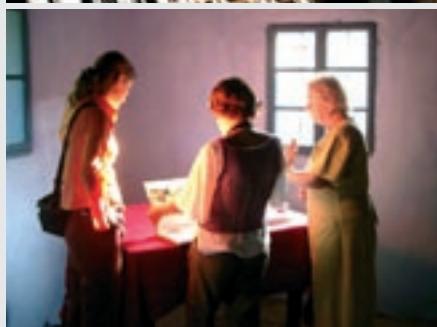


Living Heritage

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT THROUGH CULTURAL RESOURCES IN SOUTH EAST EUROPE



FINAL REPORT 2001-2005

Living Heritage

Community Development
Through Cultural Resources
in South East Europe

2001 – 2005

Final Report

François Matarasso

Living Heritage

Community Development Through Cultural Resources in South East Europe
Final report 2001-2005

This report is a publication of the King Baudouin Foundation,
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This publication is also available, free of charge on line via www.kbs-frb.be or www.living-heritage.org, by e-mail via publi@kbs-frb.be and by telephone, calling our contact centre: +32 70 233 728

Order Number : D/2005/2893/23

ISBN : 90-5130-510-9

October 2005

"Living Heritage. Community Development Through cultural Resources" is a grant and capacity building programme initiated by the King Baudouin Foundation in partnership with the Soros Foundations.

With the support of the European Commission – Culture 2000 framework Programme.

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Foreword

This book sets out the lessons learned from the unique approach to community development adopted by the Living Heritage programme between 2001 and 2005 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Romania. Through support to some 140 local projects in those countries, Living Heritage was able to nurture innovative practices in strengthening communities in remote rural areas through a creative use of cultural resources. It also empowered a large number of project teams, community facilitators and organisations through hands-on experience and technical assistance.

Culture and heritage are often considered by donors active in the Balkans and even by local governments as being of lesser importance compared with the huge socio-economic challenges facing the countries of the region. However, this book demonstrates the extent to which they are powerful resources that help communities change their situation by building up their capital – human, economic, social or in other forms. The Living Heritage experience shows that such projects can indeed produce significant outcomes in areas such as social cohesion, economic growth and civil society development while responding to the need of communities to value their own culture and traditions.

The King Baudouin Foundation would like to thank all the funding and operating partners that joined forces to make these outstanding achievements possible as well as for their commitment to the Living Heritage values, principles and methodology. Our gratitude is extended to François Matarasso, the author of this book, whose involvement in all stages of the programme, from inception to evaluation, has been critical to its success. It is our hope that the following pages will not only pay tribute to the joint efforts of the last four years, but that they will also stimulate foundations, practitioners and governments to take into consideration the legacy of the Living Heritage experience in their responses to the challenges of development in the Balkans.

KING BAUDOUIN FOUNDATION

September 2005

Preface

Living Heritage is an initiative developed by the King Baudouin Foundation in the context of its long-term work in South East Europe. Designed to support community development through local cultural projects, the programme was launched in Macedonia in 2001, and subsequently extended to Bulgaria, Romania and Bosnia Herzegovina. In each country, the Foundation committed itself to a three-year period of investment, intended to establish the concept and approach; it was hoped that the national partners might then develop further work based on this experience. As this period of support comes to an end in December 2005, this report has been prepared to give an account of the work, and to reflect on its achievements and its lessons.

The Living Heritage concept and methodology were developed following research into local heritage and cultural projects in several European countries, undertaken in the late 1990s. The programme was not seen as responding primarily to cultural needs, although those are important and have always been central to the programme's success; rather, it aimed to stimulate community development and strengthen civil society. Throughout South East Europe, and especially in more remote rural districts, communities now face huge socio-economic challenges; in some areas, these are compounded by tense inter-ethnic relations, organised crime and the legacy of recent war. The Living Heritage programme could not hope to overcome such large and complex problems, but it did aim to support the development of community organisations through which people might begin to improve local conditions themselves.

Those aspirations, as this report shows, have been fully justified by the response that thousands of people have made to the opportunity presented by the Living Heritage idea. About 140 projects have been supported, and all but a handful have been successful, often outstandingly so. They have restored buildings, promoted festivals, revived local rituals, established museums and created folklore groups. But most of all, people have worked together to achieve something for the local community, and the legacy of their work continues after the end of the project.

This report describes the background to the programme, its values and methodology, and its implementation and management. It describes at length the outcomes of the projects, drawing on the previously published national reports describing the work in each country, and concludes with an analysis of the programme's strengths and weaknesses, the learning to be extracted, and the factors in its success.

This is an internal programme report, not an independent evaluation. I was involved in the original research and concept development, and then worked as a trainer and adviser throughout, and undertook the evaluations of each national programme. My view is therefore necessarily subjective, but I have sought always to be aware and take account of that perspective, drawing on long research experience to approach the work and its results independently. At the same time, the study is informed by close knowledge of the programme and those involved, and lengthy interviews with people in more than 55 projects. In the end, perhaps its most obvious weakness is simply that it cannot do justice to the complex stories and often remarkable outcomes of 140 different projects.

One cannot but be impressed by what people have taken on, with limited resources and technical assistance, and by the results they have achieved. I have certainly been moved by the courage, vision and commitment of people who believe in their communities and have been prepared to take risks in working selflessly towards a better future for all those who live there. Such engagement is the foundation of stable and prosperous civil societies. It must not be taken for granted, and deserves to be matched by a similar commitment from local and national governments and from independent foundations.

FRANÇOIS MATARASSO

August 2005

Executive Summary

LIVING HERITAGE

The Living Heritage Programme was an initiative run by the King Baudouin Foundation between 2001 and 2005, in the context of its work with civil society in South East Europe. Its purpose was to support community development by linking heritage and cultural resources to locally identified needs. By assisting small NGOs and informal associations with finance, training and technical support, the programme aimed to develop local assets of lasting value, and foster long-term organisational capacity.

THE PROGRAMME'S APPROACH

The programme recognised the immense diversity of the region, its communities and their situations: it therefore avoided a prescriptive approach which would limit individual creativity and local freedom. Instead, it established 10 principles, based on successful community development practice in other parts of Europe, that underpinned the programme's approach. These were:

- ☒ Demonstrating local benefit
- ☒ Sustainable economic development
- ☒ Supporting voluntary commitment
- ☒ An incremental approach
- ☒ Flexibility and responsiveness
- ☒ Making friends with the media
- ☒ Leadership and a clear vision
- ☒ Accessible management
- ☒ Openness and honesty
- ☒ 'Dig where you stand'

Provided that they worked in accordance with these ideas (or had good reasons why one or other was not relevant in their situation) projects had a great deal of freedom in conceiving and undertaking their work. This is evident in the very wide concept of heritage that was adopted: it included buildings, monuments, museums, folklore, craft, oral history, contempo-

rary arts, parks and gardens, natural heritage and more. The essential aspect was that the focus of the project should be what those involved valued.

IMPLEMENTATION

The programme was developed consecutively in Macedonia, Bulgaria, Romania and Bosnia Herzegovina, operating for three years in each country. The total budget for the programme, between 2001 and 2005, was about €2.2 million, of which 84% was spent within the region on grants, training and programme support. The King Baudouin Foundation provided 54% of this fund, with the remainder being contributed by the Soros Foundation Network, the European Union, the Carpathian Foundation and the Romanian Environmental Partnership Foundation. A large further investment – not included in this total – was secured locally by projects through local and national governments, business sponsors and other donors.

Programme delivery was assured by an experienced foundation in each country, which managed the programme locally, handled grants and supported projects. These five partners (there were

two in Romania) also undertook the field-work which was an essential part of project identification. This approach was preferred to a conventional call for proposals since it enabled the programme to reach groups that had never had contact with an external funder or, in many cases, had never undertaken a community project before. It also meant that very few applicants were eventually unsuccessful: by the time the programme was developed in Bosnia Herzegovina, the methodology was very well established, and only 12% of those submitting a proposal were not selected for support.

PROJECTS SUPPORTED

A total of 140 new projects were developed, many of them in remote rural areas, though there were also initiatives in cities such as Skopje, Sofia and Brasov, and in smaller towns. After the pilot phase, the average grant levelled out at about €7,000, but the training and other support provided to projects added substantial further value. They can be divided into broad groups, including:

- Oral and local history projects that drew heavily on the memories of older

people, and often produced books and exhibitions; (Gostivar, Ivailovgrad, Ivanovo and Krivogastani).

- ☒ Museum projects, aiming to improve an existing institution or to create a new one; they included major new buildings (Byala Cherkva, Moldovița), new galleries and displays (Gura Humorului) and 'memory rooms' housed in a public building like the local school or town hall (Cherni Vit, Vrapciste);
- ☒ Festival projects, whose primary aim was to revive interest in forgotten holidays or bring people together in a new celebration of local culture and identity (Ćatići, Dzvegor, Rastes and Teteven).
- ☒ Environmental projects, which took a natural feature like a spring or a man-made amenity such as a public park as the focus of community action (Ipotești, Mokrino, Tusnad and Stenje).
- ☒ Folklore projects, which aimed to revive interest in traditional dance, songs, plays or other intangible cultural resources (Cojocna, Galicnik, Oresh and Zlatograd).
- ☒ Craft projects, which sought to pass on

key local skills in pottery, woodwork, embroidery, weaving, metalwork and similar products, linking often ageing artisans with young people (Avrig, Berovo, Madjarovo, Rusinovo, Satu Mare and Tetovo).

- ☒ Agricultural projects, which focused on traditional food and farming culture such as winemaking, plum growing, beekeeping and bean cultivation (Prozor-Rama, Remetea Oasului and Smilyan).
- ☒ Contemporary art projects, which used media such as video, photography or music to create new artistic work for concerts, festivals or exhibitions (Dârjiu, Lagera and Serdika).
- ☒ Tourism projects, which aimed to improve information, signage and services for visitors, and to promote awareness of the attractions of their locations (Creaca, Sânmartin, Salaj and Vranduk).
- ☒ Conservation projects, which focused on the restoration of symbolic buildings or locally important sites (Brasov, Donji Vakuf and Travnik).
- ☒ Cultural centre projects, which aimed to create new spaces in which community groups could meet and work on



their cultural interests (Bitola, Guča Gora, Kalofer, Lesok and Novi Travnik).

In practice, many of these projects were involved in a broad range of activities, often combining different elements.

KEY RESULTS

It is impossible to give an account of 140 projects here, but the following figures give some idea of what was achieved:

- ☒ Between 2001 and 2003, the Living Heritage programme in Macedonia created temporary work for about 165 people, put on 9 major festivals and established 5 new museums.
- ☒ In the first two years of work in Bulgaria, Living Heritage projects involved about 3,200 volunteers, and put on over 50 community celebrations, attended by a combined total of 8,800 people.
- ☒ The first 14 Living Heritage projects in Bosnia Herzegovina involved an estimated 900 volunteers who contributed some 10,500 hours of work between them;
- ☒ They established 10 new dance, music and crafts groups, restored 4 buildings for use as community cultural centres

and created 4 new museum exhibitions;

- ☒ They worked with over 500 children in out of school workshop programmes and held 30 festivals, fairs, exhibitions and other cultural events, attracting at least 6,000 people.

One other important result should be noted: very few of the projects failed. In the early part of the period, three or four had to be abandoned because they were too ambitious or had weaknesses that could not be overcome; about ten others failed to achieve part of their goals, while making progress in other areas. The remaining 93% of projects achieved their agreed goals, and many of them produced work that exceeded anyone's expectations.

OUTCOMES

Important as these results are in themselves, it was the wider impact on community development and civil society that the programme was principally concerned with. All the projects have been carefully monitored and evaluated, and the results in these respects are very positive.



The project teams and the participants most involved – often numbering 20 or 30 people – have learned new skills in project management, planning, teamwork, fundraising and in technical areas from carpentry or needlework to using computers. These are based in training and experience and the success that they have led to has built people's confidence in their abilities.

Existing community organisations have been strengthened and new ones have been formed, including several registered NGOs. These groups have more members, better resources, a record of achievement and new credibility in the community. They have made contacts with local government, business and foundations and have in many cases successfully raised further money for their activities.

Communities have new resources – ranging from museums and cultural centres to parks and natural heritage sites – that serve their own needs and local interests. They have also gained experience in providing services and goods for visitors, and many villages have already seen an increase in tourism.

THE FUTURE

Most of the Living Heritage projects have continued their work in one way or another after completion. Folklore and dance groups meet regularly and perform locally and in festivals; artisans continue to teach young people pottery, woodwork and embroidery skills; new social groups that emerged during the project still meet. Many projects have gone on to a second stage of work, raising new funds for further building work, or for new activities. The impetus and energy of the original project has, in most cases, been sustained.

The programme itself is also developing, at least in Macedonia, Romania and Bosnia Herzegovina, where the partners are committed to continuing the work of Living Heritage, in forms that suit their own needs, in years to come. Already, the Foundation Open Society Institute Macedonia has invested \$80,000 in 11 new projects. Interest in the programme is also growing in other parts of Europe, including the Caucasus.



1 Introduction

1.1 Heritage and development

1.1.1 Changing concepts of heritage

In 1972, when UNESCO adopted the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, it had a narrow concept of heritage, which it applied to monuments, sites and works.¹ The thinking was essentially that which had in the past informed the study and conservation of what were called antiquities. A generation later, in 2003, UNESCO adopted the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, in which heritage is defined as: '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.'²

The 30 years separating these conventions have seen a greater change in the concept of heritage, and what it applies to, than the preceding 300. Heritage has expanded in scope, to include industrial archaeology, popular culture and commercial ephemera; it has expanded in time, so that it hovers on the

threshold of the present; and it has expanded in kind, to embrace intangible culture, such as music, stories and even knowledge. Indeed, it has become such an inclusive concept that it would be easier to list what is not considered to fall within its domain.³

While this enlargement may produce theoretical and practical challenges for those charged with recording, conserving and studying heritage, it has also brought new opportunities. In particular, it has contributed to a democratisation of heritage that parallels changes in culture as a whole. Heritage is not just more accessible, but a much larger and wider body of people has expertise in it: it is not unusual for an academic or a curator to depend on the knowledge of an amateur or a community member in certain fields. Heritage has become the focus of widespread voluntary activity partly because of this, and partly because the state cannot possibly protect, or even interest itself in, all that now falls under the term.

At the same time, these 30 years have seen a commercialisation of herit-



age, as of much else. A growth in leisure time and disposable income in Western societies has created a market for experiences, including those that are available from heritage, whether tangible or intangible. The idea that heritage may be an asset, a form of capital available for development, has emerged alongside more familiar values about education or identity. But it is not confined to large scale public or private sector initiatives: it has also resonated at community level, where local people have developed crea-

tive and innovative responses to the changing situation. As Hugues de Varine, the godparent of the eco-museum, argues: 'I maintain that any part of heritage can serve many different purposes, according to the moment and the state of local development. But it is necessary to bring imagination, a mind open to the possibilities, patience and conviction.'⁴

This kind of thinking, and a broad conception of heritage itself, were central to the development of the Living Heritage programme: in essence, it

aimed to help people use what they valued to achieve goals which they themselves set.

1.1.2 New understandings of the function and value of culture

The evolution of how heritage is understood and used in European societies is part of a wider change in the concept of culture itself. As a result of the democratising and welfarist cultural policies pursued in western Europe in the second half of the 20th century, the rise of postmodern thought, and wider changes in the make up and values of society itself, culture is no longer viewed exclusively as a natural and objective good. It has become enlarged, complex and contested, and those who argue for its civilising power are no longer dominant, but advocates of one claim among many. As John Carey has written, 'Value, it seems evident, is not intrinsic in objects, but attributed to them by whoever is doing the valuing'.⁵

Away from the so-called culture wars, there has been a pragmatic growth of interest in, and understanding of, the role of culture within society. Some of

this has been driven by the expansion of the sector itself, as a result of the combined investment of public and private actors, to the point where its economic importance cannot be ignored. In most European countries, culture is a significant source of employment and an important part of a growing leisure economy; in some, the creative industries, as they are sometimes called, are a major component of GDP.

Alongside interest in culture's economic value, there has been a parallel recognition of its contribution to social goals, including education, community development, social cohesion and health, among others. This has been supported by a growing body of evidence about the benefits of participation in cultural activity.⁶ As a result, there is now a strong body of practice in this field, especially in countries such as the UK, Belgium and France. Here, the idea that culture can be a powerful agent for development, sometimes linked to the idea of people's right to culture, has become a significant factor in policy and has supported a big investment in community-based cultural activity. There

continue to be debates, particularly about what some see as the instrumentalisation of culture, but the work is well established, and its thinking and practice, rooted in experience and increasingly in theory, is quickly maturing.

1.2 Development of the Living Heritage idea

These complex changes made it possible to see heritage as a resource for community development, and provided a starting point for the research process that shaped the Living Heritage concept. The idea was originally raised within the King Baudouin Foundation as a potential successor to the European Heritage Days, which the organisation had been coordinating on behalf of the Council of Europe for some years. Initial

discussions took place in 1997, and the Council of Europe requested KBF to undertake a scoping study for a programme that would prioritise local participation in heritage. Three consultants were tasked with collecting information about relevant experiences in different parts of Europe, including the UK and Scandinavia; Belgium, France and Iberia; and Poland and central Europe. The results were somewhat uneven, reflecting cultural and policy differences across the continent, but there were enough strong case studies, particularly from Northern Europe, to suggest good potential.⁷ A key element of the report submitted in 1999 to the Council of Europe was an analysis of the conditions that underlay the successful projects. These were set out as ten principles to be considered in developing community-based heritage projects.



At the same time, the King Baudouin Foundation was testing some new approaches to heritage as part of its work in Eastern Europe. Small, short-term projects were undertaken in Latvia and Russia, and the results, though limited, were intriguing. After submission of the report to the Council of Europe, a more substantial project was undertaken in Slovenia, and this confirmed the concept, while demonstrating that the programme methodology still required development.

In the meantime, the Council of Europe had concluded that it was not in a position to develop the Living Heritage programme further, and the King Baudouin Foundation determined to move independently to full implementation. During 2000, work was undertaken on the methodology and operational protocols within the Foundation's overarching strategy. Its work outside Belgium had now focused on South East Europe, and the countries in the Stability Pact: Albania, Bosnia Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Romania and Serbia & Montenegro.

At that time, KBF was also operation-

al in the region with a programme for young people at risk, and an inter-ethnic relations programme.⁸ It therefore took the view that a new heritage-based community development programme would complement its existing work effectively. Financial and operational partnerships were sought (as described in chapter 3) and the programme was launched in Macedonia in March 2001.



2 The Living Heritage Programme

2.1 The Living Heritage concept

2.1.1 Community development through cultural resources

The Living Heritage programme aimed to promote 'community development through cultural resources'. It was rooted in the idea, supported by the King Baudouin Foundation's experience in Belgium, that cultural projects can provide a strong focus for local cooperation and community action. Such initiatives are effective because they deal with things that people often care deeply about, and are also within their control and capacities.

Background research in Belgium, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Poland and elsewhere highlighted how heritage has been used as the focus of a community project. Although it showed the work's successes, it also revealed the huge variety of approaches adopted. Projects differed in almost every respect, from basics like size, timescale and funding, to complex issues of conservation philosophy or the respective roles of public and private sector actors. It was therefore decided to identify

the key factors that underpinned the most successful projects. This analysis led to the drafting of Living Heritage principles, which expressed the programme's core thinking in simple form, and helped guide its implementation in the distinct situations of South East Europe.

2.1.2 The Living Heritage principles

The principle-based approach recognised that there are many ways to deliver a successful community-based heritage project because of the diversity of situations, people and culture itself. The Living Heritage programme did not intend to impose a model, or even a number of models, but to provide access to resources and training that could enable community groups to develop solutions that were appropriate to their situations. The principles were the foundation of all the assistance given to projects and were intended:

- ☒ To help the various partners and project teams to clarify their thinking,

and to provide a consistent framework for exploring issues involved in developing community-based development projects;

- ☒ To give access to simple, practical and transferable knowledge, drawn from the experience of existing projects;
- ☒ To help project teams achieve their goals with effective guidance;
- ☒ To secure an underlying consistency across the programme, while valuing the diversity of situations and possible responses; and
- ☒ To secure a sustainable future for the projects by sharing ownership of the ideas, methods and values that underpin effective community work.

The principles themselves were a combination of practical ideas and core values. In other words, they were concerned less with what was done, than how and, to some extent, why. Thus, under their apparently self-evident surface lay more challenging ideas whose exploration led to some of the most valuable discussion during training sessions and project planning. The ideas may be simple: acting on them is cer-



tainly not. The first three principles are general in scope:

Demonstrating local benefit

It is essential to communicate the value of an initiative to local people if they are to become genuinely involved in it. The importance of a heritage project can seem self-evident to its advocates, and it is easy to forget that others may have different priorities. Whether they aimed to improve community relations, attract tourists, create a facility for public use, or provide activities for young people, Living Heritage projects needed to be able to show the direct benefit of their plans to the wider community.

Sustainable economic development

Heritage and culture is often seen as a burden on public funds, and it is true that many initiatives are not financially viable. It was vital that Living Heritage grants should not create a situation of dependency on external finance. Projects needed to use a short-term investment to reach a point where they were at least able to cover their continuing costs and, ideally, to generate ad-

ditional resources and contribute to the local economy.

Supporting voluntary commitment:

People's voluntary work is part of how **community projects achieve a sustainable** level of development. But the economic value of their contribution, though vital, is less crucial than the moral support volunteers give: it is that which demonstrates a project's importance. In the end, community development can only happen, and produce positive results, if people want it enough to participate.

Three principles related to the way in which projects could be developed:

An incremental approach

Many of the projects were ambitious, but they were advised to plan their work in a series of manageable steps. People develop skills, experience and confidence by setting and achieving realistic goals. Delivering a small project builds trust and encourages people to take on more challenging follow-up work; trying to do too much, or failing to prioritise between competing ambitions, is a common cause of project failure.

Flexibility and responsiveness

No business develops in entirely predictable ways, and community projects, with their diverse goals and many stakeholders, are complex businesses as well as social enterprises. The plans developed beforehand, or set out in an application, will change constantly as they confront reality. It is not possible to anticipate the problems that may be encountered, or the changes that may be needed, but planning flexibly, and being ready to respond creatively to difficulties or obstacles is essential to success.

Making friends with the media

Some heritage projects can be high profile or even controversial, not least because they often overtly aim to produce change. Avoidable conflict may result if people who are not directly involved misunderstand a project's aim, for instance by thinking that participants are motivated by self-interest. Developing good relationships with the local media can help communicate with a large number of people, and foster better understanding and appreciation of a project.

Three principles relate to project management:

Leadership and a clear vision

Projects need leaders, people with a vision, drive and commitment to bringing about change that will benefit the wider community. Leadership may lie with an individual or a small group, but the vision it offers is essential – provided that leaders also have the ability to communicate that vision and enthuse other people with the possibilities.

Accessible management

At the same time, leaders need to be available to those they are trying to work with: managing a project from another place, or through rigid hierarchies and protocols, is a common cause of problems. But accessibility must extend beyond the physical: people need to see that the project leadership welcomes their ideas and contribution, and that they themselves could take more responsibility by becoming involved in management.

Openness and honesty

Good community development work depends on partnership between individu-

als, community groups, public authorities and funding bodies; but partnership is difficult to achieve because, with the best will, there are real differences in knowledge and power between people. Openness in the project management process, and honesty about needs, expectations and limits, cannot remove these inequalities, but together they can reduce the problems that inevitably arise.

The final principle applied specifically to projects working on heritage, and was inspired by the motto of the Living Archive, in Milton Keynes (UK).⁹

'Dig where you stand'

Living Heritage is rooted in a celebration of particularity, recognising that everywhere has unique history and culture, and that the people who live there are the experts in both. What is most valuable, to them and to others, may not be evident at first sight; those who do not know the place intimately may overlook it. Projects dig where they stand to celebrate people for who they are and what they have done, and to show that everyone has an essential contribution to

make. Rather than imitating projects that have worked elsewhere, this principle challenges people to find the unique riches that lie at their own feet.

The principles formed a framework for discussing, planning and carrying out projects. They were not prescriptive: it was recognised that one or more might not be applicable in a particular situation. But the process of deciding that, and of testing the proposals against all the projects, was the point, since it enabled people to think through some of the key points of why, and in what way, they wanted to take on a Living Heritage project.

In practice, some principles acquired more importance and others less. Sometimes they were translated into other terms: for instance, in Romania, they were connected to familiar local proverbs. Ultimately, they were simplified to a core of seven during the drafting of the Living Heritage manifesto.¹⁰ But the effectiveness of the approach was underlined by the way in which the ideas, and even the phrases themselves, could be heard in the conversation of the project teams. The principles had become embedded in peo-

ple's thinking, giving them resources to approach a wide range of community development problems through their own and others' experience.

The principle-based approach to community development also had an influence on the partners managing the programme, leading them to review approaches to project selection and support. Indeed, the Mozaik Foundation, which managed Living Heritage in Bosnia Herzegovina, adopted the system throughout the organisation.

2.2 Financing The Programme

2.2.1 Programme investment

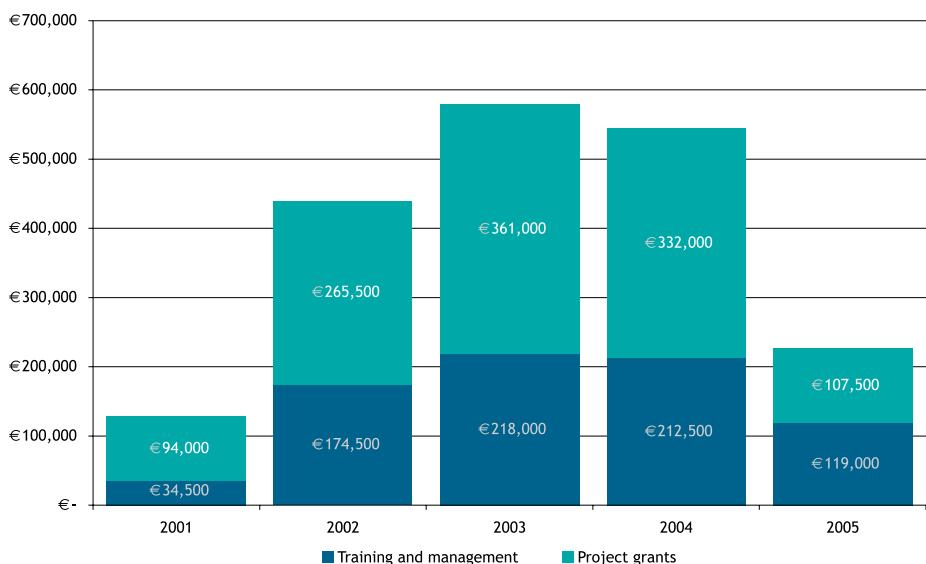
The King Baudouin Foundation was the principal investor in the Living Heritage programme, allocating some €1,237,000 directly to it between 2001 and 2005, not including internal staff and management costs.¹¹ This achieved a high level of match funding, including €765,500 contributed by the Soros Foundation (through its offices in Macedonia, Bulgaria and Bosnia Herzegovina), €120,000 from the Car-

pathian Foundation and the Romanian Environmental Partnership Foundation, and €158,000 from different European Union sources.¹² In total, therefore, the King Baudouin Foundation contributed about 54% of the budget, with 46% coming from other sources: to put it another way, KBF secured an additional 85 cents for every euro it invested.

2.2.2 Programme expenditure

The Living Heritage programme budget amounted to approximately €2.28 million

over the period. Of this, 84% was allocated to the national partners for programme delivery and grants, with 60% going directly to projects. As discussed below (sections 2.3 and 5.4.3), the programme's approach depended equally on investment in people (principally through training), and on grant aid. Delivery expenditure therefore included the costs of project development workshops, training and other support for grantees; the best estimate is that actual management costs were in the order of 20-25%, depending on the situation in each



Living Heritage Programme: local expenditure, 2001-2005

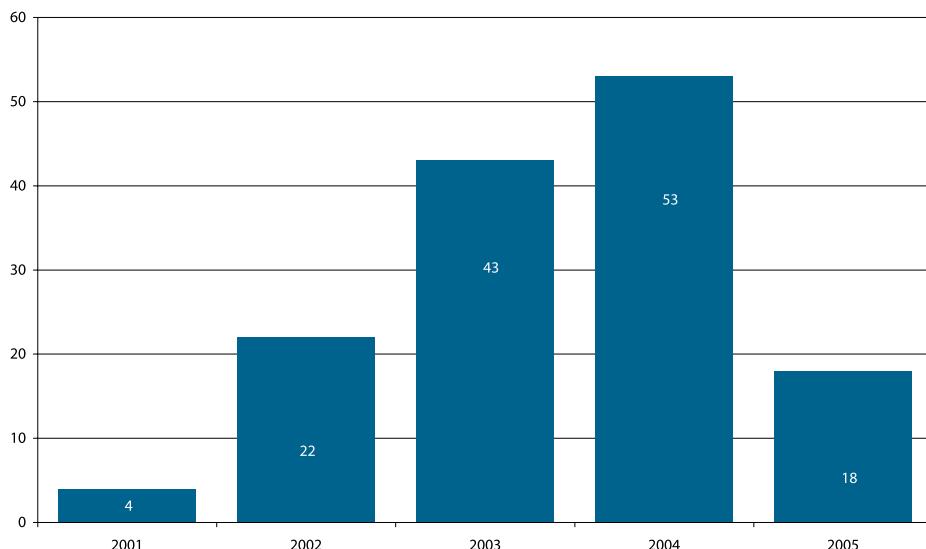
country. The chart below shows the amount assigned to grants and to programme support, and the distribution of funds over the period.

Of the remaining 16% of the budget, 9% covered regional support and training (through which the programme was developed with partners and early projects), professional development for community facilitators and other local staff, monitoring and evaluation. Travel costs were also substantial in a region

which does not benefit from low-cost airlines and similar advantages. The final 7% of the budget comprised a grant awarded through the European Union Culture programme 2000 towards development of the interregional Living Heritage Network, video and photographic documentation and an international conference.

2.2.3 Grant aid

The Living Heritage programme supported 140 projects between 2001 and



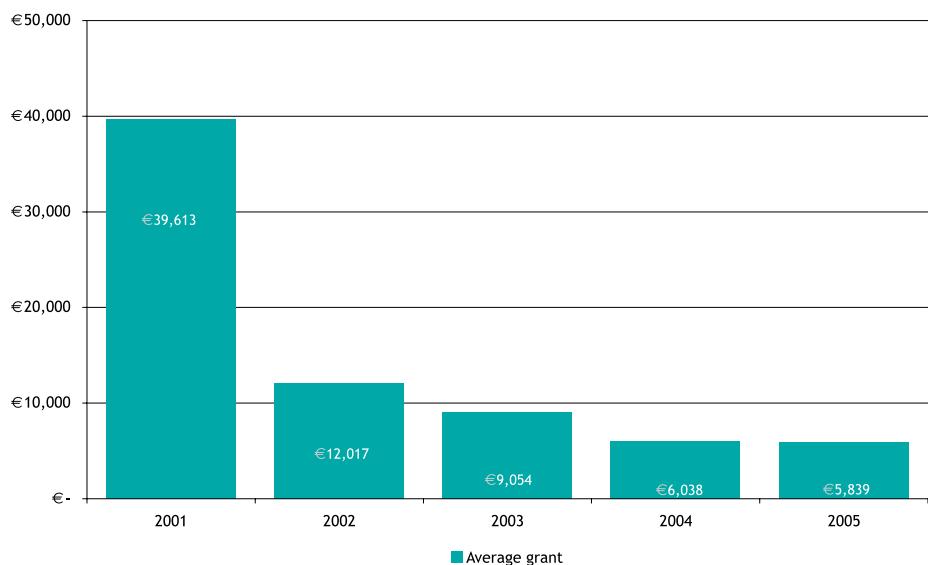
Living Heritage Programme: number of new projects by year, 2001-2005

2005, including 17 (12%) that received follow-up grants for a second phase of development. The following chart shows the pattern of development of projects over the period.

As discussed further in section 3.2, the pilot phase projects in Macedonia were identified on the basis of assumptions about their scale and character which quickly proved to be misplaced. The difference is very clear in the average size of the grants made to these building restoration projects in 2001; (in

the event, one pilot was abandoned, and another radically scaled back, so these grants were not all taken up). The lessons of the pilot phase were quickly assimilated, and the programme's subsequent development was very different, with many more projects receiving much smaller levels of support. In the last three years – when 81% of the projects were initiated – the average size of grant levelled off at just under €7,000.

It is worth noting that the ratio of grant aid to delivery costs in 2001 was



Living Heritage Programme: average size of grant, 2001-2005

also quite different, since it is not necessarily administratively expensive to make a large grant. However, the difficulties and limited impact of most of the pilot projects highlight the difference between low overheads and value for money: the success of the later projects is directly attributable to the level of investment in building the capacity of those involved to achieve their goals.

2.2.4 Cost and impact

One further clarification should be made. This analysis of the programme's funding substantially underestimates both the cost and the impact of the programme in two respects. First, it does not include the internal management costs, including substantial staff time and expenses, incurred by the King Baudouin Foundation itself. These are included within the Foundation's own overheads, but represent an obvious further charge on the programme.

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, it does not take account of the additional resources secured by individual projects during and after the Living Heritage work itself. All projects were re-

quired to raise at least 25% of their budgets themselves, and could do so in cash or in kind. Overall, therefore, it can be calculated that the individual projects raised some €290,000 in matching resources from local sources, but this is actually a significant underestimate. For example, the 14 Bosnian projects reviewed for the national report secured about €130,000 in additional resources between them; one of these has gone on to secure a further grant of €57,000 from the European Union for its next stage. This was exceptional, and partly reflects the extent of investment in Bosnia Herzegovina, but the projects in other countries were also successful in attracting funds from local and regional authorities, national government, foundations and the business sector; (further details of this match funding will be found in section 4.4.4).

The cash investment in communities secured through the programme may reasonably be estimated at 1.25 to 1.5 times the amount of the Living Heritage grants, even without taking into account the real, if unquantifiable, value of the voluntary work contributed by participants.

2.3 Implementation

2.3.1 Project identification

During the planning stages, it was decided that the Living Heritage programme should not adopt an open application process. The King Baudouin Foundation took the view that a conventional call for proposals would inevitably favour well-established organisations with skills and experience in writing applications, to the disadvantage of the grass roots response the programme aimed for. There was the additional risk of attracting organisations in search of funds, rather than those with a commitment to the ideas, methods and values of Living Heritage itself.

But if the aim was to assist communities and associations with little or no experience of developing projects, or of working with external donors, a new approach to project identification was required. The solution was fieldwork, undertaken in each country by the programme partners and freelance community development specialists. It required extensive desk research, contact with agencies working in culture, heritage or community development, and visits to towns and

villages where there was some indication of potential interest in the programme. These visits usually took a full day and involved public meetings during which the Living Heritage idea was presented, and local problems and needs were discussed.

Where people expressed a clear interest in the programme, they were invited to submit an outline of their idea in the form of a letter of intention. Provided this met certain basic criteria – of which the most important was strong community support – representatives of the project team were invited to a project development workshop. By the time the programme was implemented in Bosnia Herzegovina, the method was well tried and the community meetings were able to elect a project team formally. The high quality of subsequent local partnerships reflects the appropriateness of this approach to community development.

However, identification through fieldwork was not initially used in Romania, where the programme partners had reservations about the approach. As established grant-makers, the Carpathian Foundation and the Romanian Environ-

mental Partnership Foundation had existing policy, practice and relationships to consider. This position was accepted by KBF, and Living Heritage in Romania was launched with a public call for proposals; a number of effective local NGOs were also encouraged to participate. The result was not as positive as had been hoped. Although many applications were received, the quality was generally poor. More problematic, in terms of the Living Heritage programme's aims, was that most of the 10 grantees selected came from local government or the established NGO sector – exactly as had been foreseen. The same approach was used in the following year, with similar results, and, in the third year, the Romanian partners adopted the fieldwork approach used elsewhere. As a result, a total of 20 projects were granted in 2004, as many as in the previous two years combined.

2.3.2 Project development

workshops

The project development process was inseparable from the fieldwork approach, and equally central to the Living Heritage concept. Since the programme was

targeted at people with limited, if any, experience of running projects, it was essential to help them to develop the necessary skills. This investment in people was also vital to the long-term sustainability of individual projects, and of the programme as a whole. Although there were local variations according to circumstances, the basic pattern of these workshops and their relation with project selection was consistent across all four countries.

At the conclusion of the fieldwork and the community meetings, interested groups submitted letters of intention briefly setting out their ideas. These were assessed, and all but the weakest proposals were invited to send a small team to participate in a residential workshop, normally of three days duration. The workshop was run initially by the regional team consultants, and subsequently, following training, by local consultants and staff from the partner organisations.¹³ The project development

workshops focused on the Living Heritage concept and principles, and included sessions on community development and project management, alongside one-to-one consultancy work with each team. People presented their ideas to the whole group at the start, and again at the end, by which time their thinking had often changed substantially.

The workshop's purpose was to equip participants with the skills and knowledge to work up a detailed project plan that would form the basis of their



formal application to the programme. After the workshop itself, they were invited to submit proposals, setting out exactly what they intended to do, the main elements of the work, timescales, costings etc. These applications were assessed by the Advisory Group in each country (described below), and decisions made about which projects to support. In practice, very few proposals were declined at this stage, since participation in the first workshop had usually dealt with any serious issues or obstacles.

Successful project teams were invited to a second residential workshop for training in management, fundraising, marketing, evaluation and related issues; again, they also got one-to one-assistance in refining their plans. This workshop and training process was critical to the success of the projects themselves: it was the foundation on which they built their work. Project teams consulted as much as two years later were uniformly appreciative of what they had learnt, and of the contacts they had made with other people involved in the programme. The workshops were particularly successful because they were not abstract. Rath-

er than trying to train participants in the theory of community development work or project planning, they always focused on people's specific goals. Everything that people learnt was immediately applicable to their situation; every idea offered was a potential solution to a problem they faced.

There was a great variety in the project teams themselves. Normally, they included representatives of several organisations, and individuals with a particular interest or expertise in the project. Cooperation within the community was a crucial element: thus in Byala Cherkva (BG) the consortium brought together the cultural centre, the museum service and the town council, while in Vrapciste (MK) the project was coordinated by a local NGO but divided between three separate teams working on different aspects and made up of individuals and members of cultural groups. Every project had a similar grouping of like-minded people, but two general points emerged from the experience. First, projects with at least three committed stakeholders tended to develop more easily, and have more sustainable

results, than those with fewer partners. Secondly, the involvement of the local council was usually very helpful, but worked better if they were in a supportive rather than a leading position.

Local people led many of the projects without the support of a legal structure or of an external NGO; some established informal associations during the work, and several new NGOs were registered as a result. Other projects were developed by more established organisations, particularly in Romania, where NGOs and local authorities were more involved in the earlier projects; in Bulgaria, the unique cultural centres known as chitalishte were often key partners. The deciding factor was the local situation, the ambitions that people brought to the programme and the organisational resources at their disposal.

2.3.3 Project selection

Although the identification of projects was undertaken through fieldwork, it was still necessary to assess the proposals to determine which projects to support and to what extent. In each country, an independent Advisory Group was es-

tablished to assist in this process. The members of these groups, which met three or four times a year, brought expertise in a wide range of fields including heritage, culture, ethnography, community development, environmental protection, the media and more. They assessed the applications in the national language and made recommendations to KBF and its partners. Individual members were often able to give specific advice to projects, or suggest people who might be able to help them in achieving their goals.

The Advisory Groups were also important in acting as informal Living Heritage ambassadors. Members were often able to represent the programme at a launch event, or to interest the media in a project; they also raised awareness of Living Heritage in their respective professional fields. In Bulgaria, this idea was taken further with the development of a larger Reference Group of people who had some interest in what the Living Heritage programme was doing. This was expected to include up to 200 people who would be kept informed about the programme and its achievements, and was intended to help extend awareness

of the idea in professional, policy and media circles. The idea was sound, and some progress was made; unfortunately, limited time and resources made it difficult to fulfil its potential.

2.3.4 Continuing training and support

After the project development workshop, the teams began their work in earnest; (up to then, only planning and consultation work was normally undertaken). The focus of support shifted to individual assistance, provided both by local staff and freelance consultants, with the aim of providing help when it was needed. Site visits were made whenever possible, to support the teams and check on progress, but day-to-day contact was often conducted over the phone. Project teams also submitted regular written reports, which allowed changes or difficulties to be highlighted.

Some further training was offered: for instance, in Macedonia, a marketing workshop was provided for all the current Living Heritage projects in 2004. Training in oral history work, partly de-

livered by a British specialist from the Living Archive in Milton Keynes, was also undertaken in Bulgaria. Contact between individual projects was also encouraged, particularly as the numbers increased. It was recognised that those who had already made substantial progress could share their knowledge and experience with others at the start of the process. This was effective, but the distances involved and the cost of travel limited the extent of project-to-project support.

Evaluation after project completion showed the training workshops and the informal support to have been highly appreciated by the project teams. Inevitably, people's capacity to accept and apply some of the ideas to which they were introduced varied. There were wide differences in the participants' education, and equally wide, though unrelated, differ-



ences in their openness to new ideas. For most people, the experience was valuable and a crucial component of their success in their project; for a small number, it was life-changing and will enable them to undertake things they had not thought possible; and for a few, it was an unwelcome obligation, which will have little lasting effect on their thinking.

Whatever the impact on individuals, however, the training work should be understood as a central part of the Living Heritage process, and an investment as important as the project grants, which it helped people use effectively as a result of the new skills they gained.





3 National Programme Development

3.1 Introduction

In its work in South East Europe, the King Baudouin Foundation has always developed partnerships with local foundations and agencies. For the Living Heritage programme, it followed the model established by its existing initiatives focusing on inter-ethnic relations and young people at risk. In each country, it identified a financial partner, to increase the resources available, and an operational partner, to manage the programme within the legal, administrative and cultural framework of the country concerned. This section of the report outlines how these partnerships were forged, and the local development of the programme. National reports were produced in the final year of operation in each country: these provide much fuller detail of individual projects and are available from the KBF website.¹⁴

3.2 Macedonia

3.2.1 National partners and management

The Living Heritage programme was launched in Macedonia in 2001, in a partnership between the King Baudouin Foundation and the Foundation Open Society Institute Macedonia (FOSIM). Unusually, FOSIM was both a donor and the programme manager, and the partnership between the two organisations was very close, partly because the programme was so new. Decisions about project selection and grants were initially made jointly by KBF and FOSIM, but they were quite soon delegated to an Advisory Group that included a number of independent experts alongside foundation staff. A dedicated FOSIM officer managed the programme, and was later joined by a deputy as it grew. A small number of freelance community facilitators were also brought in after the first year to assist with project support.

3.2.2 Programme development

The programme was launched with a pilot phase of four urban projects, identified through fieldwork undertaken during the winter of 2000-01. These first projects, in Skopje, Prilep, Bitola and Kruševo, were relatively orthodox in their conception of heritage and in the technically oriented development process they envisaged. Each involved a historic building, or group of buildings, and focused on restoration rather than community participation. They presented complex challenges as well as being potentially very costly, and the grants envisaged at this stage ranged between €25,000 and €80,000: not vast for conservation, but much larger than would become the norm for the Living Heritage programme.¹⁵

A project development workshop was held in Skopje for all the project teams, and this established the model for subsequent training workshops. But, although substantial progress was made, and the projects became more realistic in the course of the workshop, progress thereafter was slow. The legislation surrounding historic buildings,

combined with unclear property rights, challenging technical problems and human difficulties meant that, though a lot of work had been done, there was little to show for it by the end of 2001. A review was clearly in order. Fortunately, it was possible to learn from early experiences in Bulgaria, where the programme had been launched in May 2001 on a different basis, partly because of what was already evident in Macedonia. Indeed, the four Bulgarian pilot projects had avoided buildings altogether, focusing instead on traditional dance and music, oral history and natural heritage.

It was clear that the programme needed to shed some of its conventional expectations of what heritage was and how it might be developed. Managers from KBF and FOSIM were able to act quickly and decisively, to focus the second round of projects wholly on people and their *living* heritage interests. In 2002, eight new projects were launched, focusing on traditional arts and crafts, folklore and natural heritage. The average size of grants fell sharply to around €12,000 (and would fall further to level

off at about €7,000 in subsequent years). This approach proved to be far more successful and really established the pattern for the subsequent development of Living Heritage not only in Macedonia, but in the other countries as well.

Two important lessons emerged from the pilot phase in 2001. First, it was essential to conceive projects on a scale, and using resources, that were within the reach of community groups. The role of experts was to support people's efforts, not to lead or direct. Secondly, time invested in project identification, and then in development, was the best investment: Living Heritage needed to be an accompanied journey. This understanding helped guide the rest of the programme's work.

Between 2001 and 2005, six rounds of projects were supported in Macedonia. After the completion of the contract with KBF in 2004, FOSIM continued the programme with its own resources, applying a total of \$80,000 (€64,750) to a further 11 projects. A total of 35 Living Heritage projects were supported in Macedonia.¹⁶

Galicnik Weddings are a famous tradition in Macedonia, and have attracted people to the area for years. The project aimed to revive interest in the annual summer event, and help the community make more of them through sales and services for visitors. A small museum has been created, displaying traditional costumes and musical instruments; souvenirs made in the village are for sale. New publicity materials, including a multimedia CD, have been created and a fund has been established to sustain activity after the end of the project.

3.3 Bulgaria

3.3.1 National partners and management

Bulgaria was the second country where the Living Heritage programme was implemented, soon after its launch in Macedonia. A partnership was formed with the Open Society Fund in Sofia¹⁷ (OSF), which contributed to the financing of the work. A Sofia-based NGO, the Workshop for Civic



Initiatives Foundation¹⁸ (WCIF), was contracted to manage the grants and training programme, work with local project teams and provide regular support and guidance. Again, an advisory group of local experts in culture, heritage, community development and the media was established to review individual proposals, with decisions about programme development being made jointly by the partners.

3.3.2 Programme development

The programme in Bulgaria also began with a pilot phase of four projects, but by the time they were identified, the early lessons from Macedonia were becoming clear. As a result, the first Bulgarian projects were in rural areas, where it was easier to contact and engage a substantial part of the local population, and focused on people's cultural interests rather than building conservation. In Dorkovo, the project took as its starting point an inter-cultural folklore festival, in

Ivanovo the focus was on people's memories of the old village, abandoned in the 1960s, and in Trigrad the aim was to improve access to and interpretation of a Neolithic cave system. The final project, in the Gotse Delchev region, involved four villages working together on their cultural heritage of dance, music and storytelling. All the projects quickly proved to be successful in conception and delivery and, by early 2002, it was possible to envisage a second phase of work, involving nine projects in central Bulgaria, once again in largely rural areas.

In 2003, it was decided to broaden the scope of the programme by developing six urban projects in Sofia itself, working particularly on contemporary artistic practices and media. These projects were given the collective name 'KvARTal', from the Bulgarian word for neighbourhood and, on completion in May 2004, were brought together in a week-long community arts festival at

one of the city's cultural centres. These projects were important in demonstrating that the Living Heritage methodology could work effectively in urban settings, using new forms and media of artistic creation. A third phase, including two follow-up KvARTal projects in Sofia, was launched in the second half of 2004, and completed during 2005. In all, 33 Living Heritage projects have been supported in Bulgaria.

In addition to the development workshops for project team members, WCIF created a separate training programme for community facilitators. This was conceived and delivered by Creda, a group of Sofia-based community development consultants, and gave 20 graduates a theoretical understanding and practical knowledge of the field. The 12 month course was accredited by WCIF, the Center for Independent Living, the Women's Alliance for Development and CEGA (Creating Effective Grassroots Alternatives).¹⁹ Sixteen participants graduated and nine have since formed the Marguerite community development network to sustain the practice in Bulgaria.²⁰

The Centre for Sustainable Development of Teteven, a town of 10,000 people in central Bulgaria, was keen to revive a tradition of public sociability among local people. To that end, they organised four Saturday morning festivals, spaced out over the course of a year and celebrating different aspects of local life and history, from the arrival of the Russian army in the 19th century to the local raspberry crop. Each involved performances, games and contests, and involved many people in the preparation: audiences of several hundred came to take part in what the organisers hope will become a new tradition in Teteven.

3.4 Romania

3.4.1 National partners and management

With different local priorities, the Soros Foundation was not involved in the Living Heritage programme in Romania. Instead, KBF established partnerships with two national foundations, which contributed

some funds and acted as the operational partners in different areas. In the north of the country, the Romanian office of the Carpathian Foundation (CF) managed the programme, while in Transylvania the work was undertaken by the Romanian Environmental Partnership Foundation (REPF).²¹ Although KBF was the principal financial contributor, both Romanian partners invested to a smaller degree in the programme, as well as taking responsibility for project management and grants administration. A small advisory group was established to advise on project selection; grant aid and other decisions were made jointly by the three partners.

3.4.2 Programme development

The Living Heritage methodology established in Macedonia and Bulgaria had identified projects through fieldwork, as described above. However, the Romanian partners had some reservations about this approach, preferring instead an open application process with which they were familiar as grant-makers. They were also committed to supporting local government and NGOs as cornerstones of community development. The programme in Ro-

mania was therefore launched with a well-publicised call for proposals, supported by public information meetings. Given the size of the country, it was agreed that each partner would focus on three rural counties, with the Carpathian Foundation working in Bihor, Maramures and Suceava, and the Romanian Environmental Partnership Foundation in Harghita, Sibiu and Brasov. Ten projects were selected for support, from over 70 letters of intention submitted, though many were poorly conceived or otherwise ineligible. The same approach was adopted in 2003 but, though the number of proposals was still high, their quality was again disappointing. Nine projects were selected in the second round, including five that were developments from the first phase.

For the third year, it was decided to identify projects through the kind of fieldwork that had been used in the other countries. This was a positive change, and 19 new projects were identified and supported in 2004. The use of a conventional application process in the first two phases meant that many of these projects were undertaken by established organisations, either local government or NGOs. This was

less true of the third year, where the grantees were principally community associations. In all, 39 Living Heritage projects have been supported in Romania.

The Eco-Plus Association, in the Romanian city of Brasov, developed a project to restore the city's narrow Rope Street. They undertook a major campaign to raise awareness of the unique character of the street, working with 30 schools in the district to organise a painting and writing competition, leading to a festival and exhibition. At the same time, they raised funds and secured permission to undertake renovation work, transforming a dingy alley into a picturesque asset to the town's tourism offer.

gramme was implemented, so the process benefited from the many lessons learnt elsewhere. The Open Society Fund (OSF-BiH) joined as a financial partner, and the NGO Development Foundation – since renamed the Mozaik Foundation – became the operational partner responsible for programme management.²² Mozaik managed the grants and training programme, working with local project teams and providing regular support and guidance, through its own staff and through independent community facilitators. An expert advisory group was established, to review individual proposals, but the partners jointly made major decisions about the programme development.

The Living Heritage programme was a new way of working for the NGO Development Foundation, and prompted the organisation to undertake a complete review of its approach. As a result, it made significant structural and operational changes (including adopting the new name) to embed the values-led approach to community development of the Living Heritage programme in all its work. While all the operational partners have learned

3.5 Bosnia Herzegovina

3.5.1 National partners and management

Bosnia Herzegovina was the final country in which the Living Heritage pro-



from the experience, and have adjusted their practice in consequence, none has undertaken such a comprehensive change process as Mozaik.

3.5.2 Programme development

The Living Heritage programme in Bosnia Herzegovina was launched in November 2002 at a seminar in Sarajevo attended by invited representatives of the coun-

try's heritage, cultural and community sectors. People were introduced to the concept and invited to consider how they might wish to contribute to the programme itself. The now well-established fieldwork and development process followed this event, with the first nine projects being granted in 2003. The principle of equal participation in the programme by different nationalities has



been maintained throughout; although most of the projects have taken place within the Federation territory, rather than in Republika Srpska, they have included people from Croat, Serb, Bosniac and Roma communities.

A second round followed in 2004, with 11 projects divided into two phases. For the third round, it was decided to take a slightly different approach and fo-

cus on five communities in central Bosnia with potential to develop tourism. The approach was to link environmental and conservation work with development of craft production, in a mutually supportive relationship of paired projects. As the historic and cultural attractions of the planned Central Bosnia Trail became known and visitors were attracted, so local people would get access to a small but growing market for traditional craft-work and other souvenirs. It is still too soon to know the results of this initiative. In total, 31 Living Heritage projects have been supported in Bosnia Herzegovina.

Prozor, a small town in Herzegovina, is renowned for a unique species of plum, and the liqueur that is produced from the fruit. A local NGO, the Fenix Association, used this common heritage as the basis for a series of activities involving Bosniac and Croat communities, and linking the older generation with young people. A series of six 30 minute radio programmes were made about

growing, cooking and distilling plums, and broadcast on Radio Rama. Other work included a documentary video, workshops, an artist's colony and a two-day plum festival that brought the project to a close with a community celebration.

3.6 Regional cooperation

3.6.1 The value of cooperation

The Living Heritage programme was designed to foster contact and cooperation between different actors within each country in which it operated. The workshops and other training initiatives were a key part of this strategy, enabling people involved in projects to meet and work together. As the projects developed, more public events – such as the week of community arts in Sofia or the Living Heritage Fair in Skopje – provided further opportunities for networking. These links were seen as vital to help overcome the isolation that community activists and cultural entrepreneurs often feel, and to encourage the sharing of experience, ideas and contacts. Despite practi-

cal and financial obstacles, a valuable sense of shared enterprise was fostered between the Living Heritage projects in all four countries.

This principle of cooperation, intended to strengthen the national impact of the programme, was extended to contact between the partners in the different countries. From the beginning, a policy of bringing the national partners together was pursued: thus, a FOSIM manager took part in the introductory Bulgarian workshop to present the programme's early experiences in Macedonia. This commitment to international exchange and support has developed consistently over the period of the programme's operation, encouraging a culture of mutual trust and assistance between the partners, which should contribute to the long-term sustainability of this approach to community development.

3.6.2 Regional programme development

A regional team was established at the beginning of 2001 to provide strategic guidance and help ensure a common understanding and consistency of approach

among all the partners. The team included the KBF programme officer and two freelance consultants: Vera Dakova, a Bulgarian expert in community development, and François Matarasso, a British cultural specialist who had helped develop the Living Heritage concept. The consultants took the leading role in introducing the programme concepts and methodology to the partners in each country, and provided the early training and workshop models.

As the programme has become established, responsibility for its development passed from the regional team to the national partners themselves. The core of this regional cooperation was a series of partner meetings that provided a forum for training, information exchange and strategic planning. The first of these was held in Brussels in November 2002; it was followed by meetings in Sofia in May 2003, in Ohrid in November 2003 and in Sarajevo in November 2004. The meetings were also opportunities for partners to visit projects in other countries and to learn about local aspects of programme implementation.

In 2004, the group made a successful application to the European Commission for assistance in documenting and

promoting the work of the Living Heritage programme. This included a video featuring projects in all four countries, and a linked exhibition. A training workshop for programme officers and freelance community facilitators was also held in Sarajevo in May 2005, to assist in the future use of the programme methodology. The final element of this promotion work was an international conference held in Skopje in October 2005 to consider the experience and lessons of the programme.

At the 2003 meeting in Ohrid, a formal decision was made to establish the Living Heritage Network, and a short manifesto was drawn up setting out the core values and ideas of the group. It was envisaged, perhaps idealistically, that this network would be enlarged to include other organisations that shared the approach, but this has not yet happened, partly because of the time pressures faced by all the partners. It remains to be seen whether it will be possible to extend the Living Heritage Network after the programme's completion.



4 The impact of Living Heritage projects

4.1 The character and scale of projects

4.1.1 Introduction

This section of the report provides an account of the outcomes of the projects supported through the Living Heritage programme. It draws substantially on the national evaluation reports, and follows the same essential structure. It begins with the results reported by individuals, where the impact of participation is likely to be deepest and most evident, and then considers community development, which is closely linked to people's experiences. It looks in turn at economic, cultural and environmental impacts, and the programme's effect on partners and other institutions. Projects naturally experienced problems, as well as the complex outcomes that are the result of personal and community change. These, together with difficulties associated with the assumptions and processes of the programme itself are dealt with in the next chapter, which draws out the lessons to be considered.

This account of the programme's impact can only be partial, since, even without taking account of the limitations of space, fieldwork and interviews had to be undertaken before completion of all the projects, before completion of all the projects. Very brief descriptions of all the projects are included in the appendix, and reference to those may assist the reader with the inevitable tangle of place names in the following pages. Before giving an account of their impact, however, it may be helpful to sketch out briefly the range of projects involved, and give an indication of the results achieved.

4.1.2 Types of project

The Living Heritage projects varied enormously, according to the character and opportunities of each place, the interests and concerns of different communities, the passions of the individuals involved and other factors. That said, they can be divided into a number of broad groupings, which include:

- ▣ Oral and local history projects that drew heavily on the memories of older people, and often produced books and exhibitions; (Gostivar, Ivailograd, Ivanovo and Krivogastani).
- ▣ Museum projects, aiming to improve an existing institution or to create a new one; they included major new buildings (Byala Cherkva, Moldoviţa), new galleries and displays (Gura Humorului) and 'memory rooms' housed in a public building like the local school or town hall (Cherni Vit, Vrapciste);
- ▣ Festival projects, whose primary aim was to revive interest in forgotten holidays or bring people together in a new celebration of local culture and identity (Ćatići, Dzvegor, Rastes and Teteven).
- ▣ Environmental projects, which took a natural feature like a spring or a man-made amenity such as a public park as the focus of community action (Ipotesti, Mokrino, Tusnad and Stenje).
- ▣ Folklore projects, which aimed to revive interest in traditional dance, songs, plays or other intangible cul-
tural resources (Cojocna, Galicnik, Oresh and Zlatograd).
- ▣ Craft projects, which sought to pass on key local skills in pottery, wood-work, embroidery, weaving, metal-work and similar products, linking often ageing artisans with young people (Avrig, Berovo, Madjarovo, Rusinovo, Satu Mare and Tetovo).
- ▣ Agricultural projects, which focused on traditional food and farming culture such as winemaking, plum growing, beekeeping and bean cultivation (Prozor-Rama, Remetea Oasului and Smilyan).
- ▣ Contemporary art projects, which used media such as video, photography or music to create new artistic work for concerts, festivals or exhibitions (Darjiu, Lagera and Serdika).
- ▣ Tourism projects, which aimed to improve information, signage and services for visitors, and to promote awareness of the attractions of their locations (Creaca, Sânmartin, Salaj and Vranduk).
- ▣ Conservation projects, which focused on the restoration of symbolic buildings or locally important sites

(Brasov, Donji Vakuf and Travnik).

- ☒ Cultural centre projects, which aimed to create new spaces in which community groups could meet and work on their cultural interests (Bitola, Guča Gora, Kalofer, Lesok and Novi Travnik).

Although most projects can be fitted into one of these categories, many worked on several at once: it was common, for example, for a festival to mark the conclusion of all types of project, while others might work on craft and folklore at the same time, or hope to attract tourists as a result of their environmental work. A few – such as Kakanj (BH), which aimed to reintroduce a culture of public sociability by pedestrianising a street and encouraging a programme of cultural animation – are difficult to fit into this typology at all. There were also other differences, for instance between urban and rural communities, in the scale of their ambitions, or in the experience of the project teams. However, as a snapshot of the kinds of work that projects undertook, it serves its purpose.

4.1.3 Indicative project outputs

The outputs of Living Heritage projects have been many and varied, including festivals, museums, conservation and restoration work, environmental campaigns, publications, videos and recordings, the creation of new folklore groups, cultural centres, craft work and much, much more. Although considerable effort was put into monitoring the work and the outputs of individual projects, different approaches were used in each country, and the accuracy or record keeping inevitably varied between projects. However, the following figures give some indication of the extent of the work produced:

- ☒ Between 2001 and 2003, the Living Heritage programme in Macedonia created temporary work for about 165 people, put on 9 major festivals and established 5 new museums.
- ☒ In the first two years of work in Bulgaria, Living Heritage projects involved about 3,200 volunteers, and put on over 50 festivals and community celebrations, attended by a combined total of 8,800 people.

- The first 14 Living Heritage projects in Bosnia Herzegovina involved an estimated 900 volunteers who contributed some 10,500 hours of work between them;
- They established 10 new dance, music and crafts groups, restored four buildings for use as community cultural centres and created four new museum exhibitions;
- They worked with over 500 children in out of school workshop programmes and held 30 festivals, fairs, exhibitions and other cultural events, attracting at least 6,000 people.

These figures represent only a part of the work undertaken in each country. At the time of writing, the work continues, but the programme has already created or improved 24 museums and cultural centres, restored 35 buildings, cleaned 24 natural sites, supported 20 folklore groups, run 45 craft development initiatives and 24 local history projects and promoted over 65 festivals, figures that will certainly grow in months and years to come.

4.2 Personal development

4.2.1 Skills

Living Heritage projects are intended to support community development, and the basis of this is working in ways that enable those involved to build their own capacities, experience and confidence. This happens through the training and support given to project teams, and through the project implementation process itself. The impact is naturally greatest on team members, since they are involved in work that may take a year or more to complete; they are also highly committed and generally willing to learn, since they recognise that new ideas will help them achieve their goals.

PROJECT TEAMS

Team members felt, almost universally, that they had learnt a great deal from the experience of running their project. In fact, having met many of them at the outset and again a year or more later, it was not difficult to observe some of the changes they described. They had gained new skills in many areas (though

these varied between individuals according to their interests and roles), including:

- ☒ Project development and planning work programmes;
- ☒ Professional cultural skills, from event promotion to cataloguing;
- ☒ Organisational management and administration;
- ☒ Fundraising and financial management;
- ☒ Monitoring, evaluation and reporting;
- ☒ Teamwork, delegation and partnership with different bodies;
- ☒ Community consultation and working with volunteers; and
- ☒ Engaging with the media, marketing and public relations.

It was surprising that even people with substantial management experience found the programme's ideas new and exciting. In Brasov (ro), the team members were mostly professional people, but their project required unfamiliar skills in education work and consulta-

tion: one person with an international business background described how community development had raised fascinating new challenges.

Project teams had gained experience of working with international donors, national and local government, businesses and cultural institutions within and beyond their own regions,

'We have seen our shortcomings and have a clear perspective on what needs to be done to plan more realistically.'

as well as with schools, faith bodies, NGOs, informal associations and other local groups. They had therefore often needed to learn about values, languages and ways of working that were very different from their own. This re-thinking could be challenging.

Some project members had to unlearn assumptions. In other cases, individuals had quite rigid views and found it difficult to adjust to the programme's expectations: there were a few who never managed to do so. Generally, however, the results obtained by applying the ideas received through training or advice helped change all but the most stubborn minds.

Practically oriented training, combined with the experience gained in project delivery, form a lasting resource for the individuals and communities concerned. It is reasonable to say that both are generally better equipped to face their situations as a result of having taken part in the Living Heritage project.

VOLUNTEERS AND OTHER

PARTICIPANTS

Project teams were the catalysts of change, but the engagement of local people, often in large numbers, was cen-

tral to every project. Sometimes, that involved getting people to offer their specialist skills – for instance, builders in Kruševo (MK) and Guča Gora (BH), musicians in Lagera (BG) or potters in Vama (RO). But even where these artisans, paid or unpaid, were central to a project, they worked with a larger group of unskilled people, directing them and passing on their craft. Thus in Smolare (MK), about 80 volunteers worked with a mason and a carpenter to build a safe path to the spectacular waterfall above the village. In Cartișoara (RO), some 20 people



worked on restoring the museum and barns, under the guidance of a master carpenter who formally trained four of them in traditional timber building techniques. Different project participants gained skills in construction, metalwork, pottery, beekeeping, viniculture, carving, the use of technical equipment, needle-work, weaving and many other competencies. Although this was often at a basic level, in some cases, the level of training was sufficient to get work: the blacksmith working in Velesta (MK) said that he would be happy to employ any

of his trainees as an assistant after the completion of the project.

But it was not only young people and volunteers who developed their skills during the Living Heritage projects: professionals could also be tested by new demands. Builders working on conservation projects were confronted with new technical problems, while architects and designers had to work outside their usual sphere. The programme's approach to heritage could be challenging to professionals in the cultural field. Museum directors in Travnik and Visoko (BH) ex-



plained how the project had changed their thinking about the institution's role in the community. The ethnologist who guided the pupils' local history project in Krivogastani (MK), felt that working with young people had changed her professional practice, particularly in recognising the importance of reporting to the community and not only to an academic audience. It was also notable that several professionals spoke of the usefulness of the Living Heritage principles in other areas of their working lives.

A number of projects used part of their budget to buy computers that are now permanent community resources. They have given young people a chance to develop their own skills, and also to work with older people, with positive results on how both sides regard each other. In Serdika (BG), a computer room has been set up and is in constant use. In a relatively rural isolated community, such as Cherni Vit (BG), the computer also has a symbolic value, marking a degree of access to, and inclusion in, the modern world.

The involvement of schools has been important for many projects, and young

people have been enthusiastic participants. The projects in Avrig (RO), Kratovo (MK), Mrkonjić Grad (BH) were all very different, focusing on traditional weaving, environmental improvements to a town park, and Serbian music and dance respectively. But each project provided young people with valuable out of school education and raised their awareness of their own culture and identity. They also often helped to give young people interesting activities during the school holidays: as one Bulgarian teenager explained, *'We didn't have any free time in the summer holidays, but we had a great time'*. These and other school-linked projects also had an impact on many of the teachers involved, extending their skills and ideas, and in places like Brasov (RO) the impetus has been maintained within the schools.

In addition to the acquisition of tangible new skills, many people found that the project widened their horizons and introduced them to new experiences. For example, a group of Albanian women from Delogozhda (MK) had a rare opportunity to visit Tetovo in the north of the country, to meet others working on tra-

ditional costumes and see collections in the museum. In other cases, project participants were introduced to new ideas about the environment, the culture and values of different ethnic groups, or their own past; the project in Gorsko Novo Selo (BG), for example, was one of several that promoted inter-cultural dialogue through heritage, involving Christian and Muslim people in a shared festival. These changes came about not through a pedagogical process, but as a consequence of participation, benefiting people who might not have been willing to take part in a more formal educational or training programme.

4.2.2 Confidence

The acquisition of new skills tends, naturally enough, to build people's self-confidence; similarly, achieving a project that may have seemed unrealistically daunting at the outset can usefully strengthen a group's self-belief. In both cases, the change is more profound because it is founded on real achievements. This growth in individual and community confidence is apparent in all the Living Heritage projects, with only a handful of

exceptions. On an individual level, many people spoke of how they saw themselves differently after being involved in the project: it was particularly impressive to meet people who had taken on positions of local leadership, such as standing as president of the local chitalishte, as a result.

People also gained confidence from discovering that old skills, long-neglected knowledge and stories, were valued once more. Many older people found themselves in demand for information about local culture, history and traditions, or for their rare skills in weaving, embroidery, woodwork and other crafts. The Satu Mare (RO) *Miraculum* play depended on the older generation not only as performers, but also in recreating the script and music from their memories. Old fingers have been busy again in places like Ćatići (BH) and Madjarovo (BG), producing clothes for dance groups, and showing young people how to knit and weave. The renewed interest of their grandchildren's generation in things of their own youth was a source of great pleasure.

For many smaller groups, the award of a Living Heritage grant was itself a



boost to confidence. Most grantees had never received any funds or support before, and they saw the award as a powerful affirmation of the value of their goals and of their capacity to achieve them. But it could also be daunting: the Serdika chitalishte in Sofia (BG) were initially very anxious about their ability to fulfil all their plans set out in their contract with WCIF. Determined not to let anyone down, they actually undertook far more than anyone could have expected, including a youth mural, a play, a popular singing group, oral history, textiles workshops and launching a community newspaper.

Delivering a project that is appreciated by the wider community has strengthened the confidence of many groups. NGOs, museums, community associations, folklore groups among others, all felt that local people saw them much more positively. In Kakanj (BH), for example, the project NGO has become an increasingly credible partner for the local council; in Bulgaria, several chitalishte felt that success had transformed local perceptions of them.

'We aim to show that the King Baudouin Foundation's confidence in us is fully justified.'

Confidence is important because it has a large influence on people's ability to sustain their work after the initial support of the Living Heritage programme, and its growth is evident in people's readiness to continue their work or launch new projects. Many teams spoke of their ideas for further, more ambitious developments, based on their positive experiences. As one Bulgarian group explained:

'For a little while we held in our hands the levers of our self-governance: this is the best lesson. What if there were shocks during the first attempt at independent driving of the social machine? We will learn, and our next course to another idea will be easier.'

Many of the earlier Living Heritage projects have in fact sustained their work, and a substantial number, including Gura Humorului (RO), Rostuse (MK) and Novi Travnik (BH), among others, have developed further independent initiatives.



4.2.3 Social life

STRENGTHENING NETWORKS

Living Heritage projects are essentially social programmes. The aim may be to restore a museum or safeguard local traditions, but the means are human and cooperative. Projects depend on motivating people to work with a shared sense of purpose. The process is necessarily social, involving meetings, workshops, classes, rehearsals, visits, presentations, events, discussions and many other forms of interaction. It requires people to show others and to learn from them, to pool resources and share knowledge, to work together to do what they cannot do alone. When 100 young people spend the day cleaning a run down park in Kratovo (MK), it is the chance to be with friends as much as a love of nature that motivates them. When elderly people in Ivanovo (BG) sit down after labouring in the fields to recall local history, it is for shared memories as much as for any actual interest in the past.

Strengthening social life is both the most ordinary aspect of Living Heritage

'It was an opportunity to forget our troubles and feel good together.'

projects, and one of the most important to those involved. Even in quite small communities, where everyone knows each other, the pressures of work, migration and poverty can cause the social fabric to fray. There is little time, and not always much reason, to exchange more than a few words in the street: everyone works to keep going. As a result, Living Heritage projects have been

highly valued by participants for fostering enjoyable social occasions.

Most projects have started with a core of enthusiastic and committed people, but the requirements of the programme, particularly in consultation and volunteering, have meant that the circle has been enlarged throughout a project's life, so that several hundreds may take part in the final events. This process allowed people to become involved in ways that suited them, with some becoming full-time participants while others worked only on quite specific tasks. As a result, the projects provided, over a year or more, a new framework within which like-

minded people could meet, work together, and build trust and friendships. As one person put it, describing a creative project in Sofia:

'We have created some kind of space: people wandered around in a holiday spirit, politely gave each other the glue or the scissors, saw the exhibition, chose signs for the map, made small talk – but they were together and they felt good.'

Such social contacts should not be undervalued. The festivals and events that have characterised Living Heritage projects have brought neighbours and strangers together, in a playful space in which connections can begin or grow. A sense of knowing and sharing experience with one's neighbours is a crucial part of most people's lives: from such small roots grow community organisation and local development.

In Banja Bansko (MK), the Living Heritage project has helped involve the residents of a centre for disabled people in the wider community, through a course of traditional

woodcarving workshops in which non-disabled people also participated. These led to the creation of 40 finished pieces that have been exhibited in Strumica, Skopje and elsewhere. The success of the project has encouraged various partners, including the Macedonian Ministry of Culture to help in taking the work forward.

CROSSING NETWORKS

But the projects would not have been successful had they involved only like-minded people. They needed to form a space in which people with different social and ethnic backgrounds could interact, and where demographic and economic distinctions were eroded. Among the most common results was to improve relations between the generations. Part of the motivation behind the Oresh (BG) dance group was a view among older people that young people were troublesome because they hung about with nothing to do. The project was so successful that two groups, each with 25 members, had to be established, and the youngsters now attend rehearsals after school on two or

three nights a week. They have a new sense of purpose: as one member of the team put it, 'they are now more responsible, disciplined, united'. But it was the process of learning the old customs and steps from their grandparents' generation that had the deepest impact. It brought old and young together and changed their perceptions of one another: there is no more talk of difficult youth in the town. Similar experiences were reported in project after project, as elders found that they knew or owned things that the young were interested in once again.

Some projects deliberately aimed to involve people from different ethnic backgrounds, though this naturally depended on the make up of the local population. In places such as Vrapciste (MK) and Gorsko Novo Selo (BG), the focus was on celebrating the distinctive cultural traditions of local groups through a joint festival. In Prozor-Rama (BH), the project used the local tradition of plum growing to focus on something shared by both Croat and Bosniac communities. In other projects, with no overt intercultural

'When we started, we only knew each other's names.'

agenda, people from different backgrounds took part easily in a project that was seen to be worthwhile.

Living Heritage projects were also able to cross political divisions, for instance at Smolare (MK), where the volunteers included people affiliated to different parties; according to one team member, people who did not speak to each other in the street, did so freely in the forest, over the lunchtime barbecues that were at the heart of each working day. Another person described his despondency after his party's electoral defeat, before going on to explain that working on the project had helped him to get over it: *'For two months, when I woke up, the only thing I could think about was the waterfall and what I'd be doing that day.'* Of course, much of that work was done with supporters of the other party.

EXTENDING NETWORKS

In addition to local interaction, being involved in a Living Heritage project offered many participants opportunities that extended their social networks fur-

ther afield. During the project development workshops, they met people who shared their enthusiasm for heritage and culture, and it was common for visits to be arranged as a result. In Bosnia Herzegovina, where the distances between projects were not so great, people attended each other's launch events and festivals, and cooperation on further activities followed in some cases.

In Macedonia, many of the projects showed their work in the capital through exhibitions and events: a Living Heritage Fair, held in Skopje over two days in April 2005, showcased all the projects and attracted thousands of visitors keen to learn more about their country's cultural traditions. A year earlier, in Sofia, a festival of community arts was organised in a cultural centre with similar results; it gave an opportunity for people from the six urban projects to meet and work with their Living Heritage counterparts from rural Bulgaria.

People often had opportunities to travel in the course of the project, or as a result of the work they had achieved. The traditional dance group created in Oresh has performed in several festivals across



central Bulgaria, while groups from Bosnia Herzegovina have travelled as far as Slovenia, Austria and Greece to show their work. As one of the teachers involved explained, for some of the very poor young people involved, such opportunities to enlarge their horizons are invaluable.

New connections have also been made through the many Living Heritage festivals and celebrations held in the communities themselves. In Cherni Vit (BG), the project invited every traceable former resident to return for a special event in which the village's family trees were updated: over 800 people came. In Satu Mare and Darjiu (RO), the plays and other cultural events attracted visitors from as far away as Hungary, and many people opened their homes as impromptu pensions. The new friendships and renewed connections that resulted were much valued by those involved. Being the centre of attention, and providing something so remarkable that people would travel a long way to see it, was a very positive experience for the villages involved. Hospitality is a long and powerful tradition, even in the poorest communities.



4.3 Community development

4.3.1 Introduction

The term 'community development' has been used throughout this report; given the concept's importance to the Living Heritage programme, it merits some explanation. For the UK-based Community Development Foundation, 'The purpose of community development is to help groups and networks of people to take joint action on matters that concern them for the public good'.²³ Such joint action usually involves improving local conditions, enabling people to participate in public decision-making and ultimately increasing people's control over their own circumstances. That in turn depends on the development of community associations that enable people to work with, and sometimes to counterbalance, existing organisational structures of the state and of private enterprise – what is often called 'civil society'.

In supporting community development, Living Heritage aims to assist people to achieve shared goals of clear public value, to build local confidence in the potential for positive change, and to

strengthen the organisational structures by which communities can continue to exercise influence over their own lives. The acquisition of skills and confidence already reported are a crucial foundation of that process, since communities are composed of individuals. The strengthening of an associational life, based on key democratic values of social justice, participation, equality, learning, and cooperation, is another vital element.²⁴ This section looks at how Living Heritage projects have helped strengthen community organisations and develop new ones through which their work may be sustained in the long term.

4.3.2 Organisational development

ORGANISATIONAL CAPACITY

Community organisations of one kind or another undertook all the Living Heritage projects. They ranged from local government and well-established NGOs to voluntary associations and groups established for the purpose of doing the project. Overall, there were far more at the latter end of the spectrum – new, informal and emerging coalitions of people who hoped to improve some aspect

of the local situation. It was these people who received most of the direct investment from the Living Heritage programme, in the form of training, advice and guidance, with often transformational results.

There were a few groups who did not change much during the project, mostly because those involved (usually a very small group) were unwilling to adapt to new circumstances. But in the great majority of cases, people gained greatly from the project, and their organisations have been much strengthened as a result. Even experienced NGOs, such as those involved in Donji Vakuf (BH), Gura Humorului (RO) and Teteven (BG), felt that the project had built their skills and confidence.

Many organisations saw their membership increase sharply during the project. Folklore groups, including those in Čatići, Visnjevo and Mrkonjić Grad (BH), attracted many new participants, while the Friends of Avrig (RO) now have over

100 members working on traditional weaving; here and elsewhere, membership fees help ensure future viability. Other organisations have been strengthened by acquiring new offices (Brasov RO), workspaces (Šipovo BH) or equipment (Serdika BG).

The project was a milestone for our association – some learned and some remembered that “together” is not just an adverb but a magic word with which great things can be built.’

The success of their projects has strengthened the credibility of NGOs within the community and among key partners like local government. Councils themselves, in places like Cărtisoara (RO) and Byala Cherkva (BG), have tried new approaches to local development and gained credibility in the eyes of their electors. The Novo Selo (MK) municipality mobilised volunteers for the first time at Smolare and they were impressed by the results: as one official explained, ‘We have spent seven times as much on other projects without producing a fraction of the impact’. The experience was so positive that they have undertaken a second project at the Mokrino

springs, in another village within the district.

Groups also gained contacts and relationships that will be of value in future work. As a result, the leadership generally felt confident of their ability to work effectively with donors in future, and many have already secured additional funds from the municipality or other sources for further developments.

EXTENDING ORGANISATIONAL THINKING

Most people were enthused by the new ideas they encountered, and ready to try new approaches. The well-established NGOs in Vrapciste, Krivogastani, and Velesta and Delogozhda (MK) had good experience in education and women's development, but had not previously worked on culture. The experience helped them see new possibilities and alternative ways of working. One NGO director, who had been sceptical of focusing on heritage, said afterwards that she had been wrong, and that the Living Heritage project was the most successful work they had yet done.

'This has introduced new thinking to our organisation.'

STRENGTHENING THE 'CHITALISHTE'

A distinctive aspect of the Living Heritage programme's work in Bulgaria was the frequent partnership with the chitalishte. These cultural centres, community-owned and run, are a distinctive part of Bulgarian life.²⁵ They began with the creation of co-operative libraries in the 19th century, but their concerns now include education, the arts and traditional culture. During the communist period, many of them benefited from investment in their facilities: Gurmen chitalishte occupies a 1970 building with a 380-seat theatre, meeting rooms, and a library above a café, whose rent helps pay for running costs. Since 1990, many have had to find new ways of operating, and Gurmen has a contract with a mobile phone company to place a mast on its roof.²⁶

Although the state covers some costs, most chitalishte lack resources – financial and human – to undertake programmes of work. With limited income, and in a changing cultural environment, several *chitalishte* have used the Living Heritage programme to revive activities and rebuild the capacity of their staff

and members. In Pletena, Koprivlen, Dubnitsa and Gurmen (the villages in the Gotse Delchev regional project), *chitalishte* staff felt that their organisations had been on the verge of exhaustion before the project: one chairman, describing the *chitalishte* as 'almost dead', had been sceptical of its capacity to deliver such ambitious plans for development. In fact, they were empowered by the programme through new ideas in teamwork, project development and implementation, and new confidence grew from their successes.

The Living Heritage projects transformed local perceptions of the *chitalishte*, which became centres of activity once more, with dance, music and other groups meeting regularly. Those involved had a renewed sense of purpose, and a belief that the *chitalishte* could play a leading role in local life. In Ivanovo, Oresh and elsewhere, the project has won new investment, often from local resources, in the fabric and resources of the *chitalishte*: painters and glaziers have been

*'The image of the *chitalishte* has risen, and trust in us as responsible people, builders of the town's culture, has increased.'*

busy there for the first time in years.

In places such as Teteven, Cherni Vit and several Sofia projects, the decision to risk a Living Heritage project helped *chitalishte* staff see that they could play an active role in meeting the community's needs. People spoke of recognising that, while much had been done for them in the past, the future now depended largely on them. They felt that it

was both necessary and possible to take some control over local affairs: to that extent, at least, these projects were genuinely empowering.

NEW ORGANISATIONS

A number of Living Heritage projects were so successful that new community organisations have been established to continue their work. In Trigrad (BG), for example, a new foundation has been established to support the development of tourism and services for visitors. In Novi Travnik (BH), an NGO has been formed to take on the lease of the restored school building, and begin its development as a

museum and youth cultural centre. New organisations have also been registered in Ivanovo (BG), Sighetul Marmatiei (RO), Bugojno (BH), Mariovo, Rusinovo, Radovis and Vranestica (MK), among other places. These are important community development outcomes that will help sustain the momentum of the original projects for years to come.

4.3.3 Civil society

The strengthening of existing community organisations, and the creation of new ones, is the foundation of a stronger civil society, since they give local people the capacity to work together towards shared goals. But it is also important that these associations, whatever their formal status, are able to connect with the rest of society, and particularly with the state and the private sector. Since Living Heritage projects were undertaken by a partnership of local stakeholders, they usually made good progress in establishing such links.

Local government played an active role in many of the projects. Sometimes, as in Solca (RO) or Novo Selo (MK), the municipality was the grantee,

but this was unusual, since the programme prioritised work with less established groups. It was more common to find the local council as a partner in the project team, as in Byala Cherkva (BG), Oradea (RO) or Kruševo (MK). In other cases, while there was no formal connection, local government was supportive of the project, and provided assistance in kind and in cash.

As a result of working together, many project teams reported a growth of trust and cooperation between themselves and their local government, and this has been sustained beyond the project. As a result, in Novi Travnik, Višoko (BH) and elsewhere, the municipality is helping to meet running costs of the museums. In some cases, such as Ribnik (BH), local government has accepted long-term responsibility for the project (in this case, a traditional timber house), embedding it into the fabric of local development. Still in Bosnia Herzegovina, the council in Kakanj has worked with the project NGO to establish a citizens' group that oversees the maintenance and animation of the pedestrianised street; it has also commit-



ted itself to involving community representatives in committees planning future events. Constructive engagement with local government is evident in all four countries, with only rare instances of projects encountering difficulties with local mayors.

A smaller number of projects also made links with regional, cantonal or national governments, though this has not been of such immediate practical value. On the other hand, connections with the local business community, of which few projects had any experience, were fruitful, and provide a precedent for future cooperation. Good partnerships were also developed with the media, again, usually for the first time. There was very positive press, radio and tv coverage of many projects, and this built local confidence in the project and established useful contacts. Other links were developed with NGOs, local foundations, foreign institutions and the European Union. Such connections form valuable ties between the local groups and the wider society of which they are part, but by which they can sometimes feel bypassed.

4.3.4 Community relations

The communities in which Living Heritage projects were developed varied enormously, from high-rise estates on the fringes of capital cities to remote mountain villages, and from bustling town centres to depopulated agricultural hamlets. The people who lived there were equally individual, and included all the ethnic and cultural diversity of South East Europe. Some places were ethnically homogenous, whether their populations were part of the national majority or one of many minorities. Others were very diverse, sometimes with no single majority group. The Living Heritage programme did not directly focus on relations between these groups but its core principles meant that, where there were different communities present, there should be equal participation in the project.

In a number of cases, the teams specifically aimed to improve intercultural understanding. The Vrapciste (MK) Days of Culture included presentations by Serbian, Bosniac, Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish and Roma performers; the different languages used locally were recognised during the festival and in



the local history book published at the same time. The Rostuse (MK) project aimed to improve links between people from each of the area's four traditions through meetings, creative activity and visits to religious sites and ceremonies. There was clear symbolism in presenting all the cultures equally in the exhibition and final publication, and the young people who took part in the project were left with a very strong sense of pride in the diverse traditions of their community. Other projects in Macedonia, including Lesok and Tetovo (in the villages of Dobroste, Neraste and Tearce) also took intercultural dialogue as the focus of their work.

In Bosnia Herzegovina, several projects used the revival of interest in cultural traditions as a basis for dialogue and cooperation. The Queen Katerina Festival, organised by a Croat dance group from Čatići, included performers from Bosniac and Serbian communities. In the Croat village of Guča Gora, the singing group has renewed pre-war contacts with Bosniac performers in other villages, while the new meeting room built by volunteers in Visnjevo has al-

lowed the Muslim folklore group to enlarge its membership and activities to include people from other places and backgrounds.

The Romi I Prijatelji Association, based in Ilijaš near Sarajevo, developed a theatre project to encourage participation in creative activity by the large Roma population. They worked with the national Performing Arts Academy, a puppet theatre company and local NGOs to build the skills, while the stories came from the people involved in the project. The 'Traveling Roma Theatre', informs the public about Roma traditions, customs and culture, and celebrates this distinctive and little-known part of Bosnian cultural diversity.

While some projects consciously aimed for intercultural dialogue, for many others it was simply part of how things happened, because of the make up of the community. Thus, Romanians and Hungarians worked together in

Oradea, Tusnad and Satu Mare, while Roma people were involved in Cartișoara (ro), Vetovo (bg) and other projects. In Gorsko Novo Selo (bg), the Living Heritage project involved Christian and Muslim people in embroidery workshops and a festival, which drew on the traditions of each culture. Many other projects brought together people across cultural divisions in a very natural way, simply because of a strong commitment to inclusion and celebrating the whole of a community's history.

4.4 Economic development

4.4.1 Introduction

The Living Heritage programme aims at community, rather than economic, development, but the grants and the work they support have had a local economic impact. To put this into context, it is important to recognise the relative poverty of the communities involved: a small grant, in Western European terms, has much greater purchasing power in the economies of South East Europe. For ex-

ample, the municipality of Cartișoara (RO) has an annual budget of about €30,000, with which it employs eight people; the Living Heritage grant of €9,200 was therefore an important capital injection, permitting work that would otherwise be impossible. The economic results of Living Heritage projects are evident in three broad areas: local employment and support for business, tourism development, and attracting further investment.

4.4.2 Employment and micro-business

All the Living Heritage projects supported local businesses. A large part of every grant went on everyday project expenses, including goods and services such as building materials, stationery, printing, tools and equipment, food for volunteers, fuel and so on. Most of this was obtained locally, while the range of services needed – catering, transport, equipment hire etc. – meant that resources were distributed widely within communities. The other main area of expenditure was on employing people to do things that the project group could not do alone. In a few cases, such as the Mineral Water Museum in Tu-

snad (RO), construction work was entirely in the hands of contractors; but it was more usual, and closer to the intention of the programme, to employ specialist skills sparingly. Thus, in Smolare (MK) and Cartișoara (RO) paid artisans oversaw the work of volunteers. In other cases, such as in the Cosau Valley (RO), where the project worked on restoration of domestic water-mills, coordinators were employed, usually part time, to help manage the work.

A few Living Heritage projects helped foster the development of micro-businesses. In Velesta and Delogozhda (MK), this was an aim from the start, and the project succeeded in establishing two women's needlework groups working on traditional Albanian marriage costumes: these are highly sought after and can cost several thousand euros, so the future for these micro-businesses seems secure. Elsewhere, projects have developed local craft production and helped improve the access of potters, weavers, woodcarvers and other artisans to local markets.

This has been aided by establishing retail outlets for local craftwork, for example along the Central Bosnian Heritage Trail developed during 2005. The linked

development of craft production and tourism services here is intended to be mutually supportive. Although the lasting impact of this initiative cannot yet be assessed, it is clear that establishing similar outlets in existing tourist attractions, such as Oradea, Gura Humorului and Avrig in Romania, has contributed to a more contemporary, customer-oriented offer. The Tusnad Mineral Water Museum (RO), which is linked with a council-supported craft centre development with space for nine artisans to work and sell on site, is a notable example. In Bulgaria, where a number of the projects have focused on training people in traditional craft skills, work has been sold in small but promising quantities, both through local shops and on-line. The success of people in Madjarovo, Ivailovgrad and Patalenitsa (BG) in selling their work has been encouraging.

In Macedonia, there has been a consistent effort to present the work of Living Heritage projects in the capital, with a series of exhibitions over the past three years. The largest, and most recent of these, was the Living Heritage Fair held at the Army Hall on 1 and 2 April

2005, which involved 25 projects. The work included pottery, ironwork, textiles and clothes of various kinds, musical instruments and even organic food produced in the villages. Films about the projects were shown, along with demonstrations of craft techniques and concerts, and the event attracted several thousand visitors – and good sales – over the two days.

In some cases, there is already evidence that the Living Heritage has not just increased the number of visitors, but also stimulated local enterprise. In Smolare (MK), where media coverage of the waterfall project has been attracting 200 or 300 visitors over summer weekends, four small businesses have sprung up, offering refreshments, garden produce and overnight accommodation. The contribution to the local economy may not be great, but it has been sufficient to assist several families directly.

Finally, many projects culminate in festivals that give a short-term boost to the local economy. In Bulgaria, for example, Oresh, Cherni Vit, Dorkovo and Byala Cherkva, among others, have all ended their work with cultural celebrations

that attracted large numbers of visitors and brought trade to local businesses. The festival in Vrapciste (MK) attracted an estimated 7,000 people over five days in 2003, with the majority coming for the Pehlevan wrestling and the folklore events. In Satu Mare and Darjiu (RO), Hungarian visitors were so numerous that many residents became impromptu pension keepers: this brought some earnings, and showed the community that there was a potential for receiving tourists on a more regular basis.

The Roma blacksmiths of Berovo in eastern Macedonia still produce all their work by hand, continuing a centuries-old tradition. Working with a local association, Romanela, they planned to maintain that tradition while also making their work more contemporary. New designs were developed with Slavica Janeshlieva, a noted artist, and the artisans ran workshops for young people in the Roma settlement. The new work was exhibited for sale at the Tochka cultural centre in Skopje, in July 2005.

4.4.3 Tourism

Although the Living Heritage programme does not aim to promote tourism directly, several projects have seen the restoration or development of heritage as a way of raising the profile of a locality and improving facilities for visitors. The rural tourism industry is perhaps stronger in Romania than elsewhere in the region, and projects such as Sânmartin, Sighetu Marmației and the Cosau Valley have sought to connect with the eco-tourism market. They have helped people develop accommodation for visitors, and produced information about local sights and activities. The creation of a new museum in Moldovița (RO) has encouraged the registration of six local pensions, while 200 visitors (excluding local people) came to the new museum in Kalofer (BG) in the eight weeks after its opening. In Trigrad (BG), better access to the Neolithic cave site also brought new tourism, with over 700 people being guided through the system in the first year; the new camping and toilet facilities have been appreciated by visitors, and are seen by the project team as a first step in the development of local eco-tourism. Although it

is hard to ascribe growth in visitor numbers directly to these projects (there are many factors at play), there is an obvious improvement in services for tourists.

In Macedonia, the development of a Living Heritage Network and website aims to promote tourism by publicising the projects. The website – in English and Macedonian – contains details of all the projects and information about how to visit them, where to stay and other local attractions.²⁷ A number of individual projects, including Vraneštica (MK) and Patalenitsa (BG), have also established websites to promote themselves and their products, and many have produced guidebooks, brochures and other promotional material. Although these publicity campaigns, and the very extensive media coverage gained by many projects, have helped raise awareness of many little-known places within the country, a growth in visitors numbers must be understood within the changing context of Macedonian society. What is clear is that Living Heritage projects have helped

at least 20 communities to prepare for visitors, and that their work has supported wider tourism initiatives in the country.

4.4.4 Additional investment

It is a condition of the Living Heritage programme that grantees should find a proportion of the budget, normally 25%, from their own or other resources. This is both evidence of the project teams' commitment, and a way of encouraging them to identify sources of longer-term support. Voluntary work can be included, and most projects depend on this in their original applications. However, as they build community development and fundraising skills, many become adept at attracting additional funds and resources in kind.

The character and extent of this additional investment has varied from country to country, as a result of local

circumstances, the way the programme developed and the pattern of grantees. Thus, in the first two years of the programme's work in Romania, local govern-



ment was a major partner, so a number of projects secured matching funds and longer-term support from the council: this has helped with some capital developments (such as the re-roofing of Gura Humorului museum) and made it easier to get required permissions and licences. Local government was also supportive in a many projects in Macedonia and Bulgaria. In the post-war situation of Bosnia Herzegovina, there is a wide range of sources of support, including international donors and two tiers of local government; perhaps for this reason, people here have been most successful at raising money, with 14 projects from the first two years raising over €130,000 in match funding between them.

Business sponsorship has also been important, with local companies providing modest, but nonetheless valuable, assistance. Hydroelectric stations, mineral water bottling plants and forestry companies have been among the larger companies that have provided funding in different countries. But small local

'We are proud that we succeeded in awakening people's wish to donate, and reviving the donor's tradition.'

businesses have also been generous: between them, about 30 businesses in Vrapciste (MK) raised €2,300 towards the festival and Pehlevan contest. The private sector was also an important source of help in kind, such as the loan of equipment, donated construction materials, or arranging free connection to services.

On the strengths of their initial achievements, a number of projects have raised funds for the next stage of development, again from a wide range of sources. Among the international donors, the EU is supporting the next stage of restoration at Travnik (BH), the Hungarian Ministry of Culture is assisting in Tusnad (RO) and the Unitarian Church is supporting the campaign of the World Heritage Site fortified church at Darjiu (RO). Other projects have received support for continuing work from Ministries of Culture, the Orthodox Church, expatriate associations and many other bodies. These links are intrinsically valuable, but also create relationships with external part-

ners, and build teams' confidence in their ability to find future support for the work.

The role of individual donors should not be forgotten. Some projects received small gifts of money from members of the community, but much more widespread were gifts in kind. Museum developments in all countries benefited from donations of artefacts, household objects, costumes and photographs. The new museum in Byala Cherkva (BG), in a restored community building, recorded almost 1,000 donated items for the collection, and was still being offered more. Elsewhere, help with transport, costumes and musical instruments, workspaces and food was common. In Trigrad (BG) bricks worth €200 were given for construction of the visitor toilets, and in Kratovo (MK), the park restoration project benefited from a gift of 150 gardening tools by the Swiss Embassy; in Banja Bansko, the woodcarving project received tools from the EU PHARE Programme. Projects in Varos (MK), Novi Travnik (BH) and Brasov (RO) were given rent-free use of buildings. Travel to folklore festivals by groups from Oresh (BG), Mrkonjić Grad

(BH) and Radovis (MK) was possible only because of donations and sponsorship to cover the costs of transport and subsistence. This goodwill provides resources and strengthens the social bonds that are key to the projects' future, and shows support for the project team's goals and commitment.

4.4.5 The economic value of voluntary work

But the most striking way in which communities have shown their support for Living Heritage projects has been in giving so much of their time. Thousands of people worked voluntarily on the projects, motivated by a sense of commitment to the community and their shared culture. Families coped with members taking on extra responsibilities, and in some cases, such as Cherni Osam (BG), employers released workers for training or other work. People helped recall past customs, make costumes, drive children to shows, cook, make, clean and in many other ways.

In almost every project, people helped with the labour. In Guča Gora (BH) more than 20 volunteers worked on converting

a former police station into a cultural centre, donating materials and transport, even though their own houses were not yet rebuilt. At Cherni Vit (BG), local teenagers put up 1,200 metres of picnic tables, benches and cooking facilities for the clan gathering – and took everything down again at the end of the day, after having fed nearly 1,000 people. Professionals also worked unpaid. In several of the Sofia projects, artists gave their time because the project was important to their neighbourhood. Elsewhere, traditional musicians and dancers helped youth groups rehearse because they felt it was so important to pass on the tradition. Skilled artisans ran workshops, summer camps and demonstration events in everything from embroidery to making wooden barrels for plum brandy, giving their time freely to share their knowledge.

It is impossible to calculate the monetary value of this work – thousands of people have contributed their time to the 140 Living Heritage projects, and many continue to do so indefinitely – but it is an investment equivalent to hundreds of thousands of euros by local people in the future of their own

communities. It is even more important as a shared enterprise, built on trust and volunteering. It mattered that people felt, as one person expressed it, *'that no one is issuing orders and no one wants anything in return'*.

4.5 Cultural development

4.5.1 The importance of heritage

Cultural development was not the primary objective of the programme, but it was often the principal motivation of the people who took part, and it underpinned their support in the wider community. Given the huge economic and social problems faced by most people in South East Europe, this might appear surprising. Many authorities and donors do indeed assume that culture is a low priority compared to poverty, ill health, unsanitary housing, security, inter-ethnic relations, pollution and other obvious challenges. The Living Heritage programme has shown that those most concerned have a more sophisticated understanding of development that



avoids a simplistic ranking of needs. Instead, they recognise that it is essential to work on all needs simultaneously because they are interdependent. Culture shapes how other needs are perceived and how they may be met, and effective development depends on a balanced approach to a community's complex problems.

This was particularly striking in post-war Bosnia Herzegovina, where people often gave time to the project even though their own situation was not secure. In Guča Gora, for example, volunteers worked on the cultural centre even though their own houses were incomplete. None of them, or their families, felt that culture could wait until other problems were solved. Why? According to those involved, it was important to re-establish the folklore group (whose roots date back to the 1920s) and provide a space for its activities because so many

villagers saw this as a vital sign of a return to normal life. The new building was a symbol not only of the community's commitment to helping itself through mutuality and cooperation, but also of the continuity of its identity, history and life. As one volunteer put it: *'Spiritual reconstruction must be part of physical reconstruction; it is about creating a healthy relationship with others and with ourselves.'*

Many people also felt that their traditional culture was under acute threat and that, unless action were taken now, it would be too late to save it. In Bosnia Herzegovina, the destruction and displacement caused by the war, and the subsequent reconstruction, have combined to put unique pressures on material heritage.²⁸ In the other countries, the problems are less extreme, but still important; paradoxically, it is sometimes new wealth earned abroad that leads to the replacement of traditional houses with new, uncharacteristic buildings in a generic euro-style. Less obvious, but of equal concern to many of the project teams, was the disappearance of traditional oral culture, and the intangible

heritage of dance, music and folklore that was really known only to the older generation.

People felt that their heritage had been dismissed, and sometimes actively repressed, under the Communist regimes (and that there was not much more interest shown by the new society of today). Despite the 'patriotic' use of folklore by the state, people's real values and identities, as expressed through their crafts, traditions and ways of life, lay buried. As one person explained, *'Heritage means anything that we had to hide, it means that these are the reasons to be here: it's our meaning.'*

The programme's fortuitous choice of 'heritage', rather than 'culture', avoided some of the negative associations the latter word had acquired under former regimes. Heritage gave access to something that participants perceived as belonging to them in a way that culture often did not. The importance of regaining free access to these forms of expression was widely mentioned and there was an almost universal ambition to restore 'authentic' cultural traditions in the eyes of local people and visitors. Many

project teams ascribed their success – which had often taken them by surprise – to local people's untapped support and belief in the importance of this part of their lives.

4.5.2 The risks of focusing on culture

At the start of the programme, one or two Advisory Group members expressed some concern about the risks of focusing on culture in community development, rather than more apparently neutral areas such as the environment or natural heritage. Some early discussions touched on the dangers of working in this way in a region where culture was being exploited as a line of division; (the 2001 Macedonian crisis erupted only three weeks after the first Living Heritage project development workshop in Skopje). In the event, these doubts were quickly dispelled, as actual projects began to be developed and it became clear that they were very effective in mobilising diverse communities.

The programme's methodology and principles formed an effective safeguard against exploitation for divisive ends; but

such problems did not actually arise. There was no attempt to use the programme for chauvinistic purposes, or to validate one cultural tradition at the expense of another. Where communities were mixed, so were the project teams, and those involved were at pains to ensure that all sections of the population felt included. In fact, homogenous groups tended to be less sensitive to these issues, though even this was rare. Perhaps because of their awareness of recent history, people took great care to be sensitive to the feelings of different groups and to ensure a transparent fairness. Culture can always be twisted for ideological and political purposes, but the Living Heritage experience suggests that engaging positively with the issues it raises may be one way to avoid its exploitation by demagogues.

4.5.3 Raising awareness of heritage and traditional culture

All the projects have drawn attention to aspects of local heritage or culture that, in most cases, was neglected or little

known. Working on a restoration or development project inevitably marks out its object, and the culture associated with it, as being of value. The result can be to transform perceptions of something that people may have taken for granted, or even forgotten. A typical example is the Smolare waterfall (MK), a spectacular 45m chute in the forest above the village.

It was a revelation for me to rediscover the fortress, which was so close but at the same time far from the citizens.'

Difficult to access, it had been visited mostly by young people, but the new path brought it back into the heart of the community: as one participant put it, 'I never knew the waterfall was so important to the village; we should have done it 20 years ago.'

Many project teams were astonished at how people responded to their work, and the appreciation expressed for their efforts. In all the most successful projects, there was a powerful sense of validation of local identity and traditions, shared well beyond the immediate project team. This has been reinforced by the external interest in the project, initially from the programme partners and the King Bau-

douin Foundation, and later from academics, officials, local politicians and, in a growing number of cases, from tourists. This independent validation has strengthened local people's pride in their heritage and their support for its conservation and development.

Many projects have featured in print, and on radio or television, at local and national level. Performing groups, including those from Ćatići (BH) and Gotse Delchev (BG), have been on television, while the work of other projects, such as the plum-growing traditions of Prozor-Rama (BH) and the last potter of Vama (RO), has been profiled in documentaries. Locally, this attention strengthened people's pride and confidence in what they are doing, and project teams have received good feedback as a result. As one member of the Cherni Osam (BG) team said, it was satisfying to hear a visitor observe 'They don't do this in our village'. The wider effect of this media coverage is impossible to assess, but it can

'We have learned that tradition is not a word, but a way of life that defines us as a community, and modern means not to bury your past but to use it as a foundation for your building.'

only encourage recognition of heritage and culture as part of each country's everyday life.

4.5.4 Strengthening cultural organisations and resources

All the projects have had a big impact on the heritage or cultural resources they worked on. Buildings have been repaired, museums restored, dance groups revived, craft workshops developed, skills passed on to younger generations, parks cleaned, sites made accessible, among a host of other outcomes. The result has been to strengthen the groups and facilities and equip them better to thrive in future. Venues, from local museums like Byala Cherkva (BG) to castles like Oradea (RO) or Vranduk (BH), are more able to attract tourists and to offer a good service when they do come: as one curator said, 'It is now much more satisfying to show the museum to visitors'. Cultural centres, including the Bulgarian

chitalishte, have improved their position in the community, and staff are now better trained and able to develop new activities. The membership of dance and music groups has been rebuilt, and the quality of their work enhanced with new costumes, musical instruments and programmes. Craft workshops, formal and informal, have been established and many continue to function after the end of the project itself.

Overall, the programme has transformed the situation of many heritage groups, sites and venues, moving them from a precarious situation to one of relative security, and there is good reason to expect them to continue to play a positive local role for some time to come.

4.5.5 Contemporary culture and creativity

Although the Living Heritage programme has focused mostly on traditional culture, there have been projects, notably the KvARTal group in Sofia, which used contemporary forms and media, including theatre, visual arts, photography, video and music. This different kind of creativity allowed for

greater personal expression, for example, in the songs recorded by young people for the Lagera project, or the ecological theatre production created at Levski G. Events in Lozenets and Teteven (BG) used imaginative approaches to involve local people, including humour and unexpected ideas: in Teteven, for example, one of the festivals included a football match between two kinds of 'gold-diggers' – businesswomen and metal-detectorists. Contemporary art also proved to be a good medium for engaging people in issues of local concern, and the KvARTal projects opened debates about issues like the local environment or facilities for children.

Of course, heritage does not exclude creativity. In reviving rituals and plays, groups in Darjiu and Satu Mare (ro) were not merely continuing a tradition, but adding to it and filling in the gaps in knowledge. The performances they put on, with all the technical support of a modern theatre, were of their time and shaped by the cultural ideas of the many young people who took part. Some of the traditional dance and music groups have also explored new steps and tunes, and

added creatively to their repertoire. Craft-work has often used the traditional techniques as a starting point for contemporary ideas and new work, as in the textiles work in Serdika and Gorsko Novo Selo (BG) where new designs and techniques have been created. While most groups were concerned with authenticity, they also felt themselves to be part of a tradition that they had a right to extend: for them, this was truly a living heritage.

The Lozenets Initiative Group was formed by local residents to strengthen community feeling in this central district of Sofia. The group ran a series of weekend art events in the local park to involve residents in debate about the neighbourhood and what they liked best about it; children's drawings of their homes were displayed on strings between the trees for walkers to admire. A survey of people's feelings about Lozenets brought almost 2,500 responses, and the

ideas have been published in a specially designed local map. The group now plans to restore an old public fountain as a symbol of Lozenets, and to continue to promote people's sense of community and pride in the district.

4.6 Environmental development

4.6.1 Natural heritage

A small but important group of projects has focused on natural rather than cultural heritage including Fojnica (BH), Bontida (RO), Lokuv and Mokrino (MK). A number of urban parks have also been cleaned, restored and replanted, including Solca and Ipotesti (RO), Kratovo (MK), Kupres and Mramor-Tuzla (BH). Other projects have worked on the interface between nature and people, for instance in viniculture (Remetea Oasului RO and Markovo BG), beekeeping (Vetovo BG), mineral water (Tusnad RO) and storks (Dumbravioara RO). Finally, there have been those where the conservation of a historic monument has in-

volved environmental work: examples include the watermills of the Cosau Valley (RO), the Trigrad (BG) Neolithic cave system and the restoration of the citadel of Travnik (BH).

These and other projects have had a clear impact on the quality of the local environment, which in many cases was seriously degraded through neglect and the dumping of rubbish. In Kratovo (MK), over 100 young people cleaned the local park, removing tons of accumulated rubbish, clearing paths and cutting back undergrowth; working with the local pensioners club, they planted new shrubs and flowers, and built a summer stage for concerts. Similar campaigns were undertaken in other urban parks such as Solca (RO) and Kupres (BH). The Cosau Valley project highlighted the connection between the mills, the life they enable, and the water on which both depend, and led to the formation a local environmental protection group which aims to maintain the quality of the streams.

Where buildings have been involved, successful completion of the construction work has encouraged some groups

to consider the potential of the surrounding area, and discussions are underway in Novi Travnik and Ribnik (BH) about the creation of natural botanic gardens. In Brasov (RO), the group followed the Rope Street project with another, independently funded, initiative, to clean a mountain path overlooking the city.

Lake Lokuv, 'the mountain's eye', is a glacial lake in the mountains above Rostuse (MK). Drawing inspiration from other Living Heritage projects that have worked on natural heritage, a young people's environmental association began work in summer 2005 to improve access to the area, and create simple facilities for visitors. Working with an association from Skopje and people from neighbouring villages, they are also undertaking an information campaign; the project will culminate in a lakeside folklore festival.

4.6.2 Environmental awareness

The process of working on the local environment naturally encourages aware-

ness and debate about the area, and several projects have capitalised on this. On Levski G, a peripheral Sofia housing estate, art and theatre projects were used to raise awareness of the degraded environment among local young people. A weekend clean up campaign was held in which 140 trees were planted, and a local debate has begun about local environmental concerns including the proximity of a rubbish dump. The establishment of an Eco-Club in Kratovo (MK) helped support the cleaning campaign, but also provided the young people with a base and access to information about environmental issues, not least through the Internet. The project resulted in a high level of environmental awareness among the young people and, more surprisingly perhaps, among the elderly members of the pensioners' club.

In the Borisova Gradina (BG), Sofia's 19th century park, the project team ran creative activities on Sunday afternoons to involve the public in

discussion about the state and use of the park. Using street theatre, painting and photography, they encouraged people to stop and take part in spontaneous social activities: one afternoon was spent making a large temporary sculpture out of discarded bottles. Questionnaires were pinned to trees and people were interviewed about the gardens; the group drew the city council's attention to concerns about maintenance.

4.7 Institutional and Policy development

4.7.1 Introduction

Each Living Heritage project has involved a wide range of stakeholders and the programme as a whole has engaged with scores of local authorities, community-based NGOs, professional and academic institutions, foundations and even ministries. It has deliberately attempted to influence the thinking of those organisations, through contact with the programme's values and meth-

odology, and by promoting understanding of the projects and their impact on the communities involved. In this, the role of the Advisory Groups in each country, and of the national partners themselves, has been crucial, along with the local community facilitators and development workers who have been trained to work on the programme. The long term influence of the Living Heritage idea will depend partly on the extent to which it influences the practice of at least some of those concerned with local development, and with cultural and heritage policy in the countries concerned.

4.7.2 Partners, NGOs and Foundations

All five operational partners – the organisations with managerial responsibility for the Living Heritage programme in each country – found the experience important in the development of their own practice. In each case, it demanded a new approach to project identification and support, and sometimes challenged core ideas, for instance about the merits of an open ap-

plication process. The partners also had to adjust their expectations and ways of working to meet the programme's investment in training and project support. None the less, the experience encouraged all the partner organisations to make changes in how they worked, and to adopt some of the thinking to other areas of their work.

The experience was also important for many of the NGOs active at community level who supported individual projects. The principle-based approach that underpinned both concept and methodology was unfamiliar in a field more usually guided by processes and operational norms. This was a fundamental shift in thinking, since these values safeguarded the integrity of the programme. The essential flexibility that followed – crucial as it was to ensuring a project response appropriate to each situation – sometimes demanded a big change in people's thinking, especially when they were used to operating more rigid mechanisms. Many of these local NGOs have grown substantially through their contact with the programme.

4.7.3 Heritage and development policy

There has been considerable interest in the Living Heritage programme among professionals and academics concerned with heritage, including curators, ethnologists, arts managers and so on. Local government has often been involved, and, as discussed above, has been influenced in a number of cases as a result. Some links with the tourism and economic development sectors were also established, and officials have visited projects such as Cartișoara and Moldovița (RO). The programme has also received attention from officials and politicians in ministries of culture in Macedonia, in Romania and, to a lesser degree, in Bulgaria and Bosnia Herzegovina. Though this has yet to produce tangible outcomes, such as changes in policy or the assignment of new funds, it is an achievement to have opened a dialogue. It will be up to the national partners, the professionals who have taken part in the programme, and the projects themselves to develop it in years to come.

In October 2003, Mr. Blagoj Stefanovski, the Macedonian Minister of

Culture, wrote to the director of the King Baudouin Foundation to express his appreciation of the programme, saying that: *'The innovative approach to heritage and its interaction with local communities, as well as the regional perspective applied within the Living Heritage program, has provided a basis for further considerations of our general policy towards cultural heritage.'*





5 Understanding the programme

5.1 Introduction

The Living Heritage programme's success can be considered from two distinct perspectives: in terms of the outcomes for the projects themselves, and of the lessons for programmes working in culture and community development. This final part of the report considers what the programme's experience may offer others concerned with the issues, or with development in South East Europe generally. It begins with a short analysis of the programme's legacy for the communities that undertook projects. The next section looks at areas of internal weakness and some of the external problems that were encountered, and notes the inevitably complex outcomes of any change process. Section 5.4 identifies the equally important reasons behind the programme's success: these are the underlying factors that should be understood by those working on similar initiatives in community development through cultural resources. The chapter concludes with a short review of the future prospects of the Living Heritage idea

in the work of the partners and others active in heritage and community development in the region.

5.2 Programme Legacy

5.2.1 The project in its context

Community development, as effected through the Living Heritage projects, is an external intervention in the life of community. As such, it is part of an immensely complex process: no project should be imagined to stand alone, its successes and failures attributable merely to itself. The conditions and situation into which it was introduced, the way it was undertaken and the people involved, and what follows it – all will have an enormous influence on how it develops and how it is perceived (to say nothing of the different views that may be formed depending on where a person stands in relation to it). Projects do not change passive situations – they interact with all the individuals and agencies involved.

The key challenge is therefore to understand the nature of that interaction, and the ways in which it can and cannot be influenced by those administering a programme.

The existing situation is a major determinant of a project's progress and outcomes: it is possible to follow exactly the same approach in neighbouring villages and reach very different results because the people, the history and the conditions of each place are unique to that locality. That is why a museum project in one town may be overwhelmed with donations, while another finds itself having to buy objects from the local community. It is an easy but critical mistake to try to replicate the form of successful projects without sufficient understanding of the factors in their success.

Communities do not stand still when a project has been completed: their lives continue, and the project becomes a part of their shared history. What happens afterwards will change the way people feel about a project. If a difficult project leads to further positive developments, the original problems may come to seem less important than they were. If a good

project raises people's hopes, but cannot build on its initial success – perhaps for reasons which are entirely beyond the community's control – those involved may feel discouraged, even becoming cynical about the success that they did achieve and the point of trying to bring about change.

These issues, and other practical and ethical considerations common to all community development work, have no easy solutions. They are the everyday challenge that makes such work fascinating, frustrating and ultimately worthwhile. But one test of the effectiveness of a community development process is the nature of what it leaves behind. Is the community more empowered, in the sense of having more resources and capacity to work together on its own priorities?

The concept of capital, relating not just to money, but also to other resources that can be applied to the production of goods, is helpful in considering this. Donors like to refer to their grant aid as 'investment', but unless it builds capital, the return on that expenditure is likely to be slight. The Living Heritage programme

intended, in its principles and methodology, to provide communities with an investment that had the capacity to change their situation by building up their capital – human, economic, social or in other forms. Its legacy depends largely on how successful it has been in achieving that goal.

Gura Humorului is a large town in northern Romania, and a centre for the historically rich Bucovina area. The project was a partnership between the town museum and a local NGO. It has developed a new local traditions gallery in the museum, displaying a rich collection of costumes and artefacts associated with the region. Through revival of 12 seasonal celebrations, the museum has become a lively centre for festivities, involving hundreds of people in its work and forming a cornerstone of local cultural and social life.

5.2.2 Building capital

HUMAN CAPITAL

The programme has worked closely with

about 140 different project teams in communities across the region, for periods of at least a year, and in some cases much longer. Each project team typically included four to ten people, most of whom received formal training in residential workshops, and further of support in their own communities. They also received a large amount of one-to-one assistance with all aspects of their projects from the programme managers and facilitators in each country.

Beyond the project teams themselves, a much larger number of people have been involved in the project and many of them have received training in a wide range of areas. Much of this has been formal, especially where craft and art skills are concerned, with hundreds of people learning enough to become practitioners themselves. But much was informal, arising from the process of being involved in the project: people learned to use computers, for example, in order to achieve the task they had set themselves, and they learned mostly by skill-sharing within the team, although specialists were brought in by many projects for specific training.

Extensive discussions and interviews in over 50 projects show that this investment in people has paid off very well. Not only have people learnt a lot, they are very aware of what they have learnt, including a wide range of transferable skills, competencies and knowledge. They are also much more confident in their ability to achieve shared goals, as many have shown by continuing their work or developing new ideas after the Living Heritage project. Crucially, personal growth has been nurtured within the context of a co-operative development process and with the support of local community organisations: it has strengthened those organisations (as have other initiatives undertaken through Living Heritage), and they in turn strengthen the capacity of individuals to work together towards their personal and shared goals.

In addition to those involved in projects, a further group of people have received professional development through the programme. This includes the staff of the programme management organisations in each country, members of advisory and reference groups, and community facilitators, es-

pecially the cohort of 20 who received accredited training in Bulgaria. Many are already putting their experiences into practice in their work.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

The concept of social capital is increasingly used to understand the dynamics of communities and their relative success in meeting their needs and aspirations. It recognises social networks, and intangible but essential human qualities like trust, as core to successful human societies, where common action builds recognition of shared interests and so paves the way for further action. According to the sociologist Robert Putnam:

'The core idea of social capital theory is that social networks have value. Just as a screwdriver (physical capital) or a college education (human capital) can increase productivity (both individual and collective), so too can social capital affect the productivity of individuals and groups. Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human

capital refers to properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them.²⁹

Social networks enable individuals to access information, assistance and resources, and thus contribute to their empowerment. Three kinds of networks are usually recognised:

- ☒ **Bonding networks**, which bring together people with a shared identity or status;
- ☒ **Bridging networks**, which connect people with different backgrounds or interests;
- ☒ **Linking networks**, which connect people across social and other hierarchies.

The Living Heritage programme aims to build social capital by nurturing the interactions on which it depends, hence the emphasis on openness, honesty and values of reciprocity and mutual aid that underpin volunteering; they also recognize the impor-

tance of shared identities and people's sense of belonging.

As with other forms of capital, those who already possess some find it easier to increase their social capital. Fortunately, though poor in other respects, many of the communities involved in the programme had strong social bonds on which to draw, and these were vital assets in their projects. The most successful were so precisely because they could draw on deep reservoirs of trust, mutuality and other community resources; but even here, it was possible to see bridging and linking networks developing through the project.

To some degree, therefore, *bonding networks* underpinned every Living Heritage project, providing the foundation of shared interest that enabled work to begin. But the process strengthened and extended those networks from the small project team to the project participants and the wider community. In doing so, it made people more conscious of their mutual concern and their capacity to contribute individually to shared objectives. In a period characterised for many people by a focus on privatisation of the

social sphere, with the erosion of many structures of cooperation, this has been an important development in most of the projects. Helping people find a reason to work together, and to achieve enjoyable and worthwhile results, has created a legacy that can only strengthen communities.

Projects often led to a renewed sense of common identity, especially as young people learnt about their culture from grandparents, teachers or neighbours. But they did so through the pleasures of a cultural activity rather than from a political perspective; crucially, the programme's open-minded ethos strongly encouraged sharing the work with others, especially those from a different ethnic or cultural background. This helped develop or strengthen linking networks in many projects, bringing together people from diverse groups in workshops, festivals, celebrations and other events. Again, it would be wrong to suggest that such contacts did not exist before the programme: in fact it was the desire to improve them that motivated a number of projects overtly concerned with intercultural relations. But

the experience of working together over a period of many months provided a solid framework for that contact, which has been maintained in most places after the project's conclusion.

Patalenitsa is a large village in the Rhodope Mountains in Southern Bulgaria. The Living Heritage project was developed by a group of 25 locals who wanted to revive a sense of identity by involving residents in reflecting on the past. They undertook local history research, interviewing 50 older members of the community, and collected objects, photographs and documents for a permanent exhibition about the local way of life. In addition, craft workshops were run at the school, and 400 people saw a new play about the village's story. A website has been created to mark what was achieved and help promote the district to tourists. The creation of a pensioners' club in Patalenitsa has been an indirect and unexpected outcome.³⁰



Living Heritage projects had an important impact on *bridging networks* – those that link people with others in positions of authority or power. This was very evident at local level, where project teams united members of the community with curators, journalists, mayors, councillors, managers and other professionals. In several places, the project led to community representatives being invited to address council meetings for the first time, or to sit on committees with politicians and officials. Links were also formed with government at regional and national level, with the business and media sectors, and with foundations and NGOs. Each of these opened doors for local community groups, giving them access to centres of resources and power, and helping them gain knowledge about how to work with these bodies.

Cumulatively, these connections reduced the sense of isolation felt by many projects at the outset, when it seemed that no-one else was interested in their village, its problems or its potential. Although the outcomes can seem intangi-

ble, and it is true that some networks are more reliable than others, they contribute to changing the capacity of a community to support itself, work cooperatively and access the assistance it needs.

OTHER FORMS OF CAPITAL

In addition to human and social capital, the projects have also built up capital in other areas. The most obvious of these is that represented by the scores of new facilities that have been created: new visitor centres, museums, community meeting rooms, parks, gardens and green theatres, public spaces, restored buildings and much more. But no less important are the new costumes and instruments acquired by traditional folklore groups, which allow them to perform publicly and take part in festivals, or the computers, potters wheels, kilns, lathes, tools and other equipment without which workshops would not have been possible. Likewise, the CDs, videos, radio programmes, history books, publicity brochures and websites that help groups publicise their work and attract visitors. All these resources allow people to do new

things, or do old ones better. They create new opportunities, and sustain the work of the projects over time.

Byala Cherkva is a historic town of about 3,000 people in central Bulgaria. Although it has several museums, none deals with the everyday life of the community, and the project aimed to restore a derelict building to tell the people's story. Thanks to local enthusiasm, the new museum now has more in its collection than it can display, and a second phase is underway to turn a wing of the building into a café and meeting space. In addition to this work, the project also restored a garden at a nearby historic house, put on art and theatre workshops and organised a huge festival to mark the completion of the work.

5.2.3 Sustainability

Living Heritage projects are intended to be time-limited, in the sense that they are set up to achieve a specific goal of intrinsic value and not be dependent on continuing support. Each has a clear end

point, when those involved and the wider community can see that the task has been completed. At the same time, however, the concept of sustainable development is intrinsic to the programme and expressed or implied in several of its guiding principles. The aim of each project, therefore, is not only to attain its goal, but also to bring about a change in the situation which leaves a permanent improvement.

Sustainability does not necessarily mean that a project should continue indefinitely, but that people are better able to work towards their long-term ambitions. The test of a project's success is not whether it continues in the original form, but whether it leads to lasting benefits and further developments, whatever form they follow. All successful community development projects produce energy: those involved feel stronger, more enthusiastic, more capable and more confident at the end of the process. The challenge for a programme like Living Heritage is to find ways of helping those involved transfer that energy to another vehicle, with the least possible loss.

It was decided early on that projects

would not normally be eligible to apply for a second grant, since this was likely to produce diminishing returns and encourage a dependency on what could only ever be short-term funding. However, some exceptions were made to this policy. In Romania, several of the first year projects received follow-up grants; elsewhere, individual projects had further grants because further investment could make a significantly greater impact, or because the organisation proposed to apply what they had learnt on a new project with a different community.

In all, about 14% of the projects received second grants, with the rest still participating in the programme and its network, and receiving informal support from the national managing organisation. This was not as effective as it might have been, since it depended largely on the project team staying in touch and talking over their new plans. The more confident and successful groups did do this, but some of those who most needed help to sustain their work dropped out of sight, and probably did not receive enough help. In a sense, the programme fell into a classic trap of focusing on

achieving a successful project outcome at the expense of reserving energy and resources for the next stage. It would have been relatively easy to assign two or three days of community facilitator's time to be taken up by each project in the twelve months following completion; this would have been more than enough to carry most of them forward to another stage of work.

In practice, this failing did not prove too serious as the national partners worded hard to support projects following completion. There has been a very positive level of continuing work by the groups involved in the Living Heritage programme, with the majority maintaining their initial project, and many going on to do new work. This has happened in different ways, and to different degrees, according to each project's situation, and some have been more impressive than others. Crucially, none of the projects has failed in the years immediately following their completion: new buildings have remained open, groups have continued meeting, and activities have been maintained. This level of sustainability confirms the importance of

the principles in establishing viable community projects.

Satu Mare, in central Romania, is inhabited by Hungarian people with an ancient woodcarving tradition, which has produced two separate projects. The first focused on the great Szekler gates that form the entrances of many properties, and young people were taught the carving and construction skills involved in the creation of a new gate for the school. In the second project, older artisans ran workshops in wooden chest decoration. As a result of this work, a traditional house has been purchased as a museum with a permanent community workshop established in its barn.

5.3 Lessons

5.3.1 Introduction

It would be unrealistic to expect a programme with the ambitions and complexity of Living Heritage to be developed without encountering problems. In fact,

as the record of the project outcomes in Chapter 4 shows, there have been surprisingly few of these, given the scale and innovative character of the programme. Only three or four projects failed to make any substantial progress, including the Turkish bath restoration in Prilep from the pilot phase in Macedonia, which was defeated by the legal complexities of the site; two others were cut because they failed to deliver their agreed plans. A somewhat larger group can be thought to have partially achieved their goals, but still to have underachieved in one respect or another: even so, the total of these projects is about ten. (The notion of failure is inevitably subjective when it comes to disappointing projects, as opposed to those which clearly did not achieve their goals, and there are borderline cases.) The remaining 93% or so of projects were judged by programme managers to have achieved their agreed goals, and, of these, perhaps half achieved significantly more than that.

This does not mean, of course, that the successful projects had a smooth ride. They all encountered difficulties, great or small, and many had to adjust their plans

as a result. But these problems were mostly those that experienced community development workers or heritage specialists would anticipate, and it was often through overcoming them that project members gained most. At the same time, there is much to be learnt from understanding the difficulties that were encountered, and particularly those that arose from the concept of the project itself. The following two sections, therefore, outline the key internal weaknesses which emerged through the implementation process and some of the principal external problems that were also encountered.

5.3.2 Internal weaknesses

LEADERSHIP,

INVOLVEMENT AND SUCCESSION

The Living Heritage programme put a high value on supporting good local leadership, investing training and other resources in the people who formed the nucleus of project teams. They were essential to the initiative and played a vital role in winning local engagement, as they were often passionate and deeply committed both to their idea and to the community. However, they could find it

difficult to build a strong team with shared ownership and control and, in some cases, they did not always understand the importance of doing so. Those outside the leadership group often found it natural to take a subsidiary role, since capable people were clearly doing a good job; this weakness was most likely in projects led by someone with the institutional support of a council or an NGO. In some of these, the result was to limit the community development process because, although the project's goals were achieved, the capacities essential to that delivery were insufficiently shared within a growing and renewing group of people.

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

The fundamental changes taking place in the post-communist societies of South East Europe since 1990 have often required people to grasp some very new concepts. In a small number of projects, there was a genuine confusion about the distinction between private and public initiatives, and especially the charitable ethos of a foundation or NGO and the commercial interests of a business. Though

each is legitimate, they have different values and processes, and these were not always well understood by grantees who were operating simultaneously in commercial and non-commercial structures. (There were those, however, who saw the potential for people to misinterpret their actions and took steps to set boundaries: for example, the deputy mayor involved in one project suspended work on a personal building project for the duration, because it might be thought that he would divert materials or labour to his own site.) Not all these difficulties, which arose because entrepreneurial people were often active in different ways within their community, could have been foreseen; but, with hindsight, it is clear that more guidance could have been given in the training to clarify the ethical issues involved and help a few grantees to avoid possible or actual conflicts of interest.

POLITICS

The involvement of local government in the Living Heritage was very desirable, since it brought administrative (and sometimes financial) support, and helped influence institutional thinking. In a few



cases, the unwillingness of the council to take part in the project caused substantial problems, with planning and other permissions being withheld. So there are compelling arguments, positive and negative, in favour of active municipal participation. However, there are also risks, especially in the few cases where the municipality was the actual grantee, rather than a partner in a larger group. Crucially, it was potentially open to a pol-



itician to seek electoral advantage by delivering a Living Heritage project.

There were indeed two instances of mayors winning elections partly on the basis of what they had achieved through the programme: one specifically listed the project on his campaign material. There may have been other instances that were less obvious or clear cut. The influence that individual Living Heritage projects may have had on the

outcome of democratic processes is not possible to gauge; nor would it necessarily be wrong, since a record of achievement in community development, including bringing in new resources, is clearly a legitimate political platform. At the same time, it would be disastrous for a community development programme, and particularly one funded by foreign donors, to become associated with any political party. Its

legitimacy for all the members of a community depends in large part on recognition of its neutrality. The solution can only be to remain alert to the risks, and keep a close watch on individual projects to ensure that there is not party exploitation of the programme and its purpose.

QUALITY

The quality of work produced by the Living Heritage projects has generally been excellent in artistic and cultural terms. The performance skills have been first class, with a very high standard being aspired to, and mostly attained, by dance and singing groups. Festivals have been rich in content and generally well organised. Workshops have been well managed and they have produced work of a good standard. Building restoration, and environmental improvements have been well done and sensitive to their surroundings. The success of these aspects is understandable partly because they were often the most familiar, and there were usually people with appropriate skills within the communities. There was also a high level of

expectation among those involved, who clearly held the view that if something was worth doing at all, it was worth doing well.

In areas where people had less experience, however, it was harder to maintain high standards. Perhaps the most obvious was in the area of print and publicity materials, where overall quality was much more uneven. Weak design and low production values, sometimes despite professional input, marred the final results of some brochures, booklets and local history guides. This was particularly evident when they aimed at an international visitor audience, where poor translation into English sometimes undermined the credibility of the work. Similarly, presentation skills sometimes let down good work. Exhibitions of children's art, museum displays and sales points were often insufficiently well planned or presented, and unfortunately diminished the impact of work which, in itself, was of a good standard. It would have been wise to include some training on presentation and marketing in the project development workshops; in fact, in Macedo-

nia, a training workshop in marketing was held for all the projects operating in 2003, and this had positive results.

5.3.3 External problems

GENERAL PROBLEMS

All the projects faced problems in achieving their goals, if only when their aspirations, which were sometimes idealistic, were confronted with reality. Technical difficulties, human obstruction, bureaucracy, and limited resources, skills or confidence all played a part, and overcoming such obstacles was an essential part of the process. Insofar as there was a general pattern to these experiences, it conformed to that encountered by community-based cultural projects everywhere, and which the principles were designed to address.

In practice, where problems arose within a project – as opposed to those caused by external actors such as the municipality – they could be seen as a failure to understand or adhere to one or other of the principles. For example, at

'Another time, I wouldn't measure the enthusiasm of the community by my own; I wouldn't assume certain things...'

least one Bosnian project got into serious difficulties because the NGO responsible was not based in the community where the work was happening: the inaccessibility of the management, practically and psychologically, caused a dispute that nearly overwhelmed the project.

A recurring problem, though a cause of frustration rather than failure, was

the readiness of some institutions (such as local councils) to give fulsome expressions of support that were not followed by concrete action. More rarely, partners within the project group failed to deliver on their commitments in the same way. This caused some disillusionment, but also toughened people up so that they were more prepared to rely on their own resources.

Inexperience, particularly of the special demands of heritage and arts work, caused some technical problems. Since the programme managers were not generally cultural specialists, it was not easy for them to foresee some of the problems that might arise, for example

in trying to run woodwork and pottery workshops in the same confined space. These were not very common, since the work was often familiar to those involved, but it would be sensible to be alert to them in future.

Finally, the seasons and the weather also caused some problems, especially in rural areas. Projects could find themselves delayed by cold, snow and rain during the winter months while, in the summer, many activities were suspended because those involved needed to work in the fields. It is unsurprising, and by no means problematic, that many projects took at least a year to achieve their planned goals, and a reason for satisfaction that delays did not lead to people dropping out or projects themselves being abandoned.

BUILDING RESTORATION

The most obvious area where projects ran into difficulties was in tackling building restoration work, as was quickly highlighted during the Macedonian pilot phase. Of the factors working against such initiatives, the following are significant:



- ▣ Historically important buildings are normally subject to legislative and administrative controls over which local people have no influence;
- ▣ Ownership of buildings and surrounding areas may be unclear, particularly in post-communist societies where privatisation and the return of property are not complete;
- ▣ The cost of building work is substantial, and often increases as unforeseen problems emerge during the conservation programme;
- ▣ The nature of the work often demands technical expertise that local builders or architects normally do not have.

The experience gained by the pilot projects in 2001 led to a decisive move away from building restoration projects in Macedonia. However, once the lessons had been considered, it became possible to return to this area of work, and several construction projects were successfully completed, including Byala Cherkva (BG), Bitola and Kruševo (MK), Cârțisoara, Avrig, Moldovița, Brasov and Tusnad (RO). Even here though, the construction work often

depended on paid artisans, with voluntary work being focused on activities, such as oral history or festivals, associated with the building. Bosnia Herzegovina was exceptional for the number of successful conservation projects including Travnik, Donji Vakuf, Kakanj, Novi Travnik, Ribnik, Visnjevo and Guča Gora in the first two years alone. This may be explained partly by the unique post-war situation of the country, in which reconstruction has been a priority, and legislative controls have been in abeyance.

A key lesson from these experiences of conservation was that the less architecturally or historically important the building, the easier it was to integrate it into a Living Heritage project. Volunteers did the building work at Visnjevo and Guča Gora partly because the buildings – for all their undoubted cultural and social importance in the communities concerned – do not have intrinsic architectural or historic value. In general, though, these experiences show that restoration projects are not beyond the capacity of the Living Heritage programme if the right building is chosen, for the right reasons.

5.3.4 The costs of change

Finally, it is important to consider the problems that people and groups may encounter as a result of undergoing change. These are a natural aspect of growth, and differ from the problems that may arise from flawed project conception or management: in fact, they are more likely to be evident in a good project, since change is more likely to result. These project costs are complex, and hard for an outsider to appreciate. At a basic level, they include the practical pressures participants may experience as a result of giving up their time. Several people mentioned the problem of keeping a balance between the needs of work (especially the seasonal work of agriculture) with the quite separate rhythm of the project itself. When people have very few resources, even the cost of petrol for a short trip may have to be carefully calculated.

These personal costs are straightforward enough. Much more difficult are the subtle human costs that may be associated with change. A common example, evident in several rural projects where social structures remain quite

conservative, was the situation of women. While women valued the opportunity to take part and socialise with others, their husbands and other members of their families were not always so appreciative. New interests, friendships, even independence sometimes come at a cost. There are many other ways in which positive change can bring problems for those involved. One project, for example, provoked a rift between family members unable to accept one another's role in the project team. Elsewhere, people had to put up with (unfounded) speculation about their personal motives for being involved. Numerous similar instances could be reported, all of them familiar to education and community development practice, though not less difficult for that.

It is impossible to know all the problems and tensions which may have been experienced within project teams and the wider group of people involved. More importantly, while knowing them would help in understanding the processes at work within projects, it would not help with a process of evaluation. Ultimately, only those involved can

judge whether the difficulties that they have faced as a result of taking part in a project are outweighed by the benefits they have gained. Naturally enough, none of those interviewed during the course of project visits was in doubt about this: in remaining involved, they were clearly expressing their view. But of others, it is not possible to know. All that can be said, and it is a good deal, is that such problems were raised very rarely, and that the projects visited generally had a positive and happy atmosphere, reflecting a good process in which people were pleased to have been involved.

5.4 Factors of success

5.4.1 Introduction

The reasons behind the success of the Living Heritage programme must be understood if there is to be any possibility of continuing the work, or of extending it elsewhere. It would be a mistake to try to replicate the form of the programme without considering the underlying values, conditions and factors on which that

form was modelled. This section of the report therefore draws out the key aspects of Living Heritage of concern to anyone engaged in community or cultural development, or both. It is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the connections between culture and community development, and the second with the programme management and delivery.

5.4.2 Culture as a route for development

THE VALUE OF CULTURE IN DEVELOPMENT
Some attention has already been given to the possible risks of focusing on culture in a community development process, although they did not in fact arise in the programme's implementation. The advantages of doing so, on the other



hand, were central to its concept and were evident in every project. The most important of them were these:

- ☒ Heritage and culture are resources in which local people have enormous expertise: indeed, where their own traditions are concerned, they are the world experts. If the project team do not know something, there will be someone locally who does. There is an important role for outside expertise, from curators, conservators and academics, for instance, but their knowledge and contribution will always be secondary to that of the people involved in the project.
- ☒ Because people are expert in their own culture and tradition, they have a perfectly straightforward sense of ownership with regard to it. Where other community development initiatives may strive to communicate a sense of involvement or connection, heritage projects start from where people are and what they have.
- ☒ Although legislation protects important monuments, whether his-

toric, cultural or natural, it has little interest in much of what people care most about: the dances, music, stories, costumes, rituals and traditions which have shaped their community and identity over centuries. There are therefore few legal or administrative obstacles to prevent people from working, in ways that seem right, towards goals that are important to them. The relative indifference of many states to culture, and particularly to domestic culture, leaves people free to do what they want with minimal interference.

- ▣ Heritage, being the product of human enterprise, is mostly human in scale. Its materials are readily to hand, and, except where buildings are concerned, it is not a greedy consumer of resources. Unlike the larger problems facing communities, from economic development or ill health to crime and security, improving the conditions of heritage is within their capacity. It is not a distraction from more serious problems – how could it be? – but it offers a positive step for-

wards, and success in this area can strengthen a community's capacity to take on others.

- ▣ Above all, a Living Heritage project focuses on a community's strengths, not, like many initiatives intending to benefit poor groups, on weaknesses. Its starting point is 'What do we have to feel proud of, and how can we use it to improve our situation?'. Other approaches identify problems from outside and prescribe remedies that are intended to cure them. Even if their analysis is correct, they tend to attract those who agree with it, or those who are willing to adopt it to secure resources. Living Heritage projects do not problematise a situation or, even worse, a group. Their starting point is positive, and those who are supposed to benefit from them establish the goals: that is the source of their effectiveness in empowering community groups.

It is the mutually supportive interaction of these strengths that helped make the small-scale community projects de-

veloped through the Living Heritage programme disproportionately effective. Some groups were able to compare this approach with others they were more familiar with. For example, one NGO had also received a grant through the KBF Inter-Ethnic Relations Programme, but had found that this had not engaged local people to anything like the same extent as the Living Heritage project.

Several projects were developed by local NGOs used to working in other fields, including education, the environment and women's rights. It is significant that these experienced community development workers saw the Living Heritage project as among the most successful work they had ever done, despite, in one case, being quite sceptical about the value of culture in achieving their wider goals. One of these groups worked with women in an area largely controlled by organised crime and heavily involved in prostitution and human trafficking. According to the director, the Living Heritage was the best project they had yet undertaken, despite opposition from some local men, because it had focused on people's strengths and what they cared for.

There is a fairly common view within foundations and among other donors that culture is not an important area of work, compared with sanitation, public health, economic development or security. Certainly, no one with any knowledge of the daily difficulties experienced by millions of people in South East Europe would gainsay the urgency of tackling these problems. But the Living Heritage experience demonstrates three things:

- 1 That heritage and culture are powerful resources for community development and empowerment, which can be used in cost-effective projects with a high rate of success and sustainability;
- 2 That these projects can produce significant outcomes in other areas including social cohesion, economic growth and civil society development, and that they do so using different approaches involving people, such as the elderly, who are often left behind by other programmes; and
- 3 That they respond to a deeply felt need of communities to work on their

culture and heritage alongside, not after, other forms of local development.

In short, there is an important and distinctive place for cultural programmes as part of a range of donor responses to the challenges of development.

VALUING THE QUALITY AND INTEGRITY OF CULTURE

The programme took a very wide view of heritage, which eventually became a kind of working definition: heritage was anything that people cared about. It was never intended that the programme should be driven by the imperatives of heritage professionals, although it took a little time to work this out: none of the projects emerged from an academic assessment of what was valuable in a particular place, and how it should be conserved. Instead, the starting point was that, in order to mobilise committed action, the goal must be something that people cared about, something in which they were prepared to invest time, effort and local resources. This resulted in a vast diversity of objects at the heart of the different projects, including historic

buildings, archaeological sites, modern sculpture, public parks, customs and folklore, oral history, music, art, theatre, natural treasures etc. All that united these projects was that those involved thought that they mattered.

But this inclusive approach to heritage did not mean that the programme had no professional standards as regards culture. On the contrary, it followed that respecting what people cared for meant that it must be approached with the same aims and standards as any other heritage or conservation project: anything less would be dishonest, patronising and undermine the programme's very objectives. Therefore, everything should be done to the highest possible standard, taking advice from professional curators, teachers, ethnologists, artists, makers and artisans whenever possible. The work should be authentic, in the sense of being honest to itself and its origins: there was no room for pastiche. Thus, the path to the Smolare (MK) waterfall was constructed entirely from wood and stone taken from the mountain itself. At the same time, it should have a use func-

tion, since this was the only way to ensure its long-term preservation and that it would benefit the local community.

Above all, the work must be of recognisable quality in every aspect: building works, performances, festivals, museum displays, publications, recordings – all the project outputs should be of the highest standard achievable within the constraints of time, money and sometimes talent. The way in which projects worked aimed for similarly high standards: if an activity was planned to happen, it should happen, with the appropriate resources, tutors and other conditions met. This was not only important in itself; it was essential to the integrity of the programme as a whole. People know perfectly well whether they are seeing something good, or have been involved in a worthwhile process; they know whether they or their heritage has been treated with respect, or simply paid lip service. And no project can produce substantial positive outcomes unless it achieves standards recognised by those involved and those intended to benefit from it.

It would be a catastrophic mistake to approach an initiative like Living Heri-

age thinking that either professional cultural standards or good community development must be sacrificed; it would also be pointless. Unless the highest standards and integrity are maintained in both areas, the project will always fail, because it does not truly respect those it aims to benefit, or the processes it is using. Success depends on finding a good balance.

5.4.3 Management and delivery

CLARITY OF VALUES AND PURPOSE

A value-driven approach underpinned the Living Heritage programme. It was encapsulated in the ten principles, and they remained benchmarks for all those involved. They gave the programme clarity of purpose against which proposals and choices could be assessed, whether by the Advisory Groups, by programme managers or by project teams themselves. Although the projects varied hugely, and there were also variations in the way the programme operated in each country, the principles provided a consistent checklist. It was relatively simple to see when a project was at risk of making a mistake, though sometimes, in the

way of these things, the mistake still had to be made.

This overarching clarity meant that the programme's ethos and culture was easily communicated to new entrants, and also that people shared an idea of what they were doing and why. As a result, people from different projects quickly established a sense of common purpose that made training workshops and other shared activities easy to run. Likewise, the first time that the programme partners were brought together, in Brussels in 2002, the 30 people from six countries quickly established a collegiate way of working, which has since led to the establishment of a Living Heritage Network. It is also possible that this approach helped widen ownership of the programme, since the values on which it is based are clearly not exclusive to the King Baudouin Foundation.

SELECTION THROUGH FIELDWORK

The decision to identify projects through fieldwork rather than an open application process was crucial in enabling communities with no previous experience of working with external donors to participate. Although much more demanding



in terms of management and resources, this was an effective approach because:

- ☒ It identified good potential projects from communities outside the usual fields of donor interest, including remote rural areas;
- ☒ It reached well beyond the established NGO sector to involve people who would not spontaneously have responded to an open call for proposals;
- ☒ It helped projects develop their thinking in advance of the formal application process, giving them the best chance of success in that, and in project delivery;

There are obvious drawbacks to the approach, particularly in terms of openness, but the Romanian trial of an advertised application procedure highlighted the disadvantages of the conventional approach. When this was used, for the first two years, it proved very difficult to identify sufficient numbers of good projects. A high number of expressions of interest were received, but most were weak or opportunistic: the result was that the rejection rate in the first year was 88%. This process raised false hopes,

and was wasteful of everyone's time; worse, it may have encouraged cynicism about donor programmes among the rejected applicants, since they were not sufficiently involved in the programme to understand why their ideas were thought unsuitable. In comparison, the failure rate in Macedonia, using a field-work selection process, was 29% in the first two years, and in Bosnia Herzegovina, only 12% of those submitting a proposal were not selected for support.

The investment of time in the project development process contributed to a high proportion of the communities contacted by the programme receiving support: it also helped ensure that support was productive. The very small number of projects that can be judged to have failed completely or in part (about 7%) is directly attributable to the investment in the selection process, and the continuing support they received. In short, the time given to field-work identified good projects which led to good results. It should be regarded as a vital investment in people and knowledge, as well as safeguarding the programme funds.

PROJECT SUPPORT

Living Heritage's success also depended on the extensive support given to individual projects throughout their contact with the programme. The most obvious part of this was the investment in training, including community-based facilitation workshops and programme development workshops. This training was not theoretical or academic: instead, both content and delivery methods arose from the specific needs that project teams had. Whether in the formal workshops, in site visits, or in phone conversations it solved immediate problems. Every idea was a tool that could be put to immediate use, because people do not forget things of which they have practical experience. There was, as a result, little need of notes, work packs or similar conventional trainers' tools: people understood what was being said because it made sense in the situation they faced.

Whilst this approach to training is not appropriate in every case, it was exactly right for the project teams in the Living Heritage programme. They were not concerned with theory, but with practice, and wanted only what would

help them achieve their goals. When there was a need for specialist assistance, the programme had the capacity provide additional support, either through the network of community facilitators in each country, through members of the national Advisory Groups or through local experts such as conservators, curators, marketers and others brought in for the purpose. Again, people learnt more from working with such people to solve an immediate problem, than they would have done from attending a general course.

TRUST

Trust was one of Living Heritage's unexpressed values, but it was nonetheless crucial to its success. There was a presumption that project teams should be trusted from the moment they came into the programme, even though they might not have been formally consti-

'The effect was much greater on existing informal groups and new associations. By involving their representatives in the programme's workshops, they gained knowledge and skills and became more self-confident. This gave them strong stimulus for further development.'

tuted or even have a bank account in their name. The normal safeguards about the handling of money were in place, and it would not have been easy to defraud the programme; but these safeguards were taken for granted, as no more than normal management practice. That does not mean that people always found it easy or comfortable to follow the norms established, in terms of financial and other accountability: the culture of administrative transparency was new to most of the grantees. But beneath it, there was a genuine expectation

that they would deliver their project in the agreed way, and that the programme was fully behind them in doing this. Many teams were appreciative of this trust, and worked hard to ensure that they lived up to it: in only one case was there any question of impropriety, and, though it was ultimately not pos-

sible to resolve, it did not hinder the achievement of the project's aims.

VALUE FOR MONEY

Across the four countries, approximately 60% of the Living Heritage programme funds were allocated to projects in the form of grants, with the rest being used for training, project support and management costs. The highest proportion of grant aid was achieved in Macedonia, because the staff and management costs were substantially covered by FOSIM: elsewhere these costs had to be met by the programme budget, since the partner organisations did not have the resources to expand their work without assistance.

However, the ratio of funds disbursed to management costs is an inaccurate indicator of the effectiveness of a grants programme. Many factors will increase the cost of administering grants, including national and local situations, legal issues, programme aims, ideas of acceptable risk, commitment to learning and sustainability, and so forth. It is cheaper, as is evident from the pilot phase in Macedonia, to administer a few

large grants than many small ones: there is an irreducible cost, whatever the amount of aid disbursed. It is also easy, and again comparatively cheap, to award grants to established NGOs with the experience and skills to use them: but it may also have little impact on them, or on the wider situation, since it does not significantly build up their capacity. The Living Heritage programme aimed to work with people and informal groups who had usually not received any financial support before, and certainly had never undertaken an ambitious community development project. The training and support given to project teams was an essential part of the programme methodology, without which this type of project would have been impossible. It thus formed part of the assistance given to communities, though in the form of support in kind rather than cash.

As a result of this approach, the project failure rate was very low: about 2% of the projects were abandoned in one way or another, and a further 5% or so failed partially. Given the high-risk nature of the investments, itself arising

from the commitment to the fullest community involvement, this is clear evidence of the effectiveness of the support that the projects received. The time spent on this was often substantial, but it succeeded in bringing difficult projects to a successful conclusion and in safeguarding the investment made.

5.5 Future opportunities

5.5.1 The Living Heritage Programme in SE Europe

The Living Heritage Programme will cease operation at the end of 2005. By then, it will have made grants totalling about €1.16 million to 140 projects in four countries. It will have created hundreds of short-term jobs, and involved thousands of volunteers in communities across the region: many more people will have seen the results of its work through festivals and community events, as tourists and through media coverage. It will have created or improved 24 museums and cultural centres, restored 35 buildings, improved 24 natural sites, supported the growth of

20 folklore groups, run 45 craft development initiatives, nurtured 24 local history projects and promoted over 65 festivals: indeed, as the projects continue, these totals will certainly grow.

Most importantly, Living Heritage leaves viable community projects, local associations, and hundreds of people who have experience and a record of achievement in local action. They have shown what they can do, to their neighbours, to local authorities and, perhaps above all, to themselves. Some of these people have achieved what they set out to do, or may feel that they have done enough, and will retire from active community work. But most are already engaged in further work, in some cases as much as three years after the original project. The work has given a momentum for development that is, in many cases, evolving and being taken forward.

It will also leave a legacy in the continuing work of many of its partners, including the Carpathian Foundation, the Foundation Open Society Institute Macedonia, the Mozaik Foundation, the Romanian Environmental Partnership Foundation, and the Workshop for Civic



Initiatives Foundation. Indeed, all but the last plan to sustain the programme's ideas and practice in some form through their work, in some cases under the same name. The programme's lasting impact in Bulgaria seems likely to be limited, with neither of the partners expecting to take the work forward: lack of resources and the consequent need to respond to the interests of major funders is the principal cause. However, the investment in training of community development professionals may go some way to compensate for this.

Elsewhere the situation is more positive. In Romania the Carpathian Foundation plans to mainstream the concept and extend it to the other countries in which it operates, with the Foundation's Romanian arm taking a lead on heritage issues. Likewise, the Romanian Environmental Partnership Forum will continue to support heritage projects within the framework of its grant programme, using the approach of the Living Heritage programme.

In Bosnia Herzegovina, the Mozaik Foundation was deeply influenced by its

contact with Living Heritage. It undertook a review of its purpose and methods, and replaced conventional approaches to grant giving and direct intervention with one modelled on the principle-led methodology of the Living Heritage programme. This has contributed to the development of Mozaik itself, and its growth as a major actor in its field within Bosnia Herzegovina, able to secure major investments from the EU and other foundations. The practice of Living Heritage has in effect been incorporated within the organisation and will continue in years to come.

In Macedonia, FOSIM has continued running the Living Heritage programme since 2004, when the King Baudouin Foundation's financing came to an end. Already, \$80,000 have been assigned to 11 new projects, and a further development, aimed at engaging local authorities is now being planned. This will match funds raised locally from the council, business and other sources to support new Living Heritage projects.

In all four countries, the programme has influenced many of the

professionals who came into contact with Living Heritage, especially the freelance community facilitators who helped deliver it. The long-term consequences for community development and cultural policy in the countries involved remains to be seen, but it can at least depend on a cohort of talented and committed activists.

5.5.2 The Living Heritage Network

At the regional meeting in Ohrid (MK), in November 2003, the partners in the programme agreed to establish the Living Heritage Network as a vehicle to promote awareness of the programme's values and ideas. The Network has taken some important steps to that end, commissioning a video documentary and a touring exhibition, and convening an international conference to be held in Skopje in October 2005. This will be an opportunity to celebrate the achievement of the Living Heritage projects, to discuss the lessons that may be drawn from the experience, and to consider the future of the Network. Above all, it will be a platform on which to build, and it is hoped that oth-

er organisations concerned with community and cultural development may bring their support: there is already interest in the programme in the Caucasus. But the future of Living Heritage, as an idea and a practice, is now in the hands of others.





6 APPENDICES

6.1 Living Heritage Projects

The following list includes all the Living Heritage projects undertaken between 2001 and 2005, arranged in alphabetical order. Each project's activities are briefly summarised, with the start date; work took place in the following 12-18 months. Projects are identified by the main place name: where this occurs twice, it may be because of a second phase of the same project or, as in the case of Satu Mare (ro), because more than one project was run in the same area. Further project details can be found in the four national reports, which are available on the website of the King Baudouin Foundation.

6.1.1 Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bosansko Grahovo Restoration and conversion of the town library as a cultural centre, with associated workshops and events (2004)

Bugojno Creation of a Living Heritage Centre to document the town's heritage, and publication of local historical information (2003)

Ćatići Work on traditional costumes for a Croat dance group, and creation of a festival at the nearby Franciscan monastery (2004)

Donji Vakuf Renovation of the historic clock tower, and revival of traditional springtime celebrations (2003)

Fojnica Environmental and access improvements at the Kozice waterfall, and installation of exhibition space in the old water mill (2004)

Guča Gora Renovation of former police station as a cultural centre and rehearsal rooms for the village's traditional choir (2003)

Ilijas Creation of a Travelling Roma Theatre company to develop understanding of Roma culture (2004)

Jablanica Construction of an ethno-house in the war museum, from materials and artefacts salvaged during reconstruction in the neighbouring villages (2004)

Jablanica Reconstruction of a derelict fountain and garden on a housing estate (2004)

Kakanj	Repaving and pedestrianisation of a street as a social space, with an associated programme of cultural animation and events (2004)
Konjic	Conversion of the former home of the artist Zuko Džumhur into an arts and cultural centre with workshop space and exhibitions (2004)
Kraljeva Sutjesta	Creation of a tourism information centre for the Central Bosnia Trail (2005)
Kraljeva Sutjesta	Training in traditional embroidery to produce work for sale in the tourism information centre (2005)
Kupres	Environmental improvements to the town park, with related cultural and sports events (2004)
Mramor-Tuzla	Restoration and animation of the park in a mining town as a social and cultural space (2004)
Mrkonjić Grad	Development of the activities and membership of a traditional Serbian dance group (2003)
Novi Travnik	Restoration of an early school building for use as a museum and youth cultural centre (2003)
Prozor-Rama	Intercultural programme to promote awareness of the culture of plum growing through radio documentaries, workshops and a two day festival (2004)
Prusac	Creation of a visitor centre about the historic Muslim village, and environmental improvement of the fortress site (2005)
Prusac	Development of local handicrafts through workshops, for sale to visitors (2005)
Ribnik	Construction of a traditional Bosnian wooden house to be used as a local museum and visitor centre (2003)
Šipovo	Establishment of a crafts workshop and training for young people (2003)
Travnik	Restoration of the outer ward of the historic fortress, and a programme of concerts, film screenings and other cultural events (2003)

Travnik	Creation of a sales outlet for locally-produced craft work in fortress (2005)
Turbe	Renewal of a neighbourhood walkway (2003)
Visnjevo	Building a community cultural centre and support a folklore group (2003)
Visoko	Installation of historic leather tanning mill outside the museum, and related cultural activities (2004)
Visoko	Leather and other craft workshops for young people from the Goduša area of the town (2005)
Visoko	Environmental work to clear the site of the medieval royal city situated above the modern town (2005)
Vranduk	Improvements to exhibition space and visitor facilities at the castle (2005)
Vranduk	Development of local craft production to produce souvenirs for sale at the castle (2005)

6.1.2 Bulgaria

Borisova Gradina	Weekly programme of cultural animation in Sofia's historic public gardens (KvARTal 2003)
Byala Cherkva	Restoration of a former agricultural building and conversion to a local history museum, recreation of a historic garden and associated festival (2003)
Cherni Osum	Photography and festival project documenting local history and culture (2003)
Cherni Vit	Festival to gather the dispersed families of the village, folklore performances and installation of an exhibition of local customs (2003)
Cherni Vit	Second phase, to build on ethnographic work by young people (2004)

Dorkovo	Programme to strengthen, develop and promote an international festival of traditional music and dance in a mixed community (2002)
Gorsko Novo Selo	Intercultural project, focusing on folkloric costumes and leading to a shared festival with traditional food (2003)
Gotse Delchev	A sub-regional project, linking four villages in work to revive and promote their different cultural traditions through workshops and events (2002)
Gotse Delchev	Second phase, developing and promoting traditional folklore and craftwork through publications and a documentary film (2003)
Ivailovgrad	Project linking four villages, through workshops, genealogical work, family meetings and the creation of a local history and craft gallery (2004)
Ivanovo	Oral history project centred on people's memories of the old village of Ivanovo which was abandoned in the early 1960s (2002)
Ivanovo	Second phase, with local artisans to create work for sale to visitors to the medieval rock-carved churches near the site of the old village (2003)
Kalofer	Creation of a museum and cultural centre in an old house, and workshops in which young people learnt how to make Kalofer lace (2004)
Lagera	Community festivals, concerts and production of a CD of music by professional and amateur musicians (KvARTal 2003)
Levski G	Environmental campaign on a peripheral estate, involving art workshops, a theatre performance and tree planting (KvARTal 2003)
Levski G	Second phase, to undertake further environmental work (2004)
Lozenets	Open air arts project about the special character of the Lozenets district, for a map of people's favourite buildings and features (KvARTal 2003)

Madjarovo	Workshops in traditional knitting, weaving and woodcarving and refurbishment of three historic sites (2004)
Markovo	Establishment of a permanent crafts workshop, run by local artisans, and creation and signing of three tourist trails through the area (2004)
Mogilitza	Craft workshops and the creation of an ethnographic museum, linked with tourism promotion work and a festival (2004)
Oresh	Revival of the distinctive local dance traditions, creation of two new performing groups and a festival of Catholic villages in the region (2003)
Oresh	Second phase, to assist with the development of the dance groups (2004)
Patalenitsa	Local history investigations, craft workshops and festival including the opening of a permanent exhibition about the village (2004)
Serdika	Performing and visual arts work on an inner city estate (KvARTal 2003)
Serdika	Second phase, to develop neighbourhood art programmes (2004)
Shiroka Luka	Project to revive the local traditions of vine growing and winemaking, including the celebration of three old holiday festivals (2004)
Smilyan	Creation of a museum of local life, including the area's bean-growing traditions, and workshops in making terlitsi slippers (2004)
Suha Reka	Photography project about neighbourhood quality of life (KvARTal 2003)
Teteven	A series of urban festivals, aimed at revitalising local social life (2003)
Trigrad	Project to improve access to a cave system and Neolithic site (2002)
Trigrad	Second phase, to improve facilities for visitors and campers (2003)
Vetovo	Project involving people from different ethnic backgrounds in

	work around a shared culture of beekeeping and honey production (2003)
Zlatograd	Formation of a dance group in the 'Koukeri' tradition, linked to revival of old holidays and a book about local culture (2004)
6.1.3 Macedonia	
Banja Bansko	Integrated woodcarving workshops in a centre for disabled people, with exhibitions of work locally and in the capital (2003)
Berovo	Workshops in ironwork with the Roma community, development of new products and work to improve the blacksmiths' access to markets (2005)
Bitola	Conversion of a neo-baroque town house into a youth cultural centre (2001)
Dzvegor	Workshops and other activities to revive traditional arts and craft skills associated with the local 'Dzvegor Surva' festival (2005)
Galicnik	Promotion of the traditional Wedding Ceremony in Mavrovo National Natural Park, and development of local craft work for sale to visitors (2003)
Gevgelija	Creation of a new public space around the relocated Freedom Monument, moved from a newly discovered archaeological site (2003)
Gostivar	Oral history and cultural exchange programme involving young people with different ethnic backgrounds from three neighbouring villages (2005)
Karbinci	Exhibition, workshops and promotional activities celebrating the distinctive Yuruk (Turkish) culture of the Plackovica and Lakavica districts (2005)
Kolesino	Construction of a path and viewing platform at the Kolesino

Kratovo	waterfall, inspired by the experience of the village of Smolare (2004)
Krivogastani	Restoration of the town park by young people working with local pensioners, and installation of a summer stage (2002)
Kruševo	Oral and local history project linking school students and elders (2002)
Kruševo	Construction of a new library and social centre (<i>project abandoned</i>) (2001)
Kruševo	Creation of a new cultural space and tourism information centre (2004)
Lesnovo	Environmental and visitor improvements at the Borja natural site in front of the St Gavril Lesnovski monastery (2005)
Lesok	Establishment of a Creative Youth Centre for young people from varied ethnic backgrounds to work on local cultural traditions (2005)
Lokuv	Promotion, interpretation and improved accessibility of a glacial lake with villagers from Rostuse, Bituse and other local villages (2005)
Malovista	Revival of woodcarving and traditional goat-wool textiles with young people from a small community in Pelister National Park (2003)
Mariovo	Children's summer camp, publication and exhibition following a national competition on the theme of the local folklore hero, Itar Pejo (2003)
Mokrino	Campaign to clean the site of a local spring, and prepare it to receive visitors as part of the outstanding natural heritage of the region (2004)
Novo Selo	Construction of a safe path and bridges to the Smolare waterfall (2002)
Prilep	Planned conversion of a derelict Turkish bath into an art gallery (<i>project abandoned</i>) (2001)
Radovis	Support for the Yuruk textile, jewellery and dance cultures of the villages Alikodz and Kodzalija (2003)

Rastes	Craft workshop programme, leading to the revival of the traditional Porece Fair (2004)
Rostuse	School-based project, leading to an exhibition exploring the cultural and ethnic diversity of the region's people (2002)
Rusinovo	Revival of traditional weaving customs of the Malesevo region, including construction of new looms and promotion of work through craft fairs (2004)
Skopje	Campaign to revitalise and promote the Old Bazaar area of the capital (2001)
Skopje	Living Heritage Fair to present the work of past and current projects, and promote the philosophy of the programme (2005)
Stenje	Environmental improvements to the lakeside and beach, with new information panels and brochures about the village and the church of St. Ilija (2004)
Strumica	Renovation of the town's 'Maiden's Well' and creation of a public social space (2004)
Tetovo	Weaving workshops with women from different ethnic communities (Dobrosti, Neraste and Tearce) in the former crisis region (2003)
Varos	Guide book to the historic district of Prilep, with associated activities including a craft fair, concerts, film screenings and other events (2002)
Velesta & Delogozhda	Revival of traditional needlework, pottery and metalwork skills in two Albanian villages, with associated festivals (2002)
Vevcani	Documentation and promotion of the city's unique winter carnival, and development of folklore performance group (2002)
Vranestica	Pottery workshops to develop young people's skills in the village's traditional occupation (2003)

Vrapciste	'Days of Culture' festival bringing together the diverse cultures of the area, and creation of a small memory room in the town hall (2002)
6.1.4 Romania	
Avrig	Establishment of traditional weaving workshops and restoration of the town museum, which displays and sells local textiles (2003)
Bonțida	Improvements to the natural environment of Banffy Castle and its surroundings, linked with information and promotion campaigns (2004)
Botosani	Project to involve young people in learning about their heritage through visits, workshops, theatre and promotional activities (2004)
Botosani	Promotion of local cultural heritage and especially the work of local artist, Stefan Luchian (2004)
Brasov	Refurbishment of the historic Rope Street, and linked festival (2002)
Brasov	Involvement of school pupils in cultural traditions of the city through the museum service and the annual medieval festival (2004)
Cârțisoara	Restoration of the museum and traditional timber barn (2002)
Cârțisoara	Second phase, to create a sales area for local crafts and produce (2003)
Ciocanesti	Development of local craft traditions of egg painting, and creation of an exhibition and visitor information centre in the town hall (2004)
Cojocna	Creation of a music group and the Cojocneana folk dance ensemble (2004)
Cosau Valley	Environmental improvements to rivers and repair of water mills, linked to promotion of the area as a tourism destination (2002)

Creaca	Promotion of six ancient wooden churches through a visitor trail (2004)
Darjiu	Revival of summer rituals, linked to a children's summer camp and a community theatre performance (2003)
Dumbravioara	Establishment of a visitor centre to promote awareness of the village's famous white storks (2004)
Gura Humorului	Creation of a new ethnographic gallery in the museum, displaying costumes associated with local New Year and Christmas celebrations (2002)
Gura Humorului	Revival of 12 traditional holidays and seasonal rituals (2003)
Ipotesti	Renovation of the Blue Flower Park, and associated cultural events (2004)
Joseni	Restoration of three old houses as a village museum, linked to a programme of workshops and other activities for young people (2002)
Marginea	Traditional workshops and related activities for young people (2004)
Meresti	Promotion and development of traditional furniture making (2004)
Moldovița	Conversion of former school building into a local museum, and craft workshops for young people (2002)
Moldovița	Second phase, to complete museum installation and promote tourism (2003)
Odorheiu Secuiesc	Revival of the Szekler Hussar parades that once characterised the town, through workshops and events (2004)
Oradea	Development of cultural activities and open-air summer performances in the historic fortress (2002)
Oradea	Second phase, to create a tourism information point in a bastion, and install an exhibition of local craft producers' work (2003)

Remetea Oasului	Programme to revive interest in lost traditions of viniculture (2004)
Salaj	Development of visitor information resources and a cultural itinerary through work with school students (2004)
Sandominic	Conversion of old houses in Izvorul Oltului into workshops for training young people in spinning, weaving and sewing (2004)
Sânmartin	Development of eco-tourism in the Fisag Valley, with restoration of old houses for use as pensions (2002)
Satu Mare	Workshops in traditional carving associated with historic Szekler gates, and construction of a new gate at the local school (2002)
Satu Mare	Recreation of the 'Miraculum', an ancient community play which has not been performed in the town for decades (2003)
Satu Mare	Second phase, to build on and promote the 'Miraculum' (2004)
Satu Mare	Project to preserve the craft of traditional painted furniture (2004)
Sighetu Marmatiei	Restoration of wooden Maramures house as a living museum, with woodcarving workshops by young people (2003)
Sinca Noua	Creation of a group of traditional dancers and singers (2004)
Solca	Environmental and amenity improvements to the town park (2002)
Solca	Second phase, to promote craft fairs and music festivals in the restored park (2003)
Turda	Protection of the village's environmental and cultural heritage through workshops and other activities with young people (2004)
Tusnad	Creation of a mineral water museum and information point, linked to workshops and sales outlets for local artisans (2003)
Tusnad	Second phase, to install exhibitions and visitor information (2004)
Vama	A programme to enable the town's last potter to work with young people and pass on his skills and knowledge (2004)

6.2 Living Heritage Partners

6.2.1 Carpathian Foundation

Established in 1995 through a partnership of the East West Institute in New York and the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, The Carpathian Foundation is a unique trans-frontier, regional foundation that provides grants and technical assistance to non-governmental organizations and local governments, focusing primarily on economic development and trans-frontier activities. It encourages the development of public/private/NGO partnerships, including cross-border and interethnic approaches to promote regional and community development and help prevent conflicts.

The mission of the Carpathian Foundation is to promote neighborliness, social stability, and economic progress in the bordering regions of Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Ukraine. The Foundation is especially interested in providing financial and technical assistance to projects that improve the quality of life for small town and rural residents of the Carpathian Euroregion. The Carpathian Foundation works to revitalize these areas by promoting integrated community development, and cross-bor-

der and interethnic cooperation. The results of this approach could be found in the low infrastructure, lack of investments, highest unemployment rate, low incomes, and difficult access to higher education, lack of perspectives, etc.

FDCE Romania targeted and supported with priority the local self governments units and the local NGOs, encouraging in the same time the partnership and the networking approaches, at four levels: communitarian, local, national and regional. In its first seven years of activity, CF – FDEC Romania granted 190 Romanian organizations (nongovernmental and local administration units), totaling over \$1,200.000.

- ☒ In 2002, the requested amount for around 160 received applications was of almost \$1,000,000; we were able to grant 45 projects on a total value of \$270,000 and €45,000.
- ☒ In 2003, from January to December, we received 137 proposals requesting a total of amount of almost \$600,000, of which we granted 34 projects with around \$113.553 and 1,410 million ROL.

- ☒ In 2004 we supported 26 projects with a total amount of \$66,582 and 1,982 million ROL.

6.2.2 Foundation Open Society Institute – Macedonia

The Foundation Open Society Institute – Macedonia (FOSIM) was founded in 1992 as a foreign entity representative office, and in 1999 as a national legal entity – foundation, in accordance with the Law on Associations of Citizens and Foundations. FOSIM is part of the Soros network in Central and Eastern Europe. FOSIM's mission is the internal integration of Macedonia as a prerequisite for EU integration.

Dedicated to the promotion of the open society, FOSIM initiates, supports and implements a wide spectrum of programs, addressing issues in the areas of education, civil society, media, public health, human, minority & women's rights, as well as social, legal & economic reforms and culture. FOSIM programs and projects are grouped in four areas: Education, Civil Society, Structural Reforms and Arts & Communication.

The Foundation addresses its objectives by:

- ☒ Providing grants, awards, loans and other types of financial support on a one-off or continuing basis to individuals and legal entities that engage in activities consistent with the FOSIM mission.
- ☒ Implementing operational programs for the promotion of innovative ideas and for the development and growth of individuals and legal entities having activities relative to the FOSIM mission, and
- ☒ Encouraging/fostering other humanitarian and developmental activities that the Founder and the Managing Board may find conducive to fulfilling the FOSIM mission.

FOSIM publishes an Annual Report and Program, organizes press-conferences, press-releases and uses other information tools to provide transparency and accountability in its work.

FOSIM keeps its accounting records according to local statutory standards (Macedonian accounting) and according to International Accounting Standards (IAS). FOSIM's accounting department prepares financial reports in different



formats for Soros New York, for Macedonian Authorities and partner donors who finance or co-finance FOSIM projects. There is an annual audit each year by an international auditor. The auditor's reports issued by Price-Waterhouse Coopers and KPMG for all previous years are clear.

6.2.3 King Baudouin Foundation

The King Baudouin Foundation is a public benefit foundation, based in Brussels. It was established in 1976 on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the reign of late King Baudouin with the aim of improving the living conditions of the population. Four main themes are currently central to its work: the 'Social Jus-

tice' programme seeks out new forms of social inequality and supports initiatives to give greater autonomy to vulnerable people. The 'Civil Society' programme aims to stimulate civic engagement and strengthen the NGO sector. The 'Health' programme seeks to involve citizens more closely in the decision-making that determines how goods and services are produced and consumed, and in developments in the medical sciences. Through the 'Funds & Contemporary Philanthropy' programme, the Foundation wishes to encourage modern forms of generosity. The Foundation is active at local, regional, federal, European and international level, with a special focus on Southeastern Europe since 1999.

6.2.4 MOZAIK

Community Development Foundation MOZAIK is Bosnia and Herzegovina's only indigenous foundation devoted solely to community development. Originally established in 2000, MOZAIK aims to build socially cohesive communities where citizens, irrespective of their differences, share a sense of mutual commitment and belonging to the commu-

nity, and participate in activities for the common good.

At the core of MOZAIK's methodology is grant making with community-driven approach to development (CDD). Used to empower individuals to actively participate in the development of their communities, CDD encourages local stakeholders to contribute their time and resources to their communities and it ensures local ownership over community development agenda. Mozaik helps communities focus on tangible results while insisting on the process that insures inclusion and active participation of all community members

MOZAIK has thus far supported 75 communities with grants ranging from 500-10,500 Euros. Utilizing the CDD approach, the Foundation helped communities build or reconstruct over 27,450 meters of local roads, remove debris and refuse from three small rivers, build or reconstruct 1,074 square meters of community space. In addition, Mozaik supported 22 projects that focused on preservation and cultivation of architectural, cultural, and natural heritage.

To insure relevance and ownership,

Mozaik expects communities to mobilize a part of the needed resources from their own communities. Consequently, during the last two years (2003 and 2004) Mozaik's local communities mobilized approximately 180.000 Euros in order to find solutions to jointly identified community projects. The donations, representing 39% of the total project cost, were mainly provided by Municipalities, small local businesses and individuals. In addition, 2,169 volunteers invested 34.563 hours to implementation of community projects.

6.2.5 Open Society Fund Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Open Society Fund Bosnia and Herzegovina (OSF BiH) is an autonomous non-profit making organization founded by George Soros as part of the Soros Foundation Network to promote open society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since its foundation in 1993, the Open Society Fund Bosnia and Herzegovina has been developing program objectives in line with the changes currently shaping BiH society, while remaining dedicated to its initiating idea of developing an open society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. To date

the Foundation has invested 60 million dollars in education, media, law, public administration, Roma, culture and other programs. An additional 50 million dollars of aid for Bosnia and Herzegovina came through the Soros Humanitarian Fund. The priority program areas of the Open Society Fund Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period 2004 – 2006 have been Education, Law, Civil Society, Roma, and Local Governance.

6.2.6 Open Society Fund - Sofia

The Open Society Institute (OSI) is a private operating and grant making foundation based in New York City that serves as the hub of the Soros Foundations Network, a group of autonomous foundations and organisations operating in more than 50 countries.

OSI and the network implement a range of initiatives that aim to promote open societies by shaping government policy and supporting education, media, public health and human and women's rights, as well as social, legal, and economic reform. To diminish and prevent the negative consequences of globalisation, OSI seeks to foster an open society

globally by increasing collaboration with other nongovernmental organisations, governments and international institutions.

OSI was founded in 1993 by investor and philanthropist George Soros to support his foundations in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Those foundations were established, starting in 1984, to help former communist countries in their transition to democracy.

6.2.7 Romanian Environmental Partnership Foundation

The Romanian Environmental Partnership Foundation (Fundatia pentru Parteneriat) is part of the Environmental Partnership (EP), which supports community based environmental improvement projects in Romania, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Bulgaria. The foundation is focused on stimulating awareness and participation regarding environmental problems and community development in Romania. The Environmental Partnership Foundation is playing a serious role in building bridges of cooperation between people and organizations, and across all

sectors, in order to build civil society and sustainable communities in Romania. The programs of the foundation are designed and implemented to fit within the framework of sustainable development. The programs target and include almost all the stakeholders of society: communities, local authorities, NGOs, the business sector, media etc. Using a flexible mixture of small grants, technical assistance, networking, training activities and special programs, the foundation empowers individuals, organizations, and communities to participate actively in environmental decision making. At the same time it serves as a catalyst for cooperation among the private, public, and nonprofit sectors for environmental problem solving. Over the years the REPF has built a solid reputation among both domestic and international organizations for being fast, effective, and non-bureaucratic. Up to date the foundation has implemented three grantmaking and 5 operational programs.

6.2.8 Workshop for Civic Initiatives Foundation

WCIF's mission is to encourage different communities to take responsibility and

to work actively for social development, making effective use of local resources. The Foundation's intervention is always grounded on the following four interrelated elements:

- ☒ Capacity Building – WCIF's understanding of capacity building is a combination of residential modular training, on site consultancy and facilitation and on-line support. Over different periods of time, WCIF helps community groups to build on their own experiences, to identify needs and resources more accurately and to develop and implement local projects.
- ☒ Grant-making - WCIF makes small grants to community groups, enabling them to put what they have learnt into practice.
- ☒ Building on and supporting local resources - All grants delivered by WCIF have local matching, thus breaking the vicious circle of dependency of the Bulgarian NGO sector on foreign funding and encouraging local philanthropy.
- ☒ Research and need analysis – WCIF intervention is based on thorough research which enables the foundation to identify local needs.

Working with local communities

WCIF aims at achieving positive practical change in the lives of communities throughout the country by helping them to ground their development in the use of local resources. In a long-term perspective, we aim at strengthening the capacity of communities to carry out sustainable developmental initiatives based on participation and partnership. On a broader scale WCIF aims, by increasing knowledge and skills, to empower local communities and NGOs to mobilise community resources, and to develop co-operation among NGOs, local authorities and the business sector in Bulgaria.

6.3 Living Heritage Network Manifesto

We, the founding members of the growing Living Heritage network of people and organisations, and expressing in this Manifesto our shared values and ideals, have come together to strengthen – through our work and partnership – the democratic and social development of the countries of South East Europe.

Recognising that culture is:

- ☒ Central to the expression of personal identity, community and difference;
- ☒ Uniquely able to motivate people's good-will, participation and co-operation;
- ☒ A compelling means of building social capital and cohesion;
- ☒ And an empowering resource of proven value to economic development;

Guided by seven core principles of community cultural development:

- ☒ **Demonstrating local benefit**, because unless the reason for taking on a project is clear to everyone, there's no reason for them to give their commitment to it;
- ☒ **Developing sustainability**, because communities retain control of their future when they develop independently with skills and resources they can manage;
- ☒ **Valuing volunteers**, because they are the people who make projects possible, and who can benefit from being the experience of taking part;
- ☒ **Developing incrementally**, because small successes build experience and

confidence, and lay the foundations for more ambitious projects;

- ☒ **Working openly and honestly**, because local democracy can only develop when everyone can be fully involved in the decision-making process;
- ☒ **Responding flexibly**, because plans change, new opportunities appear and obstacles need to be overcome in any community project;
- ☒ **Digging where we stand**, because people are the experts in their own unique situation, and everywhere has its unique values, assets and potential.

And proud of three years of demonstrable achievement in cultural projects across Macedonia, Bulgaria, Romania and Bosnia Herzegovina:

We distinguish Living Heritage as a unique approach to community development because it places people first and inter-cultural relations at the heart of sustainable development.

As signatories of this Manifesto, we recognise the valuable role played by Living Heritage in alleviating poverty, tension and regional instability, and we therefore commit ourselves to the future

development of the programme and its values by helping local communities with finance, training and support, to unite around common goals of benefit to their own lives.

6.4 The reporting process

This report is the culmination not only of the Living Heritage programme, but of an extensive process of reflexive evaluation which has followed it throughout. The King Baudouin Foundation required rigorous monitoring of the programme as a matter of course. But it also recognised the importance of sensitive evaluation, both to improve the programme during its operation and to extract the lessons it could offer. This commitment has enabled managers to make adjustments as required: as, for example, following the pilot phase in Macedonia, or in the Romanian selection process. It has also produced a very large body of material documenting the development of every project, and of the programme as a whole.

The training and support given to all projects has kept programme staff closely involved with their progress, and has made them very informed about the problems and successes they have encountered. Staff and consultants from the national managing partner have visited every Living Heritage project regularly to discuss progress and observe the changes on the ground. Members of the regional team have also visited well over half the projects during the same period.

In addition to this normal management overview, the author of this report has made formal evaluation visits to 55 projects during the past two years, during which extensive discussions were had with participants, project team members and other local stakeholders. This work was supplemented by access to written reports and records, photographic documentation and similar resources. The projects visited were: **Bosnia Herzegovina**: Bugojno, Čatići, Donji Vakuf, Guča Gora, Jablanica (two projects), Kakanj, Kraljeva Sujetska, Mrkonjić Grad, Novi Travnik, Prozor-Rama, Prusac, Ribnik, Šipovo, Travnik, Visnjevo, Visoko and Vranduk. **Bulgaria**: Byala Cherkva, Cherni

Vit, Gotse Delchev, Ivanovo, Oresh, Sofia Borisova Gradina, Sofia Lagera, Sofia Levski G, Sofia Lozenets, and Teteven. **Macedonia**: Bitola, Kratovo, Krivogastani, Kruševo, Malovista, Novo Selo, Prilep, Rostuse, Skopje, Varos, Velesta & Delogozhda, Vevcani, Vranestica and Vrapciste. **Romania**: Avrig, Brasov, Cârtisoara, Cosau Valley, Darjiu, Gura Humorului, Moldovița, Oradea, Satu Mare (two projects), Sighetu Marmatiei, Solca and Tusnad. Several projects were visited twice, in consecutive years, and the length of time that the programme has operated has allowed some longitudinal assessment of the projects' impact post-completion.

Based on this combined material, an evaluation report was written for each country, describing individual projects and the programme's development, and giving an account of the impact of the work. These national reports naturally offer much greater detail, particularly about individual projects, than it is possible to include here; they are available from both the Living Heritage and the King Baudouin Foundation websites. The national evaluations provided an important starting point for the present report, and there are many

parallels in approach and content, although it has been possible here, for the first time, to attempt an overview of the whole programme and its development over time. Much greater attention has been given here to analysing why the programme produced the results that are reported, in order to focus on what may be learnt by donors, development agencies and policy makers.

Finally, the context and limitations of this report should be explained.³¹ First, like the national evaluations on which it rests, the report is an internal assessment. Since the author has been involved in the programme from its conception, and then as a trainer and adviser (though not in project selection or management), any assessment of its development is necessarily subjective. None the less, self-evaluation is a crucial discipline for foundations as for other organisations: what matters is commitment to a sound process, honesty in reporting and consciousness of the challenges to objectivity. In its favour is the close knowledge that self-evaluation can draw upon. It will be for others to judge how well the balance has been struck.

The second important limitation of

the report is that the programme, though coming to an end, is not yet over: about a quarter of the projects are still operating, and many will not be complete until the end of 2005 or even after. It is also true that many of the longer-term results may not be evident for months or even years. In an ideal world, it would be possible to undertake a further review of the projects and their progress a year or two hence. In the absence of such longitudinal monitoring, the present report must suffice.

The third limitation has already been touched on: it is simply one of space. With 140 projects in four countries, it was never going to be possible to give a very full account of their progress, challenges and achievements. Behind every place name in the project list stand scores of people who have participated, and who have been changed, in ways large and small, by the experience. It has been possible to do no more than sketch the broad outlines of that experience, in the hope that the reader will see something of the remarkable things that have been done with very small amounts of money, but a great deal of trust, commitment and courage.

6.5 Acknowledgements

Like the Living Heritage programme itself, this report is the result of teamwork between many partners. It is not possible to list here the hundreds of individuals in project teams who were interviewed or otherwise participated in the evaluation process across four countries: in most cases, their names are recorded in the national reports. However, it is important to express our deep gratitude for their openness, honesty and hospitality throughout, which made the evaluation process not only thorough, but immensely rewarding at a personal level.

It would have been impossible to undertake the project evaluation on which the report depends without the support of the King Baudouin Foundation's partners in the region. I am especially grateful for the constant and generous guidance of the programme managers, which assisted immeasurably in understanding the distinct social, political and cultural situations in which the projects developed. They contributed directly to the process by undertaking preliminary monitoring and evaluation, providing background information and logistical

support, and offering unstinted support throughout. In that sense, though the analysis and conclusions of this report are the responsibility of the author, they are based on a genuine collaboration between the people most involved with the programme. I am very grateful to the following:

In Bosnia Herzegovina: Zoran Puljic, Renato Zrnic, Eni Kurtovic, **Nataša Musa** and Armela Bradaric (Mozaik Foundation); Aida Cengic (OSF); and Amra Custo, Dušan Šehovac, **Elma Hašimbegović** and Nelvedina Mekšić. **In Bulgaria:** Iliyana Nikolova, Yuriy Vulkovsky, Violeta Nenova, Dobrinka Valkova and Anguelina Stoilkova (Workshop for Civic Initiatives Foundation); Nikolay Ilchev (OSI); and Lilia Anguelova, Victor Djorgov Tsvetana Georgieva, Teodor Mladenov, Dimitar Tzolov and Yanko Velkov. **In Macedonia:** Vladimir Milcin, Ivan Dodovski and Marijana Ivanova (FOSIM); Katerina Bogoeva, Slobodanka Dueva, Danilo Kocevski, Besim Nebiu, Gordan Nikolov, Zivko Popovski, Dragan Pop Stojanov, Igor Slavkoski and Cvetanka Sundovska.

In Romania: Lorena Stoica, Ioan

Maghiar, Malina Suplacan and Monica Terean (Carpathian Foundation); László Potozky and Csilla Daniel (Romanian Environmental Partnership Foundation); Alina Porumb, Dana Pirtoc, Ioana Brasoveanu, Aurelian Sofica, Catalin Gheorghe. **In Belgium:** Gian Giuseppe Simeone (CultureLab) and Mathieu Molitor (KBF).

Finally, it is a pleasure to record my lasting thanks to my colleagues in the regional team, Fabrice de Kerchove and Vera Dakova: their contribution to the Living Heritage programme has made it what it is.

- ¹ UNESCO (1972) *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, Paris.
- ² UNESCO (2003) *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, Paris.
- ³ See François Matarasso, 'La storia sfigurata: la creazione del patrimonio culturale nell'Europa contemporanea', in Bodo, S., & Cifarelli, R., (eds.) *Quando la cultura fa la differenza*, Rome: Meltemi (forthcoming).
- ⁴ Hugues de Varine, *Les Racines du Futur, Le Patrimoine au service du développement local*, 2^o éd. 2004, Lusigny-sur-Ouche, Asdic Editions, p. 76.
- ⁵ John Carey (2005) *What Good Are The Arts?* London: Faber p.xii.
- ⁶ Cf. Michael Argyle (1996) *The Social Psychology of Leisure*, London: Penguin; and François Matarasso (1997) *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts*, Stroud: Comedia.
- ⁷ Among the significant case studies were the Grassic Gibbon Centre (Scotland), the Norwich Historic Churches Trust and the Living Archive (England), Pythagoras Factory and Cedergrenksa Tornet (Sweden) and Suomenlinna (Finland).
- ⁸ See www.kbs-frb.be/code/page.cfm?id_page=125&ID=582 (Children and Youth at Risk in South East Europe) and www.kbs-frb.be/code/page.cfm?id_page=125&ID=187 (Improving Ethnic Relations in South East Europe).
- ⁹ www.livingarchive.org.uk/
- ¹⁰ The Living Heritage Manifesto was adopted by the partners in the Living Heritage Network, at a meeting in Ohrid (MK) in November 2003; it is reproduced in the appendices of this report.
- ¹¹ The figures given here are a simplification of a complex funding process managed in several different currencies; they have also been rounded to the nearest €500 for the sake of clarity. These data should therefore be understood as broadly indicative of the investment from different sources, and the ways in which funds were applied.
- ¹² Precise figures are difficult to compute since KBF funding was in euros and OSI funding in dollars, while grants were made in local currencies; conversion rates fluctuated considerably over the period, causing some operational difficulties.

¹³ Throughout the programme's operation, the Regional Team comprised Fabrice de Kerchove, for the King Baudouin Foundation, Vera Dakova, a freelance community development specialist from Bulgaria, and the author, a specialist in community cultural programmes based in the UK. Within each country, a small number of freelance consultants, mostly with a background in community development, was employed to support the work of the managing organisation and, following induction and training, to deliver project development workshops.

¹⁴ <http://www.kbs-frb.be>

¹⁵ In the event, substantial grants were only drawn down for the buildings in Bitola and Kruševo.

¹⁶ See FOSIM's dedicated website about Living Heritage in Macedonia: www.zivonasledstvo.org.mk

¹⁷ www.osf.bg

¹⁸ www.wcif-bg.org/en/index.html

¹⁹ www.cil-bg.org; www.women-bg.org; www.cega.bg.

²⁰ www.wcif-bg.org/creativity/

²¹ www.carpathianfoundation.org and www.epce.ro/

²² www.soros.org.ba and www.mozaik.ba/

²³ www.cdf.org.uk (What is Community Development?, accessed 7/19/05)

²⁴ See www.cdx.org.uk/about/whatiscd.htm (accessed 7/19/05)

²⁵ See www.chitalishte.bg/

²⁶ A UNDP programme, subsequently taken up by the Dutch Foreign Ministry, has helped reposition the network through an emphasis on information provision. While this has encouraged chitalishte to open themselves to local needs, there has been concern at the diminution of their directly cultural role.

²⁷ www.zivonasledstvo.org.mk

²⁸ Traditionally constructed houses often suffered severe damage, and are not usually considered viable for reconstruction by the aid programmes. The ethno-house made at Jablanica was built from salvaged materials which would otherwise have been destroyed during the rebuilding of rural houses in the surrounding area.

²⁹ Robert D. Putnam (2000) *Bowling Alone, The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York, p.19.; see also World Bank (1998) *The Initiative on Defining, Monitoring and Measuring Social Capital, Overview and Program Description*, Washington

³⁰ www.patalenica-bg.com/web/indexe.html

³¹ The report adopts a Western European spelling convention for place names, replicating spelling wherever possible, and transliterating Cyrillic characters as necessary.

Notes



“The project was a milestone for our association - some learned and some remembered that ‘together’ is not just an adverb but a magic word with which great things can be built.”

A Living Heritage project leader, Bulgaria