SOFT POWER AND CULTURAL RELATIONS APPROACHES

IN INTERNATIONAL HERITAGE PROTECTION

A Study Commissioned from the British Council

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report analyzes how, and to what extent, international heritage protection approaches can be understood from *soft power* and *cultural relations* perspectives. Chief among the findings is a similarity among the European approaches, and the weightage placed on public diplomacy in the United States.

Soft power derives its legitimacy from a country's values, institutions, and foreign policy. The instrument for mobilizing a country's soft power abroad is public diplomacy, and therefore the state features prominently in projecting soft power abroad. This power of persuasion is based on intangible resources such as the attractiveness of an international actor's culture and values. But it also depends on the values and culture of the target audience.

Cultural relations involve reciprocal interactions between societies to include state and non-state actors. Cultural relations foster participation, dialogues, reciprocity, and trust.

Culture as a shared value is openly discussed in all the country reports analyzed in this study. This universal notion of shared value can be traced back to cosmopolitan notions of cultural heritage as they developed through organizations such as UNESCO. Culture as a shared value also manifests itself in the programming funded by the four countries analyzed in this report.

Fostering long-term commitments and engagement with the local community and the national level representatives from relevant institutions is a natural outcome of cultural heritage protection. This principle of partnerships is embedded in all the four countries' programming. It is emphasized most explicitly in the British Council and the Prince Claus Fund documents.

The quantitative analysis in the report demonstrates that although some aspects of cultural relations and soft power are mutually exclusive, there is also a significant overlap between the two approaches. The overlap between cultural relations and various forms of diplomacy can both

strengthen and challenge foreign policy establishments to think beyond instrumental foreign policy goals.

Key words are analysed in this report for the presence of soft power and cultural relations values in the four countries' cultural heritage preservation programs. Of the 923 key words selected from the reports for analysis, 106 were exclusively soft power, 113 were exclusively cultural relations, and 684 were both. Examples of <u>soft power key words are</u>: diplomatic, embassy, foreign policy, ministry, and political. <u>Cultural relations keywords include</u>: community-based, mutual, reciprocal, local, participant, exchange. <u>Common to both are</u>: development, evaluation, governance, heritage, international, monitor, and support. When common keywords are considered, the Norwegian approach to cultural preservation was distinct from other countries that shared keywords.

One of the important findings of this study is the difference between overall cultural relations and soft power approaches across the four countries studied here. The cultural relations approaches seem to converge among European countries and are generally similar to each other. However, there is a wide variation in soft power approaches. In particular, the U.S. documents eschew the term soft power in favor of the term public diplomacy in describing the U.S. approach. The correlation coefficients for similarity of cultural relations approaches were higher than those for soft power approaches among the four countries. Further, the coefficients for European countries were closer to each other than that of the United States.

As stakeholders in cultural preservation, the four donor agencies analyzed in this report bring high interest and high resources to cultural preservations. Those affected also have high interest, but often low resources.

The degree of interest and resources among various stakeholders helps specify both the theory of change and results chain in cultural preservation. The donor agencies are attractive because of their goodwill and resources, and the projects push forward best with local partnerships.

Introduction

This report compares the United Kingdom's cultural heritage protection approaches globally to those of the United States, the Netherlands, and Norway. The British Council's Cultural Protection Fund (CPF) was set up in partnership with the Department for Digital, Culture, Media, and Sport, to protect heritage at risk, both in its tangible and intangible forms (British Council, 2018). The primary objective is economic and cultural development through the means of culture and heritage protection (British Council 2019. The fund aims to keep sites and objects safe, by recording, conservation, and restoration of such sites and objects. Furthermore, it provides training and education to local communities, in its 12 target countries, "enabling and empowering them in the long-term value, care for and benefit from their cultural heritage" (British Council, 2019).

This report analyzes how, and to what extent, international heritage protection approaches can be understood from *soft power* and *cultural relations* perspectives. Chief among the findings is a similarity among the European approaches, and the weightage placed on public diplomacy in the United States.

The concepts of soft power and cultural relations, and their relationship to cultural heritage protection are discussed first in the report before turning to empirical findings. Both soft power and cultural relations approaches assist with a country's standing in international interactions. Soft power derives its legitimacy from a country's values, institutions, and foreign policy. The instrument for mobilizing a country's soft power abroad is public diplomacy, and therefore the state features prominently in projecting soft power abroad. "Soft power is a process rather than an outcome in itself," which can deliver a series of influence and attraction outcomes to improve a country's image abroad (Nye, 2021).

The term 'cultural relations' owes its origins to the British Council and describes its approach towards intercultural and development work. It is "the mutual exchange of culture between peoples to develop long-term relationships, trust, and understanding for the purpose of generating genuine goodwill and influence abroad" (Rivera 2015, 11). Cultural relations involve reciprocal interactions between societies to include state and non-state actors. Cultural relations

foster participation, dialogues, reciprocity, and trust. In other words, cultural relations approaches are people-oriented and feature partnerships with local communities. Cultural protection involves issues of tangible and intangible heritage through social networks that mobilize issues such as cultural identity, collective memory, and cultural practices (Anheier and Isar 2011).

Given the multiplicity of actors and meanings involved in cultural protection, this report leans toward conceptual and empirical approaches that address the evolution of cultural protection to connect them with soft power and cultural relations values. In both cases, the report emphasizes the presence of shared values, which makes cultural protection especially conducive for both soft power and cultural relations purposes. One connecting tissue between cultural relations and soft power is that of cultural diplomacy: "an actor's engagement with the foreign public through intervention in the cultural field which may include facilitating the export of an aspect of the actor's cultural life" (Cull, 2019, 61).

The empirical analysis provides an account of the extent to which the four main countries in this report practice soft power, cultural relations, or a combination of both. Each of these three categories is conceptualized, operationalized, and measured exclusive of each other. The content analysis of project documents and evaluations distinguishes soft power and cultural relations processes toward cultural preservation from the UK, Netherlands, Norway, and the US. We also provide quantitative models (incorporating n-gram and SNA techniques) comparing the soft power and cultural relations approaches for the four countries. For empirical purposes, we review reports and material from US Ambassadors' Fund[1], Prince Clauss Heritage Protection Emergency Fund[2], Norwegian Support to the Protection of Cultural Heritage[3] and the British Council's Cultural Protection Fund.

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[1] https://eca.state.gov/files/bureau/afcp_final_evaluation_report_final_11.18.2019.pdf
[2] https://issuu.com/princeclausfund/docs/moving_worlds_evaluation_2012-2015_?e=29591186/60490493
[3] https://www.oecd.org/countries/nepal/43971499.pdf

Part I: Conceptualizing Soft Power, Cultural Relations, and Cultural Heritage

The soft power and cultural relations of heritage protection address one state or society's care and attention for another's tangible and intangible representations of memory and identity. The word patrimony, the equivalent of heritage in many places, calls further attention to the intergenerational transfer of such representations or property within a society.

Culture can be taken to mean human beings' aesthetic, symbolic or linguistic expressions or it can encompass a community or organization's ways of life. While related, the expressions refer to human creative endeavors, the latter to the anthropology of everyday life. Cultural expressions and ways of life are connected through notions of memory and collective identity (Isar et al. 2011). In fact, cultural expressions' importance to memory and identity makes them important targets for the onset of violence. Destroying cultural heritage or banning cultural expressions are attacks on collective memories and identity (Bevan 2006; Viejo-Rose 2015). While cultural protection may involve routine work through time, most often it entails protection and restoration during or after conflict, or long periods of neglect through history.

The following sections describe the connections between soft power, cultural relations, and heritage. In the 1950s, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization championed the notion of heritage as consisting of universal values. A concrete expression of these efforts was the World Heritage Program that formally started in 1972 after the passage of UNESCO's Convention on the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The bilateral measures to preserve cultural heritage discussed in this report parallel universal notions of caring enshrined in international instruments, but they depart in two important ways. Unlike UNESCO that acts as a caretaker or world guide for heritage, bilateral measures build cultural relations or understandings among donor and host societies, and they accrue value to external donors in the form of increasing their soft power and cultural appeal. The United States is explicit in connecting its cultural heritage efforts with public and cultural diplomacy. After a brief review of soft power, cultural relations, and cultural heritage separately, a sub-section below connects the various threads to outlines and discusses the intersections among the three.

Soft Power

The vocabulary of soft power added attraction rather than coercion as means for a country to get what it wants. Power, as traditionally conceived, was the ability of X to get Y to do something. Coercion backed with military power or threats can be viewed as the ultimate instrument of such power. Such notions of power do not attend to everyday acts of attraction, goodwill, or caring. Y may do something because they like X. Joseph Nye who coined the concept of soft power defined it as "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies" (Nye 2004). Culture is central to the notion of soft power: attraction is easier to practice when it appeals to another's way of life or its aesthetic representations or heritage.

Soft power attracts actors to the table, but other diplomatic instruments are necessary to affect outcomes. Just as a military threat may lead to diplomacy and negotiations to alter outcomes, instruments of soft power can further a country's interests. Chief among these is public and cultural diplomacy. Nye wrote that public diplomacy is "the instrument that governments use to mobilize these (soft power) resources (i.e. values, culture and policies) to communicate with and attract the publics of other countries, rather than merely governments" (Nye 2008). Such instruments include broadcasting, use of social media or digital diplomacy, or cultural exchanges. Cultural values are an important element of soft power, therefore aligning cultural values in foreign policy through cultural diplomacy is an important resource for building relationships and affecting outcomes in one's favor.

Soft power—as a concept—was first born out of scholar Joseph Nye's belief in the primacy of the behavioral definition of power. As he explains, the concept developed as he was trying to solve two puzzles, one relating to the international relations discipline and the other to policy. The policy puzzle came from the question of "how to respond to the widespread view that American power was in decline" (Nye 2021, 4). This later led to the criticism that soft power merely expressed dominant forms of cultural production in the United States (Ang, Isen and Mar 2015). Even before Nye wrote of soft power, American dominance in the world had been attributed to cultural industries such as Hollywood, which the U.S. government was unafraid to promote or coopt (da Grazia 2005; Jarvie 1992).

The disciplinary puzzle had to do with the dominance of realism in international relations during the 1980s. Around this time, Nye collaborated with scholar Robert O. Keohane to publish their book *Power and Independence: World Politics in Transition*; they were labeled neo-liberals given the three ideal-type models of power they described, which also included a complex dimension of "interdependence where states were not the only significant actors, security was not the primary issue, and the military was not the primary power resource" (Nye 2021, 4). Nye explains that he was misunderstood in that he never rejected realism but instead considered it incomplete: "Analysts should start with the overall structure of power and realism, but not stop there" (Nye 2021, 4).

The way Nye uses the term "soft power" does not encompass everything, as is often incorrectly suggested by critics. Resources can contribute to soft power, but soft power is identified as a *pull factor* that depends on legitimate agenda setting, persuasion, the attractiveness of values, and the "impression of kindness, competence, or charisma" (Nye 2021, 6). Nye explains hard power as a *push factor* employing "the use of force, payment, and some agenda setting based on it." As he further clarifies, the attractiveness of soft power depends on the beholder or the target and varies by context. Furthermore, "the power of attraction is not inherently liberal or Western" since a Hollywood film, for example, "may produce attraction in Brazil at the same time it produces repulsion in Saudi Arabia" (Nye 2021, 6).

The actor generating soft power is also not always clear cut. Hard power resources can generate soft power outcomes as seen in the soft power generated by the US navy ships providing tsunami relief to Indonesia in 2004 and the subsequent rise in pro-American attitudes in that country due to those efforts (Nye 2021, 6). Therefore, soft and hard power resources vary on a spectrum rather than being clearly distinguishable. The example he gives is agenda setting via manipulation, which would fit into the hard power category as opposed to more welcoming and legitimate agenda setting, which fits into the soft power category. Soft power is "the ability for the state to achieve its aims through attraction or endearment rather than coercion" (Luke and Kersel 2012, 4).

The links that Nye draws between soft and hard power, and their close association with foreign policy, are important for recognizing and empirically establishing soft power elements in cultural heritage work.

How the Concept Evolved

Elements of soft power have been identified since the beginnings of Hollywood (Jarvie 1992), or the fight against Soviet propaganda shortly after World War II, such as in cultural programming introduced via the 1948 Smith-Mundt Act (Schneider 2010 Luke and Kersel 2012, 201). However, the concept was coined, as explained above, to bridge a gap in the understandings of power in the discipline of international relations. It was later openly endorsed by policymakers, initially outside of the United States since American foreign policy is often couched in the language of strength and toughness. After 9/11, even though there was an emphasis on ways to fight radicalization and the need to attract moderates, it was only in the last few years that the institutions of hard power in the United States have begun to acknowledge their soft power. For example, the US Navy pronounced soft power as an important part of its strategy. Nye has also argued that soft and hard power can be combined into smart power, a term often used by the former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (Nye 2021, 9-10).

Within the policy world, soft power is integrated into various US agency initiatives such as the Fulbright Commission; programs of the Office of Citizen Exchanges, which aim to promote cross-cultural understanding via people-to-people exchanges; funding through the Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation (AFCP); and the Iraq Cultural Heritage Project (ICHP), among others. Furthermore, the Council of American Overseas Research Centers— that acts as a U.S. cultural ambassador and promotes U.S. understanding of foreign cultures. Several initiatives from the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities can all be considered examples that promote the US's soft power (Luke and Kersel 2012, 5).

Archeology and Soft Power

Within this context, archeologists and international heritage protection play an important role as potential soft power agents. As Luke and Kersel explain, "A commitment to understanding

the past through the practice of archeology establishes that the United States does care about heritage" (Luke and Kersel 2012, 5). Archeology and heritage protection embody Nye's notions of public diplomacy and smart power through various characteristics—most important of which is continuous communication as archeologists must explain their actions in the host country and disseminate their results globally. Archeologists' grassroots work and their "networks and relationships are extremely useful in creating favorable impressions abroad and in deepening an understanding of what Americans and America represent" (Luke and Kersel 2012, 13).

Soft power and cultural preservation are compatible because both care about heritage preservation. Soft power relies not on coercion but persuasion, the capacity of actors to convince others to pursue goals that match their own (EUNIC, 2018, p. 202). This power of persuasion is based on intangible resources such as the attractiveness of an international actor's culture and values. But it also depends on the values and culture of the target audience. To borrow Nye's words, the soft power of heritage preservation depends on the international actor's "impression of kindness, competence, or charisma" (Nye 2021, 6).

Cultural Heritage Protection as Cultural Relations[4]

Cultural relations involve state and non-state actors and are envisioned as mutual, reciprocal, and engendering trust. Historically, cultural relations involved exchanges in arts and science, education and language, and understandings involving societal issues such as human rights and empowerment. Recent developments have brought in digital interactions, climate change and sustainable development.

Since its foundation in 1934 the British Council has promoted itself as a cultural relations organization, including having coined that phrase. However, cultural relations, as a concept, is hard to define. A previous British Council and Goethe-Institut report (2018) noted: "*Cultural relations are understood as reciprocal transnational interactions between two or more cultures, encompassing a range of activities conducted by state and/or non-state actors within the space of culture and civil society. The overall outcomes of cultural relations are greater connectivity,*

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[4] The first section of this report adapts the analysis from Singh (2019).

better mutual understanding, more and deeper relationships, mutually beneficial transactions and enhanced sustainable dialogue between people and cultures, engagement and attraction rather than coercion" (British Council and Goethe Institut 2018, 7).

These broad norms in cultural relations can be broken up into key roles for the actors involved and the record practices, including the historical evolution of the ways that cultural relations link with foreign policy. The British Council defines its role as supporting the prosperity, security, and influence of the United Kingdom through its cultural relations activities. The notion of cultural relations is expansive to include important ways in which cultures interact through British Council's competences in arts, English learning, education and science, skills and enterprise, young people, civil society and justice, testing and assessment, and women and girls.

The British Council defines its cultural relations work as "friendly knowledge and understanding between the people of the UK and other countries" (Annual Report 2019-20, 4). The evidence for British Council's global cultural engagement is impressive. It has a presence in 109 countries with a staff involvement of 10,000 people. In 2019-20, despite the Coronavirus pandemic, the organization reached 76 million people directly and a total of 983 million including its online programmes, broadcasts, and publications (British Council, Annual Report, 2020, 27).

How the concept evolved

Cultural relations have a lot of similarities with soft power. As explained in the British Council and Goethe-Institut report (2018), "in the broad semantic field of cultural relations, diverse terms are used to refer often to the same phenomenon" and "cultural relations, cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, and soft power form a constellation of terms used to denote cross-border cultural activities that, whether intentionally or not, bear upon a country's reputation, influence, and attractiveness. Cultural relations, cultural diplomacy, and public diplomacy all invoke cultural encounters as a way to bridge understanding between peoples" (British Council and Goethe Institut 2018, 8).

The overlap between cultural relations and various forms of diplomacy can both strengthen and challenge foreign policy establishments. Historically, the role of the cultural attaché or the cultural officer spoke to the strong link between foreign policy and cultural

relations. Three years after starting the Division of Cultural Relations, the United States began appointing cultural officers abroad starting with Latin America. Thomson and Laves (1963) provide a description of the portfolio of these early appointees: "He was supposed to possess a broad and rounded knowledge of the social, educational, scientific, and artistic life of the United States, and of the leading public and private organizations in those areas of activity…He was in short the human channel or rather the human engineer who sought to make the two-way flow of cultural information and experience mutually helpful and useful." (Thomson and Laves 1963, 45).

There are also challenges to the fine lines between cultural relations and diplomacy. Whereas cultural relations involve non-state actors and long-term horizons, diplomacy is often conceived in strategic and instrumental ways. Therefore, a cultural attaché or cultural affairs officer may or may not be suitable for a cultural relations position. A further challenge – which can alternatively be also viewed as an impetus – to a cultural affairs officer's work now comes from the proliferation of new social media and information technologies. Diplomatic practices are now fast changing to accommodate these technologies (Leguey-Feilleux 2009; Pamment 2016). As soft power has become a priority for the conduct of diplomacy, the post of the public diplomacy officer has become salient, alongside that of the cultural attaché, in connecting diplomatic statecraft with non-state actors or the public at large.

The distinction between cultural relations and diplomacy and the need to keep some autonomy for the latter is frequently pointed out. Rivera (2015) notes: "The absence of government is just as important for cultural relations as its presence is for cultural diplomacy. Cultural relations…is the mutual exchange of culture between peoples to develop long-term relationships, trust, and understanding for the purpose of generating genuine goodwill and influence abroad" (Rivera 2015, 11).

In practice, the intersecting lines between cultural relations and foreign policy have often resulted in a messy resolution maintaining both the distinctions and the overlaps. Recent analysts have pointed out that the trend in the United Kingdom has been to maintain some distinction but also to emphasize cultural relations as part of the broader foreign policy establishment. James Pamment (2016) points out the successive reviews of the British Council

have sought to place its work within the goals of the foreign policy goals of government and its public diplomacy. He notes that the 2002 Wilton Review and the 2005 Carter Review following 9/11 were especially important "to investigate how the FCO, BC and other public diplomacy organizations sought to influence foreign citizens in support of the Government's foreign policy goals" (Pamment 2016, 4). The net result of these efforts, notes Pamment, has been to make diplomacy more 'transactional' rather than one fostering dialogues and reciprocity (chapter 8). Pamment also points out the challenge to such an approach within the British Council such as from a study by Martin Rose and Wadham-Smith (2004) which pointed out that the British Council's PD work is at the behest of the government but that its cultural relations work was based on the independence of the British Council.

"If our cultural relations work is seen as indistinguishable in motivation from our public diplomacy work, it will not—and we will not—be trusted, because we risk being seen as a "front" for political interests. This damages not only our ability to do cultural relations; but also our ability to do public diplomacy." (Rose and Wadham-Smith 2004: 35, cited in Pamment 2016: 101)

Cultural Protection and Cultural Relations
The British, US, Dutch, and Norwegian approaches to cultural protection all involve working with state and non-state actors, and engagement with communities at a local level. In the case of British Council's Cultural Protection Fund (CPF) activities during 2016-2020, the organization's international cooperation spans across 12 countries with an emphasis on the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. The Fund's emphasis on the MENA region might relate to the fact that the establishment of CPF coincided with the era in which Syria and Iraq were experiencing active conflicts putting their heritage at risk. In all of 51 grants supported by the CPF funding, an important desired outcome relates to increasing the capacity building at the local level through meaningful engagement with the local community with the belief that this would in turn would create sustainability. In line with UNESCO's people-centered approaches to international heritage protection, CPF believes in the importance of reciprocal relations and local, trust-based approach in administering its projects. In assessing the effects of these long-term relationships,

CPP prepared an evaluation report as it relates to its 2016-2020 activities and found that longer-term impacts were mostly shown with quotes regarding after-effects. As an example, after certain trainings, "three former trainees were now working in a carpentry workshop", or "18 staff who took part in a train-the-trainer scheme had each passed on their skills to a further ten staff" (British Council 2021, 19). In their evaluation reports conducted with British personnel, most of the respondents indicated their perception of increased international and local collaboration as an outcome of their initiatives, even if there was no mention of the "depth, quality, or longevity of engagement" (British Council 2021, 53).

Different from Britain's MENA focus, Norway's heritage protection efforts during 2000-2008 concentrated outside of the MENA region, including collaborations with 15 countries in Asia and 11 countries in Africa. Unlike the other countries, most of Norway's financing has been spent on "multilateral projects (NOK 166 million out of NOK 275 million), with approximately NOK 109 million allocated to bilateral projects" (NORAD 2009, 18). It is also noteworthy that most of Norway's multilateral projects are in Asia, whereas most of its bilateral projects are in Africa. Norway's methodology of operating predominantly within a multilateral framework has some repercussions on the engagement with the local communities. As the NORAD report identifies, there are uncertainties regarding how UNESCO involves local stakeholders and NGOs in their local development projects. As they explain, even if UNESCO is fully aware of the importance of coordinating with local stakeholders, the people interviewed by NORAD "this is a great challenge for the organization in a time when more and more focus is on the extra-budgetary activities" (Norad 2009, 36). Some of Norway's bilateral initiatives, especially in Africa, such as the cooperation with Kungoni Centre of Culture and Art regarding the creation of a research centre on Malawi cultures involves more direct communication and cooperation with the local community.

U.S. Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation (AFCP) more recent work on cultural heritage preservation includes countries from different regions across the globe. Each year, approximately $6 million funding is allocated to 40 projects from around the world and "since its inception, the AFCP has supported more than 1000 projects in 133 countries" (the U.S. Department of State 2019a, 1). Different from some of the other evaluation reports, the AFCP

evaluation also includes surveys with local businesses despite the limitations on the representativeness of these surveys due to potential selection bias. The applicants are encouraged to include local organizations or universities. In assessing the effects of the AFCP initiatives on the local context, there was often anecdotal evidence of how the projects contributed to "host countries' priorities, such as promoting economic growth" or "improving host countries' management of cultural heritage, including local ownership of AFCP site management" (the U.S. Department of State 2019b, v). One difference of the AFCP funding can be attributed to the hands-off approach towards the grantees. Grantees often associated this hands-off approach symbolizing no interference by the U.S. Embassy/Consulate staff at the implementation stage, and no burdensome monitoring requirements, "as a reflection of local ownership of projects, affording grantees a high level of freedom to complete the work" (the U.S. Department of State 2019b, 12). Despite this positivity, however, one of the shortcomings mentioned by the AFCP project evaluators include the effects being limited to local communities that are in close proximity to AFCP projects—as a sign of insufficient media or public engagement at the local level (U.S. Department of State 2019b, 14). As an example, "41 percent of surveyed visitors/neighboring residents knew of US funding for Chankillo" initiative in Peru but 0% of the local businesses surveyed reported awareness regarding Chankillo. Cambodia showed the lowest levels of awareness for two AFCP projects both among the visitor/resident surveys and the local business surveys (US Department of State 2019b, 15).

The Netherlands also gives great importance in building a local and regional capacity to rescue cultural heritage. They give attention to executing their initiatives with the involvement of local communities. Some of the outputs used by the Prince Claus Fund (PCF) projects include local craftspeople involved/trained, among others (PCF 2000, 17). Furthermore, PCF pays attention to local recognition via their seed, mentorship, and impact awards. As an example, with their impact awards, they aim to recognize change makers from the Fund's working countries at ceremonies conducted both in Amsterdam as well as in the local community. As an example, Syrian photographer, Omer Imam, received a PCF grant in 2015 which led to his successful exhibits in Middle East, Europe, Asia and USA. Subsequently, Imam published "Live Love Refugee" in New York Times and Time Magazine and won the 2017 "Tim Hetherington" Visionary Award

(PCF 2000, 59). Imam is a good example of PCF's vision of supporting local change-makers in inspiring other young local actors.

Cultural Heritage Protection

Narrowly defined, cultural protection pertains to tangible and intangible heritage. Broadly, both are embedded in social networks and relations, which are key to not just cultural protection but also for cultural relations. The scope of cultural protection has expanded over time in line with the broadening of the scope of what constitutes cultural heritage. In the past, the emphasis was on preserving tangible aspects of shared legacy such as buildings, historical places, monuments, and artifacts, among others. Over time and especially since the 2003 *UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, what is worthy of protection started to include new cultural domains such as "oral traditions and expressions, including language,…performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and traditional craftsmanship" (UNESCO 2003). Despite this distinction, the tangible and intangible are closely connected in that the intangible cultural heritage can be manifested in tangible forms, such as "knowledge and skills to build musical instruments" being "manifested…in the instruments built" (van Zanten, 39).

The rise of the Islamic State and the destruction they have caused has led to further UN efforts to protect cultural heritage. In 2015, with the use of geospatial information, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) published satellite photos showing that ISIS militants had destroyed the Temple of Bel in Palmyra which led to Italy's proposition in the UN General Assembly to create the "Blue Helmets for Culture"—an "emergency task force for culture...bringing together cultural heritage experts and the Italian carabinieri force" (UNESCO 2016). Furthermore, December 2016 witnessed another international conference in Abu Dhabi to emphasize the nations' "common determination to safeguard the endangered cultural heritage of all peoples, against its destruction and illicit trafficking" and to reemphasize the successive conventions since 1899 that "require us to protect human life, as well as cultural property in times of armed conflict" (Fiankan-Bokonga 2017).

As seen in the previous paragraphs, there is a heightened global awareness when it comes to treating culture as a common value and to protecting it collectively. In 2017, the adoption of UN Resolution 2347 was another important milestone in this regard. With this decision, an international fund was created, and the UN Security Council formally recognized the importance of cultural heritage protection for security (Fiankan-Bokonga 2017; UN 2017). It took a while to reach a unanimous global decision but finally, the international community unanimously demonstrated its political determination for cultural heritage protection. As Fiankan-Bokonga explains, "For the first time in history, a UN resolution covers the full range of threats to cultural heritage, without any geographical limitations and regardless of whether the perpetrators of the crimes are terrorist groups already on UN lists or belong to other armed groups" (Fiankan-Bokonga 2017).

How the Concept Evolved[5]

Cultural protection has evolved from almost imperialistic ideas of heritage conservation framed in the 19th century to notions of cultural protection rooted in participation. The idea of heritage conservation originates in the nineteenth century. Art critic and poet John Ruskin noted in 1880 that preserving historical architecture was a necessity during the industrial revolution: "*We have no right whatsoever to touch them*. They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them, and partly to all generations of mankind who are to follow." (quoted in Klamer and Throsby 2000, 138-139). While our current conceptions of universal value in world heritage may be traced to these ideas, we can equally detect traces of linear, imperial, and expert-led thinking that would form the basis of critiques of these heritage ideas. The British and other colonizing nations not only impressed these ideas upon the world but also appropriated for themselves the mantle of curation. They carried away, and continue to hold, treasures from around the world in the name of conservation. The case of marbles taken by Lord Elgin from the Parthenon in the first decade of the nineteenth century is perhaps the best-known example and continues to cause strife. The New Acropolis Museum in Athens features blank spots in the exhibit for these marbles to be returned from Britain. Further afield in the colonies, the British

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[5] This section adapts some text from Singh 2011 & 2014.

ideas of conservation removed agency from the people. Cultural artefacts were preserved in various sites, while their designs, photographs, replicas, and samples were taken to England: "Such photographs of ruins and remote monuments are paradigmatic of the 'museumizing imagination,' a Western development that assigned the colonized states a sense of 'tradition,' while protecting their cultural heritage" (Pelizzari 2003, 37).

The concrete expression of heritage protection at the global level first came from the 1913 international conference in Berne to consider ideas of natural heritage of humankind, and 20th century history includes several instruments from the charters of Athens in 1931 and 1933 to the Nuremberg trials, which treated damage to art as an infringement of human rights. The remit of protection now sits across several global cultural instruments. The impetus for the 1972 World Heritage Convention, as it is popularly known, developed out of campaigns to save the ancient Egyptian sites at Nubia as the construction of the Aswan dam proceeded on the Nile and threatened to submerge the monuments underwater. UNESCO's Nubia campaign not only saved the monuments but also highlighted humanity's interest in historic protection and, at abstract and poignant levels, the role of collective memory in human history. UNESCO Director-General Vittorino Veronese started the Nubian campaign in 1959, which moved in two phases, first for the monuments at Abu Simbel and then in Philae and collected more than $40 million of the requisite $80 million from private and public sources internationally. Nubia is by far the most notable campaign that UNESCO has executed. It was followed by several international solicitations including calls to restore monuments in Venice and Florence after the ravaging floods in 1966, the temple of Borobudur in Indonesia, and Carthage archaeological sites in Tunisia. More than anything, these events created the momentum for the World Heritage Convention.

History of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

The 2003 UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage introduced a new notion of cultural protection at a global level. It came at the behest of several factors. Most importantly, the idea of tangible cultural heritage excluded vast parts of what people around the world considered their cultural heritage. The term 'intangible cultural

heritage' itself came from the English translation of the Japanese legislation on this issue dating back to 1950 (Prott 2000, 156-157). As defined in Article 6.2 of the Convention text, ICH comprises "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage." The ICH Convention also reveals the influence of UNESCO's movement toward giving importance to the values of protection and conservation, themselves derived from ways of life or an anthropological definition of culture. Randall Mason and Marta de la Torre (2000, 172) note: "A discussion of values connects the material and interpretive acts of conservation more closely to the social, cultural, economic and moral goals that drive these acts."

The history of the ICH Convention can be traced back to the same period as that of the 1972 World Heritage Convention (Aikawa 2004). In the 1970s the Smithsonian and UNESCO organized various symposia on the issues of folklore and cultural life. Specifically, in 1972, Bolivia asked UNESCO to consider revising its Universal Copyright Convention to include folklore, and the 1980s General Conferences moved to request studies on protecting folklore. Initially, UNESCO and the World Intellectual Property Rights (WIPO) cooperated in their endeavours, but in 1985 UNESCO moved toward considering ICH issues beyond questions of intellectual property. In 1989, the General Conference with unanimous consent adopted the Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore. This enabled UNESCO to create a programme on Intangible Cultural Heritage in 1992, followed by the programme on "Living Human Treasures" in 1993.

Several developments in the 1990s continued to reinforce the notion of ICH as it brought in parallel discussions of cultural rights, international conferences on folklore and crafts at various international organizations (WIPO, UNCTAD, World Bank) and institutions such as the Smithsonian. In 1997, UNESCO, following the example of the World Cultural Heritage Convention, started a programme to start creating lists of ICH through its "Proclamations of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity." Biennial proclamations followed, listing 19 masterpieces in 2001, 28 masterpieces in 2003, and 43 in 2005. These proclamations included the cultural heritage within states, such as Vedic chants in India or shared across several states

such as Maqam singing in the Middle East, Turkey, and Central Asia.   By 1999, UNESCO formally began work on the drafting of a convention to address ICH. No doubt, the election of the Japanese Koïchiro Matsuura as Director-General in November 1999 coincided with and boosted these efforts. Matsuura had also served earlier as Chair of the World Heritage Committee. He made ICH one of his priorities. Earlier, in 1993, the Japanese government had helped to establish in UNESCO a Fund-in Trust for the safeguarding of ICH. The Japanese presence and clout are widely believed to have consolidated support for the ICH Convention, which passed in 2003 unanimous.

The ICH Convention may be taken to be a bottom-up initiative in many respects. First, as noted earlier, it came from similar initiatives in various countries. UNESCO's 2000 *World Cultural Report* notes that 57 countries already had cultural policies in place to encourage intangible cultural heritage and that 80 countries provided moral or economic support to creators and purveyors of ICH (Aikawa 2000, 174-175). Second, Article 16 of the Convention authorizes state parties to establish a "Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity." However, while the 1972 Convention considers only properties "outstanding universal value," the ICH List makes no such reference. Instead, the initial nomination follows from community participation, which must be demonstrated to the ICH Secretariat and the ICH Committee, similar in its composition and rationale as the World Heritage Committee. While the ICH Committee makes the final judgment, it generally follows the community's criteria for adjudging the element to be of value. The ICH Convention has generated considerable excitement, especially in anthropological communities, but its critics note that the process is often driven by states rather than communities and that at its present funding levels, it suffers from similar capacity deficits as the 1972 World Heritage Convention.

Soft Power, Cultural Relations and Cultural Heritage Protection
This section of the report examines how soft power discussions started incorporating topics related to cultural heritage preservation, and the connections with cultural relations approaches that tend to involve non-state actors in fostering dialogues and reciprocity. Given the multiplicity of actors and meanings involved in cultural protection, this report leans toward conceptual and

empirical approaches that address the evolution of cultural protection and connect them with soft power and cultural relations values. In both cases, we emphasize the presence of shared values, which make cultural protection especially conducive for both soft power and cultural relations purposes.

As noted above, soft power relies heavily on persuasion rather than coercion and therefore culture is an essential part of soft power. As explained by a British Council-Goethe Institut report, "the popularity of the term (soft power) for policy-makers means that some, mainly Anglo-Saxon scholars, subsume cultural relations, cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy within Nye's rubric and see them as resources of soft power, servicing the national interest" (British Council and Goethe Institut 2018, 13). However, as we will see in the methodology section, some countries' documents (such as the U.K) use the keyword "soft-power" quite extensively whereas in other cases (such as the U.S), the word is seldom, if ever, used. As explained by Schneider (2005), "from the start, the U.S. has eschewed the culture for culture's sake approach that often governs cultural diplomacy elsewhere" and "other countries" such as France and the Netherlands, "have recognized the long-term, non-quantifiable nature of relationship building through cultural diplomacy to a greater degree than the United States" as for these countries, "culture provides a means to expand upon ideas and images created by the market" (Schneider 2005, 158). Despite these differences, the four countries analyzed later employ similar programming that emphasizes cultural heritage protection as a shared value.

Cultural Heritage Protection as a Common Goal / Shared Value

An acknowledgement of heritage as common to all humankind, as noted earlier, informed the work of UNESCO. Over time, "the internationalization of global heritage was shaped by increasing anxieties over the troublesome effects of globalization, modernization, and technological advancement on cultural resources" (Luke and Kersel 2012, 8). Increasingly, the commonality in protecting cultural heritage can move nations toward a global community than colonial models of "*the West is the best"* through providing a platform for equal partnerships and exchange of knowledge" (Luke and Kersel 2012, 130).

Due to this commonality aspect, cultural heritage protection provides stakeholders "safe spaces for dialogue" given that even though "cultural heritage is very far from being apolitical, like sport and other areas of arts and culture, it can often serve the purpose of a topic around which people and organizations with diametrically opposed views can convene, potentially as a precursor to engaging in a dialogue about more contentious issues" (In2impact et al. 2021, 42).

Culture as a shared value is openly discussed in all the country reports analyzed below. As an example, Prince Claus Fund of the Netherlands, emphasizes the essential role of culture "since it is transversal, cuts across many sectors and constitutes an essential resource for sustainable development" and "supporting arts and culture and investing in the cultural and creative sectors brings benefits beyond these sectors" (PCF 2000, 3). Through "stimulating meaningful connections between cultural practitioners over the globe", the fund invests in "a network and support base of people who share values and who advocate the transformative power of culture" (PCF 2020, 7).

Other times, culture as a shared value manifests itself in the programming funded by these countries. The examples are plentiful. U.S. Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation Program, for example would not have funded conservation of the 10th century temple of Phnom Bakheng in Cambodia, the ancient wooden coffins at the Egyptian museum in Caro, or it would not have preserved of the endangered Gagauz language and cultural traditions in Moldova, if it did not believe in the necessity to protect these tangible and intangible cultural heritage sources for the sake of humanity (U.S. Department of State 2019a, 2). As explained by Luke and Kersel (2012), "the slogan on the Ambassadors Fund website, "It's Our Identity, It's Our Pride," showcases the fund's work in Nepal, emphasizing 'our' (U.S. and Nepalese) shared notion of caring about culture" (Luke and Kersel 2012, 134). Similarly, the Norwegian Development Agency, NORAD, would not support projects "directed at reviving traditional decorative arts and building crafts in Buddhist temples" (Norad 2009, xiv), if it did not see these crafts as essential for humankind.

British Cultural Protection Fund (CPF) provides similar examples of programming where they treat culture as a shared value. In Egypt, for example, with the supported CircArt project led by the British Museum, CPF supports the creation of a "database of lost and circulating artefacts

from Egypt and Sudan- with a target of 80,000 objects- which aims to better identify and record cultural heritage in circulation within the global market" (In2impact et al. 2021, 6).

Cultural Heritage Protection as a Facilitator of Mutual Trust and Relationship Building

Fostering long-term commitments and engagement with the local community and the national level representatives from relevant institutions is a natural outcome of cultural heritage protection. As an example: "Archeological field work projects routinely employ and involve local men and women as foramen, excavators, pottery washers, field crews, and cooks. Furthermore, students and colleagues from in-country museums and universities may be collaborative partners, co-directors, supervisors, specialists, and excavators on projects. US archeologists are often instrumental in assisting with grants, academic exchanges, and scholarships for those who wish to engage with a global experience" (Luke and Kersel 2012, 13).

This principle of partnerships is embedded in all the four countries' programming. It is emphasized most explicitly in the British Council and the Prince Claus Fund documents. In describing their model of intervention for heritage protection, the British Cultural Protection Fund (CPF) emphasizes "the importance of gaining community ownership to sustain sustainable heritage protection and working through local NGOs and agencies…so long as those local agencies have sufficient skills and experience" (In2Impact et al. 2021, 8). In order to facilitate capacity building at the local level, "grant applications were accepted under competitive funding rounds" and "grantees were required to partner with at least one locally based organization in one or more of the fund's 12 target countries and territories in the Middle East and North Africa region" (In2Impact et al. 2021, 13).

The Netherlands' Prince Claus Fund (PCF) is also very explicit in its mention of cooperation. PCF openly states that "for all meaningful connections, success is measured (besides program-specific outcomes) by the extent to which the exchange is reciprocal: skills or insights both provided and received" (PCF 2020, 14). In listing their principles, they mention *trust, context-sensitivity*, and *participation*. They explain that in terms of context-sensitivity, for example, "indicators should be viewed within context and be aligned with partners' own objectives" and the PCF plan "should be flexible to be adapted to changes in context/programs"

(PCF 2020, 1). In terms of participation, "where possible and appropriate, partners will be involved in monitoring, evaluation, and lesson learning (e.g., peer reviews, cooperation with collaboration partners)" (PCF 2020, 1). The Fund's documents specifically mention the importance of engagement- as defined by the way "cultural practitioners are linked to and involved with people, communities and platforms…because change cannot be achieved alone" and therefore it requires "meaningful connections with the aim to bring people together whether it has most value for both their cultural practice and for sharing the societal issues…work addresses more widely" (PCF 2020, 6). The way to achieve this is defined as "facilitating peer to peer contact and joint learning, monitoring and linking people to relevant platforms and audiences" (PCF 2020, 6).

Despite the acceptance of these principles, however, implementation has not always been easy for all the actors involved. As it relates to Cultural Protection Fund's Turkey initiative, for example, the evaluation report indicates that "a failure to build relationships and lay the groundwork at an early stage within the policy levels of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism set the scene for a fractious relationship which resulted in the challenges'' to their three projects in the country (In2Impact et al. 2021, 42).

The Norwegian Development Agency's evaluation report regarding their Nepal initiative also points to similar difficulties arising due to insufficient partnerships- this time with the international community. As they explain, in one of their Nepal initiatives, "lack of communication between the local implementing organization and UNESCO meant that considerable time and energy was spent on planning activities that there was no budget to carry out" (Norad 2009, xiv). At the local level, Norwegian documents, emphasize that "local involvement and local ownership is a precondition for a successful project" and that "successful projects should be based on local definitions and local perceptions of cultural heritage" and they "require broad partnerships of different kinds of knowledge and expertise" (Norad 2009, xv).

Criticisms

International heritage protection has evolved into protection of the common history of humankind and protection as a facilitator of relationship building; still, it is not immune to

criticisms. Memory, identity, and heritage are all living, subjective, and constructed concepts, and as such, they are dynamically changing, constantly re-created, political, and contested. These characteristics bring to the forefront various fraught issues. One such fraught issue relates to power relations and the decision about what constitutes cultural heritage. Given that power is important to the construction of heritage, often shared cultural heritage comprises symbols relating to the identity of the dominant cultural group to the exclusion of another. This decision to exclude the heritage of the "others" within that community is not a random one and as such parties often clash over such decisions (Blake 2015, 284). Incidents in India provide examples of contesting claims to heritage in that "inter-religious tensions…between Hindus and Muslims have led not only to the exclusion but also the destruction of the physical fabric of cultural heritage" as "the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya (Uttar Pradesh) built by Shah Babur in 1528 was destroyed in 1992 by militant Hindus" and the "act of destruction resulted in extremely serious clashes between Muslims and Hindus" (Blake 2015, 284). As Graham explains, "all heritage necessitates disinheritance of some sort for some people in some circumstances," and "heritage disinheritance exists on a spectrum from a purely hypothetical or potential condition to violent, deliberate disinheritance associated with human atrocity towards the disinherited (Graham et al 2000, 34). In summary, what counts as heritage and the decision about whose heritage is to be preserved are contested, and furthermore "heritage is consumed in both official and popular terms and there may well be a disjunction between them" (Graham 2000, 34).

As power in cultural relations create fraught issues, the same issue exists in soft power discussions. "For many practitioners and theorists, soft power implies state power over citizens, rather than the empowerment of citizens, which arguably, is the ultimate goal of cultural relations" (British Council and Goethe Institut 2018, 13). As we have seen, "even cultural relations devoid of any signs of the hand of government can carry connotations of colonialism, imperialism and propaganda since dominant states have always used culture to transmit political, social, and economic values" (British Council and Goethe Institut 2018, 13; Nisbett 2013, 558). Soft power or smart power, more than cultural relations, often carries an association with domination or imposition (Lukes 2007).

Post-coloniality and Protection of Cultural Heritage

Issues of cultural heritage cannot be divorced from decolonization and practices of post-coloniality, especially in instances where the flow of funds shaping soft power and cultural relations are one-directional, namely from the global north to the global south. The current branding indices on soft power run parallel to historical debates on destruction and plunder of cultural heritage during colonial times and the impact of that history upon cultural preservation issues in present times. Two issues are discussed here: paternalism and post-colonial patrimony.

A paternalistic approach to cultural protection situates the expertise for culture in organizations and individuals situated outside of the place where cultural preservation takes place. Despite being the foremost organization globally for preserving cultural heritage, UNESCO has often been critiqued for its paternalism in acting as a global ministry for culture both in its lack of understanding of what counts as culture and cultural heritage in the global south, and for favoring the listing of cultural heritage sites in the global north (Singh 2011; Frey, Pamini and Steiner 2013). The UNESCO ICH Convention, in fact, addressed issues of cultural heritage that arose from non-Western sources, specifically East Asia, Latin America, and Sub-Sharan Africa.

UNESCO's ideas about a cosmopolitan universal heritage are also critiqued for a western bias, both for undervaluing local forms for valuation and for elevating similar local valuations in the West. For example, sites of religious heritage may be asked to change their practices in Fez, Morocco, or in Angkor Wat, Cambodia – in terms of allowing for secular or cosmopolitan values and visitors – but similar constraints may not be placed on a Notre Dame or a Vatican (Brianso 2010). One account conveys it bluntly: "It is still problematic for renowned intellectual in both Europe and America to make 'equality in partnership' a serious matter" (Sacker 2014, 89). There's also often a lack of acknowledgement that the cultural heritage may have deteriorated not just because of recent conflicts, but neglect during colonial rule when local heritage norms often debunked or marginalized in favor of imperial norms and sites. For example, forms of textile production declined all over the colonized countries in favor of textile production centers in the colonizing industrial north.

One of the most important post-colonial debates in our present context is on the issue of art objects that were acquired through force or colonial occupation. The case of the Elgin Marbles taken from the Parthenon in the early nineteenth century is the most famous and continues to cause strife. A recent controversy arose over Germany's attempt to project its soft power through the €644 million Humboldt Forum that opened in Berlin in September 2021. One of the debates leading up to the opening fostered explicitly through the museum's creators was over the status of art objects that had not been repatriated – over 20,000 objects from Berlin's Ethnological Museum and the Museum of Asian Art. The Humboldt Forum at its opening published a collection of essays titled *(Post)Colonialism and Cultural Heritage* (Humboldt Forum 2021) that brought together a prominent global group of curators and intellectual to debate the issue of post-coloniality and heritage. Nazan Ölçer, curator of Istanbul's Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art prefaces issues of power inherent in post-coloniality at two levels: her own museum showcases collections that were often forcibly acquired by Ottoman Sultans, including those from private foundations or *waqfs* set up by local dignitaries or nobles to evade Istanbul's grasp. She acknowledges that "pious foundations" or *waqfs* were a way for local dignitaries to evade the coercive powers of confiscation from Ottoman Sultans. Ölçer then describes the processes of restitution from Turkey and elsewhere that have through international negotiations returned these art objects to their societies. She then goes beyond restitution to offer powerful advice: "Over time, patronizing, condescending, particularizing or marginalizing discourses must be critically screened, and slowly but surely eliminated….oppositions or conflicting views should be written into museum or special collection catalogues, item-by-item descriptions, or information panels. They should also be reflected in school curricula and textbooks" (Ölçer 2021, p. 35).

The Humboldt Forum despite fostering these important post-colonial debates was not immune to its own imperialistic past. As the museum neared completion, Nigeria demanded the restitution of Benin bronzes that British colonial forces had looted in 1897. Germany agreed to return the bronzes in its collection to Nigeria in April 2021. New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art agreed to do the same in June 2021. Dan Hicks from University of Oxford's Museum of Anthropology and Word Archeology writes that "European voices have a service to fulfill in the process of restitution: one of sharing knowledge of cultural dispossession, and of facing up to

colonial ultraviolence, democide, and cultural destructions that characterized the British empire in Africa" (Hicks 2020).

The vocabularies of soft power and cultural relations can often sound a-historic and devoid of conflict in emphasizing attraction of values, or in promoting dialogues and reciprocity. However, the issue of cultural preservation cannot be divorced from that of post-colonial questions of cultural restitution and provenance of arts objects in museums, most of them in the global north.

Part II: Comparison of the Four Organizations

 As we have seen in the previous section, both cultural relations and soft power can refer to similar sets of activities "associated with managing relations or communication across cultures, achieving long-term goals, accentuating people-to-people relations, cultivating feelings of mutuality, and the participation of state and non-state actors" (British Council and Goethe Institut 2018, 13). All four countries and their agencies mention the intrinsic value of culture, depicting it as a basic need and human right. However, some differences exist among them regarding "the actual and desirable role of the state, the degree to which engagement is seen as an instrument while neglecting the intrinsic value of international exchange, and the difficulty of juggling the pursuit of the national interest with win-win, positive-sum relations" (British Council and Goethe Institut 2018, 13). The Netherlands, for example, advocates for the "transformative power of culture (instrumental value); and the role of the culture in contributing to the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals" (PCF 2020, 3).

Norway:

In explaining Norway's soft power and cultural relations approach, Henrikson (2005) pairs it up with Canada and mentions that both countries rely on goodwill and public opinion, rather than military might, to exercise global influence. Given Norway's small size, it is not in a position to impose its opinions on others hence relies heavily on persuasion via close collaboration with the international community, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and direct engagement with civil society. In explaining Norway's comparative advantage, then deputy foreign minister Vidar Helgesen said, "We are small, we are way up there, and we have no colonial past" hinting that "Norway does not have and really cannot have any grand designs to impose on others" (Henrikson 2005, 81).

According to scholars, Norway has a niche situation and an advantage "inherited from past commitments and is reconfirmed by years of faithful observance, as with Norway's administration and awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize" (Henrikson 2005, 72). The Nobel Peace

Prizes, therefore, the first of which was given in 1901, contribute to Norway's soft power that's embedded in tradition.

Norway's international peace work is another source of soft power. The country's peace-related activities can be traced back to the missionary work of the Lutheran Church in Africa and other places. The "returning missionaries brought home a global, social awareness" (Henrikson 2005, 79). Its most famous effort was focused on the Middle East- in the name of Oslo Process that started in 1993 with secret talks between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization. These experiences have helped Norway's name recognition in the areas of peace making and conflict resolution. The Norwegian government often partners with its NGO, with assistance from the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD). This allows Norwegian NGOs to garner global experience (Henrikson 2005, 70).

Given this context, Norwegian international heritage protection efforts date back to the 1980s. One difference of the Norwegian effort, from those of the other countries, is that it is nestled within a multilateral framework – as 60 percent of its cultural heritage funding is granted through a multilateral agency during 2000-2008 (Norad 2009, xii). The main cooperation is with UNESCO through extra-budgetary support for UNESCO's programs with a series of two-year agreements (Norad 2009, xi). Additionally, Norwegian embassies in the Global South have been agents of change with the "cultural infrastructure" and institutional capacity building projects that they support in these countries (Norad 2009, xii).

Involvement via multinational organizations and whether there is a benefit to switch to a more direct bilateral approach are topics that are discussed within Norwegian policy circles. However, Norad points out two issues that need to be dealt if such a change is desired. First, in the Norwegian system, international heritage protection is handled by a small number of institutions, almost exclusively the Directorate of Cultural Heritage. Secondly, cultural preservation efforts must depend on the individual initiative of embassy officials in various countries (Norad 2009, xv). Given these dependencies, it is expected that the Norwegian system continues with its multilateral approach to international heritage protection.

The United States:

It was during the Cold War that the "the US government, through the State Department and other agencies, among them the CIA, orchestrated an unprecedented dissemination of American thought and creative expression throughout the world " in order to compete with its main rival, the Soviet Union'' (Schneider 2005, 151). Initiatives such as "the Congress for Cultural Freedom'' that brought together American and Soviet intellectuals, publishing of *Amerika* magazine that was a window into American lifestyle in images, and "music programs on Radio Free Europe, helped to turn Europeans away from socialism and communism and opened the door of Western culture and lifestyle to Soviet artists and citizens" (Schneider 2005, 151). The US strategy of cultural relations and soft power was far-sighted during that era as "US diplomats understood the importance of cultural expression to the Russians'' and benefited from "Russia's literary giants of the past and dissident writers of the present" to gain "important allies in Soviet society…through them", they were "able to communicate broadly with the Soviet people" (Schneider 2005, 152).

After the Cold War era and with the demise of the Soviet Union, there were significant budget and personnel cutbacks in US cultural and public diplomacy programming leading eventually to the dissolvement of the United States Information Agency (USIA) and its absorption into the State Department. As of 2000, "the total budget for all public and cultural diplomacy activities amounted to less than eight percent of the State Department budget (Schneider 2005, 148-149).

Despite these cutbacks, music has always been a source of US soft power abroad- particularly jazz and rock'n'roll. Between 1955-1996, "Western music penetrated the Iron Curtain through the nightly programming of Music USA, hosted by Willis Connover" (Schneider 2005, 153). As explained by Schneider (2005), "jazz's power as a cultural ambassador stemmed from the inherent tension created by black musicians travelling the globe trumpeting American values during the Jim Crow era" as "musicians such as Louis Armstrong, Dizzy Gillespie and Charles Parker brought abstract concepts of liberty to life by democratizing their concerns and insisting that ordinary people, not just elites, be allowed to listen" (Schneider 2005, 153). Furthermore, "African American bands and dance companies toured Africa, forging close bonds

with local performers and artists and igniting cross-fertilizations that benefited both" (Schneider 2005, 153-154). Music and its related "modes of creative expression formed part of an overall portrayal of the United States as a country of individual freedoms, opportunity and tolerance" (Schneider 2005, 155).

In US history, the changes in where to house cultural diplomacy within the US government relate to the confusions about its role in foreign affairs. "The establishment of the USIA as a separate agency reflected the belief that cultural diplomacy should have independence from foreign policy. The consolidation of USIA into the State Department responded to the opposite impetus- the guiding rule of cultural diplomacy at present- namely that it should be linked to increasing understanding and support for US policies" (Schneider 2005, 157).

United Kingdom:

The Cultural Protection Fund of the British Council is a £30million fund set up in partnership with the Department of Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, as part of development assistance to preserve and promote cultural heritage at risk in selected conflict-affected areas in the Middle East and North Africa. The fund's target countries initially included Afghanistan, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Iraq, the Palestinian Territories, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, and Yemen. In the 2017-2018 period, 21 projects were awarded funding totalling £11.2million. Of these grants, 13 were large grants and eight were small grants. Among the 113 eligible full grant applications received during 2017-2018, the success rate was approximately 19% showing the highly competitive nature of the process (British Council 2018, 4). The successfully awarded grants supported a wide variety of cultural protection projects ranging from the protection of tangible heritage such as the completion of three remaining galleries of the Basrah Museum in Iraq to protecting the intangible aspects of heritage such as the protection of craft skills in Kabul's historic Old City Murad Khani (British Council 2018, 49-53).

CPF came about at a time when there was significant conflict in places such as Iraq and Syria and a great deal of cultural heritage there was either destroyed or threatened. The Culture White Paper (2016) announced the formulation of CPF to safeguard socio-economic stability and heritage in conflict regions. Until then, the UK government foreign policy strategy had not

focused on cultural heritage preservation (British Council 2021, 4). Following the announcement of CPF, the UK government has also introduced two protocols connected to the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954).

The British Council's *Cultural Protection Fund* pays great importance to stakeholder involvement and making sure that local communities' opinions are taken into consideration while deciding what and how to preserve. As they explain, they have worked "with a wide range of partners and stakeholders on the ground" and "in some cases, buy-in of stakeholders has been key to obtaining the relevant permissions and accessing target communities" (British Council 2018, 20). With projects "researching, documenting, conserving and/or restoring to safeguard cultural heritage against permanent loss" (outcome 1 as outlined in British Council 2018, 17), the Fund contributes to safeguarding tangible (as in the case of the revival of the Mosque of Moqbil in Egypt) as well as intangible (as in the case of documenting folktales, rites of passage, music, and traditional beliefs regarding the minority languages in Afghanistan) (British Council 2019, 49). As such, it contributes to the protection of collective memory and identity.

Netherlands

Unlike many other West European countries with dense networks of cultural centers in the world, the Netherlands has only three of such centers. The oldest one is the Institut Neerlandais in Paris dating back to 1957. Second one is the Erasmus House in Jakarta which was founded in 1980 in order to "preserve the shared cultural heritage" by hosting "exhibitions, concerts and literary encounters" (Clingendael 2008). Third one is the Flemish-Dutch centre deBuren.

During the mid-1990s, "the Netherlands focused on strengthening its position in the European integration process, a striking feature of the operation being the aim of allowing culture to play a more important role in foreign policy" as manifested by the "substantial budget"- "the Netherlands Culture Fund" that was specifically set aside for this purpose (Clingendael 2008).

In the country, the two organizations involved and competing to engage in international cultural policy are the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. As explained by Clingendael report, the Foreign Affairs Ministry and the Education

Ministry had different views of culture, one "instrumental" and the other one, "intrinsically artistic" in that "the Foreign Affairs Ministry regarded culture as part of foreign policy" whereas "the Education Ministry considered it to be an extension of national cultural policy, thus falling within its area of operation and expertise" (Clingendael 2008). In 1997, it was decided that the culture-related funds should be decided in consultation between the two ministries for the purposes of: "strengthening the international profile of Dutch arts and culture" and "promoting good mutual relations with certain countries" creating "a full-fledged third key element in foreign policy alongside politics and economics" (Clingendael 2008). Due to these decisions and the availability of additional funding, the Foreign Affairs Ministry "strengthened its Culture Department in 13 priority areas" whereas "the Education Ministry delegated the funds to the national Cultural Funds and Sector Institutes, in line with the arm's length principle which was applied throughout the sector at the beginning of the 1990s" (Clingendael 2008). These Fund and Sector Institutes operate at the grass-roots level as "grant-giving bodies and specialist service and research centers for artists and art institutions in all fields" (Clingendael 2008). As a sign of cooperation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science, they did "set up an exchange scheme for civil servants to improve one another's expertise in this joint area of activity" (Clingendael 2008).

In addition to the two Ministries mentioned above, another body – the Council of Culture—plays a role in the development of broad policy in an advisory function and in close cooperation with the Fund and Sector Institutes. Another organization- the Dutch Center for International Cultural Activities (SICA)- was founded during the end of the 1990s and it acts as "an indispensable connecting link between two Ministries involved, and their source of funding, and the arts field" such as its "service and documentation center" role "for all arts institutions wishing to have an international presence" or its advisory role to the government "on strategic international cultural policy" (Clingendael 2008).

A few other differences in the Netherland's project documents included their explicit mention of *experimentation* and learning from trials and errors and their *gender-sensitivity* principle- in which "possible indicators will be gender disaggregated" and the fund's decision to "allow for non-disclosure of gender" (PCF 2020, 1-2). In the British CPF funded projects, for

example, not all projects noted the gender split of the training and therefore the Fund warns that "as the gender split was not always recorded, it is not a true reflection across the CPF programme so should be used with caution" (British Council 2021, 18). Similar to the British system, Dutch ICP is less separated from the regular diplomatic representations. Dutch ICP departments, are included in the embassies, except the Erasmus Huis in Jakarta. This could be a disadvantage for the Dutch soft-power given that "evaluations showed that the country's ICP is more apparent and better known if cultural institutions are notably differentiated from the embassies and consulates" (Riegler 2018, 33).

The document that constitutes the backbone of the Dutch framework is the "International Cultural Policy Framework, 2017-2020" published by the Policy and Operations Evaluation Department (IOB) in March 2016. The report focuses "both on the intrinsic, social and on the economic value of culture" and puts an "emphasis on the importance of exchange, networks and reciprocity", seeing "international cultural policy" as more than "an export policy" (Government of the Netherlands 2021). In addition to the central government, ministries, and embassies/consulates, players in the Dutch international cultural policy now include, "DutchCulture, EYE, Het Nieuwe Instituut, the National Archives, the Cultural Heritage Agency, the Prince Claus Fund and the Netherlands Enterprise Agency", among others (Government of Netherlands 2021).

The objectives for Netherlands' international cultural policy, as outlined in the 2016 framework document include "a strong cultural sector, the quality of which will increase through international exchange and sustainable cooperation" and "putting culture to effective use in modern diplomacy" (DutchCulture 2021 9, 14). One of government's role in cultural policy is depicted as facilitating international exchange between cultural institutions, artists, and heritage professionals (DutchCulture 2021, 3). Despite the comprehensive nature of the Dutch framework, it does not work with many different organizations, but the relevant Ministries get support from other organizations as needs arise. As Riegler (2018, 33) explains, "the embassies remain the sole official institution implementing Dutch ICP".

Despite the involvement of diplomatic representations abroad, the Dutch system also signifies a more arm-length approach to supporting international heritage protection as the

"respective cultural attaches are free to choose the performances, readings, or exhibitions which are best suitable for the country" helping the "resources" to be "used in a more flexible way and cause a less-monitored deployment of soft power" (Riegler 2018, 33).

The geographical focus areas of the four agencies are in correlation with the strategic priorities. The Dutch priority countries are more scattered around the globe compared to the U.K. countries, for example, and include projects in places such as Russia, Venezuela, Germany, and Indonesia (Riegler 2018, 36). A Dutch Cultural Attaché noted that this might be due to the "colonial history of the Netherlands which has caused the country to develop a foreign policy approach which includes development support and emphasizes exchange with countries around the globe" (quoted in Riegler 2018, 36).

Another interesting fact is that Netherlands emphasizes cultural relations with countries that are the origin countries of significant numbers of immigrants on its soil. Some of the biggest immigrant groups in the Netherlands come from Turkey, Indonesia, Germany, and Morocco-which coincide with the country's cultural heritage project locations abroad. Therefore, "the countries aim to strengthen mutual understanding with those countries where there are already an ongoing exchange of ideas, knowledge and people…yet the largest immigrant groups also link to the country's colonial or imperial history which still affects modern foreign policy objectives" (Riegler 2018, 36).

PART III: EMPIRICAL RESULTS & IMPACT EVALUATION

The value of both soft power and cultural relations approaches to heritage preservation lies in processes that bring together stakeholders, often in participatory ways, to enhance mutual understandings, and cater to the foreign policy goals of the donor. The key to understanding the cultural relations and soft power processes lies in connecting the approaches to cultural preservation with issues such as community, values, and development.

This section provides a brief review of the state-of-the-art impact evaluation methods and then turns to a content analysis of project documents that distinguish British Council's cultural relations process toward cultural preservation approach from Netherlands, Norway, and USA. After establishing crucial differences, mapping tools are used to ascertain how varying levels of interests among stakeholder involved in cultural preservation and varying levels of resources help us determine stakeholder involvement and power hierarchies. Finally, a results chain and a theory of change provide the causal connections for the impact of cultural relations on preservation. Not surprisingly, the causal elements of the results chain and the theory of change include an emphasis on communities, people, participation, and partnerships.

It is useful to contextualize briefly cultural preservation implementation approaches within the broad debates on international interventions and impact assessment. On the former, as the conceptual review above shows, cultural preservation approaches in general have tried to overcome the paternalism of the past, reflecting a top-down approach, toward conceiving interventions that are both informed with and involve communities.

Two types of designs epitomize current development approaches: randomized controlled trials (RCTS) and participatory methods. RCTs, borrowing the vocabulary of drug trials apply a micro treatment and incentive in a community to examine the effects while also observing a control group where the incentive was not applied (Banerjee and Duflo 2011). The design of the instrument takes specialized cultural knowledge so that it would have resonance. Arias (2019), for example, designs a controlled experiment to study the effects of an audio soap opera project seeking to reduce violence against women through informational messages that either reach each person individually through an audio CD or socially via a loudspeaker. The comparison is not

only among the two groups but also against a baseline for each group: those who do not receive the audio CD and those who are unable to hear the loudspeaker. Arias finds that the social effect is stronger than the individual effect because of society's ability to shape norms, in this case about reducing violence toward women, through discussion and interaction. Participatory methods, in theory, eschew experts designing instruments of change and intervention in favour of involving communities in the process of design and implementation. Rao and Sanyal (2011) examine the effects of village assemblies (gram sabhas) in India to show that the process of 'discursive engagement' raises consciousness and agency among the participants. The two examples above showcase the differences between an engagement where the effects are hypothesized in advance (RCTs) versus one that emphasizes the process (participatory development). The critique of RCTs lies in their top-down expertise driven methods while that of participatory methods is in the slowness of processes. However, both require rich contextual and cultural understandings.

The British Council's approach both intersects and deviates from RCTs and participatory methods. CPF awardees, usually with rich cultural knowledge of a region and an issue, stipulate a few processes and outcomes in advance while mobilizing other stakeholders and goals as implementation proceeds. Nevertheless, a broad goal is already set: that CPF ideally contribute to a cultural relations approach and UK's soft power interests. In many way, CPF programmes may be posited at conforming to a structured flexibility approach. Brinkerhoff and Ingle (1989) offer the following definition:

"The approach adopts a conscious orientation towards the participation of key actors and attention to their values. Structured flexibility recognizes that people, by acting upon their values and interests, seek to construct their world. Thus, the approach does not posit solutions in the manner of the logical positivism of the blueprint model, but rather it facilitates people's accurate assessment of opportunities and choices, and the potential actions based upon them, within a structured framework that encourages feedback and learning."

Traditional methods of impact evaluation focus on determining the impact of a program after its completion. Evaluators utilize quantitative and qualitative data, parse economic figures, survey results, and interview program participants and staff to determine what changes have occurred that can reasonably be attributed to the program activities. Traditional evaluations are frequently an expensive and time-consuming endeavour, with staff time dedicated to the

production of data and external consultants dedicated to the task. Additionally, program impact evaluations are frequently carried out post hoc, where evaluators attempt to study a project that was not designed with any evaluation in mind; in such cases, they must rely on whatever data can be scraped together. Often one of the primary sources of data is the timeline of the project itself. A program which hits milestones in a timely manner is considered successful, while another which does not achieve its goals on schedule is a failure.

The traditional method of impact evaluation in cultural heritage has been bolstered by recent developments in the field of heritage economics, which has advanced a great deal in recent years. Heritage economics now provides tools which allow for the valuation of cultural heritage which enables evaluators to determine at least a baseline estimate of the economic impact of project activities beyond key performance indicators, schedule efficiency, or dollars spent (Licciardi & Amirtahmasebi 2012). This includes the mapping of cultural heritage among communities, tracking the value effect of cultural heritage listings, and finding the shadow price of cultural goods based on their physical costs. However, the nature of cultural goods makes their valuation particularly difficult. Much of the value of cultural heritage is found in the social benefits that the good provides. Given this problem, most methods focus on finding the best-possible value for a good given the information available. Additionally, these methods lack a participatory framework for determining the impact of cultural heritage projects.

There is a reinforcing effect between traditional methods of impact evaluation and traditional methods of program management. Because the traditional method of program management, the "blueprint model" as Brinkerhoff and Ingle call it, relies on following a carefully planned and pre-determined program roadmap, impact evaluation has come to measure success in terms of how well that roadmap was followed. And because program impact is determined based on how well the project design was followed, any deviation from that design indicates a failure on the part of the program itself. This is incompatible with the system of structured flexibility that defines the cultural relations approach.

Content Analysis

The goal of this research is to assess how the different international heritage protection funders contribute towards a Soft Power and a Cultural Relations approach. This research applied content analysis of project documents and evaluations to distinguish soft power and cultural relations processes toward the cultural preservation approach from the United Kingdom, Netherlands, Norway and the United States. The evaluation methods involve text mining, qualitative indicators generation, quantitative analysis, and social network analysis. The data sources are eight reports and materials collected from the US Ambassadors Fund, Prince Claus Heritage Protection Emergency Fund, Norwegian Support to the Protection of Cultural Heritage and the British Council's Cultural Protection Fund (four from the United States, two from the United Kingdom, one from Norway, and one from the Netherlands).

The first step of the evaluation process is to tokenize the documents. Tokenization is a way of tearing apart unstructured text documents and breaking down a piece of text into smaller units called tokens (e.g., words). Specifically, this research applied the following rules to extract single words (1-gram) from each document:

1. Encode a text document in "UTF-8".
2. Strip extra whitespace as a single blank from a text document.
3. Remove punctuation marks from a text document.
4. Remove numbers from a text document.
5. Remove stopwords from a text document.
6. Remove special symbols from a text document.

The initial tokenization analysis yielded 7,871 unique words used in one or more of the reports from each country. In addition, this research includes a few phrases (2-grams) that are deemed to be associated with cultural relations or soft power, such as foreign policy, public diplomacy and civil society. Afterward, Principal Investigator JP Singh and doctoral candidate Neslihan Kaptanoglu reviewed relevant literature and independently determined whether an extracted word or phrase reflects a concept of cultural relations, soft power, or both cultural

relations and soft power. When there was a discrepancy between Singh and Kaptanoglu's decisions on the word assignment, Singh and Kaptanoglu discussed the case until a consensus was reached. The classification of the keywords into the concepts is subjectively assumed to be mutually exclusive and be a spectrum ranging from cultural relations to both cultural relations and soft power, and from both cultural relations and soft power to soft power. Repeatedly, a keyword was coded within one category because of the dominance of that terminology in either the cultural relations or the soft power literature. Additionally, the cultural relations keywords include more reciprocity, whereas soft-power keywords are more one-sided. Sometimes, the keywords were categorized in different categories such as "center" and "central" belonging to the mutual category, whereas "centralised" belonging to "only soft power" category.

The examples of keywords in each concept are listed in Table 1.

TABLE 1: EXAMPLES OF KEYWORDS IN EACH CONCEPT

CULTURAL RELATIONS	BOTH CULTURAL RELATIONS AND SOFT POWER	SOFT POWER
Example: community-based mutual reciprocal local participant exchange unesco	Example: development evaluation governance heritage international monitor support	Example: contractor diplomatic embassy foreign policy ministry political state

Results

Table 2 summarizes the distribution of keywords in each concept by country. The total number of selected keywords is 923. Among those, there were 133 keywords associated with cultural relations, 106 keywords associated with soft power and 684 keywords associated with both cultural and soft power.

TABLE 2: SUMMARY OF KEYWORD DISTRIBUTIONS

	ALL	UK	US	NL	NO
Cultural Relations Only	133	89	48	39	90
Soft Power Only	106	78	53	39	74

Both Cultural Relations and Soft Power	684	525	398	294	488
Total Word Counts	923	692	499	372	652

Cultural Relations

Figure 1 provides an aggregated word cloud and distribution of word counts for top 50 cultural relations keywords in the United Kingdom, the United States, Netherlands, and Norway. The word clouds are proportional to keyword counts, meaning that the large size of a word and centralization of a word in the word cloud reflect the high frequency of a word used in the reports. In general, the word cloud shows that local, UNESCO, award and participant are important keywords to represent cultural relations. Figure 2 breaks down the word cloud by four countries. The four word clouds show that local is a crucial keyword and repeatedly used in all countries. Both the UK and Norway frequently used local and UNESCO in their reports, while the US favors to use local and participant, and Netherlands prefers to use award and local.

Soft Power

Figure 3 exhibits an aggregated word cloud and distribution of word counts for top 50 soft power keywords in all countries. The graph illustrates that state, strategy, ministry, aim and provide are substantially used in the reports reflecting the concept of soft power. The four word clouds in Figure 4 show that the most important keywords of soft power vary by country. The highest frequency of word counts used in the UK reports is assets. The US used state very often, Netherlands prefers to use power, and Norway repeatedly used strategy.

One of the important findings of this study is the difference between overall cultural relations and soft power approaches across the four countries studied here. The cultural relations approaches seem to converge among European countries and are generally similar to each other. However, there is a wide variation in soft power approaches. In particular, the U.S. documents eschew the term soft power in favor of the term public diplomacy in describing the U.S. approach.

Both Cultural Relations and Soft Power

Figure 5 performs an aggregated word cloud and distribution of word counts for top 75 keywords associated with the concept of both cultural relations and soft power. The most frequent keywords in this concept were heritage, project, evaluation, development, fund, and support. Figure 6 provides four word clouds of the keywords related to the concept of both cultural relations and soft power. The UK frequently used heritage, project, and fund, while the US favors to use evaluation, project, media and grant. Netherlands regularly used fund, change, output, and monitor, but Norway commonly used heritage, project, development and support.

Similarity Analysis

The analysis above reveals the different keyword patterns used by country. To understand the similarity and dissimilarity of the keyword use in the three concepts, this research conducted a correlation analysis to understand how the common keywords used across the four countries (Figure 7) and applied social network analysis to explore how the keywords are "co-used" by countries (Figure 8-10).

Figure 7 presents three correlation matrices among the four countries. In the concept of cultural relations, there were high similarities of keywords between the UK and Netherlands (84 percent correlation), and between Norway and Netherlands (75 percent correlation). The rest of the correlation coefficients are also relatively high (close to 50 percent correlation) except the correlation coefficient (33 percent) between the UK and the US. As for the concept of soft power, Netherlands had high correlation coefficients with the UK and the US (both close to 50 percent). The US is more similar to the UK (44 percent correlation). In the concept of both cultural relations and soft power, the UK and Netherlands had a significantly high correlation coefficient (85 percent) than other associations. The Netherlands also had 55 percent of similarity with both Norway and the US. There was a 45 percent correlation between the UK and the US, and between the UK and Norway. Interestingly, the Netherlands had high correlation coefficients with the UK and the US across all three concepts.

Figure 8-10 provide two-mode network analysis by three concepts. The vertices in two-mode networks contain two attributes, country and keywords. A keyword edge between two countries represents a keyword used in both countries' reports. To make the network

visualization more readable, this research selected the top 10 keyword counts of the three concepts from each country. Figure 8 is the cultural relations network showing that local, award and UNESCO were frequently and popularly used in at least three countries. Figure 9 is the soft power network. This network is denser than the cultural relations network, implying that more co-used keywords appear between countries. The keywords, strategy, aim, ministry, aim, and provide were used in at least three countries' reports. It is worthy to note that the US only has five keywords frequently co-used by other countries, while Norway had eight keywords frequently co-used by other countries. Figure 10 is both cultural relations and soft power network. This network is fragmented and clustered into two groups, Norway and the rest of countries. Norway's report does not have highly frequent co-used keywords by other countries. The second group is constructed by the UK, the US, and the Netherlands. The UK plays a critical bridge role in this group because the UK had four highly frequent co-used keywords with the Netherlands and five highly frequent co-used keywords with the US. There was only one highly frequent co-used keyword (i.e., fund) between the Netherlands and the US.
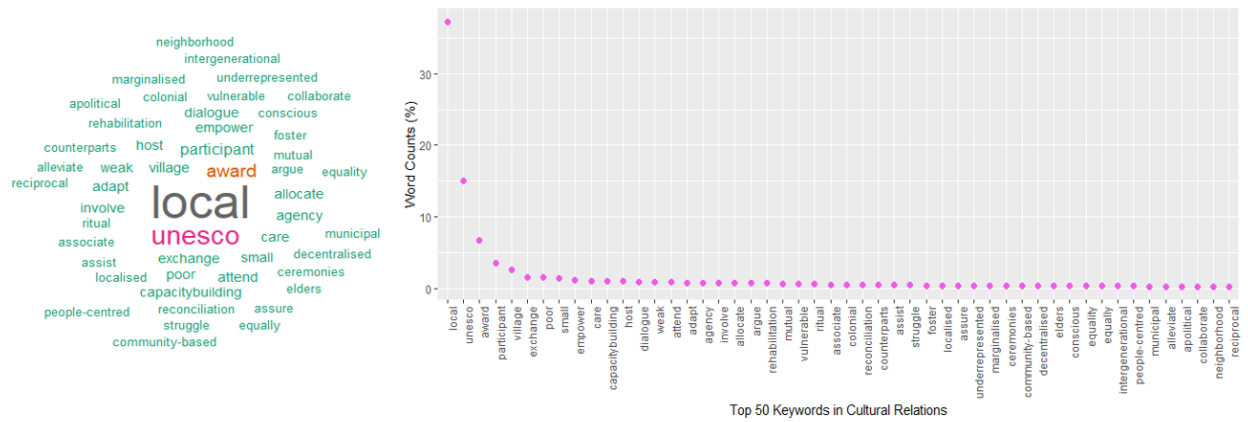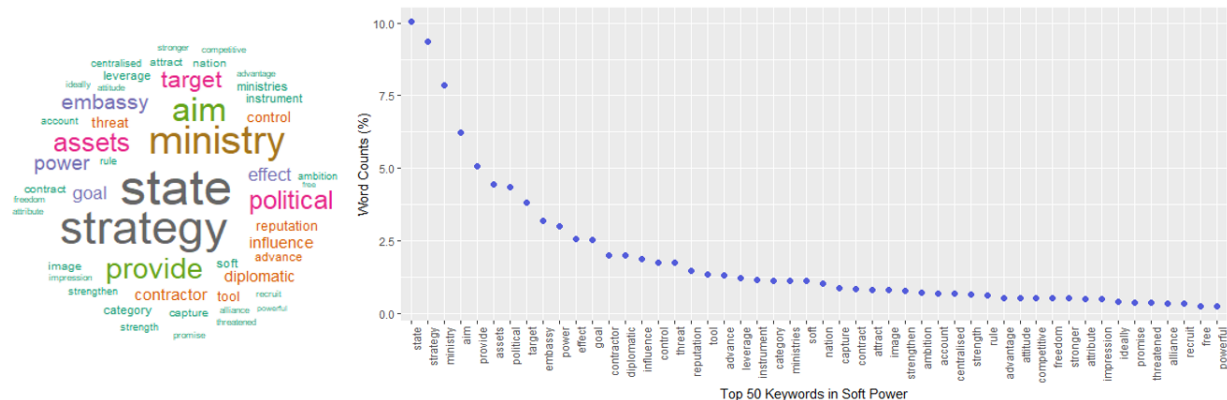
FIGURE 1: TOP 50 CULTURAL RELATIONS KEYWORDS IN ALL COUNTRIES

FIGURE 2: TOP 50 CULTURAL RELATIONS KEYWORDS BY COUNTRY

FIGURE 3: TOP 50 SOFT POWER KEYWORDS IN ALL COUNTRIES

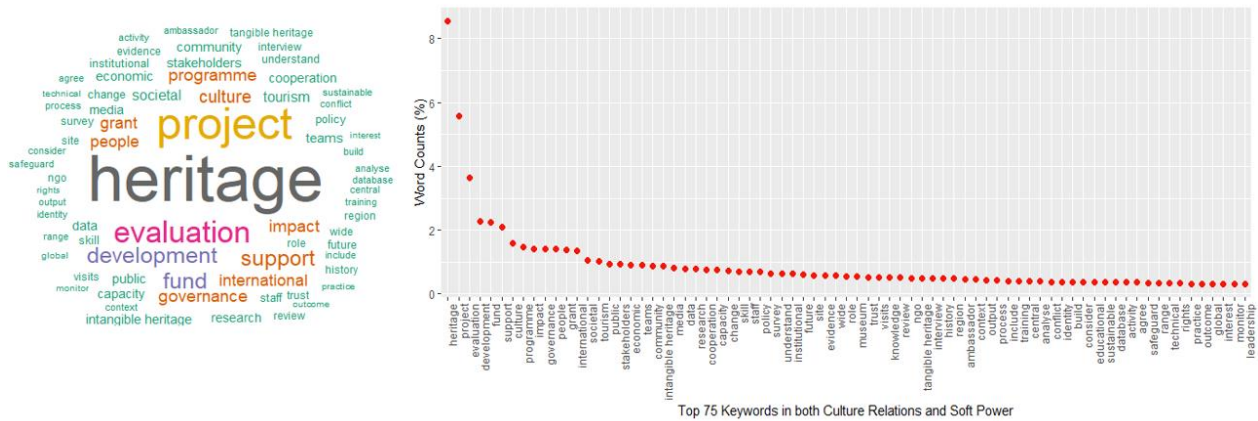
FIGURE 4: TOP 50 SOFT POWER KEYWORDS BY COUNTRY
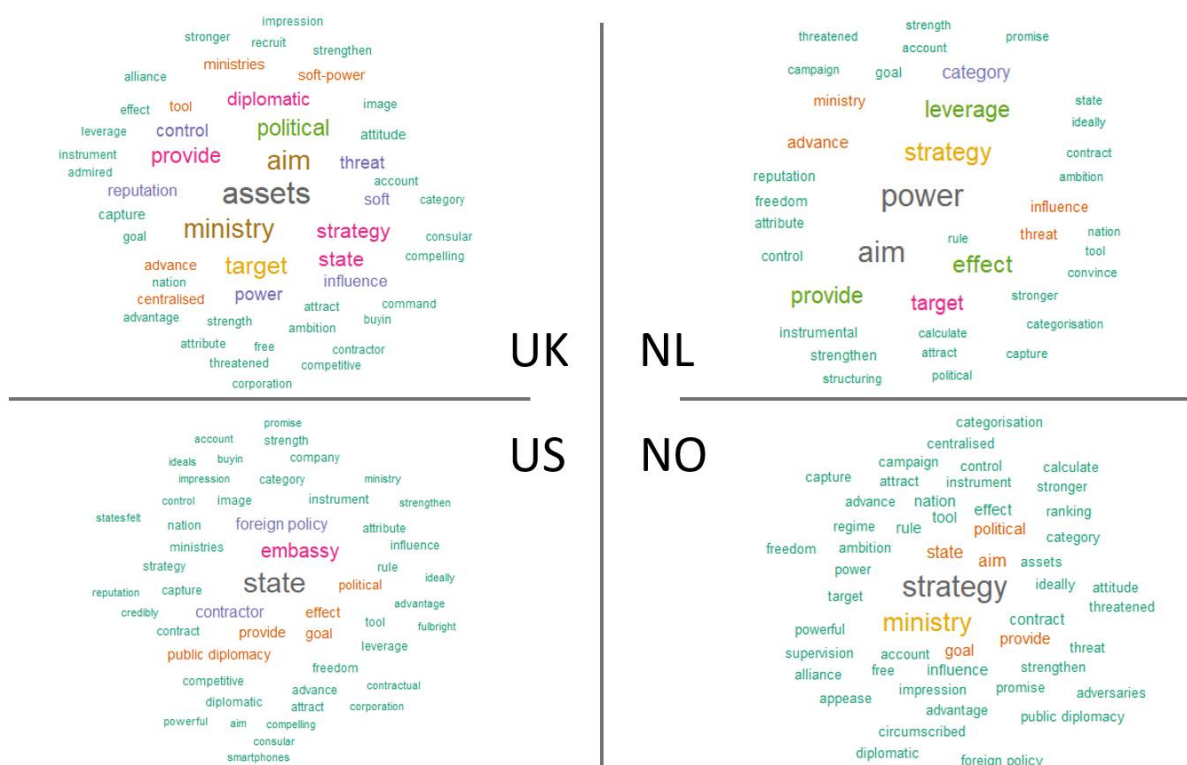
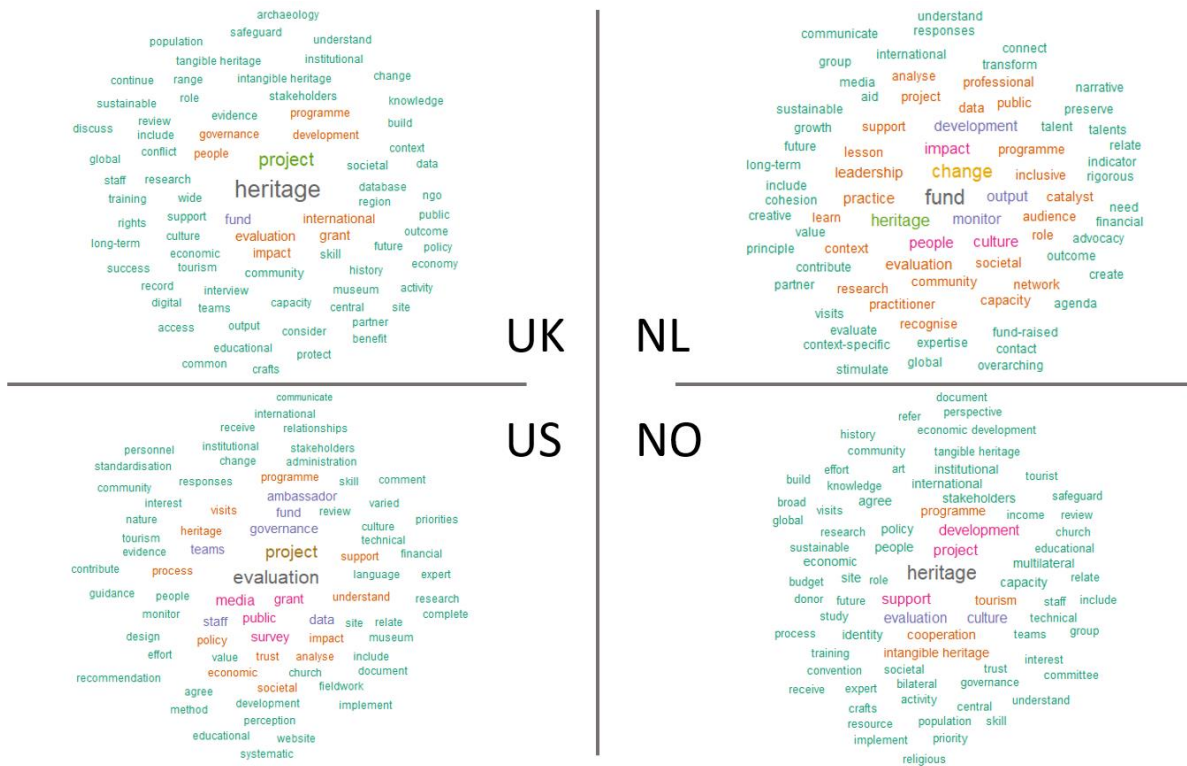FIGURE 5: TOP 75 BOTH CULTURAL RELATIONS AND SOFT POWER KEYWORDS IN ALL COUNTRIES

FIGURE 6: TOP 75 BOTH CULTURAL RELATIONS AND SOFT POWER KEYWORDS BY COUNTRY
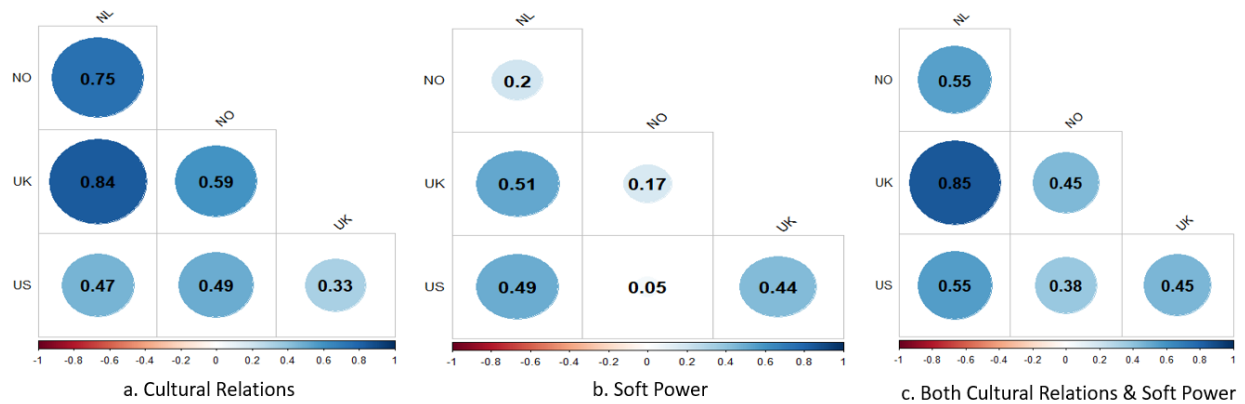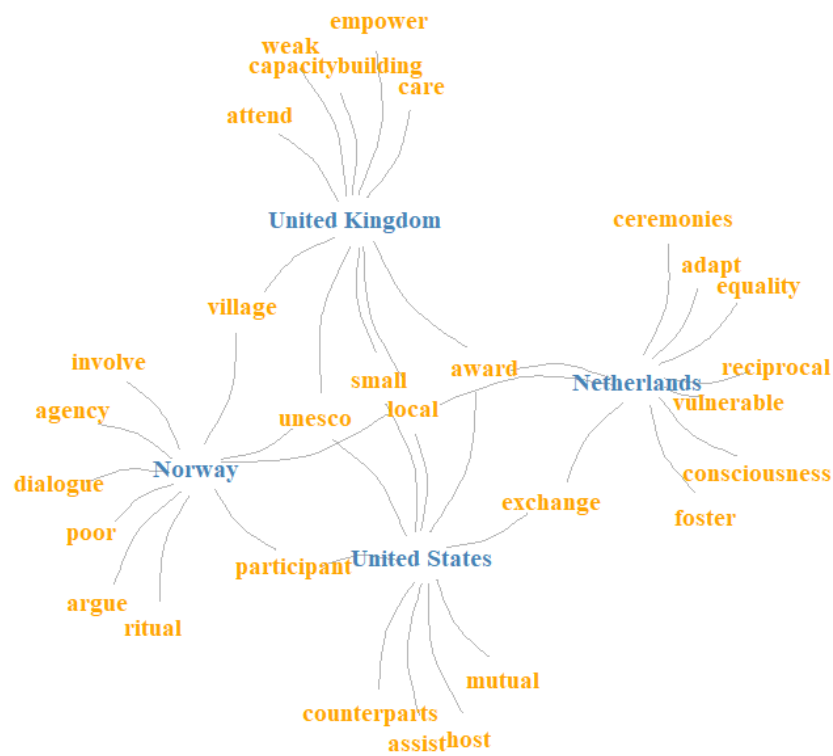
FIGURE 7: CORRELATION ANALYSIS
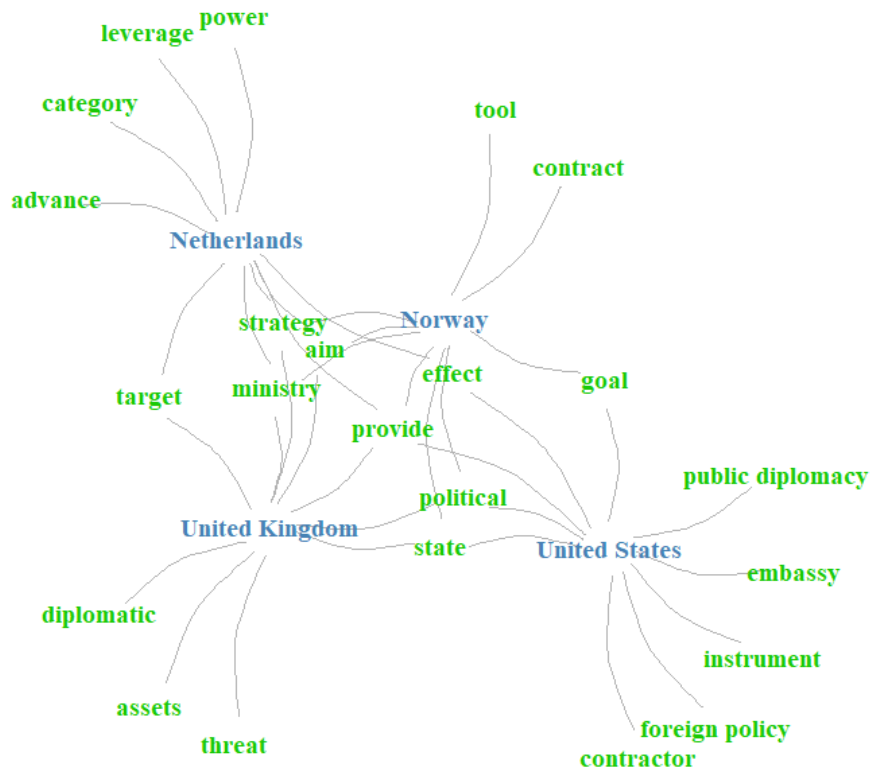

FIGURE 8: SIMILARITY OF TOP 10 CULTURAL RELATIONS KEYWORDS AMONG
FOUR COUNTRIES

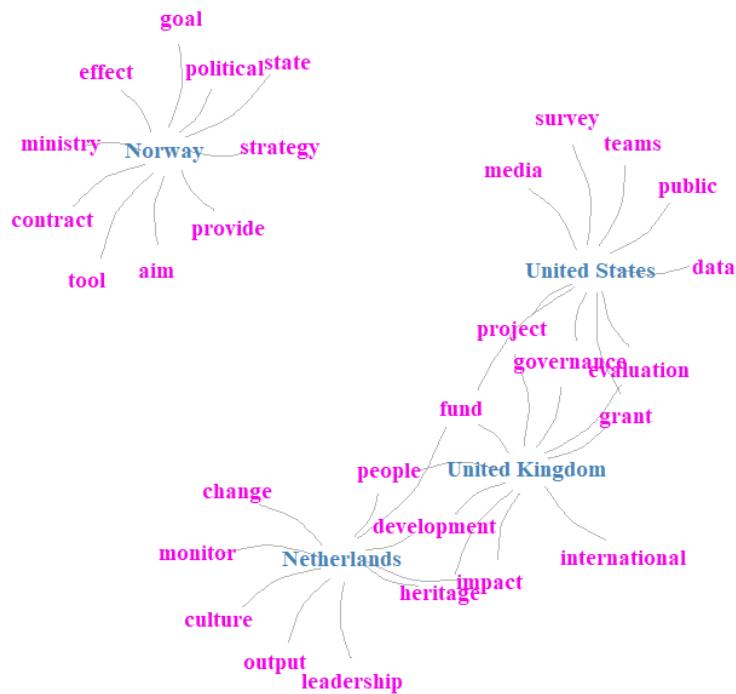FIGURE 9: SIMILARITY OF TOP 10 SOFT POWER KEYWORDS AMONG FOUR
COUNTRIES

FIGURE 10: SIMILARITY OF TOP 10 BOTH CULTURAL RELATIONS AND SOFT
POWER KEYWORDS AMONG COUNTRIES

Stakeholder Analysis and Mapping

As soft power and cultural relations are both processes and outcomes, the impact evaluation criteria must capture the dynamism inherent in the cultural preservation projects. Inputs, activities, outputs, outcomes, and final outcomes need to be determined through a mapping of stakeholder engagement process.

Impact evaluations should be designed with the program management style in mind. This is accomplished through careful stakeholder mapping, a participatory design process, and a theory of change and results chain that prioritizes flexibility and adaptation. Conducting an impact evaluation this way requires careful advanced planning, as rushed ad hoc changes that are not grounded in theory or evidence may lead a program from one problem to another. For instance, evaluators may choose to measure how well a program addressed the issues which arose during stakeholder engagement sessions, or whether a program was able to adapt to unexpected developments and correct the course of its activities.

Utilization-Focused Evaluation (UFE), developed by Michael Quinn Patton in his 2008 book by the same name, provides a good framework for practitioners who wish to focus their programmatic work on stakeholders. The central premise of UFE is that stakeholders should be identified, engaged with, and their needs and concerns met as the primary purpose of the program. Consequently, the evaluation of programs should be concerned with determining how well programs have addressed the needs of stakeholders, particularly the primary intended users of a project. Cultural relations are grounded in the interaction of different cultures, meaning that the effectiveness of identifying and collaborating with stakeholders is of the upmost importance in carrying out effective cultural relations programs.

Other organizations have incorporated a mandate for stakeholder mapping in cultural relations projects. A paper commissioned by the World Bank (Cernea 2001) elaborated a framework of cultural heritage and development in the Middle East and North Africa. Part of that framework includes project preparation instruments such as cultural heritage risk analyses, economic and financial valuation of heritage, and social and environmental assessments of cultural heritage in areas where World Bank projects are to be undertaken in the region.

This concern for culture evolved in the World Bank's Environmental and Social Standards (ESS) (World Bank 2016). These standards enumerate mandatory requirements for bank borrowers and projects which are meant to prevent undue damage to social and environmental goods. ESS8 addresses the importance of cultural heritage. The World Bank requires that projects consider "direct, indirect and cumulative project-specific risks and impacts on cultural heritage," including tangible and intangible cultural heritage, before they begin. Part of ESS8 is a careful stakeholder mapping process, which includes identifying both affected and interested parties and carrying out "meaningful consultations" with them. The World Bank goes so far as to delineate particular standards for different types of cultural heritage: archaeological sites and materials, built heritage, natural features with cultural significance, and movable cultural heritage.

A cultural relations approach to stakeholder mapping acknowledges both the importance of culture to development but also goes a step further in delineating the 'relations' that underlie culture and development efforts. As evidenced before, these relations are particularly important in building localised frameworks and participation. A soft power approach goes a step further to align cultural heritage measures with the donor country's values, institutions, and foreign policy goals.

Identifying Stakeholders

Stakeholder identification can begin with a single participant or from a group brainstorming session. The identification process laid out below has been taken from John M. Bryson and Michael Quinn Patton's excellent book chapter *Analyzing and Engaging Stakeholders* (2010). Bryson and Patton recommend the following initial steps for mapping stakeholder involvement:

1. Identify, name and note downs potential stakeholders for each project.
2. Divide the stakeholders into separate columns: "stake or interest in program" and "stake or interest in evaluation."
3. For each of these columns, list as many issues as possible for each stakeholder. What does the stakeholder want to get out of the program? And what does the stakeholder want to get

out of the evaluation? Participants should be careful to consider the point of view of the stakeholder as much as possible.

4. Determine what actions can be taken to satisfy the needs of stakeholders according to what has been written down in each column. Consider the relative power and interests of each stakeholder, and how they may influence the program and its evaluation.

5. Rank stakeholders according to their relative importance relative to the evaluation of the program. This provide a general understanding of who your key stakeholders are.

Participants initially focus on generating as broad a picture of stakeholder groups as possible; later sessions and methods can further narrow the list to include stakeholders, key stakeholders, and primary intended users.

The stakeholder mapping process is not complete until relative power dynamics and strategies for stakeholder management have been considered.

Power Dynamics

Cultural heritage and preservation programs take place in complex and shifting environments. It is important that practitioners be able to identify the power dynamics which exist within their stakeholder group and learn to plan around the competing interests of these constituencies. Four types of stakeholder come into our frame of view as a result of the exercise of noting the stakeholders and their interests. We will adopt the titles and definitions provided in Byrson and Patton (2010):
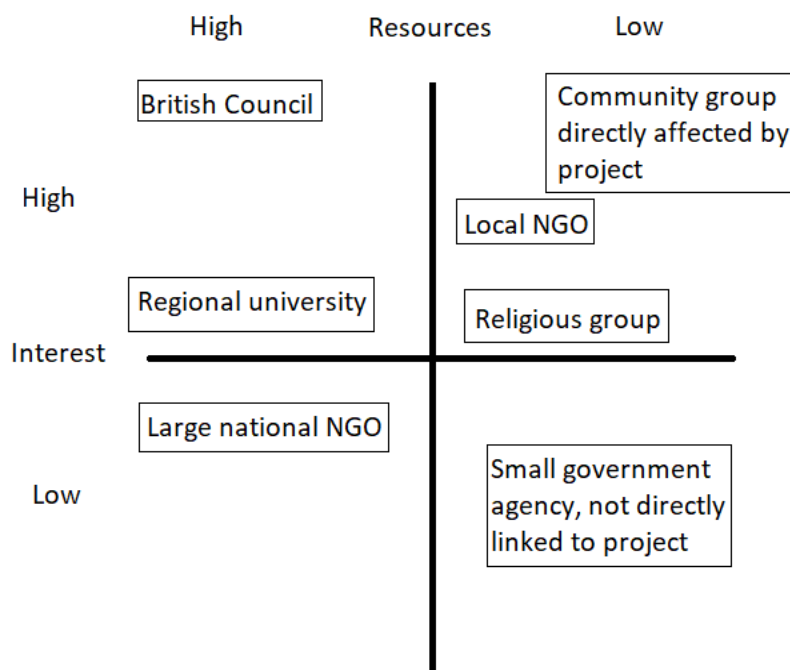
- Players – those with both interest and power to affect change

- Subjects – those with interest but little power

- Context Setters – those with power but little interest

- The Crowd – those with neither interest nor power

  The simplest way for practitioners to map out power dynamics is through an interest-resources table, as shown below for a hypothetical British Council project.

	High resources	**Low resources**
High Interest	Players: British Council, NORAD, Prince Claus Fund, US Department of States	Subjects: Societal actors affected by a cultural heritage practice/site
Low Interest	Context Setters: Agencies within national government, bureaucracy	Crowd: Other societal actors, NGOs, government officials who may not find the CPF project directly relevant

Adapted from Bryson and Patton (2010)

Next a grid can map out interests on the vertical axis and stakeholder power (determined here by the level of resources a group has) on the horizontal axis. Grids can be mapped out as part of an iterative process, in the same way that stakeholders are identified to begin with. Participants can focus on the *relative* interest and power of groups in order to develop accurate understandings of where different groups sit in the diagram. While the "high resource" and "high interest" labels may imply a feeling of absoluteness, participants can consider what constitutes "high resource" and "high interest" in their particular context. If practitioners wish to develop a more granular view of power dynamics, a quad graph like the one shown below can be used. This graph can incorporate multiple stakeholders in various different sections of the graph which indicate their relative power and interest.

High   Resources   Low

British Council

Community group directly affected by project

High

Local NGO

Regional university

Religious group

Interest

Large national NGO

Small government agency, not directly linked to project

Low

This is a process that some Cultural Protection Fund projects already incorporate into their activities. The Turquoise Mountain Trust project "Preserving Afghan Heritage" included a component that aimed to make one million Afghans aware of the Murad Khani neighbourhood and its arts and cultural history. This outreach included the specific targeting of Government of Afghanistan officials and university students through local and national media attention. By detailing the groups that they wish to gain attention from (government officials and students) and deciding on a strategy to do so (media attention), this project has adopted a strategy for dealing with power dynamics within their stakeholder groups.

Theory of Change & Results Chain

A theory of change explains the causal logic behind a program; it is a program's *raison d'etre.* A good theory of change explains how a particular intervention leads to the desired program outcome. A theory of change makes explicit the assumptions on which the logical framework rests. Compared to a results chain, a theory of change provides a broader view of the *how* and the *why* over a development project (Bullen 2013). The process of developing a theory of change helps practitioners to specify not only their program's objectives but also the framework around which the impact evaluation will be built.

Above all a theory of change emphasizes the theoretical underpinnings of a proposed intervention (Brown 2019): why will community members join a jobs training program? How will the program benefit participants? Can the local labor market absorb newly trained workers in this field? Practitioners use the theory of change to explain the linkages between theory, activity, and result. It is not necessary for a program to have one single theory of change. In fact, many projects have multiples theories of change, each of which explain how a single program intervention will lead to a desired outcome. Developing a theory of change presents practitioners with yet another opportunity to engage with project stakeholders. By developing the theory of change with stakeholder collaboration, practitioners can ensure that buy-in exists and that the proposed interventions are a good match for the operating environment. Thorough stakeholder mapping, as discussed above, will ensure that the appropriate stakeholders are engaged.

The theory of change in cultural heritage projects analyzed in this report follows from the soft power and cultural relations approaches. It provides the motivation for the British Council and other donors to undertake their activities and for the stakeholders at the project level to engage with them. The results chain follows naturally from the theory of change. It flows from the causal logic present in the theory of change and presents a more descriptive framework in which to view the program interventions and results. If the theory of change lays out the theoretical justification of a program's interventions, then the results chain contextualizes that theory of change by adding necessary conditions, underlying assumptions, and a chain of events leading from beginning to end. The results chain includes every aspect of a program design that will lead from input to final outcome, explaining exactly how a project will achieve the results set out for it in a step-by-step manner. The results chain concept does not have a strictly prescribed form factor, but a good starting point includes the following sections at minimum:

- Inputs: Project resources including staff time and expertise, budget, etc.
- Activities: Specific interventions or actions, designed to convert inputs to outputs.
- Outputs: The goods or services that project activities produce.
- Outcomes: The short- and medium-term results that are expected to be achieved as a result of outputs.
- Final Outcomes: The results achieved by the project, typically over a long period of time.

Designing a Results Chain

A results chain can be represented graphically as a table where inputs lead to activities, which lead to outputs, which lead to outcomes, which lead to final outcomes. It can be helpful for practitioners to do this as a reminder that the results chain has to incorporate the temporal elements of a project; it starts at the beginning and finishes at the end. Below Table xx provides a results chain table for a hypothetical cultural preservation fund project.

Table - Adapted from Gertler et al (2016)

Inputs →	Activities →	Outputs →	Outcomes →	Final Outcomes
Human, material, and financial resources	Types of activities undertaken toward project goals	Type of cultural preservation, social and expertise networks created	Degree of community strength, types of cultural value, and development outcomes	Cultural relations that engender trust and reciprocity through participation and dialogues Continued attractiveness of donor soft power: values, institutions, foreign policy objectives
Examples: Human, material, and financial resources	Examples: • Physical restoration of heritage. • Training in traditional skills. • Development of links with international artists. • Raising awareness of cultural heritage and restoration • Nurturing creative entrepreneurs.	Examples: • Types of heritage restored, including numbers of artefacts and people involved •surveys on awareness about donor •surveys on awareness of restoration	Describe outcomes •socio-economic development outcomes •reduction of conflict	Link to CR (data from mixed methodologies) • cultural relations and soft power matrices as above
Implementation: Supply side			Outputs: Demand side	

Components are split between the supply side (inputs, activities, and outputs), and the demand side (outcomes, final outcomes). Well-developed results chains bring assumptions and project

risks to the surface, allowing practitioners to plan for potential problems. Outcomes and final outcomes will remain the same regardless of how many changes take place on the supply side of the results chain. That demand side outputs be relatively stable is critical, as it allows for project adaptation and user-focused planning as called for by the structured flexibility approach while allowing for project staff to specify evaluation questions and performance indicators ahead of time, allowing for impact evaluations to occur later.

Part IV: Contributions to Soft Power and Cultural Relations Goals

As we have seen in the previous sections, cultural relations and soft power mean different things to different actors and will be practiced differently. Given that "uniform decisions of culture and cultural relations and its related concepts are ultimately neither possible nor desirable", it might therefore make sense to accept a previous report's advice and "to work with the diversity of notions of cultural relations emerging in different countries at different times and through different institutions" (British Council and Goethe Institut 2018, 13). Successful cultural relations and soft power approaches were the ones that shared common elements of culture as a shared value and principles of cooperation, mutual trust and reciprocity.

A great amount of these four countries' programming was conducted taking into consideration the need to improve these countries' images abroad. The effects of these organizations' programming on cultural relations or soft power goals are often measured with online surveys. As an example, a Social Impact Inc. (SI) survey conducted as an AFCP performance evaluation says "88% of the respondents reported their AFCP projects collectively had an observable positive impact on public diplomacy or foreign policy objectives in the country. The projects promoted a positive impression of the U.S., increased U.S. visibility in the host country, and/or promoted mutual understanding" (Social Impact 2019, 1). The British Council evaluation reports also report about soft power, but they go one step further in explaining that these soft power goals are closely aligned to the British Council's *Cultural Relations* mission. The evaluation concludes that "the fund is generating soft power benefits for the UK and supporting the FCDO's ambition that the UK is seen as a Force for Good. It has become a valued tool for the British diplomats abroad since it serves as a *diplomatic ice-breaker* helping to "open ministerial doors and can strengthen U.K. government to government relations" (In2Impact 2021, 4). However, "most examples of these changes were anecdotal and not systematically tracked" (US Department of State 2019a, 7). British Council (2021, 16) also mentions several challenges with reports including lack of logic that derives these projects, opaqueness of methods, problems with data and attribution of causality to outcomes, counterfactual evidence, and lack of critical insights.

This report provides a conceptual and empirical context to the evaluation of soft power and cultural relations approaches for cultural preservation. The resounding lesson, if any, in this study is that the two approaches complement each other. In terms of key words outlined in this study, 76 percent of the keywords covered both cultural relations and soft power goals. Another lesson in the study is the similarity of the three European approaches. The United States is explicit in describing its cultural preservation approach as a form of public diplomacy, in contrast to Europeans who see it as part of their soft power.

Appendix A: Cultural Relations Approach Comparisons – the British Council, UNESCO, and the World Bank

Appendix A provides the results of a content analysis executeds in 2019 comparing British Council approaches with those of UNESCO and the World Bank. Only cultural relations approaches were used as soft power analyses with international organizations would be difficult.\

The first step in impact evaluation is to gauge if the British Council cultural relations approach is reflected in the cultural preservation projects and is distinguishable and different from projects implemented from other international organizations. A follow-up step, employing similar methodologies, compares and contrasts British Council's overall organizational approach toward cultural preservation with those taken at the project level.

Project completion documents are useful for analyzing these distinctions. Figure 1-3 provides word trees and graphs for top 50 selected keywords from British Council, World Bank and UNESCO project completion documents for cultural preservation projects. Appendix A lists the documents studied for each organization. The top 50 keywords were selected based on the literature reviewed in Section 1 of this report. Principal Investigator JP Singh and doctoral student Neslihan Kaptanoglu selected the 50 keywords from a complete list of all words used in each approach. An initial content analysis yielded 3762 unique words used in one or more of the project documents from each organization). Singh and Kaptanoglu went through these lists independently and calibrated their differences through discussion. Excluding three words ('heritage', 'culture', and 'active') that show up in each organization's top 13 keywords, the other 10 keywords for each organization are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1: TOP TEN KEYWORDS		
BRITISH COUNCIL	UNESCO	WORLD BANK
Train	Evaluate	Manage
Protect	Manage	Tourism
Local	Train	Achieve
Youth	Include	Communities
Evaluate	Impact	Local
Award	Provide	Design
Communities	Response	Support
Manage	Team	Finance
Group	Social	Include
Grant	Recommend	Prepare

At face value, words such as 'communities', 'social', and 'local' seem to indicate participatory approaches that all three organizations share. Closer analysis points to crucial differences: top words such a tourism, achieve, design and finance in the World Bank's approach imply an instrumentality that is different from the British Council

approach that includes words such as train, protect, local, active, and youth. However, words such as local, support, and include from the World Bank are same or similar to other words that British Council uses such as local, award, group. These differences are borne out in correlational analysis presented in Table 2. When the top 100 keywords are compared against each organization, the World Bank's top 100 keywords are closer to British Council (70 percent correlation) versus UNESCO's top 100 that provides a 37 percent correlation between the two organizations. This is also supported with correlational analysis of all words used in the report (Table 3): the correlation between the British Council and UNESCO is 56 percent and with the World Bank 80 percent.
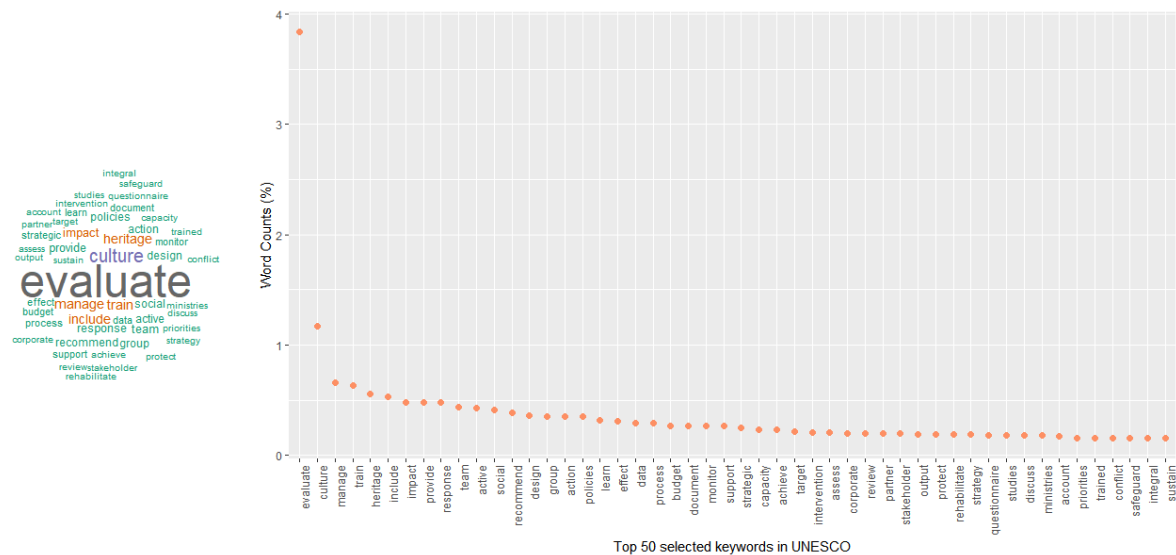
FIGURE 1: BRITISH COUNCIL TOP 50 WORDS

Top 50 selected keywords in British Council
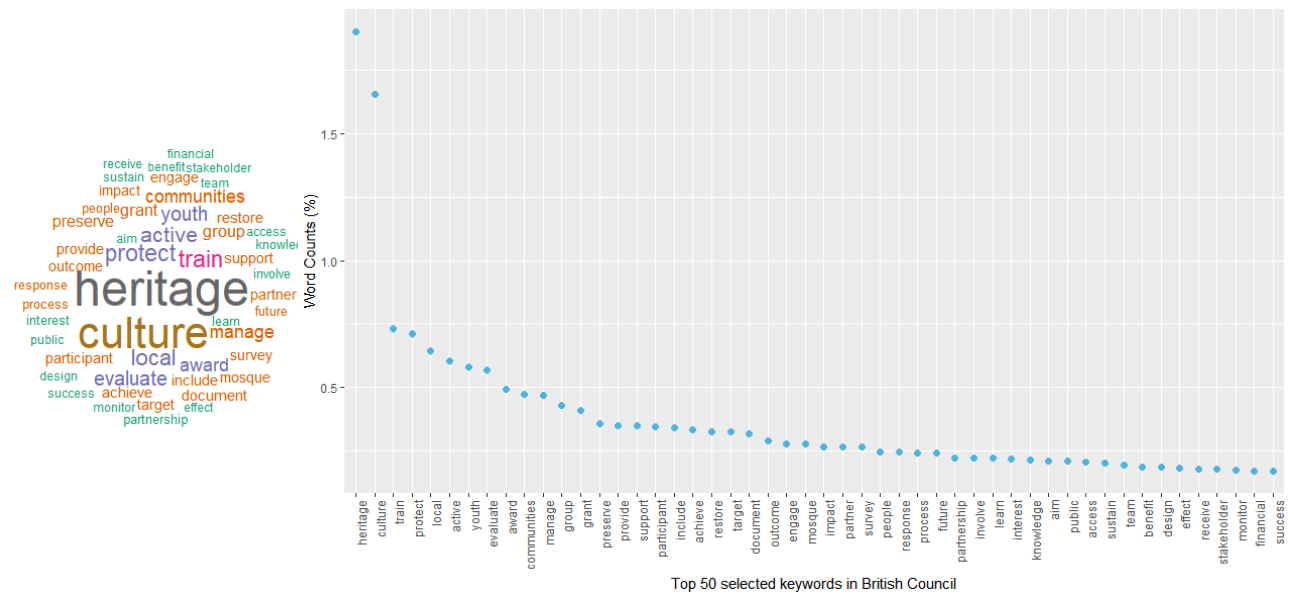
FIGURE 2: UNESCO TOP 50 WORDS

Top 50 selected keywords in UNESCO

FIGURE 3: WORLD BANK TOP 50 WORDS

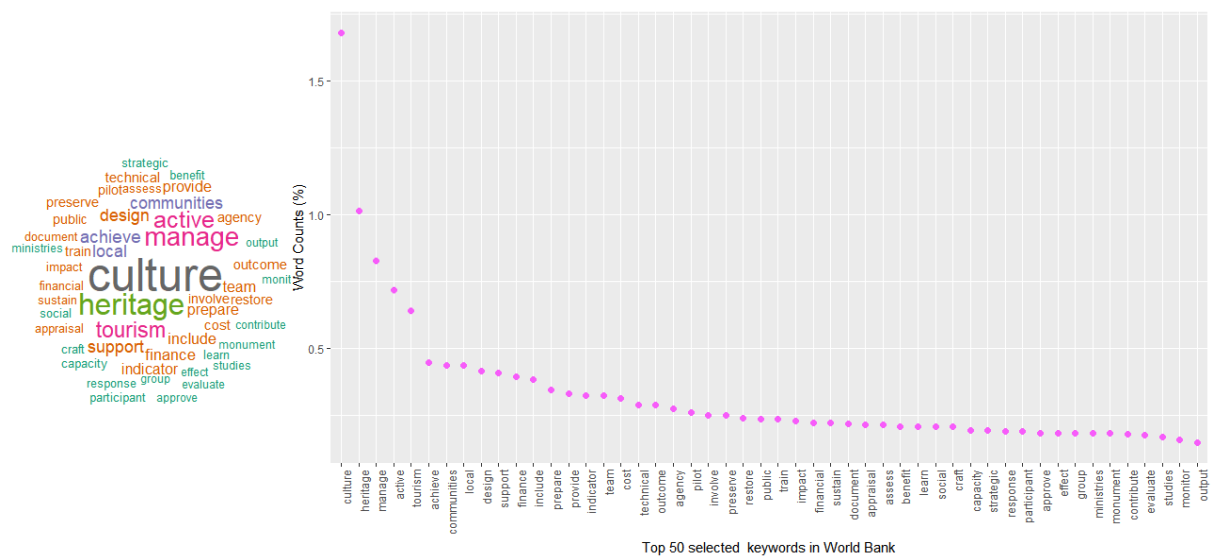Top 50 selected keywords in World Bank

TABLE 2 TOP 100 WORD CORRELATIONS

Correlation Analysis (N=204)
Select top 100 word counts from each organization

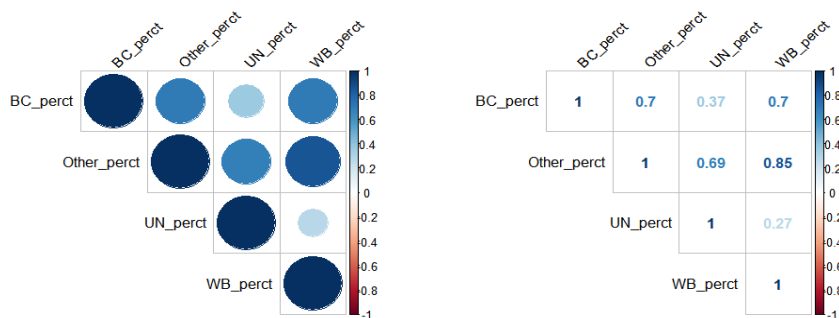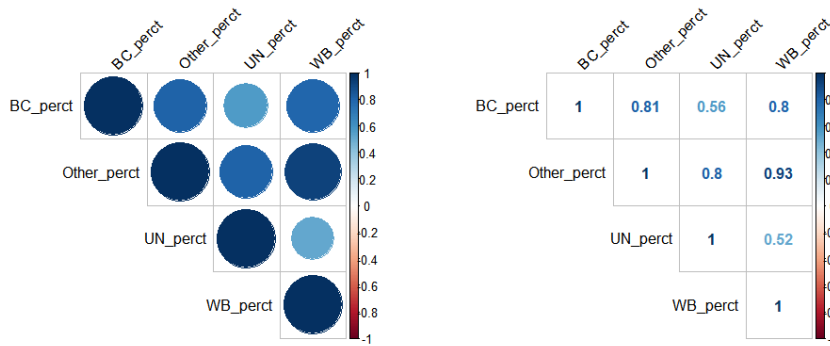**TABLE 3 ALL WORDS: CORRELATIONS**

Correlation Analysis (N = 7,076)

The British Council's approach may be further analyzed through a 2-gram analysis of top 50 keywords. The N-grams analysis is used to extract texts to sequential sets of N items. For example, if N is 2, "Cultural Protection Fund projects" can be decomposed as three pairs of words:

Cultural Protection

Protection Fund

Fund projects

Based on the pairs of words, we can establish a directional edge list and generate a word association network. For example, the three pairs of words above can be represented as a directional network, Cultural -> Protection -> Fund -> projects.

In the British Council 2-gram network (see Figure 4), we can observe that the majority of words were clustered on the left side. "local", "cultural" and "heritage", mentioned above, are key bridges to connect words together. The network may be explained in a way that "heritage" was frequently co-occurred with organizations, sites, sector, preservation, management or identification. "local" communities, people, authorities and events were frequently mentioned

across the British Council documents. "Cultural" protection, "cultural" heritage, or protect/protecting "cultural" can be viewed as another set of word association.

The position of "cultural" is particularly important in the network and may reveal the importance of British Council's cultural relations approach, which co-joins traditional elements of cultural heritage protection through engagement with local communities. This is illustrated in Figure 4: if "cultural" was removed from the network, "local", "heritage" and the surrounding words would be split into two clusters of networks. The "local" network includes words such as "communities", "people", and "events" that are important for a cultural relations framework. The "heritage" network includes words such as "sites", "monuments", "preservation" and "protection" but also everyday managerial functions such as "management", "fund", and "project".

FIGURE 4: 2-GRAM NETWORKS

British Council 2-gram Networks:
top 50 co-occurrences with selected keywords
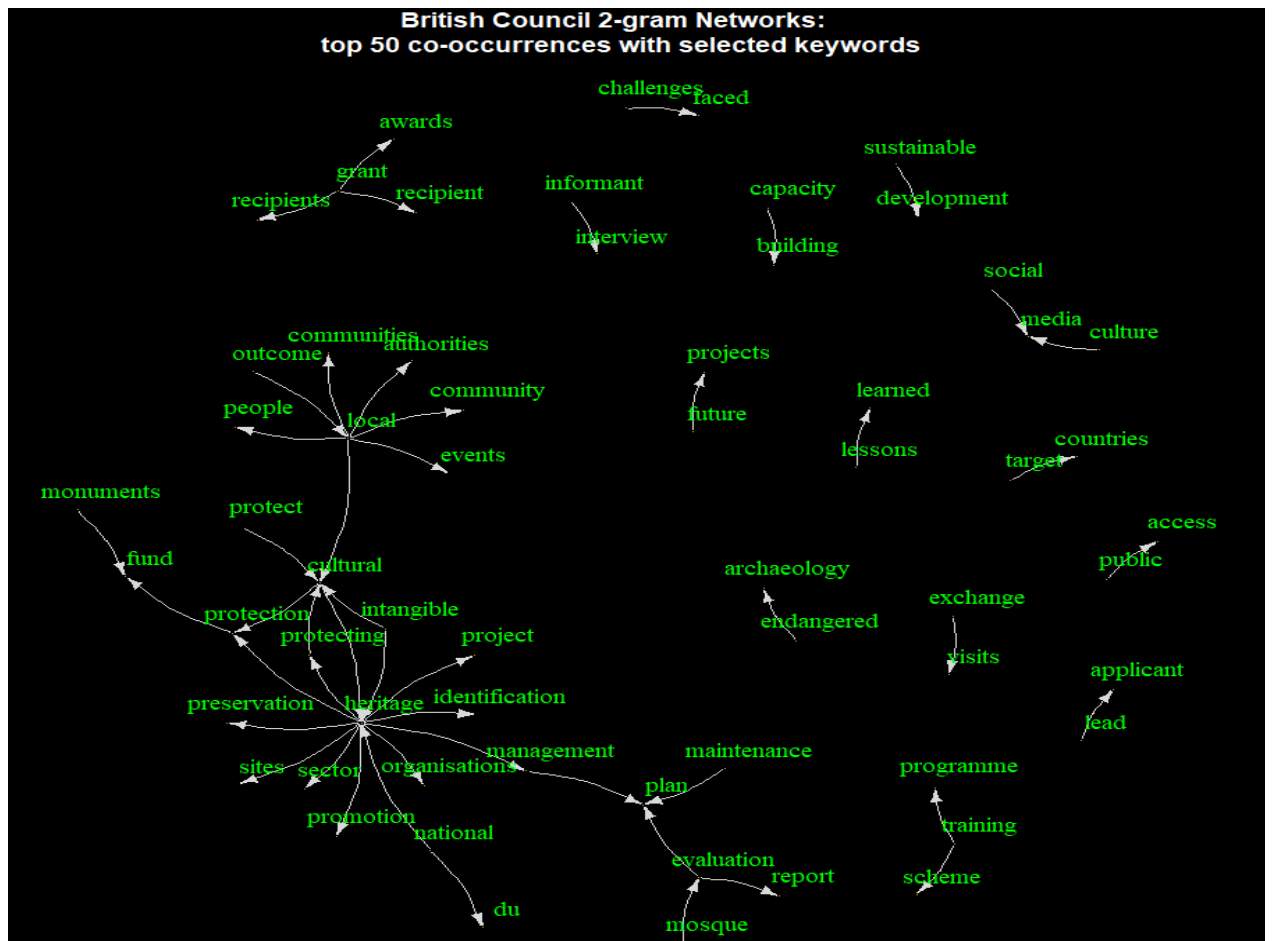
APPENDIX A: Document Sources

UNESCO

1. "UNESCO Desk Study Checklist.pdf"

2. "UNESCO Eval Handbook.pdf"

3. "UNESCO Eval Policy.pdf"

4. "UNESCO Mali Project Eval.pdf"

5. "UNESCO_B1-07_Evaluation Report.pdf"

World Bank

1. "WB Cultural Heritage Pilot RESULTS REPORT.pdf"

2. "WB Ethiopia Cultural Heritage Results and Completion Report.pdf"

3. "WB George Cultural Heritage Project Results and Completion Report.pdf"

4. "WB Romania Cultural Heritage Project Results and Completion Report.pdf"

5. "WB Tunisia Cultural Heritage RESULTS REPORT.pdf"

British Council

1. "16-17 Annual Report.pdf"

2. "17-18 Annual Report.pdf"

3. "18-19 Annual Report.pdf"

4. "CPF-258-16 Palais Ksar Said Evaluation Report.pdf"

5. "Evaluation Report - FINAL.pdf"

6. "Evaluation Report.pdf"

7. "Khalidi Library evaluation report_FinalSubmitted.pdf"

8. "Syrian Stone Masonry Training Scheme Evaluation Final Draft 6th Dec 2018.pdf"

9. "TOURATHI PROJECT – FINAL EVALUATION.pdf"

10. "Website-CPF Projects.pdf"

11. "1.1 EVALUATION Report. 7.3.2019.docx"

12. "Cultural Protection Fund and SDG themes.docx"

13. "LIVE Draft CPF annual report 2018 19 - for DCMS.docx"

14. "Section of CPF project outcomes.docx"

15. "Yazidi final evaluation2.docx"

APPENDIX B: British Council: Organizational and Project Level Comparisons

The content analysis of key words and the n-gram analysis of British Council's annual reports on the Cultural Protection Fund and project-level evaluation documents shows important similarities related to heritage protection and evaluation. The contrasts relate to important functions executed at the organizational level of the British Council that pertain to management, training, grants, awards and funding.

The top 10 keywords at the organizational and project levels are the following:

TABLE 4: TOP 10 KEYWORDS: ORGANIZATIONAL AND PROJECT LEVEL DOCUMENTS FOR THE CULTURAL PROTECTION FUND	
PROJECT LEVEL	ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL
Heritage	Heritage
Culture	Culture
Youth	Grant
Local	Train
Train	Protect
Active	Award
Protect	Target
Evaluate	Manage
Communities	Local
Grant	Financial

The next set of figures demonstrate the closeness of the organizational and project-level approaches through word clouds, keywords, and the correlational analyses.
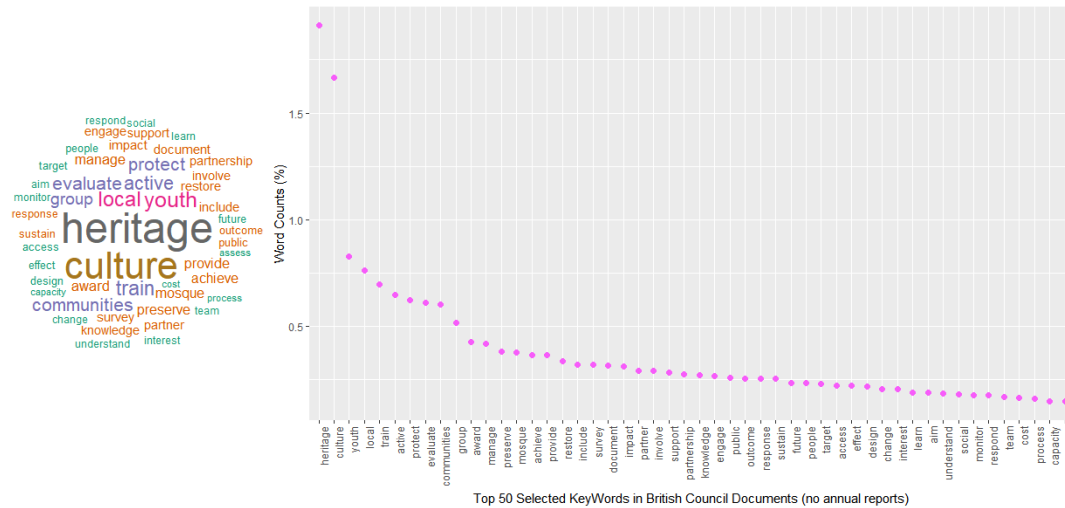

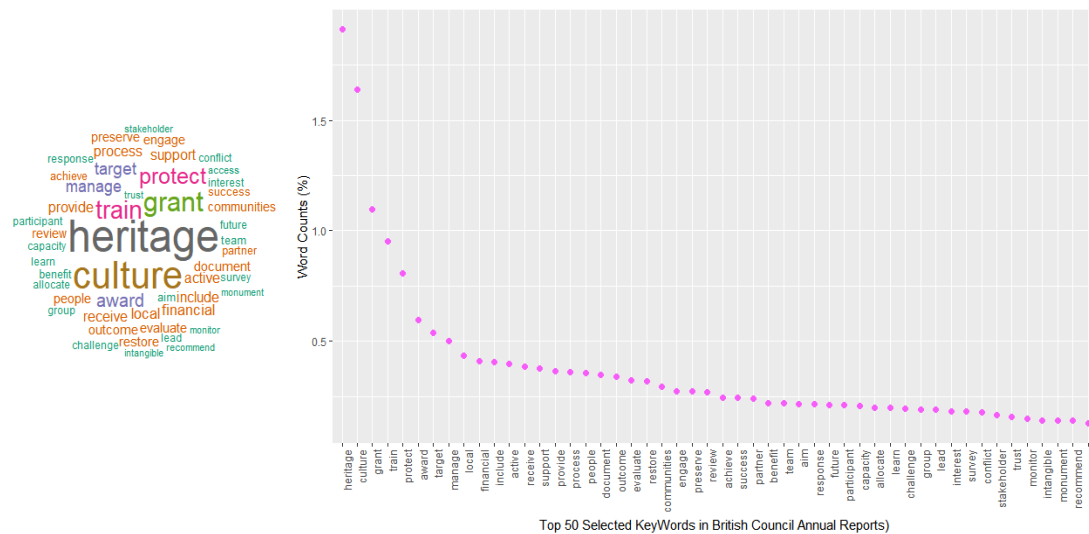Figure 5: Key words and Word Cloud at the Project Level

Figure 6: Key words and Word Clouds at the Organizational Level

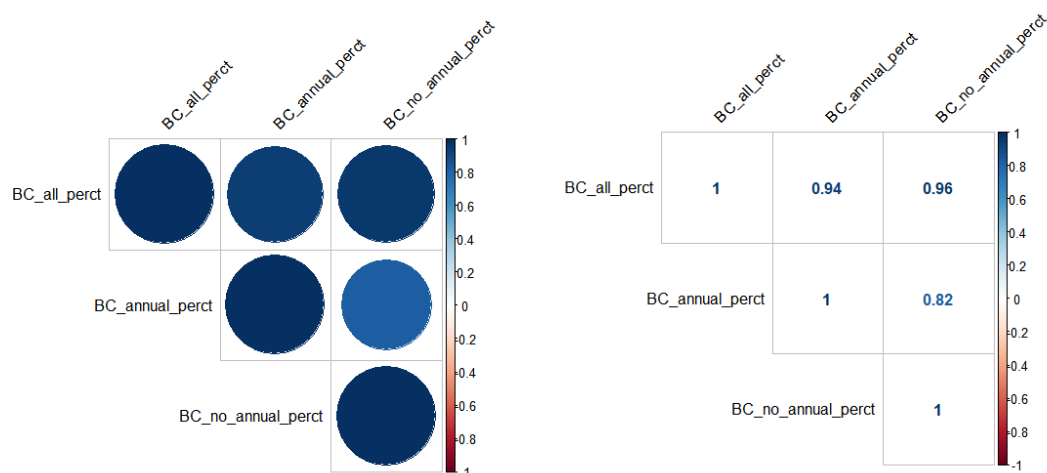## Correlation Analysis (N = 195)

Figure 7: Key Words: Correlational Analysis

The British Council's approach was analyzed earlier through a 2-gram analysis of top 50 keywords. A similar approach is taken toward 2-gram analysis of the organizational and project levels (Figures 8 & 9). In both project reports and organizational (annual reports) networks, we can observe that "heritage" has a highest score of the degree centrality, implying that "heritage" connected with a largest number of keywords and is the most important keyword. We can also observe that the words connected to "heritage" are slightly different in both networks. For example, "Iraq" and "Palestine" appeared in the project reports network but were not found in the annual reports network. In addition, the project reports network formed an "evaluation" cluster where "evaluation" was surrounded by "mosque", "aim", "plan" and "report", which did not occur in the annual reports network. It is possible that the project reports lean toward being mission-oriented, so country names and evaluation repetitively occurred in the reports.

Contrastingly, the "heritage" cluster in the annual reports network displays a linkage chain showing that the annual reports are likely to emphasize management and training programme, heritage -> sector -> management -> training -> programme, the annual reports network also has "grant" and "development" clusters illustrating that the annual reports tend to discuss funding allocation and future goals. The "grant" cluster was connected by "awards" and "recipients", and the "development" cluster was linked by "goals", "economic", "sustainable" and "assistance".
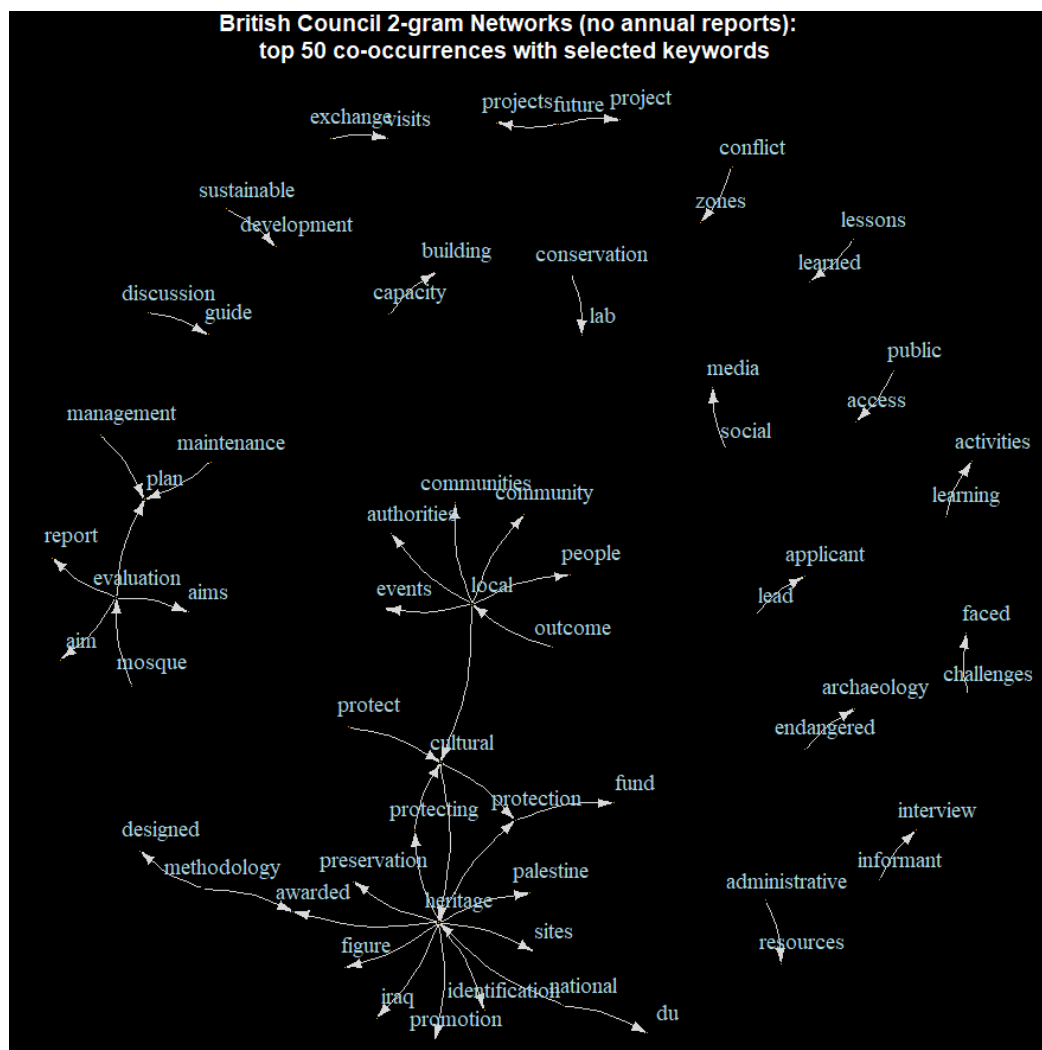

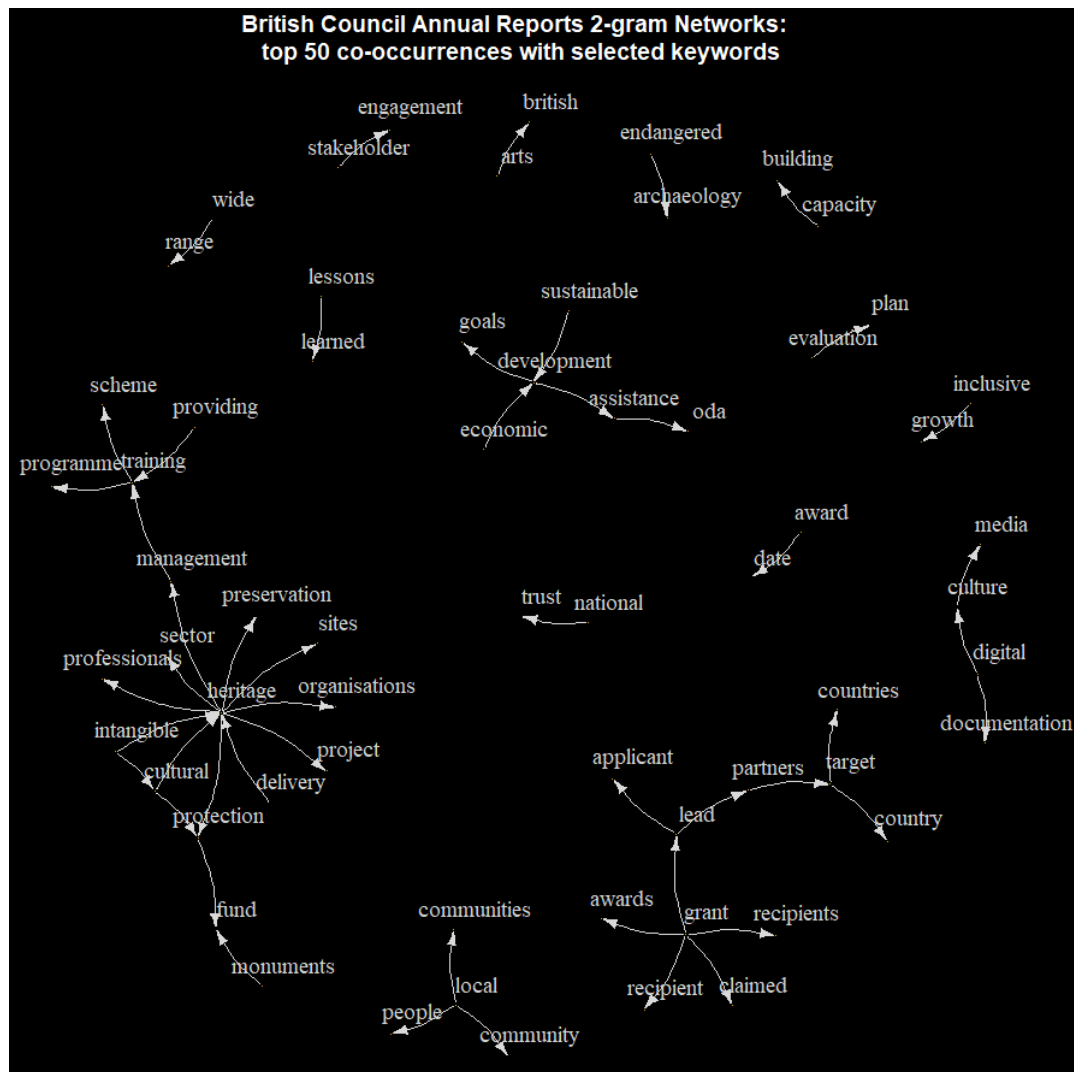Figure 8: British Council's 2-gram Cluster at Project Level

Figure 9: British Council's 2-gram Cluster at the Organizational Programme Level

APPENDIX C: British Council Projects -- Results Chains

1. Tourathi Project – "My Heritage"
2. Syrian Stonemasonry Training Scheme
   a. CPI-059-16
3. Cultural & Natural Heritage; A Tool for Socio-Economic Development
   a. CPS-276-17
4. The Restoration of The Moqbil Mosque in The Oasis of Siwa
   a. CPS-040-16
5. Palais Ksar Said
   a. CPF-258-16
6. Preserving Afghan Heritage
   a. Do not have M&E results
7. Khalidi Library: Preserving Palestinian Heritage, Protecting the Future

Tourathi Project: My Heritage

Inputs →	Activities →	Outputs →	Outcomes →	Final Outcomes
Human, material, and financial resources	Types of activities undertaken toward project goals	Type of cultural preservation, social and expertise networks created	Degree of community strength, types of cultural value, and development outcomes	Cultural relations that engender trust and reciprocity through participation and dialogues
Human, material, and financial resources	• Train youth volunteers on cultural heritage mapping • Produce cultural heritage maps which document heritage sites in activity regions; distribute these maps in the form of booklets to attract potential visitors • Organize and host activities which highlight regional and local heritage sites and activities • Partner with a communications agency to develop a social media plan to encourage involvement and visitation to the heritage regions	• 30 youth recruited in 6 communities from different geographic locations are trained in documentation, recording, and research methods • Five local cultural heritage elements mapped and documented in each community: • 6 local events are organized with at least 180 community members in attendance	• Project participants increase their skills and knowledge, leading to increased employment opportunities • Lebanese community members participate in cultural heritage activities • Communities see an increase in visitors drawn to cultural heritage sites	• Lebanese youth from diverse backgrounds and communities are engaged in their cultural heritage • Local community members have an improved understanding and interest in the value and diversity of cultural heritage • Increased awareness and interest in local cultural heritage leads to community-led preservation activities • Tourism to heritage sites increases economic growth in the region
Implementation: Supply side			Outputs: Demand side	

Syrian Stonemasonry Training Scheme

Inputs →	Activities →	Outputs →	Outcomes →	Final Outcomes
Human, material, and financial resources	Types of activities undertaken toward project goals	Type of cultural preservation, social and expertise networks created	Degree of community strength, types of cultural value, and development outcomes	Cultural relations that engender trust and reciprocity through participation and dialogues
Human, material, and financial resources	• Train Syrian refugees and local Jordanians in traditional stonemasonry techniques • Develop a "trainee trainer" program to recruit and teach Syrians who will develop the skills to train other students themselves • Implement a Youth Engagement Program (YEP) to increase cultural heritage appreciation among schoolchildren	• 4 trainee trainers and 30 students undergo a 50-week training process in stonemasonry • 5 female students are recruited and complete the training course • 6 YEP workshops are held with local students • A one-day seminar was held with 143 participants in London to share project outcomes and objectives	• Training participants have developed a valuable skill that increases their employability • Schoolchildren have an increased appreciation for cultural heritage • Stone-built cultural and monumental heritage is more secure due to the increased number of qualified stonemasons to undertake restoration work	• The region's economic and cultural outcomes are bettered through training and outreach activities • Trainee trainers begin to teach other local people in stonemasonry techniques leading to a self-sustaining professional community
Implementation: Supply side			Outputs: Demand side	

Cultural & Natural Heritage: A Tool for Socio-Economic Development

Inputs →	Activities →	Outputs →	Outcomes →	Final Outcomes
Human, material, and financial resources	Types of activities undertaken toward project goals	Type of cultural preservation, social and expertise networks created	Degree of community strength, types of cultural value, and development outcomes	Cultural relations that engender trust and reciprocity through participation and dialogues
Human, material, and financial resources	• The Ein Al-Balad Area and the Al-Maidan Square are preserved and restored • Local workers are recruited and trained as part of the restoration work undertaken in the Ein Al-Balad Area • Open agricultural markets are scheduled to promote agritourism	• Over 20 workers are employed by the project and trained on-site in preservation and rehabilitation techniques • A 5-year Maintenance and Management plan is developed to secure the heritage site • 8 meetings and 4 site visits between the local community and project workers are carried out to raise awareness for the project	• Tangible heritage is preserved through the restoration activities • Intangible heritage, such as festivals and traditions, is preserved through the restoration of Al-Maidan Square • More visitors come to the region based on program activities • Community awareness of cultural heritage increased • Workers see better employment outcomes through increased skills gained during program period	• The Ein Al-Balad Area sees an increase in economic growth due to new agritourism businesses and the restoration of project areas • Increased community awareness of cultural heritage leads to community efforts to protect and preserve the Ein Al-Balad area and Al-Maidan Square • Restored areas see increased business usage as a result of new visitors and better infrastructure
Implementation: Supply side			Outputs: Demand side	

The Restoration of the Mogbil Mosque in the Oasis of Siwa

Inputs →	Activities →	Outputs →	Outcomes →	Final Outcomes
Human, material, and financial resources	Types of activities undertaken toward project goals	Type of cultural preservation, social and expertise networks created	Degree of community strength, types of cultural value, and development outcomes	Cultural relations that engender trust and reciprocity through participation and dialogues
Human, material, and financial resources	• Restore one of the original three mosques located in the Oasis of Siwa • Train local people in restoration techniques for kershef building, and employ trainees in the mosque restoration activity • Develop community awareness of the condition of the Shali Fortress and its surrounding buildings and its cultural value and vulnerable condition	• An architectural survey of the mosque site is carried out to develop a restoration plan • A sustainable maintenance plan is developed to determine how best to preserve the Moqbil Mosque compound and the surrounding Shali Fortress • 10 local Siwis (8 under 30 years old) are recruited and taught traditional kershef building techniques	• Tourism to the region is increased due to the restoration of the Moqbil Mosque • Training participants can secure employment in traditional construction techniques • Local building owners understand and appreciate the cultural heritage of the buildings that they own within the Shali Fortress and surrounding area	• Economic outcomes are increased among Siwis due to increased employment skills and tourism driven by the mosque rehabilitation • Increased awareness of the heritage value of the Shali Fortress and its mosques leads to community preservation and management efforts • Restored mosques can be used by the community as sites of gathering, worship and prayer, leading to a greater sense of community and prosperity
Implementation: Supply side			Outputs: Demand side	

Palais Ksar Said Project

Inputs →	Activities →	Outputs →	Outcomes →	Final Outcomes
Human, material, and financial resources	Types of activities undertaken toward project goals	Type of cultural preservation, social and expertise networks created	Degree of community strength, types of cultural value, and development outcomes	Cultural relations that engender trust and reciprocity through participation and dialogues
Human, material, and financial resources	• Scan the interior of the Palais Ksar Said to preserve its cultural value and create a 3D model for educational purposes • Develop content for use in a virtual tour of the palace • Engage with young Tunisians to develop an appreciation for shared Tunisian cultural heritage	• A full 3D scan of the interior of the palace was developed, as well as dioramas of different parts of the palace for use in educational content • Designed content for 5 "mission" assignments in the virtual tour of Palais Ksar Said, promoting users to explore the diorama of the palace • Targeted 200,000 Facebook users with information and news related to the project • Worked with student groups to gain feedback on planned educational activities related to the project	• Students across Tunisia are provided with the opportunity to learn more about Tunisian culture • The Tunisian public is engaged with efforts to preserve culturally significant sites in the country	• The cultural value of the Palais Ksar Said is strengthened by preserving 3D scans of its interior • Awareness of Tunisian culture is increased throughout the public and especially among Tunisian students
Implementation: Supply side			Outputs: Demand side	

Khalidi Library: Preserving Palestinian Heritage, Protecting the Future

Inputs →	Activities →	Outputs →	Outcomes →	Final Outcomes
Human, material, and financial resources	Types of activities undertaken toward project goals	Type of cultural preservation, social and expertise networks created	Degree of community strength, types of cultural value, and development outcomes	Cultural relations that engender trust and reciprocity through participation and dialogues
Human, material, and financial resources	• Capacity building and training for Palestinian project participants • Installation of library management and catalogue software • Improvement of surveillance and security systems • Establishment of restoration lab and training program	• More than 4,500 documents studied, catalogued, and digitized • 3 local library staff and 1 PhD student receive training on record collection and preservation • A new curator and exhibition specialist recruited to plan for permanent exhibitions • The library hosts its first permanent exhibition	• Employees who receive training are better able to preserve and manage the library system • Important and vulnerable manuscripts and documents are preserved through ongoing efforts • Trained employees continue their education and train future employees • Local groups and schools attend workshops and exhibits in the library	• The library collection is fully digitized and protected • The library is better able to serve its community through permanent exhibits and education programs • Community members feel empowered through protection of intangible cultural heritage
Implementation: Supply side			Outputs: Demand side	

Preserving Afghan Heritage

Inputs →	Activities →	Outputs →	Outcomes →	Final Outcomes
Human, material, and financial resources	Types of activities undertaken toward project goals	Type of cultural preservation, social and expertise networks created	Degree of community strength, types of cultural value, and development outcomes	Cultural relations that engender trust and reciprocity through participation and dialogues
Human, material, and financial resources	• Physical restoration and capital works. • Training in traditional skills. • Development of links with international artists. • Raising awareness of cultural heritage and restoration • Nurturing creative entrepreneurs.	• 1 million Afghans are aware of Murad Khani • 5 historic buildings restored • 45 shops restored • 1 primary school opened • 1 visitor center opened	• Restored buildings and shops are maintained by community and increased business • Trained workers continue to develop skills and find employment • Children are enrolled in primary school and after-school programs	• Child educational attainment increases • Trained traditional artisans see increased economic outcomes • Community members feel empowered through protection of intangible cultural heritage
Implementation: Supply side			Outputs: Demand side	

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