AHRC GCRF Area-Focused Network Plus Final Report

Grant details:

AHRC GCRF Network+ Title: Nahrein Network

AHRC GCRF Network+ PI: Eleanor Robson

GRANT REF: AH/R005370/1

LEAD INSTITUTION: University College London

DATE SUBMITTED: June 2022

1. Impact

(750 words maximum)

Please provide narrative on how the programme has promoted long-term sustainable development in the DAC countries listed in the original application. You may reference your ODA compliance statement and/or theory of change/logic model. How have the outcomes from **devolved funding** projects contributed to long-term sustainable development? How have findings been distributed and disseminated? You may include **links to case studies** that also illustrate the impact of the programme. *Please begin this section with a paragraph (3/4 sentences) that concisely summarises the overall impact of your programme which can be easily repurposed for corporate reporting and briefings.*

DATA on projects funded through devolved funding: see appendix

The Nahrein Network (NN) has worked with researchers in Iraq and its immediate neighbours to show how history, heritage and related humanities subjects can contribute to post-conflict social cohesion and sustainable development in the region. Through capacity-building programmes, including a very successful Visiting Scholarships scheme, we have helped Middle Eastern researchers develop competences and confidence, and build strong, equitable relationships with the international research community after decades of isolation. Over 20 locally designed and led fieldwork projects have demonstrated the social and economic importance of small-scale, community heritage that is largely overlooked by national and international bodies, especially in war-torn regions and politically excluded demographics. Our policy collaborations with the EU External Actions Service and the Royal Institute for International Affairs (Chatham House), based on fieldwork case studies, have shown how cultural heritage is implicated in post-conflict state-building in Iraq and the region, for better and worse. Our policy guidance has been adopted by the European Council as policy, and more informally shaped practice by key funders and decision-makers.

Nahrein is the Arabic name for Mesopotamia, the area between the two rivers Tigris and Euphrates, centred on modern-day Iraq and northern Syria, eastern Turkey and western Iran, that was home some of the world's oldest literate, urban cultures. NN was set up in order to tackle in tandem two challenges presently facing this region: the systematic local exclusions from participation in the construction of Middle Eastern antiquity, history and heritage; and massive population growth, coupled with endemic instability, poverty and youth unemployment.

The Network's focus is therefore Iraq (including the Kurdish Region of Iraq, KRI), a DAC-listed Upper Middle Income Country (2020) and one of thirteen OECD-classified Extremely Fragile States (2020). We have also engaged with Iran, Lebanon, and Turkey, all four of which are UMICs (2020). Iran is also classified as Fragile; Lebanon is not (yet) but has been in socio-economic freefall for the past two years, as has Iran. Our original proposal was also to work in Syria. For obvious reasons, that has not been possible.

In our original ODA compliance statement we aimed to improve the lot of five groups identified as at risk of being 'left behind' (UNDP *Arab Human Development Report*, 2016): youth; women and girls; rural dwellers; those living in conflict-affected areas; and cultural, ethnic and religious minorities. As this accounts for a large swathe of the region's population, we planned interventions through five targeted research aims. As well as conducting our own research, we funded 24 devolved projects and 18 short-term visiting scholarships to the UK to address them:

1. **To better understand** why, and how, local experts and audiences have been excluded from the production and consumption of knowledge about the past of Iraq and its neighbours. We developed a fuller historical and political understanding of this problem, for instance through Professor Nasser Jasim's Visiting Scholarship (University of Mosul – UCL, November 2019) on British academic Orientalism; and researcher Dr Mehiyar Kathem's policy collaboration with Chatham House on heritage predation in Iraq's political landscape post-2003.

2. **To raise the profile of local expertise,** we supported Middle Eastern humanities academics and heritage professionals to engage with regional and global academic communities, as producers of research for international consumption.
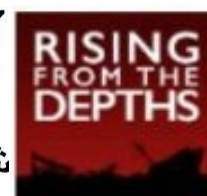
Ninety percent of devolved projects were led by Iraqi, Turkish or Lebanese PIs, and 30% involved intra-country or interregional collaborations. From spring 2020, a series of webinars, some stand-alone and ten with Chatham House, promoted the findings of our devolved projects and visiting scholarships, while two capstone events (online in September 2021 and in Baghdad in May 2022) showcased their individual work and forged new relationships. The Visiting Scholars programme gave visibility and connectivity to Middle Eastern academics in the UK, while Dr Rozhen Mohammed-Amin's Kurdish Cultural Heritage Network created a sustained ecosystem of mutual support. Thanks to our strong social media game, over the course of the project local and international print, broadcast and documentary media increasingly recognised and engaged with local experts.

3. **To improve graduate employability in the region,** we improved employability and leadership potential for humanities graduates from Iraqi universities, for instance through three curriculum development projects at University of Kurdistan Hewler (Erbil); Mosul and Kufa (led by Bristol/Bath); and a consortium of five Iraqi universities led Qadissiyah University (Diwaniyah). The latter led to the creation of Iraq's first MA degree in Cultural Heritage Studies in 2021. In 2019 Dr Kathem, Dr Mohammed-Amin and Dr Jaafar Jotheri also led three Iraq Publishing Workshops for ECRs, in Baghdad, Kufa and Sulaymaniyah, funded by the British Academy.

4. **To help heritage organisations better serve local needs**, we enabled Iraqi museums, archives, cultural heritage sites, and registered NGOs to contribute to, and diversify, local tourism and knowledge economies. Our first Visiting Scholar was Director of Bil Weekend, Iraq's leading independent tourism company, while several devolved projects and visiting scholarships have focused on the potential for increasing local and regional heritage tourism, from eastern Turkey to southern Iraq. In 2018 Dr Collins also helped to set up Iraq's first museum directors' network.

5. **To help post-conflict healing and reconciliation**, in 2018–20 we partnered with UNESCO Iraq on their "Revive the Spirit of Mosul" initiative, funding three Visiting Scholarships and a project on Mosul's community heritage. In 2020–22, five projects researched post-conflict heritage in other areas of Iraq formerly occupied by Da'esh, but overlooked by international agencies. Another sought how to involve displaced people from Syria and Lebanon in eastern Turkey heritage. Also in 2020, Dr Kathem's policy work for the European Union's External Actions Service formed the foundations for the European Council's new policy on supporting cultural heritage in conflict zones of the Middle East and North Africa.

Overall, we have created a new generation of academic and professional practitioners in cultural heritage in Iraq and its neighbours, who have contributed to positive change in local contexts, and decision-makers, funders and politicians who better understand the importance, complexity and urgency of heritage in statebuilding and peacebuilding in the region. In a highly fragile context we have laid firm foundations for the next decade of research and implementation, which will deepen, strengthen and expand the AHRC-funded work.

2. Methods & Insights
(500 words maximum)

Please provide narrative on the unique insights that the arts and humanities disciplines and methodologies have contributed to this programme? How has the 'area-focused' approach, as defined in original grant application, helped to bring about new knowledge and understanding of contemporary challenges addressed? You may wish to refer to how the programme is challenge-led, interdisciplinary and collaborative in its approach. **Include any links to case studies**

The conceptual foundations of the network were laid by PI Professor Eleanor Robson, during prior AHRC-funded research on geographies of knowledge in the ancient Middle East (AH/E509258/1; Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks*, 2019) and ways in which Iraqi archaeological artefacts have been transformed from found objects into specimens for scientific and historical study, and politicised in contemporary public discourse over the past two centuries (AH/K003089/1, http://oracc.org/nimrud). She found imperially driven exclusions from the production of knowledge, in both antiquity and modernity, which were exacerbated by the circumstances and international discourses around the Syrian civil war (2011–) and Da'esh's invasion of northern Iraq (2014–17). A central objective of NN was therefore to decolonise research about the Middle Eastern past by shifting the
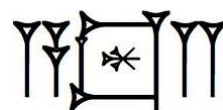
geography of knowledge production back towards Iraq and its neighbours, and to valorise its role as local history and heritage in contrast to exoticised 'global' heritage.

The region's universities and research institutes are desperately underfunded and neglected so open-access, reusable online resources are one solution to increasing the accessibility of academic research, teaching materials, and resources for interested publics. In order to enable Arabophone ancient historians to engage on an equal footing with international researchers, and create educational resources that work in local contexts, Robson collaborated with the Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus (http://oracc.org) and UCL's Research Development Software Group to create simple software for Middle Eastern researchers and academics to research and teach the cuneiform scripts, languages and huge written evidence base of the ancient Middle East (available at https://github.com/oracc/nisaba and https://build-oracc.museum.upenn.edu/new/).

Co-I **Dr Rozhen Mohammed-Amin** also uses digital humanities techniques and emotions research to create AR and VR responses to aspects of Iraq's 'difficult heritage'. For instance, 'Talk to Serai' is an AR app available for iPhone and Android for visitors to the recently restored Serai building in central Sulaimani, Kurdish Region of Iraq. It retells the story of the British Mandate's occupation of the city in the 1920s and 30s, through voice actors' retellings of the experiences of key historical figures. Her team also evaluated the VR experience 'Nobody's Listening', designed to help Iraqis and others better understand the impact of the Yazidi genocide of late 2014.

Conversely Co-Is **Dr Paul Collins** and **Dr Jaafar Jotheri's** research focused on objects, buildings and landscapes. At the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Collins co-produced a temporary exhibition, 'Owning the Past' with Middle Eastern immigrants and refugees (December 2020–August 2021, in Arabic and English). Through vintage photographs, texts and artefacts it explored University of Oxford archaeologists' involvement in the creation of modern Middle Eastern states in the early 20th century, and the long-term local exclusions from a sense of ownership of the past, which still reverberate today. Jotheri, meanwhile, retrained several teams of traditionally trained Iraqi archaeologists to document endangered heritage buildings in their own cities, alongside the stories and memories of their current and erstwhile inhabitants, neighbours and communities.

It was also essential to ground this theoretical framework and bottom-up projects in a very practical understanding of the barriers to, and opportunities for, locally based solutions. For this reason, **Dr Mehiyar Kathem** was appointed as NN's full-time postdoctoral researcher. His PhD, based in part on participant-observer methodology, had been on the role of international aid in Iraq's post-2003 state-building, and in particular the many ways in which it has failed. Throughout, he has been our guide on how to work effectively with Iraqi state institutions, and has articulated two essential concepts to understand the internal dynamics of heritage in Iraq: 'state-access infrastructures' (Kathem 2019); and 'heritage predation' (Robson, Kathem and Tahan 2022).

3. Partnerships & Engagement
(500 words maximum)

Please provide narrative on how the programme has demonstrated commitment to equitable partnerships with lower- and middle-income countries. How has engagement with partners in country helped to identify solutions? What have been the opportunities and challenges in maintaining equitable partnerships? How has the programme become a focal point for international leadership and collaboration? **Include any links to case studies**

NN's commitment to equitable partnerships with LMIC colleagues and institutions began in the design and application phase. In spring 2017, Robson visited colleagues in Baghdad and Erbil to consult on needs, interests and capacities. To ensure that she could converse effectively with colleagues in their own language as well as her own, Robson developed her fluency in Arabic through weekly lessons until spring 2020 (when Covid-related pressures on the rest of her working life made it impossible to
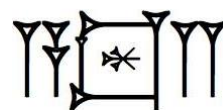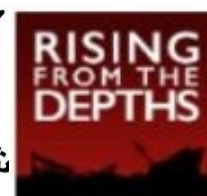
continue). It has always been important to have at least one Iraqi Co-I on the team and to maximise LMIC membership of our Management Committee.

Early in the implementation of the project, we decided that LMIC applicants should set the research agenda much more directly. We therefore adopted a much simplified devolved funding schedule (with 4 rounds instead of 6), became much less directive about fundable topics than envisaged in the original application, and lobbied for LMIC-only devolved projects. (The original AHRC design had been for partners with UK applicants.) We also stopped asking for references for devolved projects, instead assessing them on their own merits. Those decisions paid off in spades, as we ended up supporting research on many topics and places that were not part of the western 'canon' of Middle Eastern heritage but which are locally very meaningful and impactful.

However, we remained very mindful of the significant amount of work, and concomitant raised expectations, that goes into drawing up funding applications, especially for LMIC colleagues working in contexts, such as Iraqi higher education, with no tradition of externally funded research. We worked hard to simplify application processes as much as possible; but the due diligence processes set up by UCL in 2019 created significant burdens to our LMIC colleagues, who were expected to supply voluminous English-language documentation about aspects of governance and ethics that barely pertained in their local context. More than once I had to ask my very forbearing dean for waivers.

There also turned out to be high barriers to paying funds to Iraqi state universities, whose bank accounts a) are not set up to receive international funds; and b) cannot ring-fence research projects' budgets. We therefore ended up working with two Iraqi NGOs as transfer agents, who took a 3% commission on all payments. Even so, there were major obstacles to payments caused by US sanctions on neighbouring Iran (see section 9 below) and basic capacity constraints at UCL.

This all amounted to significant delays in payments to Co-Is' institutions and to devolved projects. Without the sort of financial cushions we in UK universities take for granted, many couldn't start work until payments arrived, and then had to pause while waiting for belated further instalments. Their patience and understanding was incredibly generous, but we lost a few projects nevertheless. Fortunately, payments to KRI, Lebanon and Turkey were much less affected.

Visas to the UK for Iraqi colleagues were another headache, but the pandemic-induced arrival of Zoom in spring 2020 at least enabled conversations to continue, and projects to be reformulated in online format.

NB: In NN we do not use the terms 'Global North' and 'Global South' as all countries involved in the Network are at least 30° north of the equator.

	Global North	Global South
Number of academic partnerships	3	20
Number of non – academic partners • Civil Society Organisations or Community based organisations • Local NGOs • Cultural/heritage institutions or GLAM • Artists, practitioners • Other industry partners	4 - BISI, BIAA, CBRL, IHF 2 – Safina Projects, Arab Human Rights Association	3 - Nature Iraq, Art+ , Sirince Association
Number of partnerships with policymakers	2 — Chatham House and EU External Actions Service	0
Number of partnerships with international agencies or INGOs	0	1 — UNESCO Iraq
Total number of partnerships	12	23

4. Policy engagement
(500 words maximum)

Please explain how the programme has engaged with and influenced policy. What has been the most effective approaches in policy engagement? What has been the most challenging? What are the most significant policy outputs, please include outputs at variety of levels including local, national and international? Please provide any high-level figures related to policy engagement (for example number of citations in policy documents or briefings)

In 2020, Dr Mehiyar Kathem was lead researcher for the EU External Action Service (EEAS), to develop an EU strategy on conflict and cultural heritage. Mehiyar with three other colleagues worked on the conceptual framing of the report as well as the case-study, which focused on Iraq. They conducted over 40 interviews with EU officials, the EU delegation in Iraq, researchers and other key stakeholders. The report, titled *The Role of the EU in the Protection and Enhancement of Cultural Heritage in Conflict and Post-Conflict Contexts in the Middle East Region,* was unveiled at a conference on 12–13 November 2020 and now forms the basis of operational policy, adopted by the European Council in June 2021.

In 2019–22, NN partnered with the Iraq Initiative at Chatham House to explore Iraq's cultural heritage in the context of the country's state-building challenges since 2003. The project convened senior politicians and policymakers, analysts and academics over a series of in-person, virtual and hybrid events, for critical discussion of Iraq's rich heritage, ongoing preservation and reconstruction challenges, and the implications for the work of Iraq's heritage institutions and the international donor community. Four high-level events were held in, engaging over 200 stakeholders virtually and in-person.

The project culminated with the publication of a Chatham House research paper, 'Cultural Heritage Predation in Iraq: The Sectarian Appropriation of Iraq's Past', launched with a joint communications strategy and formally at Chatham House on 28 March 2022 at a hybrid roundtable event, attended by academics, policymakers and private sector representatives in Iraq, the US, UK, Asia and Europe. The paper, publish in English and Arabic, has been viewed online over 2,000 times and has been picked up by UK, Iraqi and European media outlets.

Through its convening, research and dissemination, the project offered pioneering thinking on this understudied policy issue, and bridged the gap between academics working on cultural heritage and international policymakers seeking to navigate Iraq's political and religious power dynamics to support the preservation and promotion of the country's heritage for all Iraqis.

NN's ethos and methods have also been driving major shifts in the ways in which international funders conceptualise their responsibilities towards cultural heritage in Iraq. Through our informal guidance, ALIPH, the Kaplan Fund, and the Bibliotheque Nationale Francaise, for instance, have all shifted towards supporting projects centred on local expertise rather than site- or object- focused projects led by outsiders.

5. Capacity & career development
(500 words maximum)

Please provide narrative on how the programme has strengthened research and innovation capabilities in the global North and South, how has the programme supported career development? What has been the learning in this area? What has been the scale of impact on ECRs?

NN has supported the career development of many colleagues involved with it. Closest to home, NN postdoc researcher Dr Mehiyar Kathem is now our Deputy Director with concomitant promotion to Senior Research Associate at UCL. Dr Rozhen Mohammed-Amin, and Dr Jaafar Jotheri, who each started with the Network as a Visiting Scholar and/or devolved project PIs, rose to become Management Committee members and then Co-Is. They also became members of AHRC's international peer review college.

Many other colleagues report significant legacies, as described in the case studies attached to our annual reports. Most recently, Dr Shenah Abdullah, PI of a devolved project on British Mandate-era archives in Iraqi Kurdistan (2019–20), credits the grant-writing skills she learned, and the experience of project leadership she gained, for securing two further grants. The first enables her partners at Zheen Archive to join the Bibliotheque Nationale Francaise's Bibliotheques d'Orient network, while the second is a long-term researcher-exchange partnership with the University of Exeter and her home institution, the Kurdish Institute for Strategic Research.

Three of our members — Co-I Dr Jaafar Jotheri, Dr Alaa Hamdon (Mosul University), and Dr Ali Naji Attiyah (Kufa University) — are founding members of the Arab Network of Civil Society to Safeguard Cultural Heritage (ANSCH), set up in early 2020 with funding from ALIPH and Heritage4Peace. It works with government agencies, CSOs and non-profit organizations to identify, manage, plan and conserve archaeological sites, historical monuments, museums and other cultural heritage resources in Syria, Iraq, Libya and Yemen.

The three British Academy-funded Iraq Publishing Workshops in 2019 constituted a second-generation capacity building project led by Kathem, Jotheri and Mohammed-Amin. They demonstrated the depth of need for basic research training in humanities and social sciences disciplines in Iraq, which we are now endeavouring to meet with a much expanded programme, AcademIQ, starting in autumn 2022. It will offer a free MOOC, on the platform UCLExtend; a selective programme of in-person advanced academic writing workshops; and a peer-to-peer research mentoring scheme.

'ECR' is a problematic category in the countries that NN works with, where many academics take their Masters and PhD degrees a decade or more into their university careers, long after they have started teaching and publishing research. Nevertheless, we have attempted to collect relevant data:

	Global North	Global South
Total number of ECRs supported by programme	0	12
Total number of ECRs involved in delivery of programme	1	3
List of training opportunities, workshops and fellowships	• Visiting Scholars Scheme • Nahrein Achievements and Ambitions Colloquium	• Visiting Scholars Scheme • Nahrein Achievements and Ambitions Colloquium • CHN webinars and trainings • British Academy-funded Iraq Publishing Workshops

6. Equality, Diversity and Inclusion

Please share information on any initiatives you have implemented or achievements that have occurred within your programme's activity that are related to ED&I. Add any ED&I data relevant to your programme that you have collected during the programme.

The Network has a clear equalities and inclusion policy, which is prominent on the website and all grant applications materials. The leadership team itself is gender balanced (3:3) and ethnically diverse, as are our Management Committee (where white British members are in a small minority) and our Visiting Scholarships committee. Peer reviewers are assigned to large grant applications with EDI in mind.

Over a third of our devolved projects were led by female PIs, including three quarters of the largest ones. In the context of consistently patriarchal attitudes in the region, we consider this a major success. Only the Visiting Scholarships scheme was persistently male-dominated. Given the challenges for women with caring responsibilities to travel abroad for any length of

time, there was little we could do about that, given the budget available. Towards the end we offered virtual scholarships to Covid-affected placements. In retrospect, this would have made the scheme more accessible if implemented earlier — but it may not have been a meaningful offer pre-pandemic.

Other EDI categories that pertain in the UK do not, by and large, map neatly onto the countries that NN works with. Given the sensitivities around ethnicity and religious affiliation, we use geography as a proxy for intrusive questions of diversity. Within Iraq, we ensure that we fund good projects and visiting scholars from across Iraqi Kurdistan, the predominantly Shi'a south and the predominantly Sunni north.

Many of the research projects NN has funded are directly designed to encourage the political and social inclusion of dispossessed and marginalised communities, whether Bedouin, marsh Arabs, Mandeaen, Yazidi, or those displaced by war, conflict and urban development. Others projects address exclusion from erstwhile plural heritage sites, such as the shrines of Jewish prophets, by politically dominant religious institutions in Iraq.

7. Sustainability and Legacy
(500 words maximum)

What have been the most effective measures to ensure future sustainability and legacy for the project? What have been the most important legacies? What have been the challenges to securing these? What additional and/or leveraged funding have you secured or plan to apply for the legacy of the programme? What plans are in place to maintain websites/online platforms and networks?

In the winter of 2020–21, NN secured a generous philanthropic gift to enable us to continue our mission for a further decade, building on the considerable successes of our AHRC-GCRF-funded work, and now focusing exclusively on Iraq (including KRI).

Huge new threats to Iraq's future have emerged in past few years, while the old ones have not gone away. The economy is still heavily dependent on oil. Post-Da'esh reconstruction has been frustratingly slow. Iraq's political system is as fragile as ever, while poverty, gender inequalities, and youth unemployment remain endemic. Meanwhile, damming, oil extraction, and global climate heating are destroying the environment. At the same time, Covid-19 threatens to overwhelm fragile state structures and further accelerate the rapid rate of demographic change. There has never been a greater need for big, bold responses to these intractable challenges.

Over the next ten years, the Nahrein Network will extend its work with Iraqi academics and cultural heritage professionals to tackle these problems. Working with well-established partnerships and creating new ones, we support research and policy on:

- an integrated approach to natural and cultural heritage;
- youth-focused solutions, both within and outside the state;
- reparative approaches to the past, inspired by the work of UCL History's Centre for Study of the Legacies of British Slave-Ownership.

Two-thirds of the £10m budget is committed to supporting Iraqi-led research in Iraq and the UK. The rest will cover UK staff and support costs. More details are given in section 10 below.

8. Impact of Covid-19 & other challenges
(500 words maximum)

The global pandemic has significantly affected the research funding landscape and the contexts in which these programmes work. This is a space to reflect on the pandemic's impact on the programme and how the programme has been able to respond
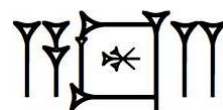
Covid-19 has been the least of the Network's challenges over the period of its operation, given that the centre of our work is an OECD-designated Extremely Fragile State. In 2017, when the Network was being designed, we aimed to work across the Middle East, in Iran, Lebanon, Syria and Turkey as well as Iraq. The UN had lifted its sanctions against Iran in January 2016, peace talks for Syria started in March 2017, and northern Iraq was officially liberated from ISIS in July 2017. It was an optimistic time for the region. Nevertheless, we planned to go cautiously, starting in the relatively safe and stable Kurdish Region of Iraq (KRI) and Iraq south of Baghdad, and expanding in 2019. Very little of this proved possible.

As we began work in autumn 2017, an independence referendum in KRI was declared illegal by the Iraqi Supreme Court. The most immediate impact for NN was that our planned Research Centre in Culture, History and Humanities for Sustainable Development at the University of Kurdistan Hewler (UKH), in KRI's capital Erbil, never really got off the ground and finally closed in early 2020. In a similar vein, Iraqi parliamentary elections in May 2018 that left the country without a government for five months; large-scale peaceful political protests that were violently repressed in autumn 2019; the US assassination of Iranian general Qasem Solemani at Baghdad airport early in January 2020; and the 'revolving door' of leadership at key Iraqi ministries, embassies and UN/UNESCO in Iraq all had serious negative impacts on our ability to form lasting relationships on the ground.

Meanwhile, the US re-imposed sanctions on Iran in November 2018, repeatedly tightening them until the country was effectively blacklisted from the international banking system in February 2020. This not only prevented us from funding work in Iran itself; it also seriously hampered our ability to transfer money to neighbouring Iraq in order to pay devolved projects there, delaying many by a year or more. At the other end of our intended geographical reach, Syria never became sufficiently safe, ethical or legal to expand into.

By contrast, most devolved projects adapted well to the Covid pandemic, and even thrived with the new collaboration and communication mechanisms offered by Zoom. However, two were already facing multiple ongoing problems which were exacerbated by lockdown. After several attempts at replanning, those projects were terminated. In one case, it was possible to formulate a new project, now led by an Iraqi PI.

The pandemic had a greater impact on the Visiting Scholarships programme. One scholar was stuck in the UK for nearly a month after his placement was ended. Seven scholars with outstanding placements were offered virtual scholarships, and a planned final round of the scheme was cancelled.

Perhaps most damaging was the loss of relationships with the Iraqi Ministries of Culture and Higher Education, made worse by another general election in autumn 2021 and a long political stalemate (which is still ongoing). For all of 2020 and 2021 the London team was unable to visit and introduce the Network to new government appointees, resulting in a loss of trust and understanding of our work, especially in the Ministry of Higher Education. It is taking a long time to repair this crucial relationship.

Finally, the sudden ODA cuts in March 2021 put paid to our final five months of funding. We managed to meet our savings target while safeguarding our devolved projects, partly through reduced spending on travel in various categories; and partly by paying London salaries from new philanthropic funding. However, it was a huge amount of work to implement, massively stressful, and took away almost all our capacity to actively support our Network partners in the Middle East as the devolved projects came to fruition.

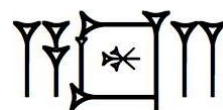# 9. Reflections and learning - Network+ Model & Devolved Funding
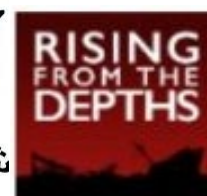(1000 words maximum)

Please comment on the opportunities and challenges that relate to the use of the network plus model, reflecting on the governance and operational management, working as cohort with other network plus programmes, the support you received from AHRC in implementing this model and unintended changes at institutional level.

Please comment on how your Network+ programme has deployed its flexible funding pot over the lifetime of the grant, reflecting on any related opportunities and challenges that have arisen.

The Network+ model has been an exciting, if often challenging and sometimes downright frustrating, way of working. It has created a huge amount of bureaucracy, for instance in selecting, setting up and monitoring devolved projects (research contracts, due diligence, payments, auditing, …) and ResearchFish reporting of all our devolved projects and Visiting Scholars as well as our own research. There have often been tensions between UCL's understandable desire for accountability and transparency against AHRC's exhortations to flexibility (e.g., UCL insisting on written permission from our AHRC case officer to buy business cards and basic podcasting equipment, which UCL would not provide for us).

Internal governance of NN worked well, via quarterly meetings of a Management Committee. Its membership changed significantly over the course of the project, so that only one founder member remained by the end, but that enabled us to bring in new expertise and insights as our work evolved. Regular reporting of activities and finances kept momentum up and enabled us to head off most difficulties as they first arose. We had originally envisaged an annual meeting of an advisory group too, but this soon turned out to be an unnecessary extra layer of accountability and it was never convened.

High turnover of AHRC staff proved challenging, however. NN had three different case officers over the course of four years, and we often had to push to get dates for cohort meetings in diaries. Similarly, overworked AHRC staff weren't always able to meet their own deadlines, for instance to send out annual reporting templates, or to give feedback on completed reports. That said, all of our case officers were excellent, and it proved invaluable to have a named contact with whom to discuss challenges, and to agree appropriate courses of action, especially in the early years of the project. We felt properly trusted by whole AHRC team to do the work as we saw fit, and for that we are most grateful.

We also greatly benefited from being part of a cohort of projects. The project administrators/managers shared a lot of practical tips and set out guidance for the next generation of Network+ teams. Regular meetings of the PIs to exchange frustrations and celebrate successes was also consoling and inspirational in equal measure. It is a real shame that ODA cuts and Covid precluded an end-of-term joint event, to showcase our considerable collective achievements, as that could have been magnificent.

As described in our earlier annual reports, we deployed the flexible funding exclusively to fund competitively-awarded devolved projects, listed in the appendix. A few grants were awarded but never delivered, or only partially so: the unspent funds were repurposed for a final 'bonus' round of mini-projects, which focused on post-conflict heritage in Iraq.

Instead of setting aside some devolved funding for Strand 3 summative projects, as originally envisaged in our funding application, we delivered policy recommendations through core-funded work with the EU and Chatham House. The former needed only the time of postdoctoral researcher Mehiyar Kathem. The latter was funded by repurposing a budget line originally set aside for security services in Iraq, which proved unnecessary as the country became significantly safer in the course of 2018.

Savings made on some devolved projects' budgets, by reconfiguring planned fieldwork and travel to online activity when Covid hit in 2020, were used to offset some of the ODA cut in spring 2021.

10. What next?

Please comment on the future of research in this area. What could be the direction of travel for research associated with your programme?

As stated in section 7 above, we are actively continuing and expanding the Nahrein Network's research, funded by a philanthropic gift to UCL. We support Iraqi colleagues' research through the following activities:
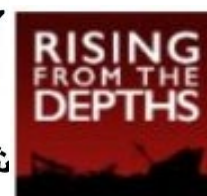
- Research Grants Scheme. From autumn 2022 we aim to offer a range of grants to support Iraqi-led research on the ways in which heritage, history and the humanities can improve life in Iraq. There will be a dedicated stream of follow-on funding for PIs who have worked with us before.

- Visiting Scholarships. With the British Institute for the Study of Iraq, we have re-opened our scheme to bring Iraqi heritage professionals and academics to the UK for two-month placements. The first six scholars have already been selected.

- Graduate Studentships. We offer a small number of MA+PhD studentships, covering the full costs of graduate study in a history or heritage related subject at UCL. The first recipient will be arriving in London in September 2022.

- Academic Skills Programme. Building on the success of our British Academy funded Iraq Publishing Workshops in 2019, we are currently developing an online training programme for early career academics in Iraq, on the open-access platform UCL Extend. Alongside this, we are running an in-person programme to train Iraqi trainers.

- Research Networks. We support the development of disciplinary research networks in Iraq, including the highly successful Kurdish Cultural Heritage Network.

Most of our strong core team also remains together, continuing our own individual research programmes:

- Co-Director Dr Rozhen Mohammed-Amin, Director of the Digital Cultural Heritage Centre at Sulaimani Polytechnic University, continues her team's groundbreaking research on the roles of digital technologies in enhancing the emotional impact of heritage. She is particularly interested in the role of VR and AR in creating dialogue and understanding about difficult and dark heritage, for instance in relation to the Yazidi genocide of 2014.

- Deputy Director Dr Mehiyar Kathem, Senior Research Associate at University College London, continues to conduct research and policy consultancy on the politics of heritage, state-building and peace-building in Iraq. He has recently been providing informal advice to GIZ and ALIPH about their work in Iraq, and is developing a new strand of work on the effects of trauma on attitudes to heritage in the country. Mehiyar also leads the nascent Academic Skills Programme, in collaboration with Dr Ersun Kurtuluş (Social Sciences University of Ankara), Dr Ariane Smart (UCL Institute of Education) and Dr Sara Felix (London School of Economics).

- Co-Director Dr Paul Collins, Jalah Hearn Keeper of the Ancient Middle East at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, carries out research and practice in decolonising museums' use of Iraqi heritage. He is currently studying the colonial context of the Museum's expedition to the archaeological site of Kish in the 1920s and 30s, how this affected the attitudes and decisions of the UK and Iraqi administrations at the time, and its long-term impacts on the site today.

- Director Professor Eleanor Robson, Professor of Ancient Middle Eastern History at UCL, collaborates with The Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus and UCL's Research Software Development Group to develop Arabic-language tools for online, open-access publication, research and education on the cuneiform cultures of ancient Iraq and its neighbours. Since November 2021, she has been working with NN-funded postdoctoral researcher Dr Parsa Daneshmand to produce a multi-lingual open-access online edition of the 600 cuneiform tablets that were removed from Kish to Oxford century ago, as a case study in 'knowledge repatriation', alongside Arabic-language training. The aim is to give local researchers access to a wealth of historical data that they have been denied access to for nearly a hundred years, so that they can make use of it on their own terms.
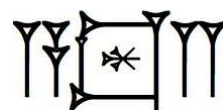
The Network continues to run day-to-day from the History Department at UCL, with two half-time staff: our long-term Administrator Mrs Oana Borlea-Stancioi, and Communications and Social Media Officer Mrs Zainab Mahdi, who has been with us since spring 2021. As well as our social media channels, Zainab publishes a monthly email Newsletter
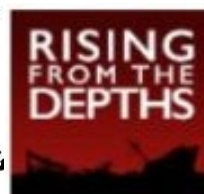
The Network's Management Committee, which meets every three months, includes representatives from the Network's main partners in Iraq, and UK-based academics in the field who provide advice to the core team. Visiting Scholarship applications are assessed by a panel including representatives from its partner BISI.

We are hugely grateful to the private donor whose vision and generosity allows us to continue this vital work.

Appendix

			DATA
			Please provide data on the projects funded through devolved funding

Project title	Countries	SDGs	Outputs	Outcomes
A Cultural Heritage Network for the Kurdistan Region	Iraq	16, 17, 5, 8	• Seven capacity building and training workshops (a total of 15 hours) and seminars (a total of 3.5 hours) that informed, connected, and trained a total of 273 locals from cultural heritage and many other fields across the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. • Two training courses (a total of 48 hours) on "Writing Grant Applications & Project Management" that trained a total of 20 CHN, DCH, and SPU faculty and staff. • Two focus groups (a total of 6 hours) that brought together a total of 28 local stakeholders and cultural heritage decision-makers for data collection. • Six networking and community engagement events (a total of 7 full days and 7 hours) brought together over 3,668 locals from the local community across the cultural heritage and many other fields in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq.	The research component of the project contributed to better understanding local cultural heritage challenges and opportunities in five key areas: cultural tourism & creative industry, cultural heritage management, cultural education, cultural heritage laws and regulations, and cultural heritage digitization. These were identified in consultation with local stakeholders. The findings will help heritage organizations in better serving local needs. The training workshops developed local capacity by informing and widening participants' perspectives and service for their local community. The young interns and volunteers developed a wide range of skills such as project, event, and financial management, field survey, data collection, research, communication, organization, attention to detail, etc. In addition to experience and skills, the project enriched their CVs, improving their job prospects in an increasingly competitive job market.

			• Three TV interviews in three programs (several other TV and radio interviews during the previous events). • A draft research paper based on 2 of the 3 focus groups (The State of Antiquities Management in Kurdistan in Light of Iraqi legislation and International Conventions & Cultural Heritage Management During Peace and Conflict).	
Rural Heritage Recovery Erbil	Iraq	11, 16	• Training of 11 citizen scientists to recognise and investigate rural heritage • Capacity building workshop focused on rural recovery • Report on urban improvements in the 11 villages studied, resulting from the citizen scientist approach and methodology	The project conceptualized a framework that can foster rural-urban heritage recovery as a holistic, participatory process that can redress socio-economic inequalities and contribute to a more inclusive, just, and viable society. This approach was advanced through empowering local communities, driving and disseminating knowledge, building capacities, providing consultations, facilitating academic exchange and production, and envisioning localized interventions. Ultimately, the recovery framework emphasized the social and public spheres through the empowerment of local, grassroots agents. The framework was adjusted to the complexities and socio-spatial practices that sustain the villages. It adapted local needs and shortcomings to the vision and the necessary strategic interventions. While the visions are recognized differently by the locals the composition of the diverse visions represents the unity of the rural periphery and the need for cultural heritage recovery. In consequence, the framework creates a strong backbone for the recovery of rural-urban heritage that can lead to other construction and development patterns in the future. Drawing on the heritage discourse emerging from Erbil's rural peripheries in this project, the research team is eager to advocate and apply for funding to carry out a strategic, spatial intervention in each of the villages. The choice of intervention becomes an affirmation of the rural heritage

					as identified by the local community, a tangible spatial landmark that is income generating and a publicly accessible, inclusive landscape
Open Cultural Heritage Resources for Education	Iraq	11		• 3 webinars • 1 conference • 1 journal paper	OCHRE undertook research and capacity building to support Open Educational Resources (OER) for cultural heritage education and awareness in Iraq. Through a partnership between the Universities of Kufa, Mosul, and Bath, an online training programme was delivered to academics working in disciplines related to cultural heritage (e.g. archaeology, anthropology, history). A subset of participants (N=10) were selected for longitudinal interviews on their attitudes to OER, online education, and possibilities for supporting awareness and appreciation of diversity in Iraq's cultural heritage. Interviews were transcribed and analysed using thematic analysis. These participants also engaged in the creation of pilot open educational resources, primarily video-recoded lectures, related to their academic expertise.
Babylon	Iraq	11		• Documentation of the ancient sites of Kish, Borsippa, Babylon and Kutha • Survey and documentation of 20 heritage buildings, including interviews with the communities living in their vicinity • Report on Al Hilla urbanisation (analysis and map) • Book (Ar): Documentation of the 4 main cities in Babil: Borsippa, Babylon, Kish and Kutha	The project has resulted in much-needed thorough documentation of four very important archaeological sites in central Iraq, with photographic, topographic and survey evidence of recent deterioration and analysis of their current state. It also seeks to understand how local people view these places, and what they want from them now that Babylon has been designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Community Heritage of Mosul	Iraq		• 5 workshops • Interviews with the local community in relation to local cultural heritage • Video documentary	The project aimed to develop and strengthen relationships between communities and local cultural heritage. Rebuilding the city requires not only state resources, but local involvement and joint efforts between the institutions tasked with heritage protection and the locals. Through the workshops, the project raised awareness about the importance of protecting heritage in Mosul as well as the ways in which it is understood and integrated in the day to day lives of Moslawis.
Cultural Identification in Cilica	Turkey	10, 11, 16	• Database of interviews with members of displaced communities • Online toolkit for documentation of endangered cultural archives • Web based platform aimed at the displaced communities: a place to interact, collaborate and develop projects	The project worked on ways of helping immigrant communities to develop ties with local elements of cultural heritage and also with members of communities living in Lebanon with roots in the same region. The web-based platform is expected to function as a tool for a lively community of immigrants, people with family roots in the region, local enthusiasts, experts, and representatives of organisations to communicate, share ideas and knowledge, and organise events and activities. The project team also aimed to help younger generation develop an attachment to cultural heritage, and guide them in potential careers in archaeology, anthropology or cultural studies, which will have a long-term impact not only in terms of personal development but also on the local economy mainly through cultural tourism.
Developing the Iraqi Marshland Tourist Experience	Iraq	8, 11, 12A	• Atlas of the marshes • Map of the marshes showing landscape modifications from 1960s to the present day • Training of 335 participants as tourist guides • Blog post • Book • 2 academic papers	The project hopes that researching and publicising information about the marshes will increase interest in the area, a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The tourist atlas and CEOBS blog are aimed at providing information for international, regional and local people and, hopefully, an incentive to visit the marshes. The team considers this project a first step in the sustainable development and protection of the marshes.

Dictionary of Marsh Arab dialects	Iraq	11	•	Dictionary of Marsh Arab terms	The project focused on researching and documenting the Marsh Arab dialect spoken in the marshes of Iraq, a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The dialect, with its speakers dwindling in numbers, is at risk of disappearing. The current research was crucial for preserving the intangible heritage as well as engaging local communities in discussion, raising awareness and gathering information on its linguistic aspects.
Digital Documentation of Heritage Sites in Post-Conflict Diyala	Iraq	11, 16	• • • •	Report on the impact of armed conflict on cultural heritage in the province of Diyala Survey of 53 sites to assess damage done by conflict Virtual lecture Symposium	The project contributed to increasing awareness within Iraq's military forces of archaeological sites and their value. Emphasizing their importance will contribute to a decrease in the use of sites as camps for the army or police, trenches or anti-aircraft defence locations.
Digital Documentation of Heritages Sites in Post-Conflict Tikrit	Iraq	11, 16	• • • •	Webinar Symposium Travelling exhibition Academic papers	The project worked with Iraqi Christian and Shi'i groups, including the Shia Endowment, and local and provincial authorities to document and help preserve the many heritage sites in the province. The aim was to increase awareness among the local communities of the pre-Islamic heritage and its importance.
Digital Documentation of Heritage Sites in Post-Conflict Anbar	Iraq	11, 16	•	Report on the researched heritage sites	The team surveyed current damage to local archaeological and heritage sites, as well as raising awareness of their importance. They then made a series of recommendations on how best to preserve the sites and further integrate them as tourism focus areas.
Documenting and analysing local archives at the Zheen Centre	Iraq	16, 11	• • • •	Interviews with donors of documents housed in the archive Oral history documentation relating to the British colonial rule of Iraq New collective library to house the Taufiq Wahby collection Digitisation and restoration of 80 books	This project examined local archives stored at the Zheen Archival Centre in Slemani, Iraqi Kurdistan, which houses published titles, manuscripts, memoirs, autobiographies, visual material, as well as socio-political and colonial documents and other historical sources from and about the British colonial period (direct and indirect rule from 1917-1958), in Iraq.

Project	Country	SDG	Outputs	Summary
				The focus of this research project was to critically read, analyse and categorize the different sources as well as digitise and make them accessible to students, researchers and academics locally and internationally.
Heritage Buildings of Kufa	Iraq	11, 16	• Relevant curriculum updates • Documentation of heritage buildings • Publishing results in the form of academic papers	Due to extensive international funds transfer delays the project has yet to finish. The team is currently working on the final stages.
Intangible Cultural Heritage of Iraqi Bedouins	Iraq	11, 16	• Interviews (100) with members of the Bedouin community • Documenting of more than 70 tents through focused ethnography • Training on Intangible Cultural Heritage based on the methods developed and employed while in the field • Symposium • Collaborative multi university teaching modules on the intangible curriculum that will be integrated in the higher education curriculum • Podcast	This project is a major step in creating inclusive heritage infrastructures that are cognizant and respectful of Iraq's rich cultural groups and communities. The team's collaborative effort resulted in an undergraduate module on Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH). The module will be integrated into the higher education curriculum. In the process the project gathered a tremendous amount of data which expands the understanding and hopefully contributes to the documenting and preserving of the nomadic way of life.
Integrating Cross-community History with Reconciliation and Heritage Protection	Iraq	11, 16	• 3 workshops on preserving the Jewish heritage of Iraq • One academic conference paper • One academic paper submitted for publication	The project addresses the problems of including diaspora populations in heritage preservation and politicization. It recognises that these aspects especially contribute to changes in heritage and how it is understood. Proactive work needs to be undertaken in order to engage and inform local communities on these issues. It also recognises the difficulties that diaspora populations face when trying to preserve their heritage from afar.

				These issues are addressed through interdisciplinary work by the tying together of archaeological and political/social work.
Plural Heritage of Baghdad	Iraq	11, 16	• Report on the intangible heritage of the diverse minority religious communities of Baghdad • Inter-community workshop • Over 67 questionnaires and interviews, as well as other forms of data gathering (videos) within the 6 prominent religious communities present in the city: Shiaa, Sunis, Qaderi Sufis, Armenian Orthodox, Mandaeans, and Kaldanean Catholics. • Documentary in production	The project highlighted the role of religious diversity in emphasizing heritage and cultural unity and encouraging participants to embrace shared history, rituals and local traditions. It highlights how peacebuilding and overcoming conflict can be rooted in diversity, tolerance and awareness of the multi-religious and multi-cultural environment of the capital city of Iraq.
Post-Conflict Textile Crafts of Iraq (unfinished)	Iraq	11, 16	• Detailed survey of textile crafts in Samawah and Erbil	The project established a new relationship between two NGOs in different parts of Iraq, since they share a vision of reinstating crafts practices within communities and valuing the culture and traditions of making. The NGOs encountered different challenges and developed specific strategies to cope with them. By working together and sharing resources they were able to develop a small network of producers and crafts. The project also focused on mapping the craft heritage of Iraq, particularly textile related crafts. Mapping was aimed at obtaining a clearer view of the current practices and the actors engaged in the sector of textile crafts in post-conflict Iraq. The team identified areas in need of urgent attention and the support necessary for its revival. The research revealed that the number of people working in textile crafts has dramatically decreased. This happened as a result of

					ongoing conflicts and commercialization of cheap and low-quality weaving products from Iran, Turkey and China. One of the consequences was the decrease in traditional textile productions and related skills. The traditional weaving production and related handicrafts, such as spinning, dyeing and the construction of looms, was one of the main sources of income in Iraqi households. Unfortunately, all this slowed dramatically in the 90s. Despite this, a small centre of production and craft culture remained in Samawah, Erbil and some of the other cities and towns in Iraq. Interviews and surveys conducted of the craft producer groups revealed that Iraq's craft heritage can promote social cohesion and propose employment and can serve as a vital component of economic development, in post-conflict areas, particularly for women affected by conflict and displacement. This research has identified specific needs and capacities of the crafts sector, that needs investment to keep practices intact, and to promote the capacity of creative practices to serve as a bridge for reconstructing communities and societies. Iraqi and Kurdish Iraqi craft people, craft-related civil sector organisations, museums, educational institutions should look upon their governments for the promotion and protection of craft heritage.
Post-ISIS Identity in the War-torn Areas: Al-Karma as a Case Study	Iraq	11, 16	• Conducting over 40 interviews with locals of Karma • Video summary of outputs • Workshops • Online roundtable • Academic paper in preparation • Seminar held in Karma		The project helped researchers, policymakers, religious people as well as the community to better understand the current situation of Karma's people's perception of their cultural and heritage/identity post-conflict. This is the first-ever study conducted on this topic and it could be a springboard to other researchers towards a more in–depth analysis or its application in other war- torn areas such as Mosul, Tikrit and Kirkuk. The outputs provide researchers and policy makers with information on key heritage assets in a post-conflict community. These include

language and behavioural practices used in the present day and whether changes in these aspects are geared towards constructing a new identity of the community in question. This can have fundamental implications for how post-conflict communities are approached by policy makers and academics, following the social forces and perceptions that have influenced the ways the community project themselves fully in the wider public eye. Through the dissemination activities (roundtable, talk) and published outputs as well as social media platforms, this project influenced how research is done in language and identity studies, and conflict studies. It helped advance our understanding of the social, cultural, and historical factors that continue to shape the language, places, and people of Karma, and by extension, the province of Anbar. The outreach workshops in academic arenas and heritage centres provided locals, researchers, and other interested audiences with an opportunity to share their knowledge, opinions and experiences. It enabled an ongoing contribution to the dialogue surrounding the region's heritage and identities. As some of the online roundtable attendants noted "Identity is very rarely examined in Iraq". This project directly benefitted the people and communities of Karma in particular and the Anbar province in general. It highlighted their social and regional heritage and identities and give them a voice on the national and international stage. Findings emerging from this project are informing which aspects of heritage are indeed still in use, which may be changing and how the local and federal governments and the community per se may wish to respond to these results.

Postgraduate Teaching Programme (unfinished)	Iraq	4	• Paper on "Intercultural Competence of a Foreign Language and Literature Instructor: Insights of Teaching in a Multicultural Classroom in Various Cultural Settings" • Postgraduate Teaching Certificate programme in 2 versions (60 and 30 credit)	The project addressed professional development and teacher training in higher education. The research-based programme, benchmarked on the best international practices, including the British Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education helps to directly respond to the needs of groups –inexperienced young graduates, Kurdish and foreign, and experienced international staff – that need cultural and psychological insights of educational environment in the Kurdistan Region. The project also aimed to raise awareness about Kurdish cultural and historical heritage. The academic programme, workshops and research paper bring to the attention of Kurdish and foreign academics the cultural heritage of Iraqi Kurdistan.
The Plural Heritage Landscapes of Najaf	Iraq	11, 16	• Training webinar • Documentation of Christian heritage in Najaf and Baghdad • Documentation of the intangible heritage of the Al Hira community • Community interviews with 14 leading members of the Najaf and Kufa Christian communities • Publication of a children's book featuring the Hiri Christian king Al-Numan Ibn Al Mundir	The project succeeded in encouraging inhabitants of Najaf to engage with its pre-Islamic heritage, appreciate cultural diversity and understand its role in sustainable tourism and fostering reconciliation and growth within the communities
The Shrine of Prophet Uzayr	Iraq	11, 16	• Three academic papers in preparation • Study of the Hebrew tablets and inscriptions present in the shrine • Interviews with members of the community • Survey of the site	The site has been a place of worship and pilgrimage for both Muslims and Jews for many centuries. The team surveyed and documented the site in order to provide the basis for a conservation plan and to help publicise the history and the importance of the site with a view to encouraging tourists and others to visit. The shrine is also an important example of a shared heritage site that continues to attract many visitors of diverse faiths which

				emphasises the importance of inter-faith collaboration in the preservation of cultural heritage and reconciliation.
Thesiger's Tarada	Iraq	11	• Documentation of surviving practices of boat building and craft tradition • Reconstruction of the *tarada* boat • Documentation via interviews of the intangible heritage surrounding the boat building craft, its history and importance for local communities	The making of Taradas - the canoes of Marsh Arab sheikhs - is extinct as a craft practice, having ceased during the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s. However, during the project team's visits to Iraq, they found a handful of boat builders who make Meshoufs (wooden canoes) for work purposes. These craftspeople identified some of the older generations who previously built Taradas, including members of the family who built Wilfred Thesiger's boat. There allowed for the opportunity to preserve their knowledge while some of that generations are still living. Importantly, the project not only documented this knowledge, but ought to sustain these craft practices into the future, through developing new uses for traditional boats in the tourism, leisure, and sports sectors in Iraq.
The Heritage of Samawah and Diwaniyah	Iraq	11, 16	• Documentation of 42 heritage buildings in Diwaniyah province • Documentation of Heritage buildings in Samawah province • Reports on the above buildings, one for each province • Book on the History of the Diwaniyah province	The project has achieved the careful and extensive survey and documentation of heritage relevant buildings in the provinces of Diwaniyah and Samamwah. The resulting report has been submitted to the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage of Iraq, so that the findings can be used to further protect and study these structures, as well as the links to the local communities and histories.

Total number of projects	23