁷ Basically what he is depicting is civil society or culture-as-society. With each new generation of both educated and uneducated people, the values and criteria of society change gradually to fit with the modern. As explained above, the modern itself is perpetually changing and is in contrast to itself and so is society. Hutchinson limits his view of cultural nationalism to appear only in times of crisis and thus unintentionally lumps cultural nationalism together with political nationalism. In fact, considering them both to only be active in times of crisis is to consider parts of society as static. Since nothing in society is excluded from modernisation, nationalism in either form has to exist although it might be in a less active form only manifesting itself more clearly in times of crisis. This at least would be viable when dealing with political nationalism.

⁶³ Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism : The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* / John Hutchinson. Pp.13

⁶⁴ Ibid. Pp.13

⁶⁵ Ibid. Pp.16

⁶⁶ "Cultural Nationalism, Elite Mobility and Nation-Building: Communitarian Politics in Modern Ireland," Article, *British Journal of Sociology* 38, no. 4 (1987) March 17, 2014. <http://ludwig.lub.lu.se/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=sih&AN=6788885&site=eds-live&scope=site>. Pp.484-485

⁶⁷ *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism : The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* / John Hutchinson. Pp.16-17

2.1.2 Heritage and Europe

The EU's efforts at integration and identity building resemble those of the nation-states but is faced with a problem that is similar albeit larger to scale than that encountered by nation-states some 200 years ago. With the EU's creation of a flag, an anthem or the European cultural capital it has taken some steps to forge a community with none of the new paraphernalia of Europeanism being particularly controversial.⁶⁸ However, the EU has been forced to deal with avoiding to garner any resistance or reactions from national or other cultures, while trying to bring a European heritage to the front of the cultural activities sponsored under the EU cultural policy.⁶⁹

As Monica Sassatelli writes, the Europe that the EU refers to is rather an imagined community in the making, a notion that refers to the image of the community that its members share.⁷⁰ It is this image of Europe that, while being alluring, is also highly dubious or even spurious. Trying to maintain that Europe of today is resting on the foundation and values of ancient Greece raises the question whether or not we in fact can trace the values of contemporary Europe back to and establish a clear connection with the ancient Greeks.⁷¹ With this comes the realisation that holds true for the "Europeans" as well as for the European heritage and what has been running as a thin, red line all along in this chapter – the process of selection. It is hard to conceive of a Europe with a common heritage considering the historical developments and events in the European continent the past 200 years. Democracy for instance which is so treasured and held as a main trait of Europe and its heritage has far from been an actuality.⁷²

Although religion is not in itself a point of protection in UNESCO or ICOMOS documents, buildings, monuments and their surroundings etc. of a religious nature are protected or to be protected. In fact, religion in Europe is a point that has researchers and politicians engaged in debate over which is Europe's heritage.⁷³ From this point of departure I believe it is important to also consider the complexities surrounding the debate on religion and

⁶⁸ Sassatelli, "Imagined Europe: The Shaping of a European Cultural Identity through EU Cultural Policy." Pp.436

⁶⁹ Ibid. Pp.440

⁷⁰ Ibid. Pp.463

⁷¹ Bugge, "A European Cultural Heritage? Reflections on a Concept and a Programme." Pp.65, 69

⁷² Ibid. Pp.70-71

⁷³ David Lehmann, "Religion as Heritage, Religion as Belief: Shifting Frontiers of Secularism in Europe, the USA and Brazil," *International Sociology* 28, no. 6 (2013) May 7, 2014. doi:10.1177/0268580913503894, <http://iss.sagepub.com/content/28/6/645.abstract>. Pp.646

heritage in Europe in relation to the number of immigrants that are coming each year. As I stated above, everything is subject to modernisation and the process presented by cultural nationalism and with this comes the aspect of the new and future citizens of Europe coming from countries with religions that might not be considered as part of Europe's heritage. With a wide range of different religions being accommodated within the boundaries of the European nations surely there will be different perceptions to what the European cultural heritage is. While many Europeans consider themselves to be secular they still draw the borders of Europe and thus European identity along Christian values despite the fact that Christianity has been referred to only as 'glittering embers' that on their own muster no force to be reckoned with in a secular Europe.⁷⁴ This notion of Europe as secular however seems to forget to take into account migrants coming to Europe each year of which a large number are Muslim.⁷⁵ Following this, the question that should be asked is whether or not Europe really is becoming secular? Are migrants to Europe shedding their religious heritage and redefining their identity in regard to the community they are living in at the moment? I would argue both yes and no. Since religion as well as heritage are concepts laden with personal and interpersonal values then how do we judge the importance of it? The answer must simply be that we will invest value from both the top down and from the grass-roots. However, neither is free from the world of politics and especially religion can be seen as a subject of contention. Christianity for example still seems maintained as a part of Europe's heritage despite the variety of national religions across the continent. The secular values and the notion that religion and politics should be separate from each other seem to be commonly agreed to but are also recognised to have their limits. Casanova illustrates Islam as that which constitutes European identity's other.⁷⁷ Indeed, some religions are considered to be more accepted than others in Europe, something even history has shown us. However, everything is not lost in Europe or anywhere else for that matter. Culture and especially cultural heritage is not fixed at any point in time. It is living and evolving through inter-cultural exchange and re-evaluation through different points in an individual's life.

⁷⁴ Peter J. Katzenstein, "Multiple Modernities as Limits to Secular Europeanization," in *European Identity [Elektronisk Resurs]*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein and Jeffrey T. Checkel (2009, 2009). Pp.2-3

⁷⁵ Bassam Tibi, "Europeanizing Islam or the Islamization of Europe: Political Democracy Vs. Cultural Difference," *ibid.* Pp.210

⁷⁶ Hakan M. Yavuz, "Islam and Europeanization in Turkish_Muslim Socio-Political Movements," *ibid.* Pp.226

⁷⁷ José Casanova, "Religion, European Secular Identities, and European Integration," *ibid.* Pp.78

Casanova rather offers a scenario of Europe not as an increasingly secular part of the world but rather a continent of an increase in private and individual religious practice. So rather than a secularisation of Europe, the European population is experiencing an unchurching.⁷⁸ This would to a greater extent account for the migrants who might be European citizens yet still maintain their religious identities or perhaps even that Europe is experiencing a revitalisation of religion only not the religion considered to be historically European.

Continuing to build on the premise that heritage is something that has been passed on to us from the past; a linear relationship between the present and the past where certain objects, practices or places are thought to connect the present with the past⁷⁹⁸⁰⁸¹ it is usually argued that heritage is not necessarily concerned with the past but rather the present and our relationship to the past and the future.⁸²

There is however a conflictive nature not only of the term heritage itself but also to the use of and approach to heritage. Heritage has the characteristic of functioning as a social cohesive for groups within a nation, but also across national borders or even for the identity of a nation itself and supranational bodies. In a sense, heritage is what gives the UNESCO charters their purpose of existence.⁸³ This is the dual nature of heritage. It becomes important when values are invested in it. Whose values then are most important? The problem as observed by Hobsbawm is that when objects or practices no longer serve a practical purpose they are available for full symbolic use. Case in point as offered by Hobsbawm is the wig in the British judiciary system worn by lawyers. In a society where everyone wears wigs they would have no symbolic value either.⁸⁴ However, this is not entirely accurate. Religious practices and paraphernalia could still be valued and have importance and at the same time be used as a symbol for or process of Othering by other religions or people.

If we try to illustrate the duality of the use of heritage in history we need only look as far as the Nordic countries. 2005 marked the anniversary of the dissolution of the Swedish-

⁷⁸ Ibid. Pp.65

⁷⁹ Harrison, *Heritage : Critical Approaches / Rodney Harrison*. Pp.14

⁸⁰ Ian Russell, "Heritages, Identity, and Roots: A Critique of Arborescent Models of Heritage and Identity," in *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society / Edited by George S. Smith, Phyllis Mauch Messenger, and Hilary A. Soderland* (Walnut Creek, Calif. : Left Coast Press,, 2010). Pp.34

⁸¹ Lowenthal, "Natural and Cultural Heritage". Pp.81

⁸² Harrison, *Heritage : Critical Approaches / Rodney Harrison*. Pp.14

⁸³ Blake, "On Defining the Cultural Heritage". Pp.64

⁸⁴ E. J. Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Pp.4

Norwegian reunion. During the planning of the commemorations in Norway, officials tried to downplay nationalism as much as possible in order not to offend Sweden who had ‘lost’ Norway.⁸⁵ Norway’s Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, Jan H. Petersen, is reported to have said that Norway would “not play on [its] national self-confidence” while his Swedish counter-part Leila Freivalds stated that “[i]t is Norway who celebrate and we who remember”.⁸⁶ Sweden had *lost* Norway, Norway had *won* its freedom. Two sides to the same historical event and each side to figure differently in a national story. Furthermore it is hard to argue for a common heritage with the difference in history even within a nation. In Sweden, the province of Scania, which is located on the southernmost tip of Sweden, used to be Danish up until 1658 when it was transferred to Sweden following a lengthy war between Denmark and Sweden.⁸⁷ Although Scania has long since become a well-integrated part of Sweden it has retained some of its distinct traditions from when it was Danish such as the building style and specific monuments.⁸⁸

By passing on shared identification with tangible and intangible heritage one generation can instil their group’s identity and values in future generations’ group members.⁸⁹ Values as such are thus not inherent in heritage, whether it is natural, tangible or intangible, but rather the value exists in our minds.⁹⁰ Values as such are not static but change and adapt with each generation that hold them, where they exist geographically, who lives with them and ultimately their culture.⁹¹ The importance of space and place becomes all the more visual when certain traditions or heritage is cherished differently even among people of the same perceived national or regional collective. Studies on Icelanders living as well in the UK as in Copenhagen have produced evidence that traditions that are not fully important in one’s national culture can be used as an effect of differentiation when taken out of place so to speak. One Icelandic man living in the UK, when being accepted into an exclusive ‘hill-walking society’ used the traditional Icelandic food of *Thorri* but with an attached

⁸⁵ Torbjörn Eng and Ingemar Lindaräng, "Negotiating Local, National and Nordic Identities through Commemorations," in *Performing Nordic Heritage : Everyday Practices and Institutional Culture / Edited by Peter Aronsson, Lizette Gradén* (Farnham : Ashgate, 2013., 2013). Pp.102

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Tomas Germundsson, "Regional Cultural Heritage Versus National Heritage in Scania's Disputed National Landscape," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11, no. 1 (2005) January 8, 2014. doi:10.1080/13527250500036791, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13527250500036791>. Pp.24

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Russell, "Heritages, Identity, and Roots: A Critique of Arborescent Models of Heritage and Identity." Pp.33

⁹⁰ Sophia Labadi, *Unesco, Cultural Heritage, and Outstanding Universal Value : Value-Based Analyses of the World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage Conventions* (Lanham, Md.: AltaMira Press, 2013). Pp.15

⁹¹ Ibid. Pp.15

exaggeration of how the shark meat is produced.⁹² The study performed by Kjartansdottir and Schramm found that Icelanders living abroad would often speak of their traditional foods in a pejorative and exotic manner as an intricate process of identification in culturally different contexts.⁹³ This differentiation is a way of not differentiating us from them but rather it is a way of opening doors through the use of what Kjartansdottir & Schramm call an ironic identity.⁹⁴

Icelanders living in Copenhagen explained that Icelandic food and traditions were increasingly important along with speaking Icelandic with their children while still learning the Danish language to integrate.⁹⁵ Heritage and traditions in this case are relative to whom, when and where. Traditions and the valued heritage will look different from individual to individual and group to group while at the same time being a part of both. Either with the same narrative or with different narratives to the same heritage. This also goes to show that traditions and heritage are subject to human interaction and influence. Some of the Icelanders in Copenhagen held on to certain traditions such as the celebration of the Icelandic national day because it allowed them to meet other Icelanders while at the same time new traditions were added and taken part in such as the eating of the traditional Danish *julefrokost*.⁹⁶

Heritage is by no means a claim that is available only for certain people and it certainly cannot be universalised as is the proposition of UNESCO, ICOMOS and the EU. However, it is still important to maintain the broad or lack of definitions to ensure that the cultural heritage for some groups or communities is not violated or in other ways defiled. Moreover, I have in this chapter tried to illustrate and highlight that claims to a universalised heritage can still be made but they lack validity. Rather I would suggest that heritage should be approached as fractions. These fractions contain the essence of the heritage that some try to universalise or use as a source of exclusion or broad inclusion. Seeking to fit the fractions naturally together and expect them to fit without conflict is like trying to lay a single puzzle with the pieces of a hundred puzzles.

⁹² Katla Kjartansdottir and Schramm Kristinn, "Something in the Air': Performing North within *Norden*," in *Performing Nordic Heritage : Everyday Practices and Institutional Culture / Edited by Peter Aronsson, Lizette Gradén* (Farnham : Ashgate, 2013., 2013). Pp.55

⁹³ Ibid. Pp.56

⁹⁴ Ibid. Pp.57

⁹⁵ Ibid. Pp.59

⁹⁶ Ibid.

3. Survey results

In total there were thirty-three respondents to the final sample analysis, with a higher number of female respondents and the ages eighteen to thirty-five constituting more than two thirds of the respondent population. A majority of the respondents answered that they considered their families as being traditional in the sense that they celebrate or take part in celebrations such as Christmas, Eid al-Fitr or Chanukah, eighty-seven percent answered yes (figure 1).

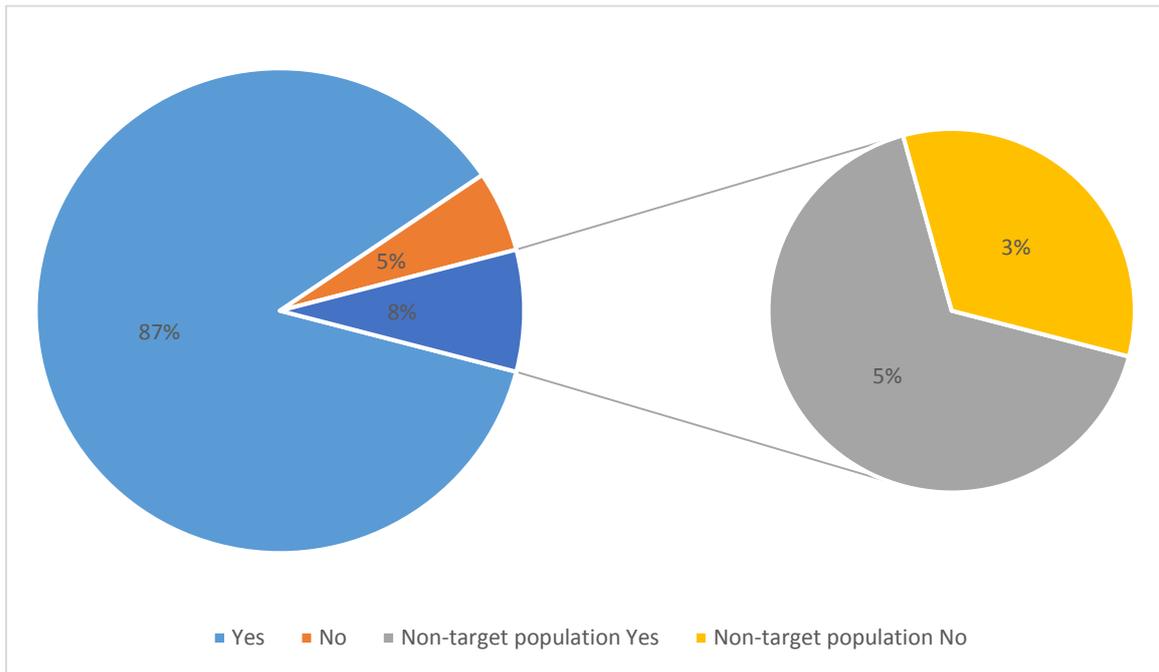


Figure 1- Traditional vs. non-traditional families

The responses were divided into two categories, those who answered that they considered their families as following traditions and those who answered no. In each group the responses were divided into subgroups from their answers to cultural traditions (figure 2) and gender (figure 3).

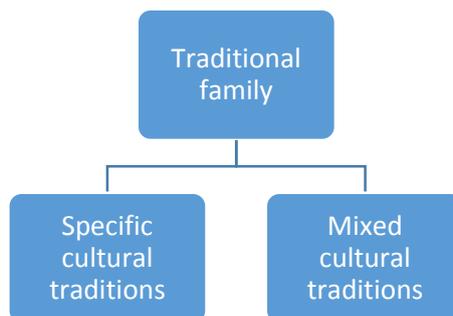


Figure 2 - Division of respondents

Within each group, comparisons were made through quantifying how many respondents had chosen each of the available answers and then these results were compared to each other. This was done in order to facilitate the identification and analysis of any trends in the responses of the participants. Furthermore, the division into groups according to gender was to make possible the identification of any differences and specific trends from a gender perspective. This was not an active approach to make any predictions but I considered it to give the analysis and the data a greater depth.

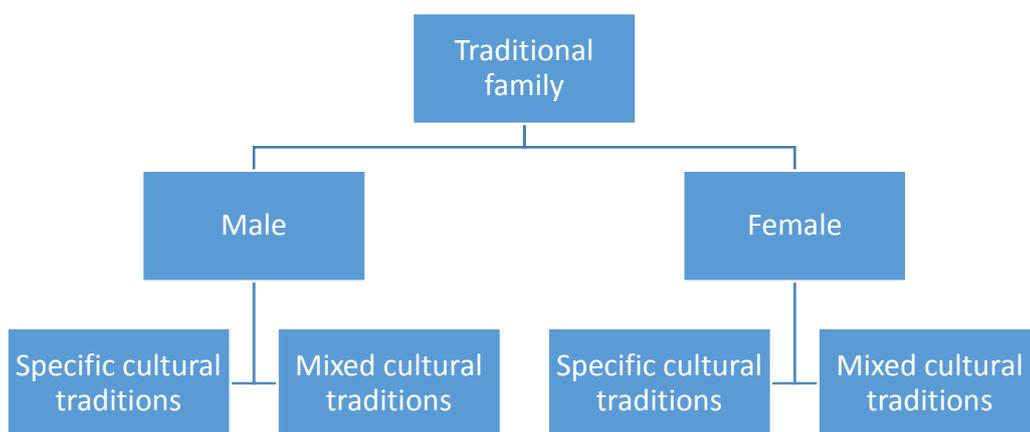


Figure 3 - Division of respondents according to gender

When it came down to the respondents choosing the different alternatives to specify what constitutes culture, the answers were spread fairly evenly over the different alternatives. A few of the alternatives that were chosen by nearly all respondents were also mentioned continuously in some of the open-ended questions. However, out of twenty-five possible choices not even half of them were chosen by more than two-thirds of the respondents; some of them were somewhat less qualified to be on the list whereas others were taken directly from the UNESCO charters (figure 4).

Respondents were also given the opportunity to specify if there was something specific that they saw as completely unfit to be on the list. Albeit far too diverse among themselves, the comments all shared that they saw some of the points as not pertaining to culture and should therefore not be considered. As one respondent stated about sports “[it] feels more like a subculture to me, which can be fairly similar within different cultures” whereas another stated that culture can be everything and nothing depending on one’s own preferences.

When it came to respondents choosing their own cultural areas, the answers were less spread and the choices that were chosen most were narrowed down to approximately a fifth

of the total amount of choices. Among those who had emigrated from the same country or had parents who had emigrated from the same country as each other there were differences as well similarities yet no answer was the same. In figures 5 and 6 we see how the respondents chose in regards to their own culture and which of the available alternatives were of importance to them personally.

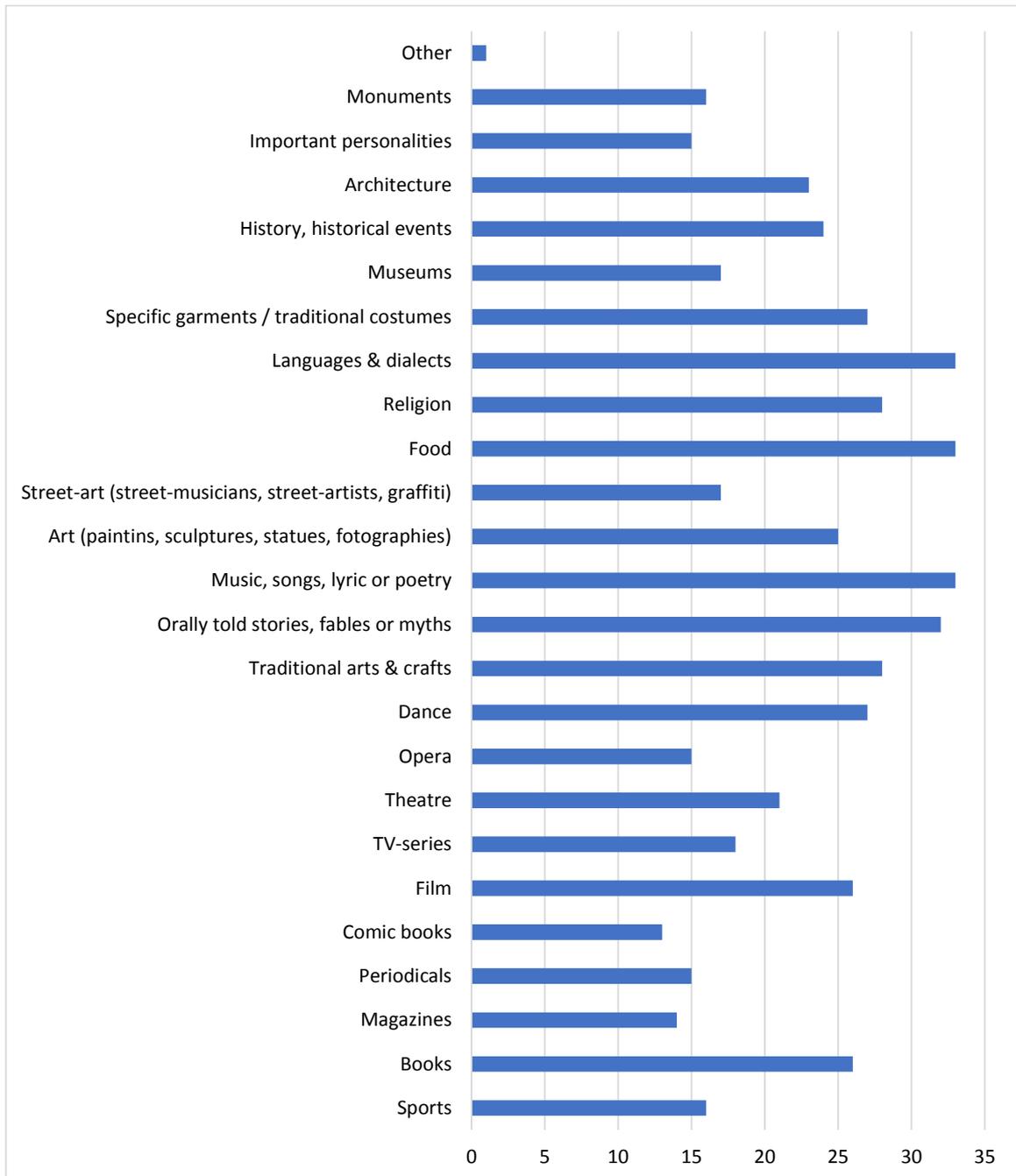


Figure 4 - What belongs to "culture" according to the respondents?

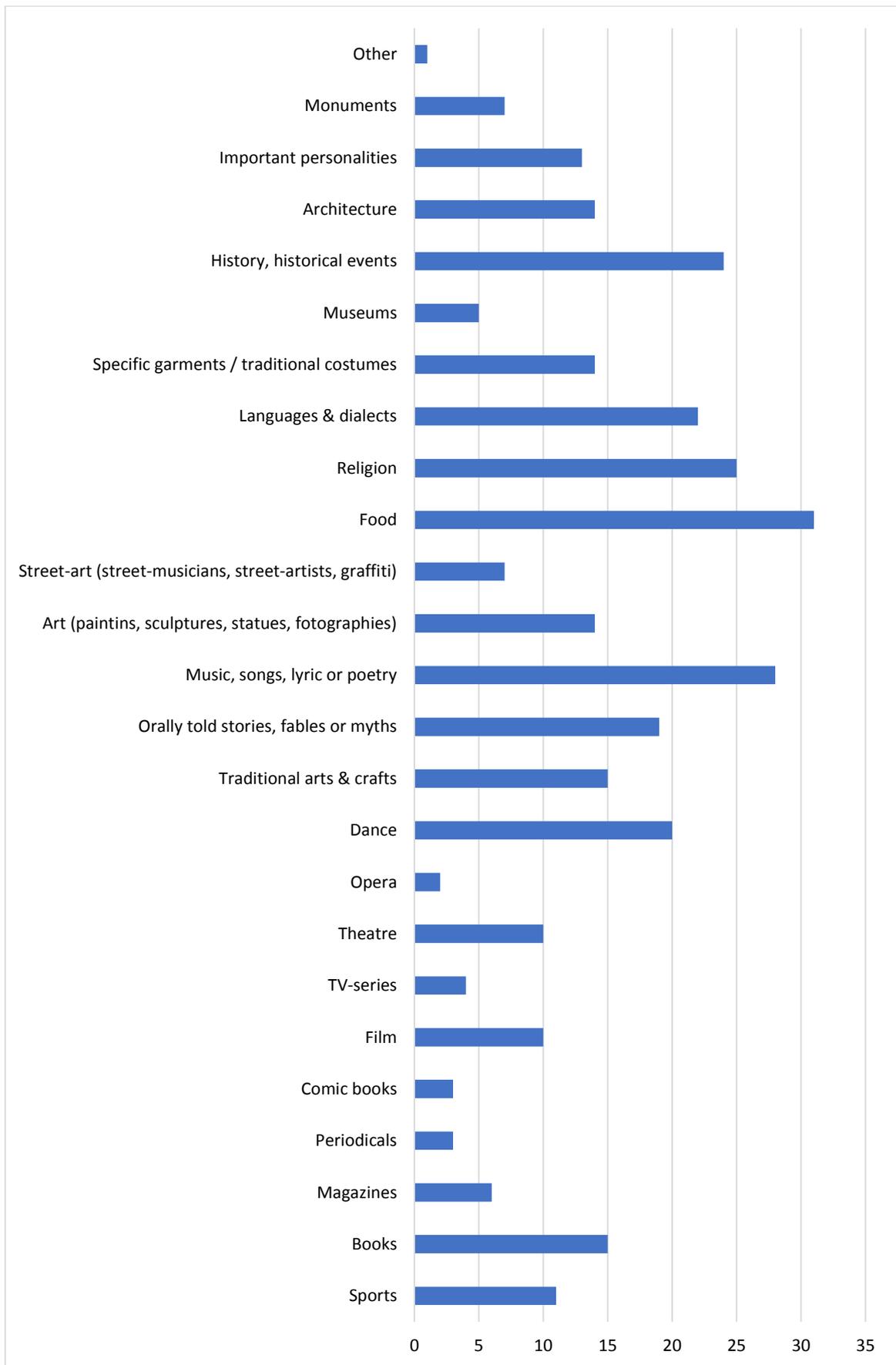


Figure 5 - What the respondent's culture included.

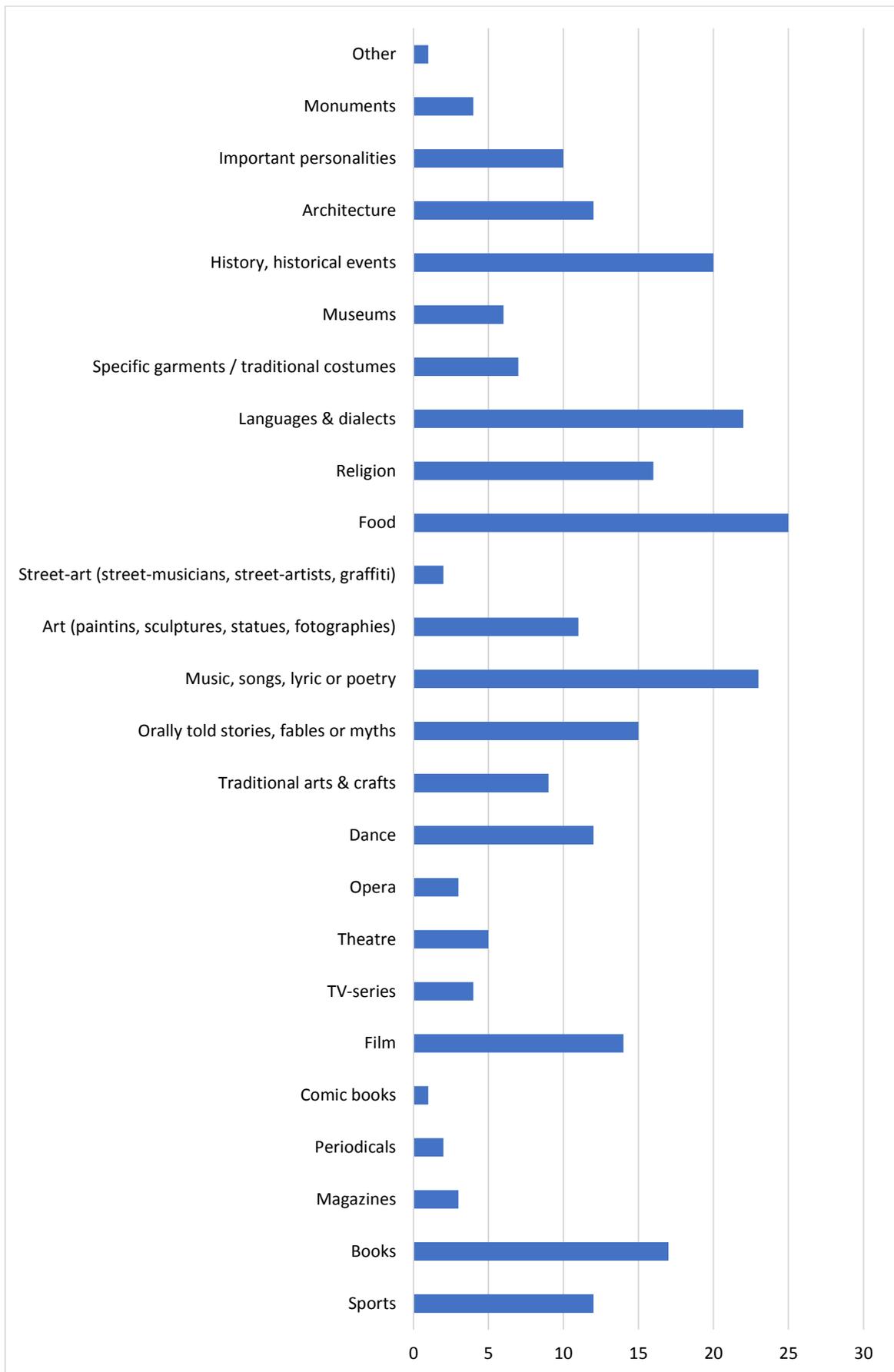


Figure 6 - What the respondents considered important

The results presented no clear links or patterns between stories being read by the parents for the respondents and language use. However a correlation between having mixed cultural influences (henceforth ‘mixed culture’) and parents reading stories from more than one country could be discerned. Conversely, the respondents who saw themselves as having cultural influences from a specific culture (henceforth ‘specific culture’) have had stories from their own or their parent’s home country read to them however almost exclusively all of them in their parents mother tongue.

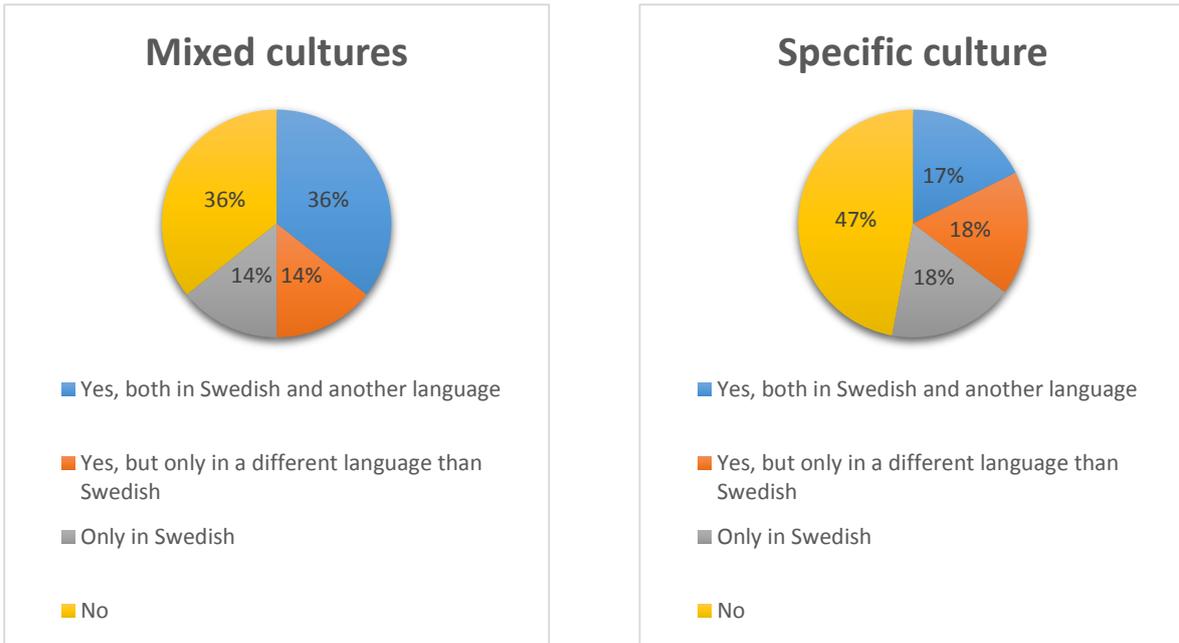


Figure 8 - Swedish stories read to respondents by parents

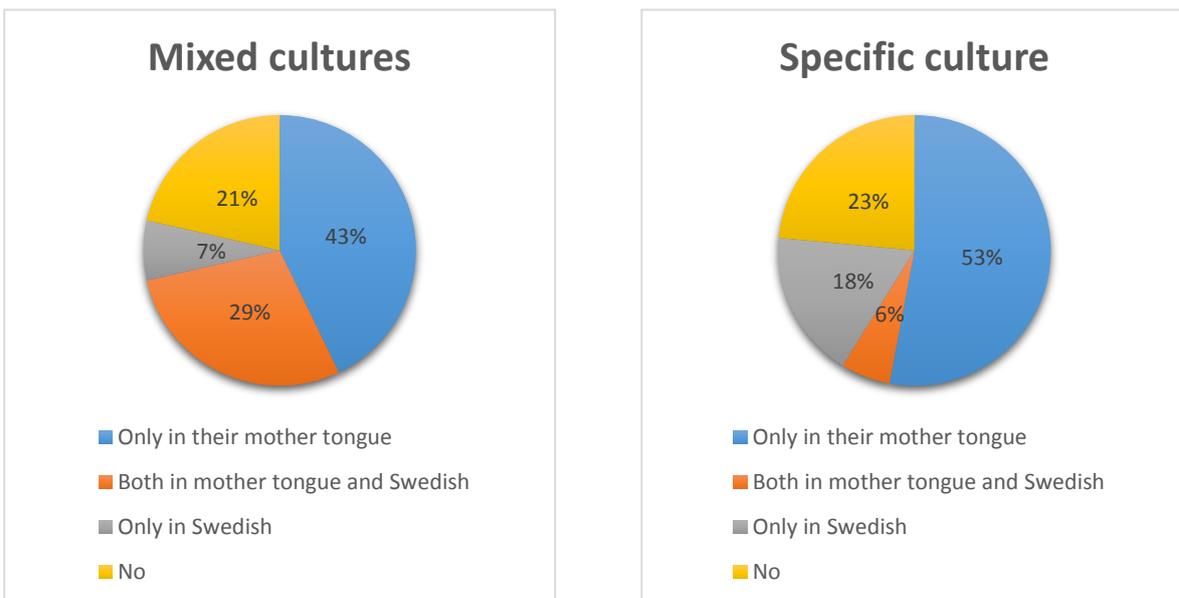


Figure 7 - Stories from parent's country of origin read to respondents by parents

From the mixed culture group, the spread was greater among the answers whether or not their parents speak Swedish to them whereas in the specific culture group most answered that their parents do not speak Swedish to them or that they mix the languages. This was despite the fact that each group had the same amount of respondents that have migrated to Sweden themselves. Common for the two groups was that they both stated that they use Swedish if the situation depends on it, for instance if there are people who do not speak their language.

In both the mixed culture group and the specific culture group it was considered very important to learn the language of the country you move to and the majority of the respondents stated that it is very important to learn their parent's language with only a few stating that they didn't feel it was particularly important or important at all. These results were the same with the two respondents who answered that their families are not traditional. As well as learning their parent's language, the majority of the respondents in either group stated that it was important for them to associate or spend time with other people from the same culture outside of their families which is in itself an interesting note to the fact that having a mixed culture would make it hard to define who you would spend time with from the "same culture". However, the number of respondents who stated that it was not important was higher in the mixed culture group. What further made an analysis hard to perform was the fact that among men, it was not considered very important to spend time with people from the same culture among those in the specific culture group whereas among the women it was less important to those who are in the mixed culture group. Most of the male respondents who answered that it was not very important have been born in Sweden and only two of the respondents have one parent that has immigrated. Among the female respondents the majority had immigrated themselves.

3.1 Religion – acceptance and importance

The understanding of Swedish and European acceptance of religion created a nearly unanimous result with the majority of the respondents thinking that some religions are more accepted than others in Sweden. When it comes to Europe, the numbers of those who were not sure or perhaps did not have an opinion went up but still there was a majority of respondents who thought that what is true for Sweden is also true for Europe as a whole.

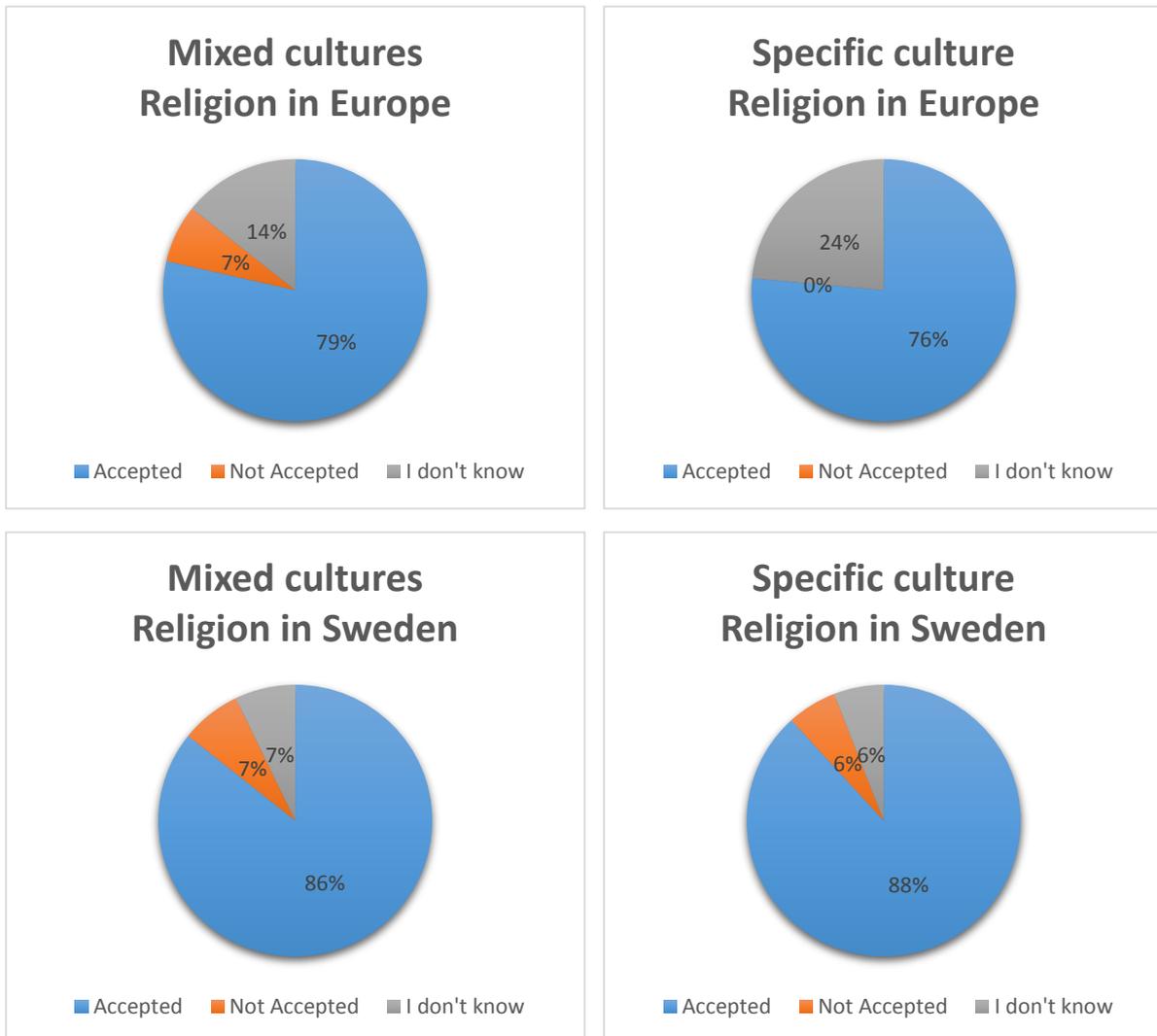


Figure 9 - Respondents perception of religious acceptance in Europe & Sweden

Professing to a religion themselves, it was found to be more common with female respondents and it was more likely that religion was of greater importance to them. Religious profession was more common especially among the females in the specific culture group and meant more to them than could be seen among men. In the more general groups of mixed compared to specific culture there was a majority of respondents saying they would profess to particular religion however, in the mixed culture group religion

overall tended to be less important than in comparison with the specific culture group. In the specific culture group only one respondent answered that their religion was not very important to them. Some of the questions, although formulated to only get those who answered yes to reply to the follow-up question, were answered also by those who answered no on the previous.

On the faith of their parents, the data differed between genders both in relation to respondents and to respondents' parents. In the mixed culture group, a majority of the respondents stated that both their fathers and mothers would profess to a particular faith but for fathers the religion was less important than in comparison with mothers from the same group. The belief was however higher among respondents that the religion of their mothers is or was very important to them. For the specific culture group, the majority stated that their fathers would profess to a religion and that their religion was very important. The number of respondents in the specific culture group who believed that their mothers would profess to a particular religion was higher than in comparison with their fathers. The religion for their mothers was believed to be of greater importance than in comparison with their fathers. However, looking at the gender-based groups it was possible to see that among women in particular the mothers were to a greater extent identified as religious and especially among women from the specific culture group. Among women from the mixed culture group religion to their mothers is still important but only "fairly important. In the male respondent group there was less belief that religion is of importance to their parents while those male respondents that did answer that religion was important also belonged to the specific culture group. In the group of non-traditional the number or respondents were too few to see any significant trends nor was it possible with the respondents who had no foreign background.

In either group was socialising with other people from the same religious belief considered as particularly important however there was a marginally higher number of respondents that answered that it is fairly important or very important in the specific culture group. There was no visible connection between the religious professions and the need to socialise with other people of the same religion. When it came to religion, in general, the answers from the respondents showed no significant patterns or connections other than that if parents are religious the chances are higher that the respondent also would profess to a religion and hold it as important and vice versa. In neither of the groups was there a large proportion of respondents that wore visible and physical expressions for their faith but

surprisingly the number of yes-respondents was higher in the mixed culture group and specifically among women. The importance of these physical expressions were of little or no importance to the respondents with only a few respondents answering otherwise. There was much insecurity around whether or not these expressions are allowed where they live and work. Specifically the insecurity was most visible among men which was of no greater surprise since no male respondent answered that they wear any physical religious expressions.

Despite some of the respondents answering that they would not profess to a religion or were unsure if they would, nearly all respondents in either group answered that they believed their faith is accepted completely or to some extent in Sweden and Europe. Only one respondent said they feel that their faith is not accepted at all.

3.2 Culture in society

Despite the fact that nearly all of the respondents believed that there is what you might call a European culture (figure 10), very few saw themselves as European except as a secondary or tertiary form of identification. The most common was to identify with an “other nationality”, usually the nation of the country the respondents emigrated from or the countries their parents emigrated from. Identifying as European was most commonly put as a third option after Swedish or even the regional identification (Scanian). The group that had the most respondents putting European first in the order was the mixed culture group and out of all the respondents it was more common among women than men. It was more common for women to believe that there is a European culture than it was for men where a

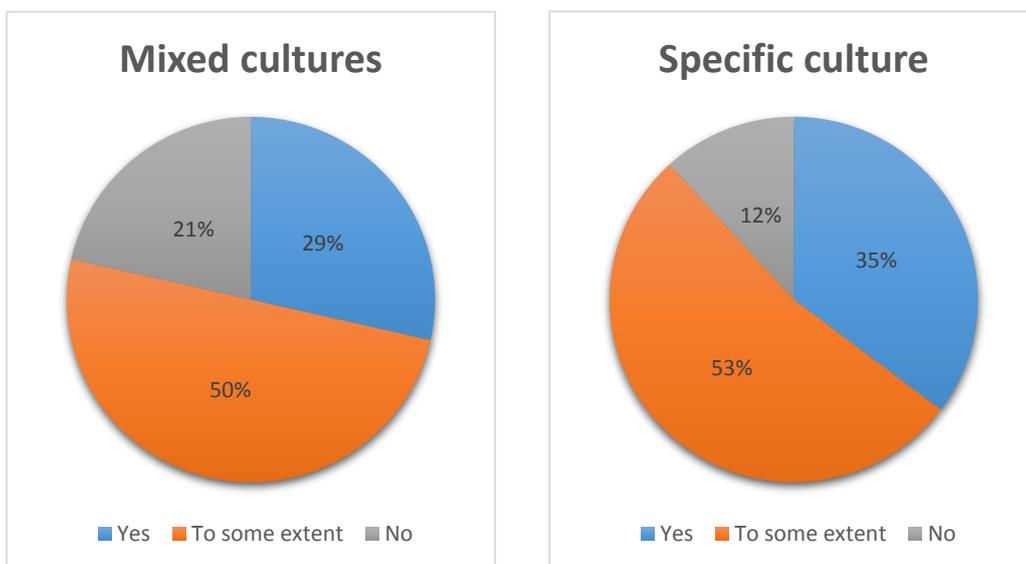


Figure 10 - Is there a European culture?

higher number of respondents answered no.

In the case of a Swedish culture, the number of respondents who were unsure and answered *I don't know* was higher among men whereas women of a mixed culture had a higher degree of respondents that believed there is a culture that is specific only to Sweden.

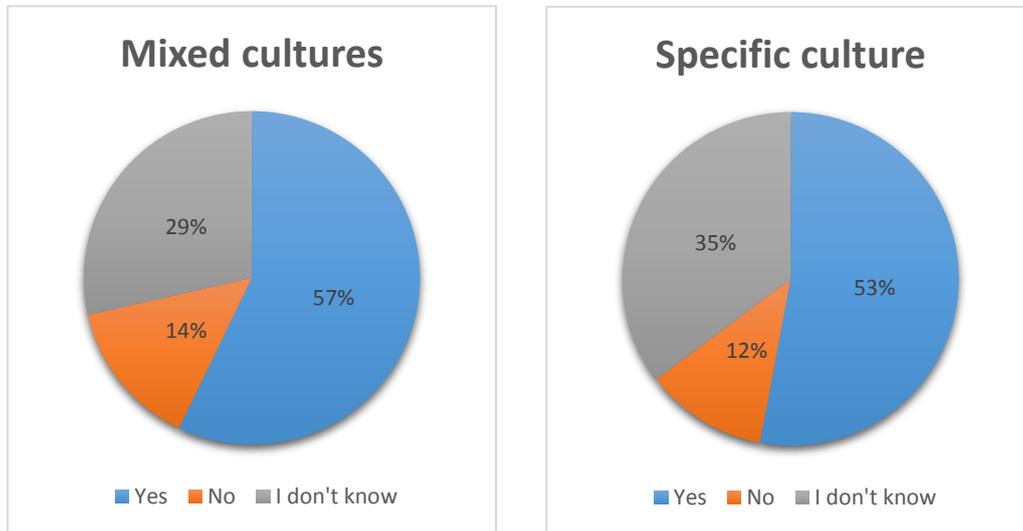


Figure 11 - Is there a specific Swedish culture?

The most common examples given of what a Swedish culture might be included foods, midsummer's eve celebrations, and behavioural patterns that described Swedes as organised, structured, orderly and afraid of conflicts.

However, although a majority of the respondents believed there is Swedish culture only a few of them considered it to represent them in any way. In the mixed culture group, it was more common for the men to believe it represents them to some extent. Among the specific culture group respondents it was more common that the respondents did not feel represented at all by the Swedish culture. Out of the yes respondents, most of who gave any reason to why they feel represented were in the mixed culture group. Reasons that were given were among other that what they thought was Swedish culture somehow felt familiar albeit different from what they were used to. Mastering the language and participation in traditional celebrations or events were also named as factors for why they felt represented.

When asked if they believed that their culture had been influenced by other cultures, the results were similar in either group. As can be seen in figure 11, all respondents that felt insecure were found in the specific culture group.

The insecurity was most visible among men from the specific culture group while among women there was only one respondent that stated she did not know if her culture had been influenced. On the other hand, when asked whether their own culture had influenced other cultures or not, the number of respondents that did not know was higher in both groups yet fascinatingly the number of respondents who thought that their culture had influenced other cultures was higher in the specific culture group (figure 12). In general, men were more certain that their culture had been an influence in other cultures while women were either uncertain or answered that they did not believe their culture had been an influence.

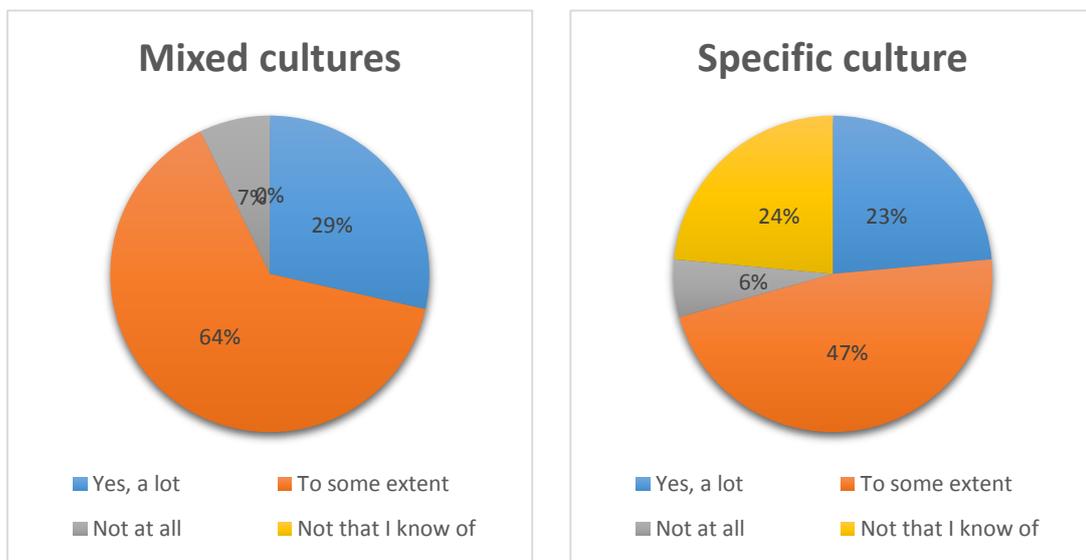


Figure 12 - The influence from other cultures over the respondent's culture

Respondents were asked as follow-up questions how they thought their cultures had been influenced or had been influences and similar answers were given in either group. Globalisation and internationalisation were all objects that they believed were the most important or common aspects of influence. As in previous examples, food was the most recurrent theme together with religion and travels.

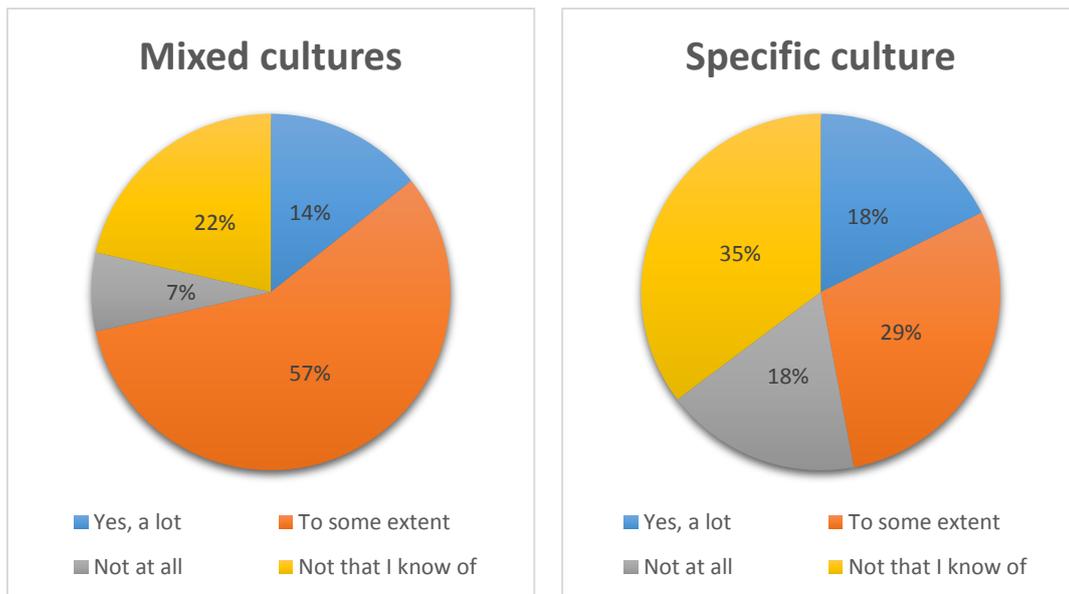


Figure 13 - The influence of the respondents' culture over other cultures

Out of all the respondents, a clear majority stated that there were physical, cultural expressions that were of specific importance to them. There were no visible trends depending on the age of the respondents despite there being a difference of more than twenty years between some of them. These physical expressions ranged from entire cities or specific areas within cities to religious buildings, monuments, fountains or even nature itself. All but one of the respondents who answered no also stated that there had never been such an expression that they had felt was of importance to them. One respondent said that there had been physical, cultural expressions once but that these had lost their importance. This was due to a focus on adapting to the Swedish culture and not visiting her home country enough times to build a cultural connection to the expression had led to them losing their importance.

Even with the high number of respondents answering yes to holding monuments, buildings or cities etc. as important to them, very few respondents had experienced a cherished monument being destroyed or defiled at some point. In the mixed culture group only four respondents answered yes - two stated that it has not been possible to replace it whereas the other two did not know. In the specific culture group five respondents answered yes out of which three stated that it has not been possible to replace it and the remaining two were unsure. There were no clear differences between genders nor was there any specific age group that dominated the yes-answers.

Following these questions, the respondents were asked if there are particular places in Sweden where they feel closer to their culture than other places. There was no clear majority in either group of any answer; those who said yes presented such places as

churches, anywhere with a mosque or congregations. What did separate the mixed and specific culture groups is that in the specific culture group, respondents referenced a home country to a greater extent and this was the case especially with those that had migrated to Sweden themselves. Another trend that could be seen was that the respondents that had grown up in Sweden or in a country in close proximity to Sweden were more inclined to focus on Swedish places with no reference to a home country.

In light of this it was interesting that in the mixed culture group there was a clear majority of respondents that acknowledged certain places where you meet family, friends and acquaintances. In the specific culture group the results were not too different from the previous question.

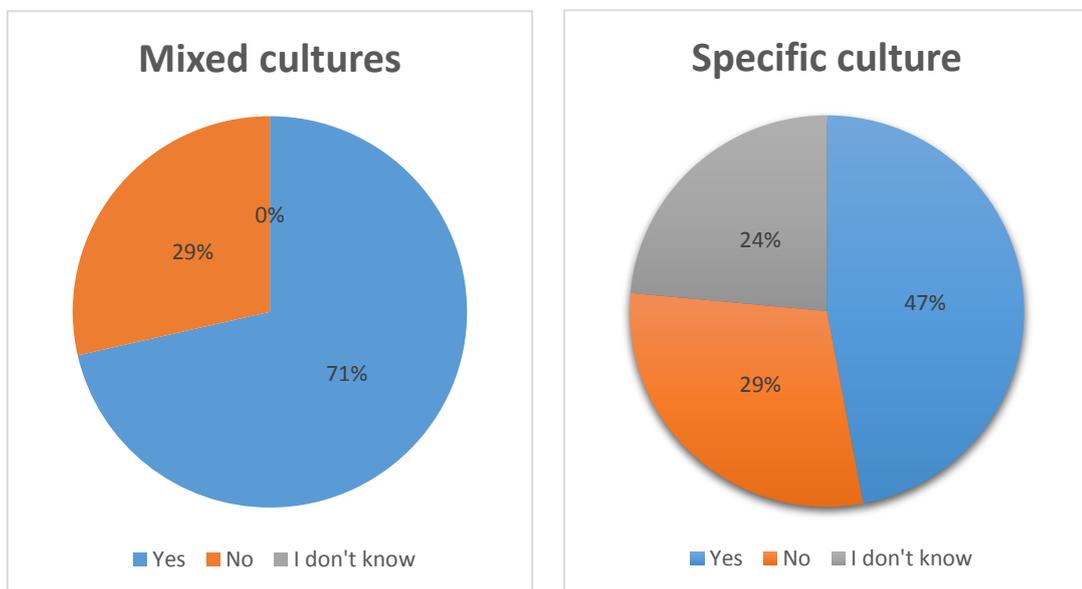


Figure 14 - If respondents meet family and friends in specific places.

Both groups specified locations such as “at home”, in congregations, cafés or national organisations where they meet friends and family.

When asked if they ever feel out of place or have a hard time finding their place or role in social events only eight respondents answered yes. The rest either said no or were unsure. The respondents who answered yes referred mostly to situations where it was more a matter of interest in different things. Yet a few respondents answer that it either has to do with a feeling of intolerance from other people or when faced with incomprehension towards cultural differences. As one of the respondents writes ‘with friends from Sweden and the other country, where I consider my culture to be the same, sort of combining both countries but that’s not always understood in each of the countries.’ Losing one’s role or

place was more typical among male respondents than female and in particular male respondents from the specific cultural group.

In figure 13 the respondents have answered whether or not they have ever felt that their culture has been questioned. Male respondents from the mixed cultural group were more likely to feel that their culture had been questioned. Examples of when the respondents felt their culture being questioned included why they believe in god, the clothes they wear or certain historical events. For instance, one respondent stated that every time he hears an anti-Semitic joke or when people have preconceived ideas of his opinions as reprehensible he feels his culture is being questioned.

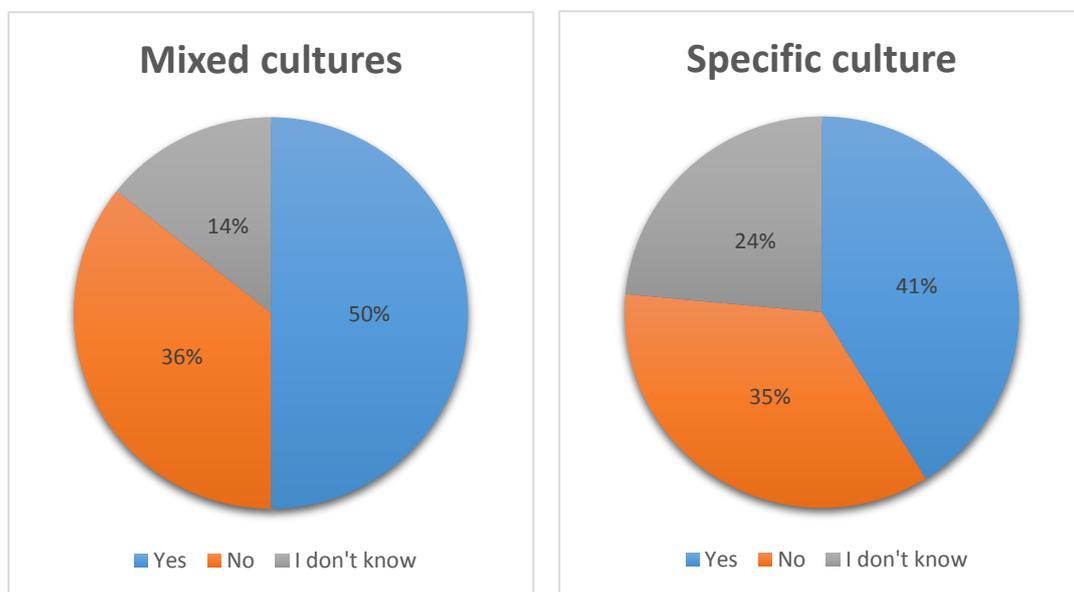


Figure 15 - Have you felt your culture being questioned?

4. Analysis

To easier make sense of the data presented and to answer the research questions it is best to start with looking at whether or not the perceptions of the respondents align with UNESCOs definitions of heritage.

As presented in the literary review in the second chapter, heritage although specified is very broad and loose when it comes to intangible heritage specifically but also when it comes to the tangible heritage. The key to heritage is found in the contemporary understanding of the concept and society as a whole. National heritage and values of our grandparents would in some ways be radically different from our present values and heritage. History and thus heritage never becomes a finished product, time does not stop and we cannot approach heritage nor history as ever coming to a complete stop. History and thus heritage is steadily in the making. As cultural nationalism depicts society, heritage would have to change along with the generational breaks with the past and traditions that are no longer considered desirable or appropriate.

The purpose of asking the respondents to specify what options or categories they considered to be included in culture was to make sense of how different individuals approach heritage and no less culture. Respondents showed they have similar thought patterns when choosing what is considered culture but at the same time certain options received only a few votes. Food, stories, fables, myths, language, dialects, music and poetry where considered by most to belong to culture together with the tangible heritage objects whereas TV-series, film and comic books received relatively little attention or votes. It is not surprising that it is this way however, the options most voted for are also the options that we are most exposed to as cultural events. What is more important however to point out is that TV-series, comic books and film is mostly considered to be low culture whereas opera, art and sculptures etc. is usually what can be found as a national heritage and is considered high culture, the culture of the elites. Seeing as those options considered low culture still were chosen by the respondents as important in their own culture it is possible to state that there is indeed a difference in what we consider culture as a whole, culture within the community or group and culture that is important to the individual. The overlapping of respondents choosing the same options such as food or religion could either be seen as a successful “indoctrination” over time or simply that these are the most

prominent features within our regional or local heritages as well. It does not have to be mutually exclusive consequently demonstrating the malleability or duality of heritage.

Another example that can be used is the export of U.S TV-series. Culture in general should be considered when seeing that nearly half of the respondents consider TV-series and films as culture. Two thirds of the respondents are between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five thus growing up with an increase in American television shows and movies available through different modern channels of dissemination. I do not mean to suggest that simply for being popular or trendy it will become heritage but it will alter the way we think about heritage and the cultural influences that has shaped it.

The problem of the UNESCO specifications discussed earlier of being too wide and unspecific can in fact help the charters deal the changing of society in a globalising world. So the answer to whether or not the perception of immigrants align with the definitions of UNESCO is yes but not entirely. The respondents have different objections to the objects on the list ranging from religion as a tool for power to culture being something that is only practiced in the present and so history shouldn't be considered. Some simply reasoned that the options they did not choose were what they did not consider as culture either. It should be noted that by asking for the specification of cultural objects from the respondents rather than cultural heritage it may have affected their approach to the question. Still it does serve a purpose of illuminating the problematic nature of heritage. As a cultural practice about cultural practice it influences the practice of culture in the present and how culture will be practiced in the future.

With nearly all the respondents answering that it was very important to learn the language of the country that you move to as well as learning the language of your parents it is surprising that so few of the respondents have classified themselves as having a mixed culture with language identified by UNESCO as a carrier of heritage. For the respondents who were born in Sweden most considered it very important to learn the language of their parents and in either group religion was a prominent feature yet with a higher number of respondents in the mixed culture group who didn't consider their religion as very important. It seems completely incidental if the respondents have come to identify that they have a mixed culture or a specific culture that they live with. What should be considered in this case is the relationship of the respondent to society. Where they live, what they do for a living, their level of education and in what part of a country they live may all be aspects

that could influence to what degree a person identifies with society. However, it is possible to see that the parents of respondents in the mixed cultural group to a greater extent read stories in Swedish or from Sweden in their mother tongue to their children. It is then noteworthy that perhaps literature and exposure to children's culture, if it is possible to speak of such a thing, does more to the identification with a certain culture than language on its own. The differences between men and women and whether one or both parents have immigrated or if the respondents themselves have immigrated make the analysis of the underlying reason much harder to hypothesise. I would suggest that there are more complex underlying reasons for why some experience their cultures as mixed and some not.

Religion is an important point to consider since it has been a part of the European heritage for better or worse. With immigration within Europe and from the outside of Europe the heritage will change and so will the perception of religion and what we consider culture. A cultural exchange when moving to a new country is bound to occur upon interaction with the local population and settling down in a different culture. Not only will the perceptions of the immigrant change but with the integration into society, fully or other, the perception of immigrants will change among the local population. With society still functioning in accordance with old traditions or rules, the shift will come toward new demands on society in order to cope with the situation that the local population, immigrant or other, finds itself in. While religion as such has not been specified as heritage it should not be disregarded. Religion is a very important influence in culture and the religious aspects of Europe and its history have been more than noteworthy. From my findings I suggest that heritage when it comes to religion is more likely to be passed on from mother to child than from the father or society and that women are more likely to follow tradition and adopt heritage than men. It is worth looking closer at from a gender perspective. Furthermore, as presented in the literary review, Europe's divide in the question of its religious heritage can be clearly seen in the respondents' answers. A majority of them replied that some religions are more accepted than others in Sweden as well as Europe. While it could be argued that it is more logical that Sweden has a somewhat strained relationship with other religions than Christianity due to a longer national adherence to Lutheranism, the same cannot be said for the EU considering its past. I would say that if immigrants believe that different religions are more accepted than others it highlights the selectivity in heritage both for nations and for the EU. The selection process of what we include in our heritage is important to think

about. By only focusing on certain parts of history, much like identity building, our heritages become excluding and serves a purpose, deliberate or not, of Othering.

Moreover, how come so many of the respondents that do not profess to a religion answered follow-up questions about their faith? Even with the questions about parents and religion there seemed to be some insecurity among the respondents. It might be that even if one does not profess to a religion one might still consider it as a part of the values held and so also consider it to be of importance. From the data, it is hard to tell exactly why but there is another possible option to consider namely the presence of religion and faith in the lives of the respondents.

So how does this fit with the respondents believing in a European culture? There is perhaps a more readily available explanation for respondents believing there is a Swedish culture due to long term nationalist efforts in forming a nation. The European building project has not had the same time to amass support against a greater challenge of competing with the national identities formed in part by nationalism. Of course the process of globalisation that plays a part in the connection of different cultures through the click of a button should be considered again but I'll only mention it here as a side note. I would argue that even if more than half of the respondents consider themselves having a specific cultural heritage a fact of utmost importance is that they or their parents have migrated from one culture to another, have learned the language their new country and are a part of that society. By learning a new language and taking part in society they are exposed to the same processes of modernity and break with traditions in accordance with cultural nationalism albeit with a different perception of which traditions are to be broken with. Even more so should they be prone to wanting to break with traditions since they have influences from more than one culture. The selection process of what heritage is considered as important could still be valid. I do not however suggest that the data indicates that immigrants actively choose which heritage is theirs. Yet it certainly should be considered as a possibility with immigrants that are very young upon arrival or people of foreign background that grow up with dual cultural influences.

In addition, the relatively low age of the respondents is an indication that they will change society to fit their needs in keeping with cultural nationalism. The identification of a European culture could easily be seen more as a product of the respondents recognising parts of their culture in other nations through travels, news reports or politics than it is

because of the EU's efforts in creating a common culture. Also to be considered, the immigration to Sweden from different countries is not exclusive to Sweden but is present in more parts of Europe.

Moving on, it is interesting to see that those who have migrated to Sweden and see themselves as having influences from a specific culture speak of a home country even in relation to when asked if there are monuments or places in Sweden. At this point I would like to tie in what Kjartansdóttir and Schramm found when studying Icelanders abroad. While the Icelanders they interviewed spoke of places where you could meet and talk to other Icelanders as a break from their everyday interaction with Danes it becomes apparent that heritage is subject not only to personal value investment but also to contextual circumstances. Heritage is produced in the interaction with other people so in a sense there may be more than one side to a national heritage. Yet the respondents who speak of a home country still hold Swedish citizenships so in the eyes of the law and in the eyes of Sweden they are Swedish. Following this line of reasoning it brings us back to nationalist claims of an ethnic population and its heritage. The respondents from the mixed culture group seem to have come to terms with the possibility of belonging to more than one nationality or culture. Perhaps the respondents from the mixed culture group are focused less on a specific nationality and heritage and more on the culture or cultures that they are influenced by. There is a difference in the approach to society and culture depending on how you perceive your cultural heritage.

With this being said, it is hard to state exactly in which way immigrants perceive their heritage but indications are there to suggest that acknowledging the different cultural exposures as an immigrant will render a person less inclined to put emphasis on differences rather than on similarities and commonality in an overall cultural context. Through this I would suggest that immigrants will acknowledge national cultural heritages but the difference will lie in whether or not this represents them.

4.1 The Swedish heritage and the European identity

Following the reasoning above, implications for a Swedish cultural heritage and a European identity is there to be explored. I would say that there is a Swedish cultural heritage but it cannot be generalised to represent everyone. As some of the respondents to the survey explain, Swedish culture means organisation, structure and avoidance of conflict. This does not mean however that this is what every Swede inherits, rather it

describes society as a whole. It is the perception of Swedish culture and society. As already specified, heritage covers culture but within this we place cultural heritage. So Swedish cultural heritage is, according to the respondents, structure and organisational skills but this says little of the heritage of the population. It is highly doubtful that all Swedes are structured and organised or even afraid of confrontation. All Swedes may be influenced by the culture of society yet this includes the immigrants which in turn offer a different heritage both in society and in community. So to make a clarification, national heritages can only exist to a limited extent in the sense that, in the case of Sweden for example, everything that happened after Scania became Swedish is part of our heritage today but at the same time the Scanian heritage contains a Danish heritage that cannot be incorporated into the Swedish. When considering immigration, the heritage of our contemporary nations is not the same as the heritage that the same nations will hold in fifty or a hundred years. Cultural heritage and our perception of it changes over time together with society. If we look two generations back to our grandparents their values and heritage is arguably not completely identical but some parts are. However, with a growing population that includes immigrants and people of foreign background we need to be observant of how heritage is used in political claims. An overly selective approach by the state can exclude parts of the population fuelling rivalling claims from local, regional or even national cultural heritages.

For Europe, this does not mean that there can never be a European identity or a European cultural heritage. Rather the selective approach to heritage should be reconsidered to make room for an interpretation of the cultural heritage as something fractured that at times might overlap with other cultures and at other times disconnect with the overarching heritage to form specific local or regional heritages that overtake the national or supranational.

5. Conclusion

While most of the respondents acknowledged the influences of other cultures over their own and as such the influences in one's cultural heritage, there is a notable difference between people with mixed cultural influences and specific cultural influences. The respondents that acknowledged the cultural influences over their cultural traditions as being mixed show an understanding of heritage and culture as something that is alive, something that can be combined and inclusive and not solely excluding. Respondents who saw their traditions as being influenced by a specific culture are more inclined to see their heritage as something that does not change at least not easily or readily. Heritage will and must change over time in the same way that cultural nationalism describes society as modernising through conflict and break with tradition. With every new generation, breaks with traditions and existing paradigms are inevitable thus perpetuating the process of modernising according to the demands of the citizens, immigrant and ethnic. In addition to this, the survey data showed discrepancies between the official heritages proposed from the top down and the grassroots perception of heritage. While some or even many things may overlap, the acknowledgment of something belonging to culture is not an acknowledgement of it being ones heritage. Rather it is the acknowledgment that it may constitute an important part of heritage and culture for some but not everyone. Furthermore, even within the grassroots such aspects as considering oneself as having a mixed or specific heritage or even gender may determine how one perceives heritage. Any claims to a universal heritage of a nation or, as in the UNESCO and ICOMOS charters, of the world seem contrived.

In all this, language is the most important carrier of heritage and culture. From a European perspective this constitutes an obstacle to forming a European identity and culture. It should perhaps not be said that a European common culture and identity will never exist but this will require a massive break with traditions and paradigms across much wider sections of populations. Since there to date do not exist any cross-national cultural ties apart from religion it is highly unlikely that a break with the traditional nation-state system will occur in favour of a greater European state, federal or other. Along with this it should also be said that the trend is rather that of regional and local identities becoming increasingly important and as such an emphasis on regional and local heritage will be a powerful contender. However, heritage among immigrants could be a question of choice if they are born and raised in their "new" country or have immigrated at a very early age. As

such, there could still be a higher number of people in the future, having lived in multi-cultural cities or regions, that might have less of a hard time identifying with an overarching European heritage and identity.

Finally, Swedish heritage does exist to some extent but it is bound to change over time due to processes of change from generational demands as well as migratory patterns of people within Europe and from the outside. For Europe this could certainly be a possibility of achieving a common culture but most likely the identity and culture of Europe will stop at being an addition to one's national, regional or local identity while this heritage takes precedence over any other options.

While this study in itself can only make claims of finding indications towards the influence of immigration over Swedish national heritage it would be possible for a larger research project to compare the answers from a larger population of immigrants and people of foreign background to that of an "ethnic" Swedish population. Not only would this allow for researchers to see differences in the perceptions of cultural heritage but it could also be a way to trace processes of Europeanisation across countries. Furthermore, I believe it would generate interesting results from studying the relation between heritage and gender, especially in relation to religion. This study found evidence that heritage and religious values are more likely to be transferred from mother to child and specifically from mother to daughter. This might even be traceable in regards to the identification with nationality or Europeaness.

Concluding, I would like to state that there are many aspects that have been left unexplored in this study without compromising the end goal of the research. Cultural heritage and European Studies is not an entirely novel combination of academic fields but it is somewhat obscure and deserves a greater focus from mainstream research. Considering the prominent feature of cultural heritage in both national and EU politics and policies it is surprising that such a malleable area has not received more attention.

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Appendix 1

Attityder gentemot kulturarv och dess definition bland invandrade svenskar och svenskar med utländsk bakgrund

Denna undersökning är en del i min magisteruppsats inom Europeiska Studier vid Lunds Universitet. Idén till den här studien kom efter att ha hört det talas om nationella identiteter, invandring som hot mot kulturen och en enhetlig kultur inom länder såväl som en Europeisk kultur och identitet. Studien syftar till att förstå hur invandrare och personer med utländsk bakgrund förhåller sig till de definitioner av kultur och kulturarv som presenteras inom akademiska kretsar men även internationella institutioner som UNESCO och FN. Begreppen invandrare och personer med utländsk bakgrund är taget från Migrationsverket.

Alla som deltar i enkäten är anonyma.

Har du frågor om eller synpunkter på enkäten är du välkommen att höra av dig på stv08akr@student.lu.se.

*Obligatorisk

Viktigt!

I denna enkät är vissa frågor obligatoriska, de är markerade med en röd stjärna. Svarar du inte på dessa kommer du att uppmärksammas på det när du försöker gå vidare till nästa sida. Vissa frågor är beroende på dina tidigare svar men läs helst alla frågor då en del frågor kan och bör svaras på om de är relevanta för dig även om de inte är obligatoriska.

Kultur och språk

1) Anser du att din familj följer traditioner? *

Traditionell i detta avseende att ni deltar i och/eller firar nationella och/eller religiösa högtider. Om nej, gå till fråga nr. 4.

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

2) Är era traditioner tillhörande en specifik kultur eller är det blandat?

T.ex. Julafton, Eid al-Fitr, Chanukka etc.

Mark era endast en oval.

Från en specifik kultur

Blandat

3) Från vilken/vilka kultur/er är traditionerna i så fall hämtade?

4) Vilket eller vilka av följande alternativ anser du är hör hemma inom "kultur"? *

Kryssa i det eller de alternativ du anser passar

Mark era alla som gäller.

Idrott

Böcker

Tidningar

Tidskrifter

Serietidningar

Film

TV-serier

Teater

Opera

Dans

Traditionella hantverk

Muntligt återberättade sägner, sagor eller myter

Musik, sånger, lyrik, poesi

Konstverk (tavlor, skulpturer, statyer, fotografier)

Gatukonst (gatumusiker, gatuartister, graffiti)

Mat

Religion

Språk & dialekter

Särskilda klädesplagg/Folkdräkter

Museer

Historia, historiska händelser

Arkitektur

Betydande personligheter

Monument

Övrigt:

5) Om det är någon av punkter som står i listan som du inte anser är kultur kan du motivera detta här!

Frågan är överhoppningsbar.

6) Vad skulle du säga är viktigt inom din kultur? *

Kryssa i det eller de alternativ du anser passar

Mark era alla som gäller.

Idrott

Böcker

Tidningar

Tidskrifter

Serietidningar

Film

TV-serier

Teater

Opera

Dans

Traditionella hantverk

Muntligt återberättade sägner, sagor eller myter

Musik, sånger, lyrik, poesi

Konstverk (tavlor, skulpturer, statyer, fotografier)

Gatukonst (gatumusiker, gatuartister, graffiti)

Mat

Religion

Språk & dialekter

Särskilda klädesplagg/Folkdräkter

Museer

Historia, historiska händelser

Arkitektur

Betydande personligheter

Monument

Övrigt:

7) Vilket eller vilka av dessa alternativ är viktigt/iga för dig personligen? *

Kryssa i det eller de alternativ du anser passar

Mark era alla som gäller.

Idrott

Böcker

Tidningar

Tidskrifter

Serietidningar

Film

TV-serier

Teater

Opera

Dans

Traditionella hantverk

Muntligt återberättade sägner, sagor eller myter

Musik, sånger, lyrik, poesi

Konstverk (tavlor, skulpturer, statyer, fotografier)

Gatukonst (gatumusiker, gatuartister, graffiti)

Mat

Religion

Språk & dialekter

Särskilda klädesplagg/Folkdräkter

Museer

Historia, historiska händelser

Arkitektur

Betydande personligheter

Monument

Övrigt:

8) Läser du svenska sagor och berättelser för dina barn?

Om du inte har barn hoppar du till fråga 10.

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Ja, fast på annat språk än svenska

Nej

9) Läser du sagor och berättelser för dina barn från det land du emigrerade ifrån?

Om du inte emigrerat själv eller inte har barn hoppar du till nästa fråga.

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Ja, fast på svenska

Nej

10) Läste dina föräldrar svenska sagor och berättelser för dig när du var liten? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja, endast på svenska

Ja, både på svenska och annat språk

Ja, fast bara på annat språk än svenska

Nej

11) Läste dina föräldrar sagor och berättelser från det land de emigrerade ifrån? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja, endast på deras modersmål

Ja, både på modersmålet och svenska

Ja, fast endast på svenska

Nej

12) Talar du svenska med dina barn?

Om du inte har barn hoppar du till fråga 14.

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

Jag blandar språken

Det beror på situationen

13) Om det beror på situationen, kan du ge ett exempel på när du talar svenska med dina barn?

14) Talar dina föräldrar svenska med dig? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

Vi blandar språken

Det beror på situationen

Mina föräldrar lever inte Sverige

Mina föräldrar lever inte längre

15) Om det beror på situationen, kan du ge ett exempel på när ni talar svenska med varandra?

16) Hur viktigt är det att lära sig ett annat språk när man flyttar till ett nytt land? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Väldigt viktigt

Ganska viktigt

Inte särskilt viktigt

Inte alls viktigt

17) Om du är född i Sverige, hur viktigt är det för dig att lära dig dina föräldrars modersmål?

Mark era endast en oval.

Väldigt viktigt

Ganska viktigt

Inte särskilt viktigt

Inte alls viktigt

18) Hur viktigt är det för dig att umgås med andra utanför din biologiska familj som talar ditt modersmål? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Väldigt viktigt

Ganska viktigt

Inte särskilt viktigt

Inte alls viktigt

Religion och dess betydelse

19) Tror du att vissa religioner är mer accepterade än andra i Sverige? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

Jag vet ej

20) Tror du att detta stämmer i resten av Europa också? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

Jag vet ej

21) Skulle du bekänna dig till en särskild tro om du blev tillfrågad? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

Jag vet ej

22) Om ja, hur viktig är din religion för dig?

Mark era endast en oval.

Väldigt viktig, min religion är en stor del av vem jag är

Ganska viktig, min religion är en viktig del av vem jag är

Inte särskilt viktig, min religion är bara en liten del av vem jag är

Inte viktig alls

23) Skulle din far bekänna sig till en särskild tro om han blev tillfrågad? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja, samma tro som jag

Ja, fast en annan tro

Nej

24) Tror du att din fars religion är/var viktig för honom?

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja, väldigt viktig

Ja, ganska viktig

Nej, inte särskilt viktig

Nej, inte viktig alls

25) Skulle din mor bekänna sig till en särskild tro om hon blev tillfrågad? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja, samma tro som jag

Ja, fast en annan tro

Nej

26) Tror du att din mors religion är/var viktig för henne?

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja, väldigt viktig

Ja, ganska viktig

Nej, inte särskilt viktig

Nej, inte viktig alls

27) Om du har barn, hur viktigt är det för dig att han/hon/de delar din tro?

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja, väldigt viktigt

Ja, ganska viktigt

Nej, inte särskilt viktigt

Nej, inte alls viktigt

28) Skulle ditt/dina barn bekänna sig till en tro som de blev tillfrågade?

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja, samma tro som jag

Ja, fast en annan tro än jag

Ja, men jag vet inte vilken tro

Nej, de skulle inte bekänna sig till någon tro

29) Hur viktigt är det för dig att andra personer som du umgås med delar din tro?

Mark era endast en oval.

Väldigt viktigt

Ganska viktigt

Inte särskilt viktigt

Inte alls viktigt

30) Bär du några synliga, fysiska uttryck för din religion?

Exempelvis en kalott, ett krucifix, hijab etc.

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

31) Hur viktigt är det för dig att kunna bära dessa yttringar?

Mark era endast en oval.

Väldigt viktigt

Ganska viktigt

Inte särskilt viktigt

Inte alls viktigt

32) Känner du att det är accepterat där du bor med dessa yttringar?

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

Jag vet ej

33) Känner du att det är accepterat där du arbetar?

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

Jag vet ej

34) Känner du att din tro är accepterad i det svenska samhället?

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja, helt och hållet

Ja, till viss del

Nej, inte alls

35) Känner du att din tro är accepterad i Europa?

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja, helt och hållet

Ja, till viss del

Nej, inte alls

Kultur i samhället

36) Vänligen rangordna alternativen under i den ordning du identifierar dig med dem. *

Europeisk, Svensk, Annan nationalitet, Skånsk

37) Tycker du att det finns en europeisk kultur? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Ja, till viss del

Nej

38) Tycker du att man kan tala om en svensk kultur som är gällande enbart för Sverige? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

Jag vet ej

39) Om ja, vad skulle det i så fall vara?

40) Känner du att detta representerar dig och din kultur?

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja, helt och hållet

Ja, till viss del

Nej, inte alls

41) Om du svarade ja på förra frågan beskriv kort varför du känner så.

42) Tror du att din kultur har blivit influerat av andra kulturer? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja, väldigt mycket

Ja, till viss del

Nej, inte alls

Nej inte vad jag vet

43) Om ja, på vilket sätt?

44) Tror du att din kultur har influerat andra människors kultur? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja, väldigt mycket

Ja, till viss del

Nej, inte alls

Nej, inte vad jag vet

45) Om ja, på vilket sätt?

46) Finns det särskilda monument, byggnader, skulpturer eller andra fysiska kulturella uttryck som är betydande för dig? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

47) Om ja, vad/vilket och var finner man detta?

48) Om nej, har det funnits det någon gång?

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

49) Om ja, beskriv kortfattat vad det var som gjorde att det tappade sin betydelse?

50) Har du någonsin upplevt att ett för dig viktigt, kulturellt uttryck blivit förstört eller på annat vis skändat? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

Jag vet ej

51) Om ja, har det varit möjligt att ersätta det?

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

Jag vet ej

52) Finns det en plats eller platser i Sverige där du känner dig närmare din kultur? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

Jag vet ej

53) Om ja, vilken/vilka då?

54) Finns det särskilda platser där du möter familj, vänner och bekanta som är betydande för dig? *

T.ex. en park på sommaren, en fritidsgård, en bar eller restaurang osv.

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

55) Om ja, vart då?

56) Finns det tillfällen då du känner att du inte hittar din roll i sociala sammanhang? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

Jag vet ej

57) Om du svarade ja, ge ett exempel på när detta inträffar.

58) Har du någonsin känt att din kultur varit ifrågasatt? *

Mark era endast en oval.

Ja

Nej

Jag vet ej

59) Om du svarade ja, i vilket sammanhang?

Statistiska frågor

60) Jag är: *

Mark era endast en oval.

Man

Kvinna

61) Välj det alternativ som passar bäst in på dig *

Om du har invandrat med dina föräldrar så väljer du att du själv har invandrat.

Mark era endast en oval.

Jag har själv invandrat till Sverige

En av mina föräldrar är födda i utlandet och har invandrat

Båda mina föräldrar är födda i utlandet och har invandrat

Ingen av mina föräldrar är födda i utlandet

62) Ange din ålder genom att kryssa i ett av intervallen *

Mark era endast en oval.

18-25

26-35

36-45

46-55

55+

63) Jag innehar följande medborgarskap *

Har du mer än ett medborgarskap anger du samtliga!

64) Om du blir tillfrågad vilket land du

kommer ifrån, vilket land uppger du? *

65) Från vilket/vilka land kommer dina föräldrar? *

66) Har du syskon? *

Mark era endast en oval.

0

1

2

3

4

5 eller fler

Appendix 2

Attitudes towards heritage and its definition among immigrants to Sweden and Swedes with foreign backgrounds

This survey is part of my master's thesis in European Studies at Lund University. The idea for this study came about after hearing of national identity, immigration as a threat to culture and a unified culture within countries as well as European culture and identity. The study aims to understand how immigrants and people with foreign backgrounds relate to the definitions of culture and heritage presented in academic circles but also international institutions such as UNESCO and the UN. Concepts of immigrants and people of foreign background is taken from the Swedish Migration Board.

All participants in the survey are anonymous.

If you have any questions or concerns about the survey, please feel free to contact me at

stv08akr@student.lu.se.

*** Required**

Important!

In this survey, some questions are mandatory, they are marked with a red star. If you do not answer these, you will be made aware of it when you try to go to the next page. Some questions are dependent on your previous answers but please read all questions since some questions can and should be answered if they are relevant to you even if they are not compulsory.

Culture and Language

1) Do you think that your family follows traditions? *

Traditions in this regard that you are participating in and / or celebrates national and / or religious holidays.

If no, go to question no. 4

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

2) Are your traditions belonging to a specific culture or is it mixed?

E.g. Christmas Eve, Eid al-Fitr, Hanukkah, etc.

Mark only one oval.

From a specific culture

Mixed

3) From which / what culture / s are the traditions in this case gathered?

4) Which of the following would you consider to belong to the term "culture"? *

Please tick the preferred option or options you deem fitting

Mark all that apply.

Sports

Books

Newspapers

Journals

Comic books

Film

TV series

Theatre

Opera

Dance

Traditional crafts

Verbally recounted tales, fairy tales or myths

Music, songs, poetry, poetry

Works of art (painting, sculptures, statues, photographs)

Street art (street musicians, street artists, graffiti)

Food

Religion

Languages and dialects

Special clothing / Folk Costumes

Museums

History, historical events

Architecture

Significant figures

Monument

Miscellaneous:

5) If there are any points that are in the list that you do not consider culture can justify it here!

The question can be skipped.

6) What would you say is important in your culture? *

Please tick the preferred option or options you deem fitting

Mark all that apply.

Sports

Books

Newspapers

Journals

Comic books

Film

TV series

Theatre

Opera

Dance

Traditional crafts

Verbally recounted tales, fairy tales or myths

Music, songs, poetry, poetry

Works of art (painting, sculptures, statues, photographs)

Street art (street musicians, street artists, graffiti)

Food

Religion

Languages and dialects

Special clothing / Folk Costumes

Museums

History, historical events

Architecture

Significant figures

Monument

Miscellaneous:

7) Which of these options is important to you personally? *

Please tick the preferred option or options you deem fitting

Mark all that apply.

Sports

Books

Newspapers

Journals

Comic books

Film

TV series

Theatre

Opera

Dance

Traditional crafts

Verbally recounted tales, fairy tales or myths

Music, songs, poetry, poetry

Works of art (painting, sculptures, statues, photographs)

Street art (street musicians, street artists, graffiti)

Food

Religion

Languages and dialects

Special clothing / Folk Costumes

Museums

History, historical events

Architecture

Significant figures

Monument

Miscellaneous:

8) Do you read Swedish fairy tales and stories to your children?

If you do not have kids, skip to Question 10.

Mark only one oval.

Yes

Yes, but in a language other than Swedish

No

9) Do you read fairy tales and stories to your children from the country you emigrated from?

If you did not emigrate or do not have kids, skip to the next question.

Mark only one oval.

Yes

Yes, only in Swedish

No

10) Did your parents read Swedish fairy tales and stories to you when you were little? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes, only in Swedish

Yes, in both Swedish and other languages

Yes, but only in a different language than Swedish

No

11) Did your parents read tales and stories from the country they emigrated from? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes, only in their mother tongue

Yes, both in the mother tongue and Swedish

Yes, but only in Swedish

No

12) Do you speak with your children in Swedish?

If you do not have kids, skip to question 14.

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

I mix the languages

It depends on the situation

13) If it depends on the situation, can you give an example of when you speak Swedish with your children?

14) Do your parents speak Swedish with you? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

We mix the languages

It depends on the situation

My parents do not live Sweden

My parents are not alive

15) If it depends on the situation, can you give an example of when you speak Swedish with each other?

16) How important is it to learn another language when you move to a new country? *

Mark your only one oval.

Very important

Quite important

Not very important

Not important at all

17) If you were born in Sweden, how important is it for you to learn how your parents language?

Mark only one oval.

Very important

Quite important

Not very important

Not important at all

18) How important is it for you to socialize with others outside of your immediate family who speak your native language? *

Mark only one oval.

Very important

Quite important

Not very important

Not important at all

Religion and its importance

19) Do you think that some religions are more accepted than others in Sweden? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

I do not know

20) Do you believe this to be true in the rest of Europe too? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

I do not know

21) Would you profess to a particular faith if you were asked? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

I do not know

22) If yes, how important is your religion to you?

Mark your only one oval.

Very important, my religion is a big part of who I am

Quite important, my religion is an important part of who I am

Not very important, my religion is only a small part of who I am

Not important at all

23) Would your father profess a particular faith if he was asked? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes, the same faith as I

Yes, but a different faith

No

24) Do you think your father's faith is / was important to him?

Mark only one oval.

Yes, very important

Yes, quite important

No, not very important

No, not important at all

25) Would your mother profess a particular faith if she was asked? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes, the same faith that I

Yes, but a different faith

No

26) Do you think your mother's faith is / was important to her?

Mark only one oval.

Yes, very important

Yes, quite important

No, not very important

No, not important at all

27) If you have children, how important is it to you that he / she / they share your faith

Mark only one oval.

Yes, very important

Yes, quite important

No, not very important

No, not important at all

28) Would your child / children profess a faith that they were asked?

Mark only one oval.

Yes, the same faith that I

Yes, but a different faith than I

Yes, but I do not know which belief

No, they would not profess any faith

29) How important is it for you that other people that you spend time with share your faith?

Mark only one oval.

Very important

Quite important

Not very important

Not important at all

30) Do you wear any visible physical expression of your religion?

For example a calotte, a crucifix, hijab, etc.

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

31) How important is it for you to be able to wear these expressions?

Mark only one oval.

Very important

Quite important

Not very important

Not important at all

32) Do you feel that it is accepted in your area with these expressions?

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

I do not know

33) Do you feel that it is acceptable where you work?

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

I do not know

34) Do you feel that your faith is accepted in Swedish society?

Mark only one oval.

Yes, altogether

Yes, to a certain extent

No, not at all

35) Do you feel that your faith is accepted in Europe?

Mark only one oval.

Yes, altogether

Yes, to a certain extent

No, not at all

Culture in society

36) Please rank the alternatives in the order you identify with them. *

European, Swedish, Other nationality, Scanian

37) Do you think there is a European culture? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

Yes, to a certain extent

No

38) Do you think it is possible to speak of a Swedish culture that is valid only for Sweden?

*

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

I do not know

39) If yes, what would that be?

40) Do you feel that this represents you and your culture?

Mark only one oval.

Yes, completely

Yes, to a certain extent

No, not at all

41) If you answered yes to the previous question, please describe briefly why you feel that way.

42) Do you think your culture has been influenced by other cultures? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes, a lot

Yes, to a certain extent

No, not at all

No, not that I know

43) If yes, in what way?

44) Do you think your culture has influenced other people's culture? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes, a lot

Yes, to a certain extent

No, not at all

No, not that I know

45) If yes, in what way?

46) Are there specific monuments, buildings, sculptures or other physical cultural expressions that are important to you? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

47) If yes, what / which ones and where do you find it?

48) If not, has there been one at some point?

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

49) If yes, please briefly describe what made it lose its meaning?

50) Have you ever experienced that a cultural expression has been destroyed or otherwise desecrated that was important to you? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

I do not know

51) If yes, has it been possible to replace it?

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

I do not know

52) Is there a place or places in Sweden where you feel closer to your culture? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

I do not know

53) If yes, which?

54) Are there specific places where you meet family, friends and acquaintances who are important to you? *

E.g. a park in the summer, a youth centre, a bar or restaurant, etc.

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

55) If yes, where?

56) Are there times when you feel that you cannot find your role in a social context? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

I do not know

57) If yes, give an example of when this occurs.

58) Have you ever felt that your culture has been questioned? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

I do not know

59) If yes, please give an example of when this occurs?

Statistical questions

60) I am: *

Mark only one oval.

Male

Female

61) Select the option that best describes you. *

If you have immigrated to your parents, you choose that you have immigrated.

Mark only one oval.

I myself immigrated to Sweden

One of my parents was born abroad and immigrated

Both of my parents were born abroad and immigrated

Neither of my parents were born abroad

62) Please indicate your age by checking one of the intervals *

Mark only one oval.

18-25

26-35

36-45

46-55

55 +

63) I have the following citizenship/s *

If you have more than one nationality, state them all!

64) If asked which country you come from, which country do you name? *

65) From which country/ies do your parents come from? *

66) Do you have siblings? *

Mark only one oval.

0

1

2

3

4

5 or more