

“Culture and Development” in South Korea and Japan's Official Development Assistance: The Interplay between International Norms and Domestic Ideas*

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■ Abstract

The global community has recognized the significance of culture, especially its functions and values, in the context of development; however, it remains unclear how developed countries support the promotion of culture in partner countries. This is mainly due to the gaps in the literature concerning this field. In addition, when literature on foreign aid states culture, it generally meant cultures in a donor country or the cultural aspect of a donor's diplomacy rather than the diversity of culture or local cultures in developing countries.

In order to fill this gap in the literature, this article examines the culture-centered Official Development Assistance (ODA) programs adopted by South Korea and Japan. To this end, we present an overview of the common features and characteristics of the culture-centered ODA programs implemented by Japan and South Korea and analyzes two ODA projects: the Kaman-Kalehöyük Archaeological Museum in Turkey by Japan and the National Museum in the Democratic Republic of Congo by South Korea.

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The analysis shows that the interplay between cultural norms in the context of development and pre-existing domestic ideas about development determine the ways in which Japan and South Korea implement culture-centered ODA programs. The pre-existing domestic ideas are shaped by their experience in the field of development as well as their national identities. In addition, it shows how Japan and South Korea have provided cultural ODA in pursuit of national interests as a means to strengthen their soft power.

【Key Words】 culture and development; culture-centered ODA; international norm; domestic ideas; soft power; South Korea; Japan

I . Introduction

Culture contributes to development in several ways, and international society has come to recognize its functions and values. Cultural industries or tourism produce employment and revenue and promote economic development. Culture also contributes to building national identity and strengthening social cohesion, which are essential for national development. The promotion of culture or cultural life is a developmental goal for meeting Basic Human Needs in developing countries (Enoki, 2000; Bandarin et al., 2011: 19). After World War II, many newly independent countries in Asia and Africa implemented national development for modernization—specifically, Westernization and globalization. As modernization can result in the collapse of traditional culture and local communities, culturally sensitive work manifests in sustainable development (Bandarin et al., 2011: 19; Radcliffe, 2006: 4-5). The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), a new global agenda for development adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 2015, emphasized “the natural and cultural diversity of the world” (United Nations, 2015: 10) and affirmed that “all cultures and civilizations can contribute to, and are crucial enablers of,

sustainable development" (United Nations, 2015: 10).

International society has come to share the idea that we should respect diversity of culture and enhance international cooperation in promoting culture in developing countries—i.e., the norm of “culture and development”—. The following questions thus arise—how have developed countries treated culture in their aid to partner countries? What kinds of aid programs have they provided for promoting and preserving culture in partner countries? Have cultural elements been respected in the provision of this assistance? Which factors assist or impede donors in sharing the international norm and responding to calls for international cooperation? Studies have thrown light on the ways in which cultural norms are produced and diffused globally in the context of development. Yet, it remains unclear how developed countries support the promotion of culture in partner countries. This is mainly due to the gaps in the literature concerning this field. In addition, when literature on foreign aid states culture, it generally meant cultures in a donor country or the cultural aspect of a donor’s diplomacy rather than the diversity of culture or local cultures in developing countries.

To fill this gap, this article analyzes the Official Development Assistance (ODA) programs implemented by South Korea and Japan. It examines the ways in which these two donor countries promote and preserve the culture of their partner countries. Drawing from constructivism, we argue that development-related cultural norms have driven Japan and South Korea to implement culture-centered ODA programs. In addition, pre-existing domestic ideas about development determine the ways in which they implement cultural ODA programs. This article focuses on the following two cultural ODA projects: (i) Japan’s project to construct the Kaman-Kalehöyük Archaeological Museum in Turkey and (ii) South Korea’s project to construction a National Museum in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). For Japan’s cultural ODA, our study includes an examination of ODA-related data.

What follows is carefully review the literature related to and define key concepts in this article. In the second section, we discuss our hypothesis and

research methodology. This section also discusses the theoretical background on which this article rests. In addition, we also explain the reasons for focusing on the ODA programs implemented by Japan and South Korea. In the third section, we present an overview of the common features and characteristics of the culture-centered ODA programs implemented by Japan and South Korea. We also present the two case studies in this section. We discuss our hypothesis in the fourth section. In the concluding section, we throw light on some of the limitations of the cultural ODA programs implemented by Japan and South Korea. We also provide suggestions to improve the implementation of cultural ODA programs.

II. Literature Review

In generating and disseminating the concepts of “diversity of culture” and “culture and development” in international development, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has played the role of a norm entrepreneur (Bandarin et al., 2011; Vlassis, 2015). According to UNESCO, culture is defined as “the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs” (UNESCO, 1982: 41). In adopting several declarations such as the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity in 2001, UNESCO has emphasized that mankind is characterized by cultural diversity with “uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies” (UNESCO, 2001: 4), and we should protect and promote cultural diversity because “a[A]s a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature”¹⁾ (UNESCO, 2001: 4). In incorporating the

1) For more details of the efforts by the UNESCO, see Bandarin et al. (2010, 16-17)

importance of culture into SDGs, UNESCO was a norm entrepreneur, judging that its inclusion would enhance the organization's position within the United Nations (Vlassis, 2015).

The rise of international recognition regarding the values of culture in the context of development has encouraged developed countries to lend their support by implementing ODA. ODA is distributed to various economic, social, and productive sectors via bilateral and multilateral channels, with several modalities such as project aid and program aid. According to the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), this also includes development-oriented social and cultural programs that "provide basic facilities or training to enhance the social and cultural development of nationals of developing countries" (DCD/DAC, 2010: 17). In this article, we term such programs "cultural ODA."

Some studies have shown that donor countries do not appreciate or address the importance of cultural matters in the context of development. Porter and Lyon (2006) noted that while donors have adopted concepts linking development with culture such as social capital, they lack an understanding of specific geographical contexts in local communities and "sensitivity to cultural diversity" (Porter and Lyon, 2006: 169). Vlassis showed that bilateral donors such as the United States, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France, Italy, and Spain were reluctant, skeptical, or only passively supportive of incorporating culture into the SDGs (Vlassis, 2015: 1656-1657). These studies seek to ascertain whether the donors' response to the norm is positive or not, but they do not focus on the ways in which donors implement the norm. In other words, the studies do not focus on the ways in which donors promote the culture of the partner country.

Moreover, most studies focus exclusively on the cultures of donor countries and the cultural aspects of a donor's diplomatic act. This in turn has paved the way for a lopsided understanding of the significance of culture in the context of development. In French aid allocation to African countries, for example, cultural

and Vlassis (2015).

similarities are the most significant determinants; French aid has concentrated on former French colonies, aiming to promote French culture, especially the French language, in Africa (Schraeder, Hook, and Taylor, 1998: 317-319). With regard to the motives for providing foreign aid, even Mazrui, who has argued for the power of culture in world politics, highlights the expansion of the donor's culture to partner countries or the cultural solidarity between a donor and a partner country (Mazrui, 1990: 195-207). In other words, by implementing aid programs, donors aim to improve their "ability to shape the preferences of others" (Nye, 2004: 5) and to "get others to want the outcomes that you [the donor] want" (Nye, 2004: 5).

Enoki (1999), Ogura (2013), Takahashi (2015), and Kim (2016) highlight the fact that both Japan and South Korea regard cultural ODA programs as a tool for strengthening soft power. Ogura (2013: 252-254) argues that, having regained its sovereignty, Japan has focused on the cultural aspects of diplomacy in order to change its national image—more specifically, in order to brand itself as a peace-loving nation. Therefore, the nation joined UNESCO in 1951. During the 1960s and 1970s, Japan established its status as a developed country and developed institutions for international cultural exchange. The Japan Foundation, a key institution for promoting and implementing international cultural exchange programs, was established in 1972 (Ogura, 2013: 252-254). The South Korean government believes that cultural ODA programs will enhance the image of South Korea among the international community, securing its national interest in the long term. South Korea has a unique historical experience and legacy of rapid economic development that can serve as a useful basis for cultural ODA programs (Kim, 2016).

The theoretical approach to adopting the concept of soft power provides a rational explanation for why donors put such high priority on improving the image of the donor country in the partner country and why they provide aid for that. However, it remains unclear how donors implement cultural development programs. There is also very little clarity about the factors that influence donors' response to the norm. Here, it should be recalled that the aim of cultural ODA

is "to enhance the social and cultural development of nationals of developing countries" (DCD/DAC, 2010: 17). ODA programs "essentially intended to improve the image of a donor country in the country in which they are made, or incurred in connection with friendly or cultural exchange schemes" (DAD/DAC, 2010: 17) are not eligible for cultural ODA. To fill this gap in the literature concerning this subject, the following section explains the theoretical background on which this article is based. It also throws light on the analytical framework used in this study. The analytical framework is based on constructivism.

III. Theoretical Background and Analytical Framework

Constructivism argues that an international system is constructed from ideas, in particular, the impact of norms, identity, and ideology in determining the behavior of states (Wendt, 1999). Norms are "standards of appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity" (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998: 891), which are generated by norm entrepreneurs with organizational platforms and adopted by norm leaders (stage one: norm emergence). Norm leaders then pressurize other states to accept these norms (socialization), which are subsequently diffused rapidly (stage two: norm cascade). Finally, the norms generated and diffused across the international society are internalized by actors and acquire a "taken-for-granted" quality (stage three: norm internalization) (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998). Studies have focused on stages one and two in the context of development-related cultural norms. They have done so by examining the role of UNESCO as a norm entrepreneur. The studies, however, do not focus on stage three. Considering the norm life cycle by Finnemore and Sikkink above, international cooperation led by norms is achieved at the completion of stage three. How, then, have donors internalized the norm of "culture and development"? What are the factors that affect the ways in which a donor

implements cultural ODA programs?

Cortell and Davis (2000: 73-74; 2005) pointed out that domestic impact of a certain international norm is affected by whether that international norm is consistent with pre-existing domestic beliefs. According to Lancaster (2007), who argued the importance of domestic politics in determining donors' behavior, domestic ideas shared by people in donor countries are essential in framing donors' aid behavior. These ideas include (1) principled beliefs about the obligation of developed countries to provide assistance to developing countries, (2) views about the role of states in development and the relations between the state and society, and (3) casual beliefs about effective development (Lancaster, 2007: 18-19). Donors such as Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden are active in providing ODA, in part due to their social and political values as a welfare state (Stokke, 1989; Lumsdaine, 1993). These donor countries consider aid for developing countries to be a moral responsibility (Stokke, 1989). Indeed, quantitative studies such as those by Alesina and Dollar (1998) and Dollar and Levin (2006) have proved that Nordic countries tend to distribute more aid to poorer countries. On the other hand, as noted above, Vlassis (2015) throws light on the fact that major states did not offer political support for the SDGs, especially due to the incompatibility between the norm of "culture and development" and pre-existing ideas or agendas, such as state intervention in development, human rights, and cultural relativism. Sims (2015) writes that the SDGs failed to sufficiently conceptualize "culture and development" and represent existing Western thinking and national-scale development, lacking consideration of culturally sensitive development and community- and local-based development (Sim, 2015). These factors throw light on the ways in which pre-existing domestic ideas influence donors' choices and action.

A complicating factor, however, is that donors have different ideas about development, particularly regarding its effectiveness. Since the establishment of the DAC, Western donors have led the international development community, generating policy ideas with regard to ODA. Western donors consider private

activities in free market economies under good governance essential. In recent years, the United Kingdom has led the international aid community, endeavoring to merge donor behavior with poverty reduction (Ohno, 2013). On the contrary, Japan and South Korea, the two Asian DAC donors, share distinctive beliefs about development, which differ from those of Western donors. Japan has stressed the importance of industrialization led by trade and investment. It emphasizes self-reliance in development while acknowledging the role of government in creating market economies (Ohno, 2013). South Korea shares many of these ideas and similar to Japan and other Asian donors, the nation has concentrated its aid on constructing economic infrastructure. This preference comes from the strong belief that economic infrastructure boosts growth in developing countries, leading to improvements in trade and investment (Söderberg, 2010).

In the case of ideas on effective development, each represents a different aspect of development. Even when the respective ideas on effective development do not align, in this case, the ideas might still be compatible. International cultural norms may acquire salience in the contexts of Japan and South Korea given their association with domestic ideas. The norms also may be partly incorporated into the donor's performance. On the other hand, Japan and South Korea may interpret the significance of cultural norms in ways that suit their pre-existing domestic ideas about development.

Based on the above discussion, we can hypothesize that the following:

The ways in which a donor implements cultural ODA programs is determined by the interplay between the norm of "culture and development" and pre-existing domestic ideas.

In this case, the "interplay" between international norms and domestic ideas might result in either the acceptance or rejection of one another. Another possibility is that they may both adapt for each other. To examine our hypothesis, we analyze Japan and South Korea's cultural ODA policy and performance using two case studies of cultural ODA projects, with a focus on both international and domestic ideas. The first reason for studying Japan and

South Korea is that these two Asian donors share ideas regarding foreign aid, which deviate from those of Western donor countries. Second, while other Asian donors such as China, Thailand, and Taiwan share the same ideas, only Japan and South Korea have DAC memberships. It means that Japan and South Korea are regularly peer-reviewed their aid policy and performance by the DAC and shall endeavor to reform and improve them in line with DAC recommendations. However, we should also note that South Korea entered the DAC in 2010, while Japan has been its member since 1961.

In the following section, we give an overview of Japan and South Korea's cultural ODA and describe two cultural ODA projects: the Project for the Construction of the Kaman-Kalehöyük Archaeological Museum in Turkey (Japan) and the Project for the Construction of a National Museum in DRC (South Korea). As Japan has a longer DAC membership history than South Korea, we have included a statistical analysis of Japan's cultural ODA, for which we collected data relating to Cultural Grant Assistance (*bunka musyō sikin kyōryoku*) and General Cultural Grant Assistance (*ippan bunka musyō sikin kyōryoku*, GCGA) since 1975. This data includes the total monetary amount and number of Japan's cultural ODA projects and those regional and sectoral distribution. In the absence of a database covering this statistical information, we collected data using Japan's *Gaikō Seisyo* (Diplomatic Bluebook), published from 1976 to 1988 and *Seifu Kaihatsu Enjo (ODA) Hakusyo* (ODA White Paper), published from 1989 to 2015.

Our second data set relates to the purpose of Japan's cultural ODA. For this, we used the ODA project search engine (*ODA anken kensaku*) on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan homepage. This database lists 357 GCGA projects implemented from 2001 to 2015 although detailed information was only available for 83 projects. On the basis of their contents, we divided the 83 GCGA projects into 10 categories. We counted all categories that meet the purposes of a certain project.

IV. Overview of Japan and South Korea's Cultural ODA

1. Japan's Cultural ODA

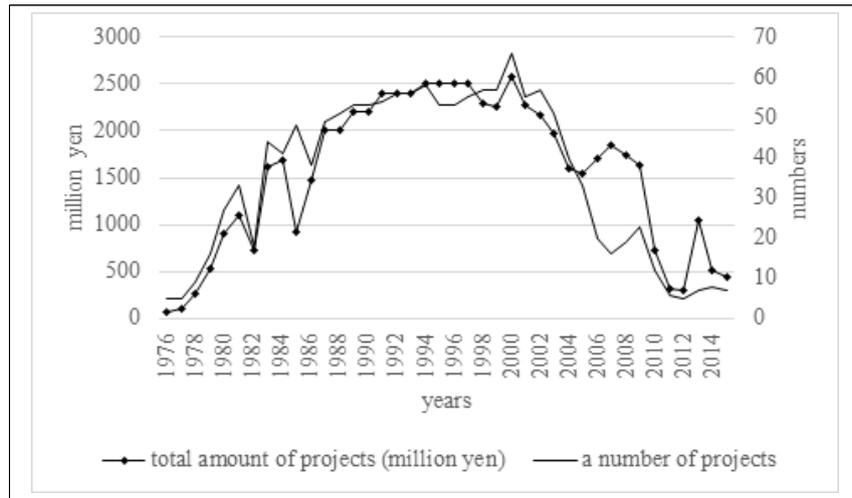
In 1975, Japan began promoting culture in developing countries through ODA programs with the launch of a new grant aid scheme, Cultural Grant Assistance. The relaxation of East-West tensions and economic friction with the United States in the late 1980s encouraged Japan to increase its positive role in international cooperation. Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita announced an International Cooperation Initiative in London on May 4, 1988, demonstrating that international cultural exchange was one of the three pillars of Japan's peace-oriented international cooperation with ODA (Enoki, 1999: 7-8). In the 1990s, globalization increased the awareness regarding the importance of cultural diversity and cultural heritage in Japan. Japan initiated the Japanese Funds-in-Trust for the Preservation of the World Cultural Heritage established through UNESCO (Ogura, 2013: 257-258). In 2000, the Japanese government introduced two new schemes for cultural ODA: Grant Aid for Cultural Heritage (*bunka isan musyō sikin kyōryoku*) and Grant Assistance for Cultural Grassroots Projects (*kusanone bunka musyō sikin kyōryoku*). In 2005, General Cultural Grant Assistance (GCGA) was created by merging Grant Aid for Cultural Heritage and Cultural Grant Assistance. GCGA provides funds to governmental organizations, whereas Grant Assistance for Cultural Grassroots Projects supports projects by NGOs and local public entities (MOFA, 2015a: 29). In addition, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology has also implemented programs for international cultural exchange.

Figure 1 and Table 1 from the first data set in the previous section show the following general trends in Japanese cultural ODA. First, Fig. 1 indicates that Japan expanded both the total monetary amount and number of its cultural ODA projects in the 1980s. Influenced by the end of the Cold War and globalization,

these remained stable at a high level throughout the 1990s. While the total monetary amount of Japan's cultural ODA was only 74 million yen in FY 1976, this figure ranged between 2.2 billion yen and 2.5 billion yen during the 1990s. Table 1 illustrates that Japan had expanded its aid recipients to countries in Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa by the late 1980s. Early Japanese cultural ODA was concentrated on Asian countries, particularly Southeast Asian countries such as Burma, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, and Laos. In 1991, Eastern European countries were added as partner countries for Japan's cultural ODA. These partner countries were later expanded to include South Africa, Cuba, Ukraine, countries in Central Asia, and the Baltic countries (MOFA, 2003). In 2000, Japan allocated 27.5% of its cultural ODA to countries in Asia and the Pacific and 25.5% to those in the Middle East and Africa. Both Latin America and Eastern Europe accounted for 23.5% of the total number of cultural ODA projects in the same year. However, cultural ODA projects decreased after the foundation of the two new aid schemes in 2000. Japan implemented only seven cultural ODA projects in 2015, with a total amount of 447 million yen. Following this decline, the regional distribution of Japan's cultural ODA has been unstable since the mid-2000s (see Table 2).

Second, as shown in Table 2, most of Japan's cultural ODA has been provided in the form of funding for equipment for the preservation of cultural property, cultural performance exhibitions, research and education, and the promotion of sports. This equipment includes display, audiovisual, and lighting equipment; video cameras; editing machines; microfilm; computers; copying machines; and microscopes. Projects to introduce Japanese language-learning systems and to fund television (TV) programs are also major elements in Japan's cultural ODA; the latter has increased since 2000.

<Figure 1> Total Monetary Amount and Number of Japan's Cultural ODA Projects



Source: data from 1976 to 1988 were collected using Japan's Gaikō Seisyo (Diplomatic Bluebook) and the data from 1989 to 2015 using Seifu Kaihatsu Enjo (ODA) Hakusyo (Japan's ODA White Paper).

Third, projects for the construction of cultural facilities such as museums, research centers, Budokan, music academies, and stadiums have increased since 2005, when GCGA was created by merging Cultural Grant Assistance and Grant Aid for Cultural Heritage. Grant Aid for Cultural Heritage was designed to support funding to purchase equipment for the preservation of cultural heritage and to construct cultural facilities, including the preparation of the surrounding environment. Grant Aid for Cultural Heritage was provided for projects costing within 300 million yen although funds for one Cultural Grant Assistance project were limited to 50 million yen (MOFA, 2003). From 2005 to 2015, only 14 out of 154 GCGA projects were for the construction of facilities, which accounted for 41.04% of the total funding during the same period.

2. South Korea's cultural ODA

South Korea was the second Asian country to become a member of the DAC. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of South Korea pushed for acceptance of its membership because it considered this to be the final step in South Korea's "baptism" as a developed nation. South Korea's vision for this policy was to "secure an international image as a developed donor country based on improving both the quality and the quantity of aid and demonstrating South Korea's own development experience" (Won Hae-Young with 14 Congressperson, 2007). South Korean ODA experienced an influx of money after joining the DAC. In 2009, South Korea's total ODA volume was \$1.06 billion, and in 2015, it exceeded \$2 billion (\$2.015 billion), which is approximately double the volume in 2009.²⁾

While South Korea has not yet established an aid scheme for cultural ODA, it has provided cultural ODA via KOICA, the cumulative amount of which reached \$137 million by 2015. Of this, 51% was distributed to experts and volunteers for teaching Korean and Taekwondo or for museums and tourism while 25% went to aid in the form of project or development consultation. A representative example is the Project for the Construction of a National Museum in DRC, whose details are described below. Of South Korea's cultural ODA via KOICA, training programs accounted for 15%, and aid through public-private partnerships, small-scale grant aid projects, and multilateral institutions for 9% (Son, 2016).

2) Data from the OECD homepage: <https://data.oecd.org/oda/net-oda.htm> (search date: 21 February, 2017).

<Table 1> Japan's Cultural ODA Distribution by Region and by Sector

year	a number of total projects	total volume (million yen)	regional distribution (proportion in total number, %)						sectoral distribution (proportion in total number, %)					
			Asia	Pacific	Latin America	Middl East	Africa	Eastern Europe	various equipments	TV program	Japanese language learning system	sporting goods including Judo	the construction of facilities	others
1976	5	74	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	n.a	80.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0
1977	5	100	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	n.a	60.0	0.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1978	9	274	88.9	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0	n.a	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1979	16	538	62.5	6.3	18.8	0.0	12.5	n.a	75.0	0.0	18.8	6.3	0.0	0.0
1980	27	900	59.3	18.5	7.4	14.8		n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1981	33	1100	57.6		12.1	30.3		n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1982	18	733	55.6		22.2	22.2		n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1983	44	1613	68.2		11.4	20.5		n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1984	41	1684	39.0		31.7	29.3		n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1985	48	929	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	78.0	2.0	8.0	12.0	0.0	0.0
1986	38	1477	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	71.2	0.0	7.7	21.2	0.0	0.0
1987	49	2000	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	75.5	6.1	8.2	10.2	0.0	0.0
1988	51	2000	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	72.5	5.9	9.8	11.8	0.0	0.0
1989	53	2200	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	66.0	7.5	11.3	15.1	0.0	0.0
1990	53	2200	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	66.0	9.4	15.1	9.4	0.0	0.0
1991	54	2400	29.3	3.8	38.5	7.5	11.4	9.5	77.4	5.7	11.3	5.7	0.0	0.0
1992	56	2400	33.5	1.2	36.2	10.5	9.0	9.6	73.2	0.0	10.7	16.1	0.0	0.0
1993	56	2400	40.3	1.9	33.7	7.0	6.3	10.8	73.2	10.7	10.7	5.4	0.0	0.0
1994	58	2500	39.2	4.4	32.8	8.1	5.5	10.0	67.2	6.9	8.6	17.2	0.0	0.0
1995	53	2500	30.2	4.0	33.5	11.3	9.2	11.8	75.5	3.8	7.5	13.2	0.0	0.0
1996	53	2500	30.4	2.0	30.2	15.2	10.8	11.5	66.0	5.7	7.5	20.8	0.0	0.0
1997	55	2500	29.1	4.1	30.7	11.4	9.3	15.4	74.5	10.9	7.3	7.3	0.0	0.0

1998	57	2300	29.1	4.0	29.7	13.4	9.1	14.7	73.7	3.5	7.0	15.8	0.0	0.0
1999	57	2260	25.5	4.2	28.0	10.5	13.8	18.0	84.2	5.3	3.5	7.0	0.0	0.0
2000	66	2580	27.5	0.0	23.5	11.8	13.7	23.5	71.2	3.0	15.2	10.6	0.0	0.0
2001	52	2283	28.9	3.9	26.9	9.6	11.5	19.2	76.9	5.8	11.5	5.8	0.0	0.0
2002	57	2172	28.0	22.0	12.0	16.0	19.2	71.9	12.3	12.3	1.8	0.0	1.8	
2003	51	1975	28.9	24.5	20.0	13.3	13.3	62.7	7.8	13.7	13.7	0.0	2.0	
2004	40	1606	31.0	21.4	16.7	9.5	13.3	75.0	5.0	10.0	7.5	0.0	2.5	
2005	33	1547	27.2	21.9	17.1	9.1	21.2	75.8	15.2	3.0	3.0	3.0	0.0	
2006	20	1699	20.0	0.0	50.0	10.0	15.0	5.0	55.0	15.0	10.0	5.0	15.0	0.0
2007	16	1857	43.8	0.0	18.8	6.3	12.5	18.8	50.0	12.5	18.8	0.0	18.8	0.0
2008	19	1741	47.4	0.0	31.6	0.0	10.5	10.5	47.4	21.1	10.5	5.3	15.8	0.0
2009	23	1640	8.7	4.3	56.5	8.7	17.4	4.3	47.8	8.7	13.0	26.1	4.3	0.0
2010	12	729	25.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	33.3	16.7	58.3	25.0	8.3	8.3	0.0	0.0
2011	6	318	66.7	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	16.7	16.7	16.7	0.0	0.0
2012	5	298	20.0	20.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
2013	7	1049	42.9	0.0	14.3	14.3	28.6	0.0	14.3	71.4	0.0	0.0	14.3	0.0
2014	8	515	25.0	0.0	50.0	12.5	12.5	0.0	37.5	50.0	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0
2015	7	447	0.0	0.0	57.1	28.6	14.3	0.0	42.9	42.9	0.0	0.0	14.3	0.0

Source: Data on regional distribution from 1976 to 1984 were collected using Japan's Gaikō Seisyo (Diplomatic Bluebook) and the data from 1991 to 2015 using Wagakuni no Seifu Gaihatsu Enjo and Seifu Kaihatsu Enjo Hakusyo (Japan's ODA White Paper). Data on sectoral distribution from 1976 to 1988, except from 1980 to 1984, were collected using Japan's Diplomatic Bluebook and the data from 1989 to 2001 using Japan's ODA White Paper. Proportions of sectoral distribution from 2002 to 2015 were calculated, using the brief of the GCGA projects on MOFA homepage (ODA anken kensaku) http://www3.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/oda/display.php?in_anken_name=&in_area_id=&in_scheme_id=7&in_year=&in_country_id= (search date: 10 February, 2017).

Note: Data on regional distribution from 1985 to 1990 and by sector from 1980 to 1984 were not available. Proportions of regional distribution from 1991 to 1999 are a ratio in total volume.

Besides KOICA, other organizations including the Cultural Heritage Administration, the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (a Cultural Heritage Administration-affiliated organization), and the South Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation have been involved in implementing South Korea's cultural ODA projects. Since 2015, South Korea has participated in international cooperation for the restoration of Angkor in Cambodia and launched the Preah Pithu Conservation and Restoration Project in Angkor Thom. Supported by KOICA, the South Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation is in charge of establishing the master plan for the conservation and restoration of Preah Pithu by 2018. This project includes the provision of equipment for the restoration of ruins, the construction of laboratories, and technical cooperation for enhancing Cambodian experts' skills (Jeon, 2017). The National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage has dispatched specialists to Asian countries in order to enhance local skills for the preservation and management of cultural heritage through an On-site Technical Training Program. This program has been implemented in Mongolia, Cambodia, Myanmar, Bhutan, and Sri Lanka since 2013 (National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, unknown).

3. Japan's cultural ODA projects: Project for the Construction of the Kaman–Kalehöyük Archaeological Museum in Turkey

As noted above, since 2005, projects for the construction of cultural facilities have accounted for a large part of Japanese cultural ODA. The Project for the Construction of the Kaman-Kalehöyük Archaeological Museum in Turkey was the first of these projects. Granted 436 million yen through GCGA, the project was implemented from 2007 to 2009 with an aim "to contribute to the development of archaeology and the preservation of cultural property in Turkey and to the promotion of tourism in the Kaman area, by constructing the museum for rehabilitation, preservation and display of artifacts excavated from

the Kaman-Kalehöyük archaeological site” (House of Councillors, 2008: 123). With a 1,300 m² area, the museum is located in Çağırkan, Kaman. The Kajima Corporation won a bid for its construction worth 397 million yen. The Japan Foundation dispatched experts to the museum for handling the display.

Before the establishment of the new museum, only a few artifacts from the ancient site of Kaman-Kalehöyük were displayed at the Kırşehir Museum, with most being warehoused by the Turkish government. The Kırşehir Museum received only 701 visitors in 2004 (JICA, 2005: 2). Since 2014, the Kaman-Kalehöyük Archaeological Museum has charged five lira (about 220 yen) for admission, with more than 70,000 visitors in 2015 (JIAA, 2015).

To further encourage tourism, the Turkish government shared the cost of preparing equipment inside the museum and assisted with local development in Kaman, including road construction around Kaman-Kalehöyük (House of Councillors, 2008: 125; MOFA, 2012: 74). It is noteworthy that the Middle Eastern Culture Center of Japan (MECCJ) and the Japanese Institute of Anatolian Archaeology (JIAA), an affiliated institute of MECCJ, played essential roles in implementing the project. MECCJ and JIAA have been conducting excavation and research activities at the ancient site of Kaman-Kalehöyük since 1985, promoting local people’s understanding of the importance of the site and its history (JICA, 2005: 2; Sugimoto, 2011: 654). After the construction of the museum, the JIAA has continued to play a role for both the museum and the locals, holding regular study events for children and training human resources to manage the museum in the future (ODA hyōka yūsikisyā kaigi, 2009: 36).

4. South Korea’s cultural ODA project: the Project for the Construction of a National Museum in the DRC

With the launch of the Project of the Construction of a National Museum in the DRC, South Korea began providing ODA to promote culture in a partner country. This project can hence be considered the pilot project of South Korea’s

cultural ODA.

Located in the capital of the DRC, the National Museum of Kinshasa, with its old-fashioned warehouse-like building, was unable to properly exhibit the nation's history and culture. The conditions in which the artifacts were kept were poor, and they were susceptible to damage. The construction of the National Museum was a DRC governmental project to preserve and protect the DRC's national heritage and contribute to national consciousness (KOICA, 2011: 5, 10).

The DRC attempted to build the museum in the early 1960s following independence; however, it was frustrated by political turmoil and the Civil War. In the 1970s, the Mobutu government showed a strong will to preserve cultural heritage, collecting approximately 45,000 artifacts. However, the construction of the museum was hindered by political changes in the country. The museum project was transferred from a Presidential body to the Ministry of Culture, and has stagnated ever since (KOICA, 2011: 12).

The South Korean project for a DRC museum came at the request of the President of the DRC during the visit of the former South Korean President, Lee Myung-Bak, in 2011. This is a large project, with a budget of approximately 200 million USD from 2012 to 2018. A basic design study of the National Museum was created in 2013. The project is currently underway, after the Sangmyung University and the Global Development Cooperation Consulting Co. (international development cooperation consultancy firm) were selected for the Joint Project Management Consultancy (PMC) in July 2014. The PMC is charged with supervising the establishment of a master plan for the museum, dispatching experts, consulting construction and exhibitions, capacity building, and reviews. In May 2015, an architectural firm and a construction management company were selected. On July 27, 2016, the construction of the museum was launched with a groundbreaking ceremony. In July 2017, the master plan was confirmed and delivered to the Institut des Musées Nationaux du Congo (IMNC). A ceremony for the completion of the museum was held in June 2019, and the museum officially opened in November 23, 2019.

V. Japan's and South Korea's cultural ODA and the interplay between international norms and domestic ideas

The previous section included an examination of general trends and two Japanese and South Korean cultural ODA projects. In this section, we examine the hypotheses set out in the second section. In addition to the two case studies above, this section includes an analysis of the second data set on the purpose of Japan's cultural ODA (Table. 2).

In Japan and South Korea, cultural ODA is intended for multiple purposes and its provision is dependent on the following ideas. First, both Japan and South Korea consider that cultural ODA helps strengthen their soft power, as shown in the literature. In Japan, many cultural ODA projects have been implemented to share Japanese experience, and to expand Japanese culture. In particular, three kinds of projects—projects for improving TV programs, Japanese language-learning equipment, and judo equipment—have been significant contributors to this aim, and are distinguished from other equipment provision projects in Table 2 accordingly. Projects for the improvement of TV programs are implemented in the form of funding to purchase Japanese education programs or documentaries. Viewers in partner countries can “share Japan's experience that accomplished economic growth, preserving traditional culture, and promote their understanding of and to foster a sense of affinity towards Japan” (MOFA, 2013). The Project in Turkey is symbolic of friendly relations between Japan and Turkey. A grand opening ceremony of the museum was held on July 10, 2010, as part of “Japan Year 2010 in Turkey” (Turkish Embassy Office of the Cultural and Information Counsellor, 2010).

In addition, bilateral relations (connections) at the governmental and private levels between Japan and the recipient country appear to affect the allocation of Japanese cultural aid. For example, most projects for strengthening the function of TV broadcasts were provided to countries such as Botswana, Costa Rica, and

Argentina, whose governments had adopted Japan's digital terrestrial television broadcasting system. Several projects were also provided to orchestras working with Japanese artists (e.g., the Project for the Improvement of Musical Instruments of the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra) or universities, museums, and galleries conducting events themed on Japan (e.g., the Project for the Improvement of Equipment for Restoration of Collections of the National Gallery of Armenia).

The South Korean government's decision to construct the DRC National Museum was politically motivated. South Korea intended to enhance its national image and to obtain the status of a developed country by constructing a national museum as a cultural ODA project. South Korea sought to pass on its cultural heritage preservation technologies to developing nations and help them secure the power of cultural technology (KOICA, 2011: 131). It is noteworthy, however, that South Korea has come to pay more attention to the international aid agenda and give consideration to indicators such as aid effectiveness. South Korea drastically increased its aid to the DRC in 2005, especially since it recognized, much like China and Japan did, Africa as a partner for its resource diplomacy. In 2012, South Korea chose the DRC as one of its priority partner countries in Africa because of the latter's higher need for aid and the potential for effective aid implementation, as well as its importance in diplomatic and economic relations with South Korea. However, the DRC, together with Cameroon and Nigeria, was excluded from the category of priority partner due to worsening governance resulting from conflicts with the rebel army and its debt problem (Office for Government Policy Coordination, 2016: 3).

Furthermore, in Japan and South Korea, cultural ODA has been implemented to promote and preserve local culture in partner countries. Japan and South Korea consider that culture contributes to the re-establishment of national identity, social stability, improvement of income, and poverty reduction in partner countries. As Table 2 indicates, Japan's cultural ODA aims to develop culture and education in developing countries and deepen friendship and mutual understanding (MOFA, 2015a: 29). Indeed, many projects have been aimed at

preserving and promoting culture or advancing education and research, including the development of human resources and education in a partner country.

Some Japanese cultural ODA projects, especially those relating to judo and music, are provided to promote ethnic harmonization, social stability, and peace-building by supporting healthy growth among young people in certain countries after the Civil War. The Projects for the Improvement of Judo Equipment of the State Agency of Physical Training and Sports under the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic in 2011 and the Improvement of Musical Instruments of the Kosovo Philharmonic Orchestra in 2012 are the examples that intended to have social effects in the recipient countries.

Japan has offered continued support for the restoration of Angkor in Cambodia, a country impoverished by the Civil War and poor economic conditions. After founding the Japanese Government Team for Safeguarding Angkor (JSA) in 1994, Japan dispatched Japanese experts to train Cambodian experts. Angkor is a source of Cambodian pride and a symbol of national unity, and Japan's cooperation in restoring it is significant for reconstructing the country and establishing peace in Cambodia (Enoki, 1999: 109-116). As noted previously, Japan has several channels for international cultural exchange. This project is being implemented in cooperation with France and is funded by the UNESCO/Japan Trust Fund for the Preservation of World Cultural Heritage. However, Japan has also supported the restoration of Angkor through cultural ODA programs such as the Project for the Improvement of the Equipment for the Restoration of the Western Causeway of Angkor Wat in 2013.

Similarly, South Korea believes that cultural ODA foster the culture of the recipients; establish a base for creative industries to produce newfound value to help eradicate poverty; strengthen recipients' identity and pride through discovering, protecting, and using traditional cultural resources; and enhance global cultural diversity by supporting the exchange and distribution of culture. A cultural ODA is a project that utilizes government funding to increase the enjoyment of culture among the recipients and to contribute to cultural, social, and economic development by supporting the cultural sector's human and

material activities, with the recipient's pride and sentiment in mind. This is not a project that focuses on hardware or software; rather, it is concerned with mutual communication. Material profit is not the only goal and it seeks to establish the identity and pride of the developing nation (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, 2010: 37-38).

Third, and importantly, both Japan and South Korea have developed the norm of "culture and development", reflecting their original ideas and beliefs based on their respective development experiences and national identities, which differ from those of Western donor countries. As Table 2 shows, Japan has considered the economic effects in the partner country when providing cultural ODA. In every edition since 2008, with the exception of 2010, Japan's ODA White Paper named "cultural rehabilitation (preservation) and promotion" as a means of supporting "sustainable growth" in developing countries. The preservation and promotion of cultural heritage aim to contribute to "tourism, to develop the socio-economic environment of surrounding areas for local residents" (MOFA, 2015b: 72) and can "raise people's income" (MOFA, 2009: 65). Many projects, including projects for the construction of the Petra Museum in Jordan in 2013-2014, the Improvement of the Equipment for the Restoration of the Western Causeway of Angkor Wat in 2013, and the Construction of the Kaman-Kalehöyük Archaeological Museum were intended to promote regional tourism.

Japan's preferred means of providing ODA (e.g., its preference for economic infrastructure) are based on its strong belief in poverty reduction through economic growth. This idea has become more pronounced as Western donors have concentrated their aid in social sectors following the adoption of the 2001 Millennium Development Goals. However, the emphasis on economic development is partly due to ambiguities in the definition of cultural ODA. In the 1960s, UNESCO adopted the concept of culture and tourism because aid programs for preserving cultural heritage were not eligible for the definition of ODA, per DAC. If culture is connected with income increases in developing countries, cultural aid can be admitted as an ODA program (Enoki, 2000:

52-53).

For South Korea, a shared experience of colonial rule with the partner country was a factor facilitating the initiation of the Project in the DRC. This project is about more than building a museum; it is about organizing the DRC's history and culture and presenting and identifying its historical consciousness and national identity. The Congolese emphasized that this project was not intended to build a South Korean Museum in the DRC but to build a Congolese Museum for the Congolese people, with South Korean aid. This project has difficulties beyond those relating to construction. It must show an unbiased history of the DRC without being swayed by Belgium, its former colonizer, or the current Congolese government. The contextualization of the history of the Congo by South Korea, which shares an experience of being colonized, is meaningful, and it may provide a model for organizing the rest of Africa's history. In short, South Korea faces an important task in aiding the government of the DRC in its contextualization or reconceptualization of the Congo's history and culture through the establishment of the new national museum, for which unbiased historical and cultural content is essential. To this end, the PMC of South Korea held a round table on 23 July, 2015, together with the IMNC. Experts were invited from multiple fields, including 13 prominent DRC scholars in history, linguistics, politics, arts, and anthropology from the Université de Kinshasa; the Université Pédagogique Nationale; the Université Catholique du Congo; the Archives Nationales du Congo; DRC UNESCO; and IMNC. The aim of the round table was to initiate a discussion of DRC's history and culture between various experts and to produce historical and cultural content for the national museum.

In sum, although the norm of "culture and development" has been recognized and complied with by Japan and South Korea, its incorporation into cultural ODA is affected by domestic ideas in both countries, as we hypothesized in section two. The implementation of cultural ODA was not a dichotomous choice for Japan and South Korea, i. e., whether they incorporate it into their ODA performance or reject to do so. Rather, the norm of "culture and development"

was adapted for Japan and South Korea's cultural ODA in line with pre-existing domestic ideas regarding the different aspects of development drawn from their development experience and national identity. By focusing on Japan and South Korea, we could examine the interplay between international norms and domestic ideas. In addition, Japan and South Korea have provided cultural ODA in pursuit of national interests as a means to strengthen their soft power. Linking international norms to national interest is an effective way to increase the domestic salience of norms that conflict with pre-existing domestic beliefs (Cortell and Davis, 2005).

<Table 2> The Purposes of Japan's Cultural ODA (a number of projects)

year	The total number of projects	to preserve and promote culture	to advance education and research	to promote sports	to strengthen the functions of TV broadcast	to contribute in economy	to contribute in society	to share Japanese experience	to increase interexchange with Japan	to expand Japanese culture
2007	10	2	3	1	0	1	0	0	9	7
2008	5	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	2
2009	23	6	6	3	0	1	3	0	18	4
2010	12	6	4	1	3	2	2	1	13	2
2011	6	0	3	0	1	1	2	1	4	1
2012	5	2	4	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
2013	7	1	2	0	2	2	0	5	1	0
2014	8	2	6	0	1	1	0	3	2	0
2015	7	1	4	1	2	2	1	2	1	0
total	83	21	33	7	11	11	9	12	52	17

Source: the data was collected, using the brief of the GCGA projects on MOFA homepage (ODA anken kensaku) http://www3.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/oda/display.php?in_anken_name=&in_area_id=&in_scheme_id=7&in_year=&in_country_id= (search date: 10 February, 2017).

VI. Conclusion

With the spread of cultural values in development, the international donor community has come to share ideas of international cooperation for promoting culture in developing countries. Examining Japan and South Korea's cultural ODA on the basis of constructivist assumptions, we found that Japan and South Korea have implemented the norm of "culture and development", in combination with domestic ideas based on their own development experiences and national identities.

However, we also note some limitations in the cultural ODA programs implemented by Japan and South Korea. By addressing these limitations, one can focus on the importance of international cooperation in promoting and preserving the cultures of developing countries. First, Japan and South Korea still give cultural ODA a lower priority in their overall ODA policies, and their implementation of cultural ODA remains limited. In Japan, most cultural ODA has been limited to small-scale projects for the purchase of equipment although larger projects for the construction of cultural facilities have increased in recent years. Although cultural ODA projects to construct a museum have recently been initiated in South Korea, the government continues to provide cultural ODA in the form of small-scale projects in the absence of the institutional capacity to manage larger undertakings. In 2015, the Mongolian government asked South Korea to construct a natural history museum, and a feasibility study was subsequently conducted (Baek, 2016). However, South Korea has not responded to the request because it lacks a natural history museum of its own. In addition, the Moon Jae-in administration is placing higher priority on domestic problems, making it difficult to expand ODA budgets to include cultural ODA.

Second, in Japan and South Korea, support for cultural aspects in partner countries has been implemented through several bilateral and multilateral channels, as well as ODA. In some cases, ODA schemes and other institutions

have cooperatively implemented cultural ODA projects as we noted in the previous sections. However, institutional segmentation may hamper both the efficient management of limited aid budgets and effective linkage among individual projects. The systemization of cultural ODA schemes and institutional integration would help Japan and South Korea to expand and sustainably implement cultural ODA in the future. To this end, an internationally recognized methodology and standards for cultural ODA is required.

Finally, the case studies show that it is important to complement governmental action with exchange and cooperation at the private level and expert assistance in the field of area studies in order to improve the implementation of cultural ODA programs. To this end, it is equally important to draw from local cultures and understandings.

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한국과 일본의 공적개발원조와 “문화와 개발”: 국제규범과 국내 아이디어의 상호작용

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국문요약

문화는 여러 면에서 개발에 많은 공헌을 한다. 그럼에도 불구하고 원조공여국의 문화증진을 위한 지원 실태는 선행연구의 부족으로 인해 많은 부분이 설명되어 오지 않았다. 또한, 선행연구에서의 문화는 원조공여국의 문화, 혹은 원조공여국의 문화 외교적 측면을 설명하는 데에 사용되어왔다.

이 연구는 국제사회의 문화적 다양성과 개발에 있어서의 문화의 역할을 염두에 두고, 한국과 일본의 문화 분야 ODA를 검토하는 것을 목적으로 한다. 이 목적을 위해, 이 연구는 한국과 일본의 문화 분야 ODA 프로그램에 나타나는 전반적인 특성을 제시하고, 터키의 카만 카레호유크 고고학박물관 건립사업(일본 ODA)과 콩고민주공화국의 국립박물관 건립사업(한국 ODA)의 사례를 분석하였다.

이 연구는 한국과 일본의 문화 분야 ODA 프로그램이 국제사회에서 발전된 문화와 개발에 관한 규범을 준수해 왔다는 것을 보여준다. 그러나 그것은 단순한 국제규범의 제도화로 볼 수 없으며, 각국의 개발 경험과 국가 정체성에 의해 형성된 국내 개발 아이디어와의 상호작용을 통한 국제규범의 내재화였다는 것을 보여준다. 또한, 이 연구는 한국과 일본이 문화 분야의 ODA를 자국의 소프트 파워를 증진하기 위해 어떻게 활용해 왔는지도 보여준다.

【핵심어】 문화와 개발; 문화분야 ODA; 국제규범; 국내 아이디어; 소프트 파워; 한국; 일본

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저자 김효숙은 일본 난잔대학에서 정책학 박사학위를 취득하였다. 주요 연구 분야는 국제규범과 원조공여국의 정책 결정, 한국의 대 아프리카 외교 등이며, 현재 일본 간사이외국어대학 영어국제학부 부교수(associate professor)로 재직 중이다.

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저자 김광수는 남아프리카공화국 노스-웨스트 대학교에서 역사학으로 박사학위를 받았다. 주요 연구 활동 분야는 아프리카 지역학이며, 현재 한국외국어대학교 아프리카연구소에서 HK교수로 재직하고 있다.

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